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REPORT ON LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN FIVE VILLAGES
IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT COMMUNAL FIRST DEVELOPMENT AREA

by

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Andrew Rude
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Gaborone

CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTHERN DISTRICT'S CFDA

Introduction

This is a report of research on local institutions in the Communal First Development Area (CFDA) of Southern District. It summarises findings of the "inventory" phase of a larger research project on local institutions being carried out by the Applied Research Unit of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Little attention was given to district level institutions or institutions which encompassed several villages such as co-operatives and Land Boards. The "inventory" examined the form and function of village level institutions in the CFDA. In particular, it examined their membership, operating procedures, projects, finances, relationship with other institutions, and linkages with higher authorities. It is hoped that this research will improve the local institutions that facilitate village based development activities and increase community participation in implementing of Southern District's CFDA programme.

Methodology

This research was conducted between 20th May and 31st July 1981 in five villages in the CFDA--Malokaganyane, Kgoro, Cwaanyaneng, Mokgomane, and Phitshane-Molopo--by five student research assistants from the University College of Botswana, one of whom resided in each of the five villages. The supervisor was based in Good Hope.

The research method employed was that of participant observation. The students lived in the community for over two months, collecting data on institutions, attending meetings, and conducting interviews with key institutional members. Through this technique the students were not only able to obtain information on members' characteristics, members' activities, frequency of village contact with extension personnel, and the like, but also information of a more qualitative nature, relating the functioning of institutions to village social relations.

This methodology is, however, not without its handicaps. The observer's presence apparently influenced the activities being examined. Institutional activity seemed to increase with the student's presence. The students were sometimes believed to be "representatives of government". Thus, the responses to students' questions could reflect what the people thought was "proper" or "expected" for a government official to hear. Because of internal political rivalries, the students were sometimes given misleading or explicitly wrong information to promote an individual's own political ends.

Apart from some of the handicaps inherent in the methodology, there have been several other limitations to this research. First, the research occurred during the harvesting period when people were busy at their fields. Therefore, institutional activity was probably low. The students were often told that institutional activity would increase when harvesting was completed. In this light it appears necessary to observe institutions over an entire year in order to see seasonal changes in their activities.

Second, the conclusions of this report are based on observations in only five villages in one area of the country. These villages have much in common with others, yet there are unique features in this area that are not found elsewhere in Botswana. Such features include the ethnic composition of the area, the importance of arable agriculture in the Barolong Farms, and the presence in the Barolong Farms of traditional and ward headmen. It must be kept in mind, therefore, that the findings and recommendations which are presented in this paper pertain only to this CFDA and should be applied elsewhere only with the utmost caution.

Overview of Southern District's CFDA

The CFDA in Southern District is the corridor which runs along the northern lip of the Barolong Farms from Pitsane Siding to west of Metlojane, then south through the southern Ngwaketse Tribal Area from Mokgomane to Phitshane-Molopo (see Fig. 1 and 2). The villages included in the CFDA are Pitsane Siding/Maiphitlhwane, Dinatshana, Bethel, Malokaganyane, Kgoro, Good Hope, Gamokoto, Metlojane, Cwaanyaneng, Mokgomane, Sedibeng, and Phitshane-Molopo. The latter three villages are in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area and the others are in the Barolong Farms. The population is composed almost entirely of Barolong although there are a small number of ethnic minorities scattered throughout the area.

The area includes a variety of settlement and land use types. Villages in the Barolong Farms are typically small and characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern. People usually reside near their fields and kraal their cattle near their residence. They do not have the settlement pattern of residences at the village, lands, and cattle post typical of other Tswana. The area around Pitsane Siding/Maiphitlhwane is rapidly growing, largely due to its location on the rail line, the recently paved road from Lobatse to Ramatlabama, and the placement there of a Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) grain storage depot. Good Hope is the administrative centre for the Barolong Farms.

The Barolong Farms, one of the single most important grain-producing areas in the nation, is commonly referred to as the "granary of Botswana". According to the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS), arable agriculture is the principal source of livelihood for the area's inhabitants.¹ Most have a commercial orientation to their production.² The RIDS also cited the Barolong Farms as having a very high median income level (R1,387

in 1974/75), second only to that found on the Freehold Farms.³ This, however, masks a wide internal disparity among income levels and farmer classifications. According to Comaroff, a small percentage of the population is composed of prosperous commercial farmers holding large arable tracts.⁴ They are followed by a large and diverse category of smaller farmers, ranging from commercial farmers who may own a tractor and other agricultural implements to those who are subsistence producers only and must borrow in order to plough.⁵ The poorest group is the non-farming village dwellers, who earn subsistence primarily as agricultural labourers. This group includes many of the area's ethnic minorities.⁶

The Barolong Farms is also characterised by a relative lack of emphasis on pastoral activities. Only 50 per cent of the Barolong residents hold cattle; of those, 15 per cent hold over 60 per cent of the livestock on the farms.⁷ Although most young adults have left the area for employment elsewhere, remittances from migrant labourers are usually a less significant income source than that from arable agriculture and livestock.⁸

The area of the CFDA in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area is a diverse territory. Around the village of Mokgomane, the population is composed of Bangwaketse who, according to informants in the village, originally came to the area in the early part of this century to protect the Ngwaketse territory from incursion by the Barolong. Most of the inhabitants reside in a centralised village with their fields nearby. Only a few people, mostly the wealthy, have a distant cattle post. Mokgomane and its surroundings are currently experiencing an influx of people coming to the area to plough. They are almost entirely Bangwaketse who originated north of Mokgomane, usually from nearby villages, but also from the distant villages of Mmathete and Kanye. Of these, a small number are settling permanently at the lands.

As in the Barolong Farms, arable agriculture appears to be the main source of livelihood for the majority of the inhabitants in the area. There is, however, less of a commercial orientation to their production. Livestock and labor remittances usually are supplementary to arable agriculture as sources of income.

The remaining part of the CFDA in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area is populated by Barolong. People tend to live in centralised villages with their lands nearby. Prosperous cattle owners may own a cattle post. Most people are sustained through a combination of arable agriculture, livestock, and remittances from migrant labourers, most of whom work in South African mines. The latter two income sources are of greater relative importance. The poorest among the population are dependent upon working as agricultural labourers.⁹

Although the entire CFDA is highly influenced by ties to South Africa, this influence appears to be the strongest around Phitshane-Molopo. It is typified by the division of the village by the Molopo River, with one side of the village lying in Botswana and the other in

Bophutswana. The strength of this influence rests primarily in the people's high degree of economic dependence, especially for employment, on South Africa. Other reasons for this influence include the historic ties with the neighbouring Barolong residing across the border, and poor communication and transportation links with the rest of Botswana. Even after Botswana's independence, people moved easily across the border. Recently, however, according to the student research assistant in Phitshane-Molopo, this freedom of movement has been somewhat restricted with the establishment of the so-called "independent state" of Bophutswana in 1979.

Summary of Findings

This section presents an analysis of the data collected on local institutions. These general findings may not do justice to the unique character of specific institutions in specific villages. For more specific information, the chapters on the villages should be consulted. Because of the marked historical, economic, and social differences between the Ngwaketse and Barolong areas, institutions in the two areas will be dealt with separately. Although there is much in common between them, a more accurate picture of the CFDA's institutions may be obtained if generalisations are made on an area-specific basis. This section will begin with a discussion of the traditional institutions of kgotla and headman, followed by public and private modern institutions. Although the separation between traditional and modern institutions is not necessarily distinct and clear in practice, the distinction is made in this paper for ease of discussion.

Traditional Institutions: Barolong Farms

The following historical description is based on Camoroff's writings on the historical role of traditional institutions in the Barolong Farms.¹⁰ The development of traditional institutions cannot be separated from the unique historical development of the Barolong Farms. In the nineteenth century, the area now known as the Barolong Farms was a landblock falling between the Bangwaketse and the Barolong boo Ratshidi chiefdoms. In 1895 the 41 farms were allocated to Barolong under "Certificates of Occupation" by the Barolong Chief Montshiwa.

Most holders retained their leasehold rights for life and came to see the farms as the private property of the holders' families, allowing them to do what they wished with the people and land under their control. Each farm constituted a single administrative unit under the leadership of the farm holder or his representative who acted much like a ward headman. Nonetheless, little control was exercised over the population from the centre. Most people concentrated on the arable holdings of their immediate household with little participation in communal affairs.

This basic structure changed relatively little with independence and the transferral of the Barolong chieftainship in Botswana to Chief Besele

in 1970. However, soon after acquiring the chieftainship, Chief Besele instituted a number of policies in the hope of facilitating the distribution of services to the dispersed population and to increase the efficiency of tribal administration. These policies have done much to shape the present administrative structure of the Barolong Farms.¹¹ One of these policies was to re-group the 41 farms into five wards, each with a recognised ward headman, a central village, and a kgotla. Afterwards, neither the farms nor their headmen were to be recognised. However, in practice the farms are still used for many administrative purposes and are still perceived locally as the primary units of affiliation and organisation.¹² Furthermore, a unique situation has been created whereby power and authority within the village appear to be shared between the traditional headmen and the ward headmen, with each often playing different and important roles within the village and its institutions. The three villages under study in the Barolong Farms fell under the jurisdiction of a single ward headman. The relationships between this one ward headman and the traditional village headmen may not necessarily apply to other areas in the Barolong Farms.

Despite the apparent historical lack of strength of the traditional headman and the kgotla, they are today the most understood institutions operating at the local level. The traditional headman is generally recognised to be the village leader. It sometimes appears that the traditional headman's influence is strongest over the poorest and least educated villagers, who sometimes give their labour as a "tribute" at the headman's household or are in some way dependent upon the headman for employment. The influence of the traditional headman could thus be a combination of people's respect for traditional authority and respect out of fear of economic reprisal. The dividing line between the two cannot readily be distinguished.

The positions of the traditional headman and the kgotla have continued to decline from their historically weak positions. Most of this decline may be attributed to historical and political events which have occurred on both the national and the district level. In this regard, it is sufficient to say that many of their traditional functions have been taken over by the so-called modern institutions of the Land Boards, ward headmen, Village Development Committees, and the like. The roles that the headmen and kgotla currently play seem to depend primarily upon the personality of the individual traditional headmen and their desire to retain authority. This in turn appears to be related to the traditional headman's roles in modern institutions, the threat they perceive from modern institutions, and their relationship to the ward headman, all of which are interrelated. In all cases, however, traditional structures still play important roles within the village. For example, almost all the modern institutions in the three Barolong study villages were elected at the kgotla. The kgotla thus serves to give legitimacy to the modern institutions in the eyes of many otherwise skeptical villagers. The communication functions of the kgotla are largely intact. The kgotla is the principal means by which people from the outside make contact with the village and the means by which modern institutions communicate their decisions.

The kgotla is largely the domain of the traditional headman. He is usually the strongest, though by no means absolute, authority in the kgotla.

Generalisations regarding the relationships between the traditional headmen, the ward headmen, and local institutions are difficult to make because the situation changes radically from village to village, with much seemingly dependent upon the personalities involved. Camoroff has suggested that the ward headmen sometimes use the farms and their headmen as sub-units of the ward and liaise with the scattered population through the traditional headmen.¹³ While this does appear at times to be the case, in fact relations are characterised by a greater diversity as illustrated by the village case studies.

In one village all the modern institutions were perceived as merely extensions of the kgotla which was directed by the village headman. The headman's authority extended to the modern institutions as well. The ward headman rarely came to the village and left the village headman as the village's sole authority. In another case, the village headman dominated the kgotla which was his principal vehicle for gathering public support for his authority. The modern institutions, controlled by members of an opposing faction in the village, were perceived by the headman as a threat to his remaining power. He strongly opposed expressions of their independence from his authority. On one occasion he refused to allow the student research assistant, who was staying at his compound, to attend a VDC meeting being held at the opposite side of the village. His reason was that it was not a legitimate meeting because it was not being held at his kgotla. Here, the ward headman was supported by members of the opposing faction as an expression of their support for the modern institutions and as a sign of their opposition to the traditional headman. The ward and village headmen maintained a stable working relationship and shared authority in the village, principally through co-operative efforts in judicial matters. In the third village, the traditional headman had completely forsaken all the vestiges of his authority and let it fall to the ward headman. He still, however, commanded much respect in the village. He and his kgotla had become essentially a mouthpiece for the VDC.

Despite these variations among villages, the ward and traditional headmen are usually vested with differing responsibilities. The traditional headmen, as in the past, are often called upon to settle the villagers' minor disputes and to give personal counsel. The ward headman plays a more legalistic role. Villagers bring official or legal matters (such as the signing of applications to the Land Board) to his attention. Other functions, particularly that of holding court, vary from village to village. Usually, however, minor cases are settled by the traditional headmen, while more serious cases are brought for arbitration at the Tribal Authority Office in Good Hope.

The question which now must be asked concerns the ability of traditional structures to carry out present day development activities. As mentioned earlier, traditional institutions in the Barolong Farms have

not been capable of mobilising the population for participation in communal activities. Instead, people have concentrated on individual pursuits with little authority exercised over them from above. Recent political and social forces have further eroded such authority as traditional institutions formerly exercised. Yet, part of their decline may also be due to an inability to adapt to the development needs of the present and few if any attempts on the part of government to help them do so. For example, few meetings of the kgotla are called from within the village and attendance is usually low (though attendance is often higher when "outside" authorities are present at the kgotla). Discussions often seem disjointed. No records are kept of the proceedings, previous discussions, or decisions. Headmen sometimes lack formal education and the experience of dealing with formal tasks. Except for the headmen's or, in this case, the ward headmen's ex officio membership in the VDC, there are no other formal linkages between the traditional village authorities and the modern development-oriented groups and supporting extension services. It appears as though government seeks to weaken traditional authorities without attempting to incorporate the positive features of these authorities in the activities of modern institutions. For these reasons, unless they receive assistance, traditional institutions appear incapable of conducting the long-range planning, securing "outside" technical support and funding, or organising people to meet on a scheduled and on-going basis that is necessary for contemporary development projects.

Yet, it is still the case that these institutions are the best understood and usually the most influential within the communities. Much of their power, however, is not expressed through direct leadership or mobilisation for participation in communal tasks. Much of the traditional headmen's authority is expressed through their ability to halt or curtail the activities of the modern institutions. Although they are not officially vested with the authority, traditional headmen in the Barolong Farms, through the sway they hold over many villagers, can often stop the plans of a modern institution with their power of negative sanction.¹⁴ Rarely is their authority displayed in a manner that positively supports the activities of modern institutions. Given the historical impotence of traditional institutions and the national and district level policies which have stripped them of much of their authority, it is little wonder that the headman and his kgotla are incapable of meeting the needs of present day development activities. This reduction of authority may have generated a degree of resentment against modern institutions which may partially explain the headmen's reluctance to contribute positively to and cooperate with the modern institutions.¹⁵ Given the authority of traditional institutions and the headman's veto power, it appears necessary to find means to incorporate the strengths of these institutions to support their modern counterparts in a convivial and constructive manner.

Traditional Institutions: Ngwaketse Tribal Area

The headman and the kgotla have historically played a much more decisive role in the villages in the Ngwaketse area of the CFDA than in the Barolong Farms. There existed a well organised system linking the

village headman to higher tribal authorities and to his village through structured wards, governed by their elders, who fell under the headman's immediate authority.

The kgotla was the primary governmental apparatus in the village. It was the institution through which village level decision making and communications were made, and the forum for the mobilisation of the population for communal tasks.

Today, these traditional structures have lost much of their authority. As in the Barolong, their powers have been eroded by the onset of modern institutions. They exist in a contradictory state. On one hand, having evolved out of Tswana culture, most all villagers are aware of their presence and functions. This cannot be said for modern institutions which come from a western environment foreign to many villagers. The modern institutions generally owe their legitimacy to traditional ones, having been elected at the kgotla and having to report their activities to it. The kgotla is still the village court and principal forum for village discussion and decision making. All communications from outside usually make contact with villagers through the kgotla. It is backed by a well established ward structure, whose elders are the kgotla's leading voices. The headman is recognised as the village leader and the kgotla's senior member. Links between the headman and higher tribal authorities remain strong.

Despite the remaining strength of traditional structures, their capacities have been greatly weakened. The causes for their demise are similar to those for traditional structures in the Barolong Farms: the development of the modern institutions which have taken over many of the historical functions of traditional institutions and what appears to be an inability of traditional structures to adapt to the needs of contemporary development activities.

There is no apparent animosity between individuals belonging to traditional and modern institutions in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area of the CFDA. A division of authority appears to be accepted, albeit grudgingly, by traditional village leaders. Traditional institutions are seen as the village's judicial and communications bodies. Modern institutions, especially the VDC, serve as the forum for development activities. Traditional leaders usually work hand-in-hand with these modern bodies, although they do not take an active role in them. Their greatest strength in this regard is again their ability to give legitimacy to modern structures and the strength of their veto over modern institutions' activities. Alone, traditional leaders and their associated structures appear incapable of village mobilisation.

Concluding Notes on Traditional Institutions

Given the legitimacy which traditional institutions hold in the eyes of many villagers, their historical importance, and the veto power often vested in the headman, it appears that their modern institutional

counterparts could benefit from the positive support of these institutions. Traditional structures will not soon fade away, despite what has amounted to governmental attempts towards this end. They have a solid historical legitimacy that remains strong among the population. The strength of modern institutions could be enhanced with much needed traditional backing.

Modern Institutions: Governmental

This section concerns modern public institutions, such as the Village Development Committee (VDC), Farmers Committees, Borehole Syndicates, and the like. The discussion will begin with a general descriptive overview of these institutions, including their role in the community, successes, and problems. This is followed by a presentation of the role being played in these institutions by village headmen, District Councillors, and, in the Barolong Farms, the ward headmen. The discussion covers both the Barolong and the Ngwaketse areas of the CFDA.

The modern institutions, particularly the VDC, have just begun to replace traditional structures as the local governing bodies within the village. Despite all the financial and political support granted to these bodies since Independence, these organisations are usually poorly understood and organised. They have not been capable of undertaking activities involving much cost or organisational complexity. For the most part they owe their legitimacy to traditional institutions which are more familiar to the people. Although there are notable exceptions to these generalisations, modern public institutions remain as bodies subordinate to traditional authorities and incapable of implementing development activities of any magnitude.

Below are listed characteristics which tend to be common to these institutions.

Formation

Many public institutions have been formed by people who come from outside the village, usually extension personnel, rather than through the initiative of the villagers themselves. Usually villagers' participation is the weakest in these cases. Locally formed groups show a higher degree of participation.

Membership

Membership is low relative to village population. Active membership is even lower. Most members tend to be better educated, older, and wealthier than other villagers. Membership is equally matched between the sexes, although women often are the more active members. Most members work in the village. More often than not, members of one institution are members of other institutions. However, membership in several

organisations tends to disperse members' energies and reduces the effectiveness of the organisations to which they belong.

Organisation

Village institutions often exhibit a low degree of organisation. Meetings, although usually scheduled regularly over the course of an entire year, are often held infrequently and often are cancelled when only a few members appear. Minutes and financial records, when kept, are often incomplete. Allegations by villagers concerning the mis-management of funds is not uncommon. This in itself adds much to people's distrust of institutional leadership and discourages their participation. Most institutions do not have written bye-laws or constitutions, though they often have commonly understood oral bye-laws and rules. When a written constitution or bye-laws are available, they are often provided by the headquarters of a national organisation.

Members often do not understand the purpose of their organisation. Non-members are often unaware that the organisation exists. This leads to a lack of organisational direction and villagers' active participation

Election Procedures

The process of selecting institutional leaders tends to be haphazard. Elections are held sporadically. When they are held, there is sometimes a perception that the entire leadership has to be changed. People are sometimes selected for leadership positions even though it is known that their capabilities are limited. In two cases, the chairmen of VDCs were elected into these positions even though it was known that they were physically and mentally weak. One chairman was voted into office so that the elected leadership would be monopolised by one faction of the village. In another village, a blind man who was not considered capable had been elected to leadership positions in several organisations. The reasons for his elections are not known.

Project Results

Most institutions have not been very active. In only a few cases have they made significant contributions to rural development. There is also an orientation towards infrastructure in what the institutions do accomplish. Most projects involve little or no cost to the membership. If costs are involved, funds are generally raised through food sales, concerts, and member or village contributions. Only insignificant amounts of money are provided through these sources. Members often lack the initiative or the knowledge to obtain "outside" funding sources.

Most projects are conducted without "formal" vertical or horizontal links with other institutions or levels of government. However, overlapping membership between organisations implies informal horizontal linkages.

Party Politics

Modern party politics does not play a significant role in the behaviour of local institutions. However, it does appear in two villages in the study area in Barolong Farms. There is a Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) chapter in one village whose purpose is to gather support for the party. It was recently formed, is not very active, and plays no noticeable role in the overall functioning of village institutions. In the other case, leaders of the modern institutions voice their support for the Botswana National Front (BNF) as a form of opposition to the headman who is a prominent local leader of the BDP.

Support from Extension Services

Support from extension personnel is quite low. The personnel themselves are often unsure as to the role they should play with these institutions. There are no Village Extension Teams (VETs) in the CFDA and few signs of coordination among extension services.

The role played by the head teachers, also considered extension workers and members of the Village Extension Team, has been mixed. Usually the best educated members of the village, they potentially have much to contribute to the organisational and leadership capacities of local institutions. However, their participation in local institutions has usually been confined to groups and matters centring upon their primary schools such as the PTA, 4-B Club, and school feeding programmes. In none of the five study villages have head teachers actively led or participated in development oriented groups. The low degree of institutional participation by head teachers is a missed opportunity for much needed support for local institutions.

Leadership and Control

The structure and leadership of village institutions closely resemble the social structure and leadership patterns of the village in which they operate. The headman, and more especially his relatives, often hold positions of leadership. Even when the headman is not a member of any organisation, he still exerts considerable control. Factionalism within the village is common. There is often a "family" or ward basis to this factionalism, with different families/wards controlling different institutions.¹⁶ Ward leaders, where they do exist, have not exhibited any visible pattern of participation or leadership in village institutions.

There is often a class basis to the control of modern village level institutions, and the projects which they implement. In four out of the five villages, the modern institutions were under the leadership of the wealthier individuals. The projects which they have implemented, though theoretically open to all and proposed to be for the benefit of the entire village, are sometimes exclusive and serve to promote group members'

personal interests. For example, the Borehole Syndicate in one village is supposedly open to all villagers. However, it is those who own large herds of livestock who gain the most benefit. Furthermore, all members are required to pay the P55.00 membership fee, whether they own two or two hundred head of cattle. This is a regressive payment which works against the poor. Not surprisingly, members of the Borehole Syndicate are among the wealthier in the village and hold the larger cattle herds.

There appear to be several reasons for the class bias. First, the formal "democratic" electoral process of modern institutions is sometimes not understood by villagers. There is a tendency simply to place traditional leaders and/or their immediate relatives into the groups' leading positions. More often than not, the relatives or wards of traditional leaders tend to be wealthier than other families or wards in the village. Second, rivalries between wards and sometimes among the entire membership, for whatever reasons, appear to nurture a desire to retain leadership of an organisation within a single family/ward to the exclusion of others. Third, the wealthier members of a village also tend to be better educated and more worldly than their poorer neighbours. Thus they would be more likely to be aware of the existence and purpose of modern institutions; organisational procedures; technical skills of note taking, bookkeeping, and the like; the presence of extension services; and outside funding sources; and so on. Therefore, not only do wealthier individuals more readily possess necessary skills which would tend to make them the more obvious choice to hold leadership positions, but they would also tend to possess the political skills to ensure leadership positions for themselves. Fourth, because of their wealth, the wealthy would join organisations and try to monopolise the leadership to promote their own self-interests. By doing so they can form organisations and steer them in directions that they personally see as beneficial. It would be more in the interests of the people in a village who possess large herds of livestock than for those with few or no livestock to organise and financially support a Borehole Syndicate for watering their stock. Finally, wealth gives people an ability to participate in an organisation that is sometimes denied to the poor. The P55.00 membership fee the previously mentioned Borehole Syndicate has can be an insurmountable sum for many.

This class bias is also apparent in district-wide institutions. Both the farmers associations and farmers co-operatives which service the CFDA derive their leadership and most of their membership from the area's agricultural elite. While they profess to promote the interests of all farmers, their services tend to by-pass the poor. The primary reason for this is that their services are geared to commercial farmers while most of the poor practise subsistence agriculture or else do not farm at all and are thus excluded from the institutions' reach.

Village Development Committee

The VDC is usually the most active as well as the most well known modern institution operating at the village level. People generally know

of its existence and understand it to be the institution to initiate development activities. The VDC often acts as the umbrella organisation for other institutions. These institutions are actual VDC sub-committees or else are identified closely with the VDC. This is facilitated through common membership between the VDC and other organisations and because of the VDC's creation as the village's principal institution for development. Nonetheless, the performance of the VDC has generally been weak. They share most of the flaws and handicaps of other institutions discussed in this section.

Role of Traditional Headman: Traditional headmen, councillors, and, in the Barolong Farms area of the CFDA, the ward headman, play a mixed role in the VDC and other modern institutions. The roles played by traditional headmen vary from holding elected leadership positions, to opposition to all modern institutions, to benign indifference. Even if the headman is not an elected or ex officio member, he still exerts considerable power due to the authority he often maintains among his villagers. His approval or rejection is often the deciding factor to the success of any village organisation.

Role of Ward Headmen: Headmen are supposed to be ex officio members of the VDC. In the Barolong Farms, this position is held by the ward headmen. The actual role played by the ward headman who held jurisdiction of the three Barolong study villages is mixed. He did not actively participate in the affairs of the VDCs in the three villages. Often, he was simply informed of the VDC's decisions without being a part of its decision making process. His relationship with the three VDCs and the traditional headmen, as mentioned earlier, was quite variable, affecting their willingness to participate in the VDC's activities. Although this position is not complicated with the trappings of traditional leadership (although other ward headmen in the Barolong Farms are of royal blood), his performance is hampered by several obstacles. He has several villages under his jurisdiction, and limited transportation makes it difficult for him to travel from village to village. Because he does not reside in the villages under his jurisdiction, it appears that he has little personal incentive to see the VDCs actively working. Furthermore, since he is not of royal blood, he may encounter difficulties motivating people who might otherwise follow a traditional leader. Lastly, his effectiveness as a VDC leader is reduced through rivalries with traditional village headmen for villagers' support.

Role of Councillors: Councillors are also weak VDC participants. They too are ex officio VDC members. Their primary purpose is to facilitate the flow of information and resources between Council and the VDC, and to serve as troubleshooters when problems arise. Their performance is hampered by the number of villages within their jurisdictions. Rarely does a Councillor visit his/her VDCs or participate in their activities. Apparently there is little motivation to hold Councillors accountable to their constituencies.

Modern Institutions: Non-Government

There is a proliferation of non-governmental institutions which are commonly found in the villages of the CFDA. These usually include the Botswana Council of Women (BCW), Red Cross, Botswana Teachers' Union, YWCA, and various churches. Although they share most of the characteristics of public institutions, they have unique qualities which necessitate a separate note.

Non-governmental institutions, with the exception of churches, usually maintain a national headquarters in Gaborone. It is from these central offices that policies, goals, constitutions, and bye-laws originate. The village branches, the recipients on most matters, are almost exclusively formed through the action of a representative coming into the village. Their membership is almost exclusively women, and usually the same women who are involved in public organisations. These institutions are the least known and understood by the public, and have the lowest rates of participation.¹⁷

Private institutions have been the least effective in initiating and carrying out development activities. Their only funding is from collections within the village and from their headquarters. Both sources are usually meagre. As private institutions they receive no extension support or financial assistance from public coffers. Consequently, the scale of their activity has been low. At best they have initiated short-lived home economics courses and an occasional first aid class. These characteristics, plus those associated with public institutions, have prevented private institutions from having but a minimal impact upon villagers' lives.

Some Causes of Problems Confronting Village Institutions

By identifying characteristics, by finding the causes of problems, and by studying the instances of success, steps can be taken to improve institutional functioning and to enhance community participation. Through an examination of villagers' incentive structure, the cause of some of the problems confronting local institutions can be seen. In many ways, the spirit of self-help is very low. Several elements have apparently contributed to this state. Many VDCs were started in an effort to provide physical infrastructure for their villages on a self-help basis. However, government provided many facilities with little input from the villagers themselves. Thus, there is little reason for people to organise themselves through a VDC when government will provide the facilities for them.

