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RURAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN BOTSWANA: FOUR VILLAGE SURVEYS AND ANALYSIS FOR KGATLENG DISTRICT

Chris Brown
with
Victor Bontsi
Kesitegile Gobotswang
Kelebogile Kgabi
Tlhomamiso Selato

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**RURAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN BOTSWANA:
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Tlhomamiso Selato

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research on which this monograph is based was conducted between 20th May and 31st July in four villages in the Kgatleng District -- Bokaa, Mathubudukwane, Oodi and Sikwane. The research is part of a larger project examining the role and performance of Botswana's village institutions in managing resources.

The actual data collection was done by four undergraduate students from the University College of Botswana -- Victor Bontsi (Sikwane), Kesitegile Gobotswang (Bokaa), Kelebogile Kgabi (Oodi) and Tlhomamiso Selato (Mathubudukwane). The core of this monograph, Chapters 2-5, consists of each student's account of the institutions in the village in which he or she worked. These chapters each begin with a general overview of the villages and then examine in more detail its traditional institutions, chieftancy, Councillor, extension staff, Village Development Committee, other village organizations, and management of resources. Only minor editorial changes have been made to the original text written by each student.

The rest of this monograph is an attempt to integrate and analyze the basically descriptive material in the students' village reports. Chapter 1 outlines the main questions which guided the research and also provides some necessary background information on Kgatleng District and the chosen research methodology. Chapter 6 discusses in some detail the Burial Societies, perhaps the most successful, and definitely the most intriguing, of the organizations in the villages. Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the research and presents some preliminary recommendations for government action to improve the performance of Botswana's local institutions in managing resources. Two appendices have been included. The first defines some terms and abbreviations which may be new to a reader unfamiliar with Botswana, while the second describes the data collection methods used in the research.

Any project like this involves the co-operation of many individuals and organizations. The project was undertaken by Cornell University's Rural Development Committee and the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center in co-operation with the Applied Research Unit of the Botswana Government's Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Louise Fortmann, Steve Turner, Don Kanel and Norman Uphoff were all involved in designing the project and co-ordinating the activities of the three participating institutions. Andy Manzardo provided supervision and support in the field, while Andy Rude and Freddy Zuffrey, who were involved in similar research in other districts, provided many useful ideas on questions to ask and ways of asking them. The

Kgatleng authorities were unceasingly helpful in responding to our requests for information and assistance. Hugh Pearce at the District Commissioner's Office and Sylvia Makgatlhe at the District Council took a particular interest in the research and provided many useful ideas and criticisms. It is impossible to name all the many village residents who assisted us in our enterprise -- villagers, chiefs, Councillors and extension workers all willingly co-operated with our efforts.

Funding for the research came from USAID's Rural Sector Grant to the Government of Botswana. Louise Fortmann, Norman Uphoff, Emery Roe and Ted Field all provided comments on preliminary drafts of various chapters of this report.

Finally, and most importantly, the work of the students needs to be gratefully acknowledged. It was Victor Bontsi, Kesitegile Gobotswang, Kelebogile Kgabi and Thomamiso Selato who did all the work of collecting the data for this project. Without their excellent efforts, the contributions of everyone else involved in the research would have been in vain.

While gratefully acknowledging the assistance and advice of so many individuals and organizations, it should nonetheless be emphasized that the views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of Cornell University, the University of Wisconsin, USAID or the Government of Botswana.

Chris Brown
Ithaca, New York
April, 1982

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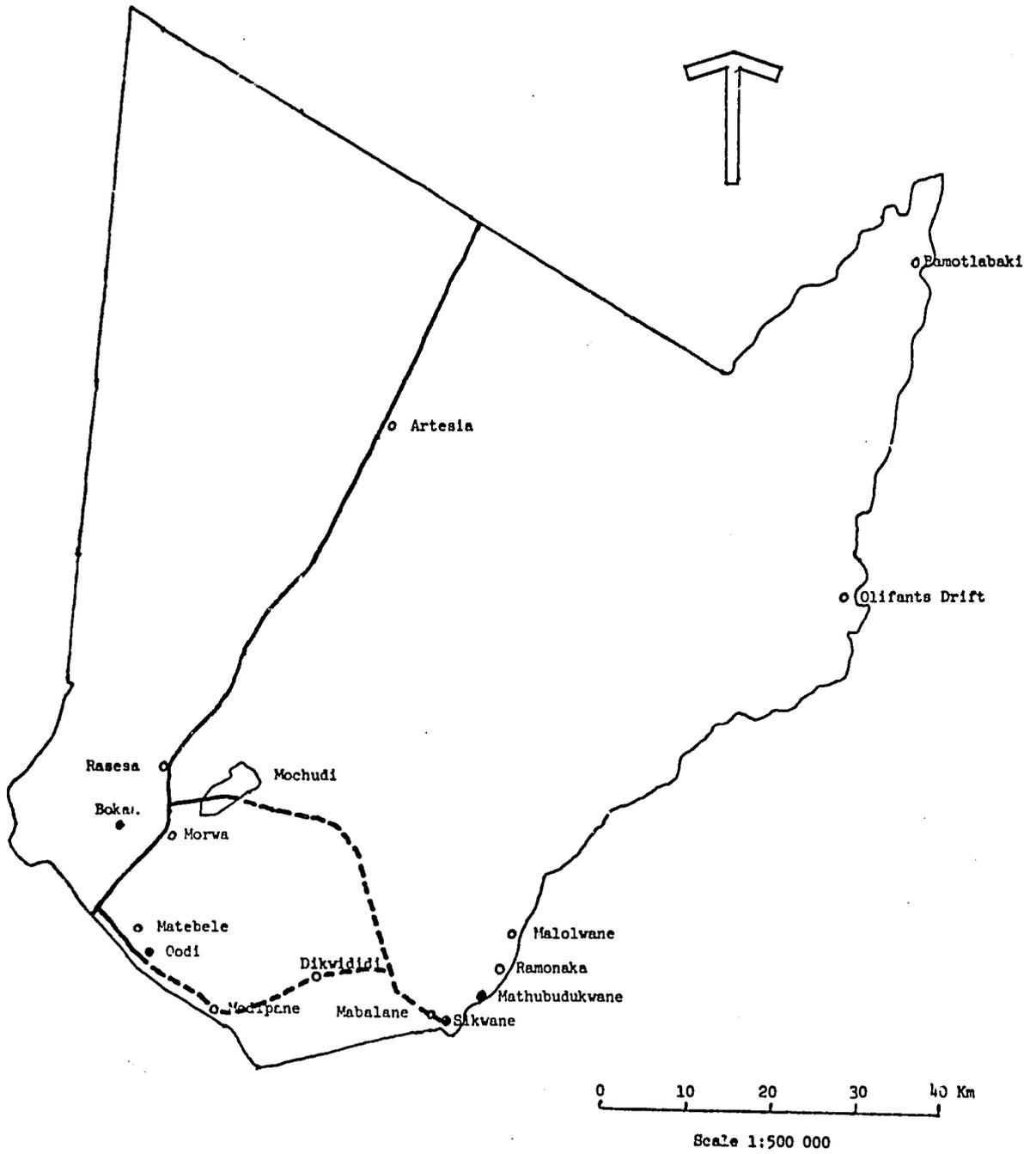
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MAP OF KGATLENG DISTRICT



Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

The Research

This study examines the structure and performance of local institutions in four villages in the Kgatleng District. It describes their membership, activities, finances, operating procedures, and linkages to other institutions and higher authorities. It also offers an evaluation of their performance and suggests reasons why they perform as they do.

One could easily ask: Why was it considered important to conduct local institutions research in Kgatleng District, and what purpose are the findings of the research expected to serve? There were in fact two rather different reasons, one quite specific, the other more general, why this research was undertaken. This monograph addresses only those issues raised by the second, more general reason for the research.

The first, more specific, goal of the research was to assist the Botswana Government, in particular the Kgatleng District authorities, to plan a Communal First Development Area (CFDA) program for Kgatleng. The CFDA concept arises out of the government's increasing awareness of the need for more comprehensive development efforts in the communal areas of rural Botswana. In general, CFDA's in each district are to be area-focused integrated rural development packages aimed at raising incomes and creating jobs.

The Kgatleng authorities asked two specific CFDA-related questions of the research. First, they asked for assistance in choosing which of three alternative village areas -- Bokaa, Oodi, or the river villages -- would be most suitable for their CFDA. Second, they wanted suggestions on what the content of a CFDA strategy might be and how it might be implemented. A preliminary report on this research, submitted in October 1981, suggested criteria which the Kgatleng authorities could apply in selecting a CFDA; the district has since chosen the river village area for its CFDA. This same report went on to outline two possible alternate strategies for designing and implementing a CFDA, and to note some specific problems that might be of concern in each of the three areas. The Kgatleng authorities are now in the process of designing and implementing their CFDA.

The second, more general, goal of the research was to contribute to an understanding of the role and performance of Botswana's local institutions in managing resources. The issues raised by this goal are addressed in this monograph.

There has been a growing awareness in recent years that "top-down" development approaches have failed to meet their stated goals. Increasingly it has been recognized that local participation can be a vital factor contributing to the success of rural development efforts. The creation of successful "bottom-up" programs requires more than a general awareness of the importance of local participation, however; among other things it requires detailed knowledge of the possibilities and problems of participation created by specific local institutional structures. It is detailed information of this kind which is presented here.

Two aspects of Botswana society are particularly important to consider when thinking about the role of local institutions in rural development. First, there are the migratory habits of most Botswana. There are two distinct migratory patterns. Many people migrate from the rural areas to the towns of Botswana or to the mines and farms of South Africa in search of wage labor. As well, some members of most households migrate every agricultural season to the plowing areas known as "lands" to pursue subsistence farming activities.

The effect of these two migratory patterns is to make the village something less than an independent, viable "community." People's source of livelihood is elsewhere; their social horizon extends well beyond the village. In short, the village boundaries are not the relevant geographic boundaries for people's main social and economic concerns. Institutions based in villages, designed to promote rural development, have to take this fact into account. This monograph describes the effects of migration on village institutions in Kgatleng and the implications this has for their performance in promoting rural development.

The second aspect of Botswana society which is particularly important to consider when thinking about the role of local institutions in promoting rural development is the fact that traditional and modern institutions exist side by side in all rural villages. Throughout Botswana, the chieftancy and other traditional institutions continue to exist and to fulfill many important functions. At the same time, modern institutions have been created at all levels of society. In the villages, one finds numerous modern voluntary organizations and the extension workers of various central government and District Council departments. The co-existence of the traditional and the modern raises questions concerning which set of institutions can most effectively and authoritatively perform which rural development tasks. What follows is essentially a description of the various traditional and modern institutions in Kgatleng and an evaluation of the role each can play in mobilizing local people for rural development.

Kgatleng

A quick overview of Kgatleng District will provide a background for the reader. Kgatleng is in the comparatively fertile, densely populated south-east of Botswana. It is the home of the Bakgatla, one of the eight major Setswana-speaking tribes living in Botswana. In 1979, the estimated district population was 39,000; nearly half these people lived in the tribal capital, Mochudi. The rest were scattered among sixteen other villages and innumerable smaller settlements.

The four villages chosen as research sites are all in the southern part of the district, relatively close to Mochudi (see map, page vii). Bokaa is to the west, Oodi to the south, and Sikwane and Mathubudukwane to the east, of Mochudi. The latter two are part of a group of villages lying along the Marico River, known as the river villages. All four villages had estimated 1979 populations of between 1,000 and 2,000 people.

The villages are fairly representative of Kgatleng and of Botswana as a whole. They have a range of services and facilities that one would expect villages of their size in Botswana to have. Important government services and personnel available in all the villages include a paid headman and a customary court clerk, an elected Councillor, who represents the village on the District Council, an agricultural extension worker, a community development extension worker, a revenue collector, one or two primary schools, a health facility, piped water, postal service, and telephone service. In all the villages, private entrepreneurs have established several general purpose stores, a butcher shop, at least one liquor store, and daily bus service to Mochudi and Gaborone, the national capital. As elsewhere in rural Botswana, the three pillars of the villages' economy are subsistence crop agriculture, cattle herding and migration in search of wage labor.

Methodological Issues

For the reader to evaluate the arguments in this report, some comments are in order concerning the research design. Each student used two standard data collection methods, the participant-observer and key-informant techniques. That is, the students attended, as observers, virtually all organizational meetings that occurred in the village during the research period. As well, by the end of the research, they had conducted open-ended interviews with most of the office-bearers of village organizations. (See Appendix 2 for a more complete discussion of the data collection methods.)

The particular advantage of these data collection methods is the depth of observation they provide. Ultimately, they should allow the researcher to see life

through the eyes of the villager himself. This should allow the researcher to make some quite detailed analyses and recommendations, as we have done.

There are, however, some limitations of this methodology that should be kept in mind. Some of these limitations apply to the methodology in general, and others apply to the specific use we made of it in Kgatleng District in mid-1981.

First, there is the danger that the researcher will become so familiar with the villagers' viewpoint that he/she will come to share their misperceptions. For instance, this report frequently touches on matters related to various government policies. The major source of information on these policies has been the villagers themselves, so policies are described as they are understood by villagers. Therefore, to the extent that villagers misperceive government policies, this report probably also contains misunderstandings and omissions concerning government policy. Such inaccuracies are, of course, interesting in themselves since they indicate areas of communication failure between government and villagers.

Second, there is the danger in any research of this nature that the presence of the researcher may itself influence the activities being observed. The participant-observer and key-informant techniques are designed to minimize these effects. Nonetheless, the students did notice instances of villagers altering their behavior due to the students' presence. In one village, some previously dormant committees sprang to life when the student began asking questions about them. In another village, the student became so much more knowledgeable than any of the members of a particular organization about the past history of a certain project of theirs, that the committee came to rely upon him for advice on how to proceed. To the extent that these sorts of observer effects have occurred, this report probably presents a somewhat biased view of village institutions.

Third is a particular problem related to the timing of our research. Ideally, our methodology requires an extended stay at the research site. In fact, the students were in the villages for a little over two months. As has been noted, migration patterns are extremely important in Botswana. We were in the villages during the harvesting season, while many people were absent at the lands. This had at least two undesirable effects. First, the students experienced considerable difficulty locating informants in the village. Second, the students were often told that village activities would change in one way or another once people returned from the lands. It would probably be necessary to stay in the village for at least a full year in order to appreciate fully these seasonal variations in village activities.

Finally, there is the problem of generalizability common to any research based on case studies. All the analysis and recommendations here are based on observations in only four villages in only one district. The villages are in many ways typical of villages throughout Botswana, but no village can be entirely representative. The outstanding importance of Burial Societies in these villages, for instance, is probably unparalleled elsewhere in Botswana. It is therefore possible that what is presented here as a generalization may in fact be no more than a peculiarity of Kgatleng, or indeed, of the particular villages studied.

Part I
VILLAGE STUDIES

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1

Chapter 2

BOKAA

Introduction

Bokaa is in the south-west corner of the Kgatleng District, about 15 km west of Mochudi, and about 10 km west of the Francistown-Gaborone road. It is situated on high land overlooking the village's lands area.

The name of the village, Bokaa, comes from the residents' tribal name - Bakaa. Originally from the Republic of South Africa, they settled in the Kgatleng District, the land of the Bakgatla, in the nineteenth century. The Bakaa are a distinct Tswana tribe in their own right. Nonetheless, they have been subordinate to the Bakgatla Paramount Chief in Mochudi ever since their arrival in Kgatleng.

Bokaa has a hereditary chief* aged 42. During the rule of the chief's father, administrative functions were still effectively performed using the traditional ward* structure. But with the appointment of paid chiefs by the government, ward headmen (who are not paid) have lost their administrative functions and the wards have gradually lost meaning. Today wards are used mostly for identification rather than administrative purposes. The use of age regiments* for communal activities, a practice which has been revived in recent years, has also led to the demise of wards. Most small development activities, which were initially done by wards, are now performed by regiments.

The thing which strikes a stranger visiting the village for the first time is the large number of modern houses in Bokaa. This alone is a clear indication of the relatively high living standard of the Bakaa.

Bokaa is a farming community. Arable agriculture and animal husbandry, the two main agricultural activities, are equally important for the Bakaa. The majority of the village people move to the lands* areas in the months of October and November in order to plow their fields. After plowing and harvesting, they return to the village in the months of July and August. Put differently, most Bakaa spend more of their time at the lands than in the village.

Some Bakaa engage in productive activities other than agriculture. There are at least six shebeen queens*, two brick molders, several knitters and dress makers, and an operator of a grinding machine in the village. There are also quite a number of trained

*See Appendix 1 for a definition of terms such as these.

builders, most of whom also have some knowledge in carpentry and roofing. As well, several men earn themselves some income as traditional doctors. Finally, there is a small general dealer, a butcher, a bar and bottle store* and a restaurant. All of these shops are owned by residents of Bokaa. This is quite interesting since in other villages businessmen often come from outside the village. The final source of income for many Bakaa are remittances from relatives who are working in either Gaborone or in the mines and farms of South Africa.

Bokaa is a well-established village with a population of approximately 2,000. It has almost all the facilities a village of its size needs. Most of the facilities, if not all, were started by the villagers through self-help work. Bokaa has one primary school, with classes up to Standard VII. The school is named after Raditladi Mosinyi, who was the chief at the time the first classrooms were constructed. We shall see later how important Raditladi was to the people, and for development prospects in the village.

There is a Council clinic, with six staff members, in the village. Two of the staff members are nurses, the remaining four are Family Welfare Educators. In addition to these extension staff, there is an Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), an Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) and a Revenue Collector working in the village.

Bokaa is linked by two roads to the rest of Kgatleng. One road links Bokaa with Pilane while the other runs from Bokaa to Morwa. Bokaa does have telephone service; unfortunately the system is often out of order. The village has a Postal Bag, for which users pay an annual fee of 50 thebe*. The Clinic Mobile Vehicle carries the mail to and fro from Mochudi. Transport is not reliable, although there are two buses moving between Bokaa and Gaborone via Morwa.

Bokaa is in the Kgatleng/Tlokweng Parliamentary Constituency. The Member of Parliament lives in Tlokweng, which is quite distant from Bokaa. He is gradually becoming less popular among prominent village people such as the chief. The chief accuses him of making promises without fulfilling them. For this reason, his recent proposal that the government help the villagers build a self-help Secondary School received opposition from both the villagers and the chief. Apart from this, he is treated as part of the community since the chief's mother is from Tlokweng.

The Councilor is a woman and the daughter of the former chief. If she had been born a man, she would have been the rightful chief of Bokaa. Since she was a woman, however, the chieftainship moved to the family of the present chief.

*See Appendix 1 for a definition of terms such as these.

Traditional Institutions

The kgotla*, which is the traditional meeting place presided over by the chief, is the oldest institution in the village. It has been maintained and seems to cope with modern development tasks quite well. Most village activities are approved at a kgotla meeting called by the chief. Extension officers and the Village Development Committee communicate their decisions to the villagers through the kgotla. It is in the kgotla that members of village committees such as the Village Development Committee (VDC), Village Health Committee (VHC), Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA), Social Welfare Committee, Dip Tank Committee and the Village Extension Team (VET) are elected. The current committees were all elected in one day at a kgotla meeting in October, 1980, just before people dispersed to the lands to plow. During the research period only two kgotla meetings were called. One was called by the Member of Parliament and was poorly attended since the date for the meeting was changed on two days' notice. The Member of Parliament addressed the people on issues discussed in the past Parliamentary Session, including the Workman's Compensation Act, ALDEP Projects and the forthcoming population census. Very few people had anything to say in that meeting. The only questions were asked by a few wealthy people who inquired about the Workman's Compensation Act and from one local politician who talked about education. The second meeting was called by the chief's mother. Its purpose was to make final preparations for initiation ceremonies for the new women's regiment.

Meetings are not only held at the village kgotla, but also at the lands areas during the agricultural season. The chief, accompanied by the AD and the ACDO, holds regular meetings with farmers in different Bokaa lands areas on matters which need immediate attention. In a recent series of addresses, topics discussed included matters such as contributions for the Youth Training and Community Centre (YTCC); Clinic assistance for old women who perform the function of midwife; prevention of abortions by young women without the consent of a medical doctor; the Year of the Disabled; and crop damage done by cattle. Some of these meetings failed due to poor communication. For these meetings, messages had been sent to the lands with school children. In some cases the children either failed to deliver the chief's message or else put it in a different way, thus causing a lot of confusion regarding the date of the meeting. Another way the chief informs villagers of upcoming kgotla meetings is by telling the women who come to the clinic every Wednesday for Child Welfare Clinic.

*See Appendix 1 for a definition of this and other terms.

The frequency of kgotla meetings depends on the time of the year. According to the chief, more meetings are held after harvest when people are back in the village because people have a better excuse for not turning up at kgotla meetings when they are still engaged in crop production.

Kgotla meetings are opened with prayer, followed by the chief's short introduction of the purpose of the meeting. He then hands the meeting over to the speakers accompanying him to do most of the talking. In the meetings observed, the comments and questions were hardly ever directed to the chief. People tended to agree with the chief rather than question him on topics which were of concern to them. In contrast, people in Bokaa seemed to feel free to accuse their MP, in his presence, of inaction.

In the meetings observed there was equal attendance of men and women. There were more men than women who spoke, however. During the MP's address, for instance, out of the eight people who spoke only one was a woman.

As mentioned above, the different wards in the village have faded away while regiments are still actively involved in development activities. Regiments were called by the village chief to clear the bush and to mold bricks for the Youth Training and Community Centre and for the dip tank. A few people interviewed in the village spoke against the idea of using regiments in communal activities. They said that it was a form of forced labor. Bokaa regiments are also employed for duties assigned by the paramount chief in Mochudi. They are currently engaged in building a shelter at the main Mochudi kgotla, together with other regiments in the Kgatleng District.

Chieftainship

Chieftainship in Bokaa still plays a very important role as far as developments are concerned. The previous chief, Mr. Raditladi Mōsinyi, died in 1972. Following his death a new chief had to be installed. There was a divided loyalty in the village among three parties. One group wanted the current chief, who was then 33 years old, to become their chief since he was the first born of the late chief's second wife. The second group wanted the current Councillor to be the chief since she was the first born of the late chief's first wife. The third group felt that there should be a regent to act as chief since the current chief was still quite young. This latter group had the present chief's uncle in mind, who is now about 70 years old. The controversial issue ended up with the present chief installed as chief of Bokaa. The divisions created at the time of this historic event still cause problems in Bokaa today. In particular, the chief and the Councillor have a very poor working relationship.

The chief is a qualified Agricultural Demonstrator. He has inherited a great deal of wealth from his father and is therefore quite a rich man. He owns the village restaurant. Every morning, as a good businessman, he drives to either Gaborone or Mochudi to buy stock for his restaurant. His business does affect his official duties. He rarely comes in to his office unless there is a court case. Even these he usually attends only after several attempts by the Tribal Policeman and the Court Clerk to make him feel obliged to settle disputes. The chief also tends to neglect his other official duties, such as signing passport forms.

