

Planning for the Communal First Development Areas in Botswana: A Framework

Prepared under project 936-5300 "Organization and Administration of Integrated Rural Development" of the Office of Rural Development and Development Administration, Agency for International Development.

A. H. Barclay, Jr.

November 1981



Development Alternatives, Inc. 624 Ninth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20001

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION ONE	
OVERVIEW	1
SECTION TWO	
DEVELOPING OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES	5
INTRODUCTION	5
DEFINITION AND SELECTION OF CFDA's	7
INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PLANNING	10
Socioeconomic Profile	10
Goals and Objectives	11
Strategy: New Projects	11
Strategy: Existing Projects	14
TARGETS FOR MONITORING AND EVALUATION	15
Activity Targets	15
Impact Targets	16
THE PLANNING-IMPLEMENTATION-EVALUATION CYCLE	21
TECHNIQUES FOR MOBILIZING LOCAL PARTICIPATION	24
Utilization of Applied Research	25
Information Exchange	26
Revitalizing Extension	27
SUMMARY	28
ANNEX A	
DUNFORD MEMO TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT AND THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS	A-1
ANNEX B	
COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS AND RELATED PLANNING	B-1

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1	A Draft Checklist for Socioeconomic Profiles of CFDA's	12
Table 2	Examples of Indicators for CFDA Programs . .	19
Figure 1	A Model of the Planning-Implementation-Evaluation Cycle	23
Figure B-1	Planning Interrelationships	B-6

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- AD - Agricultural demonstrator: an extension agent who works directly with farmers.
- AE 10 - A project under the Ministry of Agriculture designed to channel funds to farmer groups that initiate small projects on a self-help basis (construction of drift fencing, soil conservation activities, and so forth).
- ALDEP - Arable Lands Development Programme: a long-term effort by the Ministry of Agriculture to raise productivity in crop farming and thereby increase rural incomes.
- CAWG - The Communal Areas Working Group: an inter-ministerial committee established in early 1981 for discussion and coordination of activities affecting the communal areas.
- CFDA - Communal First Development Area: the first segment of a district's communal (traditional) land tenure area selected for a coordinated development effort. Most of Botswana's districts already have designated "first" and "second" development areas for commercial ranching. The CFDA concept was developed to highlight the increased attention being given to planning for the communal areas.
- CI 08 - A project under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry designed to support district-level initiatives in rural industrial development.
- CPO - Council planning officer: a counterpart to the DOD, attached to the district council with specific responsibility for social service and infrastructure projects managed by the council.
- DAO - District agricultural officer.
- DOD - District officer, development: an officer with responsibility for coordination of development planning at the district level and primary authorship of the Five-Year District Development Plan.
- DOL - District officer, lands: a technical officer assigned to work with Tribal Land Boards and Subordinate Land Boards with responsibility for assistance with land use planning.

- LG 30 - A project under the Ministry of Local Government and Lands which channels funds to district councils, the elected local government authorities which are responsible for social services (including primary education, water supply and health facilities) and rural infrastructure.
- MCI - Ministry of Commerce and Industry.
- MLGL - Ministry of Local Government and Lands.
- RIO - Rural industrial officer: a new post (staffed only since early 1980) under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, with responsibility for promoting rural employment through expansion of small-scale and medium-scale enterprises.
- RDU - The Rural Development Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.
- SAREC - A Swedish organization which supports research on agricultural development.
- SLOCA - Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas, a project under the Ministry of Agriculture with a similar design to AE 10.
- UBS - The University of Botswana and Swaziland.

SECTION ONE OVERVIEW

This report discusses current efforts by the Government of Botswana (GOB) to stimulate development in the country's communal areas, where traditional land tenure practices continue to exist. Certain areas in Botswana have been zoned for commercial ranching and others have been reserved for wildlife conservation or other uses. But the vast majority of the rural population resides in the communal areas, and it is in the latter that the problems of low agricultural productivity, unemployment, and underemployment are most acute. The National Development Plan for the period 1979-85 emphasizes the need to alleviate these problems. Significant progress has been made, especially in the past decade, towards improving the delivery of social services to villages in the communal areas, but the concentration on production and employment objectives is relatively recent.

In late 1980 and early 1981, a consensus began to emerge among GOB planners and administrators regarding the way in which communal area development should be approached. The basic premise was that within each district a limited geographical area should be selected from within the portion of land zoned as communal, and this area should receive priority attention for several years. The selection of a Communal First Development Area (CFDA) in each district would correspond to the process of planning for ranch development (a major GOB priority since 1975 when the GOB announced a national Tribal Grazing Land Policy). The chief mechanism involved the designation of "first" and "second" areas within the commercial zones of the various districts. The CFDA acronym caught on rapidly, but no clear guidelines had been developed at the time of this consultancy (July-August 1981) to show personnel in the districts and central line ministries how the concept could be applied in practice.

The essence of the CFDA approach is area-based development, in which a range of functions originating from different line ministries are joined within a common development effort. Conceptually, the CFDA model is a variant of an integrated rural development (IRD) approach--a new direction for Botswana which has had little direct experience with large-scale IRD projects. Indeed, the GOB has been skeptical about integrated approaches in the past and has preferred to rely on line ministries (particularly the Ministry of Agriculture) to plan and implement discrete

projects within their respective sectors.[1] In past practice coordination at the center is supported through numerous inter-ministerial committees (at present there are more than 20) and by the non-executive Rural Development Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. In the districts, a parallel system of consultative groups and committees has been established. In the latter case, however, the designation of "target" communal areas for an integrated development effort, as implied by the CFDA concept, represents a significant departure from common practice.

The gradual shift towards acceptance of an area-based approach can be traced to the realization that the underlying causes of low productivity and insufficient employment are interrelated. Complex land-use planning and land management issues must be addressed in the communal areas if productivity in both arable farming and livestock raising is to be improved. Similarly, little headway is likely to be made in creating new employment unless rural industrialization is closely linked with agricultural programs.

One advantage of the area-based approach is the opportunity to concentrate resources, as well as the expertise of specialists from different sectoral ministries, on a limited geographical area. This is especially important in Botswana, given the scarcity of trained manpower and the limited resources available for investment in rural development.

1 It is worth noting that IRD programs can be implemented through a number of different organizational configurations. The model with which IRD is usually associated, because it is the favorite of the World Bank, is the project management unit (PMU), an autonomous and temporary entity with a specific project mission. At least three other models can be identified: using an lead-line agency (the model adopted by the GOB for the CFDAs), using subnational units, or using a permanent integrated development authority. Each of the models has its advantages and disadvantages. Indeed, some have argued that certain configurations are more appropriate to different phases of a project. For an expanded discussion see: G. H. Honadle, and others. 1980. Integrated Rural Development: Making it Work? pp. 48-54 and E. R. Morss, and D. D. Gow. 1981. Integrated Rural Development: Nine Critical Implementation Issues. pp. 37-46. Both are reports from DAI's IRD project.

With assistance from USAID in the form of a \$3.78 million Rural Sector Grant for the period 1980-83, the GOB has begun to encourage integrated efforts to increase production and generate employment. This funding mechanism forms the cornerstone of a national IRD program which is still in its formative stages, and which specifically encourages innovation and experimentation. Funds from the grant are made available for projects (primarily those planned and implemented at district level) that address the following objectives:

- Improving land use planning and land management in the communal areas;
- Increasing small-scale agricultural production and incomes; and
- Increasing non-farm employment opportunities in the rural areas.

These objectives are central to the concept of CFDA's. That the concept has been endorsed by GOB policy makers is one sign of the commitment to explore new ways of accelerating development in the communal areas. For that commitment to be translated into concrete actions, however, operational guidelines are needed. The purpose of this report is to suggest such guidelines, and thereby further discussion within the GOB about the application of IRD approaches in Botswana.

SECTION TWO DEVELOPING OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES

INTRODUCTION

The Government of Botswana (GOB) has made a broad policy commitment to communal area development, and has endorsed rural employment and production as the main objectives of the current National Development Plan (NDP V). But there is no clear path to attaining these objectives, and there are serious constraints on manpower and financial resources, especially at the district level. This situation points to a strategy based on CFDA's: that is, programs designed and implemented on a pilot basis in selected areas, with broader distribution of benefits to occur through later extension and replication of successful approaches.