Most institutions embark on projects which are only peripherally related to people's sources of livelihood. Institutions usually do not provide means for people to increase their incomes. Institutional activities are biased towards the provision of physical infrastructure.

Inevitably, institutional involvement takes a back seat to people's primary concerns of earning a living.

The past failure of institutions and suspicions of corruption and mis-management of funds have contributed to people's reluctance to participate. People are reluctant to volunteer their time and efforts when their earlier efforts amounted to little or nothing, or were used to further individuals' own positions. Furthermore, people are reluctant to again "throw good money after bad" when their earlier financial contributions "disappeared" only to sweeten someone's pocket. Financial mis-management in the past goes far in explaining groups' inability to meet their 10;per cent contributions for varying self-help projects.

There are several other factors which impinge upon individuals' institutional involvement. Committee members receive no immediate benefit from their efforts. Furthermore, it would appear that some people are reluctant to participate in a project on a voluntary basis when others who have not been involved can usually equally use the project upon its completion. On the other hand, people might not bother to contribute knowing that they will probably have free access to the project when it is complete.

Another factor, especially in the Barolong Farms, is the historic reluctance of people to participate in communal affairs. Instead, people have concentrated on their individual agricultural pursuits. There is little historical precedent for the Barolong to participate in group activities today. Added to this is the dispersed settlement pattern found in the Barolong Farms, and the absence of ward and ward leaders (in;the traditional sense). This may be a factor of growing;importance in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area with the process of people settling permanently at the lands.

The lack of coordinated support from extension personnel is due to several factors. First, most extension personnel are required to cover a;wide territory which includes a number of villages. Most are without any form of transport save perhaps a bicycle. It is physically difficult to provide adequate coverage over their extension areas. Second, many are unsure of the role they are supposed to perform. Their training is often not relevant to their supposed duties and does not give adequate knowledge of how to "facilitate" group development. Third, there is little coordinated activity among the various extension services. From headquarters to the field, policy directives remain within individual branches with little incentive for extension personnel to seek horizontal coordination. It is also logistically difficult for field level personnel to coordinate their own activities. Since most have a large extension area and few are posted in the same village, their meeting occurs mostly by chance. This is made worse by a lack of transport. Finally, there is little incentive for field personnel in their daily work.

The lack of adequate extension support goes far in explaining many of the organisational difficulties institutions encounter. Continued

extension contact would facilitate improved organisational structure. For instance, with continual contact, an extension worker could check to see that the organisation is keeping accurate financial records to reduce the mis-management of funds, that the elected officers are reminded of their roles in the organisation, that a small problem is ironed out before it grows, and so on. Continued extension contact would also give institutions increased access to "outside" public funding sources. All of these factors would motivate individuals towards increased institutional involvement.

An Example of a Successful Institution?

There are several organisations which have been successful in achieving their stated goals. Much can be learned by studying the elements of their success. The most successful village level organisation is the VDC in Kgoro. In spite of animosity towards it;on;the part of the village headman, the VDC has been quite successful in implementing one major project and in making the initial steps towards a number of others. The VDC is quite capable of self-organisation and in securing outside funding.

What are the elements of this group's success? The first appears to be the structure of the committee. On paper, the VDC is divided into distinct sub-groups, each with a specific purpose, bye-laws and constitution, and separate though overlapping membership and leadership. They all fall under the authority of the single VDC. In practise, the sub-groups tend not to act as separate units but rather a single "fluid" organisation, led by a few individuals. It is not so much the members who change from one organisation to another but rather that a small group of people simply change the title of their organisation depending upon the planned activity. In this manner, the energies of the active leaders remain concentrated instead of dispersed through membership in a proliferation of different groups. Second, the sub-groups are involved in productive projects, such as building a small stock dipping basin or sinking a borehole, which add directly to people's livelihoods. Although leadership of the sub-groups is in the hands of a few individuals, people appear personally motivated to participate and have responded with contributions of both their labour and money. Related to the issue of motivation is the lack of a history of corruption or mis-management of funds which apparently has caused much;disillusionment with organisations elsewhere. Third, the sub-groups are fairly well organised and managed, apparently due to the efforts of the groups' leaders alone. Accurate minutes and financial records are kept. Meetings occur reasonably frequently, generally when members have something to discuss. Although attendance is sometimes poor, people, as mentioned earlier, do participate when the project is set on the ground. A fourth factor has been the ability to secure outside funding, from both public coffers and private donors. Fifth, extension support has been essential both to solve problems and to obtain outside funding. In this case, however, it is not the local extension personnel who approach the groups with ideas and funding, but people within the groups

who directly approach district level extension staff when the need or desire arises. The final variable appears to have been the role played by individuals. The efforts of a few dedicated leaders have been an important if not the crucial factor behind the groups' success.

CHAPTER II
REPORT ON MALOKAGANYANE

by Geoffrey S. Serebelo

Introduction

Malokaganyane, one of the 41 villages in the Barolong Farms, is located in the south east corner of the Southern District. This relatively small village lies between Pitsane Station and Good Hope, the administrative centre of the Barolong.

A village of scattered households, Malokaganyane is divided into eastern and western sections. The western part has fewer residents than the more numerous households in the east. The western residents are generally wealthier and look down upon the villagers from the east, who are regarded as Bakgalagadi.

The village is characterised by a complete lack of infrastructure. There are no shops, no schools, and there is no clinic. People are forced to travel to Good Hope, Dinatshana, or Pitsane Siding for their various needs. The largest infrastructural development has been the construction of a water reservoir on the western side of the village and the reticulation of water to it from a borehole in the "Bull Camp", a cattle breeding centre operated by the Ministry of Agriculture. It is the product of a self-help effort from the village Borehole Syndicate.

The largest portion of the 400-500 people in Malokaganyane consists of young children. It appears that most of the people in the ages 17-30 are away in towns where they are either students in the secondary schools or working as wage labourers: Almost every household has at least one member working outside the village. The principal livelihood for residents is arable farming. Relatively few households supplement this principal source with some money remitted by household members who are working outside the village. Although livestock provides a relatively less significant source of livelihood, some households supplement arable farming with cash received from selling livestock.

The role of arable farming as the major livelihood needs further exploration and clarification. Not every household is able to till its own fields. However, there exists a system whereby the villagers who do not have the means to plough can work for the big farmers either in the village or in neighbouring villages. This system of deriving livelihood from arable farming appears basically in three forms. These are:

- 1) Informal rental of arable land: Almost every household owns an arable plot. However, not every household owns enough cattle to enable it to plough its fields. As a result, some farmers who have the means to plough may make an arrangement with the poor so that they bring their fields into use. These persons plough and give the owner of the field a share of the crop. This is termed a system of informal rent because no cash is paid for using the land and no formal agreements are signed by the parties concerned.
- 2) Working on other people's fields for payment in kind: About 20 per cent of the villagers usually work for in-kind payments on other people's fields, receiving a share of the crop and meals from their employers. At the end of the harvest, the workers are usually given a share of the crop. This system is sometimes exploitative in that some workers receive no part of the harvest from their employers.
- 3) Working on other people's fields for cash wages: Some villagers sometimes work for local farmers for cash wages during the weeding and harvesting periods.

The Member of Parliament for Malokaganyane was elected in 1979 and is a member of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). His constituency covers the Lobatse-Barolong region. He resides in Madingwane, about 8 km from Malokaganyane, and is one of the prosperous farmers in the Barolong Farms. His family owns a big house in Gaborone because his wife works in Gaborone as the Domestic Bursar for the University College of Botswana.

The MP did not visit the village in an official capacity during the observation period. However, he did participate in a seminar in Good Hope conducted by the Southern District Council, which concerned employment creation in the Barolong Farms. People seem to know very little about their MP. It is pointed out that he has never visited the village in an official capacity since his election to Parliament in October 1979. Thus, the MP has not been to the village for three years.

The Councillor for Malokaganyane, also a BDP member, stays in Metlojane, a village about 19 km west of Malokaganyane. She was elected in October 1979. Her constituency covers a very large area and includes eight villages: Metlojane, Mogwalale, Madingwane, Gamokoto, Sheepfarm, Good Hope, Cwaanyaneng, and Malokaganyane. Although she has no other employment, her husband is one of the more prosperous commercial farmers in the Barolong Farms. She did not visit the study village during the observation period. Some villagers do not know her while those who know her are not informed about her role as the Councillor.

Overview of Institutions

"Traditional" and "modern" institutions in Malokaganyane are integrated. All of the modern institutions, the VDC, 4-B Club, and Borehole

Syndicate are, both in practise and in the eyes of villagers, a single entity. The groups have common leadership and membership. Funds from one organisation are used freely to finance projects for another. None have a constitution or bye-laws to demarcate them as separate entities. The "modern" institutions are then viewed as;extensions of the kgotla.

The local institutions generally lack leadership that is capable of effective organisation. The headman, who is also the VDC Chairman, has employment which keeps him away from the village for all but a few days per month. In his absence, he has appointed his uncle to take his place as headman. Leadership in the VDC was taken over by the Vice-Chairman. However, villagers show little respect for these two people since they are not "traditional" leaders. This lack of leadership, and the myriad of other problems, to be shown, facing institutions in Malokaganyane, have curtailed their level of activity.

Chieftainship

Traditional leadership in Malokaganyane operates at two basic levels --the village headman and the ward headman.

- 1) The village headman: The village headman, in this context, refers to the person who stays in the village and is regarded by;the villagers as their traditional headman (Kgosana).

The village headman does not stay in the village. He is currently working as a carpenter for the Ministry of Works and Communications, stationed at Mabutsane in the Southern District. He usually returns to Malokaganyane for several days at the end;of every month. There is no complaint about his staying away;from the village because he is the heir of Malokaganyane headmanship. He has appointed his uncle to act on his behalf during his absence. The uncle, however, receives relatively little respect from the people since he is not the heir to the headmanship. He, with the help of kgotla councillors (Banna Ba Lekgotla) presides over the hearings of minor cases. Cases of serious nature are referred to Good Hope to be attended by the ward headman.

- 2) The ward headman: The ward headman, the official headman presiding over Malokaganyane, was appointed to his position as a consequence of the Barolong Farms being divided into five wards. His ward consists of ten villages: Malokaganyane, Madingwane, Sheepfarm, Good Hope, Kgoro,;Mogwalale, Mogobe-wa-kgomo, Metlojane, Gamokoto, and;Cwaanyaneng. He spends most of his time in Good Hope, the;administrative centre of his ward, where he usually assists the;Tribal Authority in handling disputes of less serious nature;(i.e. disputes that merit ward level attendance). The ward headman also assists the Tribal Authority in signing forms for villagers from his ward who want passports or who want the Land Board to allocate them residential or arable plots.

Villagers know very little about the ward headman. He does not visit the village regularly because his ward is very big. Despite the large area of his ward he is mostly occupied by the work at the administrative centre. Villagers are generally unaware of the authority and role of the ward headman.

Kgotla

The kgotla meets on an unsystematic basis and appears to be almost dormant. Very few people attended the only meeting that was held during the observation period. However, the village headman, who was in the village for his month-end holiday, regarded the attendance as satisfactory. The village headman has the most authority at the kgotla. He is respected because he is the legitimate headman of the village, and because of his humble behaviour towards the villagers.

The headman's sister-in-law, a primary school teacher, is the second most powerful person in the kgotla. Both she and the headman have authority in the kgotla because villagers view these two influential people as their traditional leaders. Despite the immense power of these two people, there is a general feeling of superiority among the residents in the neighbourhood of the headman and his sister-in-law. These people live on the western side of the village. The kgotla meeting that was held addressed itself to the general problems of the village. Villagers were informed about the position of the borehole. They were urged to pay their monthly contributions to enable the Borehole Syndicate to buy fuel for the borehole engine.

Even though the kgotla does not meet regularly, people still view the kgotla as very important. It is the traditional institution that signifies the strength of a people. Although the kgotla does not have any direct responsibility for projects, it is a symbol of unity. It is used by various groups to announce their decisions concerning the projects they want to undertake. For example, the Borehole Syndicate, which is the only group in the village that has ever erected a project, the water reservoir, constantly uses the kgotla as its meeting centre.

Either the village head or the acting headman acts as the chairman at the kgotla meetings, and at general meetings for various groups if such meetings are held at the kgotla.

Villagers are free to participate in the decision making process at the kgotla. However, participation is usually very low. People generally agree with the opinion of the headman. A few people from the western part of the village usually dominate the kgotla. No elections were held during the observation period. However, all the officers of the existing groups were elected in the kgotla.

Village Development Committee

The Village Development Committee was formed in 1979 under the initiative of the village's two primary school teachers. They informed the villagers about the VDCs in other places through a kgotla meeting. The VDC was elected soon thereafter by kgotla under the auspices of the ACDO who was invited by the two teachers. There have been no elections since then.

Membership of the VDC is biased in favour of the villagers who stay near the headman's home. About 70 per cent of the VDC's membership comprise the headman's relatives and closest friends. The VDC in Malokaganyane does not have a schedule of meetings. The group used to meet once a month during its earlier stages. However, the group has become weak and meetings are rarely held.

There are two basic ways in which meetings are called: (1) general meetings and (2) committee meetings. In general meetings all adults are requested to attend. In committee meetings only committee members should attend. The Acting Chairman goes around the village informing people of all VDC meetings, which are held at the headman's place.

The VDC held one general meeting during the observation period. The purpose of the meeting was to furnish me with collective information of about village problems. The problems were stated as lack of facilities such as a school, a clinic, or a shop.

The VDC has not undertaken any project since it was formed. However, the group has been raising funds by selling licenses to the villagers when they make "Gumba-Gumba" parties. Licenses are sold at P3.00 each.

The group keeps very scanty records. These records are kept by different people in different exercise books and it is difficult to trace the history of the group through these scanty records. The VDC records showed a cash balance of P148.80 and P113.00 was owed the VDC by the villagers. The group lends money to the villagers regularly, but there is no evidence of the borrowed money being paid back. The group does not have its own banking account. VDC money is saved in the treasurer's personal account.

The VDC has cemented relations with the headman who is the chairman of the group. The considerable overlapping of the VDC's membership and the Chief's Council makes the group appear as one and the same thing with the kgotla. The headman has final veto power over decisions of the VDC.

There exist no formal relationships between the VDC and other groups in the village. However, villagers view the 4-B Club as the youth wing

of the VDC. The organisational leader of the 4-B Club is the headman's wife.

Vertical relations between the VDC and government agencies are very weak and the VDC does not have relationships with any non-government group outside Malokaganyane.. The ACDO is the chief extension member responsible for the VDC. He never visits Malokaganyane though he claims to attend VDC meetings when invited. The ACDO did not visit the village during the observation period and is relatively ill-informed about the VDC in Malokaganyane.

The VDC is ineffective as a development group. There are several factors that contribute to its ineffectiveness. First, there exists a long-standing conflict between the two royal families in the village over the right to village headmanship. Members of the VDC maintain that the two families sometimes bring their family conflicts into the group. There is evidence of a split in the VDC. Some members of the committee side with the headman and his family while other members side with the opposing family.

Second, the Secretary and the Treasurer, both members of the opposing family, are primary school teachers and stay in Dinatshana, a village about 8 km from Malokaganyane. They are usually ill-informed about the VDC. They are sometimes not invited to or informed about the VDC meetings.

Third, there is relatively no role differentiation in the offices of the VDC. It took a long time before the treasury was transferred to the Treasurer. The Acting Chairman of the group collects money from the villagers on behalf of the Treasurer. He even keeps some of the group's money.

The Acting Chairman is the only active member of the group. He originally comes from the "inferior" eastern side of Malokaganyane. He improved his village status through hard work and was allocated a residential site in the "superior" side of the village.

The VDC would essentially command respect from the villagers were it not split by the family factions. There is a tendency among the villagers, especially those in the east, to view the VDC as something which belongs to the headman and his family. This is reflected in the biased membership of the group.

No traces of party politics are noticeable in the VDC. Malokaganyane residents, despite their lack of knowledge of any formal political structure and apathy towards party politics generally identify with the ruling Botsana Democratic Party.

Extension

Village Extension Team

The Village Extension Team (VET) does not exist as a team. Both extension workers, the AD and ACDO, know informally of what each other is supposed to do, but have no planned activities together. They are little known by the villagers and have little contact with the local head teacher.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO)

The ACDO for Malokaganyane, age 24, stays in Good Hope, a distance of about 12;km. He is responsible for nine villages: Kgoro, Gamokoto, Metlojane, Madingwane, Mogwalale, Good Hope, Sheepfarm, Cwaanyaneng, and Bethel. Although he has been the ACDO for two years and seven months, he did not visit the village during the observation period. Thus, it is difficult to identify the people with whom he works. He knows little about the activities of the villagers and few villagers know him.

The ACDO writes weekly reports based on a weekly schedule of work. He compiles these into monthly reports which he sends to his seniors in Kanye. He also writes quarterly reports which include recommendations, area plans, and his general views on what can be done about problems experienced in the area. The ACDO also writes an annual report which is a summary of all these reports. The ACDO is under the supervision of; the Community Development Officer stationed in Kanye. In practise, however, he receives little supervision. He literally supervises himself.

Agricultural Demonstrator

The Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) is 25 years old and has been an Agricultural Demonstrator for two years and seven months. The AD is posted in Sheepfarm, about 7;km from Malokaganyane. He is officially responsible for farming related activities: the 4-B Club, which he helped form, and the Borehole Syndicate fall under his responsibility. He visited the village once during the observation period at the request of the 4-B Club's organisational leader. The Club wanted his assistance because they had made some articles that were going to be displayed at the 4-B regional show held in Ramatlabama. The Demonstrator helped the organisational leader print names on each different article. Members of the Club respect the Agricultural Demonstrator. However, they pointed out that he does not visit the village often. The last time the AD visited the Club was in February 1981. Before then, the AD used to attend 4-B Club meetings every Wednesday. It is impossible to weigh the effectiveness of the AD in the village since he does not visit regularly. He was once active in the village but now villagers suspect he is occupied with activities other than work.

The villagers hold differing opinions of the AD. Adults, more especially, members of the Borehole Syndicate, feel that he has become useless, while members of the 4-B Club do not have such bad attitudes towards him. The AD pointed out that he has not been visiting the village because his motor-bicycle is not working.

Other Groups

Borehole Syndicate

The Borehole Syndicate was started in 1977/78 by the villagers themselves, with guidance from by the AD. The formation of the Syndicate was prompted by an acute water shortage and by damage to the "Bull Camp" fence when the animals attempted to water at the borehole inside. In August 1980, the Syndicate completed a reservoir, located in the western side of the village near Sheepfarm, and the reticulation of water to it from the borehole in the Bull Camp. This was funded by the US embassy and by villagers' contributions. A pumper is employed to operate the borehole. Within the past year, workers at the Bull Camp complained that borehole operations were using too much fuel: the Syndicate has been responsible for providing the pumper's fuel.

There are several key members of the Borehole Syndicate: the Acting Chairman, the Treasurer, and the Secretary. The Acting Chairman is also the Acting Chairman of the VDC, while the Secretary holds the same position in the VDC. The Treasurer is a big farmer in the village who also owns a panel beating garage in Lobatse. Although he has no formal education, he has good experience in keeping money because of his previous business experience. The Secretary is a primary school teacher, sister-in-law to the headman, and consequently one of the influential villagers. She is literate enough to be the Secretary but she rarely attends meetings and seems to have lost track of the Syndicate's activities.

Competence and knowledge among office bearers is weak. The Chairperson has been informally deposed from his office. Some funds were missing and it was decided that until the Chairman paid back the unknown missing amount he could not resume his duties. The Acting Chairman has replaced him. The Treasurer does not have formal education but he works hand in hand with the Acting Chairman. These two officers keep financial records of the group. However, the Borehole Syndicate does not have proper financial books.

It is not simple to allude to the political inclinations of members of the Borehole Syndicate. People seem to be interested in their farming activities rather than issues that are not related to their immediate lives.

There are eleven members of the Borehole Syndicate, which represent three villages: Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, and Kgoro. Membership of the

group from Malokaganyane reflects membership of the VDC and the headman's Council.

Use of the borehole is supposedly limited to members. Each is required to pay P2.00 per month for the five months out of the year when the borehole is used. However, the Syndicate has been unable to collect these user fees. People either are too poor or else simply do not bother to pay. The Syndicate has had little ability to enforce payment and the reservoir is used with no personal cost by all people who care to do so. Without these fees, the Syndicate has had to go into debt to the wealthy commercial farmer in the village, who is providing the Syndicate's only financial support. The Syndicate has proposed cutting off from the reservoir those people who do not pay the fees. A guard will be posted at the reservoir to deny its use to those people without fee receipts and to lock the gate at night. I believe that the proposal will be carried through because it received the endorsement of the headman, who is generally recognised as the village's leader. All villagers would still have access to the reservoir but would be required to pay the requested fees. In this case, those who could not afford the fees would be denied use of this water.

Kopano Water Group

The Kopano Water Group is composed of villagers from Malokaganyane and Pitsane-Potlokwe. It is based around a bucket well located in Pitsane-Potlokwe, near the eastern border of Malokaganyane. Prior to Independence, the water point was a windmill borehole apparently constructed by colonial authorities. The windmill was not maintained following Independence and fell into disrepair. People in the area, including those from Pitsane-Potlokwe, began using the borehole in the Bull Camp as their primary water source. With the formation of the Borehole Syndicate, residents from Pitsane-Potlokwe chose not to contribute to construction of the reservoir and began to use the Pitsane-Potlokwe water point once again. They dismantled the windmill and equipped the well with a hand-cranked bucket.

Formation of the Kopano Water Group began in 1979. The formation was prompted by residents of Malokaganyane to ensure that they had access to the water point in the neighbouring village, and by residents of both villages in the desire to equip the well with an engine. The Group was started by the residents themselves, with little support or involvement of the AD. The bulk of the membership is from Malokaganyane, though leadership positions are held mostly by residents of Pitsane-Potlokwe. The Group's leaders were not interviewed during the observation period.

Itireleng 4-B Club

The purpose of the Itireleng 4-B Club is to teach children productive and primary agricultural skills. The club was organised several years ago by the previous AD. Because of poor leadership and lack of villagers' co-operation, the organisation soon became defunct. It was

revived in 1980 by the efforts of the present AD. He organised the Club through the VDC in conjunction with several teachers at the Dinatshana primary school. From these efforts, interested persons soon met to re-start the organisation. Unlike the other institutions in Malokaganyane, the 4-B Club does not have elected leadership from persons of royal blood. It is; the only organisation with leadership and membership from all parts of the village. This is due mainly to the village-wide recruitment by the AD, and the Club's association with the primary school.

Though the leadership, entirely female, may be representative of the whole village, the quality of the leadership is poor. They all work outside Malokaganyane. The practical leadership of the 4-B rests with the headman's wife although she is not an elected official. This leadership position falls to her out of her personal motivation, the lack of elected leadership, and because of her position as the headman's wife.

The headman's wife views the 4-B as the youth extension of the VDC and thinks that it should be funded by the VDC. This opinion is not widely shared by other Club members, especially by the VDC's Treasurer and Secretary.

Other essential leadership is dependent upon support from the AD. The AD's support for the 4-B Club fluctuates. He was responsible for the revival of the organisation in 1980. Apparently he has done little with the organisation since. This is a reflection of the AD's overall performance in Malokaganyane. He rarely visits the village. Residents, who used to have a rather high opinion of him, now consider the AD's performance inadequate for a variety of reasons. As previously mentioned, he came to Malokaganyane only once during the observation period. This was at the request of the headman's wife to ask for advice on the transport of 4-B woven articles to the regional 4-B show held in Ramatlabama in June 1981. The AD's support is essential for the functioning of this organisation: the present leadership is too weak to maintain the Club in his absence. Furthermore, the villagers are too poor to finance club projects. The AD has secured a P700.00 grant from the Ministry of Agriculture, which the Club will use to purchase chickens. They plan to sell eggs. At the end of the study period, the chickens had not arrived. With continued AD support, the Club's leadership and organisation would be strengthened and strong financial support could be secured from the Ministry of Agriculture. Without his support, lack of leadership and finance will cause this organisation to continue to flounder.

The 4-B has initiated several projects, none of which has been very successful or is directly related to agriculture. It sponsored literacy classes. These were organised by the present 4-B leadership. Classes began with a teacher from Dinatshana primary school as instructor. People stopped attending in May 1981 because they objected to the payment of a 25t per month fee to pay the instructor. Members met informally with the Chairperson to learn weaving skills. They were given wool, purchased with Club funds, to weave on their own. These articles have been sold in the village and at the annual regional 4-B show. Projects discussed, on which

no action has been taken, have included the acquisition of funds from any source to purchase sewing machines and the construction of an Institutional Food Programme food storage house, a project discussed in the VDC.

The internal funding sources for the 4-B Club are meagre. Members are asked to contribute 25t monthly and village adults 10t monthly but few comply. The sale of their woven articles brings in some income, but this is hampered by lack of reliable markets. The main funding source has been sponsoring "Gumba-Gumba" parties.

Ineffective leadership, infrequent support from the AD, and poor finance has hampered the Club. What used to be an active organisation, meeting twice a week in early 1980, has lapsed into inactivity. The 4-B had not met for several months prior to the observation period.

Resource Management

Introduction

Malokaganyane is a relatively small village covering an area of about 36 km². The topography of the village is reasonably flat, thus making the whole area suitable for arable farming given water. The village is roughly divided into eastern and the western parts.

Arable Lands

The arable lands of Malokaganyane are located near the permanent residential area of the village. The village borders with Sheepfarm on the south, Bethel on the north, and Pitsane-Potlokwe on the east. Some arable plots of Sheepfarm are in Malokaganyane. This means the arable lands of Malokaganyane are interspersed with the arable lands of Sheepfarm. There are no reports of conflicts arising from this.

Although the village is very small, some empty spaces where more arable plots can be allocated are available. Allocation of arable lands outside the framework of the Land Board has ceased. The nearest member of the Land Board for the village stays in Good Hope. However, some bias in allocating land is reported. The village headman and his councillors may suppress an application for land if the applicant applies for a plot which one of the leaders is reserving for someone else. This might be the reason why ordinary villagers prefer allocation of land by the Land Board rather than by the headman and his clique.

The ward headman depends entirely on the village headman's recommendation on matters relating to allocation of land. He has never objected to any allocation. However, villagers pointed out that the Land Board is an obstacle because it views Malokaganyane as a cattle post rather than a village. The Land Board, for example, refused to allocate the village a site for the cemetery. They were told to bury their people in Good Hope.

Many Malokaganyane fields are not systematic but are scattered here and there between the homes. Numerous households have small fields in their backyards. However, there are some fields located along the Sheepfarm border.

The unsystematic location of fields heightens the level of crop damage by livestock. There is a general feeling that if a drift fence could be built, the small scattered fields would be moved to empty spaces along the Sheepfarm border. This would help solve the problem of massive crop damage by livestock.

There is no sale nor rental of arable land.

Malokaganyane residents were informed about ALDEP by the Agricultural Demonstrator but don't seem to know how to get ALDEP assistance. One of the villagers pointed out that he once tried to apply for ALDEP assistance but his application was not forwarded to the District Agricultural Officer in Good Hope.

Rudimentary government services to support arable farming are available. One farmer received a loan from the Ministry of Agriculture to purchase seeds and hire a tractor to plough his fields. Another farmer used the services of the National Development Bank to do the same work.

Grazing

It is hard for outsiders to understand the pattern of grazing in Malokaganyane but villagers seem to understand it. The grazing system is entirely dependent upon the seasons of the year. Before harvest, livestock grazes on the patches of land near the homes; after harvest, heads of livestock are left to roam around everywhere on the village fields. Herdboys look after cattle during the days and kraal them in the evenings. Every household has a kraal.

The pattern of grazing could change slightly were the Land Board not an obstacle to the intentions of the people. Concerned about crop damage by livestock, people of Malokaganyane designated an area on their border with Bethel for grazing. This grazing area was meant to be a shared resource between Bethel and Malokaganyane. The Land Board, however, refused to allocate the area officially on the basis that the area was too small to accommodate the population of livestock for the two villages.

The village has not witnessed any institutional strains due to drought. However, it was pointed out that cattle from the neighbouring villages sometimes overcrowd the village.

Livestock owners receive some rudimentary help from government. Communal livestock are seasonally innoculated by the Veterinary Department staff. The problem of water is not a serious issue in the livestock area. The water reservoir in the village is capable of watering all the village livestock. Livestock production in the village is purely an individual issue: every farmer is concerned about his own livestock.