The chief seems to lack respect for his elders. As well, many younger people dislike him because he believes in forced labor, as opposed to self-help work based on voluntary service. Despite these attitudes, the chief is not only accepted; he is feared. This fear plays quite an important role in increasing the chief's effectiveness in carrying out those development activities he chooses to involve himself in. For example, he participates actively in meetings of the VDC and the Village Extension Team (VET). He is quite an influential figure in these meetings; his alleged misdeeds are hardly ever questioned. In committees such as the VDC, he has the power to overrule group decisions. The best example of this might be the case of a recent joint VET/VDC meeting concerning the future plans for the Youth Training and Community Centre. In this meeting, which was also attended by the Senior Community Development Officer from Mochudi, the chief overruled an important financial decision made by the majority, without offering any reasons. It seems that the success of any project in the village will depend upon the cooperation of the chief.

Councillor

The Councillor, who is over 60 years old, is a primary school teacher. She taught until 1966, when she resigned in order to run for Council as a candidate of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party. It is said that if the Councillor attends a VDC meeting, the chief stays away. In fact, the chief attended most of the many VDC meetings held during the research while the Councillor never turned up. In some, but not all cases, she sent apologies. Even when the MP visited the village to address residents on matters of national importance, the Councillor did not attend the meeting. The Councillor often attends Council meetings in Mochudi without having first consulted with her electorate. When she returns from these meetings the people get no feedback.

According to some sources, the Councillor has the support of most village women; this could be one reason why women are actively involved in development activities.

For example, when money was being collected for the village borehole, women were called by the Councillor to contribute toward the project before men.

Extension Staff

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). There is an AD stationed in Bokaa. He serves the village and its scattered lands areas. The AD, aged 60-70 years, was trained in South Africa in the 1950s. After Independence, he moved to Botswana and has been working here as an Agricultural Demonstrator ever since. In the late 1970s, he was working at the Botswana Agricultural College as an instructor for short courses organized by the Ministry of Agriculture. He was later transferred to Southern District as an Agricultural Supervisor before coming to Bokaa in 1979. A year later, the AD was involved in a car accident and injured his leg. Since that accident, he has had to walk with a cane. He can no longer cycle to visit the farmers at the different lands areas. This has affected his work since he now depends on donkey carts lent by farmers for transport. As a result, the farmers who benefit most from his services are rich ones who happen to have donkey carts to transport the AD to and from their lands areas.

The physical condition of the AD has also slowed his work with farmers' groups such as the Dam Group and the proposed Fencing Group. When the AD is needed for a meeting, farmers often experience problems agreeing on who is to fetch the AD and who is to return him to the village. Apart from the Dam Group and the Fencing Group, the AD also works very closely with the Dip Tank Committee and the Village Extension Team. The AD has recently been engaged in some demonstrations on small stock dosing and a pilot project on underground water tanks.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO). The ACDO, aged 26, was trained at the Community Development course in Sebele. He graduated in 1979. After graduation, he was posted to Bokaa in 1980. His area of operation includes the neighboring villages and lands of Rasesa, Morwa, Molotwana and Dikgonnye. The ACDO spends most of the time in Bokaa, though he visits Morwa quite frequently. In Bokaa, the Youth Training and Community Centre project occupies most of his time. In Morwa, he is engaged in a project to build a postal agency. When he visits his small villages, the ACDO spends the whole month away from station. He spends a week in each village before moving to the next one.

The ACDO works very closely with the VDC, the Social Welfare Committee, the VET, the Youth Clubs, the VHC and the PTA. He keeps the chief and the Councillor informed of the activities of those committees. For instance, if the VDC has a meeting

and the Councillor fails to attend, the ACDO makes it a point to report back to her what transpired at the meeting. He also acts as a liaison between the committees, particularly the VDC, and Council personnel in Mochudi. In case the VDC decides to meet with a senior Council officer, such as the Senior Community Development Officer, the ACDO makes appointments on behalf of the VDC with the officer concerned. The ACDO also gives assistance to committees when they want to make applications for funds from voluntary organizations or Council.

It should be admitted that ACDOs are engaged in a complex job. The duties of an ACDO are not well known or understood by most villagers. Many see the ACDO as somebody only responsible for distributing mealie meal in times of drought. Others regard him as someone who just looks after destitutes. As a result of this ignorance, those who don't get the benefit of these services tend to have negative attitudes toward the ACDO. To make the situation worse, the concept of "destitute" has not been clearly defined until recently, when the Ministry released a pamphlet fully defining the term. Before this, people often accused the ACDO of being biased in his selection of people eligible for destitute benefits.

Yet another problem the ACDO is experiencing is the fact that community development, as opposed to the agricultural activities of the AD for instance, does not offer immediate and visible results to the villagers. According to the ACDO, it is not an easy job to win people over to something which tends to have only indirect benefits, for instance, the YTCC. However, people are always prepared to listen to someone who talks about problems such as water at the lands areas, cattle management or crop production. A related problem is the broadness of the ACDO's job, which not only involves physical projects but also covers mental cases, destitutes and other social problems. A final problem stems from his area of operation. The ACDO covers three well-established villages and their lands areas, which is too much for one person.

Clinic Staff. The Clinic staff work closely with the Red Cross, the Village Health Committee, the Social Welfare Committee and the Village Extension Team. The Clinic staff is quite actively involved in village development. This could be because all the people working in the Clinic are residents of Bokaa, except for the Enrolled Nurse. The Nursing Sister and the four Family Welfare Educators are all Bakaa. Only the Enrolled Nurse, who is from Molepolole, is not very active on village committees, though even she sometimes attends VET meetings.

The Sister, aged 50-60, is the most active person in the Clinic, if not the entire village. She is a leading figure in most village development activities, both past and

present. She is presently an ex-officio member of the VHC and also a member of the Action Committee, a sub-committee of the VET. Her name has been suggested for the Management Board of the YTCC. She also keeps funds for the Dip Tank Committee in the clinic safe. One of the Family Welfare Educators is also very actively involved in village committees. She is the Secretary of both the VET and the Red Cross. She is also a member of the Social Welfare Committee and an advisor to the VHC.

The Clinic itself is run by the Council. Therefore, all the Clinic staff are Council employees. The Senior Sister from Mochudi pays regular visits to the Clinic. The Clinic staff runs a Mobile Clinic which goes to Morwa, Malotwana and Dikgonnye.

School Staff. Generally, the majority of teachers in Bokaa play a very minimal role as far as developments are concerned. The head teacher, aged 50-60 years, is a South African by origin.

The school is supposed to work with the PTA, Youth Clubs such as the 4-B, and the VET. The Deputy Head Teacher and the Senior Teacher, who happen to be residents of Bokaa, are the only teachers who are actually actively involved in community developments. The Deputy Head Teacher is an ex-officio member of the VDC and Chairperson of the Social Welfare Committee. The Senior Teacher is the Chairperson of the VET and Secretary of the Dip Tank Committee. He also chairs meetings of the Action Committee. Both of them have been suggested for the Board of Governors of the YTCC. Teachers in Bokaa are Council employees under the Unified Teaching Service. Their supervisor, the Inspector of Schools, makes regular visits to the school.

Village Extension Team (VET). The VET has been in existence since 1976. When it was first introduced, the VET was understood to be an organized group of all Council and government workers in Bokaa. The duties of the VET were not clearly defined. As a result, membership has always been large and executive committees have had to be elected annually. In its initial stage, the VET raised funds through contributions from its members. The money was used to throw farewell parties for a member being transferred from the village.

The VET took the initiative in 1977 when the Dip Tank project was implemented. The VET also took the initiative in the construction of the Youth Training and Community Centre through its special sub-committee, the Action Committee. It did most of the detailed planning for the construction of the YTCC and is now preparing a detailed training program and selecting a Management Committee for the YTCC.

The VET's working relationship with the VDC is threatened by complaints from the VDC that, because the VET is composed of educated people, it tends to despise the

VDC. Certain VDC members sometimes use this complaint as an excuse for the failures of the VDC. During some recent meetings, attempts were made by the ACDO to explain to the VDC what the VET should be doing. It was made clear that the VDC is the pre-eminent organization in the village and that it can refuse any advice from the VET if the advice is regarded as useless. Both organizations now seem to understand better the mutual relationship under which they are expected to work.

The ACDO intends to reduce the membership of the VET. According to him the VET should be composed only of the Nursing Sister, the headteacher, the ACDO, the AD, the chief and the Councillor. However the VET will not survive without figures like the Deputy Head Teacher, the Senior Teacher and the FWE, who is currently secretary of the VET. These three will probably be included in spite of the ACDO's proposal to exclude them.

Generally, the VET is quite an active organization in the village. In fact, it is the most active as far as community developments are concerned. This might be because it is dominated by residents of Bokaa who are well educated and are concerned about village developments.

Village Development Committee (VDC)

The history of the Bokaa VDC dates back to its formation in 1967, a year after Independence. The VDC was first introduced in the form of a pilot project. Bokaa had been selected to be a model village in the first National Community Development program. Self-help projects did not start with the VDC, however. Self-help dates back to 1952, when Bakaa were engaged in building the first classrooms for the village school.

When it was first introduced, the VDC was elected annually. The first VDC was composed of prominent people in the village such as the Sister in the clinic, the Deputy Head Teacher, the chief's uncle, the current chairperson of the VDC and, of course, the then chief of the village, Mr. Raditladi Mosinyi. With elections held every year, many village residents have had a chance to be elected onto the committee. It is not clear exactly when the length of office was changed from one year to two years. So far, about eight VDCs have been elected.

The indications are that the VDCs which were elected in the years between 1967 and 1973 were quite effective, especially compared with the later ones. During this early period, many projects were implemented. It would be misleading, however, to credit all the success to the VDC alone. The early VDCs could have done very little

without the assistance of certain strong figures. Especially influential was the chief, who had a very good working relationship with the Councillor and the people of Bokaa. The other person behind the early successes was the first ACDO in the village. This officer worked closely with the VDC and gave all the guidance necessary to keep it active. Another factor in the early successes was the Food for Work program, which encouraged residents to take part in developmental activities. Consequently, the concept of "self-help" came to be associated by village residents with the yellow mealie meal which was given to people in exchange for work.

Many projects -- a clinic, which has now been renovated and taken over by the Council; an old Community Center; a Tribal Office; three Teachers' Quarters; the ACDO's house; four classrooms; two dams; and a village borehole -- were built by the VDC between the years 1967 and 1973. These projects were implemented with very little or no Council assistance. Only the village borehole and one of the two dams required a lot of help from Council. The old Community Center was built with some funds from the Native Recruitment Company in South Africa.

There was a decline in developments after the chief's death in 1972. In the four years between 1973 and 1977 there were hardly any developmental activities in the village. A typical example of the ineffective VDCs of this period was the one in office from 1975 to 1977. It was so disorganized that its funds were kept in one of the member's personal account at the bank. This committee kept no financial records. As a result, all the VDC funds disappeared and the VDC which succeeded it had to start from scratch.

Since 1977, Bakaa have been working on two demanding projects. These projects do not only need physical construction but also require management committees to run them. These are the dip tank and the Youth Training and Community Center (YTCC). The dip tank is discussed in detail in a later section.

The YTCC is now built. Residents contributed 10 percent of the total costs. Village funds for this project, as for all VDC projects, were raised by soliciting individual contributions and through fund-raising activities such as concerts. The balance of YTCC costs was paid by external bodies: CUSO, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and the U.S. Embassy. The Council helped with transport. The VDC handled local contributions while funds from external donors were kept by the Council Treasurer.

Altogether the funds raised for the YTCC amounted to P13,000. There was a cost over-run of P800 during construction. This was covered by self-help funds from

Council, thus bringing the costs up to P13,800. Besides funds, other local contributions came from the regiments and the Red Cross, which both supplied voluntary labor. As well, a work camp was organized by the Council. Participants at this work camp were secondary school students, mostly from Mochudi. The purpose of the work camp was to mold bricks for the YTCC.

In fact, the VDC did very little during the construction of the YTCC. The VET took the initiative through its special sub-committee called the Action Committee. The whole idea of a YTCC came from the VET. Only three members of the VDC were active in the construction of the YTCC: the Chairman, the Treasurer and the Secretary.

The purpose of building the YTCC was to curb the migration of primary school teachers, and youth in general, into urban centers like Gaborone. The idea is that with some training, youth will be motivated to make a living in the village through self-employment. Now that the building is complete, there has been a succession of meetings of the VDC and the VET concerning future programs for the YTCC.

The latest development is a draft of the training program, which is scheduled to begin in January, 1982. Proposed training activities are cooking, sewing, knitting, horticulture and brick-making. Initial funds for these activities have been obtained from a Canadian voluntary organization, the Unitarian Service Committee, which has offered financial assistance of P10,000. The Council has also pledged to assist with some materials and machines.

Discussions are now underway concerning the establishment of a Board of Governors, also called a Management Committee, for the YTCC. The Management Committee, in theory, will be an autonomous body which will work independently of the VDC and the VET. Of the names which have been suggested for the Board of Governors, about half are members of the VET and the other half are natives of Bokaa working outside the village.

The YTCC is already an impressive accomplishment. With the funds available and the program so far suggested, however, it is still questionable whether it will provide an answer to the problem of Bokaa youth migrating to urban areas.

The VDCs in Bokaa have long been dominated by women. This is not surprising since at any given time, there are fewer men than women in the village. Most of these absent men either work in Botswana's urban centers or migrate to South Africa to work in the mines.

The membership profile of the VDC partly contributes to its weakness. VDC members are elected at a kgotla meeting. At these meetings, people are not

necessarily elected because they are the best for the job. The variables of education, wealth and relationship to the chief all play an important role in the election process. For instance, of the five top members of the VDC, three are from the chief's family. The Secretary and the Vice-Secretary are the chief's cousins, while the Treasurer is his sister. Other members are sometimes elected for what seem like peculiar reasons. For instance, sitting members often nominate their enemies just to pay them back for attacking them while they were in office. People who are elected for these sorts of reasons tend to stay away from VDC meetings. Out of five recent meetings, the Treasurer and the Vice-Secretary only attended one each. This greatly reduces the effectiveness of other VDC members.

Generally, the VDC has gradually lost respect in the village. Many members see it as a waste of time, particularly when leaders like the Councillor fail to attend the meetings. As a result, especially during the agricultural season, meetings are hardly ever held. The VDC also partly lacks the necessary direction from the concerned extension officer, the ACDO. The condition of the VDC books is a clear indication of this lack of guidance. The VDC has only one record book, which was originally the personal property of a VDC member. This book is used to keep all the minutes and financial records. It is poorly maintained.

Party politics are not a factor in the developmental activities of the Bokaa VDC. The political consciousness of Bakaa is generally low. As a result, divisions along party lines are not evident.

Other Village Organizations

Burial Societies. There are between fifteen and twenty Burial Societies in Bokaa. There is no doubt that this is quite a big number for a village of its size. It is not clear when Burial Societies were started in the village but the indications are that they are not new. One cannot say exactly how they originated except that the former chief, Mr. Raditladi Mosinyi, encouraged his people to be members of Burial Societies.

The most likely explanation for the origin of Burial Societies is that Bakaa borrowed the idea from South Africa, where Burial Societies have been in existence for quite a long time. The idea was probably imported into the village by migrant laborers. Batswana working in the mines of South Africa group themselves in what could be called Burial Societies. The idea of these societies is to meet all the expenses if a member dies in the mines. Such organizations of mine workers in South Africa do exist among workers from places other than Kgatleng.

However they started, Burial Societies have gained great respect in Bokaa. They are the most active organizations in the village. Burial Societies come second after arable and livestock farming in the lives of the people.

Every month-end, Burial Society members meet to pay subscription fees, hear cases of those who have broken Society regulations, and talk about general matters concerning the Society. When a Society is formed, members are expected to pay a joining fee. Generally, joining fees range between P3 and P4. Annual subscriptions, divided into monthly allotments, range between P4 and P5. Anyone who joins a Society is expected to pay back-fees equivalent to the accumulated payments of a founding member. For instance, if the annual fee for a Society is P5 in 1982, new members who join the following year will have to pay P10. This is done for security purposes. The idea is that if, for instance, a society is ten years old and accepts a new member today, who then dies tomorrow, the Society will suffer a loss.

This back-fee has resulted in a proliferation of Societies in the village since those who wish to become members of Societies usually cannot afford to pay the back payments of existing Societies. For this reason, membership of Burial Societies tends to be relatively fixed. Membership in a Society may decrease but the chances of its increasing are quite small. Usually, membership does not decline since, when a member dies, one of his or her children is asked to join the Society, without the obligation of paying the back-fee.

A Society covers a member and his or her family. Apart from these, a member is allowed to register four other next-of-kin to be covered by the Society. The four are usually the member's parents and parents-in-law. The Society pays toward the cost of the coffin, food and other funeral expenses. The amount paid varies from Society to Society and for the different categories of coverage. Many old people have ceased to be members of Societies since they are covered by their adult children. One can hardly identify any person in the village who is not covered by a Society.

Rules of Burial Societies do not allow married couples to join the same Society. The reason is that the Society will have to pay double the usual amount if someone covered by these couples dies since every member is treated in his/her individual capacity.

Fines for failing to attend funerals and meetings have been stipulated by most Societies and are generally adhered to. These fines vary according to the seriousness of the case but usually range between P1 and P3. Although Society by-laws are not written down, they are very authoritative.

Burial Societies in Bokaa are dominated by women. In one Society meeting witnessed, of about thirty members present, there was only one man. In another Society, of about fifty members, only two were men. In both cases, men chaired the meetings. In one Society, one of the two men was a policeman, whose job it was to blow a whistle to keep order and summon members to meetings. Apart from the preponderance of women, there is nothing special about the membership. One finds societies with young, middle-aged and old members; with rich and poor.

There are management committees which run the activities of Burial Societies. All Societies keep record books. The number of books ranges from three to five; they are usually well maintained. Societies keep records of the people they have buried, of membership, of fines, and of financial accounts. There are also receipts books.

It is interesting to note that Burial Societies are so well organized, even though, unlike the VDC and other organizations and groups in the village, they receive no assistance from extension officers. The reason for this seems to be that people understand what the Burial Societies are doing and value the benefits they get from them.

Thrift and Loan Society. The Bokaa Thrift and Loan Society has been in existence since 1967. In the past, the Society is said to have been worth admiring but its future is now quite bleak. When it was started, about one hundred people joined the Society. Today there are only between fifty and sixty members. One reason for its decline is that the Society cannot compete with the Burial Societies, which are gaining momentum. Given a choice between the two Societies, people with financial constraints always opt for the Burial Society. The Thrift and Loan Society has suffered as a result.

For one to be a member of the Thrift and Loan Society one must satisfy certain requirements. One must be eighteen years or above and should be a farmer. An eligible applicant has to be accepted by a general meeting of the Society. Such meetings are hardly ever held these days.

The Society acts as a sort of a bank for the poorer members of the community. Members may deposit any amount of money they wish, no matter how small. The Society loans money to members at the beginning of every plowing season. Members are expected to repay the money when they return from the lands. The Society has by-laws written in English, which were supplied by the Co-operative Department in the Ministry of Agriculture. They are not understood and therefore are not very authoritative. According to these rules, a member can borrow money up to the amount of his or her savings. One can borrow more money than he or she has in the account

only if he or she has a guarantor, who is also a Society member. If a person fails to repay a loan, the guarantors are held responsible. The guarantors are then liable to lose some of their own savings to repay the debt.

Bokaa Co-operative Marketing and Credit Society. The idea of a Co-operative Society came from a Peace Corps Volunteer. When the Society was first established in 1967, it was more of a Marketing than a Credit Society. Through their Society, members sold their cattle and crops. Originally, the membership fee was P10.

Today, the Co-operative Marketing and Credit Society is a well-established organization. It has a membership of 69 people, a shop, and a trained bookkeeper who handles the financial and other related activities. The shop was built in 1974. The costs of this construction are not known. Members of the Society raised some of the funds to build the shop while the main office in Mochudi paid the balance. It should be noted that the Society is a branch of the Mochudi Co-operative Society. It is affiliated with the Botswana Co-operative Union and banks its money at the Botswana Co-operative Bank. It sells its crops to the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board, which has its headquarters in Gaborone.

There are model by-laws which guide the executive in its activities. These laws were supplied by the headquarters and are written in English. Consequently, the laws are neither understood nor closely followed. According to these by-laws, one can only become a member if he or she is above 18 years of age, is accepted by the members, and is a farmer or a livestock owner. To join, one must buy at least one share, at a value of P1. Members cannot be engaged in any trade or business which conflicts with the interests of the Society. Funds are raised through shares, loans, deposits, self-funding, surplus from sales and donations. The by-laws state that every member should hold at least ten shares of P1 each. On admission every member has to pay the value of at least one share. The remaining shares must be paid within two years of admission. It is also stipulated in the by-laws that shares are not refundable unless the Committee approves the refund of shares to a person who ceases to be a member. According to these laws, no member can hold more than one-fifth of the total subscribed share capital of the Society at any time.

There is an Executive Committee which is supposed to run all the activities of the Society. Instead, most of the work is done by a woman who works in the Co-operative shop. She is an employee of the Society and she performs the functions of a manager and secretary. She is a junior secondary school leaver who trained at the Agricultural College in book-keeping and co-operative management. Another important person in

the Society is the representative, who receives a "sitting allowance" for attending meetings in Mochudi on behalf of the Bokaa Society. Aged about 60 years, he has never been to school but can nonetheless read and write Setswana. He has been the representative since 1974. The Committee is supposed to be elected annually, though no elections have been held since 1974. Members of the Society are now beginning to complain that the representative is failing to call an election meeting for fear of losing his job.

All the Executive Committee members except one are men. All are wealthy farmers. Most of them have little or no education. The Committee is chaired by an illiterate, but wealthy, traditional doctor. He never turns up for meetings since he is preoccupied with his traditional medicine practice. The most active and influential people on the Committee are the Secretary, who is also the manager, and the representative. Both of them are paid for the work they are doing for the Society. Clearly, because they are paid, they have more motivation than other Committee members to do their jobs.

The Committee is supposed to meet at the end of every month. Actually, the Committee meets very infrequently. Unlike in other villages committees, however, the fact that the Committee rarely meets does not necessarily harm the effectiveness of the Society. A Committee meeting held on the 20th May, 1981 was observed. A variety of topics were discussed at this meeting. These included: preparations to elect a new Committee for the year 1981; accommodation for an employee; a separate storeroom for cement; and a proposal to ask the relevant people in the Agricultural Department to come to and talk with them about ALDEP projects.

According to the constitution, annual meetings of the Society should be held not later than three months after the close of the financial year. Other general meetings may be held at other times as and when necessary. The books are well kept. There are two separate books, one for financial accounts and one for membership records and minutes.