Over the next several years, CFDA programs in different districts will be expected to test and compare alternative methods of raising production and generating employment. The specific activities that are tested will vary widely among districts. This is as it should be, reflecting the need to tailor activities to each area's social and economic conditions, resource potential and institutional base. Given the nature of the problems being tackled and the operating constraints facing staff in the districts, it should come as no surprise if the success rate of CFDA programs is uneven.

Since new initiatives in the production and employment sectors depend heavily on the involvement of technical personnel from central ministries, district planning for CFDA's will require strong support and coordination at the center. This task falls primarily on the RDU, in conjunction with the inter-ministerial Communal Areas Working Group which was formed earlier this year. RDU leadership has been crucial in advancing the concept of communal area development, and this report argues that its continued leadership is necessary if the concept is to be translated into action.

There are three important dimensions to the RDU's role:

- Facilitation of response at the center to district initiatives and proposals;
- Providing consistent guidance for CFDA programs evolving in various parts of the country; and
- Promoting better communication among districts that are pursuing CFDA programs, and among central ministries.

The first dimension is a familiar one for the RDU under the terms of the Rural Sector Grant and other donor-sponsored projects involving inter-ministerial reference groups. The second, equally important, however, is to ensure that individual CFDA programs are consistent with national policy objectives, and that such programs are designed and implemented in a way that permits comparative analysis of the results. If there are no common standards to identify successful approaches and generalize about CFDA program results, extension and replication will be much more difficult.

The third dimension of potential influence for the RDU has not been given due recognition. Many people in Botswana are aware of communication problems between districts and the center. Yet in some respects, the lack of information in any one district about what other districts are doing is equally frustrating and unfortunate. The RDU is in a unique position to do something about this. As CFDA proposals and, eventually, plans are received from districts, these should be circulated directly to other districts and marked for the attention of the district development officers (DODs). A brief "Savingram" (an official GOB memorandum) could be attached to highlight points of special interest. This process should continue as progress reports are received during CFDA program implementation.

Since the content of each CFDA program will be shaped by the priorities of rural people and knowledgeable district-level authorities, guidelines put forward by the RDU should not be seen as a precise formula or "recipe" for planners in the districts. Particularly during the present formative stage of CFDA planning, a continuing dialogue will be needed between districts and the center. This dialogue is the best way to establish guidelines that are understood and followed at district level, without stifling flexibility and experimentation.

This report discusses five major issues on which RDU and Working Group guidance to districts is necessary and timely:

- Definition and selection of CFDAs;
- Information requirements for planning;
- Targets for monitoring and evaluation;
- The planning-implementation-evaluation cycle; and
- Techniques for mobilizing local participation.

For each issue, suggestions are given as to how the RDU and Working Group can move the present dialogue towards a commonly accepted framework.

DEFINITION AND SELECTION OF CFDA's

The CFDA concept was first introduced at the Eighth National District Development Conference (NDDC) in December 1980, following formal endorsement by the Rural Development Council and the cabinet. Experience in various districts since that time shows no consistent pattern either in the definition of a CFDA or in the selection process. Those districts that have moved most rapidly (Southern, Ngamiland) have applied the CFDA concept to geographic areas or specific projects or both that have been previously given priority in the district planning process. Several of the other districts have responded cautiously, if not skeptically, with the usually stated reason of uncertainty about how the new concept (and acronym) relates to the established framework of national and district planning. Some district planners have questioned whether there is anything new or distinctive about a CFDA, suggesting it may be no more than "old wine in a new bottle."

The range of district responses is instructive, and each is understandable given the district's recent history of development planning and implementation. But if every district is left to choose its own definition, the potential for coordinated support from the center will be reduced. It is now appropriate for the RDU, having sifted through the initial proposals, to identify common themes, point out inconsistencies, and provide a general definition that will guide the planning process.

Six general principles can be stated to outline a working definition:

- A CFDA is a geographical unit below the district level that is normally identified during the process of district spatial planning. A brief paper by the Department of Town and Regional Planning (DTRP) explaining the relationship between spatial planning and CFDA's is now being circulated at the district level. In some districts (Ngamiland), units in the spatial plan have been designated as "production zones", anticipating the emphasis of CFDA's.
- In terms of population coverage, a range from 5 to 20 percent of a district's total population seems appropriate for CFDA's. A program aimed at less than 5 percent is difficult to justify and is unlikely to receive strong support at the district level. By the same token, overly ambitious coverage should not be attempted since this tends to dilute resources and results in implementation staff being over-extended.

- The key sectors in CFDA planning and implementation are agricultural production (including livestock) and non-farm employment, reflecting the priorities of NDP V. This is not "old wine", because the emphasis on these sectors in Botswana's rural development policy is relatively recent. Furthermore, action by districts in these sectors will require new approaches as well as reliance on existing central ministry projects.
- The concentration of manpower and resources to achieve increased production and employment will occur over a limited time period. Because a CFDA program is both area-based and intensive, its demands on funding and personnel cannot be open-ended. Sound planning includes specifying how long a pilot CFDA program will last and when its results can be assessed. (Further discussion of the timing issue appears in the section of this report dealing with the planning-implementation-evaluation cycle.)
- If the efforts made during this limited period are to lead to sustainable growth, special attention must be given to land use planning and to strengthening local institutions. Neither of these should be seen as an end in itself, since they alone will not generate additional employment or production; but if they are neglected, it is likely that any developmental benefits within the CFDA will be short-lived.
- Finally, efforts focused on a CFDA should form a coherent, integrated program. The plan should give a clear statement of how the area's potentials and problems are inter-related, and why a program combining several projects is needed. Instead of giving a long "shopping list" of all the possible projects that might be carried out, the plan should emphasize the key projects that are a priority and the linkages that will be established between them.

These six principles allow room for considerable variation in the content of CFDA programs, which is essential. There may be initial resistance from some districts on particular points, and the RDU and Working Group may wish to rephrase them, but care must be taken to avoid ambiguity. Ad hoc definitions that differ sharply among districts will frustrate attempts to support and monitor CFDA programs, particularly where assistance is needed from central ministries.

Even if this broad general definition is accepted by district planners and decision makers, the selection of one CFDA (or several CFDA's, as may occur in the larger districts) poses a difficult political choice. Concerns have already been voiced

that once the choice is made, the areas not selected will be neglected during the time that the CFDA program is implemented. This assumption is incorrect, however, because ongoing and previously identified projects in a district's Five Year Plan and Annual Plan would continue to receive support. In other words, designation of a CFDA does not bring other district development activities to a halt. This means, specifically, that a council's priority projects in its domain of traditional responsibility (social services and infrastructure) would be implemented according to the schedule in existing plan documents. One key difference resulting from selection of a CFDA will be the special (but not exclusive) attention given to that area by certain technical staff of central ministries directly involved with production: namely agriculture, commerce, and industry, and to some extent, local government and lands. The primary demands for council support would apply to the Ministry of Community Development field staff on village extension teams, and to some investment in production-related infrastructure.

No two districts' spatial plans will be identical. Thus the land units that might be selected as CFDA's will vary widely in size, economic potential, and other respects. In most cases, the district spatial planning exercise will serve to "pre-select" potential CFDA's. This eliminates the need for a long list of precise selection criteria, although a few basic points should be stressed.

One obvious requirement is that the CFDA fall within the portion of the district zoned communal. A second is that a nucleus of key technical posts should be filled if a CFDA program is to be actually implemented and not merely designed (experience with the Matsheng Land Use Plan in Kgalagadi highlights this point). Specifically, the posts of DOL, RIO, DAO, and AD must be filled--the AD slot is probably the most critical--to give adequate technical support to production activities. Third, basic infrastructure facilities (housing, offices, and transport) should be sufficient to allow prompt implementation once the CFDA plan is approved. This implies either the selection of an area where some significant development activity is already taking place, or the rapid approval of funding for construction and procurement in a "preimplementation" phase. The latter might involve some rescheduling of expenditures already contained in the District Five Year Plan, or requests by councils to MLGL for supplemental funding under project mechanisms such as LG 30.

INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PLANNING

The purpose of this section is to suggest guidelines on the level of detail that is needed in preparing a CFDA plan. A basic assumption is that information needs should correspond to the scale of the effort. Since the areas served and the project activities in them will be significantly smaller than in overall district development planning, CFDA planning documents ought to be briefer and more concise than the Five Year Plans and Annual Plans that districts produce.