Water

The village basically exploits the services of two permanent water points. These two water points are: the government borehole in the Artificial Insemination Camp which supplies the water reservoir in the village, and the bucket well on the eastern border of the village. The Borehole Syndicate administers the water from the borehole. The Syndicate has built the water reservoir and is currently maintaining the reservoir. The bucket well is administered by the Kopano Water Group. The well, on the eastern border of the village, is the shared resource for the villagers of Malokaganyane and Pitsane-Potlokwe. The name signifies that the two villages made a united effort to keep the bucket well alive.

In addition to the two permanent water points a number of temporary water points exists in the village. There are small dams which are individually kept for domestic water consumption. No application has been made for a borehole. However, the Land Board would probably not refuse to allocate a borehole since the borehole currently supplying the village is government property.

Water is a communal issue in Malokaganyane. The Kopano Water Group is an example of a shared resource in that it serves both Malokaganyane and Pitsane-Potlokwe residents. In addition, the Borehole Syndicate's membership is drawn also from Sheepfarm and Kgoro.

Other

Firewood is obtained from cleared bush from the fields. There is a problem in that some people sometimes steal the cleared wood on other people's fields. Another problem is that in the near future it will be very difficult to find wood. The spatial dimension of the village is limited and it is likely that the vegetation will depreciate considerably if the villagers continue to depend on clearing the trees in order to get their wood supply.

No other resources, such as minerals, have been identified in the village.

General Conclusion

There are three principal economic activities in Malokaganyane.

- 1) Arable farming plays the major role in the people's lives. They earn their livelihood directly from household fields and indirectly by working on other people's arable fields in return for a share of the crops.
- 2) Livestock farming plays the second most important role. Cattle are sold for cash and used to pull the plough. Numerous households have at least small herds of livestock.

- 3) Wage labour in towns is another important economic activity for the community. A large number of males in between 18-40 years are working as migrant labourers in South Africa. Money remitted by migrant workers supports many households.

Because is a relatively small village, the population cannot efficiently support any business economy. It is therefore difficult to say what kind of autonomous economy could be initiated to help this community

It is again difficult to comment on economic activities suitable for the village because, in order to think of initiating economic development, one must first think of developing the people themselves. Afterwards the people can develop the village. By this I mean that services such as a school and a health post are necessary. Such services would develop the community and the community would develop the land.

It is improper to think of development in terms of economic growth without considering the quality of the people who would promote such growth. This is reflected in the existing groups in the village. People are failing to run groups because they have not been taught how. There is confusion concerning the procedures which should be followed by group leaders. Any development proposals should start with the people.

More efforts should be made to improve arable lands. More assistance should be given to farmers. This should include loans and training. Extension staff should be increased. Currently the Agricultural Demonstrator is covering a larger area than he can manage. People are not knowledgeable about some of the existing sources of help. The existing groups in the village can be used as sources of contact to bring about development. Such groups should be assisted with funds. Secondly, group members should be paid. There is lack of commitment in doing organisational work because people lack incentives. For instance, groups like the Borehole Syndicate, which has done a major job in building the water reservoir, would do more if there were encouragement in the form of money paid to the office bearers who spend most of their time doing this work. To people in poor villages like Malokaganyane, the immediate sources of livelihood are of primary importance: they are reluctant to waste their time on voluntary activities.

CHART 1 : ORGANISATIONS IN MALOKAGANYANE

	VDC	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	4-B CLUB
Members	11	11	6 (leaders)
1 male	6	8	0
1 female	5	3	6
Year formed	1979	1978	
Formed inter- nally/externally	Internal	Internal	External
Finished projects; year		1) Water reticulation 1980 2) Operation of pump	Weaving P50.00
Cost/funding sources		1) P850/ Sources: US Em- bassy (AID); also Syndicate--P400 2) Members contribu- tions/P10.00 annual	Member dues
Unfinished projects			1) Raising chickens to sell eggs
Cost/funding sources			1) P200.00/ Ministry of Agriculture
Scheduled frequency of meetings	Monthly	Monthly	Twice a week
Frequency of meet- ings; attendance	Very sporadic; good atten- dance	Very sporadic; fair attendance	Very sporadic; poor atten- dance
Bye-laws; constitution	None	None	None

/cont:....

(Chart 1, cont.)

	VDC	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	4-B CLUB
State of minutes	Poor	Poor	Poor
State of financial Records	Poor--no bank account	Good--holds bank account	Good--no bank account
Cash flow in previous year			P47.00
Controlling family/faction			De facto leader is headman's wife

CHART 2 : LEADERSHIP IN MALOKAGANYANE ORGANISATIONS

PERSON	WARD	VDC	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	4-B CLUB	OTHER INFORMATION
Mr LSH	1	Chairperson			Headman
Mrs K.LSH	1	Treasurer	Treasurer		Headman's family
Mrs G.LSH	1			Organiser	Headman's wife
Mr L.Mg.	2	Vice Chairperson	Acting Chairman		
Mrs T.Mo	3	Secretary	Secretary		
Mrs L.M.	3		Vice-Chairperson		
Mrs K.Mo				Vice Chairperson	
Mrs L.R.			Chairperson		VDC member
Mrs L.K.			Vice-Secretary		
Mrs A.M.				Chairperson	
Mrs D.S.				Treasurer	
Mrs Mol				Secretary	
Mrs P.O.				Vice-Secretary	

CHAPTER III

REPORT ON KGORO VILLAGE

by Wapula Nelly Raditloaneng

Introduction

Kgoro is a small village in the Barolong Farms, about 6 km east of Good Hope. The population is approximately 400 persons, living in a dispersed settlement pattern stretching approximately 8 km east to west.

There is one standard 7 primary school, with a staff of five teachers. The village has one poorly stocked general store, owned by a wealthy white South African immigrant family who reside in Kgoro. Villagers use this store only in emergencies or to purchase small items. Most people use the shops in Good Hope or Pitsane-Siding. For health services, people use the clinic in Good Hope. Water for human consumption is obtained from a series of seasonal dams scattered about the residential area. When these are dry, people either purchase water from a dam next to the headman's residence, from the Lemmers' borehole, or else obtain it by donkey cart from the Council borehole in Good Hope. Water for livestock is principally available from a pan in the north-west section of the village. There is an airstrip owned by the shopkeeper which runs through the centre of the village, causing concern to some village residents. Its removal is presently under discussion with the Rolong Land Board.

Like most villages in the Barolong Farms, the primary source of livelihood for the residents of Kgoro is arable agriculture. The population is sharply divided by economic differences, separating the village into eastern and western sections. Those villagers residing in the east, comprising just over half the population, are on the whole poorer than those on the west. Their livelihood consists mainly of subsistence agriculture and agricultural labour for payment in kind, often on the headman's fields. He also resides in the east and is by far the wealthiest individual in the village. Residents from the west, about one-third of the population, practise more commercialised agriculture and have larger holdings of cattle and small stock. Livestock is the second major income source. Remittances from migrant labourers play a minor role in providing a livelihood for most households from either side of the village.

The locally elected officials are all members of the Botswana Democratic Party. The Member of Parliament for the area draws his constituency from the Barolong Farms and the immediate Lobatse area. He is a large commercial farmer, residing in Madingwane, but has a second home in Gaborone where his wife works as the Domestic Bursar at UBS. He was

first elected to office in October 1979. He comes to Kgoro after every session of parliament to tell the people what was discussed.

The principal Councillor for Kgoro is well known by the villagers. She was first elected to council in 1975. Her constituency includes Goo Hope, Metlojane, Sheepfarm, Gamokoto, Kgoro, Malokaganyane, Madingwane, Cwaanyaneng, and Mogwalele. She resides in Metlojane. She has no other employment; however, her husband used to be Head Teacher at Neale Primary School in Molepolole, and is now a commercial farmer in Metlojane. She comes to Kgoro about every three months. Sometimes she accompanies either the ACDO or the Member of Parliament. She works with the VDCs in all areas that come under her jurisdiction.

The traditional headman at village level holds his position by virtue of his birth. He is a prominent farmer with large tracts of land around Kgoro and Sekokwane, beyond Metlojane. He is highly respected by the people in the east. In the west, people regard only the ward headman as their headman. He works with the VDC and they tell him about all their projects, present and future.

Overview of Institutions

The functioning of institutions revolves around this east-west division. It is based upon the economic differences between the two populations, a rivalry between "traditional" and "modern" institutions, and contemporary party politics. This sharply divides the village into two separate and often hostile camps.

Chieftainship

The village headman, about 70 years old, has never been to school. He can read and write to a limited extent. Throughout his life, he has worked on many Boer farms. He is now a prosperous farmer, even by the high standards in the Barolong Farms.

He has been the hereditary headman ever since the death of his father over 20 years ago. He spends most of the day away from his home. He is on good terms with the local representatives of the Botswana Democratic Party.

The headman does not play an active role in village development projects and does not participate in any village organisation. However, he is actively involved in the building of the Methodist Church of which he is a member. Meals are prepared for the builders at his place. He is always present if there are local officials to address the people of Kgoro, such as the Member of Parliament, the ACDO, and the Land Board

members. He opens the meetings by introducing the visitors to the people. He has authority to settle disputes in families and minor cases.

When the village headman took up his post, there were 41 farms in Barolong Farms, each with its own chief. The central government and the Tribal Authority decided in the early 1970s that farms were difficult to develop and administer effectively. The farms were converted into five extension areas, each with an appointed chief. The traditional leaders were then removed from their positions. As a result, the present ward headman was appointed chief of the extension area to which Kgoro belongs. He received this post as a reward for efficiency in his previous work in assisting the Barolong Chief Besele in Good Hope. Other "farms" that come under his jurisdiction are Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, Madingwane, Metlojane, Cwaanyaneng, Mogobewakgomo, Mogwalele, Gamokoto, and Good Hope. He aims to work with the VDCs in these areas. He has to inform the village headman whenever he wants to address the people of Kgoro. The traditional village headman calls on the people to come to the kgotla on the day of the meeting. The two headmen work well together.

Kgoro is divided into two "wards", one in the eastern and another on the western side of the village. The village headman is respected as a leader in the village by the people in the east. These people always side with him in village disputes. Many people from the east work at his place with such chores as fetching water, cooking, harvesting, and so on, even when they are not paid. Those in the west have less respect for him as a leader because they are generally economically self-supporting. These people view the ward headman as their village leader.

Throughout my stay in Kgoro, the ward headman did not address the people. He probably comes there once or twice a year, but he is respected in most of the areas that come under his jurisdiction.

Kgotla

The kgotla, as a social institution, is called whenever there is something to discuss, usually every two weeks. Topics discussed include family disputes; cases of assault, theft, and crop damage; local officials seeking to address the people; complaints by the villagers; and addresses by the ward headman. It is the place where people meet their chief or local representatives.

The kgotla is well attended, with at least 30 people usually present. All kgotla meetings are called by the village headman and are held at his residence. Numerous persons addressed the kgotla during the observation period. For instance, the MP once came to address the people, telling about his journey to China. He also encouraged them to work hard in their fields since the government is not in a position to provide employment for everybody. The Land Board from Good Hope came to say that the government would like them to fence individual farms and that it

would provide subsidies for this purpose. People from the east, led by the village headman, complained that individual fencing is expensive and they would rather make a drift fence to separate themselves from the Ngwaketse grazing areas. Those in the west preferred the fencing of individual farms as long as the government was willing to subsidise them. Most of those who speak at the kgotla are men. Women are allowed to speak, but they usually do not speak often.

The village headman has much authority in the kgotla but has to exercise it with the consent of the people. When he gives sentence, for example, he has to consult the people. They have the right to question the sentence if they feel it is too severe. The decisions at the kgotla are usually made by those of royal blood, that is, the chief and his relatives. However, they have to be agreed upon by the majority. The majority of people who attend the kgotla are from the eastern side of Kgoro.

Generally, the kgotla is highly respected. It is usually held in an orderly manner. The respect they show for the kgotla and the orderliness of the proceedings depend on the nature of the topic under discussion. During all the addresses by the Land Board, ACDO, and the MP, they treated these officials with respect. They were quiet and raised up their hands as a sign of asking for permission to speak. They were fully answered to their satisfaction. However, in a meeting which I arranged to hear their grievances, they complained so much about the inefficiency of the VDC that they lost their tempers and started quarreling bitterly at the kgotla. The meeting was dissolved, but still they continued talking. They said that they would continue talking and said that they wanted to dissolve the VDC for a better one.

It was announced at the kgotla that there would be a meeting with the Land Board and the wife of the shopkeeper to complain about the positioning of the airstrip. The people complained that the airstrip was confirmed without prior consultation with the villagers. They opted for its removal. The issue is presently in the hands of the Rolong Land Board. The Land Board officials said that since the removal of the airstrip is a decision of the people of Kgoro, they must compensate the shopkeeper so that she can make a new spot for the airstrip. The villagers said it is the duty of the Land Board to compensate the people. Those in the east, including the village headman, said the people were just being aggressive and there is nothing wrong with the location of the airstrip. Most of the complaints were from the VDC members who stay in the western side of Kgoro. This issue was not settled at the end of the thirteen week observation period.

The ACDO came to the kgotla to talk about creating employment. He said that because the government is not able to employ everyone, they must find employment themselves by other means. He said NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development) has undertaken to help those who would like to get loans from the National Development Bank--an agency through which money from NORAD is channelled. Markets would also be provided for goods. He wanted the names of all those who wanted loans so that he could send

their names to the Community Development Office in Kanye. Forms would be sent back to the ACDO to give to those people desiring loans. Having completed these forms, they would be interviewed before they got loans. There was a general feeling that those who wanted to get loans would see the ACDO in his office to discuss the topic further.

The people conducting the national census were supposed to hold a meeting at the kgotla. However, they did not come on the appointed day.

The kgotla does not have any direct responsibility for development projects. It has no direct financial responsibility nor does it handle any money. Before any kgotla meeting is held, the headman sends some reliable villagers to tell the people that there will be a meeting. He also tells all those persons that he may meet. A vote is cast at the kgotla to elect members of social institutions like the VDC. All people are called to the kgotla for these elections.

Village Development Committee

The VDC was first formed in 1965 by the ACDO. He spearheaded the formation of the committee and elections of the officers. There was no initiative within Kgoro which led to the committee's formation.

The officers of the present VDC are: Chairman, a big farmer in Kgoro; Vice-Chairman, a big farmer in Kgoro; Secretary, an average farmer in Kgoro; Vice-Secretary, housewife; Treasurer, housewife.

The Chairman of the VDC is also the Chairman of the Rebone Dosing Group. Only the Treasurer is related to the chieftainship; she is married to the brother of the headman. The Chairman of the VDC is very unpopular in the Committee and among the people. He does not turn up for meetings. He was elected to his post before people realised his inefficiency as a leader.

The Vice-Chairman is unpopular in the east because people feel he does not relate on a friendly basis to the village headman during kgotla meetings. This makes them feel he wants to undermine the headman. Those in the west respect him and call him "chief" because of his good ideas. He is very popular among the VDC and acts as Chairman.

The Secretary is effective and always works hand in hand with the Vice-Chairman. He is also popular in the west, but very unpopular in the east because in all resolutions he has never agreed with the village headman. During the dispute over the removal of the airstrip, for example, he sided with the complainants.

The Vice-Secretary is popular in the west. Her husband works very hard at the cattle spray race. He is one of those who always turns up for work. The Treasurer is highly respected in the east because of her

marriage to the headman's son. Generally, VDC members are popular in the west but not in the east.

The VDC meetings are held every two months or when there are some urgent matters to discuss. The VDC is divided into sub-groups, each with the responsibility of undertaking a series of planned projects. These sub-groups are the Rebone Dosing Group, the Maiteko Borehole Syndicate, and the Bakery Group. Some members of the VDC play prominent roles in the sub-divisions, although all sub-division members are not members of the VDC. They will be discussed in the section on "Other Organisations".

The first project built by the VDC was the local primary school in the eastern side of the village. This was started in 1966 and completed in 1967. The people of Kgoro contributed P2 each through the VDC and this amounted to 10;per cent. The rest was financed by the Council.

The VDC is also involved in helping to build a health post. However, disputes over its location have hindered its start. The people on the west would like it to be on their side, while those in the east would like it to be next to the school--which is on the eastern side of Kgoro. The VDC applied for funds from the Netherlands Embassy. They will start construction of the clinic as soon;as disputes over its location have been resolved.

The VDC has also applied for a spot on which to build a storeroom to;store food for destitutes. The application form has been sent to the Rolong Land Board. The VDC is still awaiting the reply. Funds from the Southern District Council will be used to build the storeroom as soon as the plot is given. The Council has undertaken to buy all the required building materials and the Kgoro villagers will contribute labour.

The VDC has a Secretary and a minute book but minutes are not kept regularly. The VDC has a Barclays Bank account in Lobatse. The total amount of money they have is P427.02. Most of it;was collected in the form of contributions from members. The VDC also applies for funds from donor agencies. Although aid from donor agencies does not come in the form of cash, it is of great importance to the VDC.

The ward headman works in harmony with the VDC. He signed the form for application of a plot on which to build a storeroom. The VDC and village headman, however, are always in conflict. The VDC complained that he is ignorant of development projects in Kgoro. He, on the other hand, feels that the VDC does not respect him because they always act contrary to his decisions. For example, the VDC supported the fencing of individual fields whereas he wanted a drift fence because he considered it less expensive. Most of the VDC members are from the west and they feel that the village headman wants to treat people as servants because he thinks he is a chief.

The VDC does not have any links with other organisations in the vil-
lage. It has almost no links outside the village. However, the VDC has

links with the Southern District Council. The VDC writes down the names of destitutes for the Council and the latter provides them with food via the VDC every month-end. The Councillors and the ACDO have to be first consulted before the VDC implements all its projects. The Councillor urged the members of the VDC to apply for a spot on which to build a storeroom despite opposition from the village headman.

The ACDO works effectively with the VDC. The most prominent extension member working with the VDC is always called upon to resolve problems of implementing projects. The District Agricultural Officer is of great help to the VDC in agriculture-oriented projects.

The VDC is not respected by people in the east because they feel that the VDC's projects are implemented with no prior consultation with the people of Kgoro. In fact, they feel that all the projects are being concentrated only on the western part of the village. Generally, the VDC is respected by the people on the west, where almost all of its membership lives.

The members of the VDC support the Botswana National Front, while most of the rest of the villagers, including the village headman, support the Botswana Democratic Party. The VDC considers the village headman to be a very conservative element who always aims at winding the clock back. He is always opposed to whatever the VDC would like to implement.

Extension

Village Extension Team

There is no formal Village Extension Team in Kgoro or in the immediate area. Village extension workers talk informally about each others' work. However, they do not work together because their areas are not the same. The villagers told me that they like the extension workers, especially the ACDO.

Agricultural Demonstrator

The Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) for the extension area to which Kgoro belongs did not go to Kgoro during the study period. I went to Good Hope to interview the District Agricultural Officer about him.

Aged 28, the AD has two years' experience in this work. He joined the field in 1979 after completing his course at the Botswana Agricultural College. He stays in Sheepfarm. His extension area, called Gamokoto, includes Kgoro, Good Hope, Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, Gamokoto, and Mogalale. He is supposed to visit Kgoro once a month, but he fails because the area he is supposed to cover is too large. Most of the people of Kgoro do not know him because he rarely visits the place. His work in Kgoro is not satisfactory.

Assistant Community Development Officer

The Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), age 24, completed his course in 1978 and was posted to Good Hope in 1979. He has three years' experience in his work. He comes to Kgoro at least once a month, and more often when he is asked to help settle disputes among social groups. For example, he was called upon to solve disputes between the Head Teacher and the PTA. Members of the PTA complained that the Head Teacher stole maluti because she refused to tell them the number of bags sent to school for school children and how much of it was left at the end of the term. The ACDO came to Kgoro and talked to the PTA and the Head Teacher at a meeting, appealing to them to work in harmony and stop their conflict.

The ACDO is assigned to stimulate people to initiate self-help projects. Such projects are done through the VDC. Where there is no VDC, it is his duty to help form one. He makes them aware of donor agencies that they can consult to help them implement their projects. The VDC links the community and the Council, and these to the central government. It is through the VDC that government can be made aware of problems confronting the people at a local level.

The ACDO is responsible for eight villages: Kgoro, Good Hope, Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, Gamokoto, Mogalale, Cwaanyaneng, and Metlojane. In Kgoro there is a problem of chieftainship. The village headman would like to influence the way development is shaped. He tends to be against whatever projects the VDC would like to implement. This is because he always wants to exercise his power as chief. He feels strongly that leadership should be traditional as he is a traditional headman. He complained that the ACDO is the one who is influencing the VDC not to respect him because he is working with them.

According to the ACDO, the conflict over the chieftainship is also because the headman belongs to the BDP, while other members of the VDC belong to the BNF.

The ACDO invites members from the PTA, 4-B, BCW, YWCA, and other groups to come to Good Hope for seminars and courses. For example, there was a seminar on creating employment in July 1981. It was organised by the Community Development Officer in Kanye and took place in Good Hope. The ACDO supervised discussion in groups. The aim of the seminar was to discuss the type of jobs that can be created on a self-help basis. There was also a Home Economics course organised by the Division of Social and Community Development in Kanye. The course also took place in Good Hope. The ACDO had to collect and register all the articles made during the course. These were to be sold and the money was to be used for self-help projects by the Southern District Council.

The ACDO has a problem with lack of transport. For example, during his latest address in Kgoro he had to come on foot because all the Land Board cars were being used.

Head Teacher

The Head Teacher, age 34, has been at Kgoro School since 1974. She has ten years' experience. She is responsible for the administration of the school and, because of a shortage of staff, she also has classes to teach. She has authority to ensure that all teachers come to school. She gives each of them responsibility for sports and music competitions.

She is a member of the PTA, which is defunct, and the Botswana Teachers Union (BTU). She voices the objectives of the PTA to the parents of the children of Kgoro School. She was among the BTU members who organised a programme and transport for Kgoro School children to visit Tlharesolele for sports competitions. The Education Officer comes about once every two months to check on the registers for attendance of school children and to ask the headman about all the affairs of the school. However, she has not come to Kgoro when I was there.

The Head Teacher asked the Council to build a storeroom and kitchen for the school, and more houses for teachers. The construction was started in June by the Tlhera-Boroko Company from the Molepolole Builders Brigade. The Council provided funds and the buildings were almost complete by August 1981. Whenever there is a course in Good Hope or Lobatse for teachers, she either goes or sends some teacher to represent her school. She does not attend all meetings because she has to assist in teaching due to the shortage of teachers.

Other Organisations

Rebone Dosing Group

The two key members of the Dosing Group are the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman. The Chairman is a dynamic speaker, and is always answerable about what is going on in the Dosing Group. He is also a member of the VDC and Borehole Syndicate, but does not hold offices in these two organisations. He is an average farmer and well respected by the people.

The Vice-Chairman is also a hard worker at the Group's spray race. He is an articulate member of the Botswana National Front. Not many people respect him because he is capable of saying any word that comes into his head. He is the key person in the Group because he is industrious. All executive members of the Dosing Group are from the western part of Kgoro. They all feel the village headman is not their leader and should not be informed of development projects. They say he wants to determine where the Group's projects should be implemented.

The Dosing Group succeeded in building a small stock dipping basin. The project was started in 1979 and completed in 1980. The funds were provided by the Small Stock Department at the Ministry of Agriculture. Building materials were bought by the Ministry and the Group contributed

the needed labour. The AD and the DAO supervised the building of the project. A spray race, which was started in June, is currently under construction. The building materials for the project were provided by the Ministry of Agriculture. The Dosing Group contributed the labour. The DAO called the planners from Lobatse to help the Group in building the project. They hope to have it completed by the end of August. The Ministry of Agriculture is the main outside agency from which the Dosing Group can draw its resources.

The Dosing Group is exclusively for its members. Members of the Group complained that, contrary to its bye-laws, non-members were using the dipping basin. People claimed that they were granted permission to use the dipping basin by the village headman. It appeared to this researcher that this was an assertion of the headman's power against this new modern institution. Under pressure from the Group, the headman stopped the practise of granting these favours. Use of the dipping basin is now exclusively for members. Although the project is still incomplete, the spray race will be used only by members as well.

Bakery Group

The Bakery Group, part of whose executive is drawn from the Dosing Group, would like to build a bakery on the western part of Kgoro.

The key members of the Bakery Group are drawn from the west. The Rural Industries Innovation Centre (RIIC) in Kanye has promised to finance the bakery through a loan and would receive 40;per cent of the bakery's profits until the loan is paid back.

The Chairman and the Treasurer were elected because they are hard working. They both feel the village headman is no longer chief and should not be informed of their projects. The only project that the group has planned so far is the bakery. It will be called Matshelo.

The group has not yet decided when the project will be started or finished. The only outside resources that the organisation has drawn upon is the RIIC. It has not asked for nor received government extension support.

The Bakery Group has done little in terms of planning marketing arrangements, calculating quantities of bread to be produced, management, and the like. Problems have not yet been faced because they cannot be predicted at;this time.

Maiteko Borehole Group

The members of the Maiteko Borehole Group executive committee are also the executive for the bakery. These persons assumed the leadership roles because they feel strongly that a borehole must be built;in Kgoro. The Chairman and Treasurer applied for the funds from the Botswana Christian Council (BCC). The project is planned to start in December 1981.

P20,000 will come from the BCC and P3,000 from member's contributions. Each member pays P55. The members will contribute labour, and specialists will be employed as needed.

Membership is open to all persons who pay the membership fee. At present, membership is largely composed of western residents. Many other villagers are excluded from membership by the high membership fee. The borehole, to be used for watering livestock, can be used by members only. At the time of the research, there was no mention of any complicating problems.

The Borehole, Bakery, and Dosing Groups have completely failed in recruiting people from the east to join their club. The people from the east claim that they cannot join in making projects because they feel they are regarded as intruders because those from the west never consult them before implementing the projects. The Groups claim that they have always tried to make prior consultation, but the people in the east do not turn up for meetings. The Groups go ahead with their projects because they feel they cannot be stopped simply because of lack of cooperation from the people in the east.

4-B Club

The 4-B Club is organised through the primary school with the support of several teachers, the AD, and volunteers from the community. The Club is two years old, and was started by the AD. Membership is mostly female and is drawn from all segments of the village because of the recruitment efforts of the AD and because of the Club's organisation through the primary school, a neutral, village-wide establishment.

All members of the executive are from Kgoro Primary School, where the meetings are held. The two project leaders are both teachers. They always turn up for meetings. The officers do not hold office in any other organisation.

The 4-B Club is not in a promising position to manage resources or initiate development efforts. The leadership is weak and seriously unmotivated. Support from the AD is nil. Parental support, in the form of financial contributions and motivation for their children, is also lacking. Apparently the projects of this Club (knitting garments, and making simple wooden and clay utensils) are of too small a scale and are lacking enough importance to people's daily productive activities to motivate people into active support. The 4-B Club is planning larger projects which are more agriculturally related, such as buying chickens for egg production and starting a vegetable garden. These are, however, still in the planning stage and are hindered by a lack of finance and lack of water, respectively.

The 4-B Club, as a youth-oriented extension service of the Ministry of Agriculture, is constrained from constructing sizeable village-wide development projects. It can, however, be a valuable tool for teaching

youth constructive, especially agricultural, skills. To improve this organisation in Kgoro, institutional arrangements should be established so that the AD and teachers are compelled to give the 4-B more attention. This could do much to increase the skills taught to its members, open up contacts with funding from the Ministry of Agriculture, increase the scope and scale of its activities, and, as a consequence, could also increase both parents' and childrens' involvement.

Parent Teachers Association (PTA) and Botswana Teachers Union (BTU)

The PTA and BTU are not in a position to initiate village development. The PTA, which is supposed to create a dialogue between parents and teachers, has been defunct for several years. The BTU acts as a union in support of teachers' rights. Kgoro is one member of the Barolong chapter. It is not directed towards development activities.

Resource Management

The fields in Kgoro are on the southern part of the village. Drinking water is available in small dams scattered throughout the village. These dams only hold water after the rainy season and, in years of drought, they go dry. The grazing areas are in the north and go right up; to the pan on the western side of the village.

After harvesting their crops, people graze their cattle on the fields until the next ploughing season. All farmers build kraals for their cattle next to their compounds. The village has only one lands area--in the south. The lands stretch up to the borders of Bethel and Malokaganyane. All of Kgoro's land has been occupied so some people have to ask for additional ploughing land from Bethel and Malokaganyane.

There are no residential areas at the lands. People start off from their homes in the village to the lands every day during the ploughing and harvesting seasons and return at night. There is no policy perceived in the village on permanent settlements at the lands because they are not very far from the residential sites. There is not enough space at the lands areas for both agriculture and residences.