Dip Tank Committee. The idea of building a dip tank, which is used to remove ticks from cattle, was suggested to the villagers by the extension staff of the Ministry of Agriculture. The idea was discussed at a kgotla meeting and was accepted. A special committee was then elected to carry out the work. It was also agreed at the same meeting that every family in the village should pay a P10 fee. They would then be allowed to use the dip tank once it had been completed. This was in 1977. Work was not started until 1978 or completed until 1979. For the construction of the dip tank,

villagers raised P1,386. A relatively small number of people contributed, about 140 farmers in total. Other contributions were P925 worth of materials from the U.S. Embassy and transport from the Council. Village regiments provided manual labor.

The dip tank has now been completed and is run by a committee of farmers. There is a constitution which guides the executive. The constitution, however, was not drafted by the members of the Dip Committee. It was prepared by an officer of the Ministry of Agriculture in Mochudi. One cannot say how authoritative these by-laws are since there has not been much activity since the tank project was completed in 1979. In fact, it seems as if the dip tank has been used only once. This was immediately after its completion, when government vehicles were used to draw water to fill the pit.

Since that first use, the dip tank has become a white elephant. Sources say that the dip tank is not used because of the problem of water. It has been said that using donkey carts to draw water to fill the pit is quite a tedious job. It is also very tedious to empty the pit after dipping. Another problem with the tank is the way the cattle fencing leading to the dip has been constructed. As it is, one farmer needs assistance from many others in order to force his cattle into the tank. With such problems faced by users of the dip tank, it is easier for individual farmers to de-tick cattle in their respective kraals than to get involved in quite a demanding job at the dip tank.

It should be also noted that the joining fee is the same for all farmers, regardless of the number of cattle an individual farmer has. A farmer with ten cattle is expected to pay the same amount as one with four hundred cattle. As a consequence, small farmers are reluctant to pay the membership fee.

The books of the Dip Committee are generally poorly maintained. In fact, there is only one record book, which is used to keep both the minutes and the financial records. The Dip Tank Committee is dominated by men since cattle have traditionally always been the responsibility of men. The office holders are mostly illiterate but wealthy. The current committee, whose Secretary is the Senior Teacher, has proved no different from the previous one in its lack of accomplishments.

A meeting of the committee was observed on 25th May, 1981, when a handover from the previous committee was accomplished. Although the committee has enough funds (more than P500), it is doing almost nothing to get the dip tank operating again. The most influential person in the committee, the Secretary, is preoccupied with YTCC activities. This tends to harm the activities of the Dip Tank Committee. The Treasurer, who is the Secretary's sister-in-law, is also involved with the Red Cross and

her Burial Society activities. It is quite evident from this that being a member or officer of more than one organization can harm the effectiveness of an individual in organizations having lower priority.

As was seen in the previous section on Burial Societies, it is not enough to say that committees fail because they lack guidance from extension staff or because people need leadership training courses. There is really more than that involved. The project itself has to be understood and be important to the people before it can succeed. The failure of the dip tank group so far is a good example of this.

Magothlo-a-Disa Dam Group. In 1975 a small group of farmers in the Magothlo-a-Disa lands areas organized themselves to build a dam in order to tackle the problem of water scarcity. A few other farmers saw the idea as worthwhile and joined the group. However, the majority of farmers in the area received the idea with doubt. To most of them, it was a mere dream. Such attitudes hampered the proposal. Initially, the group managed to raise P46 in membership fees. The funds were deposited in a bank in Mochudi. In the four years between 1976 and 1980, almost nothing was heard of the activities of the group. No funds were raised and nothing was deposited in the bank. In 1979, the idea of the dam again gained momentum. Today, the dream has come true for Magothlo-a-Disa farmers. Work on a dam has been started by the Dam Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture. It was expected to be finished by the end of August, 1981.

Currently the group has a membership of thirty-four. Until July, 1981, the membership fee was P5. Members who join after the arrival of the Dam Unit will have to pay P10 to be accepted into the group. One has to be a farmer in the area to be accepted as member. Young persons who will, in the future, live independently of their parents will then be expected to pay membership fees. Indications are that since the arrival of the Dam Unit, there has been an influx of new members.

The constitution does not include all the rules and fines decided upon by the members. In fact, the constitution was drafted by the AD and some Agricultural Officers in Mochudi. Members of the group had not known of the need for written by-laws until the arrival of Dam Unit personnel. When the group then tried to re-activate their bank account, the bank refused to accept money from them on the grounds that they had gone quite a long time without using the bank. The bank would only accept money if they first drafted a constitution.

The group has P58 cash in hand, bringing the total funds to P104. The funds are not enough to fence and maintain the dam. The group might get some funds through the Government to pay the rest of these expenses.

The activities of the group are run by a committee of ten farmers, who are predominantly illiterate. Six of these people are three married couples. The majority of committee members are also members of the dip tank groups. The committee is composed of people of ages ranging between 50 and 70 years. The committee has been in office since 1975. According to the constitution, the committee should be elected annually. The committee hardly ever met until the coming of Dam Unit personnel to do construction work.

Village Health Committee (VHC). The VHC has been in existence since at least '976. Since it was introduced in Bokaa, the VHC has been involved in promoting public health measures in order to reduce illnesses. The VHC has a program which has been followed by its members. One or two members of the committee are assigned to work in each ward in the village. With this allocation of duties, the whole village is easily covered.

The main activities of the VHC are to encourage villagers to build latrines and to keep their places clean, and to advise TB patients and ante-natal care cases to attend the clinic. The VHC also attempts to help undernourished children by encouraging mothers to make small plots to grow vegetables. It also distributes to destitutes clothes received by the clinic. Finally, the VHC members pay home visits to give lectures on family planning.

As for keeping the village clean, it seems that the VHC has done a great deal to get people to understand the necessity for cleanliness. People have become used to preparing their places to look nice. This is particularly evident just after people return from the lands. On the latrines, there have so far been twenty-three completed and fifteen more begun due to the VHC campaign. As for the ante-natal care women, the VHC has also succeeded in pushing them to visit the clinic. The vegetable gardens, however, have gradually disappeared due to the lack of water, particularly in summer. On family planning, the VHC has experienced resistance from the villagers. Bakaa are mostly conservative and therefore discourage use of any contraceptive method. The most common attitude is that people tend to get worried if a girl turns twenty before bearing her first child.

The VHC works very closely with the clinic staff. A Family Welfare Educator is its advisor. The committee is composed of people of ages ranging between 30 and 70; some are rich, some are poor. The VHC is dominated by women; the only male members are two prominent traditional doctors in Bokaa. One of the two traditional doctors finds it difficult to work with the Sister in the clinic, whom he claims

discourages and condemns traditional medicine. According to her, traditional doctors are included in the VHC in order to make them understand that their work is appreciated but that they should admit also that there are certain diseases or illnesses they cannot cure. She gives the example of TB.

The frequency of VHC meetings is very low, particularly during the plowing season. The last meeting observed during the research was on 13 June, 1981, at which the members talked about a seminar which was to be held in Gaborone and one of the traditional doctors was nominated to represent the Bokaa VHC. The general cleanliness of the village was also discussed; members were requested to do their job even when they are at the lands rather than waiting until they return to the village in August.

Red Cross. The Red Cross is one of the oldest organizations in the village. It is still relatively active, although its membership is gradually declining. When it started, the Red Cross had a membership of 36 people. Currently, regular attendance is about 26 at a meeting. In its early period the Red Cross managed to build a thatched house, where members carried out their activities such as giving lectures on first aid. Since the Society was given support by the chief, the whole community took part in building the house through the Food for Work program.

The activities of the Red Cross have always been varied. They cater to the needs of undernourished children. The organization used to produce vegetables for that purpose, in a garden which still exists on the Council grounds. The Red Cross also provides voluntary labor for village projects, such as the building of the clinic. Its members were also actively involved in the recent construction of the Youth Training and Community Center, both as members of the Red Cross and as members of different regiments. The Red Cross also looks after village destitutes by providing them with old clothes, collecting wood, and drawing water for them.

The Red Cross in Bokaa, in cooperation with its headquarters in Gaborone, organizes training for disabled persons. Already, they have managed to arrange training for three people. Two were trained at Tlamelong Rehabilitation Center in Tlokweng and one at the School for the Blind in Mochudi. These disabled persons have been trained in basket-making, sewing, knitting and weaving. Red Cross members also do some sewing and weaving. The products are sold to raise funds. Concerts, fetes and other fund raising activities such as selling fat cakes have also often been organized.

The Bokaa branch of the Red Cross usually invites the Rasesa and Morwa wings for fetes and they in turn attend the others' fetes. There are also monthly membership subscriptions to raise funds. The financial situation of the Red Cross is good; the

organization has P51 cash-in-hand and P90 at the bank. The Red Cross is expecting to sell its building to the Council for P250. They have to sell because the building was built on Council grounds. With the funds at its disposal, the organization intends to move to a newly allocated plot and build a lecture room and a kitchen.

There is an executive committee which runs all the activities of the Society. It is composed of relatively well-educated, young and middle-aged women. The Secretary of the Red Cross, aged 25, is also the Secretary of the VET and the Social Welfare Committee. She is also an advisor of the VHC.

The frequency of Red Cross meetings is quite low during the agricultural season. The last meeting observed during the research was held on 1st July, 1981. The topics discussed were the sale of the Red Cross house to Council and a report on the exhibits by the disabled at the Mochudi Agricultural Show. The Red Cross expressed concern as to how their clients would spend the money they won on prizes at the Show and decided to give advice if possible. New developments in the Red Cross were also mentioned and, finally, the Treasurer gave a full report on the financial situation of the Society.

Social Welfare Committee. This is a new organization in the village. It was first elected at a kgotla meeting in October, 1980. Since then to the time of writing, the committee has never met. Consequently, members do not know their duties. According to the chairperson, who is the Deputy Head Teacher, the ACDO seems to be taking a long time to brief them on their responsibilities. He had promised to do this when the committee was elected.

According to the ACDO, the committee is to relieve him of the responsibilities of identifying destitutes and of distributing goods to them. The committee is also expected to identify mental cases and arrange with the ACDO for their treatment at the Mental Hospital in Lobatse. At the present time, there are two cases the ACDO is dealing with. Both of the two men have been to Lobatse. It has been the ACDO's responsibility to see to it that the two men receive treatment after they have been discharged from the Hospital. The committee has not yet begun to assist the ACDO with these responsibilities. The chairperson has been the only person to assist the ACDO. She helped in the recent distribution of clothing and food to destitutes.

Membership of the committee is predominantly women. Members of the committee are mostly teachers. There is also a Family Welfare Educator and a Court Clerk. Other members are ordinary villagers.

Resource Management

Arable lands are scattered to the south of the village. They extend from the Francistown/Gaborone road on the east, where they border on the Morwa lands, to the Kgatleng/Kweneng District boundary west of the village, where they border the Kopong lands areas in Kweneng District. The Ruele lands area is just five kilometres south of the village, across the Metsemotlhabe River. Further south, about fifteen kilometres away, is Molongwana lands area. West of Molongwana is the Magotlho-a-Disa lands area. Also in the west, not far away from the village, is the Tilwane lands area. Further west, along the Bokaa/Kopong road, is the Ditshetswana lands area, about fifteen kilometres distant from the village. Beyond Ditshetswana is the Theradi lands area and further west, bordering on the Kopong area, is Setshego. There is nothing which actually separates these lands areas except dry rivers. Most of the lands areas west of the village are named after these small rivers. New lands areas are beginning to emerge north of the village in an area heretofore reserved for cattle.

There are two boreholes supplying the village with water, but there is usually a water shortage in summer, after people have returned from the lands. As a result, the pumper who operates the boreholes rations water strictly. There is, however, only one borehole, at Ditshetswana lands, for providing cattle with water. All the boreholes in Bokaa area are run by the Council. Farmers who water their cattle at Ditshetswana are expected to pay 20 thebe per head for their livestock every month. Before the Council drilled the borehole, farmers depended on small pits dug in a river bed to water their cattle. Some farmers continue to use these pits.

There are no cattle posts near Bokaa. The whole area north of the village, however, has always been used as a grazing area. Recently, the Land Board has been allocating some land in this area for agricultural purposes, even though there is still some land in the crop area which is not occupied.

People live temporarily at the lands areas during the agricultural season, that is, the months from October to August. After harvest, people return to the village. It is not clear whether there is any rule which prohibits residents of Bokaa from staying permanently at the lands areas. The only people who now remain at the lands are herdboys, since the lands areas are used for grazing once farmers have finished harvesting.

During the plowing season, the chief and other village extension staff such as the AD and the ACDO, address people at different lands areas on matters which need immediate attention. Most of the cases, if not all, of crop damage by cattle are

resolved at the lands areas through the mediation of neighbors. Only those cases which cannot be solved by such arbitration are submitted to the chief. There are no indications that Government is planning to provide services at the lands, except that the VHC intends extending its duties to the lands areas.

The Sub-Land Board visits the lands areas to allocate fields to farmers and hear disputes over land. Generally, people in Bokaa do not understand, and therefore resist, Land Board activities. For instance, they oppose the rule that land can be re-allocated if it is not used for over five years. Many feel that their grandparents' lands should not be allocated to others, even when they have not been plowed for years. Others still hire their lands to certain individuals, against Land Board regulations. The chief is a member of the Sub-Land Board and seems to understand and accept the Land Board. It is not clear, however, how the chief feels about the job of signing the applicants' forms.

Duties of the VDC are focused on the village only and do not extend to the lands.

There are important group activities going on at the lands areas. The Dam Group at Magothlo-a-Disa has already been discussed. A proposal to build a drift fence, which will separate grazing land from arable farming land, is also gaining momentum. The idea of the fence is generally accepted. However, problems have often been mentioned on specific points. The fact that all the watering points are in the lands areas is one problem. The small size of the grazing area is another. Finally, there has recently been some allocation of plowing land in the area initially reserved for grazing. All these problems might have some negative implications for the success of the drift fence. The chief's attitude also affects the possibility of success. He has a dam at the arable lands which holds water all year. For that reason, the chief may not promote this project, as it will tamper with his interests as a lands area cattle holder. If this project materializes, Bokaa farmers will request funding for it from the Government.

There has also been a pilot project to build underground water tanks at Molongwana. Five villagers benefitted from this pilot program. One of the five was the Councillor. Three builders from the village were taught how to make these tanks.

According to the AD, a few farmers' applications for Government loans have been approved. The farmers applied for money to build fences and buy farming implements. However, the chief's application for a tractor loan was turned down because he had not developed fields big enough to practise commercial farming. It seems government funds promote individualism and therefore may have negative implications on group projects. For instance, a farmer who has fenced his land through government loan funds will be likely to resist any move toward group work such as constructing a drift fence.

Chapter 3

OODI

Introduction

Oodi is a small village in the southern part of the Kgatleng District with a permanent population of about 1,500 people, consisting mainly of older people and children. Most of these children stay with their grandparents while their parents migrate to urban areas to seek employment. The village lies within the Kgatleng/Tlokwa Parliamentary constituency.

The village is led by a headman, who spends a lot of his time at the Tribal Administration Office. At the office also works the court clerk, the Revenue Collector, the Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), and the tribal policemen. The Councillor also works with these people, but stays at the lands. The Tribal Administration Office is located at some distance from the kgotla. Court cases are heard by the headman at the office rather than at the kgotla. The kgotla is the village meeting place. Physically, it is a large semi-circle of wooden stakes driven into the ground. There is a special seat at the kgotla for the headman. He is always present at kgotla meetings; it is his duty to open and close these meetings. Everything to be discussed in the kgotla must be known by the headman before the meeting. There are four wards in Oodi. Ward residents discuss issues in their ward kgotlas and then bring them to the main kgotla.

The main organizations in the village are the Village Development Committee (VDC), the Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA), the Village Health Committee (VHC), the 4-B Club, the Co-op Society, the Thrift and Loan Society, and the Burial Societies. The VDC is supposed to be the mother body of all the other organizations. However, many people complain that the VDC is very weak and does not do its work. It seems that there is a general lack of cooperation between the VDC and the other village organizations.

The main occupation of Oodi residents is arable and pastoral agriculture. Arable farming takes place at the lands, which are all more than three kilometres away from the village. At the beginning of the rainy season, people move to the lands to work. They stay there until the harvesting season is over, after which they return to the village. A few people stay permanently at the lands. The crops grown are largely for consumption, rather than for sale. There are some farmers who still use entirely traditional methods of farming, while many try new methods with the help of the

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). Nonetheless, only a few farmers can be classified as truly progressive. Some farmers have already taken advantage of ALDEP, but one cannot yet say exactly what effect this has had.

The Lentswe La Oodi Weavers' factory is the main industry in the village. Productive activities at the factory include weaving of tapestries and other goods, as well as carpentry and brick-making. The factory draws workers from Oodi and the neighboring villages of Modipane and Matebele. The factory was started in 1973 by two Swedes. It used to reserve 25 percent of its profit for a Trust Fund called Sethunya sa Ditlhabololo, "flower of development." This fund has been used to stimulate businesses in the village by loaning money to people. Most of the shops in the village, as well as the chemist's store, the butcher shop, and a poultry farm, were started with the aid of this fund. The Weavers' factory has also helped a great deal by providing employment for the village people, who would otherwise have had to stay at home with very little to do.

The village's commercial area includes the Co-op Society, four shops, a chemist's shop and a bar and bottle store. One thing which Oodi needs but does not have is a filling station. People who own vehicles buy petrol at Gaborone, which is 27 km away. By the time they reach the village, a lot of petrol has been consumed.

A post office was opened in November last year. Mail is now delivered and dispatched twice a week. Communications with the outside are facilitated by the tarred road to Gaborone and Mochudi and the dirt road to Sikwane. Public transport to Gaborone, Modipane, Mochudi and Sikwane is available every day.

Generally, the health of the village people is fairly good. There is a clinic with one Staff Nurse, two Enrolled Nurses, two Family Welfare Educators, a driver and a cleaner. The clinic attends to all first-aid cases and refers emergencies to the hospital in Gaborone or Mochudi. Clinic staff visit Modipane, Dikwididi, Kgwarape, Matebele, and other areas around the village once a week. The Village Health Committee, inaugurated in 1978, helps the clinic by encouraging the sick to go for treatment. It encounters difficulties with patients, especially those with TB, who refuse to visit the clinic because the disease has a social stigma.

The Oodi Primary School caters to all the children in the village and has classes up to Standard VII. The school is well staffed and has no serious problems with lack of equipment. In the village, there is a general complaint about poor Standard VII results. The results are so bad that there are never any grade As and only a few pupils ever get grade B. It would be a good idea if research could be carried out to investigate the

cause of this. At the school, there is also a night school which offers adult literacy classes. This operates under the guidance of the Literary Assistant, who receives his instructions from the District Adult Education Officer in Mochudi.

Most of the residents of Oodi have, or are building, "modern" houses, rather than the traditional huts thatched with grass. It seems that in a few years, Oodi will be a semi-urban area. The Weavers' factory is an important stimulus to urbanisation.

The main sources of employment in Oodi are the Weavers' factory, the school, the clinic and the Tribal Administration Office. These work places do not offer jobs to very many of the village residents. Hence a lot of villagers migrate to the towns to seek employment. The Weavers' factory, the school, and the clinic are fairly well staffed and have no major problems. The Tribal Administration is staffed by a tribal policeman, an ACDO, a revenue collector, a court clerk and the headman. The tribal policeman is also responsible for Matebele and Modipane. Sometimes more than one emergency case arises at a time. For instance, a man was once attacked at his place in Mmamashia, while, at Matebele, people were fighting. Both cases needed immediate attention but there was only one policeman. It was impossible for him to attend to both cases at the same time. Therefore, although the tribal policeman is not overworked, it would be better if Modipane and Matebele each had their own policemen.

The court clerk and the revenue collector do not have much to do. The court clerk takes minutes at court cases and sometimes at kgotla meetings. If there are no kgotla meetings or court cases, which sometimes occur only once a week, the court clerk has absolutely nothing to do. She has even complained about idling too much. The revenue collector also spends a lot of her time with nothing to do and also does not seem to like it. It would be better if their job responsibilities could be increased. The ACDO's work is so much that he does not manage to cover it in the time provided. Since there is no Social Welfare Committee, the formation of one would decrease the ACDO's work load.

Traditional Institutions

Kgotla meetings in Oodi are not held on a regular basis, but are called whenever there is anything the headman or government officials want to say to the people. On the average, there are about two to three kgotla meetings held each month. The Member of Parliament usually comes to address the people before and after every Parliamentary session in order to brief them on changes affecting their lives. In all, the MP makes about three visits a year to Oodi.

All development activities must be initially discussed and approved at the kgotla. Whenever there is to be a kgotla meeting, school children are given messages to deliver to their parents. Announcements are also made at the Weavers' factory and sometimes at the clinic. These methods of calling kgotla meetings do not seem to be very effective as meetings frequently fail to take place. Usually when meetings do succeed, they are not well attended if they are only addressed by the headman. When the kgotla is to be addressed by the MP, however, there is usually better attendance.

Another weakness of the kgotla meetings is that people are never punctual, so that meetings often begin as much as an hour late. Sometimes a few people come on time, wait for about fifteen minutes, and then leave; while others arrive later. This also contributes to the poor attendance at kgotla meetings. The headman once closed the clinic and made all those present come to a kgotla meeting. This increased the attendance at that meeting.

During the observation period, four kgotla meetings were held. The subjects discussed at the first meeting included a briefing on the Agricultural Show; an explanation of ALDEP L, the AD; a discussion on soil conservation by the Soil Conservation Committee from Mochudi; a talk on the role of the 4-B Club by the District Agricultural Supervisor; and an explanation of the meaning of a "destitute" by the ACDO. The second meeting was addressed by the MP. Topics covered were the Census Act, the Workman's Compensation Act, and ALDEP.

The third kgotla meeting was called by the headman to hear peoples' views on a dispute between the Councillor and the Dutch Reformed Church. The final kgotla meeting was also called by the headman. He told the people to start making preparations for the initiation of a new women's regiment. In all these meetings, questions were open to the floor, and everybody was free to talk, regardless of sex. There are usually more men than women at the kgotla, but the difference is not big. Nonetheless, men tend to dominate the discussions.

The headman's status within the kgotla is not really very high. The same applies to the status of the kgotla within the community. People are supposed to show respect to the headman by assembling at the kgotla before he comes. Instead, the headman usually goes to the kgotla, finds only a few people there, and then has to go around the village telling people to come to the kgotla. The headman has also complained that people do not make a fire in the kgotla before a meeting begins, as is supposed to be done. As well, people have a tendency to talk all at the same time when there is a controversial topic being discussed. For this reason, meetings become disorderly at

times. Decisions depend on what the majority feels and are finally announced by the headman.

The Village Health Committee and the Village Development Committee are the only organizations that hold their elections at the kgotla. The rest of the village committees merely announce their formation at the kgotla so that everybody knows about them.

The ward structure in the village does exist, but it is not nearly as noticeable as it used to be. During the observation period, the wards were only used for organizing the initiation of the new women's regiment. Very little is done at these wards.

