

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach: A Vulnerability Context Analysis of Ngwatle's !Kung Group Basarwa, Botswana



2005

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in
Social Science of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban,
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Declaration

This dissertation is the original work of Nyambura G. Njagi and has never been submitted at any university for any degree or other purpose. All references have been fully acknowledged and cited in the text. The participant rights to anonymity, withdrawal from the study or from photos without prejudice and intellectual property were respected during the undertaking of this research.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank God for leading me to this research topic, opening the doors that have allowed me to pursue primary research in Botswana and getting me through the process of completing this thesis. It has been a truly gratifying experience. There are some special places in this world and the Kalahari is one of them!

I would also like to thank: Dr Richard Ballard, my supervisor, for providing the guidance and support necessary to help me develop an idea from thought to fruition; Professor Keyan Tomaselli, the CCMS department and the 2004 & 2005 Kalahari research teams for furnishing me with all manner of resources from transcripts to books to networks, financial support and thought provoking camp fire discussions; Mr and Mrs Njagi Makanga, my parents, for the complete and un-abating support of my education that has seen me accomplish a Masters Degree in Social Science; My brother Makanga for his positive comments & insights; Myriam Velia who helped me so much in the 11th hour, despite massive amounts of her own work; The people who acted as translators and key informants¹ during field research in 2004 and the follow up trip in 2005. Your assistance was a crucial element in the undertaking of this research; Nelia Oats and Mary Lange for taking care of us in Ngwatle and acting as translators and transcribing; All of the participants from Ngwatle for selflessly giving of their time and sharing their stories with me; and finally I would like to thank all my friends and family who stayed up with me till the wee hours of the morning in the computer lan, kept me focused when I was discouraged and helped me to close this chapter of my formal education. A special thanks to Makaka Missano and the Mnyani family for helping me find the resources that made completing this thesis possible under given time constraints.

¹ Names withheld for purposes of anonymity.

Abstract

This thesis uses aspects of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) to investigate how global trends and national eco-political factors in Botswana impact the livelihood strategies or actions of a group of individuals who identify as !Kung Group Basarwa in a small village called Ngwatle, located in the south western Kalahari. These global and national forces produce and reproduce institutions, structures and processes that constitute the particular vulnerability context in which Ngwatle is couched. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, a key component of SLAs, is used here as a tool of analysis to identify barriers and constraints to livelihood aspirations. Basarwa, known as Bushmen or San people more generally, have a history of strained relationships with more powerful majority groups including the Setswana (or Tswana) who account for 79% of the population as well as wealthy cattle owning minority groups. This history, understood in a wider global context, makes livelihood construction extremely difficult for people living in Ngwatle. The research is exploratory in nature and seeks to contextualize a problem or a set of problems given a particular set of circumstances rather than establish categorical causality between variables.

The approach of this research has been methodologically investigated by answering three primary research questions. The first question seeks to establish the major activities undertaken in Ngwatle households that help people in the community to make a living. In this regard, the research clearly establishes that several specific livelihood actions, such as making crafts and conducting cash-generating entrepreneurial activities are performed on a daily basis in Ngwatle. The second research question asks whether resources (assets) are constrained by institutions, structures and processes and if so, how. In fact, resources are constrained by these factors and are informed by historical precedence. The third research question focuses on how institutions, structures and processes impact livelihood strategies in Ngwatle in more detail. Links are established between the macro (global), meso (national) and micro (community) economic and political environments. The suggestion is that aspects of capitalism and neo-liberalism at the global and State levels have informed and strengthened various mechanism of control designed to manipulate and direct the

movement of individuals (bio-politics). In essence prejudices and discriminatory practices have served to radically alter Basarwa social systems and seriously undermine livelihood strategies.

Acronyms

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies Department, UKZN
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
BIDPA	Botswana Institute of Development Policy Analysis
DFID	Department for International Development
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
FPK	First People of the Kalahari
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GC	GhanziCraft
HH	Household
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ITCLTD	Intermediate Technology Consultants Enterprise Development Programme
KD1	Kgalagadi District 1
MI	Mises Institute
MLGL&H	Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing
NKXT	Nquaa Khobee Xeya Trust
RAD	Remote Area Dweller (often used to refer to San or Basarwa)
PIP box	Policies, Institutions & Processes (aka Structures, Institutions & Processes)
PDL	Poverty Datum (or Data) Line
SAcoast	South Africa's Coast
SL	Sustainable Livelihood
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SGL	Special Game License
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
TWT	Third World Traveler
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZENID	The Queen Zein Al Sharaf Institute for Development

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When I read about the stories of forced removals of San people from their ancestral lands, immediately, I was interested in learning more about the situation. Fortunately, very soon after I became interested in studying the San, I was offered the opportunity to conduct research in the Kalahari with Keyan Tomaselli and the Culture Communication and Media Studies (CCMS) research team who have been engaged in a Cultural Studies research project for the last decade in Botswana. To study the livelihoods of San people was truly a great opportunity to understand development in a different way through the livelihood transitions that this particular community faces.

According to available data, the Basarwa, also known as the San people or Bushmen, have an ancestral history that dates back at least 20, 000 years and up to 40, 000 years by some estimates (Barnard, 1992: 11). Their past livelihoods have been closely associated with hunting and gathering lifestyles in some of the most inhospitable, arid environments in southern Africa. However, the socio-political environment coupled with encroaching, often hostile economic clashes with more powerful groups have radically altered livelihood options for Basarwa, making traditional 'lifestyles' nearly impossible to pursue within the confines of the law. This thesis explores the livelihoods of 13 Basarwa households in Botswana effectively mapping 11 livelihood portfolios from available data and describing the actual day to day realities for people living in this community. From the data outcome presented, it becomes apparent that certain powerful and all encompassing forces, such as historically entrenched prejudices, social exclusion and years of displacement and manipulation resulting from unequal stakeholder relations at the national and global levels impact each individual household in the study site. Household members seem to carry out livelihood activities within this vulnerability context, comprised of the aforementioned factors, with varying degrees of difficulty. Each household has its own set of assets or livelihood resources at its disposal to help it survive. The information presented in this dissertation adds to an already wide range of literature on the Basarwa and on livelihoods yet it is unique in that very little empirical research has been published about this particular site, considered by some as one of the last

areas where Basarwa lives are still relatively simple. In its greater reading, it asks us to question and rethink what is meant by the term development: Who develops? Who are developed? What are some of the institutions, processes and structures involved in development and what are the consequences?

The thesis is divided into six Chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study site and outlines the limits of the study with regard to the theoretical framework, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), in addition to defining the research questions and objectives. Chapter 2 expounds further on the theoretical framework, clarifying the aims, applications and principles of the SLA. Chapter 3 paints the global environment or vulnerability context using Patel and McMichael's (2004) borrowed concept of 'global fascism' as a tool of analysis. The suggestion is that neo-liberalism and capitalism are intermediaries of 'global fascism,' which is an important explanation for how Botswana is governed from an economic and political perspective and which in turn manifests itself into factors that pose barriers for livelihood creation in Ngwatle at the household level. Chapter 4 explains the history of the research site as part of the local vulnerability context. It sets the scene for current livelihood struggles against the backdrop of various relationships between the Basarwa and other more powerful groups. Next, Chapter 5 provides a detailed discussion of the research findings. In this chapter, 9 important livelihood incomes are discussed followed by an analysis of livelihood aspirations and perceptions of poverty in Ngwatle. The Sustainable Livelihoods portfolio identifies respondent's livelihood aspirations and the barriers that make livelihood creation difficult within the vulnerability context. The concluding chapter, Chapter 6, reviews the research findings and cites the overall relevance of the research in terms of the research objectives.

The Field Site

Botswana is divided into 10 districts, each administered by democratically elected bodies. Although districts are financially supported by the central government, they are generally free to develop and implement their own programmes in the sectors of primary education, rural roads and water supply as well as social and community development (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 7). The case study, Ngwatle, is

located in the north-western part of a Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) called Kgalagadi District 1 (KD1) in south west Botswana. Ngwatle is part of a Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) scheme that is organized under the Nqwaa Khobee Xheya Trust (NKXT). KD1 covers a surface area of 12,180 sq. km and is a “multi-purpose community area” that encompasses two other rural settlements, Ukwi and Ncaang. According to Van der Jagt (1995) cited in Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt the population in KD1 is approximately 850 of which 70% are Basarwa and 30% are of Bakgalagadi origin (2000: 11). Ngwatle has a floating population of between 250-300 people. The total number of Basarwa in Botswana is about 48, 000 (roughly 3.3% of Botswana’s population). KD1 is the most arid region in Botswana (Rozenmeijer and van der Jagt 2000). The landscape is flat and sandy with sporadic shrub grass and sparsely scattered trees.

Context/ Objectives

Primary Objectives:

The primary objective is to paint a picture of the macro (global level), meso (national level) and micro (community) environments that influence the kind of capitals available to households in Ngwatle. In the critical analysis phase of my research I use cultural, site and household family history data gathered from interviews and secondary sources to contextualize the unit of analysis within a particular vulnerability context. This history is juxtaposed with broader social, historical, political and economic factors in the vulnerability context that shape livelihood systems in the research site. Together, these vulnerability contexts inform and give substance and background to the unit of analysis, illuminating barriers and constraints to livelihood creation for households in the process. The primary objectives of the research are thus to:

- To understand how these changes are affecting people on the ground using a Sustainable Livelihoods framework
- To make a useful contribution toward interpretations of the meaning and utility of the term and practice of development.

The SLA Methodology & Limitations of the Study

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is used in this research study as a framework to help identify livelihood activities or strategies, identify livelihood aspiration as well as to identify barriers. The Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework is an important analytical tool in the approach that is used to illustrate how external factors generally impact on 'the poor.' These external factors make up the vulnerability context in SL frameworks. The vulnerability context, described as something that cannot be changed and rather coped with, can be comprised of climatic changes, macro-economic factors, history and politics.

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach stipulates that information must be gathered through a variety of methods in several different capacities in order for a full Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to be considered as reasonably accomplished (DA, 1999: nd). For example, when IFAD and the government of Yemen partnered to develop a sustainable livelihoods poverty alleviation project, in the preparatory phase alone, 2 field assistants and a researcher were hired and immediately held meetings with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Women's Empowerment Association. Field researchers were trained to conduct participatory techniques and draw institutional diagrams. Appreciative Enquiries that included walking about villages with community members to highlight strengths were conducted over a four-day period (IFAD(b), nd: np). Clearly, to outline a vulnerability context, pinpoint people's strengths, understand micro-macro linkages and to understand where key technologies can enhance livelihood systems requires extensive synergies between government sectors, NGOs, the community and other key stakeholders as well as massive amounts of time, human and financial resources.

Thus, in terms of the methodologies outlined in the literature, my research does not satisfy all of the criteria stipulated for an in depth Sustainable Livelihood Approach because it excludes: a technology appraisal, capture of change over time, disaggregation by gender and participatory methods were not employed in the formulation of measurement instruments. On the other hand, my SL based research does include some of the specified criteria by capturing livelihood activities and some genealogical features at the Ngwatle household (HH) level. These include:

- Capturing the aspirations of Ngwatle HH members
- Capturing how HH's bring in financial and non-financial capitals
- Understanding what poverty means to individuals at the HH level
- Unpacking the 'Pip Box'
- Uses SLA to investigate vulnerability context (ZENID, 2002; Farrington et al, 1999).

However, documenting people's assets and aspirations is only the first step in a Sustainable Livelihood methodology. As McDowell puts it, "A 'poor household' focus, is not the same as focusing on impoverishment as a dynamic process and on its own will not produce data that reveals the kind of linkages between impoverishment sub-processes" (2002: 9). Thus, the Ngwatle Sustainable Livelihood Approach taken in this thesis has essentially completed phase one of a very involved and resource intensive approach. The kind of financial and human resources necessary to carry out a full Sustainable Livelihoods Approach are entirely beyond the scope of this research; rather, it could be used as a starting point for conducting a more comprehensive SLA in the future or to inform other research on the same or similar communities. An important feature of this study, however, is that it situates Ngwatle, a remote community of people who describe themselves as Basarwa (but who might otherwise be known as San, Khoisan or Bushmen) into a much larger global sphere. This is an extremely important link because such people are typically seen as totally removed from "civilization" and unaffected by world phenomena such as the globalization of capitalist markets. As Farrington, Carney, Ashley and Turton put it, simple "snap shots" of activities can be illuminating, but only against this more complex reality (1999: np).

Poverty

Although the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) is at its core a poverty reduction mechanism, the focus of this thesis is not poverty or poverty reduction per se. On the other hand, it is important to review a few major points highlighted in poverty literature because all of the aspects of the SLA including the SL Framework are constructed to take into account the generally recognized multi-dimensional facets

of poverty. Firstly, there are several approaches to understanding poverty. According to May (2001) based on the analysis of 40 national poverty studies, poverty is conceptualized in three basic ways (May, Roberts, Moqasa and Woolard, 2002: 2).

Firstly, poverty can be perceived as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living (May et al, 2002: 3). This approach has been termed the objective or “welfare” perspective on poverty where “normative judgements as to what constitutes poverty and what is required to move people out of their impoverished state” are major considerations (Lok-Dessallien, nd: 3). Economists are known to favour this approach, using quantitative indicators such as income consumption and basic needs, because it is easier to calculate, interpret and aggregate over a population (Lok-Dessallien, nd: 3). A second approach recognizes poverty in relative terms as a lack of resources to attain a socially acceptable type of diet or lifestyle (May et al, 2002: 3). This conceptualization of poverty is also known as physiological deprivation (Lok-Dessallien, nd: 4). Indicators and measurements in this case are mainly quantitative. On the other hand, due to recognition of the limitations of the aforementioned approaches, other more subjective approaches are becoming priorities on poverty alleviation agendas. Subjective approaches focus more on what people say they need and the value they place on goods and services (Lok-Dessallien, nd: 3). In the subjective approach, poverty is attributed to more sociological roots where vulnerability and lack has to do with “constrained choices, unfulfilled capabilities and exclusion” (May et al 2002: 3). These type of approaches are “messier” in terms of ability to produce readily understood and quantified data but facilitate a more nuanced understanding of poverty and the factors that contribute to creating and sustaining it (May et al, 2002 and Lok-Dessallien, nd). One’s interpretation of what poverty is makes a difference because it impacts the policy decisions taken to alleviate it. For example, if poverty is perceived as a problem of lack of money or food, then a poverty alleviation approach would be to increase the supply of these. On the other hand, if the problem of poverty is perceive to be social exclusion, then an approach to poverty alleviation would have to address the structural impediments that facilitate deprivation in society, a much more difficult task.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the Ngwatle household. According to Huysamen (1994) cited in Sekhamane the unit of analysis is studied mainly to understand their uniqueness and peculiarity given a certain situation (2004: 42). The outcome of the data from the unit of analysis yields livelihood activities and aspirations and the barriers to the achievement of these. Livelihood portfolios for each household are determined by documenting and observing the livelihood strategies/activities/actions employed by family members to sustain the dwelling using the designated research instrument. Essential to the analysis of livelihoods is the concept of assets (e.g. human, social, financial, physical and natural capital) and access to assets, both clearly outlined in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA).

The Research Method & Data Analysis

My research methods were designed to compensate for anticipated challenges in the field. Such challenges included time constraints, only 10 days on site in 2004 and 4 days in 2005, which meant limited time to seek out respondents and limited time to make up for refusals. In addition, time constraints lessened the feasibility of collecting data from representative random samples. A second challenge was the language barrier. Respondents speak Sesarwa, a mixture of Afrikaans, Setswana and a native San language. Fortunately, when I collected my primary research in 2004 and when I returned to the site for follow-up in 2005, key informants, were available and extremely supportive in helping me to identify potential research participants and work around the language barrier by serving as interpreters. A third challenge, though somewhat less so in the return visit in 2005 was my “stranger” status in the community. In this case, it is more difficult to attain certain information due to lack of trust from the community. Fortunately, interview fatigue was not a factor while collecting the empirical data. All respondents agreed to participate in a semi-structured interview in which the aims and expected outcomes were explained clearly and recorded on tape. All photos were taken with the express permission of the individuals in the photos.

Finally, my study is empirical and draws on qualitative methods. This research is also exploratory in nature, as indicated by the aims and observations outlined above.

Because exploratory studies usually lead to insight and comprehension rather than the collection of detailed and replicable data, these studies frequently involve the use of in-depth interviews, the analysis of case studies, and the use of informants (Babbie and Mouton, 1998: 80). Therefore, my aim is not to describe phenomena in detail (as in longitudinal and national surveys) and it is quite difficult to establish causality between distinct variables.

Research Method

The research method was undertaken by conducting semi-structured interviews based on a questionnaire (See Appendix F). 13 Semi-structured interviews were conducted over 10 days in 2004. The total numbers of people accounted for, not necessarily interviewed, through semi-structured interviews are about 30 representing roughly 10% of the population, if the population is taken to be 300. While 13 households were involved in the study, it is not possible to estimate the total number of households in Ngwatle with any degree of accuracy from my empirical research, especially due to the fluctuating population. One key informant assisted in identifying households in 2004 and also served as an interpreter during all but one interview, which was conducted with the help of Nelia Oats and Mary Lange. In 2005, another person served as interpreter but no interviews were conducted.

Non-probability sampling was used when administering the questionnaire. Specifically, the snowball technique of finding a key informant and asking him/her to identify potential households that would be interested in participating in the research was used. The most notable shortcoming of non-probability sampling is that it is often not possible to control for other variables (Babbie and Mouton, 1998: 80). Therefore it is virtually impossible to prove direct causality between two variables.

The questionnaire was intended to do four primary things:

- Determine what livelihood activities and actions household members employ to sustain the household.
- Ascertain background information such as family and employment history

- Observe perceived constraints and obstacles to attainment of assets using measurement instrument and secondary data.

Ethical Considerations

It was extremely important that this research not only paint as accurate a picture of livelihoods in the research site as possible but to do so in an ethical manner where no interviews or pictures were taken without the consent of respondents. This permission was confirmed by participants on tape. Some respondents did not allow their photos or video of their persons and these wishes were fully respected. In addition, it was important that the community be made fully aware of the nature of the study, what outcomes could be expected and reasonable time-frames. After a period of 12 months, I returned to the research site and explained the preliminary findings of my research to the community with a PowerPoint presentation. This allowed respondents to understand more clearly the purpose of the research. Over 20 individuals, old and young, convened to hear the presentation over a cup of tea in the open air in Ngwatle. Apart from filling in information gaps or uncertainties from my original field research, the presentation also sparked debate amongst community members about various topics including when Ngwatle became a settlement and what marriage means in the community. I found PowerPoint to be a particularly useful medium of communication and would endeavour to include more photos of community members, illustrations and graphs of the research findings in future presentations. While not all members felt that they got useful information from the presentation, as evidenced by the fact that less than half of the original group, and none of the men, returned for the remainder of the presentation the following day, many expressed gratitude at the gesture. Female participants, especially those well aged, took particular interest in the presentation.

Chapter 2: Sustainable Livelihoods

Chapter 2 is composed of eight sections that present a survey of relevant literature used to interrogate the unit of analysis, the Ngwatle household, and also describes the analytical framework by which the Ngwatle case study will be explored, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). Using this framework allows for analysis of Ngwatle households in the context of a well known framework with well publicized principles, goals and documented empirical studies to facilitate a better and more cohesive approach to understanding the research questions. The first section, Livelihoods, discusses what it means to ‘make a living’ and the factors necessary to achieve a livelihood according to the literature. The following section, Capital Assets, discusses the five most common assets necessary to create livelihood portfolios. The next four sections, Actions vs. Strategies, Adaptive vs. Coping Strategies, Livelihood Vulnerability and Mitigating Effects of External Shocks and Trends, are important because they set out a point of reference for discussing how people organize their assets from day to day and/or in the long term to fulfill the needs of the household and will be referred to throughout the remainder of the thesis. The next section reviews the literature on the Sustainable Livelihood Approach itself. It discusses the SLA concepts and goals and provides the necessary base upon which to understand all aforementioned sections and how they relate to the framework as a whole. As discussed in Chapter 1, SLAs require extensive resources to implement in any capacity, therefore the focus of outlining this approach is less on comprehensiveness and more about outlining the aspects of the SL that will be used to analyze livelihoods in Ngwatle. The final section, entitled, the SLA Framework, is perhaps the most important section in Chapter 2 as it discusses the aspect of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach that is most used in the thesis. The SL framework is an analytical structure that helps establish a set of interconnected factors that connect people to assets.

Livelihoods

The literature shows variation in the definition of livelihoods; some having broad definitions and others more specific, encompassing concepts of assets and capabilities. Jordan's National Human Development Report 2, part of the Queen Zein Al Sharaf Institute for Development's sustainable livelihood initiative in Jordan defines a livelihood as "a means to make a living or a way of making a living" (ZENID, 2002: np). Soussan et al describe livelihoods as – "the things that people do on a day-to-day basis to make a living" but reiterate that livelihoods are complex and diverse such that households in the developing context undertake a range of activities. In other words "People are not just farmers, or laborers or factory workers or fisher folk" (Soussan et al, 2003: 1). Lawrence (1997) cited in SAcoast adds that "livelihoods are not jobs, although a job may be an important component of a livelihood in many cases" (nd: np). The Department for International Development (DFID) has become an authority on Sustainable Livelihoods and is cited through much of the literature on Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches (SLA). For DFID, "a livelihood comprises the *capabilities*, *assets* (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living" (DFID, 1999: 1.1). The DFID definition draws on the foundational work of Carney (1998), Chambers and Conway (1992) and others and can be understood as the definitive contemporary conceptualization of livelihoods as is evident in the similar ways in which the term is defined by Scoones (1998: 5), Toner (2003: 772), Soussan et al (2003) and other scholars who have written in the area of sustainable livelihoods.