All administrative functions are carried out in the village. No services or administrative functions are rendered at the lands. All land in the area is allocated to people by the Land Board. There are, however, some old folks who have land that they have always ploughed long before the Land Board came into existence. Today, no one secures land without prior consultation of the Land Board in Good Hope.

There is no sale or rental of land in Kgoro. All land is owned communally. Most of the villagers feel that land should be controlled by the Land Board, especially because of the village's east-west conflict. Despite the fact that the Land Board is slow in confirming applications,

the Land Board is accepted as the enforcing agency. Land Board members come to Kgoro every two months for land allocation.

No member of the Rolong Land Board lives in Kgoro. There is no sub-Land Board in the Barolong Farms. The members of the Land Board work with the VDC in village land use planning. The Land Board members are generally large farmers and receive allowances as Land Board members. They are respected by members of the society as being efficient.

The ward headman does not mind signing the "no objection" statement prior to land allocation as long as the proper procedure has been followed and the site does not conflict with adjacent land uses. Others generally feel that this system is adequate. The VDC has the right to query if land is given away for unsuitable purposes.

Village leaders cannot tell the people anything about recent refusals of applications for land. It is the duty of the Land Board to tell their decisions to the person who asked for land. The Rolong Land Board recognises that each village should have a contiguous lands areas so that no land is wasted. This, however, is not a major concern to most people in the village.

There is no conflict between Kgoro and other villages over land. The government has not subsidised farmers to fence individual farms. Those in the east feel that government cannot subsidise people to such lengths as to enable them to afford to fence their farms. They feel fencing is too expensive for their small pockets. Those in the west feel they can afford to fence as long as the government is willing to subsidise them. There was a general feeling that a drift fence would be less expensive than the fencing of individual farms. The issue is still in the hands of the Land Board.

Cattle are grazed in the northern and north-western sides of the village. There is no institutionalised control over grazing. Dams are scattered all over the village, but not in the grazing areas. The principal water source for livestock is a pan located to Kgoro's north-east. People are encouraged to keep their cattle only in the village grazing areas to avoid crop damage. However, when the fields are free of crops in spring, cattle are grazed in the farms to eat the remains of the stocks. People from Gathwane in the north also come and graze their cattle on the Kgoro land. Grazing does not vary with rainfall but rather with the season. There is always enough grass even in years of drought. There is no problem of over-grazing because people do not have too many cattle and thus do not degrade the pastures.

Crop damage by cattle is handled by the owner of the cattle and the complainant. If there is a dispute as to how much one should pay for the damage, the case is taken to the kgotla and the ward headman presides over the cases. Livestock production is a community issue. Most of the farmers feel they must all dose their cattle so as to avoid spreading diseases among their animals.

AE;10 funds are known to villagers in Kgoro, at least to the Dosing Group. AE;10 funds were used to finance the construction of the small stock dipping basin and are funding the construction of the spray race. Access to these funds was through the efforts of the AD and DAO. More detailed information about this can be found in the sections on other organisations and extension.

Most people in Kgoro know about ALDEP, but they do not want to commit themselves by taking loans to buy donkeys or cows for ploughing due to the risk of not being able to repay the loans. I understand there are only a few who have borrowed money to buy yokes and ploughs.

Government services to communal area livestock owners have had some effect on the village. Big farmers said they would like to borrow better breeds of cattle to improve their herds. They feel strongly that government should supply them with veterinary officers. They feel that water should be provided for their cattle. Most people feel water should be brought through the VDC, while others feel the PTA is the most appropriate because, unlike the VDC, it has no squabbles with the headman.

Domestic water in Kgoro is drawn from small seasonal dams all over the village. These dams have been built by individual farmers since 1944. The people, however, do not know the history of the domestic water supply. Water for most non-domestic purposes is drawn from the village pan as it has water the entire year. People view non-domestic water as a communal issue. They feel that water must be provided by the Council for all their cattle.

Village leaders feel that the Land Board resolutions on borehole applications do not create any disputes between the Land Board and the people. They say this because, before any application is made, a water surveyor is employed to find out the plot best suited for a borehole. Having found it, villagers apply for the plot and the Land Board never refuses the application because the plot will have already been confirmed by the surveyor as suitable. Leaders feel it is a good procedure as it entails the bringing in of the surveyor to find out where water is available. At present, there are no boreholes in Kgoro. The Maiteko Borehole Syndicate has applied for a site through these proper channels.

The village shares water from the Jwaneng dam with the villagers of Goo-Lethlare in the north-east. This dam is owned by some local groups in Goo-Lethlare (unknown to the people of Kgoro), but the government has decided to take it into its control very soon. They do not know how the water is going to be managed when the dam is taken over by the government.

The mokala tree is the main source of firewood. These trees are few and scattered. There are no institutionalised means of controlling this resource nor are they required. The village has no mineral, clay, or stone deposits.

General Conclusion

I think there are several autonomous economic projects that can be created in Kgoro. I believe that people could make cement bricks and sell them locally so that people would not have to incur high transportation costs. They can form themselves into groups to organize these activities and earn some money for their livelihood. These could be sold to the construction companies that come to Kgoro and to locals. The Tlhera-Boroko Company which came to make buildings at the Kgoro school could have made an efficient market for bricks.

Jerseys, mats, and caps could be knitted and sold locally. This would save the people the trouble of going all the way to Lobatse for shopping. This could in the long run develop into a factory for extended and continuous employment.

CHART 3 : ORGANISATIONS IN KGOFO

	REBONE DOSING GROUP	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	VDC	4-B CLUBS
Members	9	5		36
Number male	9	4		10
Number female	0	1		26
Year formed		1981		
Formed internally/ externally	Internally	Internally	Internally	Internally (by teacher)
Finished projects; year begun	1) Small stock dipping basin; 1979-80		1) Primary school; 1966-67	1) Knitting, making small items
Cost/funding source	P840(?)/small stock funding from MOA		LG;17	Member contri- butions
Unfinished projects; date started	1) Spray race; June 1981	1) Borehole; Dec. 1981	1) School storeroom, 2) Health post	
Cost/funding source	1) P1,600/SLOCA	P20,000/Botswana Christian Council; P3,000/membership fees	1) LG-17; 2) Netherland's government	
Scheduled frequency of meetings	Fortnightly	Fortnightly	Once a month	Once a week
Frequency of meet- ings; attendance	Fortnightly; good attendance	Frequently; good attendance	Once a month; good attendance	sp ratio; fair attendance
Bye-laws, constitution	Yes, written	Yes, written	Yes, written	Yes, written
State of minutes	Good	Good	Good	Good
State of finan- cial records	Good, have bank account	Good, have bank account	Good, have bank account	Fair, no bank account

(Chart 3, cont.)

	REBONE DOSING GROUP	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	VDC	4-P CLUBS
Cash flow in previous year	P155	P500	P427	P30
Controlling family/faction	Western residents, owners of largest herds	Western residents, owners of largest herds	Western residents	Membership distributed throughout village — leader is AD

CHART 4 : LEADERSHIP OF ORGANISATIONS IN KGORO

PERSON	WARD	VDC	DOSING GROUP	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	BAKERY GROUP	4-B CLUB	OTHER INFORMATION
Mr C.M.	1	Chairperson	Vice-Secretary		Chairman		
Mr M.	2	Vice-	Treasurer		Vice-Secretary	Treasurer	
Ms G.M.	2	Chairperson				Secretary	
Mr M.M.	2					Vice-Secretary	
Mr M.M.(2)	2						
Mrs T.L.	3	Secretary					
Mr T.L.	3		Secretary	Treasurer	Treasurer		
Mr T.	3		Vice-	Chairman	Secretary		
Mr L.	3		Chairperson				
Mrs S.	4			Vice-		Vice-	
Mrs K.S.	4			Chairperson		Chairperson	
Mr K.	5		Chairperson	Vice-Secretary	Vice-Chair.	VDC Member	
Mr T.	-	Treasurer				Dosing group,	Headman's
Mrs T.	-	Vice-Secretary			Chairperson	headman's	family
Mr B.	-			Secretary		family	
Mrs P.	-						

CHAPTER IV

REPORT ON CWAANYANENG

by Dempsey Keebine

Introduction

The village is located south-west of Good Hope about 18 km along the Good Hope-Phitshane-Molopo road. It is located about 2-3 km to the north of this road, and 6 km north-west of Metlojane.

Cwaanyaneng is a small village. It was started in the early 1950s by the Ikgopoleng family who migrated from Disaneng in South Africa. The name stems from the salty water found in the area. Other people came to settle afterwards, though the majority are the Ikgopoleng's or close relatives.

There are approximately 400 persons in 50 scattered households in Cwaanyaneng. This figure includes the permanent residents, plus those persons who work outside the village and return at least once a week.

The inhabitants of Cwaanyaneng are primarily subsistence agriculturists. Surpluses are sold commercially when available, though it is not uncommon for all output to be sold on the market whether a surplus is available or not. This is a reflection of the strong commercial ethic among farmers in the Barolong. There are a few large commercial farmers in Cwaanyaneng, owning their own tractors and other implements. However, they are a distinct minority in the village. A few residents have wage employment with the General Dealer in Metlojane and at the Tribal Authority Office in Good Hope.

Cattle raising is not as important to them as to other people in Botswana, perhaps because these people do not have adequate grazing areas. Other people who do not or cannot afford to plough their fields work for the wealthier farmers in harvesting or as hired hands. They also herd livestock for cash or kind. They usually receive 10 bags of grain as payment, which they in turn sell to Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board when his/her employer takes her/her grain there.

Those people who are literate (that is, having attempted Junior Certificate) often have decided to seek wage employment elsewhere in Botswana. A very low percentage have migrated to seek wage employment in the mines and other towns in South Africa.

The village is equipped with a standard 7 primary school, with 211 students in the second semester of the 1981 academic year. The school

serves the villages of Madingwane, Mogobe-wa-kgomo, and Cwaanyaneng. There is also a health post, staffed by a Family Welfare Educator. Criticism has been levied against the health post by villagers for lack of sufficient stocks of medicines. There are no shops in Cwaanyaneng. Consequently, people usually purchase their goods at the General Dealer in Metlojane. The bus service, which serves the northern corridor of the Barolong Farms, is based in the village.

There is an acute shortage of clean water for human consumption. The only large water source is a seasonal dam. However, this water is very dirty and is used mostly for cattle and small stock. It is also used by those people who cannot afford to purchase water from the General Dealer in Metlojane, the most common water source for human use.

Generally, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party has the most support. However, it appears people are becoming disenchanted with it because of the Member of Parliament of the area. He does not seem to represent the people. He has little respect and participates little in village development of any kind. Because of this, people are generally turning to support the opposition party--the Botswana National Front. In Cwaanyaneng, in particular, people publicly refer to the present government as "Government for Gaborone", and not government for them. They feel that the present government does not do anything for them despite the fact that the Barolong Farms is the major grain producer for Botswana.

The constituency for the Councillor is drawn from 10 villages, including Cwaanyaneng. She stays in Metlojane. Although she states that she visits the villages in her constituency once a month, she did not visit the village during the thirteen week observation period. During her visits she usually gives advice to people about development projects which they could begin. This advice includes how people can apply for such project funding as LG;17, AE;10, and others initiated by government and Council. Her role also includes informing the Council of the opinions of the people, their wishes, aspirations, and what they may view as important. On the other hand, she takes back to the people what the Council has decided, what they found too difficult to comprehend, and whatever decisions they may have come up with.

Overview of Institutions

Institutions in Cwaanyaneng operate in a political and leadership vacuum. The traditional institutions of the kgotla and the headman, never particularly powerful, have further degenerated as the result of national and district level developments. At the same time, the "modern" institutions created in the village have largely failed to fill the need for leadership necessary for present-day development activities.

There is no leadership, either present in Cwaanyaneng or engaged in institutional activity, capable of effectively mobilising the inhabitants towards implementing development tasks. Modern and traditional institutions exist but are not active.

Chieftainship

The village does not have its own chief. Instead, there is a ward headman. He was appointed to his office when the traditional headmen were removed from office in the early 1970s. This was done in an attempt by the Barolong Tribal Authority, Council, and central government to centralise village administration in the Barolong. Here, the 41 farms were consolidated into five wards, each comprised of several villages. The traditional headmen were removed from office and a new headman appointed for each ward. The ward headmen are civil servants and have a fixed salary. The previous headmen were not paid civil servants but obtained their pay from the fines they imposed on people, from contributions which people were forced to make to them, and from such things as "matimela".* The ward headman for Cwaanyaneng stays in Mogobe-wa-kgomo and works at the Tribal Office in Good Hope.

The ward headman is responsible for 10 villages grouped into his ward: Kgoro, Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, Madingwane, Cwaanyaneng, Mogo-wa-kgomo, Mogwalale, Gamokoto, and Good Hope. He works directly with VDCs in each village, which may be said (at least in Cwaanyaneng) to be the official representative of the headman. The headman works directly with the VDC in land allocation, project identification, and implementation, and in whatever development projects may be at hand.

In visiting Cwaanyaneng, he informs the Cwaanyaneng Chairman about his intended visit, and receives answers as to whether it would be possible to arrange the meeting. The VDC Chairman then informs the community about the visit so that they can attend and ask questions.

It is difficult to describe how the present headman spends his day. According to him, he spends most of his time in Good Hope attending to kgotla cases. He becomes an automatic Chief Prosecutor at Good Hope for all cases which come from within his ward. He acts as an advisor to the Chief/Tribal Authority in all cases outside his ward jurisdiction. When he is not at the Tribal Offices in Good Hope, he visits his ward villages at least once a month if he is not held up somewhere else. During his visits he takes messages from the Tribal Authority, and listens to complaints and problems of the community in kgotla meetings.

The development activities in which he participates are various projects which are carried out in the village through the VDC and community participation. He advises the community on what to do, how to carry out the implementation of projects, and ways of obtaining funds from sources available through the Tribal Authority and Council. He is also involved in allocating land. He approves the land allocation decisions made by the VDC, which is his representative at Cwaanyaneng. Land Boards do not and cannot allocate land without his signature on the application

* Stray livestock which the headman may take as his own or impose a fine upon the animal's owner for its return.

forms. He also advises people on the;intended actions of the Tribal Authority. In short, his role is that;of a go-between for the Tribal Authority and the community.

He is considered active and rather efficient. People say that he is prompt in his appointments, and always conducts meetings with an effective and fluent voice which everybody has tended to regard as the "Chief's voice". The VDC Chairman, though illiterate, maintains that the ward headman is a good administrator. The VDC Chairman argues that the ward headman does not oppress people in any way, but discusses whatever is important with the relevant people. For instance, if it's an issue which had the views of the community, the ward headman calls a kgotla meeting where the issue will be thoroughly discussed before a decision is;taken.

As a leader, the ward headman is respected. This may be due to several reasons, including the fact that he is the representative of Tribal Authority to the village. Those people who disobey him feel they might be;subject to punishment by the Tribal Authority. Another reason he is respected is the wisdom and tolerance which he uses in dealing with the community.

The effectiveness of the ward headman as leader and administrator is not due to his individual status and power, but rather to the status he receives from his position in the development projects with which he is involved. For instance, the VDC cannot carry out any project without informing him. They seek the influence he can wield with the Tribal Authority in matters which affect the village, and his advice on how to tackle some problems or how to obtain funds. In other words, he is at the disposal of the community, to be used for the good of;the community and for the good of the whole of Barolong Farms. His involvement in village projects outside the VDC, such as the BCW, has also earned him respect. People have confidence in him. He encourages the well-being of those independent organisations and attempts to show people how the organisations can benefit the village.

The ward headman maintains that his relationship with the traditional headman in Cwaanyaneng is fine. He always consults the old headman for advice on village matters. However, it is evident that the old headman is bitter about the loss of his position. For instance, when I first arrived in Cwaanyaneng I was told that he was the headman; but, when I went over to his place to introduce myself, he referred me to the VDC, saying, "The VDC are the people to introduce you to the community, not me". Also the Councillor and other community members told me that the old headman was still angry over the loss of his position.

The old headman is the hereditary headman, having inherited the post after his father's death. He is about 70 years old and has no formal education. He is well-off. Although the old headman still has some command over the local villagers, most people have now come to realise that he is no longer headman. Perhaps this is why he does not want to become involved in projects and village development. Yet people still view him as the royal headman. They consult him in local matters, like settling

family disputes, and seek advice from him. On legal matters like seeking residential, commercial, and field lands, people refer to the present ward headman.

Kgotla

The kgotla in Cwaanyaneng is called irregularly and only when there is a topic to discuss. The meeting may be called by the VDC, ward headman, Councillor, or any extension officer. Attendance at a kgotla meeting is generally very low, to such an extent that the AD once said that village people should be fined when they did not attend kgotla meetings and have no satisfactory excuses for not doing so.

People give various reasons for not attending kgotla meetings. The one I noted as important and that should be rectified is that people do not attend meetings because the speakers talk only of the problem of water for human consumption and how this will be solved. This, the people maintain, has been going on since 1974.

Subjects discussed in kgotla meetings are usually central to what projects should be carried out and how they are going to be funded. Discussion also centres on people's roles in present and future projects.

The Councillor, who is also a frequent kgotla visitor, discusses such things as how the VDC may apply for funds to the Council or central government, Council intentions, the people's needs, and what they feel should be passed on to the Council. The ward headman discusses such issues as tribal matters, allocation of land, and village matters that he should pass on to tribal headquarters. In a kgotla meeting, everybody has a right to speak. The VDC Chairman is usually the leader. Women have a right to speak at the kgotla. To my surprise, women in Cwaanyaneng attend kgotla meetings more than men. This, then, puts women always in the majority and, with an obsessive courage to speak without backing off, women have a strong role in the kgotla.

The ward headman is the senior person in the kgotla. He directs it in such a way that it does not contradict its usual norms. Decisions are usually reached by consensus of the people. However, if no decision is reached, the ward headman has the ultimate decision-making power which no one can refuse unless there is an appeal to the Tribal Authority in Good Hope. Despite all this, the ward headman does not pass sentence nor can he be judge on any matter. All he does is keep people at peace and try to modify sentences which people pass on others when livestock has damaged crops.

The kgotla is a respected entity within most villages. In Cwaanyaneng, this may be true only to a limited extent. Usually the kgotla is run by village personalities such as the headmen, the deputy of either of the two headmen, and advisors in the kgotla (Bo rre ba lekgotla). In Cwaanyaneng, the kgotla is run by the VDC, an elected body which exists

only so long as the people feel it is competent in village development. The kgotla exists only as a structure which is there for people to meet at when called to do so. It has no real importance until the ward headman visits it, when it receives the status of a meeting where tribal and village deliberations will be held. Otherwise, it is not a viable institution.

The kgotla is a direct responsibility of the VDC and cannot be separated from it. The kgotla by itself is not responsible for project evaluation, monitoring, or implementation. All village projects are organised and discussed in the kgotla with the VDC, the relevant extension staff, and the community when the need arises. The kgotla does not have direct financial authority. The VDC handles all financial matters of the community, be they village contributions or any financial support given to the community from outside sources. However, because of lack of knowledge and understanding by the VDC Treasurer, the financial records are disorganised. There is no accurate record of existing finances because the Treasurer does not understand bookkeeping. When I was in Cwaanyaneng, there were only two kgotla meetings called by the VDC. The first was to introduce me to the village, and the second was called by the ACDO from Good Hope to discuss opportunities for creating employment.

When a kgotla meeting is to be held, the VDC Chairman is the first person to be informed. This is done when there is a person outside Cwaanyaneng who wishes to hold a meeting. In the case where the meeting is held by VDC, the headman is informed. When the headman knows about the intention of the VDC to hold a kgotla meeting, he tells the individual VDC members and other villagers. The meeting is also announced at the church--the United Congregational Church of South Africa, the only one in the village. The VDC Chairman is informed by a letter or a message is sent to him. He then tells the VDC Secretary, who writes to other members informing them about the meeting. The letters are given to the neighbours or school pupils to give to the parents (i.e. VDC members only). In the meeting called by the ACDO, discussion was very orderly and there never was any show of tempers, perhaps only because the ACDO was telling them about available employment creation opportunities and how they could enlist help if they were interested.

Before the Chairman of the meeting reaches a decision, everybody is allowed to say what he/she thinks about the issue at hand. Decisions are communicated to the people by word of mouth.

Elections are held in a democratic manner. Any person who is regarded as an adult can be elected into office. Here, any person nominates anyone of his choice, whereupon there will be a vote to elect a person into office.

Village Development Committee

The Village Development Committee was said to have been established in 1968 by government as a step to upgrade self-reliance in rural areas.

No one knows the history of how the VDC was started. Nevertheless, the VDC is the prominent organisation in Cwaanyaneng. It is seen as the village parliament and the principal vehicle for village development. The kgotla and all other institutions are subordinate to it. Despite this, it currently is not in a position to implement development projects, successfully manage resources, or to fill the village leadership vacuum.

At one time, the VDC was a very active organisation, successfully mobilising people and resources. This was mainly due to the personal efforts of one individual. He emigrated to Cwaanyaneng in the mid-1960s and quickly took leadership positions in local organisations. In 1974, as Chairman of the PTA, the Chairmanship of the VDC was, in his words, "imposed" on him. He said that villagers came to see him as their "development leader" and "forced" him to take the VDC Chair.

Prior to his taking leadership, the VDC had not initiated any projects. After he received the Chairmanship, the VDC upgraded the dam by village efforts alone and constructed a storeroom with LG;17 funds. Yet, the headman retained ultimate strength over the organisation, successfully stopping proposed projects with his personal disapproval. Moreover, political rivalries soon developed between the headman and the VDC Chairman, whose wife also had leadership roles in other groups. The headman felt his leadership role in the village threatened. Pressure from the headman and the public forced him to resign from his positions in 1976. The VDC remained dormant until 1978 when it was revived through the efforts of the ward headman and local Councillor, but it has officers of little organisational or leadership capacity. The first Chairman does not stay in Cwaanyaneng anymore. The village headman did not want anything to do with it in 1968. He refused to be interviewed about the establishment of the VDC.

According to the villagers, one does not need influential relations or respected status to be elected into VDC office. Election is entirely based on the wishes of the electorate and on the effective lobbying of those who want to be elected into office.

The present Chairman is about 55 years old and has been in office for two years. He is a small farmer and has no real power which could be said to have made him VDC Chairman. He only went up to standard 1 at school, and is not very healthy. According to all VDC members and the community, he is not a valuable leader. One wonders why he is not removed from office if people think that badly of him.

The Vice-Chairman is about 40 years old and has been in office for two years. He is not wealthy, has a small family, and does not command any following in the village. He never went to school. The community and VDC members feel that he could have been elected Chairman because of his capabilities in public speaking and because of his ability to arrange and keep track of all meetings and other activities. He has no family ties or relationship with the chieftainship.

An additional committee member is about 45 years old and completed standard 5. He has never been active. At present, he has gone to Jwaneng

where he works as a labourer, without informing the committee. His election into the VDC may reflect the fact that he is son to the village headman.

Another committee member is about 56 years old, never went to school, and is not very active. He is a local labourer, and can be classified as poor with absolutely no following in the village. He does not have a steady job but goes from house to house doing their odd jobs.

Another member, a woman, is about 50 years old, went up to standard 4, and also founded the BCW. She is a housewife married to the younger brother of the village headman, who is also a deputy head teacher at the local primary school. She is not a very active member, but has influence over the VDC.

The Treasurer is a wife to the old headman's brother. She is about 68 years old, has no education, and is not very active. The Vice-Secretary of the VDC is 38 years old and went up to standard 6 at school. She is very influential in directing the path of the VDC. She is married to the rich son of an uncle of the village headman. She is literate and always keeps records.

Another committee member is a woman who is about 50 years old, went up to standard 2 at school, and is not very active. The Secretary is a woman about 35 years of age. She is a very active member who, according to members, is holding the VDC from collapse. She has development-oriented ideas; for example, she has been trying to urge women in the community to form a group to sew dresses and knit jerseys. Her husband works in Jwaneng as a qualified welder. She has no relationship to the chieftainship.

According to most VDC members, the present VDC relies entirely on the Vice-Chairman and Secretary. They maintain that the Chairman is a poor leader because he is physically weak and not all that able.

The village headman has no official vote in the VDC, but he still holds considerable influence over the group. For example, the VDC was given a site by the Land Board for a graveyard. He went to the Tribal Authority in Good Hope to complain that he was not consulted. There he was told that his being consulted was not necessary since he was no longer headman. Nonetheless, he continues to have influence. An earlier VDC once attempted to levy a fee on animals watering at the dam in order to secure funds for its upgrading. The headman objected to this project, saying that he had no intention of paying for his animals to water at "his dam". His veto ended further discussion on this project.

Attendance at meetings is irregular. When I was there, a VDC meeting was never called. People in the committee argued that this was because people were at lands harvesting, which interrupted the regularity of meetings.

Activities

- (1) Kgotla construction--no funds used. It was a self-reliance project where all villagers had to participate. Project completed, 1980.

- (2) Graveyard application--no funds used. VDC applied for site at Land Board. Project completed, 1980.
- (3) Tribal house--this is to be funded by VDC with the help of Council if the latter approves the project. The project was to be started at the beginning of this year, but at the end of the observation period it had not started.
- (4) Dam de-silting--to be funded by VDC with funds which accrued from village contributions. Project not yet started, and no date set for its start.
- (5) Borehole water with pipe water installed--the VDC is depending on Council to implement this project. The Councillor and headman promised that Council will fund and implement it.

Records and Accounting

The minutes kept by the VDC are those of all kgotla meetings held by the VDC and community. These are all kept in the same book by the VDC Secretary. Financial records are also kept by the VDC Secretary and Treasurer, but those are in a form that very few people can understand. People do not have skills for keeping accounts and records, and this hinders progress in the VDC. The past VDCs never kept records.

Linkages

The VDC cannot do any village development projects without informing the ward headman. Relations between them are good.

The VDC is the representative of the ward headman in Cwaanyaneng in matters concerning village development.

There exists an informal relationship between the VDC and PTA. The VDC invite the PTA (and vice versa) to meetings in which development projects are discussed, but this does not occur often. The last such meeting was in 1978 when the PTA handed over the old classroom blocks to the community. The VDC was asked over because they are the community representative.

Relations exist between the VDC and organisations outside the village. These include relations between the VDC and Council which are made direct by the Councillor, extension staff, and funds received from Council by the VDC. The relations are indirect in that the VDC has no bargaining power, but can only lodge complaints; and it can ask for assistance in project development, but cannot sit on a round table and formally discuss problems with Council planners.

Extension officers principally involved in the VDC are the Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), Agricultural Demonstrator (AD), and Family Welfare Educator (FWE). The ACDO is more involved with the VDC because of his duties. He is the one who looks into their selection of

projects, advises them on what to put as a priority, suggests how to tackle problems, and, finally, helps them in applying for funds from the relevant funding sources such as EA;10 and LE;17. The AD is not very involved with the VDC. The FWE does not have any direct linkages with the VDC, but always holds meetings with the VDC to explain her duties. In;turn, the VDC may call a general community meeting where, for example, the FWE might warn of a cholera or smallpox epidemic which has befallen the area. She usually confines her duties to the health post.

The extension staff members who are conspicuously absent are the teachers. They have no role to play at all with the VDC. Neither do they involve themselves in any village development projects which may be initiated by either VDC or PTA.

The present VDC in Cwaanyaneng appears to be neither effective nor respected. This ineffectiveness lies mainly with the VDC executive. Of the officers, only one is relatively young and active in her duties; the others do not understand their roles and duties. The VDC members complain that they are not paid as VDC members though they work on village development. They do not view these development projects as theirs, but feel they are doing them for others without pay. Thus, they miss meetings without excuses and do not participate in village projects. This, then, has led to the loss of respect for the VDC.

Generally, people feel that membership in the VDC is a waste of time because one could be making a living for himself/herself instead of attending VDC meetings. When the VDC called a meeting to introduce me to the community, only four VDC members out of seven turned up, and no one outside the VDC was present.

It is difficult to assess if party politics affect the functioning of the VDC because few people are politicised, and they do not want to associate themselves with any VDC project. In the VDC itself, nobody identifies with, understands, or is interested in party politics.

Extension

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD)

The AD is about 50 years old and has been in this post for the past six years. Posted in Matlojane about 6 km away from Cwaanyaneng, there is no compelling reason for him to visit Cwaanyaneng on an official basis. He maintains that he has not been to Cwaanyaneng since early 1980 because people there were individualistic and did not want to form farmers' groups. However, this is only true for the rich people of Cwaanyaneng. Smaller and poorer farmers expressed a willingness for group involvement.