Chieftainship

The Oodi headman is about 60 years old and has been headman for the past six years. He attended primary school but did not complete it. He is not of the Oodi royal family. He assumed the chieftainship after the former headman retired because of old age. Because he is not the hereditary Oodi chief, many people do not want him in his post. They would prefer someone from the village royal family.

The headman spends most of his day at the Tribal Administration Office. He goes there during the working hours, like a regular government employee. He adjudicates all court cases, and his word is final in such cases. His other official duties include signing passport forms, applications for development projects, and the "no objection" forms for residential land allocations by the Land Board.

As head of the village, the headman must know everything that goes on in his village. Every organization that comes into being must be registered at the Tribal Office. The headman must sign the registration form, acknowledging the existence of the organizations. He is regarded as an ex-officio member of all the organizations in the village, and regularly attends their meetings. Nonetheless, he seems to be poorly informed about what is actually happening in the village organizations.

The Oodi headman is also responsible for Matebele, as the Matebele headman has decided to leave for town. He addresses meetings in Matebele and leads the Matebele people in much the same way as he does in Oodi. Other than this, his status does not extend outside the village.

Councillor

The Councillor, who is about 50 years old, stays permanently at the lands. He is seldom seen in the village and does not attend all kgotla meetings.

Extension Staff

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). The Oodi AD is a man of about 35. He started working as an AD in 1972 after completing the Botswana Agricultural College training course. He was posted to Oodi at about the same time the research began.

The AD stays in Oodi and is also responsible for the neighboring villages of Modipane and Matebele. His main activities are to go around the villages and lands, advising people on better farming methods, and to cultivate demonstration plots. The AD has no office but instead works out of his own home. People frequently come to him to ask for advice on agricultural matters such as ALDEP. The AD seems to spend the majority of his time consulting with individual farmers rather than working with groups.

The Dam Group, the Fencing Group and the 4-B Club are the principal organizations with which the AD works. Unfortunately, it was impossible to gather any information on the AD's work with the Dam Group and the Fencing Group. During the research, he was engaged in preparations for the Agricultural Show and had to attend a three-week course. He therefore never had a chance to work with either of these two groups.

The AD acts as head of the 4-B Club. He attends 4-B meetings and helps the 4-B in its activities. For example, he has helped with organizing a concert, organizing a vegetable garden and making arrangements for the Youth Rally. The AD is also an ex-officio member of the VDC, the PTA and other organizations. He attends their meetings and participates in them.

The AD works closely with his supervisor, the District Agricultural Supervisor, who comes to the village almost every two weeks. Generally, the AD is respected because he deals with one of the most important aspects of peoples' lives. Since the AD has only been in the village for a short time, he still has to get settled in the village. The AD seems very devoted to his work, and is patient with people who seek help from him. In kgotla meetings and other meetings he usually makes good contributions.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO). The ACDO, aged 24, had worked for only five months prior to the beginning of the research. Oodi is the only place where he has ever worked. For this reason, he does not have much experience in the field, and does encounter difficulties in working with people. The ACDO is responsible for Modipane, Matebele, and the lands areas in the vicinity, as well as Oodi.

The ACDO's work seems to cover a lot of things. He attends kgotla meetings as well as the meetings of most organizations in the village. During the research, he

attended, and participated actively, at VDC and PTA meetings. Like the AD, the ACDO helps the 4-B Club in doing its work. He advises the 4-B on how to carry out its plans. For instance, he was very active in helping it to prepare for the Youth Rally held in Mochudi in June. The ACDO also intends to form a Village Extension Team.

The ACDO has his office at the Tribal Administration Office, but does not spend a lot of time there. Instead, he spends a lot of time visiting the neighboring villages and lands areas. He distributes food to the destitutes and attends to mental cases. The ACDO has also started a vegetable garden at his home in order to encourage people to do the same. He did this in order to show people how beneficial it could be.

Generally, the ACDO is a hard worker. However, his work occasionally seems to be too much for him and sometimes he does not manage to cover all that he has intended to do in the time allowed. Some people then blame him for delaying developments. All the same, he is patient enough to take time to explain things to the people he works with.

Clinic Staff. The clinic staff consists of a Staff Nurse, two Enrolled Nurses, two Family Welfare Educators and a driver. The Staff Nurse, aged 26, has been working in Oodi for the past three years. The Enrolled Nurses are aged 25 and 29 respectively. Both started work about four years ago. The Family Welfare Educators are both middle secondary school leavers and have been at the Oodi clinic for about a year. The Staff Nurse supervises the clinic.

The health of the village residents has improved since the clinic was built in 1978. The nurses attend to all the patients they can. If there are any serious cases, for example, maternity cases, mental cases and TB patients, these are referred to the hospital in Gaborone. With the help of the Village Health Committee, people have been encouraged to visit the clinic and to care for their personal hygiene. The Popular Theatre Club has also been called to demonstrate the adverse consequences of failing to go for treatment at the clinic. Lectures on maternal care, family planning and nutrition are regularly given to people at the clinic by the nurses and FWEs. The clinic staff also visits Modipane, Matebele and the neighboring lands areas once a week. Usually one or two nurses go, together with one Family Welfare Educator, while the others stay at the Oodi clinic. The nurses sometimes visit patients at their homes after working hours.

The nurses and the Family Welfare Educators attend VHC meetings and participate in them. They work well with the committee, giving it guidance and using the VHC members to assist in clinic tasks. The clinic staff is doing a very good job. Many

people have said that ever since the opening of the clinic, many people with diseases have been cured. As well, many children have been immunized against diseases, thereby decreasing the number of cases. The staff is always ready to attend to patients as there is always a nurse on duty. The driver too is available any time it is necessary to take patients to the hospital.

School Staff. The Oodi Primary School was built in 1968 and goes up to Standard VII. It has about 400 children and is well staffed with teachers. The head teacher used to allow people to use the school building for concerts, but no longer.

Village Extension Team (VET). At the moment, there is no Village Extension Team in Oodi. In 1979 there was one, but it disintegrated for some unknown reason. However, the ACDO and the AD now intend to form a new one. At one joint meeting of the PTA and the VDC, the ACDO tried to talk about forming a VET but was interrupted before he could finish. By September 1981, the ACDO expected that the VET would be operating in Oodi.

Village Development Committee (VDC)

The VDC in Oodi has existed since about 1969. When it first came into being, a meeting was called at the kgotla to brief people on it. Elections were held at a following meeting. After that, the VDC started its work, with the headman, ACDO, head teacher and the nurses as ex-officio members.

A past VDC built a bridge in the village, using Food for Work. A classroom block was also built by this VDC in cooperation with the Red Cross Society. Finally, the VDC previous to the present one dug a pit for a toilet at the kgotla.

The current VDC has nine members who were elected by the people at a kgotla meeting and the same four ex-officio members as the first VDC. Names for election were suggested by people. Only one current VDC member is closely related to the headman. Most of the VDC members are poorly educated. The Chairperson, for instance, has never been to school and can neither read nor write. The majority of VDC members are farmers.

No apparent criteria are used for electing people to the committee. Instead, it seems that people are elected without regard to their ability and often against their own desire. For this reason, people who are not capable often end up being on the committee and do not perform their job very well.

The VDC has by-laws but they are not followed. The VDC has not decided on how regularly to have its meetings. Only one meeting was held during the observation

period; this was a joint meeting requested by the PTA. Only three VDC members were present at that meeting. The previous meeting of the VDC itself was in April, 1981.

So far, the only project of the current VDC has been to raise funds for the official opening of the post office and some classrooms. For this opening, the VDC and the PTA raised funds by staging concerts and by selling food. This opening was held in November, 1980. To raise money, the VDC also rents its house to some teachers and collects a P2 fee from people who wish to have gumba-gumba parties.

Both the VDC and the VHC claim to have dug the toilet pit at the kgotla. The toilet itself has not yet been completed; the VDC and the VHC have yet to discuss how this is to be done.

The major problem that the VDC faces in trying to carry out its plans is that when meetings are called, people do not turn up. This is a drawback because when meetings fail, discussions and decisions are delayed. The only fixed asset the VDC owns is a thatched-roof house in which some teachers stay. These teachers pay a rent of P3 a month to the VDC, which uses the money for VDC works.

At all its meetings, the VDC keeps records. Minutes are taken by the Secretary. The Treasurer also seems to keep his account books up to date.

The links between the VDC and the headman are not strong. The headman hardly knows what the VDC is supposed to be doing. However, he does attend VDC meetings and the annual VDC conference held at district level in Mochudi. At this conference, the VDC gives a report of its activities during the previous year and raises its problems.

On the whole, the Oodi VDC cannot be said to be effective. There are many reasons for this. First, the village residents can be blamed because they elect people who are reluctant to become VDC members. Second, the Chairperson of the VDC is illiterate and uninformed about how the VDC should work. Third, the VDC itself goes a long time without meeting and seems to ignore the other village organizations, with which it is supposed to work. There is no sign of any effect of party politics on the functioning of the VDC.

Other Village Organizations

Bafeti Burial Society. There are about eight Burial Societies in Oodi; the Bafeti Burial Society is fairly representative. This Society was founded in 1977 by a woman aged about 55. The headman was told that a new Burial Society was being formed. The Society was then registered at the Tribal Office and people in the village were informally told about it. All those interested came together and chose a committee,

which was responsible for registering new members. The majority of the Society's membership now consists of women less than thirty years old. However, anyone can become a member on condition that the Society agrees.

The main function of Burial Societies is to help members with funeral arrangements. Members of this Burial Society each pay a P3 membership fee, plus an annual subscription fee of P6. When any of the members lose someone from their family, the Burial Society gives the deceased's family some money to help with funeral arrangements. For members and their spouses the Society pays P40, while for their parents and parents-in-law the amount is P30. For members' children less than 19 years old, the amount paid is P25, while for infants under the age of one year, P10 is paid. The money is used to help in buying coffins, wreaths and food for the funeral feast.

The Bafeti Burial Society has a committee consisting of the founder, the Chairperson, a Secretary, a Vice Secretary, a Treasurer and the Society's "Police." The Police go about informing members of funerals and are responsible for enforcing the Society's rules. The committee is elected every three years. It meets once a month except during the months from February to July, when the Society closes since many of its members move to the lands. Meetings are generally very well attended. This could be due to the fact that members who do not attend meetings or do not participate in funerals will be excluded from the Society. At the meetings, the Treasurer gives a report on the bank account and the Society discusses its procedures and makes any changes it feels are necessary.

There are written by-laws for the Burial Society, but these are not always followed. For example, the committee elected in 1977 was changed after only two years instead of three years as stipulated. This happened because the Society was not pleased with the committee's performance. The only link that exists between the Bafeti Burial Society and other organizations is with an older Society which briefed the Bafeti on the running of a Burial Society when the Bafeti was first formed.

The Bafeti Burial Society has no outstanding problems. It seems to be working progressively and members are all very cooperative with one another. Generally in Oodi, Burial Societies seem to be the most active organizations probably because they play a very important role in the lives of the people.

Thrift and Loan Society. This Society is mainly meant for people who have immediate financial problems. The Oodi Society first came into being in 1966, after Botswana had gained Independence. The whole idea of having such an organization came from some representatives of the Co-operative Department in either Mochudi or

Gaborone. A kgotla meeting was then called to introduce people to the idea of a Thrift and Loan Society. Then followed the election of a committee. The committee now consists of a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Vice Secretary, a Treasurer and two committee members. Committee meetings and Society meetings are supposed to be held every month, but they usually fail because not enough people turn up.

The main activity of the Thrift and Loan Society is to act as a bank for poorer people. People first register as members; there is no joining fee. They then can save any amount in the Society they wish, starting with a minimum of 10 thebe. When a member runs into financial problems, he or she can go to the Society and borrow money, though for only a certain stipulated length of time. The Society, it should be noted, will not lend a member more money than he or she has deposited in the Society. If a member wishes to borrow more money than this, he or she has to get co-signers. If it so happens that this person can then not pay the debt, the money deposited to the co-signers is taken to cover the debt. A member with an outstanding loan is not allowed to borrow any more money until he or she has repaid it.

Co-op Society. The Oodi Multipurpose Cooperative Society is one of the enterprises which was begun with the aid of money from the Lentswe La Oodi Weavers Development Fund. The Co-op was opened in 1976.

It has a committee made up of a Chairperson, a Secretary, a Vice Secretary, a Treasurer and about three additional committee members. The majority of Co-op Society members are farmers with a low standard of education. Only the Chairperson, who is also the manageress, seems to be well-educated. The illiterate members often complain that the literate ones are not patient enough to explain thoroughly what goes on in the Society. This causes a lack of cooperation between the two groups.

The Co-op Society acts as a bank where money can be saved which is paid interest at the end of each year. It also acts as a general store. Members are given books to fill with the stamps they get each time they buy something from the Co-op. For every book filled with stamps, a member is given a certain amount of money at the end of the year. The Society also helps members sell their cattle to the Botswana Meat Commission and their crops to the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board at reasonable prices.

A general meeting for the whole Society is held each year, while the committee is supposed to meet every month. In fact, the committee only meets when people know that there is an important issue to be discussed. The committee met on the 11th of June, 1981, after five months without a meeting. This meeting took place after someone had broken into the Co-op and stolen a sum of P2,000. The committee agreed

to hire a night-watchman. The committee is always elected at the annual general meeting held at the Co-op.

There are by-laws for the Society but they are generally not followed. The Co-op does not have any links with other organizations. It is supposed to work hand in hand with other Co-op Societies but this does not happen. One of the Co-op's outstanding problems is that people do not turn up for meetings.

Kgalapitse Dam Conservation Committee. The Oodi dam group is called the Kgalapitse Dam Conservation Committee. It takes its name from the place of the dam site, Kgalapitse. The group meets and carries out its activities at Kgalapitse, which is a lands area about four kilometres away from Oodi. The dam group was formed in 1979. Its membership consists of every man, whether a cattle owner or not, and every woman without a husband, living in Kgalapitse. Members are mostly farmers. Not only are Oodi residents members, but so are people from Matebele and the neighboring lands areas and cattle posts.

The main aims of the dam group are to have a fenced dam from which livestock can drink in an organized, orderly fashion; to have a dip tank; and to have a vegetable garden. Cattle from different areas drink at the dam and currently there is no systematic way in which access to the dam is regulated. At the moment, the dam group is trying to fence the dam. Once the dam is fenced, then the other two objectives of the dam group can be achieved. In order to raise funds, the dam group has decided that every member must pay a P3 fee. A lot of people have not paid this fee and this has delayed the building of the fence. Once the dam is fenced, the members have agreed to have a monthly subscription fee of P1 to help in its maintenance.

The Kgalapitse Dam Conservation Committee consists of a Chairperson, a Vice Chairperson, a Secretary, a Vice Secretary, a Treasurer and two additional members. It was elected at Kgalapitse in 1979; a new committee should be elected sometime this year. The committee usually discusses issues separately before meeting with the whole dam group.

The dam group is supposed to meet every month. It had not met in the four months prior to the research because not enough people turned up to form a quorum. The dam group has no constitution or by-laws. It also has no links with other organizations, but does work with the AD. It was not possible to get the full history of the dam group as most of its members stay outside the village.

4-B Club. The 4-B Club consists of about 40 members, 90 per cent being children from the Oodi Primary School. The AD and the ACDO are ex-officio members who

guide the 4-B members in their work. The two extension workers act as leaders of the club in that they give it instruction and help it in organizing activities and projects. The club has an executive committee of seven pupils.

Every Monday and Wednesday, the 4-B Club meets at the AD's house. The meetings are conducted by the committee, which is guided in its activities by the written 4-B program supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture. Since the members are all school children, there is often a lot of playing and not very much serious work.

The main aim of the 4-B Club is to help its members become better citizens of the country by engaging in work which helps in development. Activities include such things as agriculture and craft work. Each member must complete an individual project, for example, some carving, knitting or sewing. The 4-B participates in the annual Youth Rally at which members' projects are displayed. The main way the 4-B raises funds is by staging concerts.

The only village organization with which the 4-B has links is the PTA. The PTA gives the club permission to use the school building when it wishes to do so.

Recent 4-B plans have failed due to the absence of the AD. Without the AD and the ACDO, 4-B Club activities do not get accomplished.

Village Health Committee (VHC). Oodi Village Health Committee was founded in 1978. Its formation was first discussed by the nurses, teachers, headman, Councillor and other extension workers. A kgotla meeting was then called and people were told about the proposed new committee.

At this meeting, questions were asked by the people about the purpose of having such a committee. Another kgotla meeting was then called to elect members of the VHC, at which the clinic staff and representatives of the Ministry of Health were present. The VHC has the support of the headman, the Councillor and the nurses, who act as ex-officio members. They attend meetings and contribute ideas and suggestions.

VHC members go on home visits and advise people on personal hygiene, proper sanitation, proper feeding of children, the importance of visiting the clinic, family planning, and the general cleanliness of the home. Visiting does not necessarily have to be done in groups. VHC members can individually visit people and make friends with them. Doing this makes the job easier for VHC members since people will talk more freely with friends. If, for instance, a VHC member learns of a person who is sick and who does not have friends or relatives around who can advise him or her, the VHC member can establish a friendship with them and in this way tell them how they can solve whatever problem they have.

Some people like, and have always liked, the work of the VHC. On the other hand, some people fear VHC members because they feel the VHC tries to interfere in the running of their own home. Because of this attitude, there has sometimes been difficulty in trying to get people to do as the VHC advises them.

The VHC has a subscription fee of 25 thebe per month per member. This is the main way of raising funds. The members also sometimes make flat cakes and sell them to raise money for VHC work. Concerts and donations from villagers are ways through which the VHC intends to raise funds in the future. The VHC also has a sewing machine (which was probably brought from the Ministry of Health in Gaborone) together with some materials. The nurses have taught people how to sew; the articles they sew are sold. This money is also used for VHC funds.

VHC meetings are held every two weeks on Wednesday. In one recent meeting it was decided that the VHC will from now on also meet on Saturday once a month so that those who work outside the village can have a chance to attend. Minutes are kept in every meeting. Every meeting begins and ends with a prayer.

The main problem of the VHC is that some of its members have never attended a meeting. Another problem, which also plagues other committees, is that people never meet on time. Some members have family problems which make it difficult for them to attend meetings. For instance, one member's husband does not want her to attend meetings because he thinks that she goes somewhere else rather than to the meetings.

The first VHC did not have any outstanding achievements since it was still new and trying to make itself known to the village residents. Of all the years that the VHC has operated, 1980 seems to have been the most successful. That year, people attended meetings, contributed their fees, and generally cooperated in committee activities. Village residents listened to the advice of the VHC and kept their homes clean and took their children to the clinic. About eight pit latrines were built in peoples' homes in the village. The present VHC is working on a public toilet at the kgotla as well as continuing to make home visits.

The VHC hopes to get financial assistance from the Council in the future, once it has proved itself a success. The committee has no particular links with other organizations, but works with anyone or any group that it feels needs its assistance. It looks as if the VHC is certainly working hard. It will succeed if it keeps doing so.

Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA). The PTA is an organization which links teachers and parents. Its purpose is to inform parents about what goes on in the school. All teachers and parents are automatically members of the PTA. Members need not

necessarily be parents of children at the school; any adult is free to become a member of the PTA.

The Association was formed after the opening of the school. It has a committee consisting of nine parents, two teachers and the head teacher. All the parents on the committee have had some primary education, even though not all finished Standard VII. The Chairperson is the most active member.

The main activities of the PTA are to see to it that the school children receive their daily school meal and to pay the cooks. The food and the cooking utensils are provided by the Council. It is the Treasurer's responsibility to make sure that the cooks are paid. The school children each pay a 50 thebe per term feeding fee. The Treasurer is supposed to come to the school every month to collect the feeding fee from the teachers, who are supposed to have collected it from the school children. However, the Treasurer had not been doing this for five months before the research began. Instead, the head teacher had been doing it. The Chairperson often goes to see if the school children are being well fed. The PTA also collects a sports fee from the children, which it uses to finance sports trips.

At the moment, the PTA and the VDC intend building a new classroom block. They decided to do so after having received a donation of P1,500 from the Weavers' factory. So far, the only action on this project has been to dig some sand for the concrete. Both the PTA and the VDC have yet to discuss detailed plans for building the classrooms. The PTA hopes to have financial assistance from the Council in building them. It will also raise some funds of its own. The main ways it raises funds are by staging concerts and selling food.

General PTA meetings are supposed to be held at the beginning and at the end of every term, or whenever there is any important issue to be discussed. Whenever there is to be a meeting, school children are given messages to take to their parents. Most of the teachers do not turn up at meetings due to lack of cooperation between them and the headmaster. The only organization with which the PTA works is the VDC. On the whole, PTA duties manage to get accomplished.

Lentswe La Oodi Weavers' Management Committee. There are two management committees at the Lentswe La Oodi Weavers' factory. First, there is the main management committee, consisting of six members including a Manager, the Secretary, the bookkeeper and the sales manager. The main duties of the committee are to see that things go well in the factory, to solve the problems of the workers, and to order supplies for the factory. It has been operating since 1973.

The other committee of the Weavers' factory is the Trust Committee for Sethunya Sa Ditlhabololo. It consists of six members, three of whom do not work in the factory. The Trust Committee lends people money to start enterprises. Enterprises assisted so far have included the Lesedi Fresh Produce, the Oodi Multipurpose Co-op Society, the Oodi Chemist, the Oodi Butchery and a poultry farm. All those who received loans were given a certain length of time within which to pay their debt. Some of the borrowers have not repaid their loans in the time allowed.

There are no regularly scheduled meetings. Both the committees hold meetings at any time they feel necessary. The meetings are sometimes even held during working hours. If any decisions have to be communicated to the village, they are announced at a kgotla meeting.

Popular Theatre Club. The Popular Theatre Club was begun in 1977 by the same Swedes who started the Lentswe La Oodi Weavers' factory. Like other organizations, it was introduced to the village residents at a kgotla meeting. Two women were then sent for a course on Popular Theatre in Molepolole. They were taught drama and how to use puppets. When they got back to Oodi, they passed on what they had learned to other members of the newly-formed club.

The Theatre Club consists of twelve members of whom nine are factory employees. The majority are women. The members at the factory are able to hold their meetings during the tea break. Whatever is discussed is then passed on to the few members who do not work at the factory. However, if serious issues have to be discussed, then a meeting is called for after working hours.

The Popular Theatre Club stages plays as requested by other organizations in order to demonstrate for them whatever message they want to communicate to people. That is, the plays always convey lessons. For example, the clinic staff had the Theatre Club come and show the importance of visiting the clinic. The club has not yet started raising funds for itself, but intends to do so in the future.

The Popular Theatre Club is very active when it has plays to stage. When it is not practising for any plays, the club generally has nothing to do. The members require two days of serious work to prepare a play. The members see the club as being of great importance to their lives and are very enthusiastic about it.

Resource Management

Arable Lands. The lands areas of Oodi are Mosese, Kgalapitse, Mmatshipa, Nkudialela and Ramokobetana. The nearest of them is 3 km distant from the village.