This does not imply, however, that a CFDA plan should consist of nothing more than excerpts from the existing district Five Year Plan--that is, a summary of previously planned and ongoing projects in the selected area. The challenge of CFDA planning is to rethink the basic strategy for area development, with much greater emphasis on the production/employment theme than has been true of district planning in the past. Doing this depends on a command of specific information on the proposed CFDA--its resources, its economic potential and its most critical problems. This information provides the basis for defining goals and objectives in specific rather than general terms. If a major effort is proposed to increase employment, for example, the CFDA plan should contain an estimate of how many new jobs can be created. It should also provide enough background information on the area to demonstrate that this estimate is reasonable.

As suggested earlier, the RDU and Communal Areas Working Group play important roles in monitoring CFDA programs. As these programs are implemented and verifiable results achieved, comparative assessments will need to be made. This will allow general lessons to be drawn from different districts' experience with pilot CFDA programs. But this type of comparison will be difficult, if not impossible, unless there is some consistency in the way that districts organize and present information in CFDA plan documents. Four categories of required information are briefly discussed below.

Socioeconomic Profile

Each CFDA plan should give an overview of the proposed area that describes principal existing land uses, human settlement patterns, infrastructural development, and components of the local economy. This description should be factual and quantitative wherever possible. Does this mean that an intensive baseline survey will be needed to generate precise figures on household income, hectares under cultivation for each crop, and so on? The answer is no: what is needed first is a review of the best available data from existing sources, with a brief follow up investigation of important gaps. It should be recognized that the

quality and quantity of information on the CFDA will improve over the life of the program, and that at least some of the initial assumptions made in the planning phase will have to be revised.

What minimum amount of information should be considered as standard for the socioeconomic profile of a proposed CFDA? One way of answering this question is to draw up a simple checklist of items that each CFDA plan should include (with the understanding that additional area-specific information would normally also be included). A rough provisional checklist is given in table 1. This is offered as an example, and not as the last word. It can be substantially improved by people at the center and in the districts who possess a more thorough knowledge of rural development in Botswana. Such improvement would be relatively easy if, for example, the RDU and working group were to redraft the list, ask district-level CFDA planners to field-test it, and then use feedback from the districts to prepare a revised version for general use.

Goals and Objectives

Information presented in the socio-economic profile provides the background for what the CFDA program intends to accomplish. "More employment" and "higher production" may be obvious priorities in an area, but they are meaningless as goals to aim for in a limited time period. At the national level, as shown in NDP V, it has proven very difficult to quantify targets in these categories. But at the local (CFDA) level, firm estimates are both feasible and essential. Thus, for example, an RIO should be able to state whether concentrated efforts to stimulate new small enterprises can be expected to generate 10 new jobs, as opposed to 50 or 100. Similarly, an order of magnitude for increases in arable production (10 percent as opposed to 25 percent) is also a reasonable requirement. This issue is discussed further in the next section of the report, which deals with planning targets and functions they serve.

Strategy: New Projects

Most, if not all, CFDA plans will be built around one or more significant new project initiatives, usually calling for significant involvement of central ministry resources. The original idea for a new project may initiate in the district, but technical and economic feasibility analysis is likely to depend on more senior and experienced planning officials at the center. It may be assumed that new projects with capital costs of P20,000 (US \$26,200) or more will require this input. How far, then, should a district CFDA plan go in terms of detail? As a general guideline, the project data presented in that plan should allow planners at

Table 1. A Draft Checklist for Socioeconomic Profiles of CFDAs

<u>Category</u>	<u>Data needs</u>
Population	1. Total population of the area
	2. Distribution in villages and smaller settlements
	3. Percentage of population involved in migration outside area
Land resources	4. Size of area in square kilometers
	5. Percentage of area presently allocated to (a) arable production, (b) grazing, and (c) other uses
	6. Approximate number of water points, by type (boreholes, dams, etc.)
Social institutions	7. Major ethnic groups represented, as percentage of population
	8. Number of farming groups with active projects
	9. Number of kgotlas within areas
	10. Number of VDCs with active projects
	11. Cooperative societies (marketing, consumer, etc.)
Government services	12. Communications (yes/no): Post Office, all weather road, radio or telephone services
	13. Number of established posts and currently vacant posts for village extension staff: (a) ADs, (b) Head teachers, (c) ACDOs, (d) community service staff, and (e) adult literacy assistants
	14. Number of (a) offices and (b) houses available for staff posted to the area
Arable farming	15. Number of households involved in crop production
	16. Mean area plowed and mean yield/ha for grains (sorghum, millet, millet)
	17. Mean local market price per 70 kg bag

Table 1. (Continued)

Category	Data needs
Livestock	18. Estimated amount of food deficit (or surplus) in tons, based on production and average consumption per capita
	19. Estimated number of head (cattle, sheep, and goats) in area
	20. Number of households holding livestock
	21. Average price/head received in cattle sales
	22. Estimated annual sales of cattle (number of head)
Non-farm employment (private sector)	23. Number of shops and other trading enterprises (general dealers, bottle stores, etc.) and percentage owned by members of local community
	24. Estimated total annual turnover of all trading enterprises
	25. Main types of industrial enterprises (includes construction, processing, repair; artisans)
	26. Number of people employed for wages in commerce or industry
	27. Number of people self-employed in commerce or industry
	28. Percentage of population who participate in hunting and/or gathering
	29. Percentage of population receiving cash incomes hunting and/or gathering on a regular basis

the center (in MFDP and line ministries) to make a preliminary judgment on the technical and economic merit of the new project. This might be called a 'plausibility analysis'. If the judgment is positive, the next step would be for central planning officers and technicians to visit the proposed site and collaborate with district staff in finalizing the project memorandum. This should take place with a minimum of delay, if the central ministry is to assist rather than obstruct CFDA planning. An outside limit of 60 days seems generous for a written response to a district's draft project memorandum (PM). Collaboration on the final version should follow within a month or two of a positive response.

Such prompt response, while obviously needed, is not yet an accepted practice. The tendency is for district-generated PMs to be rewritten in Gaborone--often after considerable delay--without involving staff who identified the project and collected the data used in the draft PM. This tendency is illustrated in the case of two projects proposed for the Ngamiland CFDA, the Molapo Improvement Project, and the SAREC-financed Farming Systems Research Project, which are being revised by MOA without direct involvement by personnel from the district. The RDU's influence with central ministries should be used energetically to institutionalize collaborative (district-center) planning for new projects in CFDAs, and to set a timetable for response to draft PMs.

Strategy: Existing Projects

It is also expected that most CFDA programs will include a number of existing projects, in particular, mechanisms developed to promote decentralization such as MCI's small projects fund (CI 08) and MOA's companion projects for arable farming (AE 10) and communal area livestock (SLOCA). There is no need to repeat large amounts of text from the existing PMs for these "umbrella" projects in a CFDA plan. But there should be a clear explanation of how these mechanisms will be used more intensively under the CFDA program. What measures will be taken, for example, to elicit greater activity by farmer groups in drift fencing or other small projects financed by AE 10? Steps might include in-service training of field staff involved with self-help projects, additional transport, and closer supervision of extension. An important recommendation to reinforce such efforts, which MOA has been reluctant to implement, concerns the delegation of control over funds for small projects to regional agricultural officers. MCI moved quickly by subwarranting funds under CI 08 on an advance basis to RIOs in the districts, and the system has worked well. A parallel decision by MOA for its AE 10 and SLOCA projects is long overdue.

TARGETS FOR MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Few people involved with rural development in Botswana are under any illusions about the difficult nature of communal area development. The urgency of tackling production and employment issues in the communal areas is matched by a realization that there are no ready solutions, and that not all new initiatives will be successful. By comparison with construction of infrastructure facilities--the main focus of the Accelerated Rural Development Program of the mid-1970s--activities in the productive sector are not as likely to give tangible results and have a much higher risk factor.

The uncertainty factor, however, is not a license for unstructured, open-ended planning. On the contrary, it underscores the need for clear thinking about targets and the assumptions on which those targets are based. Acknowledging uncertainty means that the assumptions will have to be tested and, if they prove incorrect, the targets will then have to be adjusted. When this is done, the planning process remains flexible, yet it follows a path that plan managers and other implementing authorities can readily understand. Equally important, the process can be observed and understood by interested parties who are not directly involved in the program.