A significant criticism of these livelihood interpretations is that they are static in that they seem to focus on the fundamental, space in time needs of a particular kind of people - "the poor" - without regard to the fact that impoverished people, like most other people, often aspire to ways of living that may be completely different to that which they are currently able to afford or enjoy:

The poverty-focus of sustainable livelihoods literature reflects the greater aim of global poverty reduction, but it produces an unfortunate side-effect, in that it appears to suggest that only the poor have 'livelihoods,' which they try to sustain over their lifetimes, whilst the non-poor have lifestyles, which can evolve and alter over the course of their lives (Toner, 2002: 771).

The criticism is important because it serves as a reminder that many factors influence how people perceive themselves in terms the local and wider socio-political and economic environment. In turn, these perceptions can have a significant impact on the kind of assets people want to accumulate, independent of the living conditions in which they are situated. Thus, looking at livelihoods as part of a system is critical. “A livelihood system embraces not just the economic conditions for physical subsistence, but all the elements that provide material continuity and cultural meaning to the life of a family or a community... the inner coherence of these systems” (SAGE Publications, 2004: np). According to Glavovic, Scheyvens and Overton “a sustainable and vibrant livelihood system enables people to pursue robust livelihood strategies that provide, in effect, ‘layers of resilience’ to overcome ‘waves of adversity;’ [and include] the norms and networks that bind together the human dimensions of the livelihood system - enabling people to collaborate in building sustainable livelihoods” (nd: 4). In essence, a livelihood describes the activities that individuals (or collective communities) do that not only maintain their survival but the ways in which they are most comfortable supporting that lifestyle. Livelihood activities may include fishing in a lake, working for someone else or making pots (Soussan et al, 2003: 1).

Livelihoods are influenced by historical precedence; external factors (political, social, economic etc.) and internal factors (intra-household) (Soussan et al, 2003). These factors also take into account available resources and opportunities. The concepts of *capabilities* and *assets* are central to an understanding of livelihoods and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. The central importance of capabilities, “what people are actually able to do and to be,” is strongly emphasized by Amartya Sen, who stresses that such measures as GDP are insufficient indicators of quality of life or poverty (Sen quoted in Nussbaum, 2002: 1). Although a discussion of capabilities is of central importance in understanding livelihoods, this Chapter focuses on assets and how they combine to create livelihood strategies. A discussion on capabilities which deals with whether people actually use those assets, would necessarily encompass concepts such as “well-being achievement” and “advantage” and is out of scope for this thesis, which instead focuses on the type of incomes and assets that flow into households (Saith, 2001: 9).

Capital Assets and the Livelihood Portfolio

The *livelihood portfolio* is made up of different *livelihood strategies* undertaken to create a certain livelihood as stated above; but the strategies themselves are derived from combining and managing the capital assets to which people have access (Scoones, 1998:7). There are various interpretations of what an asset is. ZENID defines capital assets as “people’s strengths which can be converted into positive livelihood outcomes or become depleted or enhanced and used in different combinations” (2002: np).

DFID identifies the 5 most common assets as *human, social, physical, natural* and *financial capital*. Scoones refers to these capital assets as ‘livelihood resources’ and suggests conceptualising them as “the ‘capital base’ from which different productive streams are derived [and] from which livelihoods are constructed” (1998: 7). Each of the five capital assets outlined by DFID has tremendous literatures of their own; debating everything from measurement and indicators (e.g. financial capital) to questioning the validity of the concept in general (e.g. social capital). It is out of the scope of this Chapter to delve into the separate details and debates found in the literatures. However, a concise description of each is warranted because the idea of vulnerability as a function of the presence or lack of assets is central to an understanding of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.

First, human capital refers to “the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that enable a person to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives” (DFID, 1999: 2.3.1). DFID stresses that human capital can be bolstered directly, for example through resource transfers for building schools and hospitals and indirectly, by promoting job creation initiatives, thereby bolstering the value of education in the eyes of the community (1999: 2.3.1). Second, social capital refers to the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviors that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible (Cohen and Prusak, 2001: 4). Unlike other assets, social capital is envisaged as “a mechanism to correct market failures, especially those associated with access to

information, a way in which checks and balances can be placed on government action and a means through which policy can be influenced” (May et al, 2000: 255). Third, physical capital refers to basic infrastructure, including affordable transportation, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean and affordable energy and access to information, as well as producer goods, which are the tools and equipment that people use to function more productively like vehicles, computers and farming equipment (DFID, 1999: 2.3.4). Fourth, natural capital refers to resource bases found in nature that are not only essential for livelihood creation but to sustain life itself and includes clean air, trees and forests, water, land and wildlife. DFID also includes the “flows and services” that are derived from the natural resource bases, such as nutrient cycling, erosion protection and waste assimilation, in its definition of natural capital (1999: 2.3.3). Finally, financial capital refers to the cash flows, savings and investments that support livelihoods. According to DFID, financial capital is “probably the most versatile of the five categories of assets” chiefly because it can be “converted into other types of capital with varying ease depending upon transforming structures and process” (DFID, 1999: 2.3.5). Thus, assets are in fact resources that each household and individual can use, usually in some combination, to create livelihoods or to fashion a livelihood strategy. While there is an important literature on other types of assets (See Appendix D), only the five assets discussed above are referenced in this thesis.

Fully understanding the dynamics of livelihoods is no simple matter. ZENID concludes that “assessing the assets (or lack of such resources) available to a group of people is only the first step in analysing their livelihoods. The next step is to understand whether these come together in a clear livelihood strategy, at the individual, household or group level” (ZENID, 2002: np). Following this observation, one might ask two basic questions: Firstly, how do you identify a livelihood strategy and secondly, what are the indicators? The literature clearly indicates a distinction between livelihoods ‘strategies’ and mere survival ‘activities.’ Healthcare, Education, Entertainment, caring for children, care and maintenance of the household and collecting and preparing food, water and fuel are key reproductive livelihood strategies (ITCLTD, nd: 13). Soussan et al identify an income strategy as the decision to allocate savings and investments that enhance the value of assets and the reward and rationale for undertaking the requisite decisions (2003: 3). Frank Ellis argues that

rural households depend on a portfolio of income sources and activities and goes further to recommend that poverty reduction strategies should promote opportunities for the poor to diversify such activities through, for example, good governance reform (Ellis 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2000 quoted in Toner, 2002). ZENID defines livelihood strategies as the “range and combination of activities and choices that people make or undertake to achieve their livelihood goals including productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices” (2002: np). The key words here are *choices* and *goals*. The fact that people have livelihood goals implies that there is something meant to be attained through purposefully planned activities. The fact that people have choices further supports the idea that people take decisive actions to achieve livelihood outcomes. Soussan et al state that “people make conscious choices through deliberate strategies on the way that they can best deploy whatever assets they possess to maximise the opportunities and minimise the risks they face.” Further, they state that:

Taken together, these livelihood assets represent a potential, a set of possibilities for the household to secure a livelihood. They do not however automatically define that livelihood, for the extent to which their potential is realized will depend on decisions on what assets to utilise and when; decisions that together constitute the livelihood strategy of the household (Soussan et al, 2003: 3)

Here the authors state quite unambiguously that the mere consumption of livelihood assets, where they exist, does not indicate that a livelihood strategy is being employed. Rather, asset utilization can only be described as a livelihood strategy when it is clear that assets are consciously exploited to achieve an end goal. The main implication is that illogical, disconnected or erratic asset utilization does not constitute a livelihood strategy. The question may then arise, what do we make of the aforementioned set of activities?

Actions vs. Strategies

Considering the question posed above, the strategy/ no-strategy distinctions presented earlier are not universally accepted. IFAD views the term “strategies” to be misleading because it “seems to imply that the poor have choices regarding what they do to realize their aspirations, take advantage of opportunities and cope with

vulnerability” (IFAD(a), nd: np). Authors Julian Hamilton-Peach and Philip Townsley who co-authors of IFAD’s Sustainable Livelihoods framework, prefer the term “actions” instead to “emphasize that they [livelihoods strategies] may or may not represent choices and that they may or may not have positive or intended outcomes” (IFAD(a), nd: np). In a similar vein, several authors have cautioned against the widely held perception of the poor as rational maximizers with the luxury of choice in everyday decision-making processes (Toner, 2002; DFID, 1999).

For the purposes of this thesis, I choose to retain the use of the word “strategies” when describing the collective activities and actions (the latter two used interchangeably throughout the thesis) exhibited by respondents in the survey. This means essentially refuting the implication that “the poor” do not or can not make choices about how they live their lives; although these choices are obviously limited by the availability of resources. I take the view that survival itself, at whatever level, requires the deployment of a plan of action or strategy, no matter how basic or crude. I take this view strongly bearing in mind Hamilton-Peach and Townsley’s (IFAD(a), nd: np) justification for the use of the term “actions” as I believe that the considerations they put forward are valid. Thus, the two questions posed earlier are answered. Livelihood strategies are purposeful plans of action. If a deliberate set of actions to achieve a goal does not exist, then the activities become simple actions. The next section distinguishes livelihood strategies according to the livelihood behaviours adopted within households.

Adaptive Strategies vs. Coping Strategies

According to Rennie and Singh (1995) cited in Soussan et al adaptive strategies are ones where a household consciously adopts a process of change in response to long term trends and coping strategies as short term responses to immediate shocks and stresses while coping strategies are short-term responses to immediate shocks and stresses (2003: 3). Further they explain that “in these, the household will seek to deploy their different assets to best effect within their often limited choices” (Soussan et al, 2003: 3). Thus, when considering the three different strategies discussed (livelihood, adaptive and coping strategies) it is prudent to think of them as representative of different levels of the robustness of a livelihood portfolio. Again

contextualizing all of these strategies in terms of Hamilton-Peach and Townsley's idea that strategies "may or may not work and may or may not have positive or negative consequences," where a livelihood strategy is classified as a deliberate set of actions utilized to accomplish a certain livelihood goal, livelihood strategies are level one strategies (IFAD(a), nd: np). Adaptive strategies, classified as changes in response to trends, can be classified as level two strategies. Finally, coping strategies which can be thought of as survival tactics or "measures of protection" in and against environments offering limited resources are level three strategies (ZENID, 2002: np). Structuring the strategy types this way helps to show the parallel relationship that exists between the degree of choice (real or perceived) for the household and their ability to finance (via any of the capitals previously mentioned) livelihood aspirations.

Mitigating Effects of External Shocks and Trends

The literature suggests that the best way for poor people to mitigate the affects of external shocks and reduce vulnerability is to have several different ways of making a living and combining assets in such a way as to obtain maximum contribution toward livelihood stability (Scoones, 1998: 8). Livelihoods portfolios are "specialized" and may be pursued sequentially and so differ in conceptual size and shape, as Scoones emphasizes, "different livelihood pathways are evident over different time-scales" (1998: 10). The literature suggests that the most important strategy for building a strong livelihood portfolio is to diversify assets within the portfolio. As indicated by Twyman, Scoones, Bryceson and others, livelihood diversification appears to be a tremendous "safety net" in enhancing the sustainability and robustness of livelihoods but what this diversification actually entails merits some explanation. According to Scoones, the degree of "specialization or diversification may relate to the resource endowments available and the level of risk associated with alternative options" (1998: 10). Such alternative options include asset accumulation to protect against shocks, Spreading activities associated with livelihood strategies over space and time to prevent a particular risk from affecting the entire livelihood system, "risk pooling" behaviours through forms of insurance or consumption are employed and livelihood activities maybe alternated around various shocks and stresses to protect the overall livelihood system (Scoones, 1998: 10). In other words, people may use capital assets in a number of ways to increase the resilience of their livelihoods yet by its very

nature the external economies of diversification are evident and may have positive or negative impacts on adjacent individuals and communities (Reardon and Vosti, 1995: 1497). For example, one of the implications of this research is that social capital, through sharing and mutual trust relationships, exemplifies how external economies manifest themselves in Ngwatle. Not only do these external economies have a positive impact on livelihoods, they are in fact crucial forms of insurance against “thresholds beyond which there is no return” (Davies, 1996: 29).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA)

What is the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach?

Interpretations of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches (SLA) are as copious as the livelihoods that they try to identify. Most of the literature places emphasis on the SLA as a tool for assisting development practitioners. Such interpretations usually define SLAs in terms of poverty analysis or development goals:

Sustainable livelihoods approaches are specific ways of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development which relate to the needs and aspirations of the poor (IMM, nd: np).

SL approach is defined as an integrated set of policy, technology and financing strategies used together with decision-making tools that contribute to livelihoods by building on existing adaptive strategies (Lawrence 1997 cited in SAcoast, nd: np).

On the other hand, rather than focusing on the utility of SLA with achieving development goals, some SLA interpretations identify them as tools to assist people in assisting themselves. These definitions, therefore, tend to place more emphasis on people or “the poor:”

The SL approach is recognition that people pursue multiple activities in their daily lives... it looks at a whole range of factors that affect people’s ability to create a life where they can achieve their full potential... [SLA] involves people in the analysis of their situation and helps identify policy recommendations for change (Toner, 2002:1).

Sustainable Livelihoods approaches are rooted in particular people in specific places making decisions about sustaining themselves and their families...Being grounded in people’s daily struggles, and building upon

their myriad strengths, these approaches encompass many different priorities and strategies (SAcoast, nd: np).

One thing that seems clear about SL approaches is that they are derived from more complex understandings of the multi-dimensional facets of poverty from the global to the household level and how such factors as gender, governance and power relations impact poverty (Farrington et al, 1999: 2). Morris adds to this conclusion by citing:

The central idea is that if people were matched with the assets that they needed they would no longer be vulnerable or 'poor.' ” Well, yes and no. The central idea is that having assets isn't enough. It's the necessary condition [but insufficient]... and must be converted into an income process by meeting the market in some way. You can have assets as much as you like but if you can't successfully convert the asset then you stay poor!!! And in this case the asset is a set of skills, a brand, using 'origin' as a major form of rent accrual (e.g. Kenyan coffee or French wine etc.) So the key thing is who is appropriating the rents along the VC [value chain]. Is it an asset skills problem or an organizational governance problem? Is it a technical protocols production problem requiring upgrading or one of power along the chain? Is it a problem of competition between other producers or a branding problem? (Personal correspondence, 2004)

Morris makes an interesting point that helps to problematize the concept behind the SLA itself. It encompasses ideas by DFID and ITCLTC mentioned earlier about the centrality of having the capability of converting the other assets into financial capital. However, it also emphasizes the necessities of skills, brand and rent accrual, all concepts that deal with the *value* of assets. Chapters 4 and 5 look at the global, national and local mitigating factors that influence or determine the relative value of assets to the community and the household.

The SLA is supposed not to be a rigid program or project outline; but rather a tool or lens of analysis to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of development initiatives according to the Sustainable Livelihoods principles. Six main principles advocate that SLAs are dynamic (learns from change), people centered (emphasizing the scope and priorities of development initiatives), holistic (non-sectoral), builds on strengths rather than needs and makes macro to micro linkages (DFID, 1999: 2.1). Sustainable Livelihoods approaches have been used in project/programme design, project review and impact assessment and sector assessments (Farrington et al, 1999: 5).

SLA: Concepts and Goals

The Sustainable Livelihoods approach as a *new* concept “draws on improved understanding of poverty, but also on other streams of analysis, relating for instance to household, gender, governance and farming systems, bringing together relevant concepts to allow poverty to be understood holistically” (Farrington et al, 1999: 1). The Conceptual framework for this research is based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) founded on the work of Chambers and Conway (1991). Some of the literature depicts SLAs in terms of goals, such as to create “livelihood strategies that lift people out of poverty, enable them to cope with future shocks and stresses in a manner that enhances the natural resource base and is concerned with livelihood strategies as outcomes” (McDowell, 2002: 7). Other areas in the literature discuss SLAs as both goal and approach: [SAcoast](#), nd: np). While optimism about SLAs and their poverty-fighting potential is high, two major criticisms, aside from those previously mentioned, emerge clearly in the literature. The first criticism asks two basic questions of the SLA: is it new and is it an approach. The second criticism juxtaposes what the sustainable livelihoods literature claims about SLAs and what is empirically valid.

In her scrutiny of SL approaches, Toner launches a scathing critique of SLAs, questioning the accuracy of referring to sustainable livelihoods as an approach with readily identifiable methodology and indicators (Toner, 2002: 12). In other words, is SL really a ‘new’ approach or “is it a cobbling together of ‘best’ of current development practice?” (Toner, 2002: 15). This criticism is useful in breaking through the ideological and perhaps, unrealistic euphoria around the discovery of a new approach for alleviating poverty and lifting people’s standards of living that is evident in some of the literature. It encourages thought about what distinguishes sustainable livelihoods approaches from other approaches for poverty alleviation. I submit that SLAs can take many forms and share similarities with other development approaches but it is distinguished by well recognized principles and its applicability across a variety disciplines at various stages within development initiatives.

While the first critique questions the validity of conceptualizing the Sustainable Livelihood (SL) as an approach; here, the second major criticism accepts SL as an

approach but highlights the problems of translating a neat and clean SLA Framework into poverty reducing and livelihood enhancing outcomes on the ground. In other words, “aspects of the intellectual coherence which the SL approach enjoys in the abstract are challenged in the real world” (Farrington et al, 1999: 11).)

Despite criticism, sustainable livelihood approaches have been demonstrated to be useful in enabling better understanding of complex livelihood systems and to have the potential of demystifying institutions, interrogating structures, illuminating indicators for the best places to intervene in development initiatives and promoting synergies between the relevant sectors (Toner, 2002; Farrington et al, 1999; Soussan et al, 2003). However, if ever SLAs had a disclaimer it would be “resist the temptation to reduce the idea of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ to a managerialist model of rational choice” (Toner, 2002: 22).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

So far, there has been discussion of all the elements necessary to make up a livelihood, namely several assets working in combination and the capabilities necessary to utilize them. However, the livelihood frameworks outlined throughout the literature (e.g. Reardon and Vosti, 1995; Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999) stress the importance of understanding the set of interconnected factors that connect people to assets. Three central factors in the framework are processes, structures and institutions and essentially determine the extent that an individual or community is capable of accessing certain assets. Although these factors, collectively known as the ‘PIP box,’ are arranged and situated within various SL frameworks to suit the particular objectives of a particular organization, by combining perspectives outlined by Scoone’s Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Framework and DFID’s Sustainable Livelihood Guidance Sheets, a clearer picture of this interplay emerges.

Institutions refer to ‘regularized practices (or patterns of behaviour) structured by the rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use’ according to Giddens (1979) cited in Scoones (1998). In other words, institutions encompass the behaviours, attitudes and processes that individuals communally anticipate and internalize that govern their lives. Inherent within these “rules of the game” which

manage every unit of society from the family to national government are hierarchical power relations (Scoones, 1998: 12). Yet, behind “the game” must lay those who make up the rules. These factions maybe describe as structures that “set and implement policy and legislation, deliver services, purchase, trade and perform all manner of other functions that affect livelihoods” (DFID, 1999: 2.4.1). Finally, processes are established and implemented through structures and include legislation such as international and domestic agreements (DFID, 1999: 2.4.2).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework helps “identify how people’s livelihood strategies can be strengthened and made sustainable” and illuminates entry points where organizations like DFID can best intervene to achieve positive development outcomes (ZENID, 2002: np). However, SL frameworks are not intended to recreate real-world situations, rather they are:

analytical structures for coming to grips with the complexity of livelihoods, understanding influences on poverty and identifying where interventions can best be made. The assumption is that people pursue a range of livelihood outcomes (health, income, reduced vulnerability, etc.) by drawing on a range of assets to pursue a variety of activities (Farrington et al, 1999: 3).

All SLA frameworks begin by identifying a vulnerability context that describes the external environment (political, historical, social, cultural etc.) in which a community is couched. A vulnerability context “describes the events that influence people’s ability to pursue livelihoods [including] sudden shocks, longer-term trends or cyclical occurrences and stresses” (ZENID, 2002: np). IFAD describes the vulnerability context as “difficult or impossible to change and must be ‘coped’ with instead.” It is important to understand the context because it directly impacts the kind of assets that are available to people. The literature suggests the existence of at least five main asset types that include, but certainly are not limited to, human capital (skills, education and health), social capital (trust and community/family bonds), financial capital (savings, incomes), natural capital (land, clean air and water) and physical capital (infrastructure and tools) as mentioned above.

There are dozens of variations on the SL Framework, most of which appear similar to the McDowell Livelihood Framework in Figure 1. Variation depends on the goals and

aims of the organizations using the framework but there have been some fairly standard criticisms of these types of frameworks.