Not only Oodi residents, but also people from other places in Kgatleng share these lands. In these lands areas, there still remain areas where people have additional room to plow new fields. These areas have usually been deserted by their former owners, who have continued to plow in other areas, or have gone to town, or are simply idling around the village.

In most cases, people move to the lands during the rainy season, stay there until the harvesting season is over, and then come back to the village. There are some people who simply stay at the lands throughout the year. These people are still considered to be village residents. For people to stay year-round at the lands, said the headman, is not good. It weakens village development because people who stay at the lands are unavailable to participate in development activities. The Councillor, for instance, stays at the lands, and when there has to be an emergency meeting it is difficult to contact him in time.

All committee activities, except the dam group's and the fencing group's, take place in the village. This is another reason why the headman would prefer that people returned to the village and stayed at the lands only during the agricultural season.

Any Mokgatla is free to have lands wherever he wants, on condition that his neighbors agree with the allocation. Other Batswana can also plow in the Kgatleng lands, but the neighbors, headman and Land Board must approve.

There is no Sub-Land Board in Oodi, so Oodi residents use the Kgatleng District Land Board which visits Oodi about once or twice a month. The members live in Mochudi. Before the Land Board allocates an area to someone, the headman has to sign an agreement form. The VDC has no part to play in allocating land. Oodi residents share lands with people from other Kgatleng villages and generally there are not many disputes. The Land Board is well respected; people do not object to its decisions.

Grazing. Cattle are grazed communally. There is no piece of land which is individually owned for the purpose of grazing cattle. The cattle graze anywhere outside the village, as long as they do not cause damage to crops in the field. Kgalapitse dam provides the main source of drinking water for cattle. A privately-owned borehole has recently been opened and some cattle now drink there, after arrangements are made with the owner. The opening of the borehole has changed the grazing pattern in that some cattle no longer drink at the dam but at the borehole and so graze there.

During the agricultural season, most cattle are grazed at Segakwane, which is near Sikwane, far away from the Oodi lands. This avoids damage to the fields by cattle. Oodi residents also have cattle posts at Dipeletsane, Oliphants Drift, Artesia and

Lephala. It cannot be said that the cattle have always been kept at these cattle posts because their staying at a place is determined by the presence of water. Cattle do overgraze, and this results in a problem of soil erosion in some areas.

Cattle do not often damage crops but this is a serious issue whenever it does occur. A cow or three bags of sorghum is the fine one pays if one's cattle damage a field. If any disputes result over this, the matter is taken to the headman. People seldom refuse to pay the fine for crop damage. Some people have tried to avoid crop damage by fencing their fields with thorn bushes and this has worked well for many years. In times of drought, cattle owners are given government aid in the form of supplementary feed such as bone-meal and salt. The government also provides such services as vaccination of the livestock at the cattle posts.

Water. Water is generally no problem in Oodi. Domestic water is supplied from a small stream and is pumped to storage tanks and then distributed to taps throughout the village. The only problems are that some people have to walk quite a long distance to get to the nearest tap and that sometimes the water comes out so slowly that a queue forms of people waiting for their turn. This water system was built around 1976.

The Weavers

The presence of the Weavers' factory has stimulated development activities in Oodi Village, both directly and indirectly. It has created job opportunities for workers from Oodi, Matebele and Modipane. People have acquired skills in weaving, spinning, carpentry, and brick-making at the Weavers' factory.

The indirect benefits come from the Weavers' development fund, Sethunya sa Dithlabololo, into which the firm used to place 25 percent of its profits. This money was loaned to those who wished to start profit-making businesses, as described earlier. Had it not been for the presence of the Weavers, one wonders if these enterprises could have been built at the rate at which they were. According to the owner of the Oodi butchery, the Weavers have helped a great deal in helping the village to develop, but people who borrowed money from them have not all been honest enough to repay their loans.

Tapestries woven at the factory always convey stories directly or indirectly about development in the village: These are shown and explained to people so that they know what is good and what is bad, that is, the sort of things that would encourage or hinder development. The message in one tapestry may be that it is good for people to work together, share ideas, and try and solve problems together. It would first show village

people who tend to stay away from meetings and not know the new changes affecting their lives. It would then show a government official who comes to address a meeting. All the people turn up and start contradicting each other in the meeting. The government official wonders why the problems of the people of one village should differ. The moral is that this makes it difficult for the government to help quickly with developments.

Not only is there weaving, but also carpentry and brick-making at the factory. People usually get their bricks from the factory at a reasonable price. The furniture is usually expensive, as are the woven articles. These are usually taken and sold at tourist centers.

The Swedes who started the factory taught its workers that it is important to work for the development of their village and to show this to other villagers. Therefore the Popular Theatre Club was introduced. Two weavers were taken to a course and trained in drama. The club's dramas show the importance of village activities contributing to development. For example, the club has performed a play for the village residents showing how the Co-op, the Thrift and Loan Society and the Burial Societies function. This play showed the advantages of belonging to these organizations. The club has also been asked by the Village Health Committee to perform, showing the advantages of visiting the clinic and the disadvantages of staying away from it. In this way, people are encouraged to take part in village development activities.

Over 90 percent of the people who work at the Weavers' factory belong to one or more organizations. The way they work in the firm has influenced them to think that developing the village and taking part in development activities is very important. Sometimes the workers are taken to various courses and seminars. At these, they are given lessons, new ideas and suggestions on how they can devise means of developing their village. When one talks to any of the workers at the Weavers', he or she always seems to emphasise, in one way or another, the importance of development.

Chapter 4

SIKWANE

Introduction

Sikwane is located in the south-east of Kgatleng District, on the border with South Africa, and has a population between 1,000 and 2,000 people. There is a border post in the village. Many people make a livelihood from employment in South Africa. They work in mines, farms, factories and as domestic servants. One major employment source for local people is the mission hospital just across the border in South Africa. South Africa may provide a source of employment and livelihood for as much as 50 percent of the villagers.

Unlike in other parts of the country, when workers from Sikwane go to South Africa they often do not go alone but take their families with them. Some people end up having two homes, one in South Africa, the other in Sikwane. The Botswana home is apparently retained for security purposes; i.e., people can return to their Sikwane homes if they are fired from work, if they retire, or if they just want to start farming. The effect of this South African influence on the people's lives is reflected in the physical appearance of the village itself. Houses look more like those in a suburban area than those of a remote rural area.

The major source of livelihood for those who do not migrate in search of jobs is subsistence agriculture. As in other parts of the country, crop farming is seasonal. There are also some small businesses in the village; these include four general stores, a bottle store, a petrol station and three traditional brewers.

The Member of Parliament for the constituency (Kgatleng/Tlokwen) is a member of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party. The Councillor for the village is also the Councillor for Mabalane village, which is ½ km distant from Sikwane. The Councillor stays in Mabalane. He is about 60 years old and is also a Botswana Democratic Party representative.

The paramount chief of the Bakgatla lives in Mochudi, the district administration center. The headman for the village is also the headman for Mabalane village. He is 35 years old and lives in Sikwane.

Government services in the village include two primary schools, each with two streams from Standard I to Standard VII. There is also a health post, with a Family Welfare Educator, a police station, an immigration office and a post office. There is an Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO) responsible for the village, who

stays in Mathubudukwane village, 3 km away. The Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) for the area has retired, so as of the time of writing there is no AD. There is one borehole supplying the village with water.

Traditional Institutions

There is no officially stated schedule of kgotla meetings. Meetings are called whenever something crops up, for instance, when an official from central government comes to address the people. Meetings are rarely called for issues originating with the villagers and affecting only them. Whenever kgotla meetings are called, they are poorly attended. This is an indication of the weakness of the village leadership and the lack of authority it commands among the villagers. Meetings held during the research had an average attendance of 25 to 35 people. According to the headman, this kind of attendance is satisfactory, especially compared with meetings held previously.

Three kgotla meetings were held during the research. One was addressed by the Member of Parliament for the village, one by the Conservation Committee and one by Ministry of Agriculture horticultural officers. At each meeting, the speakers only gave directives, or information, to the villagers. For instance, the Conservation Committee came solely to explain to the villagers the laws on veld fires and to warn them to obey these laws.

The majority of people who attend kgotla meetings are elderly, with an almost equal number of men and women. There is very little participation by villagers in kgotla meetings; they just listen without asking questions. This could be because they fear the speaker, as in the case of the Minister, whom they say is very impatient with them. It could also be because they do not understand the issue or are simply indifferent. People who do participate usually are men, and usually those with basic education. Women, even if they are better educated than the men, do not participate. They are just passive. Elderly women never say even a single word. This may be a reflection of the tradition that the kgotla is a place for the men.

The headman is the chairperson of kgotla meetings. He is considered to be a very weak figure in this role and seems to have problems controlling meetings. Because of his youth, he has special problems controlling the quarrels which often arise among the elders in the kgotla. For instance, during the meeting convened by the horticultural staff, the headman's uncle proposed suspending the discussion in order to use the gathering for consideration of another topic. The headman agreed, but when the people refused, he kept quiet and let his uncle and the people argue the issue themselves.

People's respect for the kgotla is tied up with their respect for the head of the kgotla, the chief. The people show their lack of respect for the chief, for instance, through their poor attendance at kgotla meetings. As well, people come late to kgotla meetings and may just pass by the kgotla, even when meetings are being held. In the kgotla, they quarrel with each other and even use abusive language. The VDC, during the early 1970s, used to put its decisions before the kgotla, which then made modifications. The VDC also told the people the contributions it wanted from them for its projects. Today, in practice, the kgotla does not have much influence on the activities of different committees. This may be because the kgotla itself is not respected or it may be because the organisations themselves are generally ineffective.

Poor attendance may be due in part to the way kgotla meetings are announced. The headman informs the head teacher, who informs the school children, who in turn are to inform their parents. This method is a very poor one. Children often forget to tell their parents, especially if they have to go to the lands to tell them. Besides, not all families have children attending school. People complain that they often find people coming from a kgotla meeting without ever having known about the meeting themselves.

In the kgotla, when elections of a committee are held, a system of one man, one vote is used. The complaint among villagers concerning elections is that people elect officers because they are their friends or for other reasons unrelated to their perceived competence. As a result, committees become inefficient.

There are four wards in the village, each with its own cemetery. The ward system seems to be in decline. Anybody from any part of the village may now build a house in any ward. Previously, members of the same ward were usually related to one another and they all built their houses in the same area. Now, the wards seem to be just names used to distinguish between different locations in the village. There are ward elders, though there do not seem to be proper ward headmen. The ward system is sometimes used as a structure for facilitating village development activities. For example, women in the village are contributing thatching grass for the kgotla shelter at Mochudi not according to regiments, as the men are doing, but according to their wards.

There are at least four male regiments in the village. There is a senior regiment composed of elder men which is supposed to coordinate the activities of the junior regiments. Currently, each member of each regiment is contributing P2 toward the building of a kgotla shelter in Mochudi. The problem facing the regiments seems to be one of poor organisation. For example, there was a controversy over the collection of

money for the Mochudi kgotla shelter. Some men said they contributed P2 but they received receipts for only P1. There were allegations that the headman had stolen some of this money. Despite such problems, the regiments are an effective form of collective effort, if they are given a straightforward job to do.

Chieftainship

The headman is 35 years old, and has a Standard II education. He has a small herd of cattle. He, his sister and the rest of his family plant subsistence crops, predominantly sorghum. He has been headman for about five years now and is the hereditary chief of Sikwane.

The chief is seldom at the kgotla. More often than not, people who need his official assistance, for instance, those who want him to sign their passport forms or Land Board forms, are sent by the court clerk to go and look for him in the village. They carry their forms along with them, so that he can sign the forms wherever they find him. They then go back to the court clerk for the official court stamp. It seems that the fact that there is no office at the kgotla contributes to the headman's tendency not to stay at the kgotla.

It must be noted that traditionally, the kgotla was not a place where the headman needed to spend all his time. He only went there if there was a kgotla meeting or a court case. However, this traditional structure (the kgotla) has been given new functions. The headman is now a civil servant who is expected to be at the kgotla, his place of work, the same number of hours per day as any other civil servant. The change in function, without a change in supporting infrastructure, has led to some of the problems just described.

The headman is an ex-officio member of all village committees. He is expected to play a major role in the VDC. His poor performance is one of the many factors explaining the present Village Development Committee's ineffectiveness. For instance, the VDC chairperson long ago asked the headman to call the people so they could elect a new VDC. The headman has done nothing about this. As well, members of the Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA), which is the only active committee in the village, complain that the headman is failing to help resolve their current problems. He did not attend their meeting of 30th July, 1981, at which these problems were discussed. In fact, he has only attended one recent PTA meeting. The headman came very late to this meeting and may have come only because he expected the Education Secretary from Mochudi to attend.

The people do not respect the headman as a person, but they do treat him with some respect since he is a born headman. His ineffectiveness is a result of many factors. First, he lacks education and has problems reading Setswana. As a result, the court clerk has had to teach him court procedures as outlined in the Customary Court President's manual. Second, he has a very serious drinking problem. As a result, even if he attends a meeting, his participation is often severely affected by his intoxication. Third, he is considered to be too young, at least to be headman. Since he is not married, and therefore has no family responsibilities, he is felt to be immature. Finally, he is said not to be impartial in judging court cases. Some people in the village complain that he is a judge who is easy to bribe.

The headman is also the chief in Mabalane. After the death of the previous headman in Mabalane, the people of that village did not send a beast to the paramount chief, as is traditionally required. The paramount chief therefore appointed the Sikwane headman the official headman of Mabalane as well.

Councillor

The Councillor is a member of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). He stays in Mabalane, half a kilometre distant from Sikwane, which he also represents. There are complaints in Sikwane that he concentrates too much on his village of residence.

The people in Sikwane complain that the Councillor does not consult them whenever he goes to Council meetings and that he does not work with them as effectively as their previous Councillor did. They attribute the VDC's ineffectiveness to the Councillor's (and headman's) weaknesses. Some people also say that they want a Councillor who is from their own village.

In his defense, the Councillor argues that he tries to call meetings whenever he is going to Council, and again when he comes back, but that the people do not come. He says that the people complain unfairly that he does not consult them. He also points out that he tries to encourage villagers to attend the Village Development Committee Conferences held in Mochudi every year, but the people never do. The real explanation of the communication difficulties between the Councillor and the people may lie with the decline of the kgotla as a means of public communication, rather than with any fault of the Councillor or the people.

The Councillor divides his time among BDP business, Council meetings and work at his lands. It seems that people expect him not just to view his work as representing them at Council, but also to actually participate in local development. He seems to be

doing the best he can at the latter. For example, sometime in mid-July, 1981, he gave the VDC Chairperson his truck so that the Chairperson could use it to load sand for a VDC project.

The Councillor attends all kgotla meetings in Sikwane. He also attends meetings of the Parent and Teachers' Association, the only active committee in the village. At the meetings observed, he was the most logical and constructive contributor. As a politician, he is respected by members of his party but not by members of the opposition.

Extension Staff

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). There was no Agricultural Demonstrator in the village at the time the field work was done. The previous one had retired a few days before the research began. The village is currently being covered by the AD in Mathubudukwane, but he himself is new and had not yet done anything in Sikwane.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO). There is no Assistant Community Development Officer in the village. The ACDO responsible for Sikwane stays in Mathubudukwane. She very rarely comes to Sikwane. She herself has said that she finds it very difficult to work with Sikwane people because the village is so far away.

During the research, she came to the village only once, to attend a Parent and Teachers' Association meeting. Her decision to attend this meeting seems to have been influenced by the presence of the research team, one of whose members was staying with her in Mathubudukwane. In the meeting, her participation was very unsatisfactory. She rarely talked. When she did, her participation was very destructive. For instance, when she talked she said her time was being wasted by useless meetings. This particular meeting was about a misunderstanding between the parents and the head teacher, which posed a serious threat to the health of the Parent and Teachers' Association. There was a need for a conciliator, a role which she failed to perform.

Health Staff. There is a Family Welfare Educator who manages the health post in Sikwane. She is responsible for both Mabalane and Sikwane. The people seem satisfied with her clinic work. She is supposed to work with the Village Health Committees in Sikwane and Mabalane. She says that in Sikwane the VHC does not function because the members said they will not do anything unless they are paid. In Mabalane, the Village Health Committee has only ever met once. This meeting was called by the Family Welfare Educator in order to complete a form sent by the Ministry of Health. It

appears that members of the VHC do not know what they are supposed to do and that the Family Welfare Educator is partially responsible for this ignorance. She herself apparently does not know how to assist the VHC in getting started with its work. She knows nothing about the sanitation program now underway in Mabalane, even though the program would seem to relate to her job. This may be due to poor communication between her and those in charge of the program.

School Staff. The teachers in the village play a major role in the Parent and Teachers' Association. They train the children who sing at the concerts which are used to raise money for the PTA. The teachers say they also contribute P6 each toward the cost of sending the children to regional music and sports competitions. The head teacher plays a major role in the PTA. Ever since the formation of the PTA, he has virtually run the affairs of the Association himself. For instance, for a long time he kept all the PTA money. Other members resented this. This particular crisis was only resolved when the Education Secretary from Mochudi ordered him to hand the funds over to the PTA. Recently, without consulting the committee, he contracted a debt on behalf of the PTA. When the PTA refused to accept this debt, he single-handedly organised concerts to raise funds to pay it. He did all this without consulting the PTA, as should have been done. This particular controversy is still unresolved.

Village Extension Team (VET). The only extension staff resident in the village are the Family Welfare Educator and the school staff. They mostly have their permanent homes in the village. The extension staff do not exist as a team. The Family Welfare Educator does not know anything about a Village Extension Team. The head teacher said that some time back, in the 1970s, a Village Extension Team was elected at a kgotla meeting, but that he was not elected. All the extension staff work from their own offices and have nothing to do with each other.

The following is a chart with some summary information on the Councillor and the main extension workers.

Extension Staff

<u>Officer</u>	<u>Years in Position</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Areas of Responsibility</u>	<u>Organizations Working With</u>
Councillor	2	M	approx. 50	Mabalane	Sikwane, Mabalane	VDC, PTA, others
AD	No AD in village					
ACDO	1	F	less than 30	Mathubudukwane	All 5 river villages	SWC, VDC, PTA, others
Head-teacher	approx. 20	M	approx. 50	Sikwane	Sikwane	PTA
FWE	N/A	F	less than 30	Sikwane	Sikwane, Mabalane	VHC

Village Development Committee (VDC)

The history of the Sikwane VDC can be traced as far back as the late 1960s. There have been three VDCs elected so far. The first VDC was elected in 1969 and was in office for only six months. A new VDC was elected the same year. This VDC lasted until 1975, when the current VDC was elected.

It is claimed by some villagers that political party affiliation influences elections to committees such as the VDC. The Councillor argues that members of the opposition Botswana People's Party (BPP) make sure that they get elected to the VDC. They do so by attending meetings at which the VDC is to be elected. They know that very few people will attend these meetings and, as a result, they get elected. The Councillor claims that they then do not do anything on the VDC. When no developments take place, they put the blame on the ruling party. However, the current VDC includes only one BPP member, which is hardly enough for a conspiracy.

It is argued in the village that VDC members are usually elected on the basis of wealth, relations with the village royal family, or just simple friendship. As a result, it is argued, incompetent people get elected. This argument may not be entirely correct. The argument that wealthy people are elected, for instance, contradicts the observation that the committee is dying away because many members, who are poor, are leaving the

village in search of outside employment. Prior to the research, the committee had not met since early 1980.

The first VDC's only activity was to get people started on a brick-molding business. This VDC only lasted for six months. The executive members of this committee all had wage employment and therefore could not be directly involved in the brick molding. The rest of the members and the village people resented this, so they decided to elect a new committee. During its lifetime, this second VDC built four classrooms for the school. It also dug a pit for a toilet at the kgotla.

The third VDC organised labor for dismantling the school, prior to its renovation by the Council. In 1976-77, they completed the toilet at the kgotla, at a total cost of P150. Funds for this project came from the sale of bricks molded by the first two VDCs. Finally, this VDC started building a house for the court clerk. It bought windows, door frames and thatching grass, and some women contributed labor. This was in 1977. The house is still not complete because members of the VDC are no longer in the village. As a result, they cannot organise themselves to finish the house.

The first VDC was active during the few months of its existence. It held meetings with the Parent and Teachers' Association, and worked with the late Councillor and headman, and the then ACDO, all of whom were quite active. After 1978, VDC activities started declining. The committee stopped meeting, and some members left to seek employment in Gaborone and South Africa. Now, with the exception of rare meetings of the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson and Secretary, the VDC is non-existent.

While it still was meeting, the VDC used to keep minutes, both for its meetings and for kgotla meetings. It thus acted as a general village administration. This minute book is still in good condition. The VDC does have accounts books. The headman is in theory an ex-officio member of the VDC. It does not seem that his membership on the VDC brings any significant positive advantage to the VDC. In fact, the headman's failure to call a kgotla meeting for new VDC elections is one factor explaining the present VDC failure in Sikwane.

The VDC used to work with the Social Welfare Committee and the Parent and Teachers' Association. It does not have any link with any organisation outside the village. The Councillor, who stays half a kilometre away from the village, in Mabalane, is an ex-officio member of the committee. The Assistant Community Development Officer, who stays about three kilometres from the village, is also an ex-officio member of the committee. These two do not seem able to come together and efficiently promote the health of the VDC.

Other Village Organizations

Thrift and Loan Society. This Society, started in the 1960s, used to be active, but now, like other societies in Sikwane, it is dead. Its Management Committee has not met for a long time. During the days of its activity, the Society used to collect money from the villagers and save it in the mobile bank which used to come to the village every month. The mobile bank stopped coming long ago, for an unknown reason, and this contributed to the failure of the Society.

In 1968, the Society built a community hall. The hall was built by the villagers under the supervision of the Society. The Society used to rent the hall to organisations for their functions. The Society used to have a membership of about 60. It has over P300 in the bank. The Society executive committee members used to attend management courses at the Agricultural College. These have also stopped.

It must be noted that data concerning the Thrift and Loan Society are very scanty since it was difficult to locate informants. All the information available is given here.

Fence Group. The fence group is working in the lands area. Group members want to build a drift fence separating their lands areas from the nearby grazing areas, and in this way protect their crops from damage caused by cattle. There are four villages at whose lands the fence group is working. It was difficult to gather detailed data on the fence group's members and activities because of the distance between Sikwane and the fence group's area of operation. As a result, the observations below are necessarily somewhat incomplete.

The fence group has two levels of committees, branch committees and the central committee. There is one branch committee at the Mabalane and Sikwane lands area. There are also branch committees in Dikwididi and Modipane. These two committees work closely together because, when the idea for a fence group was first proposed, the Dikwididi and Modipane people were the first to be contacted. At that time, it was recommended that they form a single committee. When the idea reached the Mabalane/Sikwane people, however, they were not agreeable to joining a single committee. They said that Dikwididi and Modipane were too far away and that they did not trust the Dikwididi and Modipane people. As a result, it was agreed that a central committee would be established consisting of six members, two from each of the three branch committees.