The rest of the villagers want and need a competent AD. They even go to the extent of visiting him at his place in Matlojane. These people maintain that he does not want to help them. For instance, he never

bothered to go and explain ALDEP to them. He works mainly with the rich farmers. In his defence, the AD argued that he does not visit Cwaanyaneng because, when on several occasions he went there to organise farming organisations, people never turned up. The majority of the people I talked to said that the meetings were never publicly advertised. The community also maintained that, when they visit the AD at his place, they usually find him out doing things other than his duties; he appears to have problems which interfere with his work.

The villages covered by the AD are Mogalale, Mogobe-wa-kgomo, Metlojane, Cwaanyaneng, Malokaganyane, Tswagare, Matlhageng, Taka-Tshweu, Mabua-a-kgama, Sekoko, and half of Selokong, which he shares with another AD.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO)

The ACDO, who is 24, has been in the post for three years. Posted in Good Hope, he covers several villages: Kgoro, Good Hope, Malokaganyane, Sheepfarm, Gamokoto, Mogwalale, Cwaanyaneng, Metlojane, and Mogobe-wa-kgomo. The ACDO does not visit Cwaanyaneng on a regular basis, but only when there is something important to do there, like addressing a meeting or informing the community on the intention of Council. His principal activities include: advising people on what projects should be given a priority, how these projects should be carried forward, how the VDC can apply for funds, and how an individual can create employment with Council's financial help. He mainly works with the VDC, but on employment issues he also works with individuals and organisations.

According to him, and reports from villagers, he is a very active young man, whose effectiveness could be improved by providing him with better means of transportation. He presently uses public transport to cover his area. Problems encountered involve mainly transport, which at times prevents him from reaching the area he wants to visit. The other problem is that VDCs in his area are generally not active and fail to organise meetings. People, however, seldom attend meetings even when informed in advance.

Family Welfare Educator (FWE)

The FWE is 23, has been in her post about two years, and is the first FWE of the village. Posted in the village, her principal activities include working at the health post treating children's minor ailments, giving lectures on family planning at the health post, and visiting people in their houses to advise them on sanitation. She also registers all deaths in the village. The FWE does not have any principal organisations with which she works. Most people in the village think she is doing an adequate job.

Head Teacher

The Head Teacher, age 30, has been in her post about three years. Compared to her predecessor, she is respected. She is also respected

because of the title she holds as Head Teacher; however, some PTA members and teachers maintain that she treats others with little respect. Her principal activities are centred at the primary school, and in the PTA, where she became a member by virtue of her position. She briefs the PTA on school matters. She is also required to send quarterly reports on the progress and problems of the school and teachers to the Secretary of Schools in Kanye.

Other Organisations

Botswana Council of Women (BCW)

The Botswana Council of Women (BCW), the original women's organisation in Cwaanyaneng, was formed in 1967 when a club representative came to the village. The headman's sister-in-law, chosen to be the Chairperson by the members, has held this position for the past 13 years. She has high status within the village. The Treasurer for the past eight years is 50 years old. She is also a VDC member. Very active in the BCW, she becomes easily discouraged when impediments stand in her way. Yet she is a key leader and encourages people to be development oriented. She is not rich or educated, but has built respect for herself because she is considerate when dealing with people.

Membership in the BCW is drawn from the whole village, and committee membership is based on election from the general membership. The BCW was started to address several specific issues. The organisation sought to teach its members how to knit, sew, and cook. It also intended to build a meeting house and to raise funds so members could attend BCW conferences and seminars, and to contribute to general community development.

The organisation has been only moderately successful in meeting these goals. Sewing, knitting, and cooking classes were organised for members. Through the sale of articles plus occasional member contributions, funds were raised so members could attend club conferences. The Club is now dormant and there are several factors which account for this. The Chairperson maintains that people have recently become reluctant to participate in the association. There was no major cause for this except that people felt voluntary associations were wasting their time. The club's projects were not important to people's livelihoods. Consequently, people soon lost interest. They saw no direct benefit from active participation, with one member claiming, "We do not feel that voluntary organisations are rewarding because we do not receive cash rewards." With little financial support from BCW headquarters and the inability to raise funds within Cwaanyaneng, the club had little cash to contribute to projects. The BCW continued to operate on a sporadic basis until 1972. At that time, the Chairperson and Treasurer were accused of embezzling club funds. Those two women formed the YWCA as a separate women's organisation. With this event, people's interest further waned and women's energies were diffused by the presence of two organisations when previously there had been one. The BCW continued, at least in name, until 1978. At that

time, it fell into total dormancy. Following a recent kgotla meeting in Cwaanyaneng, where the ACDO discussed employment, several BCW members expressed a keen interest in re-starting their organisation.

The chances of re-mobilising the BCW into a viable organisation are slim. Although some may wish to revive the group, little enthusiasm is shared by other villagers. Furthermore, the BCW was never very successful and little will probably be changed to remove the obstacles which it previously faced.

Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

Membership in this organisation is restricted to women only. They are allowed to join when they wish and joining is free, but members are required to pay P2.00 annually. Elections are democratically held, but irregular, and depend on the needs of the members. People can stay in office for as long as over 10 years either because people feel the committee is still competent or that there are no other persons to replace them.

The Chairperson has held her position for the past nine years. She is a Botswana Democratic Party member, but she maintains that she does not let party politics interfere with her duties in the YWCA. She is the wife to the previous PTA and VDC Chairman. This is the only powerful member of the YWCA who still insists that she is a member. Other persons feel that their membership in the YWCA had lapsed, since this organisation has not met since 1976.

This organisation has undertaken no principal projects or development activities. However, they did hold such activities as concerts, making fatcakes, and other fund raising activities with the ultimate objective of building a meeting house. The organisation was also involved in teaching other members knitting, dooking, and dress making at a very low level. According to the ACDO, there is no extension staff meant for this organisation since it is not government affiliated. However, when they request help, they are granted it through the ACDO and other extension staff.

Several reasons have been given as to why the organisation became dormant. The Chairperson maintains that the people became lazy and argued that voluntary organisations wasted their time. Other members argue that the organisation became dormant when some felt that the Chairperson was misusing funds. At the present, the YWCA is in no position to initiate local development activities because it is defunct.

Parent Teachers Association (PTA)

Every parent who has a child at school automatically becomes a member of the PTA. Elections to choose a PTA committee to coordinate activities are held when a majority of the parents are present. Teachers have no set role, but, as people who are in daily contact with pupils at school, they are expected to attend to PTA meetings and comment when necessary. The Head Teacher is an automatic member of the PTA committee and is expected to give guidance and advice.

The Chairman of the PTA for the past four years is one of the big farmers, and resides in Madingwane. He is a powerful farmer with relatives who are also big farmers or businessmen, including one who is also the headman in Ramatlabama. The Vice-Chairman of the PTA for the past four years is a very successful businessman, and also a big farmer. He is not educated but because of his status commands a large following. He is married to the daughter of the old headman of Cwaanyaneng.

Another member has been in the PTA for the past 10 years, six years of which he was a Secretary and four years of which he has been Vice-Secretary. He is a successful farmer and has been a teacher for the past 26 years. Presently, he is the Deputy Head Teacher at the local primary school. He also is a young brother to the traditional headman. He is regarded locally as one of the educated people of the community.

A small farmer has been in the PTA committee for the past five years. He is about 64 years old and probably respected for what he is; in the society. He has no major family ties nor does he affiliate to any political system or party in Botswana.

This organisation has restricted its dealings to the primary school only. Even here it does not involve itself with developmental tasks, but with such things as buying padlocks, water tanks, and utensils which the pupils use in school. The PTA does not involve itself with building projects; its only source of money is the 50t payments per term from pupils, which are used for paying the school cooks. After the cooks are paid, the balance goes into the various projects as given above. Although they were scheduled to have a meeting during the observation period, the PTA committee and parents did not turn up. Most PTA members are too busy with their own business and feel that the PTA wastes their time. They felt obliged to join the PTA because no one else was interested in committee membership.

It is difficult to assess what training is desirable for PTA office bearers. However, from examining the minutes book, which is also for financial records, it is apparent that the Secretary and the Treasurer must be given some training in bookkeeping and organisational management.

The organisation is not in a position to initiate local development activities because the committee is very inactive and members are not eager to involve themselves in any activities.

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)

Cwaanyaneng is unique among the study villages in having a local chapter of the Botswana Democratic Party. The BDP branch was formed in 1980 through the initiative of the local Councillor, the headman's wife, and the YWCA Chairperson.

The purpose of the organisation is to support the BDP. To this end, members collect funds and information for the BDP headquarters and support local BDP politicians. Formally, the Cwaanyaneng BDP chapter has done

nothing to promote its goals; it has sponsored no rallies or concerts to raise funds. Informally, however, one can assume that its members have been actively supporting its party. This organisation is not geared towards the implementation of development activities. Party politics, including this local chapter of the BDP, do not play a noticeable role in Cwaanyaneng's institutional dynamics.

Resource Management

A large dam is the only domestic and livestock water source in Cwaanyaneng. This dam was built in the 1940s by the original settlers, the family of the old headman's father. It was a family-constructed dam, but later, as more people came, they helped with its construction. Presently, it is run by the VDC. The dam usually does not hold water throughout the year, so that people must use an alternative source of water at Metlojane. Here the villagers buy their water from the General Dealer. The water costs 50t per 44-gallon drum plus 20t for the transport of each drum, costing them about 10t per head for cattle per month and 5t per head per month for small stock.

There are no cattle posts in Cwaanyaneng. People keep their cattle in the village because they have little grazing land in the area and also because most keep few livestock. There are, however, several people who have cattle posts in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area.

Cwaanyaneng has more than one lands area. The lands areas border on all grazing areas, residential areas, and the lands areas of other communities such as Tsogane, Lokala, and Metlojane. The connection which exists between the village and certain lands areas starts from the village level. Villagers have no option but to recognise that it is the Land Board, through the VDC, that allocates land. The VDC, as a representative of the people, will look into the land areas required by anyone who is a legitimate Motswana. The VDC will inquire if there is a previous claim to the land. If there is no claim, the applicant will be referred to the headman, who will then send the individual to the Land Board with his signature of approval.

According to villagers, all village land areas are occupied. People who want to acquire ploughing lands must ask for lands areas in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area or, alternatively, borrow lands from people who own lands and are not financially prepared to plough them. These lands are borrowed at a fee of 3 bags per every 100 bags harvested or the borrower ploughs and plants some areas for the lender. No villager has a residence at the fields because the distance for most persons to their lands is not far. Most, if not all, of those who have lands outside Cwaanyaneng have some means of transportation. They go to their fields every morning and return in the evening. Some villagers maintain that the Land Board encourages them to reside within walking distance of their neighbours.

The headman and VDC members think that people should settle in one area so that government can more easily provide the village with the

necessary social facilities. The Land Board argues that, by concentrating the settlement, it is easier to provide services to the village.

However, according to village leaders, government does not think of providing services at the lands areas. As mentioned earlier, people are urged not to reside at lands areas but in established villages. The only institution which has a member permanently resident at the lands is the PTA. According to my informant, there are no activities of any institution extended to the lands except to inform residents of meetings.

There are no lands allocated outside the Land Board. The rental of land occurs as;previously described, when people do not have the means to plough. The selling of land occurs rarely because most people do not own land. The few people who own land can only rent it, except in cases where the Land Board intervenes. There exists no sub-Land Board. No member of the;Land Board lives in the village. The nearest Land Board member, the Councillor, lives in Metlojane. Those members of the Land Board whom I know can be classified as rich or average according to Barolong standards.

The villagers' opinion of the Land Boards system as compared to the old system of the Chief's allocations are tilted towards the Land Boards. They tend to favour the Land Board because they consider it fair in its deliberations. They report that the old system was unfair because any individual who did not see eye-to-eye with the headman was mistreated and refused the areas he needed.

The only problem with the Land Board is that it takes too long to allocate land, and there is a lot of red tape. The Land Board is respected as an enforcing agency. No one can plough or build a residence without the prior consent of the Land Board. And it has the right to remove any individual who secures land without their consent. To my knowledge and that of the VDC Chairman, the Land Board visits allocation areas only when several people in the village have applied for land.

This particular area does not have an acting resident headman. The village headman plays no official role in administrative policy decisions. The ward headman, when he is in the;village, is there to make peace and not to pass judgement. All cases, including matimela cattle, are heard at the Tribal Authority office in Good Hope. The ward headman plays an active role in land allocation by signing the "no objections" application. To do this, he consults with the VDC and the neighbours, if there are any, and then signs if there are no objections. Villagers support this part of the;system because if, in the future, a problem arises over the land, they can always refer to the headman's signature for evidence that the land is legitimately theirs.

According to the headman, there is no conflict between the villages or communities over allocation or exploitation of arable land. It is possible for either a Mongwaketsi or Morolong to be allocated land in either the Barolong or Ngwaketse areas when approval is granted by the respective Land Board. There are no agricultural groups in Cwaanyaneng. There is, however, a farmers' association for the entire Barolong Farms.

Only big farmers are members, though membership is not limited to large commercial farmers.

There are no fencing groups, although most farmers have fenced their fields. The local VDC had the idea of forming a fencing group, but this is still at an embryonic stage. A fencing group does not take a high priority in Cwaanyaneng.

ALDEP

According to both the AD and some villagers, there are no ALDEP activities in Cwaanyaneng because people do not attend the meetings which he has called to explain ALDEP. The last time an AD officially visited this village was late last year. He says that he does not visit Cwaanyaneng anymore because people are not interested in being helped. People of all income groups are aware of ALDEP, but some do not understand the procedure to secure these loans. The average to big farmer feels that the ALDEP loans are not important because no one can be expected to produce for the market using such implements as donkeys and single-row planters. They feel people must be given loans large enough to buy tractors, fertilizers, and diesel fuel. Furthermore, they believe ALDEP should not discriminate between big farmers and small farmers, but must accommodate all willing people. This would help motivate Botswana farmers, especially those in the Barolong Farms, to increase their production. Most poor farmers who are familiar with ALDEP confuse it with the usual National Development Bank (NDB) loans, which existed before the launching of ALDEP. NDB loans are usually given to people who have the financial security to repay the loans. Most farmers have no security except the fields which they plough for subsistence production. They do not want to take the risk of taking out a loan they might not be able to repay. Most farmers presently use donkeys or oxen, and only produce for subsistence. However, they feel that if given sufficient loans to buy tractors and other inputs, they could produce substantially for the market to repay their loans.

Grazing

In this village, grazing is communal. There are no commercial or reserved areas, although some villagers do have cattle posts. The history of this village is based on the "farms". These were made by the former chief in fear of these areas being taken away by whites. He divided the land into farms and appointed patron/headmen to look after them as if they were freehold land. The farms still stand as they were originally made, but grazing and arable farming extend into other farms. There is no strict demarcation of farm boundaries, and free movement is allowed across farms.

There are no boreholes in this village. There is only the dam mentioned in the previous pages. However, the dam was built a long while ago when there were relatively few people in the village. For the past 40 years or so there have been no radical changes concerning grazing. However, changes may have taken place after the formation of the Land

Boards, but only for residential and business land use. There exists no official control over grazing in this village because most people concentrate on arable farming. People graze their cattle in one area, and there is a recognisable but invariable grazing pattern. When over-grazing occurs, which is usually after harvesting (around July-August), cattle are moved into fields to graze on the grain stubble. They remain there until the grazing area is rejuvenated. The grazing area of the village is not flexible because the Barolong have very little grazing area. There is no way of avoiding overlapping with nearby villages and tribes. This is recognised by both village leaders and the Land Boards, which cannot disallow it.

Village leaders, the AD, and villagers see grazing as a problem because the small grazing area is usually over-grazed within a short period. According to those people, there is no solution to this problem. A few indicated that they should be allowed to set up cattle posts in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area. However, they also fear that the cattle posts will be so far away that they will not have as much control over their livestock as they would wish. Crop damage by cattle is an issue which is heard almost daily because of the limited grazing land and because cattle stay in the village. Crop damage is usually settled domestically after the crop owner keeps the livestock and calls the owner to come and see the damage. The farmer then imposes a charge. Depending on the damage, the charge is usually grain, money, or even cattle or small stock. When the cattle owner disagrees with the charge he/she usually appeals to the headman, who comes to see the damage and either reduces or approves the charge. If the two parties still cannot reach a settlement, the headman then refers them to the Tribal Authority at Good Hope, where the charge and judgement will be made. This mechanism is very effective, but people are also encouraged to fence their fields.

According to villagers and village leaders, there exist no conflicts over grazing with other communities, mainly because other communities recognise the grazing problem Cwaanyaneng faces and because there is enough grazing land to be shared in other communities. In a bad drought period, villagers have no option but to move their cattle to surrounding grazing areas which are not as bad as theirs. At the moment there are no government services to communal area livestock existing in this village. However, people want government to provide a resident AD whom they could see at their convenience, and who would be keen to advise and help them regularly. They also expect government to help them with loans to buy better breeds of cattle and build a dip tank. People view livestock production individually and as a necessity. They keep cattle as security and as a source of pride. Sale of cattle is very rare. For the community, cattle are not as important as arable farming. The latter is the major source of finance. Every Morolong views arable farming as a right. Cattle are kept only in cases of emergency and security.

Water

The community's domestic water supply system is the dam which is used for both domestic and livestock supply. The village shares this dam

water (for livestock watering) with other villages. There are absolutely no regulations on this sharing. The water is poor for human consumption. As a consequence, it is left for livestock. Those people who can afford it, buy water in Metlojane.

There are no plans for, nor does there exist, any communal exploitation/management of non-domestic water points. People feel that they should be provided with clear drinking water and that the dam should be upgraded to hold water for a longer period. The dam will then be used exclusively for livestock supply.

There has never been any application for a borehole to the Land Board in Cwaanyaneng. One or two people have boreholes (which presently are not working) which they dug in their own yards. Those boreholes do not work anymore because they are in poor condition.

The issue of water centres around the VDC's choice of de-silting the dam versus laying reticulation pipes to Cwaanyaneng from a borehole located in Mogo-wa-kgomo, which is owned by the Roads Department. The present VDC Chairman and Vice-Chairman support dam de-silting. They argue that the village has used water from this source in the past and can continue to do so in the future. However, the rest of the VDC committee and the majority of villagers prefer water reticulation from the borehole. They have been reluctant to contribute to the dam de-silting, despite the urgings of the two VDC executives.

Other

Presently there is no control over the exploitation of firewood resources, but there definitely will be need for its regulation because this village has very few trees. There is bound to be a shortage of firewood in the future.

Some Recommendations

There are several changes that I recommend for institutional structures and extension strategies. Committee members must be given training in their respective duties as office holders. Such training would include management, accounting, and general bookkeeping. Committee members should have greater contact with the ACDO in order to understand his role and to receive greater support for their organisations. They must be literate people, which may require general literacy classes. Committee members should also be given a monthly allowance as an incentive to work because, as members of voluntary organisations, they feel cheated when they are not paid for doing the things which should be done by the headman who is paid. However, this would tend to erode the values of self-reliance and self-initiative, which are central to voluntary development organisations. Existing institutional structures must be better explained and made more available to committee members so they can better understand how to organise their jobs.

CHART 5 : ORGANISATIONS IN CWAANYANENG

	VDC	BCW	YWCA	PTA	BDP
Members	11	6	7	7	4
Number male	4	0	0	5	0
Number female	7	6	6	2	4
Year formed					1980
Formed internally/ externally	Externally	Externally	Internally	Internally	Internally
Finished projects; date started, ended	1) Kgotla; Jan.-Feb. 1980	1) Knitting & sewing small articles, costs unknown	1) Knitting garments; 1972	1) Purchased locks for gates, water tanks; 1979 2) Paying school cooks 3) Vegetable gar- dening; 1979	None
Cost/funding sources	No costs/con- structed through gathered materials & villagers' labour	No cost given/ 2) Holding con- certs & sell- ing fatcakes	No cost given/ 2) Holding con- certs & sell- ing fatcakes	All projects funded by 50t payments per term per student	
Unfinished projects; date started	1) Applied for graveyard site; Feb. 1980 2) Dam upgrading or water retic- ulation; date not set 3) Tribal Authority house; date not set 4) Toilets at kgotla; date not set			1) Buying utensils for students; date not set	

(Chart 5, cont.)

	VDC	BCW	YWCA	PTA	BDP
Cost/funding source	1) No cost 2) Council & P5.00 contributions from villagers 3) Not specified 4) Not specified			Will be funded by student contributions	
Scheduled frequency of meetings	Twice a month	Twice a week	3 times a month		No scheduled frequency
Frequency of meetings; attendance	Infrequent; poor attendance	Has not met in two years	Has not met since 1976	Infrequent, meet when necessary; good attendance	Infrequent
Bye-laws; minutes	None	None	None	Oral	None
State of minutes	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor	Poor
State of financial records	Poor, no bank account	Poor, no bank account	Poor, no bank account	Poor—no records, no bank account	Poor—no records or bank account
Cash flow in previous year				No records	
Controlling family/faction					

CHART 6 : LEADERSHIP IN CWAANYANENG ORGANISATIONS

PERSON	WARD	VDC	PTA	BCW	YWCA	BDP	OTHER INFORMATION
Mr M.	1	Chairperson					
Mrs M.	1	Secretary	Secretary				
Mrs. M.2	1			Vice-Secretary			Member YWCA
Mrs I.	2	Treasurer		Vice-Chairperson			Headman's family
Mrs I.K.	2	Vice-Secretary					Headman's family
Mr P.I.	2		Vice-Secretary				Headman's family
Mrs I.2	2			Chairperson			
Mrs I.3	2			Secretary			Headman's family
Mrs K.J.	2				Vice-Chairperson	Vice-Chairperson	Headman's family
Mrs I.4	2				Treasurer	Secretary	Headman's family
Mr Ma.		Vice-Chairperson					
Mr S.			Chairperson				Farmers Association
Mr C.M.			Vice-Chairperson				Farmers Association
Mr S.A.			Treasurer				
Mrs F.S.				Treasurer			
Mrs G.No.					Secretary		
Mrs I.M.M.					Chairperson	Chairperson	Member VDC
Mrs I.S.						Treasurer	

CHAPTER V

REPORT ON MOKGOMANE

by Kinsley Gofamodimo

Introduction

Mokgomane is one of the small villages in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area bordering on the north-west corner of the Barolong Farms. It is the only Bangwaketse village in the CFDA.

According to informants, around 1914 several wards were sent from Kanye by the former Bangwaketse chief, B. Gaseitsewe, to stay in Mokgomane. They were sent to ensure that the Barolong did not settle or collect firewood on the Ngwaketse land. It was from this foundation that Mokgomane began to develop as a village.

The village presently has about 40-45 households or approximately 400 persons. However, the number of households will probably increase in the near future as some of the people who have fields near Mokgomane are thinking of settling in the village. These people came as far as Kanye to plough in the area.

These settlers are also attracted to Mokgomane because of recent facilities provided by the Southern District Council with little input from villagers. These facilities come in three main forms: a borehole dug in 1978 by the Council and used only for human domestic water consumption, a primary school built in 1978 which has classes ranging from standard 1 to standard 7, and a clinic recently established and staffed by a Family Welfare Educator.

There are also two business enterprises in the village, a cafe and a shop. The cafe is always empty. One can expect to find anything he or she wants at the shop.

The facilities are used by all persons, including those who stay at the fields close to Mokgomane.

Although the permanent residents participate in local groups, those who stay at the near-by fields do not. However, these settlers use the above-mentioned facilities, which has resulted in a great deal of concern among villagers and the headman.

The pattern of livelihood in Mokgomane resembles that pattern found in the Barolong Farms. People rely mostly on arable farming. There is no three-home pattern of village homes. People stay at their homes in

Mokgomane all year-round. They keep only enough cattle to plough; cattle are sold only if there is a pressing need. There are a very small number of households which have cattle posts. Those without cattle posts keep their animals in the village. People go to the fields in the morning and come back in the afternoon because the fields are close to the village. A small number of small stock are also kept by households.

Political/Administrative Details

The Member of Parliament for Mokgomane lives in Kanye although his home village is Mokgomane. He is a member of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) and was specially elected in 1980 after the death of the late president, Sir Seretse Khama, when Dr Masire was elected by Parliament as the second president of Botswana. Dr Masire was the MP for Mokgomane before the present one. The present MP is also a manager for Rural Industries Inoculation Centre (RIIC). His constituency covers the Mathethe area, the river villages west of Phitshane-Molopo, and areas west of Jwaneng. He is quite dynamic and people think he is doing his job well.

The Councillor for the area resides in Phitshane-Molopo. A BDP member, he has been the Councillor since 1965. At the last meeting the MP held at Mokgomane, in July 1981, people expressed their concern about the frequency of the Councillor's visits to Mokgomane. They claimed that he visits them only when the MP is there. The MP also appealed to the Councillor to visit his area frequently.

Chieftainship

The headman was elected at the kgotla meeting in 1974 because the existing headman was transferred to Mmathethe to be the Chief's Representative. He is about 45 years old and has passed his Form III. He stays outside Mokgomane and comes to the village about twice a week. He has never been paid for his role as headman, but derives his income from his fields and his 40 head of cattle.

He spends most of his time earning this income, which does not concern people because they are aware that he is not paid and must secure a living. Some even think that he is not being paid because he is a member of Botswana National Front. His wife is a Deputy Head Teacher in Phitshane-Molopo and provides him with another source of income.

The headman's duties are mainly to settle local disputes, such as common assaults. Certain cases, such as rape, are settled by the Chief's Representative in Mmathethe. He is also responsible for working with local committees as an ex-officio member. The headman is responsible for calling kgotla meetings if important people come to Mokgomane. He can also call a public meeting on behalf of the VDC or any local group which intends to communicate its decisions to the community.

People generally respect the headman and consider him their leader. Because he is not paid, people sympathise with him when he fails to perform his duties. However, he is an effective leader. His educational status plus his experience in local administration has contributed much to his effectiveness. He is therefore able to work smoothly with the people and is, in fact, taken as an advisor in groups due to his procedural knowledge. He usually tells the groups what is in their area of concern and what is not.

There is a significant ward structure in Mokgomane. The four main wards are all located in the centre of the village with the new residents forming a circle around them. These wards include the Tsie ward, which takes the south-west part of the village, the Seobamo and Mabe wards, which occupy the north-east portion of the village, and the Seterio ward in the north-west portion. The smaller and poorer wards are not so noticeable and are scattered all around the village.

Kgotla

There are no official dates for calling kgotla meetings. Meetings are called by the headman only if he has some message to pass to the community or if the VDC wishes to contact the people.

During my stay in the village, there was only one kgotla meeting. The meeting was attended by fewer than 50 persons. The excuse for those not attending was that people were still busy harvesting at the fields. There were three main topics discussed at the meeting. First, the headman introduced me to the people. Second, the headman told the gathering that the VDC is failing to complete their project due to lack of funds and that people are still expected to contribute. Third, the headman told the people that they must start the construction of a kgotla. The people were asked to go and cut poles and bring them to the place where the kgotla is to be built.

The headman was the main speaker at the kgotla. However, certain men were also given a chance to raise their views. Most of them were members of the Tsie, Kgabeng, and Seobamo wards. Women were also allowed to participate, but reserved their comments.

In most cases the kgotla is involved in settling disputes, and in passing on the decisions as well as the progress made by the VDC. The kgotla is the main institution through which groups and individuals pass information to the village. The kgotla and the VDC are considered to be the village government. Any complaint or problem faced by the village should be passed either to the kgotla or to the VDC. These two bodies can pass the problem to the higher authorities through the Assistant Community Development Officer.

The kgotla has no direct control or responsibility for development projects. It is only consulted by groups after they have decided to

undertake a project. After the headman has been approached about a project, he decides with the group upon a meeting date to discuss the project with the public. This can happen also where funds or contributions are requested from the public. The headman can only appeal to people to assist with funds, but he cannot demand contributions from the people. The headman can also brief the people about the project at the meeting before the group presents it. This kind of cooperation between the kgotla and groups creates confidence among people.

All the kgotla meetings are called by the headman. He informs people that the meeting will be held on a certain date. The discussions at the kgotla are held in more or less the same way as those of the VDC; or other groups. That is, before the meeting proceeds, the headman appoints some elder to open the meeting with a short prayer. The headman will then put the agenda before the people and proceed to touch on the issues on the agenda. When the headman is through, both men; and women are allowed to ask questions, make comments, or raise any relevant issues. The headman closes the meeting by choosing someone to pray.