Figure 1 The McDowell Sustainable Livelihood Framework

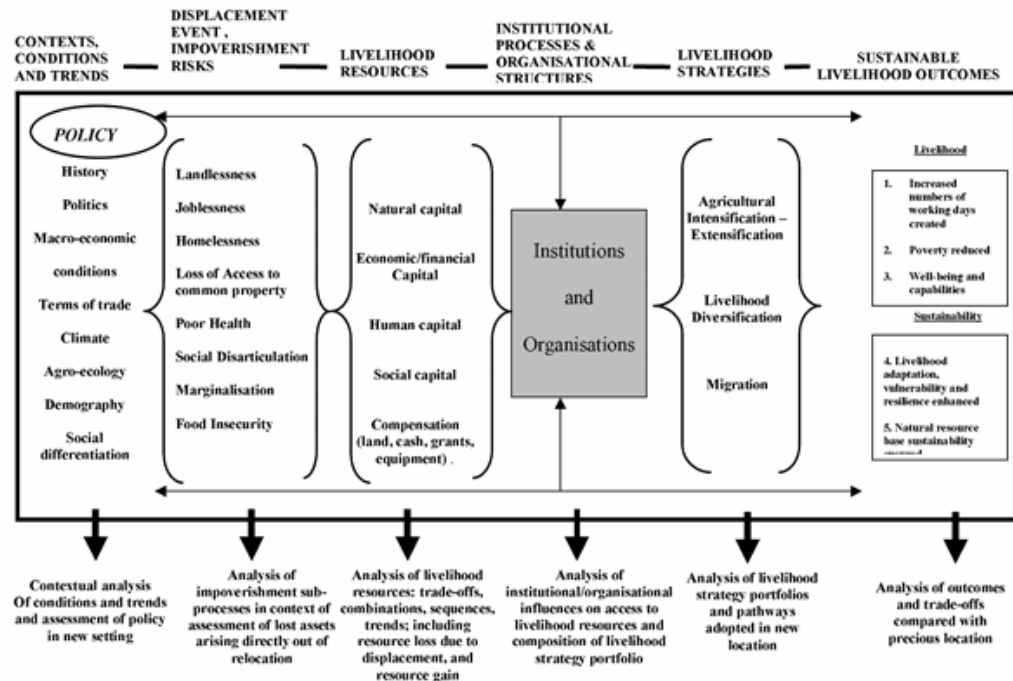


Figure 1 shows the structure of typical SL Frameworks. It begins by outlining the vulnerability context, called “contexts conditions and trends” in the far left corner and can include macro-economic, climatic and/or demographic events or trends. These are the external factors that either provide access to livelihood options or mitigate them. The arrows located above and below adjacent columns and the fact that these columns are outlined in a box shows that the vulnerability context impacts the other factors (adjacent columns) in the livelihood system (all the factors in the framework). The second column, entitled Displacement Event, Impoverishment Risks illustrates the negative impact that a hostile vulnerability context can have on livelihood systems. These include landlessness, poor health and marginalization. The third column entitled, Livelihood Resources, lists the capital assets like natural, economic and social capital that can be combined and sequenced in ways that benefit the household. They can also be mitigated by the vulnerability context and result in impoverishment risks and displacement events. The fourth column entitled Institutional Processes and Organizational Structures is also know as the “PIP” (policies, institutions and

processes) box in SLA jargon and at times Institutions and Process are separate categories in the SL Framework. These represent organizing factors, such as service providers, governments and policies that influences access to livelihood resources and the composition of the livelihood strategy. On the right hand side of the PIP box are livelihood strategies and optimal or expected outcomes. Typical livelihood strategies include diversification, as discussed in earlier sections, which may also include migration or agriculture intensification. Outcomes like a marked decrease in poverty and increases in well-being and capabilities appear in the left most column in the framework.

SL models like Figure 2 are useful because they show a link between factors in the vulnerability context, for instance, and outcomes. On the other hand, it has some significant drawbacks. Firstly, the nature of the relationship between institutions processes and structured is extremely vague; secondly, straight arrows in linking factors in the framework make livelihood systems appear simplistic and linear and finally, livelihood outcomes and sustainability appear as uncritically analysed appendages to the model without connecting to anything in particular within the framework as a whole. Recent criticisms of the shortcomings cited here and others, including the frameworks apparent detachment from the locus of analysis – people – have led to the development of more detailed frameworks such as the IFAD Alternative SL Framework below.

Figure 2 The IFAD Alternative Sustainable Livelihood Framework



The IFAD Alternative SL Framework is one of the most comprehensive and accessible tool for visualizing and analysing livelihood systems currently. As indicated in Figure 2, its shape and content are amended in such a way that the systemic nature of interconnecting factors such as capitals, aspirations, markets, structures and processes are clearly emphasized. Plus factors of this framework include patterns of concentric circles that make the diagram appear to breath, showing cycles of relationships, interactions and links between factors instead of linear ones. The model more clearly shows direct linkages between the vulnerability context, assets, outcomes, actions and aspiration of the poor. In addition, people take precedence in this model because they are placed at the center of the framework. Gender, age, class, ethnicity and ability address cross-cutting themes in development issues and relate them to livelihood systems. Finally, the Figure 2 framework shows that people's aspirations combine with opportunity and come together to form actions, which then produce outcomes that loop back into asset enhancement behaviours.

While the IFAD SL framework is advancement on the utility of the tool, none of the frameworks have succeeded in satisfying all the critics. In the IFAD Alternative Sustainable Livelihood Framework in Figure 2, the designation of "the poor" can be seen as problematic, promoting 'othering' and often loaded with assumptions. Criticism of SLA frameworks in general are that 'unpacking the pip box' is not easily transferable to the workshop level and in real life; it is not as easy to identify the specific constraints that prevent the realization of people's rights (IFAD, Farrington et al, 1999).

In addition asset lists (or the asset pentagon in some SL frameworks) is confusing and does not assist with demonstrating critical links. Other direct criticisms of the SL framework include:

- People are invisible
- Unclear how to analyze assets
- Meagher recognition of socio-economic/historical factors
- Concept is not easily transferable

- Not sufficiently directed toward alleviating poverty
- No guidance with making macro links (DFID/FAO 2000 cited in Toner, 2002: 6)

Rather each framework emphasizes factors that are important to an organization whether the focus is on “the poor” or a particular asset. On the other hand, the IFAD Alternative Model is by far the best representation of the SLA principles and succeeds most in capturing the complexity of linkages between the people being helped, their goals and the obstacles that stand in their way.

As a lens by which to re-examine development initiatives, there is much enthusiasm about the organizing potential of Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks. However, it must be re-emphasised that SLA frameworks can not be expected to magically pin point the causes of poverty. Rather, the frameworks should focus on how powerful interconnecting factors such as gender, age, history and class shape livelihoods and show that “human and natural systems are strongly coupled and co-evolve; they are not independent” (Glavovic et al; nd: 4-6).

Conclusion

To conclude, Chapter 1 has discussed conceptualizations of livelihoods and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), the framework of analysis used in this thesis. It has shown that livelihood portfolios are composed of either actions or strategies which are in turn dependant upon the assets a household possesses and the capabilities and accesses available to exploit them. Although the issue is under debate, the literature makes a distinction between livelihood actions, the things people do to make a living, and livelihood strategies, premeditated plans of action on how to reach livelihood aspirations, decrease vulnerability and increase resilience. These are completely distinct from what the literature calls coping strategies, which are little more than survival tactics with no long term livelihood plan. In addition, the literature suggests the best way for people to decrease vulnerability is to diversity there asset generating activities, suggesting the more assets one has the more sustainable the livelihood portfolio. Finally, The SL Framework is discussed at length. Figures 1, 2,

and 3 provide examples of the framework and its adaptations to give a clearer picture of how the vulnerability context, which is composed of external factors that are difficult to alter, such as climate change and economics is connect to people, assets and institutions, structures and processes that could pose barriers to asset accumulation. Two of several possible aspects of the vulnerability context, outlined in SL frameworks, *history* and the *macro-economic environment* are analysed.

The SLA has been discussed in terms of an approach to development in the literature review because ultimately the goals or expected outcomes of the SLA have to do with poverty reduction or decreasing vulnerability. It is a tool of analysis that is designed either to aid development practitioners in identifying the best points of entry to strengthen the livelihood system or to provide the vulnerable with assets, capabilities and other tools necessary to help themselves. On the other hand, for the purposes of this thesis, only certain aspects of the SL Approach have been used, specifically concepts outlined in the SL Framework. Henceforth, the SLA is used as a heuristic device to help us understand something about the assets that households in Ngwatle possess and what external factors impact these. This is, in effect, ‘unpacking the PIP box,’ allowing a Phase One analysis of the SL approach and fulfilling the overall purpose of the research and the approach, which is to understand a problem within a certain context. This is also the nature of empirical research in general as stated in the introduction.

Chapter 3: Global Vulnerability Context - ‘Global Fascism’ & the State

With regard to the vulnerability context, available literature seldom makes links to the critical impact that extenuating forces such as the global integration of markets have on the policy decisions of the State and the direct or indirect impact of this interplay on small rural communities such as Ngwatle. Figure 5, the Adapted IFAD SLA Framework presents an attempt to emphasize the all encompassing nature of these relationships. It is important to understand these relationships in order to fully appreciate the scope and magnitude of some of the major problems facing the community and to aid development practitioners to make better informed decisions about where to intervene in the Ngwatle community from a development perspective. In other words, with greater understanding of the nuances of the problems and causes of the problems impacting Ngwatle, better decisions about how to help the community should emerge.

Documenting the extent and impact of global forces on Ngwatle is a mammoth task, if it is possible at all – there are simply too many more intricately interconnected variables than are possible to isolate or even identify. As such, the intention here is to paint a picture of the nature of the interplay between situations that prevail at the global level and how they may be conceivably manifesting themselves into the daily realities of Ngwatle. Naturally, this interplay involves some generalization in addition to discussion of the State as the primary medium through which structures, institutions and processes are enforced on the community. Global forces are deconstructed through an analysis of aspects of capitalism and the capitalist structures and institutions that manifest into forms of neo-liberalism and what Patel and McMichael (2004) describe as the ‘global fascism.’ It is through these three, interconnected concepts that we will begin to understand how the !Kung group Basarwa are impacted by a wider web of global forces. As these factors represent broad

categories in the vulnerability context, these themes are further broken down into three main hierarchical levels – the global, the national and the local – in order to analyze the prevailing macro-meso-micro links and how they flow from global to State to local or global to local levels and their apparent impact on Ngwatle. This link is particularly relevant due to the widely held misconception, even amongst bureaucrats in Botswana, that San or Basarwa are somehow de-linked from global forces (particularly economic and political), perceiving them instead as living in a pristine and/or “backward”² state with no recognition of the fact that money, networks, aspirations toward contemporary Western lifestyles and education are fast becoming fixtures of day to day reality and livelihood requirements. This Chapter focuses on how ‘global fascism,’ structures and institutions in Botswana that parallel global fascist trends impact the San people in general and Basarwa living in Ngwatle in particular.

‘Global Fascism,’ the State and the Basarwa

Fascism is normally associated with particular moments, political economies, regimes and leaders in European history during World Wars I and II – Franco, Peron, Mussolini and Hitler often come to mind. However, Patel and McMichael combine a political and economic understanding of fascism with Gilroy’s (2000) cultural studies perspective to highlight how “traces of fascism” including the “increasing policing of boundaries and nation, racialization of criminality in North and South, and the troubling rise of nationhood as a mooring for identity on both the left and the right” manifests in modern political economies (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 240). A variety of literatures have done just that, uprooting and transplanting the concepts of fascism and ascribing them to the contemporary political landscapes of such countries as the United States and aspects of religious fundamentalism worldwide (TWT, nd: np). Although a complete consensus on the definitive nature of fascism has yet to be reached, it has been suggested that “its spirit continues to exert a huge influence on

² In a meeting between Survival International and the Botswana Government at the Botswana High Commission in London 29 July 2001, Botswana Foreign Minister Merafhe referred to Basarwa as ‘backward’ on record (Good, 2003: 27). This was echoed by Festus Mogae, then Vice-President, in an article on the CKGR in the London Guardian, 16 July 1996, when he referred to the inhabitants of the CKG Reserve as “Stone age creature[s],” who were doomed to “die out like the dodo” (Good, 2003: 16).

life today,”³ (MI, 2005: np). Factors associated with fascism include a powerful and continuing nationalism, a disdain for the recognition of human rights, supremacy of military, protection of corporate power and obsession with crime and punishment (TWT, nd: np). Three salient characteristics of ‘global fascism,’ as described by Patel and McMichael correspond with the State response to the Basarwa in Botswana (2004: 33). These are:

- The subtle presence of fascism in day to day life
- The centrality of State control and the agents of that control
- The relationship between fascism, capitalism and neo-liberalism

When “unmoored from its historical European home,” as Patel and McMichael suggest, fascism’s “technologies of control, its ideology, its body count and even its concentration camps precede its orthodox recognition in European fascism” (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 250).

One of the salient features of ‘global fascism,’ unlike the fascism of 1940’s European history is that it does not necessarily present itself in stark contrast to democracy. Botswana, heralded as a shining light of democracy on the ‘dark’ continent demonstrates how, in fact, ‘global fascism’ may comfortably reside within a democratic state. According to Patel and McMichael, “fascism is not permanently on the brink of assuming terroristic governmental power” rather as Arundhati Roy points out: “Fascism is about the slow, steady infiltration of all the instruments of State power. It’s about the slow erosion of civil liberties, about unspectacular, day to day injustices... ordinary citizens’ modest hopes for lives of dignity, security and relief from abject poverty [are] systematically snuffed out” (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 247). “In Botswana, the State is seen as neutral and the legitimacy of the State, the government, the constitution and the parliamentary system is enhanced through representative politics” (Hope, 2000: 528). So confident is the State in its much lauded democracy that it had never submitted a single report on the rights and freedoms of its citizens,⁴ a requirement of its membership into the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights since 1986. On this matter, Edward

³ I acknowledge that this view is not particularly objective coming from a right-wing libertarian source.

⁴ As of 2003

Raletobane, Under Secretary for Political Affairs in the Office of the President is quoted on the matter as saying “[Botswana] was happy about its human rights record. The country took it for granted that it had no human right violations to report” (Good, 2003: 21). In contrast, however, the compounding effects of social exclusion, dependency and manipulation perpetrated by the State, among other structures in Botswana and underpinned by historically founded stereotypes and prejudices by politically powerful majority groups, has manifested in the inability, for example, of willing and able-bodied individuals from Ngwatle to obtain formal employment. These barriers to livelihood strategies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. The State has also deliberately undermined Basarwa livelihoods and culture by curtailing the household’s ability to hunt, which is still an important aspect of life in the community and its staunch refusal to grant them land rights. According to Good, “latent conflict and routinized, everyday injustice are certainly the situation of the San” a situation which he terms “negative peace” (2003: 24). How is a country, renowned for its lasting peace and democracy able to jeopardize the livelihoods of 48,000 of its inhabitants? Part of the answer may lie in the fact that apart from the subtlety of ‘global fascism,’ Botswana is couched in an institutionalized socio-political system based on control.

Control is and has been a defining attribute of ‘global fascism’ since World War II globally and since the colonial era in Africa. In both arenas it is cleverly disguised as development. Patel and McMichael describe the nature of development:

At the heart of the development project, then are core ideas of managerialism and less explicitly, of sovereignty. Managerialism is instituted through a process of ‘civilizing’ people as a nation, a class, a race and a gender, specifically through control of individually coded bodies – where to work, how they reproduce, even the language they dream in. This is what we mean when we refer to biopolitics (2004: 238).

This “civilizing of people,” a method of control, requires the flattening out of irregularities and differences in a population that may pose a threat to central loci of power or the status quo. It requires the creation of a fake unity – “a goal of disinterested and normalized universality” – commonly understood as nationalism (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 235). By using nationalism to conceal difference, a person becomes identified only in terms of the body – number of destitutes or the

number of remote area dwellers, for example – making it more difficult to regard them as human beings with needs and easier, in turn, to trample on human rights. This is what Patel and McMichael call ‘biopolitics,’ a phrase referenced by Gilroy cited in Patel and McMichael, 2004. It is a term to describe the phenomenon of identification through the corpus. By ‘developing’ incongruent bodies into a particular cultural, economic or political system, the State is able to justify its need to control. The Botswana government, known for its “intolerance of outrageous acts,” (Good, 2003: 33) has openly declared its intent to ‘civilize’ Basarwa by adopting an assimilationist approach to development.

Good notes that Botswana is officially portrayed as ‘culturally homogenous,’ with about 80 per cent of the population belonging to the same ethnic and linguistic group (2003: 22). One of these assimilationist approaches, relocation, has been identified in the literature as a clear indicator of State domination, another key feature of ‘global fascism’ (Good, 1999: 192). Due “in large part to their lack of land rights and cited wide-ranging socio-cultural disabilities and lack of autonomous political organizations with which to articulate their demands at the national level” the Basarwa and other landless groups have been subject to relocations on numerous occasions in Botswana; the most infamous being the forced removal of close to 1,300 Basarwa from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) in between 1997 to 2003 (Good, 1999: 191). Gestures of compensation in the form of 400 head of cattle appropriated to 80 families were presented but it is clear that the vast majority of these Basarwa moved from CKGR would have forgone the cattle happily to stay in their homes (Good, 2003: 20). Chief Segwaba, one of the victims of the forced removals and who exhibits one of the more optimistic attitudes towards the removal has stated: “We get food and water from the government every month, so it is good here, but the ancestral land is so much better” (BBC News, 2004: np). Others are not so optimistic: “being here is like being detained in a refugee camp or held captive in a place for prisoners of war” (Sunday Independent, 2004: 15).

Noteworthy, almost immediately after these forced removals diamond mining exploration expanded exponentially in the area; the diamond/ evictions link has been well documented in the literature (Good, 2003; Survival International, 2002). Botswana’s national growth and development plans seem to hinge, essentially, on

diamond mining. As Local Government Minister, Michael Tshipinare indicated in 2002, “the country reserve[d] the right to mine any resource wherever it deem[ed] feasible,” implying that the country has the right to permanently move anyone who gets in the way of government business (Good, 2003: 18). Patel and McMichael have noted that historically “the existence of competing sovereignties was anathema to the universal and exclusive character of development; given that development was both inevitable and unilinear, competing sovereignties could be permitted neither in theory nor practice” (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 239). Botswana’s policy of forced removals for diamond exploitation is in keeping with the relentless pursuit of bureaucratic policies that have no time to consider the livelihoods they uproot in the process. Through the engine of capitalism, global fascism “now targets forces with collective claims that stand in the way of commoditization” in the same way that Bushmen land claims almost certainly stand in the way of government plans for the expansion and reservation of exclusive rights to diamond mines (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 235).

Although residents in Ngwatle live under constant threat of forced removals from the government, they are more immediately impacted by policies delegated by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), which have both formalized the process of and seriously curtailed access to wildlife through hunting:

They are the only people who are controlling everything, the natural resources things, because right now they don't want anyone to go and hunt right now they [DWNP] don't want anybody to go and gather anything wild. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Everything is written in there. If you collect those things in the veld and you get caught they will let you go when they see those are things from the permit. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The narratives above relay both the resentment and resign that some in Ngwatle feel about the control of wildlife resources by the State. They say that one can not hunt or gather legally and in peace without producing the requisite permits. Hunting quotas are an ingenious way, not only to control wildlife population, but also to control the kinds of people permitted to hunt. It has been explained to the community in Ngwatle (and cited in the literature) that the numbers of Basarwa hunters must be kept down in

order to protect the environment. The initial Special Game License (SGL) and now hunting quota system also make it illegal to hunt without the express permission of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). The hunting quota system makes it easier for the government to decide who has access to which resources but just because “certain activities are criminalized under liberal capitalism does not stop their occurrence” (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 240). Thus, a situation is created in Ngwatle where people make decisions to continue meeting their household needs for wildlife resources even if this means becoming a criminal under the law as expressed in the examples from Ngwatle below:

Right now there is no one who is going to hunt unless if he could just use his own mind. Not the mind of the government. That is called stealing. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Let me give you the secret in this one of hunting. He [had] a case. He was trying to steal a gemsbok until they reached 40 km away from Ngwatle but he was trying to steal to eat, not sell, to eat. I mean to steal and to eat... I think that's ehhe. I mean...it's two different things. (Personal Interview, 2004)

In the first quote, the respondent is stealthy in relaying that hunting without a permit is a phenomenon that still occurs in Ngwatle although officially, according to the government's perspective, it is understood to be stealing. In the second quote, the respondent is making a clear distinction between what he sees as a matter of survival, hunting to eat, and hunting for other purposes – a distinction that the DWNP does not make but that nevertheless impacts a household's ability to fulfill its livelihood requirements. Although the quota system does not technically prohibit hunting, confusion about the process of obtaining licenses, what it means and lack of communication with decision makers in the NKX Trust on who gains access to DWNP sanctioned wildlife essentially means that ordinary people on the ground in Ngwatle really don't have a say in the hunting needs of the household. Respondents draw a line between hunting for survival and commercial hunting and for the most part, do not regard hunting for subsistence purposes as a violation. Thus the hunting quota system has succeeded in criminalizing a livelihood strategy that has traditionally been the focus of San economies, or a healthy supplement to livelihood activities, for millennia. What's more, those who are privileged with enough financial capital such as wealthy international hunters enticed to the Kalahari during hunting

season; resort managers, resort staff and tourists and their heavy traffic; diamond miners who interrupt the flat natural terrain and disturb wildlife with huge unnatural looking mountains of sand and gravel (visual of diamond digs) are probably much more of a threat to the natural environment in the Kalahari than “the presence of a few hundred Bushmen” (Good, 2003: 26).

Finally, Patel and McMichael indicate that ‘global fascism’ has a characteristic relationship with capitalism, where the later could be described as a catalyst for the former: “We conjure that fascism relations are immanent in global capitalism, intensify State bio-politics at moments of crisis, and may be sustained post-crisis for hegemonic purposes” (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 234). Botswana, a country considered a success story of development in southern Africa, has an economy that is intimately integrated into the global market system (Good, 2003: 24). Although it is undoubtedly capitalist, Murray and Parsons call it a “paradox of political economy” due to the degree of central planning in terms of “State machinery identifying, projecting and inducing growth of economic sectors over five-year periods” (1990: 159). The State’s current account is balanced by substantial mineral and beef exports. Diamond, copper-nickel, soda ash, coal and small amounts of gold exploitation (EIU, 2001: 12) have transformed Botswana from one of the ten poorest countries in the world to one of only six “Upper Middle Income Countries” in four decades (Good, 2003: 24). The country is the third largest African mining producer by value after South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo according to the 2001 Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) Country Profile. “Its diamond mining industry contributed 33% of GDP in 1999/2000, but its contribution has declined in recent years because of the expansion of the services sector, mainly government services” (EIU, 2001: 15). Although “Botswana has two diamond-cutting and polishing factories (EIU, 2001: 22), “nearly half of total employment is provided by the public sector” (EIU, 2001: 15). However, the challenges that a country faces when the economy is based on mineral exploitation do not escape Botswana. While lucrative, diamond mining is not a labor intensive industry nor does it guarantee equitable distribution of resources leaving the economic future of the country and poverty alleviation prospects for the future in question. “Even a brief examination of southern Africa’s socio-economic landscape since free market policies were adopted on a significant scale in the early 1990’s shows very clearly that wealth has not ‘trickled down’ to the majority of

people, or generated broad-based development. Income inequalities in countries such as Botswana, Namibia and SA are still among the highest in the world” (Hope, 2000: 23). In addition, South Africa’s suspected influence in the demise of the Hyundai manufacturing plant in Gaborone means that manufactures contribution to GDP, about 5% in the 1990s, contributes less to the economy currently (EIU, 2001: 15). In addition, beef processing accounts for nearly 80% of agricultural output and more than 95% of exported beef output is subject to global market variability (EIU, 2001: 21).