For this reason, guidance to districts on targets for CFDA planning can be especially useful. This guidance should make a clear distinction between two types of target: activity targets associated with individual projects in the CFDA plan and impact targets that reflect the overall goals of the program. An example of the first would be the completion of a certain number of kilometers of drift fencing. Examples of the second would be (a) higher yields of sorghum per hectare resulting from protection of fields, and (b) increased household incomes associated with higher agricultural production. Each type of target is discussed more fully below.

Activity Targets

Because project planning is an established technique in Botswana, the use of activity targets is well known. Traditionally, project planning relies on targets for financial expenditure and for completion of discrete physical tasks. Although implementation schedules tend to slip, measurement of progress is fairly straightforward. One can look, for example, at the volume of loan requests to the National Development Bank under ALDEP to determine if distribution of ALDEP "packages" (planter/cultivators) is occurring on schedule. At district level, a system is already in place for quarterly reporting on projects scheduled for implementation under the Five Year Plan and Annual Plan.

The principal function of activity targets, therefore, is to provide a basis for monitoring implementation progress. If progress on an individual project is especially slow, regular monitoring permits diagnosis of problems and replanning or rescheduling if necessary.

The monitoring procedures that are presently used in district planning are also applicable to CFDA programs. These procedures involve routine recording of inputs (primarily expenditure) and outputs (physical accomplishments and events) against a quarterly and annual schedule. In the case of MOA's project AE 10, for example, provisional targets can be set for the amount of funds (external investment) that will be brought into a CFDA over a specified period both for the number of farmers participating in group projects and the value of their self-help contributions. These targets provide a basis for monitoring project inputs. Other provisional targets can be used to measure outputs (for instance, kilometers of drift fencing, number and capacity of dip tanks constructed, and so forth). It is worth emphasizing again that for almost all of the projects contained in the CFDA program, the initial targets will reflect estimates of what can be accomplished and they will usually need to be revised as implementation proceeds.

Impact Targets

This category of planning targets has not been emphasized very strongly in Botswana's development planning. One reason for this may be the tendency to rely on discrete projects under sectoral ministries as the units of analysis. The result is that one can answer questions such as "How many classrooms were built in Kweneng District last year?", but only rarely can one find targets for measuring improvements in the quality of education being offered.

A second reason, undoubtedly, is that impact targets tend to be difficult to agree on in the first instance, and even more difficult to measure. In examining impact, one is looking for evidence of significant changes that have occurred in the social and economic conditions of the area. The findings form the basis for evaluating whether basic development goals have been achieved: for example, whether food production and incomes in a rural area have risen, together with evidence that the increases are likely to be sustained rather than temporary. Many of the changes brought about by successful development programs are gradual, rather than sudden and dramatic. For example, construction of a drift fence is an easily documented event, but the consequent changes in land use, agricultural productivity, and so forth are a process that occurs over several years. This makes those changes difficult to verify and measure.

For the purpose of evaluating CFDA programs--and other rural development programs, for that matter--impact measurement should be seen as a decision-making tool and not as a scientific exercise to establish absolute proof. Timeliness and cost-effectiveness are especially important for decision makers. These two criteria imply that elaborate statistical surveys will usually be inappropriate. Particularly at the CFDA level, there is no point in spending large amounts of money to evaluate small-scale programs, and little value in evaluation results that come out of the computer two or three years after the program has terminated.

What realistic options exist, then, for impact evaluation in CFDA programs which are small to begin with and that depend on scarce and relatively inexperienced manpower? The basic questions to be answered are "before and after" questions: how has the area changed over the life of a CFDA program, and are the changes due to the program? Inevitably the answers must be quantified, however crudely. The statement that "some" impact has occurred is meaningless: the evidence of impact is useful only if it can be measured against the goals of the program. If no clear goals and impact targets were set at the beginning, the evaluation cannot produce firm conclusions about whether the results are good, average, or poor. Decision makers will then be unable to make reasonable judgements about whether to continue the program, replicate it in other communal areas, or terminate it.

What decision makers have a stake in obtaining good evaluation results from CFDA programs? The RDU and Communal Areas Working Group will be important users of the results, both as a source of specific guidance to further district initiatives in the communal areas, and in influencing national policy for communal area development. But staff in the districts and villagers in the communal areas themselves will also make decisions based on their own best assessment of what has been successful. The fact that evaluation can influence decisions at the village, district, and national levels is a powerful argument for a process of joint assessment with participation at all three levels. The prospects for this will be improved if the RDU takes the lead, through technical assistance to the districts, in establishing a basis for collaboration. Three specific guidelines to lay the groundwork for evaluation are suggested here:

- Much depends on presentation in the CFDA plan of information on "baseline" conditions in the area. The use of a standard checklist, as suggested in this report, provides a common frame of reference for all CFAs and, for each one, answers the question, "Where are we starting from?"

- The next logical step in planning, "Where do we want to go?" should be translated into specific goals for the CFDA program--in other words, into impact targets. A particular impact target such as X new jobs may depend on the success of two or more interrelated projects. A key assumption in the plan, therefore, is that if the activity targets of those projects are met, then the combined effect will be Y amount of new employment. In writing a CFDA plan, impact targets should not be pulled out of thin air. They should be related in a logical fashion to the expected results (activity targets) of the individual projects that will be carried out within the program.
- The task of evaluation will be considerably easier if there is general agreement at the planning stage on how impact can be measured. This involves specifying some indicators that will be used as substitutes for extensive surveys and heavy reliance on outside evaluation experts. The indicators, of course, will usually be less accurate than statistical survey results. On the other hand, they can often be made simple enough for use by project beneficiaries themselves (such as "self-surveys") as well as by government staff, while still filling the information needs for evaluation. In terms of CFDA planning, the basic question here is: "How will we know if we are achieving our goals?"

Table 2 illustrates the use of indicators as they might apply to hypothetical examples in a CFDA program. The first column states a basic problem to be addressed, while the second column lists indicators of "baseline" conditions. The third and fourth columns show the specific strategy that is adopted with activity targets and indicators for monitoring progress towards them. The fifth column lists impact targets (goals), and the sixth lists indicators that would show evidence of impact. The examples are not taken from any of the CFDA proposals that have been submitted to date, and appear here only to show how common measurement techniques can be used for planning, monitoring and evaluation purposes.

Indicators as such are not necessarily mysterious, as can be shown by a few examples. Small farmers in eastern Zaire, who have a long tradition of producing maize as a cash crop, measure their purchasing power by how many bags they must sell to pay for a bolt of cloth. Until 1978, one bag sufficed for this. Since then, despite increased production in the area and higher farm gate prices for maize, the cost of the cloth has been equivalent to two bags. The farmers maintain, with this solid evidence, that their real incomes from agriculture have fallen. In Botswana, the monitoring system used in the recent drought relief program was also based on indicators. For example, the number of malnourished children treated in rural clinics and health centers was used as an indicator of crop failure or food deficits or both.

Table 2. Examples of Indicators for CFDA Programs

Problem		Strategy		Goals	
Baseline situation	Indicators	Activity targets	Indicators	Impact targets	Indicators
Lack of accessible marketing channels for livestock	50,000 head of cattle with annual sales of only 2,000	Establish new co-op society with assistance from MOA	Society registered and most staff in post	Annual sales of cattle rise to 5,000 after 3 years (10% offtake)	Data in sales register of cooperative society and records kept by private agents
		Create truck routes with supporting infrastructure	Route demarcated and infrastructure completed		
		Provide scales and handling facilities for co-op	Facilities installed		
		Introduce mobile banking facilities	Regular schedule for mobile bank in areas		
High mortality rate for small stock	Herd growth rates average only 10% in a 'good' year	Increase distribution of animal health medicines	Amounts of medicine distributed and sold	Average rate of herd growth increases to 30% in a 'good' year	Observations by veterinary staff record higher proportion of young animals
		Hold demonstrations and group extension programs to reach 75% of stock owners in area	Number of demonstrations given and number of stock owners adopting recommended practices		
Area regularly experiences a deficit in food grains	Average of 80 tons/year has to be imported to CFDA to cover gap between production and consumption needs	Distribute ALDEP packages to 200 farmers in area	Number of loan applications to NDB and Co-op Bank for packages	Production increased by 80 tons/year eliminating need for imported grain	Drop in grain sales in shops
		Disseminate improved cultivation practices, storage, etc. covering all farmers in area	Percentage of farmers adopting recommended practices		Farmers adopting packages report average increase of 400 kg