The central committee is supposed to coordinate all branch committee activities, to meet extension staff and to perform all necessary services, such as completing application forms for financial aid, on behalf of all the branches. The central

committee does not yet have a Treasurer. The branch committees are responsible for the collection of fees and the actual construction and maintenance of the fence in their own area.

It appears that the Chairperson of the Sikwane/Mabalane branch was among those who staunchly stood against the idea of a single committee. It was therefore surprising to discover that he appeared not to know about the proposed relationship between the branch and central committees.

The Sikwane/Mabalane committee consists of eleven members, all of whom are farmers. One of these, the Secretary, is a woman. The Dikwididi and Modipane branches consist of ten and seven members respectively. There are no women in the latter; there are three in the former. Male members contribute P5 each and women 50 thebe.

In Dikwididi, clearing of the fence path has already begun. The path follows the line of an old bush fence. This old fence was first constructed by farmers in 1934 and was maintained until completely destroyed by veld fire in the late 1960s.

It must be noted that, roughly two and a half years after the formation of the fence group, it is just now starting to get organised. All the branches attribute this slow progress to a lack of advisers, especially Agricultural Demonstrators. The Dikwididi and Modipane groups are occasionally visited by an Agricultural Demonstrator from Oodi, roughly ten kilometres away from Modipane. This Agricultural Demonstrator has twice come with an official from Mochudi to meet the Dikwididi and Modipane people. These officers approved the identified fencing line and promised that they would provide whatever assistance is necessary.

It must be noted that Dikwididi, unlike the other three places, is a lands area. People have taken up permanent residence, and the Council has built a school and a health post there. Because of the settlement pattern in Dikwididi, the "villagers" are the local farmers. Members of the fence group attend meetings of the Dikwididi VDC and PTA, which are the only other committees in the area. This is a rare example of membership overlapping among a farmers' organization and other organizations.

If everything goes well, it is intended that the fence gates will be closed at the beginning and opened at the end of the agricultural season. It appears that almost all cattle watering points, including all boreholes, are in the plowing area. The only water source in the grazing area is a seasonal river. This, however, is not expected to be a very serious problem because during the agricultural season, which is the rainy season, the river in the grazing area supplies plentiful surface and ground water.

Presently, many cattle are kept and watered in the lands throughout the year. Once all the cattle are moved inside the fence, it may not be possible for the river to supply enough water throughout the plowing season for all the cattle. Therefore, two unanticipated problems might develop for the fence group in the future. First, there might be a shortage of water in the grazing area. Any attempt to solve this problem by watering cattle in the lands area will lead to a second problem, that is, looking after cattle in that area. This is exactly the problem the fence is supposed to solve in the first place.

It appears the fence group has a good chance of succeeding. Their possible future problems can be identified and dealt with if they receive enough extension advice, supported by research based on land-use potentials.

Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA). The history of the Sikwane PTA can be traced as far back as the late 1970s. There have been two committees elected so far. No member of the first committee, with the exception of its Chairperson, was re-elected to the second committee. This person then immediately resigned.

The first duty of the PTA is to maintain the school's property. Second, the PTA raises funds to send the school children to sports and music competitions. This takes most of the PTA's money. Third, the PTA sends the school children on educational tours. Finally, the PTA pays the cooks for the school lunch program.

From its formation, members of the PTA have had strong disagreements with the head teacher. They say he attempts to usurp the powers of the committee. The financial affairs of the committee have been the biggest problem area. There seems to be no description of the role of PTA members and their relation to the school administration. When the PTA was formed, it cooperated with the school administration in raising funds to meet the school's needs. The head teacher kept the money, despite the fact that there was an elected PTA Treasurer. This caused serious conflict between the PTA Chairperson and the head teacher. For this reason the former refused to be on the second committee.

When the second committee was elected, the head teacher still had the money. The committee told the Education Secretary in Mochudi, who then resolved the issue by making the head teacher give the money to the PTA. Recently, the head teacher put the PTA into debt by contracting with a bus owner to send more children to the music competitions than the PTA could afford. When the PTA refused to accept this debt, the head teacher organised some concerts to raise the funds. As organising fund-raising concerts is usually the prerogative of the PTA, this precipitated a new and serious

conflict between the PTA and the head teacher. This money problem is but one of many conflicts between the PTA and the head teacher.

Resource Management

The lands areas of Sikwane are generally to the west of the village. They are from around seven kilometres to as much as fifty kilometres distant. Some lands areas are to the north of the village. The village grazing area borders on the Tlokweng cattle post area to the south. The lands area of Sikwane merges with the Mabalane lands, so that the two cannot be separated. The Sikwane lands also border the Dikwididi and Modipane lands, but here the demarcation is clearer. It seems that there is no land which is not used. With the exception of Dikwididi, people stay at the lands only temporarily, from the beginning to the end of the agricultural season.

A fence group has been established and is based on the lands of Modipane, Dikwididi, Mabalane, and Sikwane. Besides three or four privately owned farms, the land in the region is communally used.

In the lands, there are two council boreholes and a seasonal river, and small seasonal wells for domestic water supply. As for livestock watering, unless more boreholes are sunk in the grazing area, the surface water and the wells in the seasonal river may not be able to support all the cattle that will be inside the fence throughout the agricultural season. As noted above, the only solution to this problem would be to water cattle at the boreholes in the plowing area, which then defeats the whole purpose of having a drift fence.

Before the boreholes were sunk, cattle were driven from the lands and cattle posts and watered at the Marico River in the village. Cattle herders near the village, who do not have access to the borehole, continue this practice. There does not seem to be any effort by people to control grazing in the Sikwane area. Crop damage by cattle is a long-standing problem. It is this problem that has led to the idea of the drift fence.

In the village, domestic water is supplied by the piped water system built by government. Before this was installed people fetched water from the Marico River. There are plans to start a horticultural estate using water from the Marico. Extension services will be provided to estate members, but production will be for and by individuals.

People, especially small farmers, complain that they do not get enough government aid and advice. Grievances center around the loan system. People complain that there is nobody who can tell them how to get a loan.

Livestock production is by and large viewed as an individual issue. There is no indication that land allocations are still being made without Land Board approval. People seem to understand how the Land Board works. Because the court clerk keeps land allocation forms at the kgotla, people are able to apply for land easily, using the correct procedure. The Sub-Land Board for Sikwane is in Mathubudukwane. Some members of the Sub-Land Board live in Sikwane. One of these people used to be the Chairperson of the Sikwane VDC. It is hard to comment on Sub-Land Board activities in Sikwane since, to my knowledge, it did not meet during the research period.

Chapter 5

MATHUBUDUKWANE

Introduction

Mathubudukwane is a small village with a population of approximately 2,000 people in the south-east corner of Kgatleng District. It lies along the Marico River, which acts as a border with South Africa and flows all-year round. Most of the permanent residents are elderly people and children. Children are usually left at home by their families for schooling while the parents migrate to urban centers or South Africa to seek employment. Most women work as domestic servants while most men work in the nearby South African mines.

This village is still a traditional one, although the younger people coming back from employment across the border bring new ideas with them. This is particularly evident in the "modern" houses that they build: big cement houses with iron-roofing rather than the traditional mud houses with grass thatching. It is also evident in the language that they speak which is mixed with Afrikaans, the Boer language. It seems as if everybody is aspiring to reach the level of those who come back from South Africa and Botswana's urban centers.

Besides migrant labor, the people in the village depend primarily on arable and pastoral agriculture for their livelihood. Usually they migrate to the lands during the rainy season and come back after the harvest. Most of the farmers are still using traditional methods. They do not have any modern implements but instead use donkeys and cattle for plowing. Only a small number of people use hired tractors for plowing.

There are four general shops and a butcher shop in the village, as well as one bottle store. There are also some small-scale productive activities. These include brick-making, knitting, dressmaking and a driving school.

The village is divided into eight wards. The ward system is declining, however; there are no longer ward headmen in each ward. There is a village headman. He spends some of his time at the Tribal Administration Office at the kgotla. Among his other duties, he hears customary court cases at the kgotla. His office is staffed by a court clerk and a tribal policeman. The chief is originally from Mochudi and was sent to Mathubudukwane by the paramount chief.

The village is in the Kgatleng/Tlokweng Parliamentary constituency. The Councillor for the village has been in office since Independence. He is supposed to work closely with the chief, but it is said that they do not due to personal antagonisms.

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There is a standard VII primary school which is headed by a well-qualified headteacher. The school is staffed by 14 teachers, some of whom have gone through Teacher Training College and some of whom have passed their Cambridge exams. There is a Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA) which helps in the maintenance and running of the school.

There is a Sub-Land Board office, manned by a clerk. This office deals with allocation of residential and plowing land. It caters to all the river villages, that is, Mabalane, Sikwane, Mathubudukwane, Ramonaka and Malolwane, as well as Olifants Drift and Ramotlabaki. There is a Main Land Board in Mochudi to which misunderstandings and disputes regarding land allocation issues are referred.

The village has a health clinic staffed by a Senior Nursing Sister, two Enrolled Nurses, two Family Welfare Educators, one cleaner, one gardener and one driver. The clinic caters to all the villages along the river and the surrounding cattlepost and lands areas.

There are different local organizations in the village. The most important are the Village Development Committee (VDC), the Village Health Committee (VHC), the Botswana Council of Women and the Social Welfare Committee (SWC). There are also youth groups like the 4-B Club, the Red Cross and the Boy Scouts. There used to be an Out-of-School-Youth Group called "Babasha Youth Group".

The village is equipped with two boreholes. There is a pumper who looks after them. They are maintained by the Council. Other government workers in the village are the Revenue Collector, Assistant Community Development Officer, and the Agricultural Demonstrator.

There is a daily bus service running from the river villages to Gaborone and Mochudi and also one from the border-post at Sikwane to Rustenburg in South Africa.

Traditional Institutions

The kgotla as an institution has varying roles. It is used primarily for holding public meetings at which the village people can express their ideas and feelings about different issues. It is also used for hearing customary court cases.

During the research, kgotla meetings were called six times. There were only four meetings successfully held, however. Even these meetings were not well attended, the largest crowd was about 40 people and the smallest was 8 people. Attendance was probably so poor either because the people were still at the lands harvesting their crops or else because the meetings were not well publicized.

The first meeting was called in response to the paramount chief's request for certain regiments to build a shelter for the kgotla in Mochudi. The chief passed the paramount chief's message to the regiments concerned and to the people in general. The next kgotla meeting, held four days later, was a follow-up to the previous one. An announcement was also made at this meeting that the Member of Parliament was touring his constituency and would be in the village the following day. The third meeting was held by the MP to inform the people of the coming population census; to talk about increased production in the agricultural field; and to talk about the Workman's Compensation Act. However, general topics and questions were also raised by the village people. The fourth meeting, held a month later, was requested by representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture's Horticulture Department. At this kgotla meeting, the chief also added his own topic regarding initiation of women into a new regiment.

Kgotla meetings are called through school children. They are given a message to inform their parents to attend the meeting. This would seem to be a very inefficient method since many children seem to forget to deliver the message as requested.

Usually, kgotla meetings are very poorly attended, especially when one takes into account the number of people in the village. Elderly men dominate the meetings, mostly because younger men are not in the village but rather are working in urban centers. Women do not make any active contribution in meetings.

Despite their generally negative attitude toward the chief, the people respect his authority at the kgotla. He opens kgotla meetings and presents whatever topics are to be discussed. Messages and requests from central government are passed on to the people. After this procedure, the chief then allows people to make comments or ask questions concerning anything they do not understand. Generally, meetings are orderly if they are held in the mornings. Afternoon meetings are not so orderly because by that time most of the men have been drinking and their conversation is not so logical.

Decisions are made by consensus. It is the chief's responsibility to sum up discussion and communicate the decisions reached. If the issue being discussed has to be referred to outside authorities, the people are told accordingly and then called later once a decision has been made. There are no minutes taken at kgotla meetings. However, people seem never to forget what was discussed at previous meetings.

Some committees such as the VDC, SWC, VHC and Red Cross are elected at the kgotla, under the supervision of the chief. The kgotla seems to be an effective way of getting the attention of village people and getting them to organize into active groups.

There is a recognizable ward structure in the village. The village is divided into eight wards, which are well known to the village residents even though it is difficult for an outsider to distinguish among them. Generally, residents of one ward are close relatives who mostly use the same family name. The wards are supposed to have hereditary ward-headmen but in fact only one ward in the village actually has a recognized headman. The other wards merely have ward elders known to the ward residents. If there are any problems in a ward, these are first discussed within the ward by the elders and then, if a satisfactory decision cannot be reached, the case is referred to the chief.

When there is a village project, it sometimes is implemented using wards. For instance, the Social Welfare Committee wanted to build a day-care nursery in the village. For this project, the village was divided into wards and the committee solicited donations separately from each one.

Regiments are another effective method of getting things done in the village. Each regiment chooses someone who acts as the leader and organizer of that group. A kgotla shelter in Mochudi was recently built using regimental labor. This job was completed with no problems. Regiments seem to operate efficiently due to the respect given the paramount chief, who has the right to assign duties to them. There is no confusion as to who should do what because everyone knows his particular regiment and therefore cannot avoid the duties assigned.

Chieftainship

The chief in this village is originally from Mochudi. He is related to the paramount chief and was appointed by him. He came to work in this village in 1968 after the death of Chief Legwale Pilane. At that time there was no member of the village royal family eligible to be installed as chief, so the paramount chief decided to send the present chief to administer the village until such time as there would be a local person who could be installed. There is now a member of the village royal family ready to become chief and the people are waiting for the paramount chief to come and install him as their chief.

The present chief is about 50-60 years old. He has completed old Standard VI and speaks some English. He seems to be well-off and it is said that he has a lot of cattle. He has also been building a very big house in Mochudi.

The chief deals with judicial matters and general administrative duties. Court cases from all the river villages are referred on appeal to Mathubudukwane as this

village has a higher-level court. The chief also works hand in hand with the Sub-Land Board office in its land allocation duties. He does not work well with the Councillor due to personal differences. He spends only some of his time at his office. He never comes to the office earlier than 9:00 a.m. and usually only spends a few minutes there. He only comes back to the office when he sees people gathering there or when he sees a motor vehicle appearing. He is dependent upon the court clerk to do most of the office work and tends to leave everything up to this man.

The chief does not seem to be interested in his work. He does take care of arrangements for Cabinet Ministers when they visit the village. He does not take any active part in other village development activities, even though he is an ex-officio member of all prominent organizations in the village. He is always invited to attend meetings, though he rarely does. This causes ill-feeling in the village, especially as people feel that the chief is the best person to act as an advisor and encourage them in development projects.

People feel that the cause of his negligent attitude toward village development activities is the fact that he is foreign to their village. He is not respected as a leader because he spends most of his time in non-official activities. In ordinary conversation people do not show him the ordinary deference due a chief.

All in all, one can say that the chief in this village is not effective. Issues discussed at the kgotla, which should be followed up, are left without further discussion or action. The village people expect the chief to call them and inquire what suggestions they could have for methods that could be used to achieve whatever objectives they have in mind. He does not do so. This situation is aggravated by the fact that the village people have really lost respect for their chief.

Councillor

The Councillor is about 60 to 70 years old. He has won every election for Councillor since Independence. He speaks some English and appears to be familiar with the proper procedures for running meetings and organizing development activities. His constituency includes Ramonaka as well as Mathubudukwane.

He is an ex-officio member of many village committees. He is one of the few ex-officio members who really tries to attend meetings when they are called by different organizations. He fully participates in meetings and sometimes dominates them. Whenever there are kgotla meetings, he speaks on the side of the village people, rather than speaking as a government spokesman as is the habit of many Councillors.

The Councillor regularly attends Council meetings in Mochudi. He also spends some time attending seminars and conferences regarding party issues. He is a member of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party.

The Councillor seems to be enjoying his work. He is old for the job though, and has some conservative ideas. He has been Councillor for such a long time that people seem to take him for granted.

Extension Staff

Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). The Agricultural Demonstrator in Mathubudukwane is about 30 years old. He received his training at the Botswana Agricultural College. He is posted to this village but is also responsible for all the other river villages. He has worked for about 4 months in the village and therefore is still getting himself acquainted. He has not yet started on any new projects. He has been busy ever since his arrival, first in preparing for the Agricultural Show and the Youth Rally in Mochudi, and then in attending a course at the Agricultural College. As his first project in the village, he has just recently started working on the horticulture project, though nothing has yet been accomplished. The AD is supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture officers working at District level.

He says that it is difficult for him to start working with the village people because, even though he has already spent a few months in the village, he has not yet been officially introduced to the villagers. Most people, therefore, do not even know that they have an Agricultural Demonstrator, since the chief has failed to call a meeting to introduce the AD to the people. Because he is so new in the village, and has not really settled down to work, it is impossible to offer an evaluation of the Agricultural Demonstrator's work.

Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO). The Assistant Community Development Officer in Mathubudukwane is less than 30 years old. She has completed the Community Development training course. She is posted to Mathubudukwane but is also responsible for the other river villages. She supervises the Community Development Assistant in Malolwane. She herself is supervised by the Senior Community Development Officer in Mochudi.

Her main responsibility is to work with different organizations in the village. She is expected to give them advice where necessary and help see to it that their projects succeed. She principally works with the Village Development Committee, the Parent and Teachers' Association and the Social Welfare Committee. In the meetings that she

attended during the research, she contributed very little and appeared not to be very interested in whatever discussions were taking place. This does not necessarily mean that she does not advise the organizations she works with, but just that she could express more interest. Most of the village organizations she should be advising seem not to be functioning well at present. When she is present in the village, the ACDO attends most kgotla and organization meetings.

The ACDO says that since her arrival in the village last year, the main problem she has been encountering is one of lack of cooperation within the village. People hardly ever come to meetings when they are called. Nor do villagers seem to be keen to be involved in self-help projects. One reason for their reluctance is that they are no longer offered food for their work. She says that it is very difficult to convince people to work for free since they have always worked for food in the past.

The ACDO seems to be not very dedicated to her work. This might be due to the frustrations that she has encountered trying to assist village organizations. Another cause might be the lack of cooperation between the chief and the villagers, and their lack of respect for him.

Clinic Staff. The clinic in Mathubudukwane is staffed by a Staff Nurse, two Enrolled Nurses, two Family Welfare Educators, one cleaner, one gardener and a driver. The clinic caters to all the river villages and their associated cattleposts and lands. The clinic is equipped with a maternity ward. A doctor from Mochudi visits the village once every fortnight.

The Staff Nurse has been in this village since 1978. She acts as advisor to the Village Health Committee. She supervises the VHC whenever it is involved in general health projects. For instance, the VHC gives lectures about health matters and conducts visits in the village. In order to do this effectively, it needs to work closely with the Staff Nurse.

The Staff Nurse also works with other organizations, such as the Red Cross and the Social Welfare Committee, which are concerned with the village peoples' health. The Red Cross was once involved in feeding destitutes. The SWC has succeeded in sending a mentally deranged man to the mental home in Lobatse. Both these organizations worked closely with the clinic staff on these activities.

School Staff. The headteacher of Letsebe School in Mathubudukwane is a well-educated man. He went to school in South Africa and taught there for some time. Before coming to Mathubudukwane in 1974 he taught in Sikwane.

In the past, he was involved in different committees such as the Village Extension Team (VET) and the PTA. He used to be a member of the Red Cross, the VDC in Sikwane, and a Study Circle. This circle was composed of people holding different government posts in the village and met to discuss different topics of interest to the members. At present, the headteacher only acts as an advisor to village organizations when they ask for help of any kind.

According to the headteacher, the main problem facing him when he came to this school was that members of his staff were not concerned with doing their job properly. They seemed not to have any interest in their pupils and hardly did any meaningful reading during their spare time. However, he says that this problem has been alleviated since the introduction by the Ministry of Education of in-service workshops for teachers. These have helped in improving the teaching standard at his school.

This school has different youth organizations such as the 4-B Club, the Red Cross and the Boy Scouts. These organizations usually get involved in activities such as gardening, handicrafts, games and sports. All these organizations have been formed on the encouragement of the headteacher and are headed by teachers from the school.

The headteacher seems to be a very dedicated man. He is open-minded and has good knowledge about general events in the country. Some of the teachers at the school work closely with parents in their joint organization, the Parent and Teachers' Association. The PTA is supposed to be coordinating efforts by the parents and teachers to upgrade the pupils' academic standard, but so far they have had difficulty in achieving any results.

Village Extension Team (VET). There is no Village Extension Team in Mathubudukwane. Two years ago one was chosen at the kgotla but it was never put into operation. The VET members never met as a team, even though all of them were aware that they should do so. It has however been said that as soon as the village people come back from harvesting at the lands, the ACDO will request the chief to call a kgotla meeting in order to choose another VET.

Village Development Committee (VDC)

The first VDC in Mathubudukwane was chosen in 1967 and lasted for eight years. The next one was elected in 1975. However, most of the membership did not change. One important member who did leave at this time was the former Secretary, who had to leave the VDC when appointed a Councillor in 1974. The third committee was elected in 1977 and the fourth (present) VDC was chosen in July 1979. The current VDC has eight

elected members. There have not yet been any elections this year, even though they are supposed to be held every two years. During all the time the VDC has existed, there has in fact been little or no change in its membership.

The VDC is supposed to be the most important of all organizations in the village. All other organizations are expected to go through the VDC when they request financial help from the Council. The VDC therefore should occupy an important position within the village society. However, this is not the case in Mathubudukwane.

Elections for the committee are supposed to be carried out at the kgotla every two years. Generally, anyone can be elected as long as he or she is active and is capable of being involved in development projects. There are, in fact, really no specified criteria that are strictly adhered to when voting for members of this committee. Most of the current VDC officer-bearers are well-to-do people. Most of them are elderly and not many have gone to school. One finds that once a person has been voted onto the VDC, he or she remains on it for a long time.

During the research, no VDC meetings were successfully held. VDC meetings are scheduled for the end of every month. However, during the research, a quorum was never achieved and each of the scheduled meetings had to be cancelled.

The chief is an ex-officio member of the VDC. In theory, he should work together with this organization to implement village development projects. The present chief does call kgotla meetings for the VDC when requested, but otherwise he does not involve himself in VDC activities. The Councillor and the ACDO are the only other current ex-officio members of the VDC, though in the past the AD, the nurses and the headteacher have also been involved in VDC activities.

When meetings are held, minutes are always kept. The book being used for minutes is very old and tattered since it has been in use for the past six years. However, the minutes are up-to-date. The VDC has a bank book and keeps records of how much money is being used on small projects such as repairing the windows of a VDC house.

To fund its projects, the VDC usually asks for donations from villagers. The VDC is expected to work with other organizations in the village. This is not actually the case, however, because of personal clashes between members of the VDC and members of the other committees. The Social Welfare Committee, for instance, is now reluctant to work with the VDC on its nursery project because of misunderstandings that arose during a previous project.