Some decisions are made by the kgotla while others are referred to higher authorities. Decisions at the kgotla are reached after long discussions by people. The headman then decides on the issue. If the people disagree with the decision, he will alter parts of it until a compromise is found and adopted.

Elections are held at the kgotla only if there is a need to elect a new headman. Every elder person is allowed to participate in kgotla elections, which are supervised by the Chief's Representative.

Village Development Committee

The VDC was formed in 1969 through the joint initiatives of the ACDO and a core of interested villagers. The purpose of its formation was to request the reticulation of water from rear-by government farms and to build a school through self-help. Nothing came of the request for water, and Council constructed the school. In its 22-year existence, the only project undertaken by the VDC has been the construction of teachers' quarters through LG;17 funding, which have yet to be completed.

Present VDC

The Chairman originates from one of the founding wards of Mokgomane. He is expected to attend every VDC meeting. If he cannot be present, his Vice-Chairman acts on his behalf. The chair gains a lot of power from his position.

Leadership

The Vice-Chairman is the uncle of the MP for the area. He is expected to attend all VDC meetings, but his attendance is not considered

as essential as the Chairman's. However, he must also notify the committee before the meeting date if he has other commitments.

Both the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman are regarded as the VDC leaders. They are both successful farmers and their positions in the VDC; reinforce their social status in the village. If they are weak or not active and the committee is not functioning well, the blame is put on; both of them.

The Treasurer is the elder brother of the Chairman. He does not attend meetings because he has to look after his cattle. The group does not worry about this because he has no older son who can look after cattle. The Secretary usually brings the money to the home of the Treasurer. He is doing quite well in his farming and as Treasurer of the group. No funds have ever been missing and he is quite respected for this.

The Secretary, also a member of one of Mokgomane's senior wards and PTA Treasurer, is always present at the VDC meetings. She is active and always contributes by raising her views in the meetings. Her husband, one of the few who has a cattle post, is quite rich.

The Vice-Secretary is the mother to the MP for the area. Her fields are at Mmalore and, during harvesting season, she could not be present at the VDC's meetings. However, she is expected to write the minutes if the Secretary is not present. She is quite respected due to her position in the group and as the MP's mother.

Frequency of Meetings

The VDC meets once in a fortnight on Fridays. Occasionally, the group meets twice a week. The group was forced to meet more frequently during the construction of its project.

Activities

The VDC has taken on one major project since it was formed. It has built a four-room house to try to solve the shortage of accommodations at the school. This project, started late in 1979, is still incomplete, although teachers are now staying in it. The;VDC has no money to buy cement or pay the builder. Funds are still being raised in Mokgomane to complete the house.

The VDC did not bear all the financial responsibility for the project; it received financial assistance from the Council through LG;17. The;VDC raised funds through contributions to buy cement, and made bricks. These funds were also used to pay the brick-layer an advance of P400.00. The Council has provided the group with roofing and building materials, such as door frames and window frames, and P200.00 to pay the builder.

Records

The minutes of each meeting are recorded and kept by the Secretary. She has completed old standard 6. Her minute-book is clear and up-to-date.

The financial records are kept by the Treasurer. His book is not so clear. In most cases only the figures are kept and do not reflect how the money was used. This problem is made worse by the fact that his wife often receives funds for him during his absence. The group does not have a bank account. The Treasurer keeps the money at his house.

Linkages

The kgotla is linked to the VDC through the headman, an ex-officio member in all village groups. However, the headman does not attend most of the VDC meetings. He comes to the meetings about once a month. He is, however, expected to participate in VDC decision-making so that he may later act as the mediator and explain VDC decisions to the community at the kgotla. He has a lot of influence in the VDC and is a good spokesman.

VDC and Other Groups

The VDC is considered the umbrella body to other groups in Mokgomane. Any individuals who wish to form a group should first inform the VDC about their intentions. They must explain clearly to the VDC what they wish to do and how they will later help in village development. The VDC is also responsible to call any group which is dormant and request an explanation as to why it is dormant. The VDC can then pass the problem of that particular group to the ACDO. The VDC can also request the ACDO to visit the group to give advice.

The VDC is also related to other groups because most of the VDC officers hold offices in other groups. However, the communications between VDC and other groups is along informal lines.

Vertical Linkages

VDC is the main institution through which the Council or government may implement development projects in Mokgomane. The ACDO is responsible both for initiating the VDC and for advising it. The ACDO is also expected to work with other committees or groups, though she places emphasis on the VDC.

The VDC in Mokgomane is thought to be quite active. It is the only village group which has done something related to physical infrastructure. Most of the groups have done nothing since their formation.

Party politics are not significant in the village. Individual suggestions are adopted due to their sense or relevance to the issue at hand and not because of a person's political affiliations.

Extension

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD)

The AD has been working in Mokgomane for two years. Before coming to the area, he was the AD in Ngwaketse West. About 45 years old and based at Magwereapitse, he comes to the village only when he wants to talk to the Farmers Committee or Small Stock Committee, usually once a month at most. The AD's main duties are to advise both the arable and livestock farmers on how to improve their fields and animals. He is mostly involved in agricultural groups.

The AD is responsible for initiating the Farmers Committee and Small Stock Committee, and for ensuring their success. The committees also help facilitate the work of the AD by passing his messages to the other farmers.

The AD is closely supervised by the District Agricultural Officer who is located in Mmathethe. The DAO is expected to visit the AD at his area once a month. According to the DAO, however, he sometimes fails to visit the AD due to office work in Mmathethe. The DAO also holds monthly meetings in Mmathethe with all ADs in his area to discuss field problems.

The AD is directed in his duties by the operational calendar, a schedule of how many days are to be spent in the field and in the office. The calendar, however, is not rigid; he may be forced to change it if some farmers need his help elsewhere.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO)

The ACDO for Mokgomane is stationed in Mmathethe. About 30 years old, she has been working the area for two years.

According to the ACDO, she has decided to let groups such as the VDC call her to come to Mokgomane if they need her. She reached this decision after realising that groups often fail to attend her meetings if she comes to a village on her own. A lot of time was wasted by this.

The ACDO works primarily with the VDCs and PTAs. She is responsible for initiating these two groups. However, the ACDO is also involved in the activities of youth clubs such as 4-B and Girl Guides. According to her, she has never assisted any other groups in Mokgomane except the VDC and PTA. The ACDO is also expected to cater to the disabled, destitute, and those who are mentally retarded. The ACDO works closely with the health extension team, both the Family Welfare Educator and the staff nurse. She identifies the disabled persons in villages and then informs the FWE as to how these persons can be helped.

The ACDO also works with the educational department in terms of referrals. The Head Teacher should report to the ACDO any child who seems

abnormal. The ACDO can then either interview the child or take him/her straight to the medical personnel.

The ACDO is supervised by the Senior Community Development Officer (SCDO) in Kanye. She has only visited the ACDO once this year. The ACDO is effective because people understand her and her decision to let groups call her. The leaders of the village groups see the ACDO as an advisor, and she is respected for her performance.

Head Teacher

The Head Teacher of the Mokgomane primary school is about 34 years old and has been in her post since 1978. She has completed a teachers course at primary level.

Her main duties are to supervise the teachers and to coordinate the activities of the schools. She works closely with the PTA and VDC and is an ex-officio member in other village groups. Her main role in the PTA and VDC is to report problems faced by the school.

The Head Teacher is supervised by the schools' inspector, who visits her school about twice each term. The Head Teacher has given the PTA the responsibility of running the school feeding scheme and is therefore able to supervise her staff effectively. The villagers also see her as being responsible because she keeps them well informed about their children's activities.

Family Welfare Educator (FWE)

The FWE for Mokgomane is a local of the village and is about 30 years old. She has been posted in Mokgomane since the opening of the clinic in 1979. Her main duties are to help treat people with common diseases and to help care for infants. The FWE is supervised by the visiting staff nurse who is also stationed in Mmathethe.

Village Extension Team

There is no organised Village Extension Team in Mokgomane. Extension workers are largely unaware of each other's activities, except through informal contacts.

Other Organisations: Farmers Groups

The Farmers Committee (FC) and Small Stock Committee (SSC) were both formed just prior to the study. Their formation illustrates the enthusiasm which can be generated among people when they see concrete results through group activity.

The AD for Mokgomane has long advocated the formation of both committees. He took several people to near-by villages to see for themselves

the improvement of fields and small stock made possible through farmers' organisations. They were greatly impressed. Immediately upon their return, they formed the Farmers Committee and Small Stock Committee on their own, with only organisational advice from the AD.

Farmers Committee

Key leaders: It is still difficult to identify certain individuals as key leaders in this group because it has just been formed. So far, no one has done anything which can be pointed to as leadership.

Membership is drawn from each section of the village. Both rich and poor farmers are allowed to join the group. However, there are no people who reside at the lands who are members.

The group is headed by a knowledgeable Chairman. He is also the Treasurer of VDC, and is well aware of how ALDEP helps people. He once applied for fencing material from the ALDEP programme and can therefore explain to the group how to draw upon outside resources with the help of the AD. Most of the officers and members, however, need to be taught how ALDEP functions and how they can obtain ALDEP assistance.

The group is still too young to have faced substantial problems. There has been the hint of disorganisation among the committee with several meetings cancelled due to lack of attendance. The general membership is confused over the specific purposes of the organisation.

The Farmers Committee is in a position to initiate development projects. The AD is serious in seeing that the group becomes active. Through his efforts, the group can probably tap resources from the Ministry of Agriculture and make constructive use of them. The group is planning to have a field of its own and sell produce to raise funds for the group. At the conclusion of the study period, the application for a ploughing site had not been made and other projects were still undecided.

Small Stock Committee (SSC)

The SSC is still too young to tell who the dynamic members will be. However, the Chairman has extensive influence due to his leadership positions in other groups.

Membership is drawn from each section of the community. Both the rich and the poor farmers are allowed to join. Even those without many small stock are allowed to come and teach themselves how to work with these animals. There is much overlapping membership with the Farmers Committee.

Both the Chairman and Vice-Chairman know how to write and are able to run the Committee. They are both members of the VDC, which also means they are aware of outside resources and how to draw upon them since the VDC secured LG;17 funds. They could obtain assistance from the AD if they wish to secure a funding source.

Other officers and members will have to be taught how to perform their duties within the organisation. The AD is taken as the advisor and teacher in this group. He plays more or less the same role as in the Farmers Committee.

The SSC is considered a branch of the FC, although on paper they have separate leadership, functions, and plan to have separate constitutions and bye-laws. Although little time has passed for the organisations to have implemented projects, the SSC has already inoculated members' stock, using funds from membership fees. Four of its members have attended a course on animal care and are expected to teach other members what they learned. The SSC plans to build a dipping tank and kraal with small stock funding from the Ministry of Agriculture, and to dig dams to improve the water supply for their stock.

Other Organizations

Sediphilo Botsana Teachers Union Branch (BTU)

The Sediphilo BTU, formed in 1980, was initiated mainly by teachers from the Phitshane-Molopo Primary School. The key members of the BTU are the Chairman and Vice-Chairman. Their influence stems from their leadership positions in the group and their ability to make speeches.

The membership is intended to include all the schools in the region. Membership in the Sediphilo Branch includes representatives from the Mokgomane, Sedibeng, Mokatake, Phitshane-Molopo, Leporung, Dikhukhung, and Tshidilamolomo elementary schools. Transportation problems hinder communication and coordination, and thus all the officers in the Branch reside in Sedibeng or Phitshane-Molopo.

The main concerns of the BTU Branch are two-fold:

- 1) The Branch caters to the needs of teachers. Any teacher who has been dismissed unfairly can report the matter to his branch, which will then approach the Ministry of Education.
- 2) The Branch is concerned with improvement of education. It attempts to see that all the schools have the same quality of education, and seeks ways to improve upon it.

So far, the Sediphilo Branch has done little about these two concerns.

There are no BTU representatives from Mokgomane due to Mokgomane's recent membership in the chapter and transportation problems which hamper communications with others in the Phitshane-Molopo area. Mokgomane joined the Branch in late 1980.

The organisational structure of BTU from the local to the national-level is such that the national chapter passes information to the regional

chapters which then pass it to the local chapters. That is, the local chapters of BTU are closely linked to the national chapter through the regional chapter which acts as the mediator. Since the members of the BTU are teachers, one can expect them to be aware of procedural matters and how to conduct their activities. The membership needs no training. Each member school is required to pay P6.00 subscription fee, with P2.00 going to the Regional Committee, National Committee, and Local Branch each.

The local chapter of the BTU succeeded in holding sports competition in Phitshane-Molopo for the first and present years. This was financed by the P2.00 contribution from every member school. The local chapter failed to participate at the regional level due to transportation problems.

The BTU is not in a position to implement development projects. However, the organisation is in a position to conduct sporting events, which can contribute to overall development through a higher level of education.

Parent Teachers Association (PTA)

The PTA has been fairly successful in dealing with affairs of the primary school for several reasons. First, it is a de facto wing of the VDC dealing with the school, and there is common leadership between the two organisations. Second, dealing with the school is an on-going process requiring continued attention. The PTA cannot disband once an activity has been completed as can, for example, a VDC after it has constructed a health post. Third, although it has little say about educational policy, the PTA fulfills an important need for the village's children which is not filled by other sources.

The PTA, formed in 1978 under the initiative of the Head Teacher, has 16 members, six of whom are teachers. She still plays a leading role in the organisation. The elected leadership positions are held by non-teachers, most of whom are members of the senior wards. The Chairman resides permanently at the lands and is the only member of any organisation who does so.

Since its formation, the PTA has implemented several construction and on-going projects. Together with the VDC it has purchased cooking pots, built a grass-thatched kitchen, and fenced the girls' playground. Of these three projects, funds were needed only for the cooking pots, and were collected through parent and children contributions. Both organisations have the on-going responsibility of organising accommodations for teachers, paying school cooks (paid from annual 90t payments by all students), collecting the school's firewood, celebrating Independence Day celebrations, and sponsoring concerts and selling food to cover any additional expenses.

The main problem voiced by PTA members was the lack of parental involvement. They sought parents' participation, other than committee

members alone, in the hopes of creating a greater teacher-parent dialogue. Considering the scope of the PTA's activities, limiting itself to; "maintenance" matters of the school, and the degree of success it has so far achieved with these, there is little need for additional parental involvement.

Botswana Council of Women (BCW)

The Botswana Council of Women (BCW) was formed in 1967 when a BCW representative came to Mokgomane. She inspired nine women from the village's senior wards to start their own chapter. The 16 members of this group are drawn from each sector of the community. Both males and females are allowed to join.

The BCW has no principal project. The BCW was first formed with the intention of producing local-made jerseys and dresses. They intended to teach people how to cook and make jerseys, and to sell these products to raise money for the group. However, the group members contributed P50.00 in 1972 to buy a house from the AD who was transferred out of Mokgomane. The group also tried to build a toilet for the kgotla in 1979 but, because stones impeded the digging, it was never completed, although P16.00 was used to pay people who dug it.

However, the group is failing its intentions because the membership does not attend meetings. It has now gone a year without meeting. Some officers believe the group does not meet because of too much work at the fields, while some members believe the officers are lazy. Nevertheless, it appears the group is dormant because the leaders lack organisational and coordinating skills.

The present ACDO has never visited the group and she is not aware of its activities. The group is thus not aware of any outside resources. The BCW has not provided help to the group so far and no one from the headquarters has ever visited.

The group must contact the ACDO. He can teach them the right channels through which they could contact their headquarters. The ACDO must also teach every officer his/her duties. Informal education is needed for the membership. If the leaders did not lack leadership skills the group could facilitate development in the village by teaching people how to cook and how to make cheaper clothes for the children.

Red Cross

The Mokgomane Red Cross was formed in 1973 under the encouragement of the leader of the Phitshane-Molopo Red Cross chapter. It now works under the Phitshane-Molopo branch.

There are no key or influential persons in the Mokgomane Red Cross. Past members are not known because the group's books and minutes have been lost. At present, membership is composed mostly of young persons

who are not members in any other organisation. None of the members are active, and thus the group is dormant.

The Red Cross in Mokgomane has never undertaken a development project, perhaps because of the youth of the membership. Furthermore, the leaders are inactive because of conflict between the Secretary and other officers. They say the Secretary does not accept her mistakes, claims to know it all, and wants to control the leadership by herself. The officers cannot tolerate this, and have resolved to stay at their homes until the Secretary resigns. These people ought to be taught how to run their group by the ACDO.

It is doubtful if the leaders know of any outside resources. At the moment, the group is in no position to initiate development.

4-B Club

The key officer of 4-B is the group leader, who is also the Vice-Chairlady of the Red Cross. Her power derives from her elected position in the group.

Membership of 4-B is drawn from the school children. Parents are also allowed to participate but have so far failed to do so.

The group leader should be taught how to organise people by the AD, who is the overseer of the 4-B Club. Officers should be elected to help the group leader. However, elections have not been held, perhaps because the group leader lacks organisational skills. She is aware of the outside resources from information supplied by the AD, and she has also heard about other groups' activities on the radio. But the group has never undertaken any major project and is dormant, mainly due to the disorganised and inactive leadership.

The 4-B Club is in a position to initiate local development. It can organise school children and teach them how to make gardens. Fruit from these gardens can be sold to the villagers. Children can also be taught how to make jerseys, which can benefit those who eventually will become mothers. However, it is necessary to have greater supervision by the AD to strengthen and re-organise the 4-B leadership before any projects can be undertaken.

Resource Management

Arable Lands

The village residential area lies between the fields on the western side of the village and the grazing land in the east. The nearest fields are about 500 yards away from the village.

Borders

The fields border with those of the Mosi residents, about 7;km from Mokgomane. The grazing land is shared with the Cwaanyaneng, Tswagare, and Magwereapitse communities. This is not officially recognized by the people or the government.

According to most informants, there is not enough space for arable farming. The only areas available to expand arable farming are those which have been neglected or left unploughed. However, no one can use them because of prior ownership claims.

Residences

Most people stay in Mokgomane all the year around; they go to their fields in the mornings and come back in the afternoons. A few people stay at the fields and only return to the village after harvest. There is no policy concerning people living at the lands, probably because the lands are so close to the village that people can come to the village daily to participate in any project or activity.

Administrative Functions

All administrative functions take place in the village. However, some of these, such as the matimela issue, are not carried out; in Mokgomane. People are temporarily hired by the Southern District Council in Kanye and come to Mokgomane once a year to collect stray cattle and other animals. None of these functions is carried out at the;lands.

Government Services

People are not aware of services the government provides at the lands. However, there is one individual who has been encouraged by the AD to dig a dam at the fields. If this project works, the government will then assist others to dig dams by paying half of the expenses. This type of project is encouraged because, during the rainy season, water can be stored and oxen watered from these dams; thus the ploughing process will be made much easier.

Allocation of Land

There is no longer any allocation of land except by the Land Board. The headman cannot allocate land. He only helps people to get the application forms from the Land Board and then return them. Those who want to apply directly to the Land Board are allowed to do so.

Rentals

There is no land which is being rented or sold. Instead, some people simply ask for permission to plough other people's unused land and, if this permission is granted, no charge is laid.

Sub-Land Board

The village's Sub-Land Board is based in Mmathethe. There is no member who resides in Mokgomane. In fact, there is already a complaint about this issue. The people in Mokgomane feel that the Land Board is not fully representative because there is no one who can report to them decisions taken by the Sub-Land Board.

The village leaders are a bit negative about the allocation of land by the Land Board. They feel that by giving the Land Board the responsibility of allocating land, the Council has created more problems because the Land Board does not actually know the community's land. After allocating a piece of land, the Board members return to Kanye. The land disputes which erupt later are then left to be settled by the headman, who knows little about the details of the specific allocation. People said that they would prefer the traditional system of land allocation; however, they have accepted the Land Board. The Land Board has no official dates as to when it should come to Mokgomane. If there are only two or three persons who have applied for land, it will not come to allocate until more have joined. This causes long delays in land allocation.

VDC

The VDC has nothing to do with land allocation. So far there have been no refusals of land applications in Mokgomane. There are no conflicts between Mokgomane and other communities about use of arable land. In fact, it is generally accepted that anyone can plough where he or she likes. People come from as far as Kanye and Mmathethe to plough in and around Mokgomane.

There are no fencing groups in the village.

ALDEP has recently been introduced to the community by the Agricultural Demonstrator. Most people do not know what ALDEP is. Those few farmers who are aware of ALDEP or have applied for ALDEP loans tend to be among the wealthier farmers in the village. They normally use their loans for fencing.

There has been no use of any additional funding sources for group agricultural and livestock development. However, the AD for Mokgomane is active and responsible and can probably facilitate the acquisition of funding in the future.

History of Village's Use of Resources

The main village resources are the fields and the local borehole. The latter was dug by the Council about five years ago. The former are historically associated with the village and some have been ploughed as long ago as 1914, when villagers were sent to the area to guard the border against the Barolong.

The water from the borehole is used mainly for domestic consumption. People water their animals as far away as Mosi, about 7-8 km from Mokgomane. During the rainy season, animals drink from natural dams scattered about the eastern side of the village near Cwaanyaneng.

The grazing pattern varies with rainfall. During the ploughing seasons (December-July) cattle graze at the eastern side of the village where there are no fields. After people have finished at the fields (August-December) cattle can graze at the fields. There is no control or formal rules as to where cattle can graze. There are only two individuals who have distant cattle posts. All others keep their animals in the village. I have been told that during 1966 and 1969, there was a drought and many cattle died due to lack of grazing.

Village leaders generally do not see over-grazing as a problem. Their main complaint is that the grazing land is close to the fields and this leads to crop destruction. Some people have resorted to bringing charges against those whose animals have damaged crops. Charges range from bags of corn to animals and money. However, the local headman has suggested that people should cooperate and build a drift fence to divide the grazing land from the fields. The AD, through ALDEP, has helped individuals fence their fields.

According to the village headman, the government, especially the Veterinary Department, helps people a great deal by providing medicines for their animals. They expect the government to now sell medicines at reduced prices. Through the Farmers and Small Stock Committees, the AD can teach them how to treat their animals. They also hope that the AD will ask the government to dig dams so that they can water their animals during the ploughing season at the lands.

People would like their livestock to increase so that they may plough several fields and be able to sell some cattle.

Water

The village's domestic water supply is managed by the Council through the hired local pumper. The Council has been struggling to locate good water, but has always struck salty water. In the early 1960s the community was ordered to go to Phitshane-Molopo where there was water. They came back to Mokgomane around 1968 because, they claimed, their animals were dying and they were not on good terms with the Barolong in Phitshane-Molopo. It was only in 1978 that they succeeded in locating good water.

Non-domestic water use is not considered an individual issue. For instance, some individuals have joined hands and formed a Borehole Syndicate at Takatshwen. This Syndicate is managed by a committee composed of Treasurer, Secretary, and Pumper.

CHART 7 : ORGANISATIONS IN MOKGOMANE

	VDC	FARMERS COMMITTEE	SMALL STOCK COMMITTEE	PTA
Cost/funding source			5) Each student pays 40t 6) 90t contribution per year per pupil 7) Same as 6)	
Scheduled frequency of meetings	Once every 2 weeks	Once every 2 weeks	Undecided	Once every 2 weeks
Frequency of meetings; attendance	Infrequent; poor attendance	Frequent; good attendance	Frequent; good attendance	Meets infrequently when has an issue to discuss; fair attendance
Bye-laws; constitution	Oral rules only	None yet; to be written	None yet; to be written	Yes
State of minutes	Poor	Accurate	Accurate	Accurate
State of financial records	Poor—no bank account	None yet	None yet	Accurate— has bank account
Cash flow previous year	P55,00			None given
Controlling family/ faction	Senior wards	Senior wards	Senior wards/owners of larger small stock herds	
Unfinished projects; starting date		1) Plough field collectively to raise funds; date not set	1) Dipping basin; date not set 2) Digging dams; date not set	
Cost/funding sources			1) Undecided 2) Undecided	

(Chart 7, cont.)

Number of members	17
Number male	0
Number female	17
Year formed	
Formed internally/externally	Externally
Finished projects; date started, finished	1) Bought AD's house; 1972 2) Made bricks for the base purchase to extend it, but no;work done; 1978 3) Started toilet at kgotla, but work halted because of stones at site; 1979
Cost/funding source	1) P50.00/concert and village;contributions 2) P15.00/member contributions and concerts 3) P16.00/member contributions and concerts
Unfinished projects; date started	
Cost/funding source	
Scheduled frequency of meetings	None
Frequency of meetings	Have not met since 1980
Bye-laws; constitution	Yes
State of minutes	Accurate
State of financial records	Fair; no bank account
Cash flow in previous year	
Controlling family/faction	Women from senior wards

CHART 8 : LEADERSHIP IN MOKGOMANE ORGANISATIONS

PERSON	WARD	VDC	SSC	FC	BCW	PTA	RED CROSS	4-B CLUB	OTHER INFORMATION
Mr S.S.	1	Chairperson							
Mrs S.S.	1						Vice-Chairperson		
Mrs C.S.	1						Treasurer		
Mrs N.S.	1						Vice-Secretary		
Ms S.	1					Secretary			
Mr M.T.	2	Vice-Chairperson	Vice-Chairperson						
Mr T.K.	2		Chairperson			Vice-Chairperson			VDC members
Mrs G.T.	2	Vice-Secretary			Vice-Chairperson				
Mr P.S.	3	Treasurer		Chairperson					
Mrs O.S.	3				Chairperson				
Mrs G.S.	3								
Mr D.S.	3		Treasurer				Secretary		
Mrs K.T.	4	Secretary			Treasurer				Former BCW Chairperson
Mr K.T.	4		Vice-Secretary	Vice-Chairperson					
Mr R.T.	4		Secretary						
Mrs O.K.	5			Treasurer					
Mr F.M.				Secretary					
Mrs B.M.				Vice Secretary					
Ms O.B.					Secretary				
Mr M.M.						Chairman			
Mrs M.B.						Vice-Secretary			
Mrs D.N.							Chairperson		BCW member

CHAPTER VI
REPORT ON PHITSHANE-MOLOPO

by Oabile Mabusa

Introduction

Phitshane-Molopo is located in the Southern District, just outside the south-western corner of the Barolong Farms. It falls on the Botswana-South African (or the so-called Bophuthatswana) border. The Molopo River demarcates these two sections of the village. A reliable estimation of the village population is over 800 persons. The residents of Phitshane-Molopo have close relatives on both sides of the border, but it appears that the population on the South African side is larger, wealthier, and provided with more numerous facilities. However, the residents of Phitshane-Molopo are aware that they have no legal claim over the use of those facilities.

Generally, the residents of Phitshane-Molopo subsist on small-scale arable and cattle farming, as well as on remittances from children or relatives working either in South Africa or in Botswana. Of these sources of livelihood, cattle farming seems to be the major activity. Data have not been available to enable the ranking of the other two sources.

Phitshane-Molopo acts as a centre for the string of villages in the immediate area and those located westwards in Botswana along the Molopo River. The village's main infrastructural facilities include a border post, a Tribal Authority Office (with tribal and local police and a Revenue Office), a health centre staffed with two nurses and assisting FWEs, a standard 7 primary school, a fairly well stocked General Dealer, a cafe/restaurant, a bottle store, and an infrequently used airstrip. It is also the location of a Sub-Land Board and the residence of an ACDO, an AD, and the local Councillor.

The traditional authority at Phitshane-Molopo is the Chief's Representative. He is responsible for the Barolong area along the corridor, from Mokatako westwards to Loporung, including Sedibeng. The village is divided into three wards: Batlhaping; Kgosing (Chief's ward); and Sebohelo. The Batlhaping ward is on the eastern side the village.

The Sebohelo ward, headed by a headman appointed by the Chief's Representative, is located on the western side, a short distance from the Chief's ward which is in the middle. More will be said about village headmen and the Tribal Authority in the section dealing with chieftainship. Almost all the services that exist in Phitshane-Molopo are located in the center of the village--the Kgosing (Chief's) ward.

Overview of Institutions

An important factor in the functioning of institutions in Phitshane-Molopo is factionalism between wards. Here, the primary division is between the Kgosing, the village's founding ward and site of Tribal Authority, versus the village's most populous ward, the Batlhaping. The Sebohelo ward is the least populated and is identified with the Kgosing, although it was not mentioned as part of this rivalry.