(continued)

Table 2. (Continued)

Problem		Strategy		Goals	
Baseline situation	Indicators	Activity targets	Indicators	Impact targets	Indicators
Lack of opportunities for wage employment in private sector	Only 50 people among 8000 in area earn cash income from regular employment	Complete five feasibility studies for small industries based on local raw materials	Completed studies recommending specific investment possibilities	100 additional full time jobs for area residents over three years	Number of work-places created in new enterprises and added (net) to existing enterprises
		Train 25 local artisans--to upgrade skills	Number of courses held and number of participants		
		Loan P100,000 in programs through commercial banks directed at small entrepreneurs	Number of applications for loans received and processed and amount lent to entrepreneurs		
		Require RIO to spend 50% of time on projects in area	Number of referrals and repeat visits by RIOs		

In terms of CFDA programs, it is probable that close consultation with local residents will generate many area-specific indicators. That is, village residents in the Hanahai area of Ghanzi will define goals and indicators of goal achievement quite differently from the way that Gomare (Ngamiland) or Phitsame-Molopo (Southern) villagers do. This kind of variation is to be expected. For purposes of comparison, however, the meaning and interpretation of indicators should be relatively consistent among the various CFDA programs. How can this be assured? The RDU and Working Group should circulate CFDA plans among the districts, with a brief cover letter on each highlighting specific features in the plan that staff in other districts should note. This simple step can improve the cross-fertilization of ideas among districts. It will also avert a situation in which the same indicator signifies success in one CFDA program and failure in another. Since employment and agricultural production are overriding concerns across all of Botswana's rural areas, relative consistency in measurement should be a manageable problem.

THE PLANNING-IMPLEMENTATION-EVALUATION CYCLE

This section lays out a general model of the sequence in CFDA programs that runs from planning to implementation, and eventually to evaluation. At this point there is no compelling reason to impose a fixed time period (three years) on all CFDA programs. The proposals submitted thus far assume varying time periods, and spokesmen for other districts have indicated that, at least in the first stage of concentration on communal areas, specific circumstances will require programs of differing length. To restate a point made earlier, however, planning for a pilot program cannot take place in a vacuum: it must be placed within some time limits if it is to serve as a basis for broader efforts in the future.

As a general proposition, there is no doubt that CFDA programs should fit logically into the established system of district development planning. At a minimum, this implies that the implementation schedules of projects in the CFDA should be coordinated with the timetable and reporting schedule of District Annual Plans. Whether each CFDA program can be planned to coincide with its district's longer-term development plan is problematical. Districts currently operate under a five-year planning system, but there is a possibility that they will shift to a three-year system to take effect in 1982. Should this occur, it may be possible to synchronize most, if not all, communal area development programs with district plans on a gradual basis. In many respects, a three-year horizon seems appropriate for CFDA programs. This appears to be the minimum period in which tangible results can be expected (especially in view of the emphasis on

agriculture and small industries) and the maximum period for which special attention to limited areas can be justified at the district level. (It is of interest that participants at the July 1981 CPO/DOD seminar could not agree on an ideal time period: some assumed that more than three years was too long to focus on a single area in their districts.)

Figure 1 presents a simplified view of the sequence from planning to implementation to evaluation. It does not specify an interval between the start of a district's first communal area development program and the start of the next, since at least, initially, this may vary. The interval appears in the diagram as T_1 to T_3 . Evaluation of impact is assumed to begin at T_2 . The diagram makes a somewhat artificial distinction between the² end of the CFDA planning phase and the start of implementation (shown at T_1). Obviously, not all projects will start simultaneously. Some will be ready to start when others are still in the investigation stage, require further analysis, or be held up until donor funds can be obtained. This report has argued that planning for communal area development never actually "stops" because there will never be a perfectly detailed blueprint that can guarantee success. Yet the time comes when action--that is, implementation--becomes relatively more important than investigation, analysis, and planning. Staff serving in the districts are acutely aware of this. Perhaps nowhere is the situation clearer than in Ngamiland where Council members and district administration staff feel strongly that planning has gone on "long enough", and insist that projects in the CFDA should be launched now or be abandoned altogether. In their case, the planning period from T_0 to T_1 has taken more than two years--far longer than most districts will be able to justify.

In real terms, when should the transition occur from planning to implementation? There are two prerequisites for this transition:

Regardless of how many individual projects are ready for immediate implementation, the specific development goals for the CFDA and the strategy for achieving them must be clearly laid out; and

Plan managers in the district must have worked out an implementation plan that shows how activities in different sectors and projects will be coordinated. This involves assigning individual field staff with specific responsibilities and providing incentives for staff in different ministries to cooperate in the effort to achieve common CFDA program goals.

Figure 1: A Model of the Planning-Implementation-Evaluation Cycle

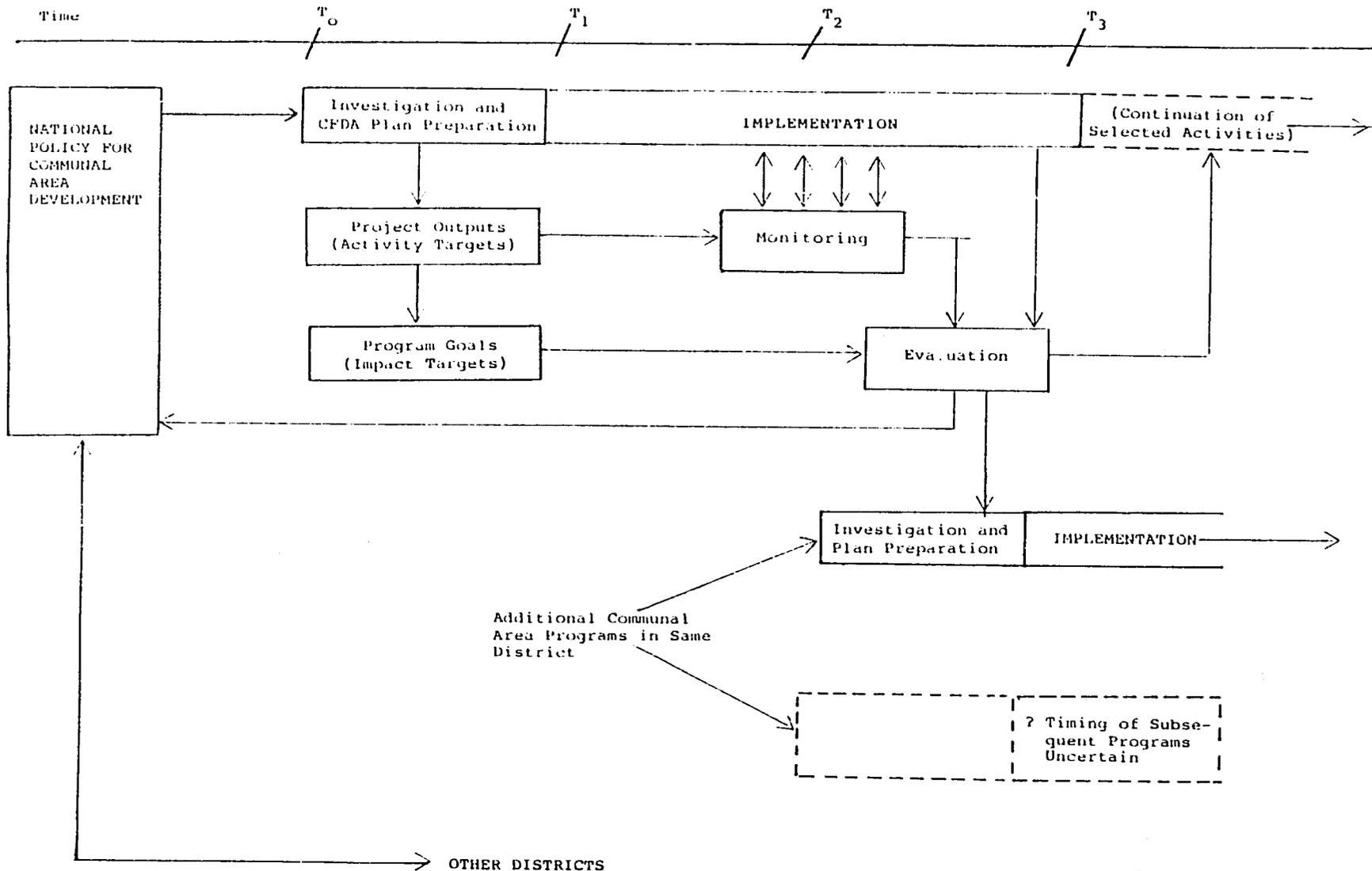


Figure 1 assumes the evaluation of CFDA program impact should be timed to coincide with the investigation and planning stage of subsequent communal area programs in the same district. Circumstances may require that impact evaluation be attempted as early as the second year in a CFDA program (realistically, no impact can be anticipated in the first place), but measurement and verification are likely to be easier in the third year and even more so in later years. Monitoring activity targets, however, would begin in the first year and continue for the life of the CFDA program. The diagram illustrates this important distinction between monitoring and evaluation. The latter is shown as serving three purposes:

- Providing input from CFDA implementation experience to national policy for communal area development, and through this to programs in other districts;
- Improving the planning process for additional (second, third, and so forth) communal development areas within the same district; and
- Guiding decisions on further implementation of certain projects within the CFDA itself in the period after the pilot phase has ended.