Linked in many ways with capitalism, neo-liberalism can be discussed as a factor of global fascism. There maybe many aspects of neo-liberalism to analyze that relate to the macro-micro environments that link the global market, Botswana and Ngwatle but here, discussion centers on a particularly relevant aspect of neo-liberalism – the transfer of wealth from bottom to top. This salient feature of neo-liberalism is manufactured on a global level and reproduced at the national level as the quotes below indicate clearly.

Globally:

‘...the central modus operandi of the globalization model is to de-localize controls over economic and political activity in a systematic appropriation of the powers, decisions, options and functions that through history have been fulfilled by the community, region or state’ (IFG 2002 cited in Cock, 2003: 23).

‘... the history of the World Bank has been to take power away from communities give it to a central government, then give it to the corporations through privatization’ (Klein cited in Cock, 2003: 24).

Corporate globalization now reaches into every aspect of life and transforms every activity and natural resource into a commodity. Corporate globalization was widely understood to involve mass transfer of wealth and knowledge from public to private – through measures such as the patenting of genetic forms and seeds, the privatization of water and the concentrated ownership of agricultural lands (Cock, 2003: 4).

Globally, the function of neo-liberalism has been to patent resources that were essentially free to everyone, natural capital most especially, and hand over these rights

to governments. Government in turn, has taken these rights to property, natural resources and even people, and appropriated them to elites in the private sector.

Nationally:

They are systematically denying people at the bottom access to land and resources. They are steadily transferring rights of Batswana, towards Whites and away from the poor (Hitchcock cited in Good,1999: 198)

As the San were deprived of their property and autonomy, the Tswana elites gained in wealth and power and, according to Wylie, the “hereditary servitude” of the San followed (Good, 2003: 14).

Tshekedi⁵ inherited cattle and the land they grazed upon from his predecessor Khama III, and Whlie states that he pursued an active policy of rendering communal property private (Good, 2003: 14)

As indicated, wealthy White cattle owners and Tswana elite have been systematically drawing resources away from rural populations and the poor in Botswana, a large majority of whom are Basarwa. Due in large part to their ignorance of the policies and procedures that make these transfers possible and a disconnection with political capitals that would provide them with sufficient power bases to influence processes and structures, the Basarwa remain victims of inevitable poverty under these conditions.

Impact

One of the major impacts of ‘global fascism’ has been the relatively successful snuffing out of differences in culture to make controlling people easier. It involves the “dissolution of traditional identities,” in order to make everyone more the same (Cock, 2003: 18). This has been facilitated by the systematic commoditization and privatization of what were communal and/or natural capitals. In Botswana, commoditization and privatization took a real foothold with the advent of boreholes in the early 1920s which opened up arid desert lands that had previously been uninhabitable to all, except various Khoisan populations, by providing access to groundwater reservoirs. Good notes that “boreholes were increasingly recognized as personal property through those decades and that private ownership of the adjacent

⁵ Tshekedi Khama was acting Chief or “Kgosi” of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland (now Botswana) from 1926 – 1933.

grazing lands quickly followed. The largest cattle owners benefited most from the new boreholes and these were the chiefs and their close associates;” here again, an illustration of the process of resource transfer from the masses to the few (Good, 1999: 188). Aside from the loss of land rights, the loss of access to hunting and to some extent gathering rights has posed a particularly large barrier to sustainable livelihood creation for the Basarwa. According to Hitchcock (1998), “Three years ago [the government was] giving 1,000 Special Game Licenses a year to Remote area dwellers. Last year they gave at most 100 for subsistence hunters (quoted by Odirile, The Botswana Guardian 21 March 1997 in Good 1999: 198). At community level, this has resulted in exponential increases in the necessity of financial capital as one respondent indicated in Ngwatle.

Of course when you buy one of these pots if you don't have one or some mugs or a basin, those pots are very expensive. Once you've paid for it, the money is finished. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The Basarwa find themselves stuck ever deeper into an economic system where “the world and all it contains seems to be up for sale” (Crzybowski 2003 cited in Cock 2003: 4). This has not been a spontaneous occurrence, but a result of at least two centuries of oppression by more powerful European and African groups and is continued through ‘global fascism’ and its agents, capitalism and neo-liberalism. Essentially, people in Ngwatle are being forced to accommodate the demand of a global economic system premised on income inequality by whatever means are available to them.

Conclusion

To conclude, Chapter 3 has described salient factors in the global vulnerability context using Patel and McMichael’s discussion of ‘Global Fascism’ as a guiding point of reference for discussion. The Patel and McMichael framework is useful because it allows for a unique excavation of concepts from World War II, namely fascism and development, and allows the essence of these concepts to be brought forward into a discussion of present day economic, political and social factors evident at the global level and within the State of Botswana. These factors have been identified as nationalism, capitalism and neo-liberalism. It is the contention here that

these global phenomena replicate on a national scale and have severe impacts at the community level for Basarwa. Basically, commercialization and privatization have created a situation where financial capital is becoming a necessity for day to day life. ‘Global fascism’ is a term used to describe situations where a powerful state, in this case Botswana, exercises extreme control over the movement and identity of citizens. The State is able to gain such control by suppressing opposing sovereignties and facilitating transfers of wealth from the masses to individuals. This is evidenced by the State’s systematic and purposeful attempt to destroy the cultural norms and identities of the Basarwa for the purposes of national and racial homogenization. The next Chapter examines actual livelihood activities reported by respondents and how the vulnerability contexts introduced in Chapters 4 and 5 impact livelihood systems.

Chapter 4: Local Vulnerability Context - A History of the Study Site

The aim of Chapter 4 is to provide the relevant historical background on Ngwatle as a settlement. Due mostly to media exposure, the appellations Bushmen and San have become recognized worldwide, such that these names are often in fact loaded with assumptions. As a result, there is a tendency to romanticize and generalize San livelihoods, culture and history. This historical background is a critical and often neglected aspect of the vulnerability context. As indicated previously, all SLA frameworks begin by outlining a vulnerability context. (which includes history, politics and climactic trends among other factors) the central importance of which is to augment an understanding of present institutions and structures. This Chapter is separated into two sections. The first section, Living for Tomorrow, begins by briefly outlining the spatial environment of the study site then goes on to catalogue the genesis of social organization and settlement in Ngwatle. The second section, The Redefinition of Community, discusses the community's incorporation into government instituted Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemas and its impact in the community. This Chapter is extremely important because it establishes a historical context necessary to understand aspects of Sustainable Livelihood Framework that pertain to Ngwatle. It also helps to clarify aspects of literature pertaining to the San that maybe prescriptive, unsubstantiated and/or contradictory. A perfect example of this lack of clarity is evidenced by the continuing debate about the most appropriate way to identify this group of people, who are historically distinct within themselves but who share similar traditional livelihood patterns (See Appendix E).

“Living for Tomorrow:” A History of Ngwatle and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

It is difficult to assess the exact origin of the settlement known today as Ngwatle, the site of my research study and a predominately Basarwa community. According to Boloka (2001) cited in Dyll, during the early to mid nineteen-forties “a White farmer named Joep loaded the Bushmen in a truck and took them to Masetleng Pan” located just north west of Ngwatle (Dyll, 2003: 64). It is not clear if these Basarwa were nomadic and/or still pursuing hunter-gatherer livelihoods or exactly why they were taken in the first place. According to Dyll, the aforementioned Basarwa were living near the border between Namibia and Botswana in an area called Malahakhuru prior to being relocated by Joep (Dyll, 2003). In all probability, they were taken to work for Joep, presumably a White Afrikaaner farmer, to herd cattle on his cattle ranch in south-western Botswana. According to a Ngwatle resident who remembers the experience “he was the first one to take us away along with my grandmother [and] my mother. My grandmother die on Joep’s farm” (Dyll, 2003: 64). The respondent recalls the Masetleng Pan area to be abundant in water, flora and fauna but also recalls the turmoil of the political crossfire between Namibia and the South West People’s Organization, SWAPO, during the Namib war of independence with South Africa in the 1980’s (Dyll, 2003: 65). In fear of their lives and in search of water the Basarwa traveled east to present day Ngwatle and then to nearby resource-rich Hukuntsi where reportedly “water was oozing from the sand” (Dyll, 2003:65). However, they were not accepted by the resident Bakgalagadi cattle farmers in Hukuntsi for according to Ngwatle resident, Gadi:

It was '84. They made us move from Hukuntsi. On foot! There are lots of water there at Hukuntsi. Then they moved us...when the [Bakgalagadi] saw...water was oozing from the sand. The Bushmen must leave if they eat our cattle and the goats. Make them go. So they left. (Dyll, 2003: 65)

If establishing the exact nature of the circumstances that brought Basarwa to Ngwatle is difficult, then pinpointing the exact age of Ngwatle as a settlement is equally as difficult due to the patchiness of information available from community members and research on the area. For instance, if Gadi’s calculations are correct that Basarwa had fled Masetleng Pan in 1984 and assuming the group traveled to both Hukuntsi and

Ngwatle in the same year, Ngwatle has only been in existence for twenty-one years. This conflicts with information I gathered during my interviews, where some interviewees, though they did not know their dates of birth, were clearly over the age of forty yet indicate that both they and their parents have been residing in Ngwatle all of their lives. Many of these respondents are able to recall that their grandparents were not from Ngwatle. For example, respondents in a certain household can recall that their parents are from Hukuntsi and Ohe (near northern Monong) respectively while the matriarch can even recall that her grandmother is from Lehututu (Personal interview, Ngwatle 2004). If the respondent's accounts are accurate, then it stands to reason that Ngwatle has probably been in existence as a settlement for at least fifty years in terms of when people began building their homes and seeking livelihoods in the area. This was substantiated in 2005 when a number of elders debated the issue and agreed that Ngwatle had to have been a settlement at least 50 years ago because they had themselves been living in the area at the time. One thing that may account for the discrepancy in Gadi's narrative and my research is perhaps poor calculation on Gadi's part due to innumeracy since there is convergence on the views of senior people in the community on this matter. What seems clearer is that the community began receiving government assistance in the provision of food and water between 1996 and 1999.

Whatever the exact circumstances of its origin, Ngwatle must be situated in the greater context of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) schemes, chiefly orchestrated by the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks in a global movement away from "top-down" approaches to poverty alleviation in rural areas toward sustainable development and natural resource management at the grassroots level (Twyman, 2000: 783). "In 1996, SNV/Netherlands Development Organization and a local NGO Thusano Lefatsheng approached the residents of KDI and proposed a CBNRM project that would focus on sustainable wildlife utilization, tourism, veld products marketing and craft production" (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 12). In 1998, the government of Botswana defined CBNRM as a "development approach that fosters the sustainable use and conservation of natural resources and promotes rural development through community participation and creation of economic incentives" according to Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt (2000: 12). The necessity for Community Based Natural resource management grew out of

what has been described as the ‘Masarwa problem’ in Botswana that reached the boiling point in the early 1970’s with regard to the ethnic, class and political clashes that occurred when Afrikaaner and Bakgalahadi cattle farms squeezed the Basarwa for water and food resources, constraining the feasibility of their nomadic lifestyles.

Previously, the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, recognizing the proximity of national independence for the region, had decided to create a safe haven to protect the natural environment as well as the people and animals that resided on it:

A large game reserve was established here in 1961 to protect resident populations (including both San and Bakgalagadi), wildlife and unique ecological features such as rolling plains, fossil river valleys and pans. (Hitchcock, 2002: 802-804)

George Silberbauer, an administrating officer of the Protectorate contracted to research the area in 1958 had envisaged the place as a ‘people’s reserve’ where ‘the San could have a place of their own’ (Hitchcock, 2002: 804). Today the area is known as the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) and is the second largest game reserve in the world (Hitchcock, 2002: 804). In addition, although the literature indicates that Basarwa/Bhakglagadi relations have never been equal, some sources indicate that various Basarwa populations, including the /Gui and G//ana as well as Boolongwe (Baboalongwe) and Bakgalagadi groups co-existed “exchanging goods and services and sometimes intermarrying” (Hitchcock, 2002: 803). It is significant too that even before this area was set aside as a game reserve, “the Central Kalahari region has been occupied for hundreds of thousands of years by hunter-gathers and, since the early part of the first millennium AD, by agro pastoral populations” (Hitchcock, 2002: 803). However, the haven would not remain safe for long. Over time the value of CKGR has become apparent to a variety of factions including what Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt describe as the “cattle and wildlife lobby” as well as government and private institutions “with designs on the region, including multinational mining companies and environmental organizations” (Hitchcock, 2002: 800).

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) of 1975 was a turning point in the land tenure policy in Botswana and set the stage for “providing a legal land-use base for wildlife utilization and CBNRM” (Rozemeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 4). The TGLP

was instituted for one central purpose; to separate communal land from commercial property; decentralizing control over land use to community levels in the former:

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), 1975 was meant to rationalize land utilization in communal areas, and to commercialize where possible as reaction to what is known as the “tragedy of the commons.” All tribal land in Botswana was zoned into three main categories: arable (communal and commercial), grazing (ibid.) and reserved. The latter category was later renamed Wildlife Management Area (WMA) following the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986. (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 4).

This crucial step in the direction of privatization marked the beginning of the end of the relatively uncomplicated hunting and gathering livelihoods of the Basarwa, even those living and working on cattle farms, and the re-definition of traditional San notions of community because “TGLP saw the zoning of land categories in Botswana’s communal lands, the establishment of commercial leasehold ranches, and the dispossession of sizeable numbers of people, many of them San and other residents of cattle-posts” (Hitchcock, 2002: 798).

According to Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, the Tribal Grazing Land Policy was the foundation upon which Community Based Natural Resource Management could be built and thus impacted district and rural development planning in three major ways:

- Subsequent district development and settlement planning was based upon district land-use plans.
- A competent, recognized and co-coordinated district land-use planning cadre evolved with administrative and technical back-up from several key ministries
- The land that was zoned as “reserved area” under TGLP was gradually utilized to accommodate people living outside traditional village structures (2000: 4).

Wildlife Management Areas are subdivided into 163 “units of production” called Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) by the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (MLGL&H) and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). The CHAs are used to organize “various types of wildlife utilization (including non-consumptive use) under commercial or community management.” The DWNP used

CHAs to administer the allocation of hunting quotas (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 5).

The Redefinition of Community

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks of Botswana, in keeping with a global movement toward conservation and sustainable development, envisaged Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) as the key to empowering communities at the grassroots level. However, due to centuries of displacement, contact and coupling with other cultural groups, the structure and function of Basarwa communities has changed. The literature often makes reference to the egalitarian, bilateral systems of governance and exchange associated with San cultures but focus less on changes in the meaning and dynamics of community over time. However, as the evidence will show, community based projects that depend on bureaucratically reconstituting communities are problematic:

The idea that a community can be reconstructed for Community-based Natural Resource Management projects assumes the existence of a cohesive and homogeneous community. Such social conditions no longer exist in the Kalahari region, and projects based upon these assumptions are likely to be misguided. A fuller understanding of resource relationships and their links to livelihood strategies is required if appropriate initiatives are to be introduced. (Twyman, 1998: 8)

Part of problematizing these new communities must involve documenting the impact of the loss of individual rights in favor of communal rights including examining how new power structures interplay and become embedded within the new “community.” The effect of this individual to community change has been the drastic modification of strategic livelihood options, such as hunting and gathering, for people living in the Kalahari. According to Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt until “relatively recently wildlife was an almost free for all commodity” (2000: 8). The changes have most especially impacted the Basarwa for whom hunting and gathering had still been an essential livelihood strategy. Twyman makes the point that livelihood strategies for people living in the Kalahari are variable at the household level as well as for individuals. It is suggested that “by shifting hunting from the individual to the communal sphere,” for example, the effect is “radically altering people’s access to, use and control of, this resource. Individuals will no longer be able to hunt according

to their own needs” (Twyman: 2000: 803). This leaves some community members feeling impotent and useless (Dyll, 2003; Good, 2003). A former manager of Molopo lodge located near South Africa’s Widraai Tentepark explains what he believes can happen when individual’s rights become diluted in favor of communal rights:

You see it’s all well and good to have all this land that [the =Khomani] have around us, but there’s no individual Bushmen who owns it. There’s no individual Bushmen that can use it. So even if there’s a Bushmen with any ambition in him, he doesn’t have the opportunity to exploit his ambitions. And in fact, the minute you have an ambitious one, the rest of the community pull him down because they don’t want him to succeed, because when he succeeds, they look bad. (Dyll, 2003: 61)

The comment suggests that a consequence of lessened ability to make decisions for the self is lack of ambition to try new livelihood options resulting in the development of the ‘crabs-in-a-barrel syndrome,’ where the community does not allow any one individual to advance ahead of the pace of the community⁶.

Each diverse group of San most certainly had their own methods of governance specifically tailored to meet the needs of the community:

Previously people lived in small groups and families on cattle posts and farms, with little concept of ‘community’ or ‘community resource management.’ Management of resources is certainly a familiar concept, but this is a common perspective achieved by individual action to benefit both individuals and groups as a whole. (Twyman, 1998: 8)

Twyman’s assessment is important because it means that San civilizations had already been altered by the agro pastoral livelihoods of more dominant cultural groups for decades before the advent of CBNRM schemes and with this erosion of livelihood and culture probably went traditional notions of community. Therefore, these reconstructed “communities,” often consisting of various amalgamations of other minority and more dominant ethnic groups including sometimes social workers, missionaries and employees of private safari companies, are complex new phenomena that do not have the benefit of historical interchange, norms and continuity that more organically sprung communities might. As one might imagine, the politics of

⁶ Interestingly, this quote shows another example of how Basarwa are ‘othered’ by non-Basarwa. The former lodge owner shows his own prejudices by implying that Basarwa are generally unambitious. In addition there is no recognition on his part of the factors that produce and reproduce poverty, implying that Basarwa are to blame for their own vulnerability.

ethnicity, class and gender make it essential to consider the dynamics of power relations in any assessment of Community Based Resource Management projects.

Conclusion

To conclude, this Chapter has addressed some of the key ways that San livelihoods have been shaped in recent history. From the data presented, it is clear that Basarwa livelihoods have been radically altered in two primary ways – displacement and the total reconfiguration of traditional Basarwa notions of community. Sections one and two show a slow but progressive transition of San movement from nomadic to sedentary livelihood systems. Some respondents in Ngwatle can even recall their parents and grandparents having lived nomadic lifestyles. Traditional San nomads in prehistoric times were probably scattered from as far north as Egypt to present day Kenya and Tanzania (Barnard, 1992: 28). However, whether due to scarcity of food resources or clashes with more powerful groups, Bushmen are only found in parts of Namibia, South Africa and Botswana in small numbers relative to the national population. Displacement began with regard to Ngwatle in the early 1980's when a group of Basarwa living or found near the Namibian/Botswana border were brought to Matsetleng Pan by an individual who was most probably of Dutch origin. From there, the search for unclaimed water brought the Basarwa from Hukuntsi to Ngwatle where land tenure is anything but certain, even today.

The major impact of displacement that is evident in a historical reading of the literature are the onslaught of processes that have resulted in the total social reorganization of San. There has been a steady progression from social systems based on small family groups of fewer than 20 or 30 people with egalitarian and non-hierarchical systems of social organization in prehistoric times to the kind of settlement situation that !Kung group Basarwa are living today (Mokhtar, 1990: 350). Clearly the present situation is the complete reverse. Ngwatle is part of a Community Based Natural Resource Management process that is founded on notions of community that are not necessarily kin-based. There are in fact between 250 to 300 people residing in Ngwatle living largely sedentary lives. Whereas languages were rarely similar between different groups of Basarwa historically, the language spoken in Ngwatle today, Sesarwa is an amalgamation of three languages. The strong

presence of two of these languages, Afrikaans and Tswana, is an indication of the impact that larger and/or more powerful groups have exerted on traditional Basarwa language and culture.

In pre-colonial times and even in recent history spanning the last half century, San livelihood systems were based around hunting and gathering (sometimes fishing). Access to land and wildlife was free and largely dependent on the capabilities of individuals and arguably the strength of social capital between family members in terms of the cooperation that would have been necessary to pursue such livelihoods in harsh environments. Major continental political and social reorganization in Africa, mainly colonialism and the introduction of economic systems based on money through colonialism, had a dramatic impact on traditional hunter-gather livelihoods of Basarwa in Botswana. The implementation of the 1975 Tribal Grazing Land Act was in effect the beginning of the end of unfettered access to land and wildlife resources for Basarwa in Botswana. Another major blow was the enforcement of community hunting quotas that now severely restrict access to wildlife for households and individuals. The changes over time discussed in this Chapter begin to address ways that resources (assets) have become constrained by structures and processes in Botswana. They also set the stage for an introduction to how national and local institutions have become entrenched in Botswana. Chapters 3 and 4 have outlined the Global and Local Vulnerability context. The next Chapter presents the main research findings. It identifies the main resources, incomes and assets that Ngwatle households have access to and how these are constrained by institutions, structures and processes.