The reasons for this ward rivalry are unclear. Both groups are Barolong and have no obvious social or economic differences. The Kgosing are the original settlers in the area, with the Batlhaping moving in some time later. About 30 years ago the Batlhaping proclaimed one of their members as village headman in an attempt to establish a separate Batlhaping village. This attempt was halted by the Kgosing. Around 1955, a Kgosing regiment attacked a Batlhaping regiment, beat them, and stole their livestock. This was prompted by the Kgosing headman who believed that the Batlhaping were lazy and disobedient because he thought they had failed to complete a task which he had assigned.

No matter what the cause of this division, it affects village politics and the functioning of institutions. Almost all the infrastructural facilities are located within the Kgosing ward due to both the ward's central location and the Tribal Authority's influence both within and outside the village.

Chieftainship

The Chief's Representative is probably in his early fifties, educated, and literate. Although he does not farm, he owns a large herd of cattle. He assumed his position in 1956 after the death of Chief Pitoro (as he was known), his father. Hence he is the legitimate tribal authority of the Barolong in Phitshane-Molopo.

Because the frequency of kgotla meetings is low, the chief usually spends his day either visiting the people in the village or entertaining visiting elders. The chief does not seem to have any administrative role in village affairs. His duties are almost entirely judicial, i.e. the trying of cases, of which about seven out of ten are criminal cases. The role of the chief in development activities will be discussed in detail in the section dealing with institutions.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Chief's Representative is somewhat respected by the people of Phitshane-Molopo. Cases are usually referred to him by the headmen of the neighbouring villages. However, attendance of kgotla meetings is usually very low, except when cases discussed are particularly interesting. One would tend to conclude that the little respect the chief enjoys as a judicial figure may simply be due to a lack of alternative judicial procedures available to his people. The chief lacks the sternness that is necessary to make his authority felt.

There are three distinguishable wards in Phitshane-Molopo, as previously mentioned. The ward structure has a very strong influence on development activities. The relationship between these two factors will be discussed in more detail under institutions.

Kgotla

The kgotla meets about twice a week (between late May and mid-July, 35 criminal cases and three civil cases had been heard). Attendance, although generally low, is particularly high during interesting hearings and during meetings convened for distinguished personalities such as the Member of Parliament. Most of the kgotla meetings are held to try cases. Other meetings are held to announce important meetings or when the AD or ACDO want to announce something.

In the past, the kgotla met more frequently because, as the sole village government, it did mobilise people for communal tasks. Many of the historical functions of the kgotla have been taken over by modern institutions of the VDC and the Land Board. This can partially explain the irregularity of kgotla meetings, poor attendance, and the few functions under its domain. There have also been allegations of the mis-management of public funds by "lekgotla", which has further contributed to the low level of kgotla activity.

Although anybody is free to contribute in the kgotla, the major personalities are the Chief's Representative and his deputy. The kgotla is not well respected within the community. In fact, appeals by the chief to the community to clean the kgotla area were met with passivity. Women never contribute, although they often attend kgotla meetings.

The kgotla in Phitshane-Molopo does not have direct responsibility (financial or otherwise) over development projects. Instead, it has coordinating responsibility. As a matter of procedure, development activities are always reported to the kgotla to encourage coordination. Elections for the modern institutions are held at the kgotla, which serves to give them legitimacy. All modern institutions report their activities back to the kgotla to receive the approval of the Chief's Representative. The Chief's Representative does not actively participate in modern institutions nor does he interfere with their plans. The kgotla also serves as a vehicle for groups to disseminate their decisions to the public, to gather public support behind their efforts, and to make contact with outside authorities.

Authority is shared between the Chief's Representative and the headmen of the other two principal wards. The headman for the Sebohelo ward was appointed to his position by the Chief's Representative in 1977. In some ways he is simply the Chief's Representative's helper, without any authority of his own. He performs the role as a ward elder in settling family disputes and the like, but has no independent authority to conduct his own court. All cases originating in the Sebohelo ward are referred to the Chief's Representative.

The headman of the Batlhaping maintains much greater independence and authority. He has his own kgotla where he presides over court. Cases originating at the Batlhaping ward are sometimes referred by the Chief's Representative back to the Batlhaping headman if he feels that the case is within the headman's jurisdiction.

The relationship between the Chief's Representative and the Batlhaping headman is not particularly good. There is little personal cooperation between them on affairs of any kind. The Chief's Representative performs the ultimate role for the entire village, in the sense of signing all Land Board applications, and presiding over the village's highest tribal court. He is seen as the traditional leader for all wards except the Batlhaping. Batlhaping ward members see their own headman as their legitimate leader. The Councillor, himself from the Kgosing ward, has suggested that it will require an outside figure, such as the local Member of Parliament or the Paramount Chief, to reduce this ward division and to urge cooperation between the two groups.

Extension

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD)

The AD, who is over 30 years old, started working in Phitsnane-Molopo in 1969, having not worked elsewhere before. The farmers are generally happy about his initiative. Groups have formed since his arrival include: the Farmers Committee, Marketing Cooperative, Borehole Syndicate, and the Small Stock Syndicate.

The AD works with both the rich and the poor. Members of the Farmers Committee are generally the poor and those of the Borehole Syndicate are the better-off. During the observation period, the AD spent close to three weeks attending courses and meetings. There is no reason to doubt his competence. He feels that the community would be more active if only they were somehow forced to be.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO)

The ACDO, who is about 21, began working at Phitshane-Molopo for the first time in February of this year.

He is in charge of five villages along the Molopo River: Mokatako, Seibeng, Phitshane-Molopo, Loporung, and Dikhukhung. He works closely with only the VDC. VDC meetings are often arranged with his consent and he often types letters to inform members about urgent meetings. The ACDO also works with the Chief because he is an ex-officio member of the VDC executive. The Chief is usually invited to conduct official openings of meetings. Through the case work programme for destitutes, he deals with the poor. He usually makes frequent visits to neighbouring VDCs about either group work or case work tasks.

The ACDO rarely attends courses. Although he is active, he lacks the ability to generate activity along new lines. He is supervised from Kanye and his superiors do not visit him regularly. Linkage between him and his superiors is made through quarterly reports, telephone calls, and visits to Kanye. During the thirteen week observation period, the Senior Community Development Officer visited Phitshane-Molopo only once. The ACDO's general opinion about the people of Phitshane-Molopo is that they need to be assured that money will not be wasted.

Head Teacher

The Head Teacher, 45, has been in Phitshane-Molopo for over two years. Before that, he had taught at various primary schools. He does not participate in any development activities, except attending PTA meetings when he cannot escape them. Several people have remarked that he lacks discipline and, ever since he came to Phitshane-Molopo, the standard 7 results have been poor.

Clinic Staff: Family Welfare Educators (FWEs)

There are two FWEs in Phitshane-Molopo. Most of their time seems to be spent in the clinic where they issue medicine to patients. Together with the two nurses, the FWEs have attended meetings of the PTA and the VDC where they spoke on ways of preventing and controlling diseases such as VD and TB. The nurses and FWEs have initiated a Village Health Committee, whose main purpose is to educate the community on health.

Village Development Committee (VDC)

The Phitshane-Molopo VDC has long been in existence. Elections of new executives are conducted at kgotla meetings after a two-year term of office. There are some individuals who have been re-elected continuously since the VDC's formation. Among these are the Treasurer, who is the owner of the shop, cafe, and butchery in Phitshane-Molopo; and the VDC's Secretary. The Secretary is probably respected in the community because of her initiative in development activities. The VDC Chairperson has been in the VDC since 1979. She is very active in development activities involving all groups and is always the VDC representative in the meetings with other groups. None of the VDC executive members is related to the Chief's Representative. Within the executive, the Treasurer and the Chairperson are the most well respected for reasons mentioned above.

The Chairperson is always present at VDC meetings, which are held at an average of about once a week. The Treasurer attends meetings most of the time and sends apologies when he is absent. VDC meetings are announced in the meetings of other groups, in churches, and in kgotla meetings. The attendance at VDC meetings is usually low.

The VDC is currently working on a project to build a community hall. It was started in 1977. A previous project was the construction of a

secondary school, but the money that was raised for the project disappeared mysteriously. This scared members of the community away from contributing towards further development projects. Little success has been made on the community hall project due to the reluctance of people to contribute. So far, P729.70 has been raised. The Council offered two plans, one for P68,040.00 and another for P10,000.00. The VDC chose the latter plan. It is to be funded through LG 17.

Records of the VDC are kept by the Secretary who is very competent. The Treasurer keeps records of financial transactions; however, the financial record books are not in good condition. There are no receipt books. VDC money is kept by the Treasurer himself.

The Chief attends VDC meetings, but he is generally accused of lacking authority, which is believed to be the cause for the people's lack of motivation. Links between the VDC and other organisations exist, but they are not strong. The VDC is often invited to the meetings of other groups, but representation of other groups in VDC meetings is rather low, if non-existent. There does not seem to be links between the VDC in Phitshane-Molopo and those in the neighbouring villages. In its activities, the VDC always works closely with the ACDO or, when he is absent, with the AD. The ACDO both advises and coordinates, providing the essential linkage between the VDC and the Council.

Other Organisations

Red Cross

Phitshane-Molopo has a village Red Cross chapter and is the home for the regional Red Cross headquarters. Although the village chapter is a separate organisation in its own right, it is overshadowed by the regional headquarters.

The regional chapter was formed in 1965 through the efforts of a woman from the Batlhaping ward, with support from her husband, after being briefed by a Red Cross representative from Francistown. She has spearheaded the organisation ever since. Without her support, this chapter would not function. Other executive members are from Batlhaping, including the ward headman. Members who are not from Batlhaping do not actively participate in the organisation.

The area covered by the regional chapter includes the local chapters in the villages west of Phitshane-Molopo along the Molopo River and the villages running northwards up to but not including Mokgomane. The regional group meets with representatives from the local chapters at least twice a year, and more often in emergencies. The purpose of these meetings is usually to coordinate plans and to distribute supplies from the headquarters in Gaborone. A current plan is to assemble the region's destitutes at Phitshane-Molopo to discuss what kind of support they can be given. Each chapter was urged to contribute P5.00 to this project.

At the end of the observation period, no action towards this had been taken. There has been no other joint activity between the branches.

The regional Red Cross chapter in Phitshane-Molopo has been active in implementing projects within the village. In this regard, the local chapter becomes but a wing of the larger branch. The Red Cross has participated in three types of activities within the village. In 1969, the organisation erected a meeting house with their own funds plus some support from headquarters. It was used between 1972 and 1978 as a clinic by Council. A second activity was the teaching of first-aid to school children and the village at large. Classes were taught by members free of charge. The third category of activity concerns destitutes. The Red Cross is organising a vegetable garden to supply destitutes with free vegetables, has given destitutes clothing and blankets supplied by the Red Cross headquarters in Gaborone, helps repair damaged houses, and gives free hospitalisation to those who otherwise could not afford it. Funds and materials for those projects come from chapter and village contributions, as well as from the headquarters in Gaborone.

There is a historical tension regarding the Red Cross between the Batlhaping and the Barolong. When the Red Cross was formed, the Chief was not informed early about its formation. He complained about this matter. After that, the Red Cross sent representatives to explain to the Chief and apologise. The Chief and his people refused to accept the apologies and suggested that the Red Cross be situated on the Barolong side of Phitshane-Molopo. The Director could not accept this. Henceforth, the Barolong regarded the Red Cross as a Batlhaping group. It is interesting to note that some elders among the Batlhaping refer to the Red Cross as "our group". It was said that only recently did the Chief register with the Red Cross.

There appears to be a weak relationship between the Village Health Committee, the VDC, and the Botswana Council of Women. The Red Cross reciprocates invitations with the VHC and the VDC. Some members of the Red Cross are unaware of this relationship. Also, the Red Cross is predominantly composed of members of the United Congregational Church of South Africa.

A considerable amount of aid has been extended by the Council to the Red Cross ever since its inception. The Council often provides free transportation for Red Cross members to attend youth rallies and agricultural shows, provided it is approached in time. Other respondents felt that the Council is not responsive to Red Cross requests. They said that Council promised to repair the Red Cross building but never did so.

The Red Cross director reported that there is often some correspondence with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (MLGL). The Red Cross headquarters has been described as "very responsive" to Red Cross requests in Phitshane-Molopo. Even where response is negative, the headquarters was reported to respond quickly to requests. Help from the Red Cross headquarters has come in the form of donations of blankets and clothing to families whose homes have been burnt.

The links so far between the Red Cross and the MLGL have been somewhat indirect as far as the duties of the Red Cross are concerned. At the beginning of this year, the MLGL wrote to the Red Cross (and all other groups in the village), asking it to identify destitute children. This was done and up to now no action has been taken by the Ministry. According to the Red Cross director, the government intends to educate these children up to a certain age.

There have been no formal links with government officers in the past. At the moment, links exist with the ACDO concerning the project that the Red Cross plans to undertake: the collection of the disabled. The ACDO has been requested to organise transportation for the disabled and to appeal to the Council, on behalf of the Red Cross, for donations of clothing.

Although the Red Cross is identified with the Batlhaping, it actually serves the whole community. But, despite the joint effort that has been characteristic of the Red Cross (viewed from the projects they have undertaken), motivation seems to be declining these days. People do not attend meetings. However, people are busy harvesting at this time of the year (an excuse for not attending meetings that has been forwarded by many people).

Maratadibe Borehole Syndicate

Chief Bathoeng long ago allocated the Maratadibe site to the people of Phitshane-Molopo to water their cattle. However, they did not develop it because there was still plenty of water in Phitshane-Molopo, and grazing land was abundant.

Because the government owned farms in the Phitshane-Molopo area, the area's livestock crowded along the river. The river seasonally dried up because a dam had been made upstream in South Africa. Because of crowding along the river, over-grazing occurred. As concern grew, the people decided to move their livestock to Maratadibe. They set out to explore the site in October 1980. In November 1980, they applied to the Land Board for a borehole on the site. Since the application was submitted, no reply has been received from the Land Board. According to the members, the reason given for this delay was that allocations for that site had been made previously to some other people (one of whom is a Minister). Documentation was not given to prove that this allocation had been made.

The Chairman reiterated that members of the Syndicate are determined to obtain the Maratadibe site, and would go through all the necessary channels to obtain it.

The terms of funding for the borehole are clearly reflected in the constitution of the Syndicate. Bye-laws are due to be drawn as soon as the allocation has been approved. These will be drawn to control grazing and watering of livestock. At the moment, P2,140.00 has been raised by the members, and their target is between P8,000 to P10,000. The problem faced by this Syndicate, however, is the refusal of people to contribute

funds. The Syndicate is ready to start on the project as soon as the site is approved by the Land Board. The driller and the person who will supply the pumping equipment have been found already.

The AD was very instrumental in the formation of this Syndicate. Besides being a member of the Syndicate, he advised the founding members and served as the link between the Syndicate and the relevant government offices. The AD also went to the site and made an assessment for the Land Board of its carrying capacity. Although the AD is a member, he does not frequently attend meetings. However, he is excused by the Syndicate, perhaps due to the knowledge that he is also involved in other matters. The Chief's Representative is also a member of the Syndicate, but he has not yet contributed. He usually attends meetings and makes comments. The Councillor, who is a member as well, has not contributed and rarely attends meetings.

There is supposedly no factionalism in the Syndicate. Nevertheless, the Batlhaping who are registered do not attend meetings and have not contributed the required sums of money. Among the members of the executive, only one is on the Batlhaping side, a business-woman (owner of the local bar). The Syndicate may in the long run attract many people because it banks its money and keeps good financial records. The people seem to be impressed by this.

Parent Teachers Association (PTA)

No reliable history could be obtained about the formation of the PTA.

All parents in the village are supposed to be members of the PTA. However, attendance at meetings has been low. It has not been possible to get the names of the current executive members of the PTA. Some confusion arose when the new executive was elected. Some people objected to the positioning of the candidates and preferred a switchover of positions. It was then resolved that new elections would be held later in order to solve the problem, but none have been held so far.

The PTA reciprocates invitations with the VDC and the BCW (during its periods of activity). Actually, the VDC is always represented in PTA meetings.

According to its Chairman, the PTA is currently not successful, at least compared to what it was previously, because the headmaster is too negligent. The other teachers were said to be cooperative. It was also said that the headmaster does not want the PTA to meet during his absence because it would generate gossip about him. The Chairman feels that the PTA would only be successful in its duties if the headmaster were a competent leader.

The chief is said to not attend meetings even when invited (but I have actually seen him in PTA meetings about twice). The Councillor is reported to attend meetings and give advice to the PTA (though I did not see him in any meeting during the observation period).

The PTA has successfully fenced the school grounds, purchased cooking pots and 12 buckets for the school, and, four years ago, began to build toilets. The latter project remains incomplete because the former headmaster, who was spearheading the project, left Phitshane-Molopo for another position. No one else took charge of this project. The PTA also worked on a project to take the school children to the Agricultural Show at Good Hope. This trip was made in order to use about P160.00 that was raised for an abortive sports trip to Moshupa. All of the funds for PTA activities were collected through mandatory contributions from the school children (believed to be about 75t per year). Looking at the past performance of the PTA, one would conclude that it was very active.

Masilonoke Syndicate: Small Stock Dosing and Dipping Group

The Masilonoke Syndicate is a small-scale organisation with few members, all of whom are from the Sebohelo ward. The Syndicate was formed in 1980 through the joint efforts of the AD and several Sebohelo ward members soon after they had attended farmers' courses. Its purpose is to improve members' small stock. Through P5.00 contributions from each member, the Syndicate has purchased a dosing gun and drugs, and plans to purchase a syringe. The AD considers it a successful organisation. Accurate minutes and financial records are kept. Meetings are called when there is something to discuss. There was no mention of obvious problems which confront the organisation. Without the support of the AD, however, it is doubtful that the Syndicate could proceed towards larger tasks or even stay together as a viable organisation. Presently, it is a working group and serves only a fraction of the Phitshane-Molopo population.

Farmers Committee

The Farmers Committee was formed in 1970 by the AD. It has only eight members, all of whom are from the Kgosong ward and can generally be classified as "middle-range farmers".* Its original purpose was to encourage progressive agricultural techniques among the Phitshane-Molopo farmers, specifically to plant treated seeds.

The Committee has not been particularly successful. Soon after the Committee's inception, it embarked on a project to build a storeroom for treated seeds. However, only two Committee members and a few villagers contributed the P1.00 requested. The storeroom remained incomplete as of August 1981.

In 1980, the Committee drew up a set of bye-laws designed to urge people to herd their cattle to minimize crop damage, especially during ploughing and harvesting periods. The bye-laws were presented to the kgotla and approved. The Chief's Representative, however, neither enforces the bye-laws nor fines people whose livestock damages crops.

* Most plough with their own cattle and have a commercial orientation to their production.

The Chief's Representative, owner of one of the village's largest cattle herds, does not herd his own cattle.

The Committee is beset with problems common to other groups. People are reluctant to make contributions and to attend general meetings. Consequently, there are insufficient funds to complete the seed storage room, the executive committee has not been changed since 1977, and the Committee is entirely dependent upon the AD for its continued functioning. The group does not receive assistance from other organisations. VDC committee members, though invited to meetings, do not attend. No reasons were given for people's reluctance to be active in the Farmers Committee.

In practical terms, the Farmers Committee is inactive, incapable of organising further activities, and entirely dependent on the AD for its continuation (tenuous as it may be). At present, there are no suggestions as to the principal causes of the group's problems nor suggestions as to how the problems can be resolved.

In 1972, the Farmers Committee organised a marketing cooperative so local farmers could market their livestock. There is apparently little difference in organisation between it and the Farmers Committee. Little else was reported. More information on the cooperative will be presented in a forthcoming report by A. Rude.

Village Health Committee (VHC)

There is little which can be written about the Village Health Committee (VHC) because it was started just before the observation period. The VHC was organised by several persons within the Kgosing ward, including the Councillor's brother and the wife of the Chief's Representative. The staff nurse is a primary motivating force within the VHC, although she acts in an official capacity only as an advisor.

The VHC was organised with three objectives in mind:

- 1) to promote village cleanliness,
- 2) to encourage childbirth at the clinic and not at home, and
- 3) to encourage people to seek medical care when ill.

Towards these ends, a seminar was organised shortly after the observation period to present information to villagers on the objectives listed above.

It is still too early to speak at all accurately on the VHC's problems and potential. However, as an educational body it will probably function well. It has the support of the VDC, the Councillor, and the village's extension personnel. These people are competent and can encourage villagers to participate in VHC activities. The VHC's educational activities do not require much organisation nor great expense. Consequently, the VHC does not face the organisational or funding difficulties that other organisations face. Ward factionalism should not be

a hindering factor in the VHC, since its educational services should be freely available to all villagers. At present, the VHC does not have premises where it can meet or present its seminars and lessons. It is not known if villagers will consider the VHC a worthwhile group, and attend or take advantage of the seminars and information which the VHC plans to offer.

Sediphilo-Botswana Teachers Union (BTU)

The Sediphilo chapter of the BTU was formed in 1980. Its members include teachers from the primary schools from Mokgomane down to Phitshane-Molopo and westwards to the few villages along the Molopo River. Because of limited communication and transportation, the chapter agreed that all the executive members should reside close to each other. As a result, the executive body is composed entirely of teachers from Sedibeng and Phitshane-Molopo.

The BTU has three stated purposes:

- 1) to develop the talents of school children,
- 2) to share ideas with other teachers, and
- 3) to discuss problems of common interest with the PTA.

Towards these ends, the BTU has done little. Members have attended PTA meetings and helped organise transportation for the abortive trip to sporting events in Moshupa. Finances for the BTU are secured through a P6.00 joining fee from each primary school represented.

It is unlikely that the BTU will be capable of organising activities beyond those presently described. It can support the PTA and perhaps provide a forum for the area's teachers. But, because of the limits of its stated purposes and the distance that separates the represented primary schools, the BTU is necessarily limited in its effectiveness in village-based development activities.

CHART 9 : ORGANISATIONS IN PHITSHANE-MOLOPO

	VDC	FARMERS COMMITTEE	SMALL STOCK SYNDICATE	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	RED CROSS	PTA	VILLAGE HEALTH COMMITTEE	FARMERS COOPERATIVE
Members # male # female								
Year formed Formed internally/ externally	Externally	1976 Externally	Externally	1980 Internally	1980 Internally	Internally (by Head Teacher)	May 1981 Internally (by FUE)	1972 Internally by Farmers Committee
Finished projects; date begun, ended	Community hall un- finished	Storeroom for seeds started in 1977 & not completed due to lack of contributions from members	1) Bought drugs to inject animals; no date 2) Trail to hold livestock	Plan to dig borehole when site allocated	1) Giving clothes to destitutes; no dates 2) Contributions to destitutes' medical fees & funerals sporadical 3) Collection of destitutes to hear problems & perhaps start occupational training; Sept. 1981	1) Bought pots for school 2) Pay school cooks		Marketing of live-stock

(Chart 9, cont.)

	VDC	FARMERS COMMITTEE	SMALL STOCK SYNDICATE	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	RED CROSS	PTA	VILLAGE HEALTH COMMITTEE	FARMERS COOPER- ATIVE
Cost/funding sources	P10,000/ LG 17 & 10% member contribu- tions	Member contri- butions	Member con- tributions	\$8,000- \$10,000/ member con- tributions	1) Clothes donated by R.C. Head- quarters	Concerts & villager contribu- tions		Members share cap- ital con- tributions /profits on its operations
Scheduled frequency of meetings		Monthly		Not specified	Weekly			Many committee meetings; annual general meetings
Bye-laws; constitution	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		Yes
State of minutes	Fair	Poor	Fair	Good	Good	Fair		Fair
State of financial records	Fair; no bank account	Poor; no bank account	Poor; no bank account	Good; has bank account	Fair; no bank account	Poor; no bank account or records		Fair; has bank account
Cash flow in previ- ous year								
Controlling family/ faction	Bakgosing ward		Sebohelo ward		Batlhaping ward			

CHART 10 : LEADERSHIP IN PHITSHANE-MOLOPO ORGANISATIONS

PERSON/ WARD	VDC	FARMERS COMMITTEE	SMALL STOCK COMMITTEE	BOREHOLE SYNDICATE	RED CROSS	PTA	VILLAGE HEALTH COMMITTEE	FARMERS COOPER- ATIVE	OTHER INFORMATION
Mrs J./1	Chairperson								Member, Borehole Syndicate
Mr M./ 1	Secretary			Secretary					Member, Farmers Cooperative
Mr P./ 1	Treasurer			Chairperson					
Mr Me./2	Vice- Secretary		Secretary						
Mr S./ 3		Vice- Secretary			Chairperson & Treasurer	Chair- person			Member, Farmers Cooperative & VDC
Mr T./ 1		Treasurer							Member CDC
Mr Se./1									
Mr Ts./2			Chairperson	Vice- Chairperson					Member, Red Cross & Farmers Committee
Mrs L./3							Secretary		
Mrs Mh.3					Director Chairperson of Regional Chapter				
Mr B./ 3									Batlhaping headman
Mr Ma./2			Treasurer						

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE FUNCTIONING OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

This section presents some suggestions for improving the functioning of local institutions. The discussion begins with suggestions for traditional structures, particularly that of the headman. It is then followed with suggestions for modern institutions, with particular reference to the VDC.

Traditional Institutions

The issue of headmanship and associated institutions in the CFDA is rather awkward. This is particularly true in the Barolong Farms where the village headmen were removed from their official capacity and replaced by a number of ward headmen. In most cases, traditional institutions are usually the most well known and most important institutions existing at the local level. They cannot be ignored in CFDA development activities.

Government policy since Independence has been to direct resources and functions away from traditional structures and towards newly created institutions. Policy has tried to tie modern institutions with traditional ones to provide some input from traditional authorities and to give newly created structures added legitimacy. Still, little has been done to integrate traditional with modern institutions as a direct and positive force behind present-day development activities.

Village headmen, in both the Barolong Farms and the Ngwaketse areas of the CFDA, still maintain considerable legitimacy in the eyes of many villagers. The reaction of headmen to modern institutions ranges from ex-officio membership in the Ngwaketse Tribal Area to elected leadership and direct hostility in the Barolong Farms. They have generally not displayed an ability to mobilise their population or to make long-range plans for development efforts. Rather, one of their principal strengths appears to be the ability to veto activities of newly created groups. Government policy efforts should attempt to mobilise the strength and legitimacy of the headman and kgotla behind contemporary development efforts.

A fuller integration of traditional and modern institutions presents a difficult situation. Because traditional structures have developed out of Tswana culture and modern institutions have developed largely since Independence out of a non-Tswana tradition, they oppose each other, with differing sets of cultural norms, organisational procedures, and power bases within the village. This basic separation obviously mitigates against cooperative integration. However, in practise, this separation is not as wide as may first appear. The kgotla still serves to grant

legitimacy to modern institutions through elections and because its communication functions remain largely intact. Sometimes the villagers take the headman and kgotla as their primary authority, with modern institutions playing a secondary role as the groups concerned with development. Or, as in Malokaganyane, where traditional leaders have been put into most of the elected leadership positions of modern institutions, that traditional leaders simply change to contemporary leaders, with little apparent gulf between the two sets of institutions. From these examples, it can be seen that the opposition between the two is not as wide as one might first assume. Nonetheless, a basic opposition remains.

It appears necessary to integrate traditional and modern institutions in a manner that is more conducive to carrying out development tasks. The ex-officio membership of the headman in the VDC and the holding of elections for modern groups at the kgotla are examples of this union. However, it is the writer's opinion that additional steps should be taken. Several suggestions are made below.

A first possible step would be to raise the status of the village headmen of the Barolong Farms. They could be brought to positions where they could liaise between the ward headmen and the scattered farm populations. However, they all could not be brought into an official capacity as headmen because of opposition from higher tribal authorities and the ward headmen. The steps in the following paragraph suggest how village headmen may become more positively involved in the institutional development process. As the liaison between ward headmen and villagers, they should facilitate better communications between the general population and higher levels of government.

Steps should be taken to increase the prestige of headmen, and to improve their motivation and capacities as facilitators of development activities. Headmen often have little formal education. Thus, their organisational capacities are often weak. The writer agrees with Chris Brown that their prestige as well as their formal training could be increased if headmen attended courses on development planning and employment creation, as do other government employees.¹⁸ Furthermore, outside contacts with the village and internal communications through the kgotla should be formalised¹⁹ through the headmen. Through these efforts, the schism between traditional and modern institutions may be reduced and the legitimacy of the headmen thrown more solidly behind project implementation.