The difficulty of impact evaluation was assessed in the previous section of this report. Reasonable estimates of CFDA program impact that meet decision makers' needs can be obtained if the "baseline" profile in the CFDA plan is accurate, if the nature and magnitude of expected changes are made clear, and if measurement techniques are agreed upon during the planning phase (rather than being invented ad hoc by outside evaluators). If progress is to be made in finding successful approaches for communal area development, evaluation is essential. Without it, the situation at T_3 , when new programs must be launched, will reflect the same problems and uncertainties that exist today.

TECHNIQUES FOR MOBILIZING LOCAL PARTICIPATION

The importance of this point has been emphasized repeatedly in the literature on rural development. It is generally understood that the active involvement of rural people in identifying priorities and planning and managing projects improves the prospects for self-sustaining development. Yet attempts to build popular participation into development projects have not always been successful. In many situations where there is strong pressure to achieve results in a short period, the ideal of participation is only given lip service.

In Botswana, the long-established system of consultation and the key role of the village kgotla provide a strong basis for participation efforts in the communal areas. The consultation process and traditional village leadership have been used effectively in communicating broad national policies such as the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. But these channels have not been used to their full potential in planning and carrying out area-specific development programs--the heart of the CFDA concept. Although decentralization to district level has produced encouraging results, the basic premise of CFDA planning is that the decentralization process must extend further--to the village level. Channelling manpower and funds from district headquarters downwards to a CFDA is only one part of the strategy: the other, equally important part is the ideas, commitment, and direct support that flow upwards from the village.

While general emphasis is being given to the need for such participation, the RDU and Working Group should offer three types of specific guidance to districts in:

- Utilizing applied research;
- Improving the process of information exchange between villagers and government technical officers; and
- Strengthening the capacity of field extension teams in CFDA's.

Utilization of Applied Research

Under the umbrella of MLGL's project LG 31 (Implementation of Integrated Land Use Plans), several applied research activities have been designed to feed directly into CFDA planning. Specific studies commissioned by districts are principally concerned with land tenure issues and existing land use patterns. Research on village institutions under the direction of MLGL's Applied Research Unit (ARU) will cover several districts, with a focus of CFDA's where those have been identified. The ARU has attempted to make the research design responsive to the information needs identified by DODs and DOLs in order to improve the chances that the research results will actually be used.

Two brief comments can be made about the experience with village institutions research thus far. The first is that the inventory collected by UBS students appears to be of marginal value for CFDA planning. The bulk of it may duplicate what is already known by council and central government field staff working in the rural areas, and it provides a static, functional description of local institutions such as VDCs and 4-B Clubs. The research must be pursued in much greater depth if it is to reveal which institutions are strong and dynamic, which offer the greatest potential for taking on new projects, and so forth.

Second, if the districts are the real "clients" for this applied research, a regular, continuing dialogue is needed with the ARU and its field researchers throughout the life of the research exercise. As information needs for CFDA planning grow, the content of the applied research program in a given district may also change. This calls for a negotiation process in which the district officers and ARU researchers acknowledge their respective abilities and constraints.

Information Exchange

Over the last decade, many of Botswana's rural areas have been extensively studied, and large amounts of information have been accumulated by private researchers and by government technical officers. Typically, information is extracted from interviews and observations which require the cooperation of village residents. Yet because they rarely, if ever, see the research results, villagers cannot judge whether correct conclusions have been drawn and cannot use the information for their own benefit.

A major challenge in CFDA planning is to correct this problem by promoting better two-way communication. Chris Dunford's March 1981 memo to the RDU and MLGL on land use planning (annex A) contains some useful ideas on how such a dialogue can be encouraged. As a starting point, such information items as land use maps and enlarged aerial photographs could be presented and discussed in village meetings. Feeding back the results of investigations into a discussion forum at the village level could both demystify these planning tools and engage villagers more directly in a discussion of priorities and constraints for local development.

Similarly, the process of information exchange can bring out the potential for "self-surveys" and suggest simple indicators that rural people themselves can use to measure the impact of a CFDA program. Important evaluation issues should be phrased in concrete terms. Thus, for example, farmers planning a group project to erect a drift fence should be asked: "How will you be able to tell if the fence serves its purpose?" and "How will you judge if you have produced more sorghum from your fields when they are protected by the fence?" Comparable questions can be asked of the people who stand to benefit from other projects--rural artisans, members of new or existing cooperatives, and so forth. This kind of dialogue is essential if people within a CFDA are to develop a strong identification with the program rather than perceiving it as something the government has delivered to them.

Dunford's memo cites the slow pace of localization in DOL posts as a constraint to participatory land use planning. Since that memo was written, DOL posts in Central and Southern Districts

have been localized with the appointment of new UBS graduates. Understandably, they are inexperienced in the dialogue facilitation process that is recommended for CFDA land use planning, although their technical skills appear to be adequate.

RDU has earmarked consultancy funds under the Rural Sector Grant to support CFDA planning. This funding channel might be used to obtain the services of an experienced former DOL for a two to three month period, to work in one or two districts where CFDA planning is underway. New Botswana DOLs could thus be introduced to the process and acquire skills in dialogue facilitation through intensive on-the-job training.

Revitalizing Extension

The success or failure of CFDA programs will depend as much on the availability and capacity of extension personnel as on the quality of planning. The shadow of the Matsheng Land Use Plan (whose implementation has been stalled because several key extension posts remain unfilled) hangs over the CFDA concept. Even if a full staff of extension personnel exists, the nature of a CFDA program is likely to give new responsibilities to these field staff, requiring new types of skills. This is especially true of agricultural demonstrators (ADs), on whom so much depends to mobilize farmers' participation in development projects. The advent of extension-based project mechanisms (AE 10 and SLOCA) has not been reinforced on a countrywide basis by in-service training that will better prepare ADs to identify, analyze, and service local projects. The decentralized, area-based approach of CFDA programs will increase the burden on them and other members of village extension teams. This highlights the need for additional training and support if they are to fulfill expectations.

Here again, Rural Sector Grant funding provides a potential channel for assistance under RDU sponsorship. A consultancy is planned in the near future to formulate specific proposals for capacity-building exercises at the local level. Yet there is also a significant opportunity for central ministries--particularly the MOA--to finance broader efforts through the Rural Sector Grant. Specifically, a new project memorandum could be put forward for funding in year three of the grant, which commences in April 1982. This idea was suggested in the 1979 Rural Sector Study and the 1980 project paper for the grant. The adoption of a strategy focusing on CFDAs only strengthens the argument for tackling extension issues in a systematic fashion.

SUMMARY

This report has been addressed to several audiences: to the RDU and the closely affiliated Communal Areas Working Group, and to staff in the districts who are undertaking the CFDA programs. The report highlights the leadership role that the RDU can and should play in guiding new initiatives in the communal areas. Specific guidelines have been suggested to place the evolutionary CFDA planning process within a common framework. While the emphasis here is on planning, the true test of the CFDA strategy can only come through implementation. Thus the purpose of this report has been to resolve certain issues so that the promising initiatives put forward by the districts can be advanced to the implementation stage without prolonged debate over fundamental concepts.