Chapter 5: Ngwatle Livelihood Portfolios - Aspirations & Barriers

Chapter 5 presents the major research findings. Here the major livelihood activities undertaken in Ngwatle are juxtaposed with activities (and assets) that residents would prefer if afforded the opportunity. The Chapter is divided into four primary sections. Section one, entitled The Livelihood Portfolio, outlines the salient income-generating activities that make survival in Ngwatle possible. Section two, Aspirations and Perceptions of Poverty in Ngwatle, discusses the kind of activities and assets respondents have a desire to access in terms of the five major capitals referred to in Chapter 2 (financial, human, social, natural and physical capitals). Sections three and four discuss the barriers to these aspirations and resultant impacts respectively.

The Livelihood Portfolio

The empirical research shows that income-generating activities vary between households. In Ngwatle, livelihood portfolios appear to be centered on various opportunities (based on individual abilities) to access one or a combination of several of eleven activities. These cash-generating activities include making crafts, entrepreneurship, formal employment, accepting remittances from family and receiving pension cash transfers from the State. Non-cash generating activities include accepting donations, gathering and accepting government destitute rations. Two other income-generating activities, formal education and livestock rearing/herding are identified as asset accumulating activities. Table 1 outlines the livelihood portfolios of 11 households.⁷ All of the data provided is based on information gathered through the non-probability sampling technique used to conduct this research. These findings are not necessarily representative.

⁷ Two livelihood portfolios could not be completed due to information losses in the transcription process

Table 1 Livelihood Portfolios

CASH AND NON-CASH HOUSEHOLD INCOME										
CASH-GENERATING ACTIVITIES						NON-CASH GENERATING ACTIVITIES				TOTAL
	CRAFT MAKING	ENTREPRE-NEURSHIP (includes hunting for purposes of sale)	FORMAL EMPLMT	PENSION	REMIT-TENCES	DONA-TIONS	GATHER-ING	GOV. DESTITUTE RATIONS	HUNT-ING	
HH1	√	√			√	√	√			6
HH2	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	7
HH3	√	√			√	√	√			6
HH4	√	√				√	√			4
HH5	√						√	√		3
HH6		√			√	√	√			4
HH7	√									1
HH8	√	√						√		4
HH9						√	√			2
HH10	√							√		2
HH11						√	√			2
TOT	8	6	5	1	3	6	8	4	1	41

Table 1 illustrates the range of activities that individuals within households do in order to bring an income into the household. Here it is important to clarify the relevant terms used to construct this table. Activity is meant to denote an action taken. Income is meant to indicate resources that are brought into the household. Each of these incomes or income-generating activities contribute directly toward the achievement of a livelihood and also requires certain assets in order to be achieved. Such assets are cited in the sub-sections that follow. For example, if formal employment is to be pursued as a livelihood activity or a source of income, a person in Ngwatle might not only require human capital, good health and skills; but also social capital, networks, and physical capital such as transportation and a means of communication. Table 1 shows that, in terms of activities that furnish the household with an income, typical livelihood portfolios in the study group include making crafts, 73% (8/11), and engaging in

entrepreneurial activities, 55% (6/11). The majority of non-cash income in the study group comes from donations, 55%, gathering, 73%, and government destitute rations, 36% (4/11).

Cash-Generating Activities

Craft-making (using materials provided by GhanziCraft)

From the data available in Table 1, it is clear that the vast majority of households rely on money generated from making crafts. Crafts usually consist of jewellery made from ostrich egg shells, carefully broken into small piece, painstakingly hand ground on stone and often adorned with homemade dyes in natural colours. In addition, respondents also make bow and arrow sets, made from scraps of metal discarded from government road projects and wood; and dancing dresses made from animal hides. Often these hides are made from goat skins but at times they are the skins of wild animals like gemsbok. The majority of respondents who make crafts retain their primary materials from a cooperative called GhanziCraft that supplies them with ostrich egg shells, training and provide a market for finished products. A few respondents, on the other hand, do not rely on GhanziCraft alone as a source of materials. These individuals are categorized separately as entrepreneurs because of the distinct assets and relative difficulty required in pursuing making crafts in Ngwatle without the assistance of GhanziCraft.

Craft-making is an important component of livelihood portfolios in Ngwatle in large part because it is not difficult to acquire the necessary materials, neither is it difficult to find a market for the crafts since GhanziCraft returns from time to time to buy from the community. It is an activity that can be used to supplement entrepreneurial and other activities such as gathering. Other craft markets include tourists, researchers and missionaries that pass by at various times throughout the year. Asset stocks required to participate in making crafts (through special arrangements with GhanziCraft to provide materials, skills and a market) include human capital, in the form of good enough health to be able to work with small materials and labour for several hours at a time as well as the skills to make a quality product that a market will buy.⁸

⁸ The exact nature of the agreement between GhanziCraft and the NKX Trust is unclear. What is clear is that there is an expectation that the cooperative will continue to provide materials and training to the community in addition to a market for finished products into the foreseeable future.

Entrepreneurship

A number of respondents engage in activities that can be seen as entrepreneurial since they are neither formal employment nor employment generated from GhanziCraft, the trust or the government. Included in this category are activities the following activities:

Hunting (legal and illegal) – Respondents who hunt and use animal hides to make crafts, *completely independently of GhanziCraft*, fall into the entrepreneurship category. Since it is difficult to hunt due to the necessity of obtaining permits and the reality that game availability is subject to seasonal trends and individual hunting capabilities, this is a precarious livelihood activity in KD1 at best. Respondents have reported that they are afraid to hunt because penalties for poaching have included convictions and jail time for some Basarwa within the community. In order for a hunt to be successful assets such as human capital, good health and top physical shape, natural capital including perhaps, political capital and entitlements from the State (in the case of lawful hunting) in addition to basic physical capital assets such as a dog, a horse or donkey, the skills to track undetected and a safe location to hide the kill. On the other hand, for those who are successful, periodic successful hunts can supplement other livelihood incomes such as those in Table 1 and provides the household with meat, materials to make dancing dresses and other crafts and perhaps, a renewed sense of culture, spirituality or pride for male hunters.

Translating: Only respondents who are able to speak English, Afrikaans and/or Tswana and their native Sesarwa fluently are able to take advantage of this activity. Even for those possessing the capability, opportunities to translate for cash payment is variable depending on the number of tourists, missionaries or researchers that frequent the area. For those that are able to take advantage, it maybe valuable as a once off cash payment but clearly must be used in conjunction with other livelihood activities to be of any use. Human capital, ability to speak more than one language, and even social capital, networks necessary to find the individual(s) that require the service, are necessary.

Shebeens: Two households run small shebeens from inside their homes. At least one, and probably both of these small alcohol-vending establishments are run without

formal permits. The Ngwatle community itself provides the market for these alcoholic beverages. One respondent indicated that her family purchases alcohol wholesale from Hunkunsi and that they have no need to spend money on advertising because everybody in the community is aware of who is running a shebeen. The same respondent indicated that competition is sometimes a constraint which suggests that this kind of business is relatively lucrative.

In order to run a shebeen, a relatively large amount of financial capital is necessary to start the business. In addition, the necessary buyer-seller networks in Hukunsi and regular transportation are essential. Thus, while lucrative for those who are able to pursue this livelihood activity, clearly the majority of respondents like the majority of people in the community can only be part of this activity as buyers. Those who run shebeens are not limited from participating in any of the other livelihood activities mentioned. In fact, formal employment (past or present) is probably necessary in order to accumulate the necessary financial capital and to cultivate networks in town. In the case of the two households that run shebeens, one respondent's father is employed by the government while the other reportedly has a partner who has a vehicle and lives in Hukunsi.

Formal Employment

Those households listed in Table 1 under formal employment are those who were currently employed in 2004 at the time of interview. The table shows that there was only one household that included a member who was currently employed. This includes migration to Hukunsi or other nearby towns. In addition, only four individuals in different households reported that anyone had ever been employed within their households at any time. The nature of this work varied from steady employment gained through the Trust, Safari Botswana Bound, local farmers or in town to once off farm or construction jobs. People in Ngwatle have worked as gardeners, garbage collectors and tourist hostesses. On the other hand, the community benefits from public works road building programs when they are available. For instance, in 2005, several villagers (women included) could be seen laying gravel on the road. However, such public works programs are rare in Ngwatle (Personal Interview, 2004). Although there have been attempts by the NKX Trust to broker permanent job opportunities with private sector stakeholders, formal employment

opportunities are still out of reach for most individuals in Ngwatle. Necessary assets to attain formal employment, which would probably include work found outside of Ngwatle, are human capital and social capital. Physical capital such as transportation and communication would also be necessary. Good stocks of social capital will be of particular importance as social exclusion is a major barrier to formal employment for Basarwa in Botswana. This issue is explored further in this chapter.

Remittances

Few households benefit from remittances. Of those that do, respondents indicate that these cash transfers usually come from parents or other family members living elsewhere. Judging by the fact that so few report receiving remittances, remittances appear to be little more than supplements to other livelihood activities or assets. They may require good social capital stores with neighbours, friends and family to be maintained. Arguably, strong family bonds are necessary in order to maintain the sharing relationship that needs to exist in order to provide a remittance. Without it, families could become separated and unable to assist other members who may need help.

Pensions

Only one household contained a pensioner. Individuals are entitled to pensions at the age of 65 and receive a cash transfer of somewhere between P130 – 150 per month (Personal Interview, 2004).⁹ On the other hand, the entire household as well as friends and neighbours can benefit from one individual's pension. Pension transfers are used in conjunction with other livelihood activities as is evidenced by the fact that the one pension receiving household in Table 1 also owns livestock, participates in hunting and gathering, receives destitute rations, includes someone who has formal employment, does entrepreneurial activities and makes crafts.

⁹ It is not clear if pension recipients must have worked for a certain number of years before qualifying for the pension and/or whether recipients must have worked within Botswana.

Non-Cash Generating Activities

Donations

Donations are non-cash sources of income for households in Ngwatle. Most respondents who report receiving donations say that the only source of these has been from ethnographers from the CCMS department at UKZN. This group has been conducting ethnographic field research in Ngwatle for the last decade and use donations in the form of clothing in exchange for permission from the community to camp nearby and conduct research. One respondent indicated that missionaries who frequent the area also make donation although no specifics were given regarding the kind of items donated. On the other hand, households do not usually have a choice in the kind of donations they receive nor the frequency or quantity, therefore it is difficult to plan a livelihood strategy based on donations alone. Therefore, donations are useful mainly as supplements to other livelihood activities and can enhance asset accumulation where they are available.

Gathering

Archaeological studies have found that !Kung and G/wi San of the Kalahari depended a great deal on gathering activities, more so than hunting. This was mostly because gathered foods, which consisted almost entirely of vegetables, were predictably located and were reliable as daily food sources (Mokhtar, 1990: 353). Evidence also shows a “fairly strict division of labour due to high correlations between women and digging [activities] and men and bows and arrows in San art” (Mokhtar, 1990: 356). In addition, although these gathered items could have been stored, the evidence suggests that Kalahari San chose to gather fresh foods on a daily basis instead (Mokhtar, 1990: 356). In Ngwatle today gathering still seem to be major livelihood activity for households but as indicated in Table 1, these activities are always done in conjunction with other livelihood activities. Wild melons, truffles, grasses and tree bark are examples of natural materials gathered and used on a daily basis. Gathered resources are not only used as food sources, they are also used for medicinal purposes in traditional medicines to cure such things as infidelity and sexually transmitted

diseases (Personal Interview, 2004). Few assets, beside a basic knowledge of where to locate wild flora, are necessary to pursue this activity.¹⁰

Government Destitute Rations

Table 1 indicates that about 40% of respondents are recipients of government destitute rations, delivered at the beginning of every month. The Botswana Poverty Data Line (PDL) “measures the lowest cost of a basket of goods required by a household to maintain the most minimal but sufficient standard of living by local criteria” (Bar-On, 1999: 101). These do not include cash transfers. In Ngwatle, the basket included 66 packets of mealie meal for 70 destitute individuals (64 destitutes, 5 orphans and 1 incapacitated individual) who are classified as “women with children, orphans and older people” according to Keith Viljoen, an independent businessman who won the tender to deliver destitute rations for the district council (Personal Interview, 2004). According to Viljoen, 1 month’s rations per destitute individual will include: 1 kg samp, 1.5 kg beans, 5 kg-10 kg sorgum, 5 kg white bread flour, 1 case long life milk, 750 ml tomato sauce, 750 ml mayonnaise, 2.5 kg sugar, 750 ml cooking oil, 500 g salt, 50 g baking powder, 1 cabbage, 9 cans of cornbeef, 2 kg rice and 250 g of tea. The community is not consulted about the sufficiency of the items provided. The tea and sugar allotment is particularly small considering the high demand. Tea is used in the village for everything from medicinal purposes to darkening colour dyes for staining ostrich egg shell crafts, in addition to being a favourite all day, year round beverage. Orphans are provided with extras like 400 g of milk powder, 2.5 kg carrots, 3 kg potatoes and 1 bag of oranges. The one incapacitated individual who is described as “very sick” by Viljoen receives 1 bottle of peanut butter, 1 soya milk, 2 dozen eggs, 1.2 kg of washing powder, 1 packet of sanitary towels, 400 g of Ensure, 1g of toothpaste and vaseline and 2 kg of washing soap extra (Personal Interview, 2004). Participants in the research study indicated that the basket includes too much of some things, like white bread flour and sorgum and not enough of the foods they really desire, such as tea and sugar: “It almost lasts for a whole month. We don’t eat too much of that kind of food. We usually have some left at the end of the month. Only the sugar doesn’t last because he only brings one small packet... some people don’t eat the meat because it is curried” (Personal Interview, 2004).

¹⁰ The research suggests that rights to gather wild flora are also protected by the DWNP and require a permit for legal extraction.

Hunting

Here reference is made to hunting for subsistence purposes only. One household included someone who hunted for no other purpose than to satisfy the basic needs of the household (this does not include selling the animal for profit). Archaeological evidence suggests that high-protein meat gleaned from hunting activities were not staples in San diets due to the difficulty in successfully trapping game on a day to day basis. In pre-colonial times San mostly hunted small animals like tortoises, dune mole rats and small territorial herbivores such as steenbok, gemsbok and duiker although there is evidence that larger game were also hunted including elephants and whales (for San that lived on the coast)¹¹ (Mokhtar, 1990: 353). Aside from these, much smaller animals and insects such as locusts, grasshoppers, termites and caterpillars (fish, lobsters, seals and seabirds for San living on the coast) provided more regular sources of protein (Mokhtar, 1990: 353).

Hunting opportunities in Ngwatle today are slim compared to just a decade ago. Land privatization and hunting controls instituted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks have made fulfilling the lawful hunting needs of individual households nearly impossible. Yet hunting is still an important part of Basarwa identity and an important natural source of protein. More than one respondent admits to hunting illegally to satisfy household needs (Personal Interviews, 2004). Important sources of wild meat in Ngwatle include several variety of wild beast such as gemsbok, eland, kudu, steenbuck and hartebeest where available (Personal Interview, 2004). Porcupine meat is considered a delicacy and its quills are often used to make crafts (Personal Interview, 2004). While red meat, particularly wild meat, was probably never a staple in San diets, it certainly is not a staple in Ngwatle today much to the lament of the community. As cited above, hunting activities require assets such as specialized tracking knowledge of the arid terrain, the use of dogs, donkeys or horses for pursuit and stealth in bringing the meat back to the village undetected by law enforcement authorities and others (Personal Interview, 2004). It also requires a hunting permit for

¹¹ San probably would have taken advantage of 'cetacean traps' found in the coastal regions of the South Western Cape in southern Africa. These are places where whales often strand themselves along the shore due to a natural phenomenon where the earth's magnetic field crosses the shoreline and where there are offshore reefs (Brand, 2004: np).

legal extraction. Hunting provides research participants with a variety of resources aside from sustenance including the independence to make crafts and extract craft materials independent of GhanziCraft for the purposes of sale (See Appendix A). The pool of assets needed in order to hunt for subsistence purposes are human capital, the good health, knowledge and skill to find the animals; physical capital, the possession of dogs, donkeys and other tracking animals and the entitlement handed down from the State in the form of a hunting license or permit (for legal hunting).

Asset-Accumulating Livelihood Activities

There are two activities undertaken by household members within the study group that do not directly contribute toward the achievement of a livelihood requirement, unlike each of the incomes discussed previously. These activities, instead, aid in the accumulation of assets in the long term. For example, formal education may lead to the acquisition of formal employment and prestige within the community that may in turn lead to physical capital assets such as a brick home, a cell phone or solar panels. Table 2 below, outlines the number of households that engage in asset accumulating activities.

Table 2 Asset-Accumulating Activities

ASSET-ACCUMULATING ACTIVITIES			
	FORMAL EDUCATION	LIVESTOCK REARING/HERDING	TOTAL
HH1		√	1
HH2		√	1
HH3			0
HH4		√	1
HH5			0
HH6	√		1
HH7			0
HH8			0
HH9			0
HH10			0
HH11	√		1
TOT	2	3	5

Table 2 shows that 27% (3/11) of individuals within households herd livestock while 18% (2/11) have individuals living within the household that are attending school. The sub-sections below explain the significance of these activities in more detail.

Formal education

As part of the local governments Rural Area Development strategy, most school age children in Ngwatle are afforded the opportunity to receive formal education in Hukuntsi although students do not learn in their native languages. On the other hand, formal education is somewhat more complicated to describe as an asset yielding activity due to the discrepancy in the general perception that formal education will increase household stocks of human capital, the ability to read and write for example, that will aid in securing employment in the future and the complaints of some parents that formal education seems to be useless as their children are still not able to gain

formal employment after they matriculate (Personal Interview, 2004). This is even true for the few who go on to obtain technical certificates. Apart from literacy, the benefits of formal education are not apparent to all in the community and must work in conjunction with other livelihood activities once learners return back to Ngwatle. It is important to note that most of the research participants in my study are well past school age and did not have access to formal education in their youth.

Livestock Herding/Rearing

Livestock is a productive asset with the potential of providing the household with some resources in the short term, such as milk, but greater returns in the long run such as more goats which may yield meat, clothing and skins which can be used for trade or sale. Several respondents indicate that they own livestock in the form of cows and/or goats but that they are kept “somewhere else” where more water is available (Personal Interview, 2004). There is little information about the exact location of these beasts, who tends to them and where they came from. Some respondents say that all residents were given goats by the government (Personal Interview, 2004). Cattle/goat herding or livestock tending does not appear to be a viable livelihood activity in Ngwatle due to the scarcity of water. Financial capital and perhaps good social capital through net works are probably necessary assets to keep livestock in Ngwatle.

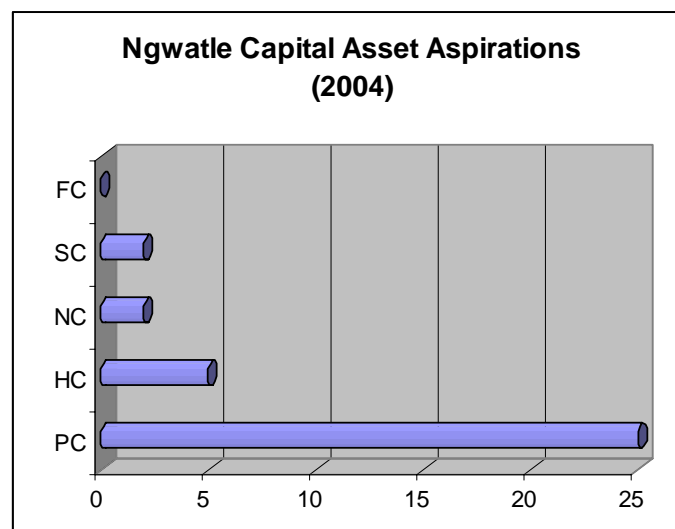
In closing, it is important to acknowledge that some of these livelihood activities, like selling crafts to GC and formal employment happen in the market while others, like gathering and receiving donations happen outside the market. Other activities have end products that end up on the market such as crafts but have materials extracted outside the market by, for example, hunting illegally, selling undesired government rations and using scrap metal discarded from public works road projects to make bow and arrow sets for the purposes of sale (Personal Interview, 2004). Some activities function the opposite way, however, like buying alcohol wholesale and using it to supply non-licensed shebeens in Ngwatle. From table 1, it seems clear that respondents combine incomes/activities to buffer against shocks and trends. These factors are discussed in much greater detail in following sub-sections on barriers to livelihood aspirations but generally, such shocks include factors outlined in the vulnerability context such as climatic changes like seasonal droughts and a volatile

macro-economic environment. Other factors include social differentiation and the adverse impact of certain legislation.

Aspirations and Perceptions of Poverty in Ngwatle

The IFAD Alternative Sustainable Livelihood Framework in Figure 2 illustrates the direct relationship of aspirations and opportunities to actions and outcomes as well as how these all feed back into the cycle of asset generation and accumulation. This section on aspirations and perceptions of poverty is important because it suggests a mismatch between people’s preferences and their actual daily livelihood activities, discussed in the previous section. Figures 4 and 5 below give a snapshot of the assets that people living in Ngwatle actually desire.

Figure 3 Aspirations¹²



As indicated above in Figure 3, few respondents discussed a desire for financial capital directly but went on to mention other desired capital assets such as physical and human capital, which would almost certainly require financial capital to access. Within the category of human capital many respondents indicated a strong preference

¹² The abbreviations FC, SC, NC, HC and PC stand for financial, social, natural, human, and physical capital

for job opportunities and skills (any) that would make them more marketable.¹³ Within the category of social capital, such assets as more positive relationships with researchers and service providers were mentioned. Not many respondents mentioned natural capital directly but interview material suggests that concerns about land tenure security are high for all respondents. Finally, the data from Figure 3 indicates that respondents most want physical capital, which includes several assets such as livestock, better housing and water. Figure 4 gives a detailed break down of preferences for physical capital.