Previous VDCs completed several projects. First, they managed to build eight houses. These are now housing some teachers and other Council employees. These

VDCs also built two classrooms at Letsebe Primary School, dug pits for five toilets and molded a lot of bricks. These are projects which were implemented with the help of the Food for Work program. As well, a vegetable garden was dug with the help of the Social Welfare Committee; people were also given some food for this work. Finally, the VDC organized a postal bag for the village in 1978, though people stopped using this after approximately one year.

The present VDC has not implemented any new projects. It has had two ideas: building a community hall, and planting vegetables at the garden near the river. It has not done anything about either of these projects. This failure is probably due to the fact that there is poor communication between the community and the VDC. Another factor is that there is poor cooperation among the members of the VDC. Personal differences add to this problem. The chief's negligent attitude toward this organization also does not help at all. The VDC has, however, managed to renovate the above mentioned eight houses as the need arises. Monthly rent is collected by the VDC for four of these houses; the Council collects rent for the other four.

Party politics do affect the functioning of the VDC in a small way. In the present VDC, the majority of the members belong to the Botswana Democratic Party, which is the ruling party. Only one member, the Chairperson, belongs to the opposition Botswana People's Party. There is a lot of friction between the Chairperson and the rest of the members. The Chairperson claims he feels threatened by the majority because he is viewed as a "dangerous" man.

The VDC in the village is not so effective. It appears that it is slowly losing the support it had when it was created. One could add that the initial leadership was more active and dedicated than the present one. At first, people were keen to be involved in whatever projects the VDC arranged because the leaders had some knowledge about how to run committees and how to organize projects. At present, however, the VDC is not really respected since it does not seem to be able to get anything done in the village. For the past three years or so, the VDC has not made any new development projects and it seems as if the VDC cannot carry through with any new ideas for the improvement of the village.

Other Village Organizations

Itsholeng Burial Society. There are at least eleven Burial Societies in this village. Detailed information has however been compiled on only one society, the Itsholeng Burial Society. Burial Societies are formed basically because they are seen as

performing a necessary function in the village, that of helping people with funeral expenses during a time of bereavement.

If one belongs to a Burial Society, one pays a joining fee and an annual subscription fee. In return, one receives some money to buy a coffin and other necessities whenever there is a funeral in the family. There are varying fees paid for burial expenses according to the standing rules and regulations of the society. For instance, members of the Itsholeng Burial Society are buried at P40, small children are buried at P18, infants under one month at P4 and relatives at P16. If a member has a miscarriage, she is given P2. A sum of P4 is given as condolences on the death of a member's close friend. An extra P2 is paid in order to buy candles for funerals of members and their family.

If a member is behind in her payments by more than three months, she is left to pay for burial expenses with no help from the society. She is later given some of the money due her, but with appropriate deductions made to cover her debt to the society.

Members of a society are called "soldiers". There are also "policemen" and "policewomen". They report deaths and see to it that funeral arrangements are carried out.

There are many Burial Societies in the village, probably because it is easier to start a new society than pay the joining fee of existing societies. Anyone can join any Burial Society as long as he or she pays the required fees. People join as many societies as they can since societies' burial payments are so small that one society cannot cover all the expenses of a funeral.

It would seem that Burial Societies work more efficiently than other organizations in the village. This is probably because people feel that these societies are meaningful to them.

Thrift and Loan Society. This society was formed in 1969. It is no longer functioning, having collapsed in 1976. Many of the original members have long since left the village. This organization was a sub-branch of the Thrift and Loan Society in Gaborone. Members paid a joining fee of 25 thebe. They then could save their money with the society and take out loans from it. With the establishment of the Co-op in 1974, most members of the organization felt that they could not contribute to two societies which served the same purpose. The Thrift and Loan Society was abandoned in 1976.

Co-op (Marketing and Credit Society). The Co-op in Mathubudukwane was formed in 1974 and caters to all the river villages. It is a branch of the Co-op in Mochudi. It

has many functions. It acts as a bank; as a farming input store where medicines for cattle, farming implements and building materials are sold; and as a livestock agent for its members. It also buys and sells agricultural produce and acts as a liaison between farmers and the Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board. There is a joining fee of P20. Anyone is free to join the Co-op and membership is drawn from all the river villages.

Within the organization, there are three committees with three different roles. First, there is the marketing committee which organizes the buying and selling of agricultural produce. It also arranges the sale of cattle to the Botswana Meat Commission. Second, there is the credit committee which arranges for loans and bonuses to members at the end of each year. Finally, there is the management committee which oversees all the affairs of the co-op. All three committees work together with the sub-manager of the Co-op shop and his assistant. The Co-op also works with the Agricultural Demonstrator in helping farmers fill out forms for agricultural loans.

There are supposed to be regular committee meetings but this organization does not stick to its schedule. Meetings frequently have to be postponed. There is a representative from this Co-op who attends the monthly and annual meetings of the Co-op in Mochudi.

People feel that the Co-op has greatly alleviated the inconvenience of obtaining many services. Previously, they had to go to Mochudi to bank their money. Worse, they had to go as far as Rustenburg in South Africa to buy farming implements, seeds and medicines for their cattle. People also feel that having the Co-op in the village has been an advantage because members always get a dividend bonus at the end of the year. Although the committees meet infrequently, the general day-to-day functioning of the Co-op seems to be efficiently taken care of by the manager.

4-B Club. This is a youth organization formed on the initiative of the headteacher. The members are assigned a teacher to supervise them. Most members have belonged to this organization for the past three years.

The 4-B is involved in various activities. The members cultivate a garden each year. They knit and sew and arrange for concerts in order to raise funds for their club. They are participants in Youth Rallies and at the Agricultural Show. Sometimes the 4-B members pound corn, weed or pick beans for village people in order to raise funds. It would seem that this youth group is more organized than most other village organizations. They meet every Monday and Wednesday as a committee then, after the Wednesday meeting, they meet as a club and do their weekly activities.

The 4-B recently had a problem caused by its Treasurer. She ran away with all the funds and also absconded from school. Efforts made to get the money back have so far failed. A new Treasurer has been elected and the club is now thinking of opening a bank account at the Co-op.

Village Health Committee (VHC). The Village Health Committee in Mathubudukwane was formed in 1978 on the initiative of the clinic Staff Nurse. The membership is mostly made up of illiterate people. Meetings are to be held the second Thursday of every month. Meetings, however, are irregular and very poorly attended. The Chairperson lives in another village and therefore it is difficult for her to attend meetings. Poor attendance during the research period might also have been due to the fact that some committee members were still harvesting their crops at the lands.

Since 1978, the VHC has been involved in various activities. It has encouraged people to build toilets and fourteen have been built as a result. Village people have also been encouraged by the VHC to plant vegetables, to dig refuse pits, and to visit the clinic for family planning. As a result, twenty-four rubbish pits have been dug and vegetable gardens have appeared in many houses. The VHC has also helped with tracing of TB patients who have stopped coming to the clinic for their medication.

The VHC success is partially attributable to its appropriate structure and program. It has divided the village into wards and assigned a committee member responsibility for health education in each one. At times, kgotla meetings are also arranged with the chief. The Staff Nurse gives a public lecture at these meetings on different topics relating to health. Since the VHC works closely with the clinic, it has contributed greatly toward improving the village peoples' relationship with the clinic. People seem to cooperate more with the VHC than the clinic staff. This is because they are more relaxed in the company of their fellow villagers and therefore more readily accept health advice from them.

Social Welfare Committee. The Social Welfare Committee was formed in 1979 on the advice of the Social Welfare Officer in Mochudi. Most of the members are new to committees and show a lot of dedication to this organization. The Secretary is particularly active and works very hard. She is also Chairperson of the PTA. Generally, the members cooperate with each other and attend the regular monthly meetings. The meetings are very well attended at all times. There is full participation from all members at meetings.

The Social Welfare Committee has been involved in a number of projects. It worked with the VDC on a vegetable garden. Its members cleared the land for this

garden. This project failed when the VDC insisted that the Social Welfare Committee should no longer be involved. The committee has also been involved in reconciling families and sending a mentally deranged person to the mental home in Lobatse. Counseling like this goes on whenever the need arises. The Social Welfare Committee has also provided food and clothing for destitutes in the village. Its latest project is that of building a nursery. This project is however still in the initial stage and arrangements to ask for funds and donations from village people are still being made.

Though this committee is still new, it seems to have good potential for success. It is more organized than other committees in the village and its leadership is strong.

Botswana Council of Women (BCW). This women's organization was formed some years back. Most of the people who started this club are no longer in the village. The committee has an apparent habit of "dying" and coming back to life after a long period. It is always revived on the initiative of people coming from Mochudi or Gaborone.

Among the present membership, some women are still new but some have been in the organization for three years or more. The committee was originally scheduled to meet every Saturday, but this is no longer the case. It would seem that these women only hold meetings when there is some burning issue to be discussed. When this organization was started, the purpose was to impart sewing skills and knitting and cookery ideas to each other. The committee raised funds by holding concerts and selling handicrafts and baking. This is no longer done.

In 1973, the BCW built a house where it could meet. At one time a workshop/seminar was held there. The house was destroyed by wind last year and no initiative has been taken to get it repaired. During 1977 and 1978, the BCW was involved in weighing children under five years of age and then giving them food. This activity was stopped in 1978 when it was taken over by the clinic staff. Though the BCW was asked to continue giving its services to the clinic, the members stopped helping because they felt that their services were no longer needed. Last April the BCW staged a beauty contest.

The BCW's morale is currently low because the members feel that the Mochudi branch has been unfairly monopolizing funds received from BCW headquarters in Gaborone. To date this issue has not been solved.

Parent and Teachers' Association (PTA). This association is composed of teachers and parents and is supposed to look into problems affecting children at the school. The present committee was elected at the end of 1979.

Most of the members of this committee are elderly illiterate people. Though there are supposed to be yearly elections, some of the members have served on this committee for over ten years. Surprisingly, these people are not able to give detailed information on the history of the association. Most of the members do not know exactly what their roles should be. This has led to difficulties and misunderstandings within the committee. The Treasurer, for instance, wants to use the PTA's funds independently, without informing either the Secretary or the Chairperson. She claims that she has been doing this for the six years that she has been Treasurer and does not wish to change now.

The PTA is responsible for financing children's sports, organizing firewood to cook the daily school meal of porridge provided by the World Food Program, paying the cooks, and arranging funds for anything else that the children may need during the course of the year. The present committee has managed to get some dishes to be used by the children for their school meal. They also had plans to buy sports uniforms for the netball and football teams at the school. A tape recorder was also put on the PTA budget. The PTA plans to build a store-room to store firewood. To date, there has been no action on any of these plans.

It would seem that not much really has been achieved by the PTA over the years. It has been said it worked together with the VDC to build two classrooms at the school. There are no records to show what else has been done, but from general conversation with committee members it appears that very little has been achieved.

Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) Committee. This organization is a political one. It was formed a long time ago and is linked to the main Botswana Democratic Party organization. Some of the present members have served for over ten years, though there are supposed to be yearly elections. For one to be chosen to this committee, one must be a registered member of the BDP. The committee's function is to recruit new party members. Committee members attend annual party meetings and conferences. They also educate the BDP Youth organization regarding party policy. There are no proper records kept, though the Secretary does keep minutes of the meetings held every now and then.

Resource Management

The lands of Mathubudukwane are Lekoba, Rantlape, Rantsipe, Dikgokong and Borakalalo. These lands areas are to the west and north of the village. One can walk to the nearby fields but one needs a donkey cart or a bicycle to reach the more distant

ones. The village cattleposts are still farther away, in Ramotsatsing and Ditshetshwane. The lands areas for the river villages are sometimes mixed together with those belonging to other villages such as Mochudi. It is said that there is no longer any additional space to be allocated to people in the lands. All people build permanent houses at the lands but most live there only during the agricultural season.

Most administrative functions for the lands are performed in the village by the chief. Sometimes though, when cases such as cattle destroying other peoples' crops occur, these are first discussed at the lands by the people concerned. Only when a satisfactory settlement cannot be reached there are such cases then referred to the village chief.

Organizations in the village do not have members living permanently at the lands and they generally do not extend any of their activities to the lands.

There is a Sub-Land Board office in the village which caters to all the river villages. It allocates land in the lands areas and at the cattleposts. People in the village accept the Land Board as the mechanism for allocating land. The chief cooperates in this new process by signing the necessary forms which say he has no objection to the land being allocated. People say that they have never been let down by the chief refusing to sign the "no objection" statement prior to allocation of land. In fact, he signs it as a matter of routine without seriously considering the merits of each case.

Arable land is not rented and there is no sale of land. The VDC has nothing to do with the allocation of any type of land. So far, there has not been any serious conflict between this village and other villages over land. If problems regarding land arise, they are settled by the Sub-Land Board. If there should be an appeal, the case is referred to the Main Land Board in Mochudi. Members of the Sub-Land Board are all from other villages, except for one member who lives at a Mathubudukwane lands area.

There are no dam groups or farmers associations in Mathubudukwane. There are people, however, who have built some water catchment tanks in order to allow them to extend their length of stay at the lands during harvesting season. These people received help from the Agricultural Demonstrator. There were no records left by the previous AD so it is difficult to establish details concerning the raising of funds for these water catchment tanks. The present AD is new in the village and has not yet started on any new projects.

There is a borehole syndicate, which was established about six years ago, at a Mathubudukwane lands area. The people concerned have drilled a borehole at their own

expense and run it themselves. The syndicate charges a P10 joining fee. Members get certain benefits such as watering their cattle at that borehole free of charge. Non-members are charged 10 thebe per cow watered per month.

People in the village think that there is overgrazing at the cattleposts but there has not been any communal action to deal with this problem. Crop damage by cattle is a big issue and is dealt with by the individuals concerned, or the chief if necessary. Fencing of communal land has not been considered so far as a solution to the crop-damage problem.

Water from the Marico River was once used for domestic purposes, but now there are two village boreholes for this. There is talk that water will be pumped from the Marico River for a horticulture project. This project is still in the initial stage and it will be some time before anything is done. There is a lot of water in the river but no attempts have yet been made to use it for farming puposes. The boreholes in the village are maintained by the Council, which employs a full-time pumper for this purpose. It is said that the boreholes were drilled around 1974. Before then, the river water was used for all purposes, even though the water is said to be very dirty and infested with germs from Deidrepoort Hospital across the border with South Africa. People water their cattie in this river.

In order to get firewood for domestic purposes, the village people hire owners of tractors to collect wood from land areas. They pay varying prices for wood.

Part II
ANALYSIS

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Chapter 6

BURIAL SOCIETIES

Introduction

Without doubt, the most unexpected finding of the research was the leading role played by Burial Societies in people's lives. In the minds of most village residents, the most important village organization is not the Village Development Committee, but the Burial Society. Furthermore, in their ability to manage their affairs, the Burial Societies compare favorably to most other village organizations, including the VDC. This chapter describes the Burial Societies and attempts to account for their importance and success. It also suggests some implications that the experience of Kgatleng Burial Societies may have for our thinking about rural development in Botswana and elsewhere.

The Origin, Function and Form of the Burial Societies

There can be no doubting the vitality of the Burial Societies. In the four villages alone, there are over forty of them. When asked, villagers unanimously labelled them the "most important," "most progressive," "best organized" of all the organizations in the village. Except in Sikwane, which has a generally lower overall level of organizational activities, it is very difficult to find a household not covered by at least one Burial Society.

A factor which makes the current importance of the Societies all the more remarkable is their comparatively recent origin. The majority of them are less than ten years old. In Bokaa, the members of one Society proudly proclaimed that their Society was the very first in the village; it had been founded in 1961. That Burial Societies are a relatively new phenomenon is confirmed by reference to Isaac Schapera's authoritative anthropological writings on Botswana. Schapera, who did his fieldwork in Kgatleng in the 1930s and 1940s, has several detailed descriptions of Bakgatla burial customs; nowhere does he mention Burial Societies.¹

If the Societies are new, where did the idea come from and why did it catch on? Unfortunately, the answer to this question is not entirely clear. Informants in the villages said that the idea came from the mines in South Africa. This seems like a

¹Discussions of burial customs in standard works by Schapera include, Married Life in an African Tribe (London: Western Printing Services Ltd., 1940), pp. 304-308 and The Tswana (London: International African Institute, 1953), p. 61.

plausible explanation. Various "improvement associations" have existed among workers at the mines for some time; usually these are formed along ethnic lines. Schapera cites an improvement association formed by the Bakgatla at the mines as early as 1933.² One function of these associations was to bury those who died at the mines. It seems quite likely that returning miners should have brought this institutional form back with them to Kgatleng and have applied it to the problem of providing for funeral expenses.

But why should the age-old need to bury the dead suddenly justify a new organizational form? The answer seems to be that under the impact of Western civilization, especially Christianity, the burial customs of the Bakgatla have changed considerably in the last fifty years or so. As described by Schapera, the deceased were traditionally wrapped in old skins and buried in their own yards.³ Cemeteries and coffins are relatively recent innovations. The need for proper burials is eternal but the need for cash to buy a coffin is contemporary. Burial Societies have flourished because they are a particularly appropriate response to this contemporary need.

How exactly do the Societies operate? They can be thought of as being similar to a pension plan. People group together and make small, regular payments into a central Treasury; when they die their funeral expenses are paid for out of this fund. The details of each Society's operations differ but this basic structure is everywhere the same.

In most Societies, members make their contributions monthly, though in some Societies dues are paid only once a year. The amount paid varies from about P3 to P12 a year per member, with the average being between P5 and P6. The actual fee level can vary, like a good market equilibrating device. The amount paid by members seems to depend on the size of the Society's bank account relative to the payments it must make for funerals (and this varies particularly according to the price of coffins). Most Societies which have existed for any period of time have had to raise their fees at least once in order to keep up with inflation.

All Societies have sanctions to ensure prompt payment of fees. The most effective sanction is the withholding of funeral payments to any member with outstanding debts. The typical Society will make no payments until all debts are cleared, though many allow members to be as much as four months behind in their payments with no penalty.

²I. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 168.

³I. Schapera, Married Life in an African Tribe, *Ibid.*, p. 306.

The fees cover benefits not only for Society members but also their families. All Societies pay funeral expenses for a member, his or her spouse (at least 90 percent of members are women) and their children. In addition, all Societies allow members to register three or four other people for coverage, usually the member's parents and parents-in-law. In a few Societies members are allowed to substitute other relatives, or even friends, for their parents and parents-in-law if they wish to do so. All in all, coverage is fairly wide. When it is remembered that most women belong to at least one Society, it will easily be appreciated that virtually every village resident is protected by at least one, and usually several, Burial Societies.

The amount that Societies pay for funerals varies considerably. The range recorded is from P13 to P140, with the average being around P50. Payments are made toward the purchase of a coffin and food for the funeral feast. Usually these two categories of expenditure are kept separate; the Society often buys the food itself on account at a local store and hands over to the family the money for the coffin. Because the payment from one Society is usually not enough to cover all funeral expenses, it is a common practice to belong to more than one Society. It is important to note that although Societies buy basic food for the funeral feast such as maize meal, rice, potatoes and vegetables, they do not cover the single greatest expense of a truly complete feast, a cow. Cattle in Botswana can cost well over P300, so families without cattle to slaughter simply have to do without meat at the funeral feast.

Most Societies vary their funeral payments according to the category of the deceased's membership. That is, they pay more for the members of the nuclear family, for instance, than they do for relatives. The most elaborate payment structure discovered was for a Society in Mathubudukwane. It pays P40 for a member or spouse, P30 for registered relatives, P25 for children under 19 years of age, P10 for infants less than one month old, P4 for condolences on the death of a near friend or relative not registered with the Society, P2 for a miscarriage and, finally, P2 toward the purchase of candles (for use during the traditional all-night vigils) for funerals of a member, spouse, registered relative or child.

To protect themselves against people joining on their death-bed, and drawing out money without paying anything in, almost all Societies have a joining fee. Only one two-year-old Society in Oodi did not have such a fee. Most Societies make this fee equivalent to the accumulated individual payments since the Society's founding, though some Societies charge an apparently arbitrary flat rate. This joining fee seems to account for the proliferation of Burial Societies in the villages. Villagers explicitly

stated that the joining fees for existing Societies quickly become so prohibitive that it is cheaper and easier to form a new Society.

Finally, the Societies have built-in mechanisms to guarantee organizational continuity. Whenever a member dies, the Society recruits one of the people previously covered by that member, preferably a daughter, to take his or her place. Unlike other new members, people recruited in this fashion do not have to pay any joining fee. In this way, the Society is protected against gradual collapse through attrition. During the research, no examples were uncovered of Societies that had collapsed.

Such are the "pension plan" characteristics of the Burial Societies. The Societies' success can only be fully appreciated, however, by examining more closely their organizational form as distinct from their functional role. With only a few concessions to local culture, this form is remarkably familiar to a Western observer.

The first characteristic that strikes the eye is the nature of the Societies' membership. Total membership ranges between 25 and 90 people with about 50 being a typical size. What is important, however, is that in all Societies membership is open; that is, there is no ascriptive basis on which people are judged to be suitable (or not) for membership. No restrictions based on age, religious affiliation, place of residence, relationship to the chief, wealth or the like exist. Some Societies have members all approximately the same age or all from the same section of the village but this seems to be an artifact of the way the Societies' founders recruited members rather than the reflection of any design.

The only unusual feature of the membership apart from its openness already mentioned is that the overwhelming majority of members are women. There is, in most Societies, a prohibition against both husband and wife joining the Society. This rule is designed to protect the Society from having to pay twice for each death (husband and wife presumably have the same nuclear family and would register the same relatives). There is no rule, however, which requires that it be the woman who represents the household, and in fact some men do belong to Burial Societies.

The strong tendency for women rather than men to join Societies can probably be explained by two factors. First is the simple fact that there are many more women than men permanently resident in the village since it is predominantly the men who take long-term contracts as migrant laborers. Second, providing for funerals seems to be an extension of the traditional sexual division of labor which allocates to women all domestic duties. To the extent this is true, the Societies are incorporating into their make-up at least one aspect of local cultural values.

Another important characteristic of the Societies is their management. All are run according to explicit authoritative rules. In most cases these rules are in written form; even where they are not, they are known and followed. The rules, in addition to prescribing fees, categories of coverage and payments for funeral expenses, establish how the Society's affairs will be managed.

In all Societies, the collective membership is the final decision-making body. Each Society also has a management committee which handles business between general meetings and makes arrangements for funerals. The typical Society has a general meeting every month. Before this meeting the management committee meets to plan the agenda. At the general meeting, members pay their monthly subscription and then discuss business. Business items discussed typically include such matters as arrangements for funerals, presentation of the financial statement, and cases of members who have broken the Society's rules. All matters are decided by a majority vote of those present. Some Societies have adjusted to people's migratory movements by suspending general meetings during the agricultural season and leaving it up to the management committee to take care of funerals and any other urgent business that arises during this period.

The Societies levy fines on members who break their rules. All Societies require their members to attend the funerals of all Society members. The Societies also each have a distinctive uniform, usually a brightly-coloured head scarf for the women and perhaps a matching tie for the men, which all members are required to wear at funerals and meetings. Not attending a funeral or not wearing the uniform are the two most serious offenses; lesser offenses are not attending meetings or acting rudely at meetings. The fines levied for these offenses vary from Society to Society and according to the severity of the offense and the position of the offender.