ANNEX A

DUNFORD MEMO TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT
AND THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS

ANNEX A

DUNFORD MEMO TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT
AND THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS:
THOUGHTS ON A LAND USE PLANNING APPROACH
TO COMMUNAL AREA DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

The Government of Botswana decision to emphasize development of the communal (customary tenure) areas has some corollary assumptions about the desirable strategy for a communal area program. Three of these assumptions are:

- That the development program should proceed carefully, taking time to investigate important issues through research and pilot activities and concentrating initial efforts on a few Communal First Development Areas selected by the districts;
- That land-use planning is the logical starting point for communal area development; and
- That village-level participation in development planning and implementation is essential to ensure that development becomes self-sustaining.

Using these assumptions and Stephen Sandford's "Keeping an Eye on TGLP" as the basis for discussion, I would like to raise a few issues about village-level land use planning.

As Sandford noted (para. 3.27), "I can see a great deal of merit in most land-use planning functions in Botswana being located at village level...In this way the best use can be made of existing local knowledge, and flexibility to meet local circumstances can be retained." He also added (para. 3.30), "Too much expertise in planning crowds out local participation and knowledge because the language and concepts of the professional steamroller the layman until he gives up contributing anything at all." These are accepted arguments for local-level land-use planning by local people. However, I have detected a paradox in opinions expressed by government officials. On one hand, it is agreed that there is great need for more information and more detailed planning. On the other hand, it is agreed there has been too much surveying and research and the government may be guilty of "over" planning (the expert steamroller effect). The question appears to be this: given that information and expertise are needed for communal area development, and given that recent strategies for information gathering and expert planning have not met that need, and given that villagers should be planning for their own development, what role should information and expertise play in village land-use planning and development?

The question can be posed differently. "Experts" at central, regional, and district levels have general knowledge of one or more specific topics: they are aware of many ways to cultivate crops, manage animals, build water systems, and so on. "Experts" at the village level have specific knowledge of a general topic--making a living from the land in their local area. The villagers need the government "experts" to provide new ideas, techniques, and tools and as well as guidance for tapping money and services available from the government. The government people need the village "experts" to provide guidance and cooperation for the effective application of their knowledge and money to activities that generate lasting development. Each type of expert needs to make sense to the other so they can enter into an effective partnership. "Making sense" to each other requires dialogue, so the question becomes "how is dialogue between officials and villagers to be started and maintained?"

This question should be broken into three parts: 1) what government official should enter into the dialogue; 2) what institutions or residents in the village should enter the dialogue; and 3) what technique should be used to establish the dialogue.

An obvious answer to the first question is a district team of experts in agriculture and other production-related skills. However, there must be a "point man" who has the dual responsibility of drawing the appropriate villagers into a dialogue, maintaining the interaction, and drawing members of the district team into the dialogue at the appropriate times. This "facilitator" role is best played by a generalist with a good basic grasp of the land/people issues of the district. Ideally, this person would be the district officer (land), but the facilitator should "understand" villagers both because he or she has a village background and because he or she speaks fluent Setswana. There are no Motswana (DO)LS yet.

An obvious answer to the second question is the kgotla. However, the strength and representativeness of the kgotla varies considerably from village to village, so the kgotla is not necessarily the best participant in a dialogue with the government. The just-starting research project on the role of local institutions in communal area development is designed to answer this crucial question, but no one will be surprised if the research finds that every village is different enough to disallow useful generalizations. In any case, the facilitator will have to do his or her homework not only on the land/people issues in the village in questions, but also to identify the people with whom they can most effectively discuss those issues.

The third question on technique is perhaps answered by assumption b) above--that land-use planning is the logical starting point for communal area development. However, there must be a redefinition of land-use planning in the "mind" of the government for this answer to make sense. Land-use planning is too often

thought of as a zoning exercise, assigning particular uses and people to particular areas on the basis of such criteria as soil, slope, water, and current use. This conception is too simple and too narrow. The spatial mixing and temporal sequencing of land uses in a village area are generally too complicated to be managed under a static zoning plan which simply separates grazing from cultivation, for instance. Furthermore, land-use planning should be broadly interpreted as "planning for a land-based economy."

Land-use planning is a way of disciplining thinking about the future, something any thoughtful person can do and which every land manager from farmer-herdsman to government official does, consciously or not. It involves a set of questions about a piece of land (nation, region, district, village, farm, or grazing area):

- What is here that can be used?
- How is it being used now?
- What is likely to happen to it in the future?
- Is that likely future desirable?
- Given what is happening now, what changes can be made to make the future better? and,
- How can those desirable changes be made?

The role of a dialogue facilitator in land-use planning would be to make sure the right people (that is, the people who most influence how land is used) are asking the "planning questions"; to make sure these people have sufficient information to get useful answers to their questions; to make sure these people decide about these questions at an early stage of their thinking as to what is desirable and undesirable for the future; and to make sure the thinking of these people extends beyond the immediate problems of tomorrow to a longer-range view of the future.

While aerial photography and sketch maps of the village area are useful for orienting the dialogue to particular sections of land, the final product of the dialogue is not a map. Instead, the goal is a land development plan for the village which results from heightened villager awareness of current and near-term future constraints and possibilities for development of their land-based production. The foundation of that awareness should be a careful posing of the planning questions by the facilitator. As villagers then ask, "How can desirable changes be made?", district and regional experts should be available and prepared to make specific suggestions, which the villagers can sift and integrate with the facilitator's help. The result should not be just a static zoning of the village area, but equally or more important, a plan to implement a set of integrated land-use projects such as

demarcation of fields with useful plant species (like firewood or pole-producing trees), a field trial to compare effects of broadcasting to row planting on maize production or to compare intercropping with monoculture, and a system for organizing livestock grazing at certain times of year on fallow fields.

Land-use project ideas can be generated and refined through agricultural research and field testing. Farming system research, based on investigations of farming and herding strategies currently pursued by Botswana, is a very promising source of ideas. The proper role of government experts is to assimilate the new ideas and interpret them to villagers. The task of finally integrating ideas is perhaps best left to villagers who have developed the "planning question" way of thinking. It is probably easier for the villager to integrate ideas from different sectors, because he or she does not naturally think along sector lines but more in terms of self, family, and means of livelihood. Such a person is less likely than the livestock expert, for instance, to forget about crops while thinking about livestock. The advantage of the multi-disciplinary team approach to villages is that the villagers become aware at one time of the various options offered by sector specialists. The advantage of the land-use planning approach is that it potentially shows villagers how the various options can fit together into a single plan for land development.

The dialogue facilitator approach to village land-use planning is clearly labor-intensive. I do not believe that a facilitator must actually reside in the "target" village, but he or she must be able to meet regularly with the village respondents over a period of several months or however long it takes to "get the ball rolling." That point comes when villagers are ready to talk directly with government sector specialists about a specific land development plan which they have formulated and decided to implement. My guess is that a dialogue facilitator can move four to six villages to that stage within one year. It is a slow, "messy," uncertain process, but it is difficult to see another way to generate bottom-up development in the communal areas. The wisdom of concentrating initially on a small number of villages is clear, especially because the facilitator must be backed up by an effective district team. The facilitator should not set a pace faster than can be maintained by the whole district team. Still, as the first set of villages moves from planning to implementation, the facilitator can move into a second set of villages and then to a third set at a steady pace.

This discussion may raise many agonizing, seemingly unanswerable questions about implementing such an idealized dialogue facilitator approach to village land-use planning. Before sinking into despair, however, government officials must admit that if they are serious about communal area development, they must develop some sort of systematic dialogue with the communal area residents. The three questions, "who from the government communicates how with whom from the villages?", must therefore be answered.

ANNEX B
COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS AND RELATED PLANNING*

*Memorandum prepared by the Division of Town and Regional Planning, Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

ANNEX B
COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS AND RELATED PLANNING

INTRODUCTION

Communal Development Areas is a strategy designed to focus regional development efforts. Using the production areas identified in District Spatial Plans or tertiary areas in the National Settlement Policy proposal as its basis, the objective of Communal Development Areas is to stimulate production, utilize resources, and increase incomes. This paper explains the relationship between Communal Development Areas, District Spatial Plans, and the National Settlement Policy proposal. It is important that these development strategies should be seen as part of an integrated development policy rather than as discrete items making conflicting demands on scarce resources.

OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL SETTLEMENT POLICY (NSP)

The main goal of the policy is to distribute investments and thus development activities, jobs, and services across the country in a more balanced way than has previously been the case.