Figure 4 Physical Capital Aspirations

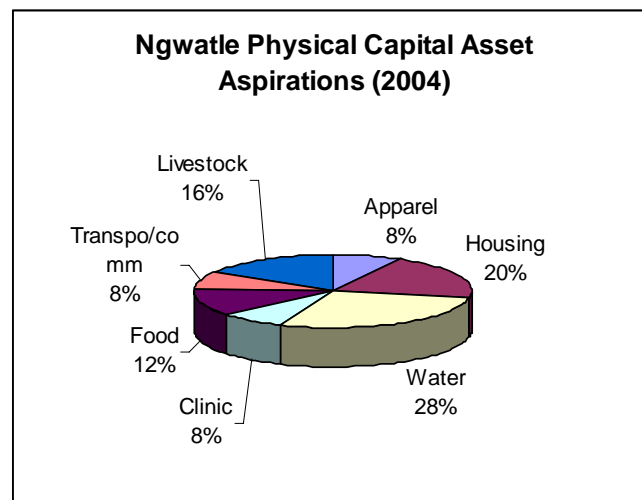


Figure 4 shows that within the category physical capital, water, housing and livestock followed by food, transportation and access to clinics are most desired. Twenty-eight per cent of the research participants mentioned the need for more water within the community. According to some respondents, local government has been hostile toward the idea of a community borehole, which would meet the needs of residents while giving Ngwatle greater independence from reliance on State services for water provision (See photo in Appendix C). This hostile attitude has been attributed to the fact that Ngwatle is not a “recognized settlement” (Personal Interview, 2004). Twenty

¹³ Although respondents indicated that they would consider migrating to areas where job opportunities are available, they also said they would rather commute than leave their homes in Ngwatle.

of respondents said they would rather live in “white houses” made of brick or stone for practical reasons such as lower maintenance, better security (from domestic animal entry), safety (children creating fire hazards) and protection from the rain and cold (See photo in Appendix C). Finally, slightly more people mentioned a desire for more livestock than food. However, main reasons for wanting more livestock are to increase the supply of milk used to serve guests and to feed children in the household (Personal Interview, 2004). It is unclear where these livestock would graze or acquire the necessary water in Ngwatle.

Assets Valued Differently

Chapter 2 emphasized livelihood diversification as an important safety net where vulnerable people “must” combine “capital endowments” in order to make a living (Scoones, 1998: 8). Other literature similarly stress that “the more assets that individuals or households accumulate , the less vulnerable they are likely to be, while the greater the erosion of an individual’s or household’s asset base, the greater their susceptibility to risk and insecurity (Moser 1996 cited in May, Roberts, Moqasa and Woolard, 2002: 33). However, analysis of Figures 4 and 5, above, suggest something slightly more complex.

Figure 4 shows that of the five capital assets captured in the graph, the desire for human capital is voiced more often than social capital or natural capital. The need for financial capital is not voiced at all. This, however, does not indicate that financial capital isn’t valued. Further analysis shows that although most respondents do not mention a desire for financial capital directly, the need for jobs, better markets for their crafts and better medical services, is articulated repeatedly, all of which require money or a means of attaining financial capital to obtain. Due to its flexibility, financial capital can be used to attain other assets such as higher education, livestock and certain entrepreneurial resources. Thus, activities that bring money into the household appear, in fact, highly valued. The suggestion here is that assets are valued differently by individuals and within households just as they are valued differently in the market. Therefore, it appears problematic to assume that securing livelihood systems, at least in Ngwatle, is a simple matter of stock piling assets, as suggested in the literature. Since assets are valued differently within households, clearly a more

nuanced, household-level approach to understanding vulnerability and susceptibility to risk and insecurity and the nature of the relationship between assets and the vulnerability contexts is needed. This is an important point and it is not accounted for in most SLA frameworks. Thus, Figure 5 below shows how I would enhance the IFAD Alternative SLA Framework in Figure 2.

Figure 5 The Adapted IFAD SLA Framework



Figure 5, the Adapted IFAD Alternative Model, reflects changes that I have made to the original IFAD model to add emphasis on aspects of the vulnerability context and Pip Box in order to increase the scope of the macro factors that impact the Ngwatle household. For example, I add another layer on top of the vulnerability context to make explicit the bearing of global market forces and politics that impact national and local politics right down to the household level. This is important because Bushmen are often deliberately depicted as hunter gatherers who remain unaffected by macro-

economic and other global factors. Tiny differently shaped diamonds are added next to assets to illustrate that assets are valued differently within households and in the market. All in all, the IFAD model is a vast improvement on the DFID model. My improvements on the IFAD model, it is hoped, address some of the criticism about SL frameworks discussed in Chapter 2. More especially, by making the Ngwatle household the center of the framework and getting rid of the overly generic “the poor” approach, I hope to make people more “visible.” Lastly, a much greater emphasis is placed on the macro links with global market forces and the all-pervasive impact that it has on the livelihood system as a whole. Chapter 4 and 5 expound on these two aspects of the vulnerability context.

Barriers to Achieving Aspirations

An immediate perception from analysis of the Ngwatle case study is the pervasiveness of various manifestations of exploitation that characterize the relationships between the Basarwa, the State, the Nqwaa Khobee Xheya Trust and private stakeholders such as Safari Botswana Bound and GhanziCraft. This chapter considers the nature of these relationships, describing them in further detail according to the people who live in Ngwatle. The aforementioned relationships are discussed with regard to four interconnected themes; social exclusion, unequal stakeholder relations and tactics of ‘consent and coercion.’ With the advent of commercial farming and the zoning of arable lands and remote areas into commercial, communal and reserve land, over time, relationships between the Basarwa and aforementioned groups has resulted in the slow but palpable erosion of traditional Basarwa human capitals, that includes (has included) critical hunting and gathering skills necessary for survival in the arid environmental conditions of the Kalahari desert; social capital, that includes strong family and community connections that promote sharing; and natural capital, that includes access to clean air, water and wildlife resources. The arrival of colonialism to Botswana brought capitalist modes of production, and with them too the encroachment of commoditization. The need for financial capital, as opposed to human capital or social capital is becoming more apparent to the community everyday as a direct result. This issue is discussed in more detail in the remainder of Chapter 5 but the main argument suggests that commoditization via globally influenced and nationally implemented capitalist institutions and structures has resulted in diminished

livelihood options for the Basarwa – making people living in Ngwatle less able to plan and sustain livelihood strategies.

Social Exclusion

Nyathi speaks extensively about social exclusion and its impact on Basarwa in Botswana and accords it with several characteristic traits. Although all of the points that he mentions could potentially apply in Ngwatle, two are particularly relevant to the kinds of social exclusion that respondents identify:

- a) Social exclusion is engineered through discrimination from powerful groups based on prejudice, stereotypes and discriminatory practices and therefore a process that operates within the context of power relations (Nyathi, 2003: 44-51)
- b) Generally, excluded people have impaired access to ‘economic activities, the labor market and services such as health education (or good quality services), social and economic life, policies and participatory processes and voicing’ (Sindzingre 1995 cited in Nyathi 2003: 27)

One of the most pervasive stereotypes of the Basarwa is that they are ‘backward’ or inferior, which almost certainly explains the consequent discriminatory behaviors rendered by elite groups from surrounding areas. A prime example was evident during the field research when after nearly every respondent had stressed the scarcity and urgent need for water in the area, cattle and goats could be seen defecating, drinking and wading in nearby pan water. Owing to the fact that seasonal droughts could potentially render the pan bare for years, I decided to query residents as to why they allowed such a precious resource to be defiled by livestock. Respondents indicate that they “are not happy of that” but feel helpless to change the situation.

Actually, he hasn't talked to the guy but in terms of that if you are the Boss it is difficult for someone to speak to you... the community was just afraid of that guy. To talk to him... even if you are one, it's like you are god. (Personal Interview, 2004)

It does not make someone happy because that water was the water that I was going to drink. But then those cows have drink all the water. (Personal Interview, 2004)

We are sad of that. We are not happy of that because right now there were the cows urinating inside the water. So just now the water just smells of urine. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The pan situation presents a clear example of the relationship that exists between the Basarwa living in Ngwatle and other majority groups.¹⁴ The first quote was given by a high ranking member of the community who admits that even he is afraid of the “Boss,” a throw back to the farmer/serf relationship that existed and still exists between wealthy cattle-owning Batswana and the Basarwa, who often worked as “herd boys” for them. These negative attitudes are institutions in the State; that is, norms and behaviors that have come to be accepted by Batswana in general, including the Basarwa themselves and are encouraged by the State. Few in the community seem to believe they have the power to protect their most vital and scarce natural resource – water. In addition, when residents migrate in search of formal employment they are more often than not, rejected based on ethnicity alone:

No... but... they know that I'm going to destroy it. Because they just know that a Bushmen doesn't know anything. (Personal Interview, 2004)

I just go there and no work, you're just a Bushmen go... ahh, from Ngwatle? This is just a Bushmen. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Here the respondents talk about the perception that some Batswana have of Basarwa; namely that they are inherently incapable of performing in the job market. These quotes indicate, as Nyathi outlined, that for Basarwa access to economic opportunities outside of Ngwatle are impaired. Such institutionalized attitudes have made discriminatory practices against the Basarwa common injustices that usually go unchallenged.

¹⁴ Shockingly, the right of a wealthy herdsman to infringe on settlement resources, if they seem more plentiful may be protected by the Botswana government because CBNRM communities do possess land rights. (Footnoted in Good, 2003: 16)

Unequal Stakeholder Relations

One of the issues that surfaces time and again from respondents is their perceived inability to control the factors that mitigate successful attempts at livelihood construction. They have become a means to an end for all of the structures that were originally designed to help them achieve sustainable livelihoods. Rather than accumulating the assets, accesses and capabilities that are necessary to construct and execute livelihood strategies, the Basarwa have become almost totally dependent on a few institutions for their basic needs including food, clothing and income generating opportunities. One of these structures is a co-operative between the Nquaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT) and local government is part of the national government's plan to "provide basic social services such as schools, health facilities" and skills training (Botswana Department of Tourism, 2001: np). The organization, developed in 1953 as an "outlet and training center for San crafts-people" is called GhanziCraft (GC). GhanziCraft is depicted as a small shop that promises "excellent San crafts and prices 30-50% lower than in Maun or Gaborone" (Botswana Department of Tourism, 2001: np). They sell a range of products including "textile work, decorated bags, bow-and-arrow sets, springbok-skin dancing skirts and plastic bead or hatched ostrich eggshell necklaces" (Botswana Department of Tourism, 2001: np). The co-operative is run by Danish volunteers according to the Botswana Tourism website. Accustomed to sedentary lifestyles, most residents in Ngwatle have become completely dependent on a single income – that generated from the sell of ostrich eggshell jewelry to GhanziCraft. Respondent's constantly voiced their frustrations at their inability to negotiate prices with GhanziCraft:

The amount of money is too little... because even if you are just trying to tell her [the GhanziCraft representative] that no I just want this, she can't even want to listen to what you are saying. And she can't even look for [the] labor or the time that [I] was going to work on that thing. (Personal Interview, 2004)

What he is trying to say is that, no the money is too little. And the money is not useful because they are too little. What can you buy with a little money? Nothing. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Craft is the only major source of income... But then it's just because they don't know the real market that can buy from them at least with a good price and buy from them every time. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Respondents cited different cash returns received on their crafts. Some indicated that they make between 40-50 Pula a month. Some indicate that GhanziCraft representatives only buy one of several pieces they may have made for as little as 10 or 15 Pula. This is substantially lower than the price that villagers are willing to bargain for when they have the opportunity to sell on their own terms to end buyers. A single hand-crafted piece could be priced between P50-100.¹⁵ Other major complaints are that GhanziCraft representatives do not come around often enough to buy crafts, although there was no real consensus among respondents about the exact intervals. Some respondents also complained that GhanziCraft does not give good feedback on whether the crafts are of good quality.

Some respondents, on the other hand, note that although GC does not necessarily buy from them at cost, they are able to earn a living. When asked if craft sales provide enough money to survive in Ngwatle one respondent indicated that craft money has to be sufficient for the household because there aren't many alternative sources of income: "if you don't have the crafts then you can't get money" (Personal Interview, 2004). Other respondents relayed that one could make a good livelihood from the sell of crafts to GhanziCraft and the occasional tourists to the area:

The money from the crafts is better than the money from the roads.¹⁶ Because if you make a lot of beads and keep them for when the White people come who buy a lot, if you plan carefully, you can save money to buy the things you like. You can buy what you see. Even if it is a goat, or a horse, you can buy it. Some people have bought horses with the money from the crafts.(Personal Interview, 2004)

Therefore, GhanziCraft contributes significantly to the financial capital within households, it being the only income generating activity for the majority of

¹⁵ As a point of reference, in 2001 per capita household consumption (in constant 1995 US dollars) was \$1,375 in Botswana (World Bank cited in Gale, 2005: np). Approximately 24% of household consumption was spent on food, 12% on fuel, 2% on health care, and 7% on education. It was estimated that in 2000 about 47% of the population had incomes below the poverty line (Gale, 2005: np)

¹⁶ "The roads" refers to job creation public works programs devised by local government to provide employment in rural areas.

respondents. The unfortunate side-effect of this is that the organization has also become a crutch upon which the community has come to depend in lieu of, for example, creatively working with the trust to devise viable alternatives for households to supplement their incomes.

The Nquaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT), envisioned by the DWNP as the answer to rural based community management and a source of empowerment for the Basarwa has also become like a crutch on which residents on the ground blindly depend to link Ngwatle to external networks. The NKXT represents a collaborative effort at devolution of power from the State to the community level. Ngwatle along with two neighboring villages, Ncaang and Ukwi, were approached by a Netherlands based NGO, SNV/Netherlands and a local NGO, Thusano Lefatsheng, in conjunction with the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks to promote sustainable wildlife utilization and cultivate a sense of community (Rozenmeijer and van der Jagt, 2000: 1-12). Community trusts are generally composed of people who have lived in a settlement for more than 5 years. However, the board of trustees, composed of one male and one female selected from each family group within the respective villages, has tremendous power in controlling hunting quotas and resource distribution (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 10). (See Appendix B2) “In some cases the board of trustees starts to live a life of its own in *very* close harmony with the safari operator and in the process, loses contact with its constituents” (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 10). Incidentally, the NKXT is meant to guarantee that 75 permanent jobs are created per year, that is, in every three out of four households, one person is permanently employed. (Rozenmeijer and Van der Jagt, 2000: 14). However, only 2 of 13 respondents in my case study reported ever working for the Trust and neither are still employed either by the Trust or the Safari company. One respondent indicated:

Like right now the Trust, they have been given the 26 gemsbok. And then, all these 26 things [have been sold] to the Safari company. It was just a decision of the board. The board is just 12 people from 3 settlements, 4 from each. I think these people are the people that are taking our ideas to the board. (Personal Interview, 2004)

But right now they are not doing what we expect them to do. They should have to remind us that no we have 26 gemsbok so they should have to ask us do we sell these animals or do we divide it for the 3 settlements. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Thus, in practice the NKXT is perceived to be more like a bureaucratic institution that only benefits a few and does not communicate with people on the ground than a representative management structure. In the quotes above, the respondent is referring to the numbers of animals that the Department of Wildlife has legally sanctioned for hunting during hunting season,¹⁷ in this case, 26 gemsbok. However, it is clear that many of the people who live in Ngwatle and who are not directly affiliated with the families representing the community within the trust structures, (See Appendix B2) do not get a say in how scarce and critical wildlife resources are allocated. The respondent indicates that the board members decided to sell all of the available wildlife stocks without consulting fully on this extremely important matter; one that impacts every member in the community. It is difficult to understand the nature of this type of exploitation without understanding the importance of hunting to this community. In contrast to the situation just a few years ago, when wildlife allocations were plentiful, today natural resources are kept under strict control by the DWNP. The Government's official take on the matter was clearly voiced by a senior government minister, Daniel Kwelagobe:

Hunting by Remote people should be strictly controlled and the period reserved for hunting should perhaps be shortened. 'People are nowadays fed on drought-relief schemes and I see no reason why there should be an excuse for people supplementing their food rations with wildlife meat' (The *Botswana Guardian* 21 March 1997 cited in Good, 1999: 198).

But for the Basarwa hunting means more:

¹⁷ Hunting season in Botswana lasts for 5 months from April to September. Individuals in the community technically have the opportunity to contribute a draft quota list in October based on the numbers and types of animals they think are available in the area. On the other hand, Rozenmeijer and van der Jagt reveal that "their data have no consequence for annual quota setting" and that often, no survey data exists on the numbers of big game like lions and leopards before quotas are allocated. (2000: 16) This is an effective way, thus, for the DWNP to exert extensive authority over resources allocated to the Trust because if no big game is allocated in the quota, safari companies will battle to attract foreign business and if business is bad, the community goes without a great source of financial capital.

I would rather go hunting because then you know... hunting is a man's life. Because that is the only life. Meat is wonderful. I don't want to be without meat... when you arrived I returned from the hunt. I have dry meat from a gemsbok. That's what I eat. (Personal Interview, 2004)

The acquisition of meat through hunting thus, is an experience that is more than just about sustenance, clothing and a means of gaining an income for people living in Ngwatle, it has to do with issues of gender, identity and culture, which provide a sense of purpose for male members of the community. Hunting is still vitally important in Ngwatle despite government efforts to replace this diet with processed carbohydrates and tinned, flavored corn beef. Hunting controls are one of the ways that Ngwatle has come to depend on the State for permission to live their lives.

With ever tightening controls on hunting and movement, Ngwatle has been dependent on the primary resources of the State since it started to deliver destitute rations to the community in 1996. However, there is still much confusion in the community about the nature of destitute rations, namely who gets them and why. After gross regional inequalities became “the predictable outcome” of nearly a decade of haphazard social assistance schemes at the local government level, the national government finally responded with the application of the National Policy on Destitutes in 1980 (Bar-On, 2000: 104-105). This policy, a document which only consisted of 6 doubled-spaced pages and had remained unchanged since that time, as of the year 2000, identifies people as destitute when they are “incapable of working because of old age or a disability, unsupported minors, or rendered helpless due to a natural disaster or temporary hardship” (Bar-On, 2000: 105). Social capital in the form of “family members (children, parents, uncles and aunts on one's father's side)” is mentioned explicitly as one of these criteria but as pointed out by Bar-On, “it is unclear whether people can be classified as destitute only if these relatives cannot help them or also if they are unwilling to help” (Bar-On, 2000: 105). The latter half of the definition, natural disaster and temporary hardship, conjures serious questions about the coherence and scope of the policy document. Would seasonal trends such as drought fall under the category of natural disaster? What indicators determine hardship? How long is temporary? In Ngwatle about 70 people are entitled to destitute rations yet it would appear, if the collective response of respondents are taken as examples, all of the residents in Ngwatle, despite their disparate household livelihood actions and

strategies, are subject to seasonal droughts and lack of water that would almost certainly result in widespread famine, without government assistance.

All destitute rations are allocated in kind. The 1980 National Policy on Destitutes provides for “food, soap and ‘other essential goods’... shelter (if required) medical care, exemption from service levies (such as for water), tools for rehabilitation, occasional fares (if related to unemployment), repatriation, and funeral expenses” (Bar-On, 2000: 105). These items are financed through local government and can be administered either temporarily or permanently pending a thorough investigation by the local council. The government determines what to put in the destitute basket on an essentially financial basis: “It should be emphasized that destitute amounts should always be lower than the lowest minimum wage so as to ensure that such welfare payments do not discourage work effort” (Republic of Botswana nd, Annex 111: 36 cited in Good, 1999). A laughable statement considering that work opportunities in Ngwatle are few and far between, even for those who are more educated due to lack of consistent collaborative efforts at job creation activities by either the Trust or the State, other than craft-making, and the social exclusion and stigma that prevents migrating to nearby towns from being a viable livelihood strategy. In Ngwatle, it is clear that whether the household actually receives destitute rations or not, everybody is dependent upon them. Therefore, social capital networks, beyond those specified in the National Policy on Destitutes, are probably a tremendous safety net asset for most in the community. Neighbors rely on the generosity of neighbors that are provided with destitute rations. One respondent, for example, indicated that the household does not receive government rations but that she is “just helped by the old woman over that side” (Personal Interview, 2004).

The community also relies on the State to deliver basic essentials such as clean water yet respondents indicate that the delivery of this vital resource, critical for survival in the arid Kalahari desert, is not always consistent. A video taken by a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Ngwatle in 2000 depicts the desperate and chaotic scene of domestic animals climbing on top of each other trying to claim droplets of water leaking from the side of one of only two water tanks available to the

community. (See Appendix C) In Ngwatle, people and *domestic*¹⁸ animals fight for the same resources and are both completely dependent on the government for their survival.

In addition, much like destitute rations, pensions contribute a great deal to the livelihood portfolios of a number of people in Ngwatle, including in households where there is no one legally old enough (65 or older) to receive them. This is because pension money is distributed throughout the household and used to invest in savings and other asset accumulating ventures. It is also used to make small purchases within and outside of the community. The quotes below show how one respondent uses his pension.

N: So, is this money shared in the household? ... does it help everybody or does only your father use that money?

R: He uses the money for his businesses and sometimes just even help us with those little amounts (Personal Interview, 2004)

Destitute rations and pensions are two of the few government provided services that allow people in Ngwatle to cope with the impacts of severe cut backs on hunting opportunities and discrimination through historically ingrained institutions. Rations and pensions, arguably, are the cushions between “having nothing at all” and making livelihood actions and strategies possible.