However, additional problems may be created if headmen's power is more formalised and their status increased. Much of their present authority stems from people's respect for their traditional positions. The kgotla, though largely the domain of the headmen, still operates through consensus from the general population. Greater formalisation of headmen's powers, backed by their membership in the VDC and the government resources available through the VDC, may reduce headmen's need to seek this consensus. Furthermore, increased powers and status may produce an arrogance in headmen which could lead to attempts to dominate village institutions at the expense of wider community input. While providing contemporary

institutions with traditional support seems necessary, attention needs to be drawn to this possible abuse of power.

The chieftaincy of the Barolong merits comment. In the late 1970s, Chief Besele was removed from his position due to several personal problems that interfered with his ability to carry out his public duties. A non-royal Tribal Authority, Mr Motlhatlheddi, was appointed in his place. Available evidence is scanty, but it appears that this change had relatively little impact upon local institutions. It may have weakened the authority of the chieftainship, although the Barolong have long lived without a strong central leader. Since field work for this report was conducted and individual village chapters written, Besele has been reinstated as Barolong chief. His re-instatement appeared to be strongly supported by the Barolong population from an apparent desire to once again have a chief of royal blood. However, this event is expected to have little effect on the area's local institutions.

Modern Institutions

Steps are necessary to vitalise and to reduce the organisational problems which beset the modern institutions, and particularly in the VDC. An initial recommendation would be to end the proliferation of village development organisations and to integrate them under a VDC. Because it is often the same individuals who are repeatedly members of different organisations, their energies are dispersed. Members' personal efforts can become more concentrated if they remained within a single umbrella organisation. Furthermore, this all-encompassing VDC could be a focus for contacts with extension, financial, and other resource personnel which are currently dissipated by having to work through numerous organisations. Resources can be better channelled if they have but one well-run organisation to focus upon. When appropriate, sub-committees should be established, as in the Kgoro VDC, to deal with particular projects.

Several steps could be taken to help increase people's motivation for active VDC participation and, perhaps where enthusiasm has waned, to re-ignite a spirit of self-help. First, VDC members should receive a paid sitting allowance. Repeatedly, the student research assistants were told of the lack of immediate reward for VDC members' efforts. Payment may give committee members more motivation and may also create some public pressure on committee members to participate actively. Second, VDC projects should be re-oriented towards areas that are more directly productive or income producing in order to have more relevance to people's lives. The orientation of some VDCs towards the provision of infrastructure adds little to people's livelihood and thus apparently does not warrant their active participation. However, there is a fine line between projects which are freely available to the entire community and those which are for personal entrepreneurial gain. Care should be taken so that public funds and efforts are made available to all. One example is the construction of a market place by the VDC in Pitshane Siding where interested individuals can sell their goods. The VDC receives payments from

those who sell their goods there. Third, VDCs should be given greater financial independence and strength. This involves several considerations. The time-lag between when a VDC applies for funds and the time they are received should somehow be reduced. Discouragement often sets in during the long period before funding arrives. Funds could also be allocated to them on a block grant basis. This grant should be looked upon and administered as a "feeder fund", and not intended to replace LG 17. Instead, it would be a relatively small grant for use, within a broad set of guidelines, at the discretion of the VDC. It is hoped that these feeder funds, when spent under the initiative of the VDC members themselves, would act to encourage participation. Having started on activities through the initial "push" of a block grant, larger activities may be envisioned involving greater complexity, funding through the established LG 17 channels, and, hopefully, a renewed spirit of self-help among villagers. Fourth, measures should be taken to improve the organisational capacity of VDC members. This would involve both formal literacy training for the community and specific training in accounting, organisational skills, and development planning for VDC committee members. Training should be an on-going process because of the ever-changing composition of VDC membership. Impeachment procedures should be created so that inactive or irresponsible committee members could be removed from office in order to maintain a responsible and active organisation.

Finally, steps should be taken to maintain the VDC as an on-going organisation. All too often a VDC disperses once a project is complete. It might be made more permanent if it were given the responsibility of maintaining an on-going activity such as a school feeding or Institutional Food Programme, or literacy classes.

A crucial element towards the creation of viable institutions is extension support. Most organisations lack the ability and knowledge to act effectively on their own. Regularised and more frequent extension contact is essential. The present network of extension has much potential but is failing to meet its stated goals.

Several changes are suggested for improving extension services within the existing structure. First, extension personnel could be selected on the basis of their proved effectiveness in local institutions. For example, an active and effective VDC member could be selected from within his/her community to receive training as an extension cadre. They could then be posted back to their community with knowledge of the community's problems and social characteristics. Their effectiveness should be increased with their newly acquired training. Second, it is necessary to integrate extension services more fully for coordinated activity in the field. Presently, coordinated efforts through the Village Extension Team (VET) are largely unrealised. A unified extension service has much potential to coordinate all the resources available from government. This could be facilitated through joint training of extension personnel, the incorporation of VET as part of their job description, more horizontal linkages and decision making between extension services, and through mandatory meetings of the various extension personnel at the village level. Third, the incentive structure for field workers should be improved, perhaps

through pay incentives. Lastly, agents should be given adequate transport. Extension field personnel simply cannot cover their vast extension areas adequately without it.

There is the need to also increase the contact between Councillors and the VDC to facilitate communications between Council and the village. There should be regularly scheduled meetings between Councillors and their constituency. In this manner, the flow of resources and information between the district and village would be increased, as would Councillors' accountability, by having to face their constituency at frequent intervals.

At present, there appears little that government can do to improve the performance of non-government institutions. The right of government to be involved in private affairs is questionable. Furthermore, at least for the near future, government resources are probably best spent concentrating on the various government-affiliated groups and programmes. These have the most well grounded structure and capacity to undertake meaningful development activities. Non-government groups, for the most part, are the least understood organisations operating at the village level, with the weakest funding sources and lowest rates of public participation. Government should maintain a hands-off policy, neither supporting nor discouraging their activities. In the exceptional case, however, as with the Red Cross in Phitshane-Molopo, where a non-government group is well organised and has shown potential for being an effective development tool, extension workers should be encouraged to assist these groups, so long as it does not negatively affect their other responsibilities.

Concluding Comments on the CFDA

This section is intended to present a few comments on the general CFDA strategy for rural development, plus some comments on Southern District's CFDA. It concludes with a reminder of some political and administrative realities in Southern's CFDA.

A CFDA has been defined as a geographic area that is to benefit from a concerted attempt at rural development with increased productivity and thereby employment creation is a major objective".²⁰ It is to be the focus through which national development efforts are turned away from the livestock sector towards communal areas. Though much effort has been spent on locating CFDA's and in establishing a framework for CFDA planning, there is still the lack of an articulated and coherent CFDA policy. Because the concept is so new, districts differ greatly in economic characteristics. Because the initial steps at programme implementation have just begun, central government planners may be hesitant to present a specific CFDA policy until lessons have been learned from the results of current activities. However, the lack of an articulated and coherent CFDA policy is a major weakness of the programme.

The Southern District has adopted a broad approach towards initial developments in their CFDA. It appears to be an attempt to place new activities in the area and to concentrate existing programmes and services. Much of this involves capital transfers, infrastructural construction, and additional extension services, plus elements involving community participation through individual and institutional efforts. Although a precise framework or goal for the programme is lacking, at these initial stages of the CFDA programme, especially in the light of the lack of any national CFDA policy, Southern District's programme should be praised. With the results of planned research and the experience gained from these initial projects, Southern's CFDA programme will undoubtedly alter in the future.

There are several political and administrative concerns which should be considered in Southern District's CFDA programme. The largest part of the CFDA is in the Barolong Farms. Although there is wide variation among income classes in the area, people are still fairly well off compared to other areas in the Southern District. The equity in concentrating development resources in such an area is subject to question. The CFDA was selected because it extended through both of the District's major tribal territories and because of the relative high level of activity among its local institutions, which give development programmes a better chance of success. Because this is the very beginning of a new development programme, planners were correct in selecting an area where the chances of programme success are the greatest.

However, present institutional arrangements for rural development have generally been unable to reach the poorest, the ultimate target group of CFDA activities. Local institutions, under the leadership of local elites, have shown a tendency to undertake projects furthering their own interests and not necessarily those of the "community at large", or else are biased towards infrastructure which is not directly income producing. Extension support is inadequate and Village Extension Teams non-existent. The poorest, lacking sufficient capital, have generally been incapable of taking advantage of government programmes. The most prominent among these is ALDEP. The poorest will not be reached with more local institutions, the provision of a few more extension personnel, or more ALDEP packages. These will help segments of the local population but are in themselves inadequate. A CFDA programme requires more than "more of the same" and should venture into new institutional forms. This is the first attempt at a CFDA, and experimentation is warranted. This paper has looked at some of the problems facing local institutions in the CFDA and has made suggestions for possible solutions. Comment on the scope of possible CFDA activities is outside the range of this report and the competence of its authors. It is apparent, however, that the poorest again will not be reached if CFDA activities rely on present institutional structures designed to further rural development.

Footnotes

1. Government of Botswana, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Central Statistics Office, Rural Income Distribution Survey (Gaborone: Government Printers, 1974/75), p. 31.
2. John L. Camoroff, The Structure of Agricultural Transformation in Barolong (Gaborone: Government Printers, 1977), p. 18.
3. Rural Income Distribution Survey, p. 31.
4. Camoroff, Structure of Agricultural Transformation, p. 20.
5. Ibid., p. 19.
6. Ibid., p. 30.
7. Robert Hitchcock, "Farmers, Fields, and Fences: Land Use Planning Problems in the Barolong," mimeo. (Ministry of Agriculture, 1980), p. 3.
8. Author's unpublished data on Farmers' Cooperatives in the CFDA.
9. Personal communication, 1981, with O. Mabusa, Research Assistant, stationed in Phitshane-Molopo.
10. Camoroff, Structure of Agricultural Transformation, pp. 2-5.
11. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
12. Ibid., p. 11.
13. Ibid., p. 13.
14. A case in point was a plan by the VDC in Cwaanyaneng to charge for the watering of stock at the village pan. The traditional headman ended the proposal with his personal veto.
15. For example, the traditional headman is quite bitter with the creation of the ward headmen. He once complained to the Tribal Authority Office in Good Hope when an applicant before the Land Board went to the ward headman with his application and not to him. The Tribal Authority stated that he had no jurisdiction on the matter, since he was not acting in an "official" capacity as headman.
16. The structure of institutions in Phitshane-Molopo illustrates this point. Here, the Red Cross has membership exclusively drawn from one ward, while all the other institutions in the village have membership drawn from the other main ward.
17. An exception to this is the Red Cross in Phitshane-Molopo, considered by the student research assistant there to be the best known and organised village institution.

18. Chris Brown, "Preliminary Report on Local Institutions Research: Kgatleng District," mimeo. (Applied Research Unit, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1981), p. 14.

19. Ibid., p. 19.

20. Government of Botswana, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, "What Is a Communal First Development Area? : An Information Paper for Ministry of Government and Lands Officers," POII, p. 1.

APPENDIX A : SERVICE LOCATIONS IN SURVEY VILLAGES

(first listing is most common)

	MALOKAGANYANE	KGORO	CWAANYANENG	MOKGOMANE	PHITSHANE-MOLOPO
Buying food	Pitsane-Siding (monthly or less)—one "hawker" resides near-by	- Pitsane-Siding - Good Hope store in Kgoro used only occasionally	- Metlojane - Mafeking - Lobatse	- General dealer in Mokgomane - Metlojane - Mafeking - Lobatse	General dealer in Phitshane-Molopo
Buying clothes	- Pitsane-Siding - Lobatse (rare)	Same as buying food	- Metlojane - Mafeking	Same as buying food	Same as buying food
Buying other supplies	- Pitsane-Siding - Lobatse (nails, bowls, tools) (when needed)	Same as buying food	Same as buying clothes	Same as buying food	Same as buying food
Tool/agricultural implement (repairs, welding, mechanical repairs)	- Metlojane - Lobatse or Mafeking (when needed)	- Mafeking - Lobatse	Metlojane	- Metlojane - Lobatse	- Mafeking - Metlojane
Auto repairs		- Mafeking - Lobatse	Mafeking	- Mafeking - Lobatse	Mafeking
Health services	Clinic in Good Hope	Clinic in Good Hope	- Health Post in Cwaanyaneng	Health Post in Mokgomane	Clinic in Phitshane-Molopo

(Appendix A, cont.)

	MALOKAGANYANE	KGORO	CWAANYANENG	MOKGOMANE	PHITSHANE-MOLOPO
Water for human consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Scattered seasonal dams about village- Reservoir in western side of village- Bucket well in eastern side of village	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Scattered seasonal dams about village- Permanent dam at headman's resident in east (fee)- Lemmer's Borehole (fee)- Council Borehole in Good Hope	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Kampfer's Borehole in Metlojane (50t/drum plus 20t for hired transport)- Seasonal pan	Council Borehole in western side of village	Stand pipes scattered about village (except Sebohelo Ward obtain water from Molopo River & wells along its banks)
Water for livestock consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Scattered seasonal dams about village- Reservoir in western side of village	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Kgoro Pan- Seasonal dams- Lemmer's Borehole (fee)- Borehole (Syndicated) is planned	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Seasonal pan- Kampfer's hole	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Scattered seasonal dams- Seasonal pans 7 km away near Mosi Borehole (Syndicate in north-eastern side of village)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Molopo River wells dug by river bank- Borehole (Syndicated) is planned
Firewood	From cleared fields in village (is scarce)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Scattered about village- Cow dung- Corn cobs	Locally gathered (within 8 km radius of village)	In 40-50 km radius (scarce)	"Half a day's walk" westwards along Molopo River (scarce)

/cont.....

(Appendix A, cont.)

	MALOKAGANYANE	KGORO	CWAANYANENG	MOKGOMANE	PHITSHANE-MOLOPO
Roofing materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scattered near village land's area - Purchased in Mafeking or Lobatse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scattered about village - Purchased in Mafeking, Lobatse, or Metlojane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered - Purchased in Metlojane or Mafeking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered (same as firewood) - Purchased in Metlojane or Mafeking 	Same as firewood
Building materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered - Purchased in Mafeking or Lobatse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered - Purchased in Metlojane or Mafeking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered - Purchased in Metlojane or Mafeking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locally gathered (same as firewood) - Purchased in Metlojane or Mafeking 	Locally gathered
Transport	Daily bus to Pitsane-Siding and return	Daily bus to Pitsane-Siding and return	Daily bus to Pitsane-Siding and return		
Postal services	Post office in Pitsane Siding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Post office in Pitsane Siding - Informal postal service through Lemmer's store 	Postal agency in Metlojane	Informal postal service by cafe/restaurant (30t per year)	Post office in Phitshane-Molopo

/cont.....

(Appendix A, cont.)

	MALOKAGANYANE	KGOFO	CWAANYANENG	MOKGOMANE	PHITSHANE-MOLOPO
Farmers Cooperative	Co-op in Good Hope (not used regularly)	Co-op in Good Hope (used only by village's prosperous)	Co-op in Good Hope	Co-op in Mmathethe	- Bus twice a week to Lobatse via Ramatlabama - Daily to Mafeking from Bophuthatwana side of village
Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board	BAMB depot in Pitsane	BAMB depot in Pitsane	BAMB depot in Pitsane	BAMB depot in Pitsane	Co-op in Phitshane-Molopo
Infrastructure/services in village	One "hawker" resides near-by	- Standard 7 primary school - General dealer	- Standard 7 primary school - Health Post	- Standard 7 primary school - Health Post - General dealer - Cafe/restaurant	- Standard 7 primary school - Health Clinic - Border Post - Post office - General dealer - Cafe-restaurant - Butchery - Farmers Cooperative - National police - Local police - Bottle store

APPENDIX B : EXPECTATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Mokgomane

People's initial expectations of development differ according to their wealth and access to means of production. However, there is general consensus, among rich and poor alike, that development should proceed towards the improvement of agro-pastoral production. The poor would first want to acquire sufficient draught power to plough. Once this has been obtained, their views on development are similar to those of the more prosperous. Once the basic means of arable subsistence have been obtained, people then seek to improve the quality and quantity of livestock, to extend arable agricultural production through the purchase of additional farming implements, to expand and fence their fields, and to improve their houses. The Bangwaketse of Mokgomane appear to place greater emphasis on livestock than their neighbouring Barolong.

All villagers, no matter what their social status, were in agreement on the need for employment creation. They did not specify particular types of employment. Again, villagers would prefer employment creation within Mokgomane, or in near-by villages if this were not possible. Though the experience of working outside Botswana is not new, most people prefer employment within the nation. No reasons were given for these preferences. One can surmise, however, that people like to stay near their homes and family, within the familiar context of their own country. The poor families often do not have other household members or cannot hire persons to look after their fields and homes. Furthermore, the poor appear to be more rooted to their villages and less worldly than their wealthier neighbours.

The purpose of people's employment differed by social status. For the poor, employment is a means to acquire basic subsistence. For the medium income, employment is viewed as a means to acquire additional capital for agro-pastoral production. The few wealthy in the village, while not particularly interested in employment for themselves because their present work provides adequate livelihood, tended to view employment creation as a necessity for the poor.

ALDEP has just been recently introduced to the community by the Agricultural Demonstrator. While most people claim to have heard about it, most do not understand the programme or how to gain access to the loan packages. Those few farmers who have a reasonably good understanding of ALDEP and have applied for or have received ALDEP loans, tend to be among the more prosperous in the community. They have used or intend to use these loans for fencing their individual fields.

The wealthier farmers are more literate, and have greater contact with the Agricultural Demonstrator, than the poor. They also can better

afford the risk in borrowing money. They are thus more willing and able to capitalise on ALDEP.

People view central government and Council as the providers of "development". People expect assistance in the promotion of arable agriculture and animal rearing, and in the provision of infrastructure. No specific recommendations for assistance for arable and pastoral activities were made. As expected, the poor want assistance to acquire draught power and the rich ask for assistance to improve upon their existing fields and livestock. The infrastructural developments which people would like are the extension of reticulated water about the residential area of the village, the upgrading of the health post with better supplies of medicine and the stationing of a staff nurse, and the construction of a Tribal Authority office where people can pay taxes and register births.

The AD has not made special efforts to promote ALDEP in Mokgomane. As mentioned earlier, he has tended to have greater contact with the more prosperous farmers. However, a Farmers Committee, representing a wide range of farmers, has recently been formed.

Through this organisation, farmer contacts with the AD should be increased, dispersing information on ALDEP across a wider section of the farming population.

Malokaganyane

The improvement of arable farming has the highest priority among most all persons as the object of investment if they had more money. Improvement of arable farming is also the direction in which they wish their village to develop. People seek to develop arable agriculture through the acquisition of traders, additional implements and inputs, and additional ploughing land. Employment creation was also cited as an important direction of village development. No specific type of employment was mentioned. Managed grazing and other alternatives were not mentioned as development priorities.

The need for infrastructural upgrading is apparent. People complain about the distance they have to travel for almost all basic services. In a ranking of priorities, they request the construction of a primary school, a general dealer or cafe, a health post, and the extension of water closer to their residences.

Given the choice, people would prefer to remain in Malokaganyane and pursue arable agriculture. If they were to take employment, they would also prefer to remain in the village. Should this not be possible, they would like to take employment in the vicinity, preferably in Botswana. Lobatse was the most often mentioned site. Apparently, people simply wish to retain close contacts with their homes and family.

ALDEP is generally known to the people. Several persons in the village, most of whom are in the middle-income range, have taken out ALDEP loans. However, villagers are unclear as to how ALDEP differs from other programmes provided by institutions such as the National Development Bank. The Agricultural Demonstrator apparently has done little to explain ALDEP to the people. No suggestions were made for the improvement of this programme and inputs.

Most of the people are hostile to the idea of land registration. They feel that somehow their land will be reduced or else their idle land would be confiscated and given to landless people. A few respondents favoured land registration. They believe that land registration will strengthen their security of tenure. Positive and negative responses to land registration cut across income categories.

As mentioned previously, people cannot use ALDEP and the National Development Bank. Only several of the wealthier villagers have a clear understanding of the NDB and have secured loans from this organisation to their advantage. More people are at least more aware of ALDEP than the NDB. No suggestions were made for NDB's improvement.

People's attitudes on the role of central government and Council in the development of the village appear contradictory. They have made no attempts at creating infrastructure themselves and expect Council or government to construct facilities such as a health post or school, and yet see little role for these two bodies since they have done nothing for their village in the past. They are somewhat suspicious of government claims that will initiate development, and yet are in need of and ask for government support.

People say that they are willing to "develop themselves" through existing village organisations. Indeed, some institutions are actively engaged in such activities. For instance, the 4-B Club will soon be raising chickens and selling eggs, the VDC is considering the construction of a consulting room in the village to encourage nurses to visit, and the Borehole Syndicate is attempting to upgrade village water supplies. However, several obstacles impede the progress of these groups. The primary obstacle is lack of money. Villagers are too poor to finance activities internally and the extension staff has done little to inform people on the possibilities of outside funding sources. Further obstacles include lack of effective village/group leadership and the mis-management of funds, both of which are sustained by the lack of guidance from relevant extension personnel.

Together, these factors have made people reluctant to participate in village groups, further hampering groups' effectiveness.

If groups can be financed to carry out their intended projects, villagers' willingness to participate should increase. Management training should improve leadership and reduce the level of mismanagement of funds. Presently, villagers have little potential for self-development.

Kgoro

The expectations of the population differ markedly by income class, although they are linked by common threads. The rich would generally invest their excess income back into arable agriculture and into the purchase of additional cattle and better breeding stock. They seek development via improved arable agriculture and better maintenance of livestock, their two principal sources of livelihood. Arable agriculture can best be improved through higher prices at BAMB, and through low-cost loans for the purchase of additional inputs and machinery. Livestock rearing would be supported through additional water supplies. The rich would organise additional Syndicated Boreholes through their excess cash incomes. They support the idea of employment creation but do not themselves experience unemployment as a problem. They would not take up wage employment in or outside their area but would prefer to remain in arable and pastoral agriculture. The rich are aware of ALDEP and other National Development Bank loan programmes but believe these are geared to the poor. They believe that these programmes can be improved by letting the poor have access to low-cost loans.

The Agricultural Demonstrator for Kgoro has played no role in promoting ALDEP in the village. His visits to the village are rare. No specific opinion was voiced about land registration.

According to available information, medium-income families would also invest any additional cash income into improving arable agriculture through the purchase of additional inputs and implements. They would also upgrade their houses. People in this category are more willing to accept wage employment than those in the wealthier group. They prefer such employment to be in the vicinity of Kgoro but would take employment outside the area or the country if necessary.

They are attached to the area and wish to remain near-by. Wage employment is seen as temporary and as a means to accumulate capital for arable farming. The middle income class is well aware of ALDEP and the National Development Bank. The few persons in Kgoro who have taken out ALDEP loans have come from the middle income category. The loans have been used to purchase only yokes and ploughs. It was thought that the programmes could be improved through additional contact with the AD, who would then better explain the application procedure to the would-be borrowers and facilitate the application process. There was little mention of land registration.

The expectations of the poor in Kgoro are common to the people of the Barolong. If these people did have extra income, they too would invest in arable agriculture for they feel that arable agriculture in the Barolong is a profitable activity. However, because many of these people are so desperately poor, it is doubtful they could soon accumulate sufficient capital to plough. Furthermore, because many are older individuals without immediate household ties, it is doubtful that they could plough given sufficient means. Nonetheless, they generally view development as

occurring through involvement in arable agriculture. Pastoral activities were little mentioned.

The poor in Kgoro expressed the need for employment creation. They would prefer employment to be within the village or else near-by. Although many have relatives working elsewhere in Botswana or South Africa, they would not want to leave the area because they are rooted to their village and usually cannot hire or ask someone to look after their household and stock in their absence. The type of employment which they wish for themselves was not mentioned. It is worthy to note, that there were no poor from Kgoro at any of the employment creation seminars. The representatives from Kgoro at these seminars were principally from medium and high income categories. It is these people who have the means to best take advantage of employment creation in Kgoro, while it is the poor who most desperately need gainful employment.

While ALDEP and NDB are generally known to all villagers, the poor have the least knowledge. The poor are aware of these programmes, but have expressed fear that they will not be able to re-pay a loan. They also believe that these programmes should be more geared to them, the poor. There were no specific suggestions made as to how these programmes should be re-directed. No opinion was expressed on land registration.

The poor of Kgoro expressed much resignation to their poverty. They saw little ability to help themselves. Given the dire conditions of their poverty, they indeed have little means of improving their lot. They expressed the need for central government and Council to "do something". A first step towards development, before employment creation and arable agriculture, was to increase the monthly food allowance given to destitutes by Council. It is difficult to think of development when one is pre-occupied with daily survival.

Cwaanyaneng*

People feel that if they had more money, they would embark on arable agriculture because it is productive and income bringing. People maintain that they would spend their money on farm machinery and fertilizer.

Locally, people feel their village must develop eastwards towards Metlojane, and the lands should develop towards the south and south-westwards, and grazing areas towards the north.

The poor people are illiterate and generally have never been exposed to the world outside their local village. When interviewing people, I had the impression that people preferred to stay in their villages and have employment created there. Alternatively, employment should be in near-by villages, like Good Hope, so that they can continually check their

* The report on Cwaanyaneng in this section was written by D. Keebine.

children and their homes. They would also prefer to work in Botswana or Bophuthatswana—which are also proximate their homes.

ALDEP is not well known among the poor. It has never been explained in detail to them. They confuse it with the previous NDB and argue that it is meant for the rich only. They heard of ALDEP either from other literate community members or from the Village Development Committee, which too does not fully understand it. The AD has never gone over to explain it fully. Since ALDEP is not clear to them, they have for suggestions of improving it.

Poor people feel that big farmers are unfair to them since they plough the poor people's fields without consulting the owners—and the poor usually lose the case with the Land Board because their fields are not registered. This usually happens because the poor do not always plough their fields yearly.

People feel that the National Development Bank should drop its attitude of helping rich people only and should take risks to help the poor too.

People feel that central government does nothing to help development in their villages. They feel that Council was trying but that it is based in Kanye and therefore thinks of Bangwaketse before considering them.

Poor people feel they can do little to develop themselves because of their status. Major obstacles are lack of cooperation and funds, embezzlements, and the poverty.

Phitshane-Molopo

People's expectations differed by social class. The poor, if they had enough money, would emphasize building new houses. In terms of the direction of village development, they see the creation of non-agricultural employment as their first priority and the development of arable agriculture as the second. The more economically active within the group do not mind being employed outside of Phitshane-Molopo; older people want to work within the village or not work at all. The poor prefer to subsist by arable and pastoral activities alone. Because this is not possible, they are willing to take employment to improve their standard of living.

The rich would expand their herds and arable agriculture and improve their housing if they had additional money. They view development as the expansion of arable and pastoral activities. This group is not particularly interested in employment creation. If employment were available, they would prefer to work locally.

People are generally aware of the services available through ALDEP and the NDB. The poor are skeptical of the advantages of these programmes for small farmers. They fear the inability to re-pay the loans, and the

burden of the consequent debt. The wealthy were said to appreciate these programmes. None have taken ALDEP loans and no information was given on the use of NDB. The AD was said to play a helpful role in the promotion of these programmes. No suggestions were made for their improvement.

People, both rich and poor, were indifferent to land registration. Apparently, a "land grab" has not taken place in this area, prompting interest in the specification of arable landholdings. People will accept land registration if government wishes to undertake it.

The residents of Phitshane-Molopo feel unable to develop themselves, despite the seeming proliferation of active local groups. They generally feel that village-initiated development activities will collapse due to village factionalism and lack of cooperation on the part of groups' memberships. This feeling, however, seems contradicted by the work of active groups in the village and villagers' expressed desire for an ambitious programme as a Brigade. Village factionalism and lack of cooperation are not unique to Phitshane-Molopo but are obstacles which must be overcome for successful village-initiated development.

People view the role of Council and central government in development as providing supplementary measures for economic growth, infrastructure, and services. Economic growth is viewed in terms of agro-pastoral production. People want government to provide employment or other means so that people can accumulate sufficient capital to plough and to implement programmes to promote and make more profitable the traditional mode of subsistence. Otherwise, government is viewed as the provider of infrastructure and services. The infrastructure and services which people in Phitshane-Molopo desire are upgraded roads; improved bus service; the creation of additional shops or a cooperative store; the enlargement of the primary school and the posting of more teachers; the construction of a near-by secondary school, a maternity ward at the clinic, and accommodations for local policemen; and the further reticulation of water throughout the village, especially to the Sebohelo ward.