The policy emphasizes development and job creation in rural areas. Thus it includes improvement of existing activities, decentralization of central governmental and parastatal activities, and exploration and development of potential resources as well as identification of necessary infrastructure. A fundamental characteristic of the policy is that the approach must be comprehensive and coordinated to ensure that all planning and development efforts are working in the same direction.

The policy suggests planning and development within a framework consisting of three major tiers:

- Primary centers having potential toward a level where they can present attractive options to Gaborone for investment and job creation for modern sector activities, thus bringing employment opportunities more in balance with the population distribution.
- Secondary centers being the important links between district centers/primary centers and the small village areas, particularly in terms of marketing and commercial activities. On the tertiary level the emphasis should be more on areas rather than on individual settlements. These areas should be functional units capable of being developed as production areas.

OBJECTIVES OF DISTRICT SPATIAL PLANS OR SETTLEMENT STRATEGIES

The purpose of these plans is to further elaborate within the district setting the objectives of the National Settlement Policy in more practical and precise terms, aiming towards the most effective use of available resources. It should provide guidelines for locating facilities and services as well as for managing production resources. The approach should be comprehensive not sectoral--with a time scale of 10 to 15 years, thus providing long-term spatial guidelines for the development intentions of the District Development Plan and other project-orientated programs.

By working towards a division of the district into a number of sub-areas or "production areas," it will provide a framework for all kind of area-specific planning such as Communal Development Areas. This framework should ensure that the areas chosen are functional regions from a planning and development viewpoint. It should also depict the roles of the individual areas in a wider district concept and explain in spatial terms the need for improved linkages to surrounding areas and higher order facilities.

OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS

The Communal Development Area concept is intended to become a major means of implementing regional development policy, particularly at the tertiary level. Responding to the NDP V themes of rural development and employment creation, geographic areas are being identified where:

- Production of agricultural or industrial goods and services can be stimulated or increased, either creating or enlarging a local production base;
- Resources already existing such as land, water and human skills can be better utilized for the benefit of the local population; and
- Increased income and opportunity exist for the local population to participate in income generating activity.

These objectives are to be met by a combination of the following with emphasis on developing the linkages between them:

- Mixed farming will be promoted through ALDEP, land development (LG31), and agricultural extension;

- Rural industry will be stimulated, based on serving local agriculture and building on existing activities and skills; and
- Labor intensive development projects will create employment and infrastructure.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE NATIONAL SETTLEMENT POLICY, DISTRICT SPATIAL PLANS, AND COMMUNAL FIRST DEVELOPMENT AREAS

From what has been explained above, it is obvious there is a strong relationship between the National Settlement Policy, the District Spatial Plans, and the Communal Development Areas. In fact, they are all parts of each other, geared towards the same goal but shaped to operate on different levels--national, district, and local. Nevertheless, there has occasionally been some confusion about how they all fit together.

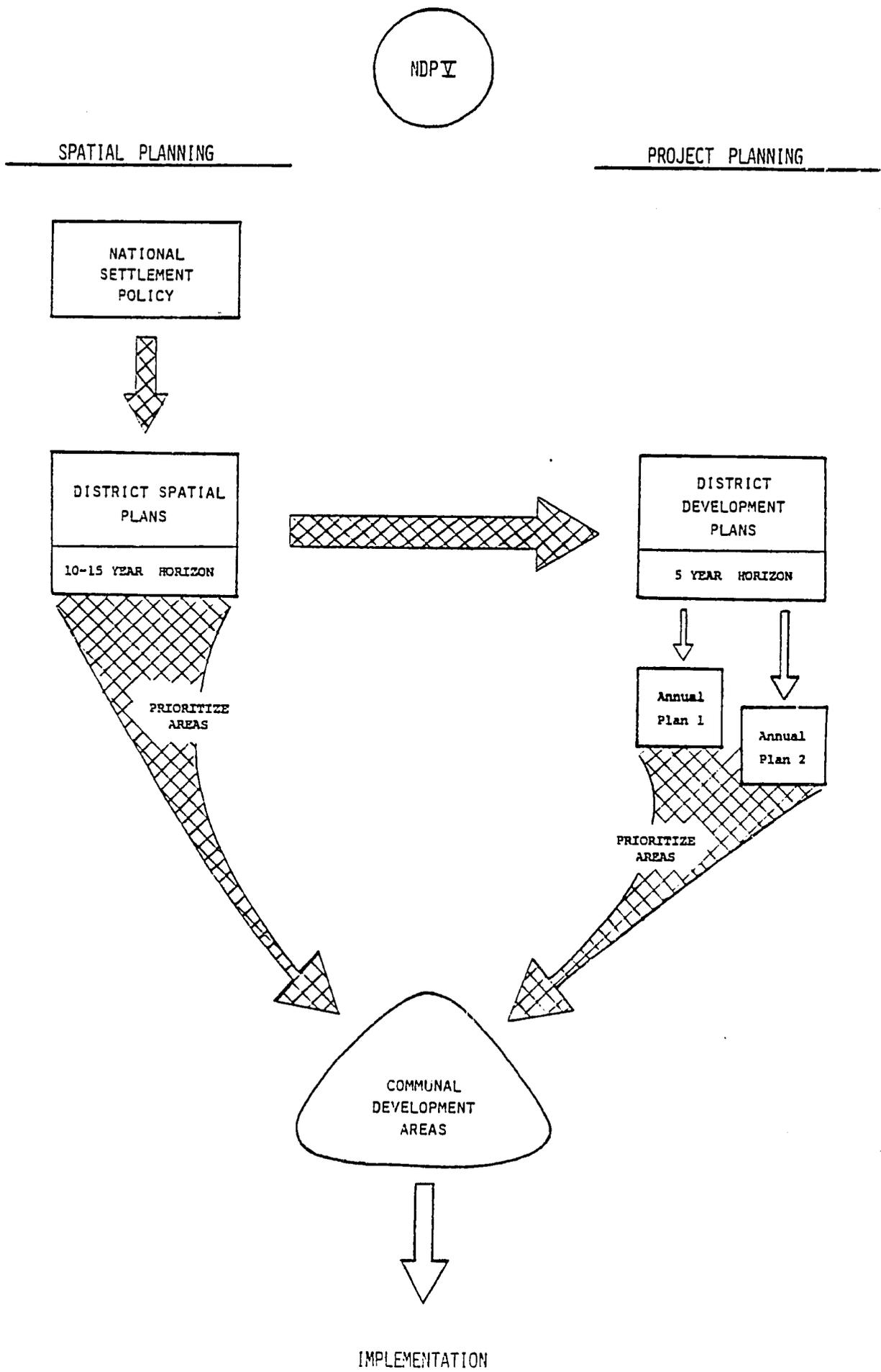
Figure B-1 tries to explain their interrelationship and how they should support each other, the aim being improved utilization of manpower, investment, and natural resources.

- The District Spatial Plan (DSP) provides long-term development goals for the district, and depicts how the district would like to see its own future. The plan should be reviewed and revised every five years.
- The Communal Development Areas are selected and ranked in order of importance prioritized from the subareas--"production areas,"--presented in the District Spatial Plan. The DSP gives the characteristics of the selected area and explains the need for external linkages.
- When requested to prepare the five-year District Development Plan (DDP), the DSP provides the necessary basis. The DDP is the implementation program for the next five years of the long-term development goals as they are presented in the DSP.
- The DSP feeds information back to the NSP for further elaboration.

CONCLUSION

NSP and DSP are concerned with spatial distribution of infrastructure, public investment, and employment creation at the national and district scale respectively. Their intention is to use the hierarchy of population centers that exists as the framework for development. At the national level, alternative

Figure B-1. Planning Interrelationships



growth centers to Gaborone are proposed (primary centers). At the district level, subdistrict centers (secondary centers) and local centers are being identified. Each of these subdistrict centers and local centers has an area for which it is the center, and it is these areas that lend themselves to the development strategies of the Communal Development Areas program.

The area influenced by each subdistrict or local center, and thus making up its catchment area, is of vital importance. It is these areas that are to be considered as communal development areas for regional planning purposes. In defining these areas the following issues must be considered: existing administrative catchment areas for various public and private services, homogeneous areas of productive economic potential, and tribal and ethnological aspects.

In most districts a considerable amount of work has already been done, not only in defining production areas but also surveying the present state of their infrastructure, population, and employment.