‘Consent and Coercion:’ The State, the Basarwa and the Land

The final theme that emerges from the general theme of exploitation is one of manipulation, which is evidenced through various mechanism of control exerted by the State. Apart from social exclusion and dependency resulting from unequal stakeholder relations, the Basarwa in Ngwatle have a particularly distrustful attitude toward the government, which they feel manipulates them in order to serve hidden purposes. Without land rights, the Basarwa are subject to the whims of government

¹⁸ The government has always validated their arguments for San coerced or forced removals by insisting that “the [Central Kalahari Game Reserve] is for animals not people” (Good; 2003: 26) yet, some respondents have indicated that the government was responsible for provided initial livestock to the community.

dictates and could be asked to move at any time; a fact that they are fully aware of. Through mechanisms of ‘consent and coercion,’ the government has managed to manipulate the Basarwa and Batswana in general with development propaganda. One of the salient mechanisms of ‘consent and coercion’ used by the government in this regard has been to allow the community to believe that it is in their best interest to be moved out of ‘backward [ness]’ and into ‘civilization.’ The Botswana government has also, cleverly been able to manipulate historical stereotypes and prejudices against the Basarwa to justify forcibly removing San people from their ancestral or permanent homes. The most infamous case of forced removals occurred between 1997 and 2003 when some 1, 200 San were driven from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the government having destroyed vital water sources, prevented hunting and gather and reportedly having accosted women and children (Good, 2003: 20). It was relatively easy to sell people the idea that they were developing Bushmen due to preconceived notions prominent in and outside the country about the livelihoods and lifestyles of the Basarwa:

They are not artifacts, they are not animals, they are not a tourist attraction. They are people. They do not belong where animals do, they belong in settlements, villages, towns and cities like you and me” cited Government Advisor Sydney Tshepiso Pilane (BBC News, 2004: 1).

Our treatment of the Basarwa dictates that they should be elevated from a status where they find themselves. We all came from there. We became civilized and drive expensive vehicles... We all aspire to Cadillacs and would be concerned with any tribe to remain in the bush communing with flora and fauna. - Foreign minister Merafhe, Botswana High Commission in London on 29 July 2001 (Good, 2003: 27).

But as Good notes, in contrast to the rosy picture Minister Merafhe has tried to paint about Basarwa sharing in the development pie, the reality is that due to the cited compounding factors of social exclusion and unequal stakeholder relations there seems to be “no recognition that the development plans involved, on the record of many decades, the assimilation of the San at the very bottom of society as a landless, resourceless, despised underclass.” (Good, 2003: 16) Aside from the gross injustice of forced removals, the most manipulative aspect of the situation is the deceit about why San were forced to move. Rather than the development propaganda that was spread, it has become apparent that diamond excavation has been behind the removals all along.

Good easily shows how prominent government officials, like A. R. Tombale, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Minerals, Energy and Water have blatantly lied about the nature of diamond prospecting in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve even in 2002 when prospecting was obvious (2003: 16).

Although forced removals have not yet happened in Ngwatle, the community lives under the constant threat of eviction:

Several MPs are asking about Ngwatle because Ngwatle is not a recognized settlement. So the MPs are just asking me when are they going to recognize the Ngwatle. But then [the] answer is – they are saying no. One can't recognize the settlement because there is the place for the wild animals. So it's like they are on the process of or they're still discussing to move people from this place. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Perceptive residents in Ngwatle are suspicious of local government officials asking questions about Ngwatle's legitimacy as a settlement, although it is a documented and legally sanctioned part of a Community Based Natural Resource Management operation. Here the respondent voices concerns that the community maybe forced or coerced to vacate the premises. Some have alluded that when the community was asked to leave their close knit kraal and spread out further away from the site and each other in order for the government to build them better promised housing, it was just a mechanism to break down social capital and divide the community. The community has never returned to the now desolate kraal site and not a single house has been built to this day. The abovementioned incidences in Ngwatle coincide with Good's conceptualization of coercion in that "coercion involves the absence or narrowing of choice through rumors, veiled threats, promises and lack of alternatives" (Good, 2003: 16).

With the failure of support structures to create a better living situation for the Basarwa, or for nearly half of the general population who survive below the poverty line, the question is why hasn't the government done more? Considering that Botswana is in a unique economically privileged position, as one of the wealthiest countries in Africa coupled with having one of the lowest population densities in the world, the response to poverty alleviation has been remarkably low.

Nyathi argues that “ethnicity in terms of cultural difference, is central to social exclusion of Basarwa” and “government failure to recognize difference between Basarwa and other citizens of Botswana is the main source of exclusion” (Nyathi, 2003: 3). Certainly, cultural difference is a factor in the ‘othering’ necessary for social exclusion to occur, however the State’s refusal to officially acknowledge the Basarwa as a unique group is not the source of exclusion but a justification for discriminatory actions and policies against Bushmen that has resulted from the kind of prejudice and stereotyping mentioned above. These discriminatory actions are usually veiled in the cleverest of tropes – development. Thus, sources of social exclusion and marginalization appear much more complex and multi-dimensional, intertwined with historical relationships between the San and other more powerful race groups.

One suggestion for why the State has been generally unresponsive to the needs of the rural poor despite having one of the highest GDP’s in Africa is that the idea of helping the poor is incongruous with the traditional livelihood, culture and history of the Tswana ruling class (Bar-On, 2000):

Traditional Tswana living was both inward looking and atomistic, built on the family and its extended kinship relations, and reinforced by a household agricultural economy that required the cooperation of all its members. (2000: 107)

Thus, in this line of argument, because the family was the nucleus around which the entire Tswana livelihood system was based, the idea of taking care of non-family members was and continues to be a foreign concept:

Two features of these living arrangements, bearing on the poor, followed. One was that with the family being the focus of loyalty, the idea of ‘society’ was weak or non-existent. Caring for others was structured, therefore, by family duties rather than by social solidarity or feelings of humanism, which also mitigated against a sense of empathy for the ‘stranger’... Chiefly this resulted from the prohibitive cost of any unilateral giving among a people whose major characteristic was chronic want. (2000: 107)

Another explanation is in the clear continuity that exists between the colonial past of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the formulation of a petit bourgeoisie that took power and maintained power after independence:

Independence abolished racial discrimination and affirmed civil freedoms, nevertheless dividing power within new nations according to the inherited artificial tribal constructs along ethnic, religious and regional lines (Patel and McMichael, 2004: 242).

This has been the post colonial legacy, generally, throughout the continent. Botswana is not an exception. The Setswana¹⁹ had already been organized into centralized cattle-based economies for centuries before Europeans arrived in the mid nineteenth century. These are the earliest examples of States with centralized wealth and authority in southern Africa whose, *mafisa* system of cattle lending in trust to patron clients, began what has been referred to as ‘cattle-feudalism’ (Murray and Parsons, 1990: 160). Still some decades before the intrusion of colonialism, powerful Tswana chiefdoms had already forced Bakglalagadi and San into Tswana society as slaves or serfs, exploiting their superior knowledge of the arid Kalahari (Good, 1999: 189). This signaled the rise of ‘Twanadom’ proper:

A system of Basarwa servitude had been ‘entrenched’ and was ‘spreading into new areas’ from the beginning of the twentieth century. Its structural significance is clear and centrally important in the long term, for it ‘lay at the very roots’ of the successful Tswana pastoral economy, ‘allowing the masters to build up large herds,’ while ‘freeing them’ from pastoral and other chores, and ‘enabling them to engage in politics, herd management, trade,’ and other remunerative employment. This prosperity depended on servile labor, which grew in importance and numbers with the expansion of cattle production. (Miers and Crowder cited in Good 1999: 189)

Free San labor was critical to the growth and stability of Tswanadom. It is arguably the catalyst for the unequal relationships that still exist between the Basarwa, the Setswana and powerful minority groups. It was a situation that required more than mere servitude to sustain, it required the kind of cruelty that would let the servant know who was ‘Boss:’

¹⁹ According to the CIA World Fact Book (2005) the term Setswana and Tswana are synonymous and also refers to the name of the language spoken by the Tswana.

The Masarwa are slaves. They can be killed. It is no crime... They are never paid. If the Masarwa live in the veld and I want any to work for me, I go out and take any I want. – Tshekedi 1926 (Good, 2003: 14).

I thrashed them very hard [325 lashes] to teach them a lesson... [I have] never beaten dogs like I beat those Mosarwa and [I] never would. – Rajaba Monageng, Nwato Cattleman, 1930 (Good, 2003: 14).

This situation set a historical precedence for oppression and brought forward the stereotypical attitudes and discriminatory practices exhibited by many Batswana today.

The two explanations presented here for San exploitation are by no means definitive or exhaustive but they do present some interesting explanations for the poverty amidst plenty phenomenon commonly cited in the literature in Botswana. They also help to explain the evident lack of political will and “failures of political leadership, denial of productive resources and of land and other rights to the San” (Good, 1999: 197).

Impact

Due to the nature of their development, the impact of the three interconnected forces of exploitation discussed in this chapter – social exclusion, unequal stakeholder relations and manipulation – have rendered Ngwatle to a state where sustainable livelihood strategies are very difficult to create. This destabilizing environment has had a particularly devastating impact on youth in Ngwatle who say that they have no hope and no prospects for the future as portrayed in this interview with one of the younger respondents, age 22.

N: Ok, since you are not making money and you are not making crafts or anything, tell me in a typical day, what do you do when you wake up? What do you do?

R: Just eh, even tomorrow, just walk around the village looking for beer.

N: Walk around the Village looking for beer?

R: Eh (yes)

N: Beer and?

R: Just a beer... then a brother can sleep...

N: Do you like living that lifestyle or do you wish you could do something else?

R: Ahh, I wish to do something else.

N: Like what?

R: Everything.

The relatively new phenomena of alcoholism, listlessness and the rapid spread of diseases such as TB and HIV/AIDS through San communities are well documented in the literature. It is a situation that has clearly been exacerbated by the unequal and capital based relationships of exploitation that are the subject of this chapter. Some San resettled outside the CKGR protest, “there is nothing to do but drink alcohol and await handouts from the government” (Good, 2003: 26).

Another impact of aforementioned barriers to aspirations has been the decent of the community into various levels of self-ascribed poverty. Although Botswana boasts a decadal growth rate of 11.69% and a GDP per capita of P15,000 coupled with one of the lowest population densities at just over 1.6 million people, 47% of the population was living below the poverty line in 1994 according to UNDP Botswana (nd: np) and that figure was exactly the same in 2004 according to the CIA World Fact Book (2005: np). Although there are many measurements of poverty, clearly poverty means different things to different individuals in this community. The research questionnaire asked respondents to discuss the most important three assets that a person should have to lead a good life. Then later, I asked respondents if deficiency in aforementioned assets was an indicator of poverty. I also asked each respondent whether ownership of

reproductive assets such as goats, horses and cows are an indication of wealth for the community. Responses were varied but indicate that although most respondents believe that households that own livestock are better off than one's that do not, it does not mean that the latter are poor:

I think that what he is trying to say is that it doesn't mean that you are rich but some how if you've got a cow, the cow will make calves... at that time you get money from them. And that goat, the visitor can come and then you kill it for the visitor. So you are not rich but... (Personal Interview, 2004)

Here the respondent indicates that in his opinion, wealth is not necessarily determined by the number of livestock that one has but that one who has reproductive assets such as a cow or goat is better off than one who does not. Some respondents regard poverty in terms of lack of basic necessities for life, especially water:

He becomes poor because water is the main resource for the life. If you don't have water you are going to die. (Personal Interview, 2004)

[Poverty means] when there is no food at home. When there is no food at home at all. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Yeah, actually he was just trying to say that he has got nothing at all. Even the house, even the blanket. I can see it by myself. Even you can just see by yourself. I mean what he is saying is that he has got nothing. So, that one is totally difficult for me to answer because [they've] got nothing at all. (Personal Interview, 2004)

If a person doesn't have water and can't sell at a good price that person is poor. (Personal Interview, 2004)

Younger residents appear to associate wealth or lack of poverty with more Western concepts of material wealth like cars, fashionable clothes and formal education. When asked whether the ownership of livestock made one wealthy, the youngest respondent, laughed. For him, “work, food, trousers, shoes, money and goggles (sunglasses)” are the most important assets.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Chapter 5 has discussed 11 salient activities that allow the community to take livelihood actions or design livelihood strategies in Ngwatle. These include making crafts and benefiting from cash and non-cash transfers like donations, family remittances and pensions. The aforementioned make livelihoods possible but the evidence suggests that the outcome of these activities do not avert a “vulnerability-as aberration” scenario for most households (Mortimore cited in Davies, 1996: 28). The evidence also suggests that current livelihood activities mismatch livelihood preferences. Thus, while households may pursue crafting with entrepreneurial ventures and receive government rations for example, all of these activities combined are not enough to purchase brick homes with corrugated roofs, access affordable transportation or even supply the household with desired quantities of clean drinking water. Finally, analysis suggests that assets are valued differently in the market and within households, thus asset-accumulation alone is not an adequate “safety-net.” The value of assets must also be considered. The section on barriers to aspirations addresses some of the reasons why residents in Ngwatle can not access the things they need and want. The suggestion here is that social exclusion, a process of institutionalized prejudice and stereotyping based on historically unequal power relations between Basarwa and the elite in Botswana, is one of these factors. Another has been unequal stakeholder relations between the Basarwa and the NKXT, GhaziCraft and the State that have rendered the community to a state of perpetual dependency. Finally, consistent manipulation from the State through development rhetoric has helped to rob the Basarwa in Ngwatle of the land rights that would provide the community with security of land tenure. The impacts of these barriers have been detrimental in Ngwatle. Listlessness and alcoholism among youth and poverty facilitate the spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS and TB.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The data presented in this thesis has analyzed the contemporary livelihood scenario in Ngwatle using aspects of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). Although most of the literature presents SLA's as approaches to development, for the purposes of this research it has been used as a heuristic device to uncover the livelihood activities and aspirations of the !Kung group Basarwa living in a small village located in the south western region of Botswana. Four main research questions, presented in the introduction were answered through this process. The first question sought to uncover the major activities undertaken in Ngwatle households that help people make a living. Chapter 5 outlines 11 salient cash and non-cash generating activities as well as asset-accumulating activities that make livelihood creation possible in Ngwatle. These are craft-making, conducting entrepreneurial activities, migration to nearby towns for formal employment opportunities, hunting, receiving family remittances, receiving old age pensions and donations, gathering, accepting government rations, tending livestock and formal education. These activities in their various combinations make survival in Ngwatle possible and make up some component of each households livelihood portfolio. It is difficult to assess whether actual livelihood strategies, defined as purposeful activities undertaken to achieve household livelihood goals, are employed in Ngwatle, as opposed to adaptive (responses to long-term trends) or coping strategies (uncoordinated short-term responses to shocks). This is because specific household goals were not articulated during the course of empirical research. A major finding has been that the value of assets appears to be as important or more than the number of assets accumulated.

The second research question addresses the ways that resources (assets) are constrained by institutions, structures and processes, assuming that these in fact did have an impact on the community. This question is also addressed in Chapter 5 which reveals that indeed, institutions (regularized practices structured by rules and norms of society), processes (established and implemented through structures) and structures ('rule makers' who set and implement policy and deliver services) impact individuals at the household level. Stereotypes and prejudices against the Basarwa are deeply

embedded within the State apparatus and within the nation as a whole. Indeed, they have become institutions. Stereotypes, insinuating that Basarwa are “backward” and in need of civilization, have made it possible for the State to forcibly remove hundreds of Basarwa from their homes and pronounce it to be a move of some benefit to them – as something that is developing them. Displacement as well as the radical and unsolicited reconstruction of Basarwa social systems has been the inevitable and continuing result. Chapter 4 shows how traditional Basarwa social institutions have been transformed by the establishment of Community Based Natural Resource Management in an attempt by the government to address the devastating impact of Basarwa displacement. It has shown that CBNRM has not been entirely successful in achieving its primary outcome - to empower rural communities - nor has it guaranteed security of land tenure for the Basarwa. In addition, in terms of processes, the Tribal Grazing Land Policy of 1975 figures as one of the most important pieces of legislation impacting Basarwa in Botswana. The policy essentially allows land that has been utilized by Basarwa for millennia to be privatized and sold to the highest bidder such as the State, wealthy cattle farmers and private diamond mining and safari companies. Hunting quotas and loss of land rights have been the detrimental impacts following this land rezoning exercise. In terms of structures, Chapter 5 shows that rather than acting as facilitators of sustainable wildlife utilization and economic empowerment, the primary structures that have an impact in Ngwatle, namely the State, GhaziCraft and the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT) have become objects of dependency for the community.

The third and final research question establishes links between the wider macro (global), meso (national) and micro (community) environment in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. It suggests that historically informed institutions, such as social exclusion, stereotyping and general lack of respect for difference is evident in Tswana/ Basarwa relationships in Botswana and have worked to undermine livelihood strategies and actions of residents in Ngwatle. This case comes out clearly when aspirations of residents living in Ngwatle are juxtaposed with discriminatory processes and policies indorsed by the government including the constant threat of forced removals and the orchestration of bio-politics and other methods of control. The establishment of the hunting quota system has been an effective method of controlling Basarwa movement (bio-politics) in Ngwatle. This situation is both exacerbated by and mirrored in the

global neo-liberal trend toward extracting assets from the poor and appropriating them to the State and the private sector. The aforementioned macro-meso factors form a large part of the vulnerability context and explains the serious mismatch between the livelihood activities people in Ngwatle survive on and the activities and assets they would prefer instead.

The question then arises, if the overarching vulnerability context is one that is so pervasive and all encompassing so as to render rural Basarwa communities, like Ngwatle, nearly incapable of controlling a means of creating a livelihood, what are the solutions?

This question is wide and it is the premise of this research that part of the solution is to produce more integrated in-depth analysis. Such multifaceted analysis is advocated in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach though it may be costly and more time consuming to implement. However, as Good cautions, there is nothing wrong with projects but until the macro-economic environment at the national and global level is conducive there will continue to be problems for the Basarwa (2003). In addition, global social movements gain momentum every year premised on the ideals of democracy, human rights, environmental sustainability and a number of other factors that are assumed to be in the best interest of a global civil society (Cock, 2003). Such movements reject the capital accumulationist principles of globalization and neo-liberalism. Instead they recognize that:

...investments in education and health care cannot be seen as mere luxuries that poor countries cannot afford until they reach higher stages of economic development...viewed from this perspective, social investments undertaken by the state (as the private sector often does not find it profitable to do so in the short term) should not be regarded as excessive spending detrimental to economic growth. (Hope, 2000: 24)

However, until such time as a more equitable global economic system comes to fruition, development practitioners can benefit from deconstructing or “unpacking” the vulnerability context and understanding more about the forces that become barriers for people struggling to maintain or create livelihood strategies. An attempt here has been made to set a global scene in which to situate the small community of Ngwatle. The mass media and even some academic literature continues to produce,

project and re-project a fallacy of contemporary Basarwa livelihoods, still depicting them as a homogenous groups of people capable of building livelihoods on traditional methods such as hunting and gathering. The evidence suggests that a truer picture of the reality is that the Basarwa are in fact becoming less and less capable of creating livelihood strategies robust enough to support their households even though each household attempts various methods to suit its needs. Instead, the increasingly moneyed global atmosphere (read privatized and commoditized) and one that has primarily elevated Botswana to become one of the wealthiest capitalist States in Africa, is making day to day life without enough money a struggle for the Basarwa. Instead of the promise of trickle down growth promised by neo-liberalism and the State, Botswana are suffering a steady transfer of natural capital or shared assets in the form of land, water and clean air into the hands of big business through privatization. Although the Basarwa have not sustained themselves on hunter/gatherer livelihood strategies alone for decades, access to natural capitals – wild melons, truffles, pan water, grass, trees and wild animals – are arguably the only things keeping the !Kung group Basarwa in Ngwatle from the almost certain abject poverty they would suffer if forced to move into cities and towns where social exclusion and manipulation would push them into permanent cycles of poverty and dependency on the State. This cycle is a characteristic of capitalism itself.

To close, it is hoped that one of the accomplishments of this research has been to provoke questions about development. Who develops? Why? And what are the costs? Chapter 3, The Global Vulnerability Context, illustrates how global and State articulated mechanisms of control, such as the forced removal of hundreds of Basarwa for the purpose of “civilizing” so called “backward” Bushmen, are considered as development initiatives by the Republic of Botswana. The Basarwa scenario should prompt us to ask some serious questions about the subjects, aims and outcomes of development as it has for Jumanda Gakelebone, co-coordinator of The First People of the Kalahari (FPK), a San rights based organization:

If I thought you were primitive and in need of help, do I have to become so desperate to help you that I visit you in Johannesburg or London and destroy your home, expel your wife and children and leave them without food or a roof over their heads? Do I have to strip you of your dignity just because I believe you need help? (Sunday Independent, 2004: 2)

Perhaps more critical thought and discussion needs to take place, both in the academic and public spheres, about what constitutes real development. One of the first principles of the SLA is people-centeredness, the concept of seeking to help people help themselves while always understanding that people, rather than projects or governments are the priority of any development enterprise. While SLA's have their critics, if service providers and key stakeholders like the government of Botswana could internalize the first principle of SLA's in their approach toward "developing" Basarwa, perhaps fewer livelihood systems would be compromised or destroyed in the future.

Postscript

25 OCTOBER 2005

FPK PRESS RELEASE

BUSHMEN OF NGAWATLE MOVED - AGAIN

It is not just the Bushmen of Central Kalahari Game Reserve who are tired of being moved by the government. The Bushmen of Ngwatle are being threatened to be moved again.

We appeal to this government that our people are tired of being moved and being made to be stupid all the time. They do have land rights like everyone in this country.

Also, the people have been threatened for talking with First People of the Kalahari. The CID (Criminal Investigation Officers) of Jwaneng are threatening people with our name and promising to arrest them for talking to us.

In the last elections, people from Ngwatle tried to refuse to vote. They said the new councilor should be someone who brings development to them, but what is the use of voting for a person if they are about to be pushed off their land. Development means nothing if you are never sure of your land. At that time also, the District Commissioner for Hukuntsi came and threatened people that they would be arrested if they didn't vote.

FPK represent all the Bushmen in this country. We invite the Jwaneng Criminal Investigation Officers to talk to us. Our people are not going to be threatened. And we let our people which we represent in Ngwatle know that they don't have to fear anything. We are going to represent them. We will talk about their problem and do whatever needs to be done, in spite of any threats.

You can call Jumanda for more information on +267 7190 9972

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FPK Botswana
fpkbotswana@fastmail.fm

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Appendix

Appendix A: Ngwatle Livelihood Portfolios²⁰

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>A</i>	
Sex	Female	Male
Ethnic Group	Mosarwa	Maahohadi Mongologa
Marital Status	Married	
Age	65	unknown +50
History	Father & mother from Ohes (17-19 Kms from Monong)	G.mother, Lehututu/G.father, Hukuntsi/father, Kokong
# Living in HH	3 adults, 1 child	
# year's lived in Ng	Life	2 years
Satisfaction	Not satisfied	Not satisfied
Current Livelihoods	*crafts	Leather crafting (sep. from GhanziCraft/ implies hunting), livestock (elsewhere), gathering, remittances, donations

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>B</i>	
Sex	Female	
Ethnic Group	Basarwa	
Marital Status	single	
Age	20	
History	Father from Ngwatle (Headman); Mother from Monong	
#Living in HH	2; grandmother & an aunt	
# Years live in Ng	3-5 years	
Satisfaction with life	Not satisfied	
Current Livelihoods	*shabeen, crafts, gathering, government rations (grandmother), old age pension (grandmother)/ formal employment (father), hunting, livestock (donkeys & goats)	

²⁰ Background information from two households lost during transcription

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>C</i>	
Sex	Female	Male
Ethnic Group		
Marital Status		
Age	Unknown - 35 or 40 35	
History		
# Living in HH		
# year's lived in		
Ng		
Satisfaction	Not satisfied	Not satisfied
Current Livelihoods	*crafts	Spear-making & Leather crafting (sep. from GhanziCraft), migration (for work), gathering, remittances, donations

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>D</i>	
Sex	Female	
Ethnic Group	Basarwa	
Marital Status	single	
Age	32	
History	Both parents from Ngwatle	
#Living in HH	1	
# Years live in	43 years?	
Ng		
Satisfaction with life	Not satisfied	
Current Livelihoods	*Crafts, livestock (goats), ²¹ gathering, migration (for work), formal employment when available, shabeen, donations	

²¹ The respondent officially reports craft making, subsistence gathering and “maybe to sell even a goat” as the sole livelihood strategies that she employs. However, further investigation reveals the other livelihood strategies listed as well.

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>E</i>
Sex	Female
Ethnic Group	Basarwa
Marital Status	single
Age	70
History	Both parents from Ngwatle
#Living in HH	2; respondent + daughter
# Years live in Ng	life
Satisfaction with life	Not satisfied
Current Livelihoods	*Crafts, government rations, gathering

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>F</i>
Sex	male
Ethnic Group	Mosarwa
Marital Status	single
Age	28
History	Mother & father from Ngwatle; forefathers from South Africa
#Living in HH	3; respondent, respondent's father & daughter (when not in boarding school in Hukuntsi)
# Years live in Ng	Life (born in Hukuntsi)
Satisfaction with life	Not satisfied
Current Livelihoods	Part-time entrepreneurship, interpreting, gathering, migration (for work), donations, family remittances, formal education

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>G</i>
Sex	male
Ethnic Group	Mosarwa
Marital Status	single
Age	~ 48 (Born in 1956)
History	Mother & father from Hukuntsi
#Living in HH	1
# Years live in Ng	Life
Satisfaction with life	Presume Not Satisfied (transcript error)
Current Livelihoods	*Crafts

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>H</i>	
Sex	Male	Female
Ethnic Group	Vaalpens Bushmen (refers to a specific group of Bushmen that lived in Northern Transvaal & a Bushmen of mixed blood, in this case Bushmen & Kgalagadi. The Vaalpense language is also called !Nu – notes by Nelia Oats)	
Marital Status	Married	
Age	+ 40	
History	Mother of Vaalpens ethnicity & Father Bushmen both born in Hukuntsi	
#Living in HH	3 Adults and 3 small children (his grandchildren)	
# Years live in Ng	Born and raised in Ngwatle, was adopted by village elder when orphaned as a child	
Satisfaction with life	“Life is very difficult” but he is able to save money for future plans	
Current Livelihoods	“yard work” (fencing), brick making, *road work, SA mines, builds houses with corrugated roofs (work to this point both employed & entrepreneurial but able to do much less of this physically demanding work today), Hunting, Leather crafting (independent to GC), Destitute rations	*Crafts, gathering?

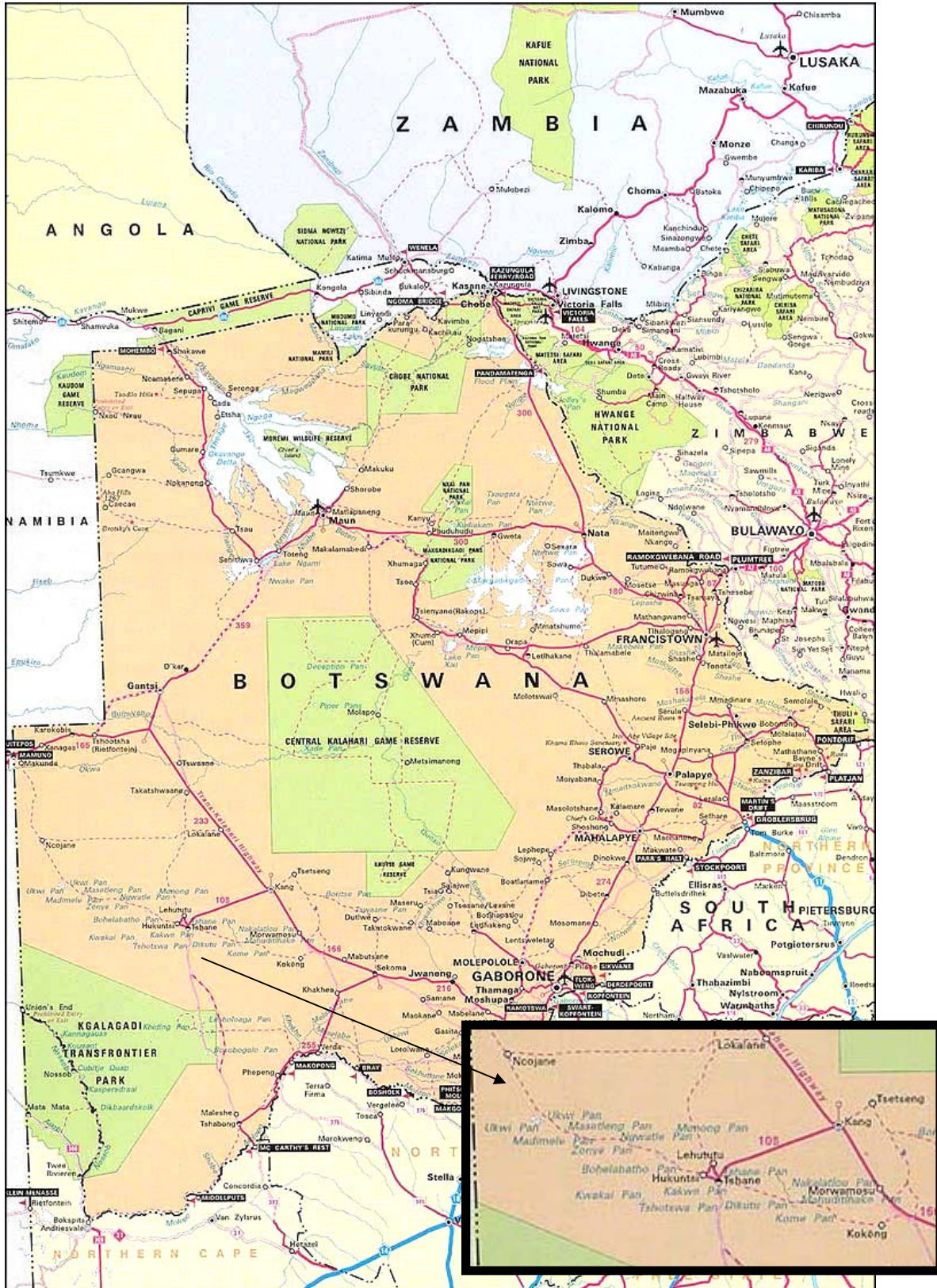
<i>HH Name</i>	<i>I</i>
Sex	Male
Ethnic Group	
Marital Status	
Age	~ 41 (Born in 1963)
History	Mother & Father both from Ngwatle
#Living in HH	2; he and his mother
# Years live in Ng	
Satisfaction with life	
Current Livelihoods	Gathering, Donations

<i>HH Name</i>	<i>J</i>	
Sex	Male	Female
Ethnic Group	Basarwa	Basarwa
Marital Status	Married	
Age	~ 44 (Born in 1966)	+40
History	Both parents originated in Ngwatle	Both parents originated in Ngwatle
#Living in HH	2	
# Years live in Ng	Life	Life
Satisfaction with life	Believe that their wealth is declining though they are able to save a little.	
Current Livelihoods	Crafts?	*Crafts, Destitute rations

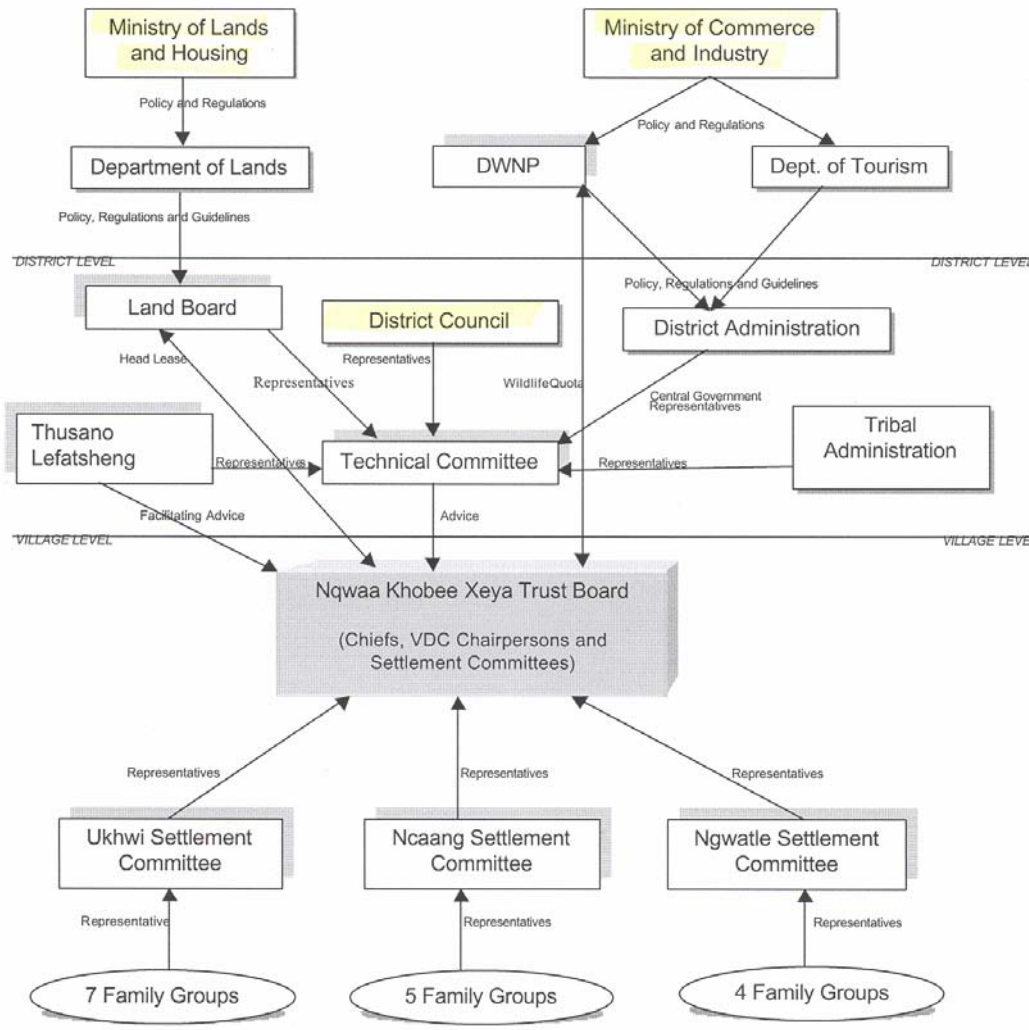
<i>HH Name</i>	<i>K</i>
Sex	Male
Ethnic Group	Basarwa
Marital Status	Single
Age	22
History	Mother from Hukuntsi; father unknown
#Living in HH	1 (mother lives in a separate household & earns a living by selling crafts)
# Years live in	Life?
Ng	
Satisfaction with life	Not Satisfied
Current Livelihoods	Formal Education, Hukuntsi (finishing from 5 & aspires toward mechanics), gathering, donations

Appendix B: Maps

B1: Site Map (south West Botswana, Ngwatle)

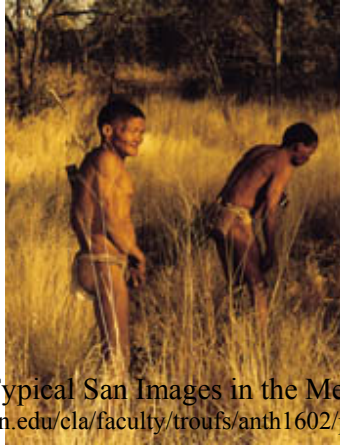


B2: The NKXT structure ²²



²² (Rozenmeijer and van der Jagt, 2000: 13)

Appendix C: Photos



Typical San Images in the Media
<http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/troufs/anth1602/pchunt.html>



Typical Ngwatle Household (2004)



Atypical Ngwatle Household (2004)



Livestock in Ngwatle (2004)



Resident Collects Water from the Only Water Tanks in Ngwatle, Delivered Monthly by the Government (2004)



Pan Near Ngwatle Spoiled by Livestock of a “Boss” Who Does Not Live in Ngwatle
(2004)



The Spoils of “Civilization.” Government Delivers Rations but No one Seems
Concerned about Waste Management

Appendix D: Additional Asset Types

Capital type	Definition
Information Capital	Awareness of new options (adapted from Toner, 2002)
Economic/Financial Capital	Savings, income, remittances and credit (Glavovic et al, nd: 2)
Personal Capitals (Cultural, Spiritual)	Cultural/ spiritual Capital refers to forms of identity maintenance and particular patterns of interaction that enable, inspire and empower and may help emphasis issues of gender, age, ethnicity and class in SLA models (Glavovic et al, nd: 5).
Political Capital	The way citizens participate in and trust (distrust) their political systems and leaders (Glavovic et al, nd: 5; Baumann and Subir 2001 cited Toner, 2002: 7)
Knowledge Systems	Developed within the community to ensure that citizens are able to obtain livelihoods (SAcoast, nd: np)
Neglected/Dead Capital	That which is unseen, un-touched, neglected and cannot be used in transactions as there is no formal entitlements. (ZENID, 2002: np)

Appendix E: Background Information: The Politics of a Name

Historically and in present day, the San are fitted with dozens of unsolicited names bequeathed both nationally and internationally and with both pejorative and benevolent motives. They are called the San, Basarwa, Mosarwa, Souqua (also Sanqua, and Soaqua),²³ Indigenous People and more recently in Botswana, Remote Area Dwellers (RADS). Globally they are more commonly known as the Bushmen. Depending who is asked, any of these names could be construed as favorable or demeaning to the individuals to whom they refer. Popular films such as *The Gods Must Be Crazy* movie series and countless other media have made the Bushmen moniker internationally recognized yet according to Wilmsen (1989) and Gordon (1992) cited in Simoes the term ‘Bosjesman/Bossiesman’, meaning ‘Bandits’ or ‘outlaws,’ arrived with early Dutch settlers who used it to refer to Bushmen in the 1600’s (2001: 10). One thing that becomes clear is that however endearing or respectful (e.g. San) these names are meant, or hurtful and derogatory (e.g. Mosarwana) as the case maybe, clearly these heterogeneous groups of individuals resent being branded by others. According to Hitchcock, at a workshop for Sustainable Rural Development in Gaborone in the early 1990s, a Nharo of the ethnic group stated:

...nobody had asked the San by what name they should be known, while other tribes had names for themselves and thus knew who they were; the San he said, wanted to be know by their own names and to have the respect of others, including that of the Botswana government (2002: 808).

Perhaps the point can not be summed better than in the words of Hunter Sixpence, a self-described Bushmen who says plainly that “people will be proud of what they would want to be called” (Interview Tomaselli and Miriam, 2003: 6).

Clearly, it is extremely important to respect the “politics of naming.” Fortunately, I asked and was told exactly how the residents of Ngwatle classify themselves during a short discussion with a young and well educated member of the community. He indicated that there are several ethnic groups in Botswana including the Mongwatu,

Bonghrutsi, Bangwatitsi, Bakalaka and Bakghalakadi²⁴ but that in Ngwatle “they are Basarwa, !Kung group” (personal interview, Ngwatle 2004). Therefore, I will refer to Ngwatle residents as Basarwa or !Kung Basarwa from this point, in accordance with the wishes of the community. However, the name Basarwa is of Setswana origin and refers specifically to people from Botswana, therefore; when speaking generally about people who share similar characteristics with the Basarwa in terms of livelihoods, past and present, but who live outside of Botswana, I will refer to them as the San or Bushmen. I have made this decision a) giving respect and recognition to centuries of co-existence with the natural environment and b) due to the fact that even in Ngwatle the names Basarwa and San appear to be more or less synonymous according to my research findings.

²⁴ These groups would not be classified as the same as the Basarwa.

Appendix F: Measurement Instrument

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Background Information

Thank you for taking part in this interview. The interview should take about 1 ½ hours. I would like to offer _____ as a small token of appreciation for spending this time with us. The purpose of the survey is to better understand what life is like for people living in Ngwatle today. The information submitted is confidential and is intended for use in completing my (Nyambura G. Njagi) Master's Dissertation in Development Studies. One of the main benefits (to you and your household) for participating in this interview is that the data generated will be added to other studies where they can be accessible to people all over the world. A copy of my report will also be sent back to the trust so that you can see the outcome for yourself. The hope is that the outcomes of this research will inform others about your life and the ways that you are able to survive. In the end, I hope this information helps to empower this community.

Full Name (optional): _____

Sex: Male Female

Spouse: Yes No

Age: _____

Who else lives with you in this household (HH)?

Ethnic Group: _____

How long have you lived in Ngwatle? _____ (Years)

Where did your family originally come from?

Livelihood Strategies

I'd like to begin the interview with questions relating to activities that you do to bring money into the household. Then I'd like to talk about activities that bring in non-monetary resources.

1. What kind of activities do you and those living with you undertake to bring money into the HH?
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)

*Let's begin discussing a)... go to **Probing Questions***

Probing Questions

- a) *Getting started:* How did you get involved in this activity?
 - b) *How long:* How long does it take to do this activity everyday?
 - c) *Who else:* Are there others in you HH involved in these activities?
 - d) *Where:* Where does this activity take place (e.g. home, touristy locations)?
 - e) *Preparations:* What kind of preparations is necessary before you start doing this activity (e.g. getting permits, sourcing cash, transport)?
 - f) *Benefits:* What does doing this activity provide you with in return (details: how much money, how much food & how long will these last you)?
 - g) *Challenges:* What are some of the problems your encounter when doing this activity?
 - h) *Dependency:* Can you do this activity on your own or do you need the help or permission of others? If so, who are these others?
 - i) *Reliability:* How reliable is this source of income?
 - j) *Aspirations:* Do you like doing this activity? If not, what would you rather be doing?
2. **(Re: Ques. 1)** You mentioned _____ as another way that your HH makes a living. Please tell me more about this (back to ***probing questions***. Transfer b/w questions 1 and 2 until main livelihood activities are identified).
 3. Do you receive government rations? How important are they in sustaining your livelihood?
 4. Are you employed by the Trust (district council)? (go to ***Probing ques.***)
 5. Are there any activities done in the HH that do not necessarily bring in money but still contribute to your livelihood(s)? Please explain.
 6. Please name 3 things that a person in Ngwatle must have in order to be said to lead a good life. A) B) C)
 7. Overall, would you say that you are satisfied with your current living situation?
Yes No
 8. When you are not busy making a living, what do you most enjoy doing in your spare time?

Do you undertake any of the following additional activities in a given year to sustain your livelihood? (check)

- Hunting
- Gathering
- Selling Crafts
- Employment through Safari company
- Travelling & working in other towns (migrant labour)
- Remittances from family members working in other places
- Donations
- Other

[Summarise livelihood portfolio of that household as you understand it. Then ask:]

1. Which is the ***one*** most valuable? (**circle**)

2. Would you be able to survive by doing this one activity alone? If yes, would this be a desirable way to make a living?
3. You say that [] is your biggest source of income/resources. Has this always been the case or has it changed over time?

Access

1. If you could access other resources that are currently unavailable to help you make a living, what would they be?

Probing Questions I

- A) Please name a few of these resources?
- B) How would these resources enhance your life?
2. 'How do you measure wealth in this community?'

Probing Questions II

- a) What makes them wealthy?
- b) What makes having these things valuable?
3. Is wealth also determined through ownership of livestock such as goats, horses and donkeys? Yes No If so, which of these animals is most important? Others? Why?

Vulnerability Context

1. **(RE: sec. 1, Ques. 3)** Earlier, you mentioned that having X, Y, Z is important in order for a person to have a good life. If a person does not have access to these things, does it mean that they are poor? Yes No Please explain further.
2. Given your present lifestyle in Ngwatle, do you feel that you are able to save money and other important resources to build for the future? Yes No. So ultimately, do you feel that your wealth is growing or declining?

Once again, thank you for participating in this interview.

Interviewer: Nyambura Gachette Njagi
 Interpreter: _____
 Interviewee: _____

Legend:

Household = HH
 Ngwatle = Ng
 No, not or doesn't = ∅
 Change = Δ