At one meeting observed in bokaa, the Chairman of the Society was tried for having missed a funeral. His excuse was that his wife was sick and there was no one to stay with her. The ordinary fine in his case was P3. The members recognized that there were extenuating circumstances and reduced the fine to P1.50; they refused, however, to waive the fine altogether. The existence of fines and their consistent application seems to go a long way toward ensuring that the Societies' many rules are obeyed and their meetings well attended.

Another indicator which sets the Societies apart is their thorough record keeping. In a country where a majority of people are illiterate, all the Societies have apparently well-kept records listing, at least, membership, dues paid, and fines. Furthermore,

most Societies keep their funds at a bank. In both these respects, the Burial Societies are noticeably ahead of the other village voluntary organizations, most of which have severe difficulties keeping records and handling finances.

A final characteristic worth noting concerns the Societies' links with each other and the outside world. There are surprisingly few outside links. Unlike every other voluntary organization, the Burial Societies receive no assistance from government or other outside agencies. They are entirely locally initiated and run. The Societies do, however, help each other. Whenever a group of people comes together to form a Society, they explicitly ask an existing Society for assistance in getting started. The members of the old Society then meet with the members of the Society-to-be and "instruct" them in proper rules and procedures. In Sikwane, where the Societies are somewhat weaker, co-operation extends even further. In that village, some Societies pool their resources. Three Societies, for instance, have an agreement whereby a "bereaved" Society receives P12 from each of the other two Societies to help pay funeral expenses.

Factors Contributing to Burial Societies' Success

In terms of achieving their stated goals, the Societies are clearly a success. They exist to guarantee funeral expenses for their members and their families; and this they do. They are so successful an organizational form that they have spread to cover virtually every village resident. No other voluntary organization so consistently fulfills its stated objectives or is so pervasive a part of village life. The factors contributing to the Burial Societies' success, however, are not likely to be shared by other voluntary organizations. These factors are discussed under the same three broad headings used to describe the Societies: origins, functional role and organizational form.

The key aspect of the Burial Societies' origin which contributes to their success is that they are locally initiated. Village people themselves perceived an important new need and created an organization to deal with it. All the other voluntary organizations in the village were created from outside. Organizations initiated from outside may respond to important local needs; only in the case of those organizations actually initiated from within the village, however, have local people, through their actions, indicated that a particular need is high on their list of priorities. Local initiation is therefore a strong indication of likely continued interest and involvement in the tasks of the organization.

Another initial condition favoring the Societies' continued success is that they began operations in what was essentially an open field. Institutional change typically involves some institutional competition; a new organization is judged appropriate (or not) in comparison with those which already exist. The Burial Societies are fortunate in having had no existing institution to compete with. Outside the family, nobody else was concerned with guaranteeing funeral expenses. Unlike the VDC, for instance, the Burial Societies were therefore not in the position of having to compete with any traditional institution for the loyalties and energies of village residents.

Burial Societies' functional role is probably the most important element of their success in that they fulfill an important local need. It is very difficult to know exactly why one particular need may be more important to people than another. There is no presumption that the need for assistance with burials is a priori more important than the needs to which other voluntary organizations such as the Parent and Teachers' Association or the Village Health Committee respond.

What distinguishes burials from many of these other needs is that they are self-evidently a need for which no outside help can be expected. Education, health care and the like are all undoubtedly important needs but people can realistically expect that they do not have to shoulder the entire responsibility for responding to these needs themselves. Voluntary organizations are likely to be much more successful when there is no alternate strategy for satisfactorily meeting individual needs, such as by appealing to government.

Burial Societies' organizational form has one large advantage over that of all other voluntary organizations in the village, that is, they are not faced with the "free rider" problem. Most voluntary organizations exist to provide what are known as collective goods. A collective good is characterized by non-excludability; that is, people cannot be prevented from enjoying its benefits even if they did not contribute to its provision. VDC construction of a classroom is an example of collective goods provision. Group theory postulates that it will be difficult to get people to contribute to groups which provide collective goods since people will rely if possible upon others to make the necessary contributions.⁴

Burial Societies, because of the nature of the service they provide, are not faced with the "free rider" problem. They are providing many separate private goods to members, not a collective good. Each member knows that if she falls behind in her

⁴Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

contributions to the Society she will be ineligible for funeral payments and will be subject to fines. These selective incentives are a powerful motivation for individuals to participate in the Burial Societies' activities. They are a direct incentive that all other voluntary organizations in the village lack.

In conclusion, one can say that the Kgatleng Burial Societies are a success because they are an appropriate, locally-initiated response to an important new need that would otherwise not be dealt with. Subsidiary elements of their success are that they operate in an open field and that they can effectively apply selective incentives to ensure individual participation in group activities.

Conclusion

It is probably fair to say that, at least among planners and administrators, there is a dominant conceptual model of institutional change accompanying rural development. The fundamental process posited in this model is the gradual replacement of traditional institutional forms by modern ones. Two hypotheses seem to be implicit in the model. First, there is the normative hypothesis that modern institutions such as the voluntary organization are inherently superior, at least for the performance of rural development tasks, and that therefore it is desirable that they should replace traditional ones. Second, there is the operational hypothesis that the building of modern voluntary organizations, such as the VDC, will inevitably be a slow process since it takes time for people to acquire new skills and learn new patterns of behavior. Given these hypotheses, the prescription for building rural development institutions at the village level has been straightforward: form voluntary organizations to respond to perceived needs and give them patient, long-lasting extension help to overcome the inevitable difficulties of the first few years.

The performance of the Burial Societies leads one to question this model and its prescriptions for institution building. The Burial Societies are voluntary organizations that work, and have worked quickly. Their success, however, is not due to the fact that they are a modern voluntary organization per se. Instead, there are specific factors explaining their success: the most important of these factors is that the Societies respond to an important locally-perceived need that would otherwise not be adequately dealt with. It is this utility which is the first and most important prerequisite for organizational success.

Several conclusions which contradict specific features of the conventional model of institutional change follow from this factor of utility. Many voluntary organizations

do not share with the Burial Societies the feature of utility. The reason they are weak and ineffectual is precisely because the need they respond to is either low on the list of people's priorities or else is being dealt with satisfactorily in another way. It is better to ask if such organizations should exist at all rather than try to think of ways of bolstering them.

Second, it is clear that where a voluntary organization (or any other institutional form) does meet an important need, people can quite quickly learn how to use it. What is perhaps most impressive about the Burial Societies, and what makes the VDC look so weak in comparison, is that they operate without the benefit of any extension advice whatsoever. When it is important enough to the people involved, institution building can proceed quite quickly.

Finally, a corollary of these conclusions is that one should not exclude the possibility that traditional institutions may fulfill important functional needs. If it is found, for instance, that the kgotla is reasonably effective as a forum for authoritative decision-making on matters of general village concern, perhaps it is futile for the government to promote this role for the VDC.

To summarize, it would seem that planners and administrators need to examine more carefully their assumptions concerning the institutional change accompanying rural development. Modern voluntary organizations will not necessarily be effective in replacing the chieftaincy or kgotla at the village level. Extension help by itself cannot create and support organizations for which a clear, locally-felt need is lacking. This is not to suggest that voluntary organizations and extension workers have no role to play in rural development. Quite the contrary, they appear essential to any well-rounded strategy. It is to say, however, that their utility must be examined on a case-by-case basis. In some situations, other modern institutional forms or even traditional institutions may be better suited to achieving rural development goals. Clearly, before they establish new voluntary organizations, planners need to examine more critically their prospective merits and decide whether, like the Kgatleng Burial Societies, they are an appropriate institutional response to an important locally-perceived need.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Traditional Institutions

The chieftaincy and all the traditional institutions associated with it present a paradox. On the one hand, they are the best understood and most authoritative institutions operating at village level. On the other hand, for a variety of reasons, these same institutions are declining in power and influence. This decline raises questions about their suitability as an institutional focus for local participation in rural development efforts.

The definition of "traditional" adopted here follows conventional Botswana usage. Included in the category, "traditional institutions," are the chieftaincy, kgotla, wards and regiments. These institutions are distinguished from "modern" institutions on the basis of their indigenous, pre-colonial origin. A danger of this usage is the false implication that traditional and modern institutions are distinct in all ways. In fact, there is such an overlapping of functions, attitudes and personnel among village institutions that it is very difficult to say with precision which institutions are modern and which are traditional.

To their credit is the strength of the traditional institutions. The chief is the single most influential person in the village. He possesses the sole right to speak on behalf of the village. Likewise, he has wide power to make decisions affecting the whole community.

Numerous examples of chiefly power came to light during the research. Perhaps the most conclusive of these were the occasions on which the chief came in direct conflict with representatives of modern institutions. Usually the chief prevailed. In Bokaa, for instance, the chief unilaterally over-ruled an important financial decision taken by the VDC. Similarly, in Oodi, the chief closed down the clinic for a morning and made all those present at the clinic, staff and patients alike, attend a kgotla meeting.

In all the villages, the attitude and actions of the chief are critical in determining the success of any communal effort. In Bokaa, there is reason to be pessimistic about an otherwise attractive proposal for a drift fence, simply because the chief owns a dam in the plowing area and is therefore likely to suffer personally from any fence construction. In Sikwane, members of the VDC blame the lack of new VDC elections since 1975 on the refusal of the chief to call a kgotla for the purpose. In fact, as these

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do not share with the Burial Societies the feature of utility. The reason they are weak and ineffectual is precisely because the need they respond to is either low on the list of people's priorities or else is being dealt with satisfactorily in another way. It is better to ask if such organizations should exist at all rather than try to think of ways of bolstering them.

Second, it is clear that where a voluntary organization (or any other institutional form) does meet an important need, people can quite quickly learn how to use it. What is perhaps most impressive about the Burial Societies, and what makes the VDC look so weak in comparison, is that they operate without the benefit of any extension advice whatsoever. When it is important enough to the people involved, institution building can proceed quite quickly.

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To summarize, it would seem that planners and administrators need to examine more carefully their assumptions concerning the institutional change accompanying rural development. Modern voluntary organizations will not necessarily be effective in replacing the chieftaincy or kgotla at the village level. Extension help by itself cannot create and support organizations for which a clear, locally-felt need is lacking. This is not to suggest that voluntary organizations and extension workers have no role to play in rural development. Quite the contrary, they appear essential to any well-rounded strategy. It is to say, however, that their utility must be examined on a case-by-case basis. In some situations, other modern institutional forms or even traditional institutions may be better suited to achieving rural development goals. Clearly, before they establish new voluntary organizations, planners need to examine more critically their prospective merits and decide whether, like the Kgatleng Burial Societies, they are an appropriate institutional response to an important locally-perceived need.

and many other examples show, the personal qualities of the chief often seem to be the single most important variable explaining the outcome of communal development efforts.

The kgotla also remains strong. Villagers recognize the kgotla as the legitimate forum for community decision-making, and they know and understand its procedures. Perhaps the best proof of the central role of the kgotla is the fact that all organizations which claim to have a community-wide constituency hold their elections at the kgotla and bring their proposals to the kgotla for approval. Likewise, when officials from outside have a message for the village, whether Members of Parliament or researchers, they bring it to a kgotla meeting. It is difficult to conceive of any institution supplanting the kgotla as the authoritative decision-making forum for the village in the foreseeable future.

The other two traditional institutions, the wards and the regiments, continue to exist and to perform specific functions. People know which ward they live in. Matters such as resolving minor family disputes or organizing contributions for a village self-help project are often taken care of at ward level. For their part, the regiments can be an efficient means of performing communal tasks. The construction of the Mochudi kgotla shelter is an impressive example in this regard. To build the shelter, contributions were obtained from the members of designated regiments living in every village in Kgatleng. There exists no other institution in the district capable of mobilizing voluntary contributions on a similar scale.

Despite their evident strength, the power and influence of the traditional institutions is declining. This is manifested at the village level in several different ways. The chiefs, for instance, have difficulty in asserting strong leadership. Though they have extensive (negative) veto power, the chiefs are generally unable to act positively to mobilize the village for any complex development initiatives. In both Sikwane and Mathubudukwane, for instance, the chiefs tried, but were unable, to organize labor to construct a cattle kraal at the village kgotla. Perhaps more telling, the chiefs cannot effectively regulate people's social and economic behavior. The chief in Oodi complained wistfully that people were settling permanently at the lands without his approval; the Bokaa chief was finding it impossible to prevent people from collecting firewood against his wishes.

A decline is also evident at the kgotla. For one thing, the kgotla is increasingly the instrument of outsiders. The vast majority of kgotla meetings during the period of research were called on the initiative of some outside agent such as the Member of

Parliament or the District Conservation Committee. The style at these meetings was didactic; villagers were asked to take instructions, not to participate in a dialogue.

The kgotla is also plagued by numerous difficulties in making and implementing decisions. Attendance is usually poor. As a result, meetings start late and sometimes fail outright. Discussions are poorly informed and rambling. The consensus decisions that are reached are often so poorly articulated that afterward no one is clear about what has been agreed upon. Finally, arrangements are seldom made to follow up any decisions taken.

Evidence of decline extends to the wards and regiments as well. Ward boundaries, for instance, are becoming increasingly unclear or irrelevant. In both Bokaa and Mathubudukwane, the chief did not know the names of all the village wards. In Sikwane, it was stated that the wards no longer each hold a single family lineage but are just helpful locational guides. As for regiments, the older ones display much more vitality than the newer ones. The older regiments did most of the work on the Mochudi kgotla shelter, for instance. As our study ended, preparations were underway for the initiation of a new women's regiment in Kgatleng. It seemed that many of the eligible girls were seeking ways to avoid this initiation exercise.

Why are the traditional institutions declining? The ultimate cause is probably government policy, especially in the post-Independence period. Government has taken away the chiefs' authority to regulate most aspects of people's social and economic lives, at the same time reducing most of their financial, material and human resources. Finally, it has reduced the chiefs' independence by making them employees of government.

As a result of these policies, village chiefs and all the traditional institutions seem to have lost some of their legitimacy and authority. Chiefs seem to be losing legitimacy in the eyes of villagers as a result of their incorporation into the government bureaucracy. Traditionally, it was said that a "chief is born" -- that is, a chief was leader of his village by hereditary right. Today, the principle of hereditary succession is still adhered to, but chiefs are also civil servants who can be replaced by government and are answerable for their actions to government officials. This has the effect of undermining their legitimacy. In both Oodi and Mathubudukwane, for instance, the chief does not come from the village, but instead has been appointed from outside. Both chiefs are regarded as "foreigners" with only a weak claim on villagers' loyalties.

Tied up with this loss of legitimacy is a loss of real authority. The village chief is now at the bottom of a large government bureaucracy. He personally commands few

human or financial resources. Instead, he is often in the position of having to carry out directives from some higher authority. Villagers observe this, and they turn less and less to the chief for assistance with their problems. When the Member of Parliament toured the four villages, he heard an outpouring of complaints about purely local matters such as a road needing repair. The villagers turned to the MP with their problems, rather than to the chief, because they recognized that the MP is the one with more ability to do something about them.

In conclusion, as a potential focus for eliciting and sustaining local participation in rural development, the traditional institutions display both strength and weakness. Their strength is that they are known, understood, and influential. Planners who ignore the chief and kgotla give up a major source of potential support for implementation of programs. At the same time, the traditional institutions have declined. The chief has lost much legitimacy and authority; the kgotla has weak procedures and is often simply a platform for outsiders. The traditional institutions in their present and foreseeable form lack the strength to lead rural development in the village by themselves.

Characteristics of Voluntary Organizations

The modern institutions at the village level are the numerous voluntary organizations and the various branches of central and district government. The latter are represented by the extension workers, who are discussed in a later section. This and the next section examine the voluntary organizations.

Each village has at least ten voluntary organizations. The most numerous and successful of these, the Burial Societies, were discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The performance of some of the other main organizations is briefly summarized below.

Village Development Committee. The VDC is probably the best known and understood voluntary organization. People know that it is supposed to exist and that it is supposed to lead village developments. Members of other organizations know that the VDC is supposed to be the "village parliament" and that government funds for village projects can only be obtained through the VDC. Nevertheless, the VDCs are generally quite weak. In three of the villages, the VDCs are currently shadow organizations which rarely meet and are involved in no major activities. Only in Bokaa, where it is supported by exceptionally active extension workers, is the VDC currently involved in a significant rural development project.

Thrift and Loan Society. Formed in the 1960s by the Ministry of Agriculture, the Thrift and Loan Societies apparently played a vital role for a number of years in all four

villages as a sort of poor man's bank. The Thrift and Loan Societies are now dying, possibly as a result of competition from the Co-operative Societies. They continue to exist only in Bokaa and Oodi.

Farmers' Committees. There are very few farmers' committees of any kind. Those that exist, however, seem to have a clear purpose and are among the most vital voluntary organizations. Examples are the Sikwane Fence Group and the Oodi Dam Group.

Village Health Committee. This committee acts as a public health appendage to the clinic; in particular it assists the Family Welfare Educator in performing her duties. The results of VHC efforts are mostly intangible and therefore hard to verify, but it does seem to have had good success in spreading health messages about things such as TB and sanitation (though not family planning). Predictably, the one village where there is no VHC is Sikwane, which does not have a clinic.

Parent and Teachers' Organization. The PTA seems to be having trouble finding a role. It provides financial and logistical support for the school feeding program and helps send the school children to sports and music competitions. In the past, some PTAs were also involved in constructing facilities for the school. The problem is that competitions and the feeding program require very little organizational effort, and are usually therefore taken care of by the school staff or a very few PTA members. As well, the District Council now provides all the buildings a school needs. As a result, most of the PTAs now have very little to do.

Red Cross/Botswana Council of Women. These two organizations are also having trouble finding a role. They are involved in various social welfare activities such as helping destitutes and handing out food to malnourished children. They compete with the VHC and SWC and each other in performing these jobs.

Social Welfare Committee. This committee was recently created, at the instigation of the Community Development Department of the District Council, with the primary purpose of assisting the ACDO with his or her work with destitutes. In three of the villages, the SWC has disappeared for lack of work. In Mathubudukwane, however, a dynamic SWC leadership has made it one of the most active committees in the village by shifting attention from destitutes to building a nursery.

It is risky to generalize about such a diverse set of organizations as these. Nonetheless, the following characteristics appear to be shared by all or most of them.

Accomplishments. The accomplishments of most village organizations are quite meager. With some notable exceptions, they are making little tangible contribution to

rural development. There is also a distinct bias toward infrastructure in what organizations do accomplish. They are much better at putting up buildings than at maintaining them or at organizing on-going programs to be run from them.

Origin. In nominal terms, there is a proliferation of organizations. Most have been created as a result of some need perceived from outside the village, a fact which becomes apparent when one finds exactly the same set of organizations in village after village.

Purpose. Most organization members are vague about the purpose of their organization. Among ordinary villagers this vagueness often becomes downright ignorance. This is one primary characteristic distinguishing the modern from the traditional institutions; at least the latter are known and understood.

Functions. There is tremendous overlap in the functions of the various organizations. This seems to be a result of the way they have been formed. Tasks which at the national or district level seem to be separate and distinct often turn out to be not so clearly differentiated at the village level. The extreme example is the case of the Red Cross, Botswana Council of Women, VHC and SWC, all of which compete with each other in the social welfare field. At a higher level, each of these organizations may have a separate, important task to perform; at the village level they do not.

Membership. It is difficult to generalize about the personal characteristics of members of local organizations since, in fact, most sections of the village population are represented in some way. Nonetheless, one commonly finds that members tend to be older, wealthier, better educated (though still only having primary education or less) and perhaps of royal lineage. Naturally, members of organizations mostly are those who have remained in the village; the young, the well-educated, or middle-aged male heads-of-households are less often members of organizations because of the simple fact that many of them have left the village for employment opportunities elsewhere.

Selection. The selection processes for officers and committee members of organizations are at best haphazard. People typically are selected for reasons only peripherally related to their perceived competence. There are not enough volunteers to go around; people state that they purposefully stay away from kgotla meetings in order to avoid being selected to a committee. A consequence of the fact that many committee members are reluctant volunteers or unwilling conscriptees is that their attendance at meetings is sporadic and their overall performance is poor.

Meetings. Most organizations have major difficulties merely getting people to attend meetings. This is a clear reflection of the lack of purpose of the organizations

and also of the much greater importance people give to other activities, such as tending their fields at the lands, which make competing demands on their time.

Minutes. Minutes are kept by many, though not all, organizations. But these records are typically so poorly kept that they do not adequately perform their ostensible purpose of providing a record of past deliberations. The typical committee, in fact, has an institutional memory only as long and as accurate as that of the longest serving member(s). Given the fact that many committees turn over their entire membership periodically, this means that there is a serious problem with institutional recall.

Finances. The financial records of organizations are also very poor. A surprisingly large number (perhaps a majority) keep their money in a bank but the records are so poorly kept and the checks are so loose that there is a very real possibility of embezzlement or mismanagement of funds. Some examples of such practices are not hard to find. It is hard to know why there are not more such examples -- it may be because the records are so bad that few cases of corruption come to light, or it may be that, although opportunities exist, people's innate honesty stops them from getting involved in mismanagement of funds.

By-laws. Most organizations have no written by-laws or constitution. Those that do, such as the Thrift and Loan Societies and some farmers' committees, typically have ones supplied from outside, which are neither understood nor followed. This does not mean, however, that anarchy prevails. Most organizations do have unwritten codes of conduct that are generally known and understood.

Women's Role. Women play an active role in many committees and in fact, often form the majority of the membership (not surprising since there are many more women than men permanently resident in the villages). Nonetheless, the generally inferior position of women in society is reflected in the organizations. Men, for instance, hold key committee positions, such as the Chair, in numbers all out of proportion to their total share of membership.

Party Politics. "Modern" politics, in the sense of political party partisanship, seems to be an inconsequential factor in explaining organizational behavior. It is unclear whether this is because the organizations are really apolitical in this sense or because the ruling party holds such a hegemonic position in Kgatleng that there are no significant divisions in society along these lines. (The Botswana Democratic Party has won all the seats, at both the national and district level, for the four study villages in every election since Independence.)

Language. All the organizations are faced with a language problem. Although very few villagers speak English, both oral and written communication with government and other outside agents is all too frequently conducted in English. The worst example of this is the case of a Sikwane Burial Society which received a registration form written in such obscure commercial English that even the university student had trouble deciphering it. Furthermore, what written Setswana is used is often very difficult for villagers to understand. This is because concepts like "development," "committee," and a host of other words, which are part and parcel of the rural development jargon, are new to Setswana. New words have been created. awkward literal translations have been made, or else the English term is used. Anyway, the Setswana vocabulary of government is not yet the vocabulary of the common man.

Leadership. Finally, it is noticeable how often the key explanatory variable in organizational performance turns out to be personality. A committee is (or is not) successful it appears because key individuals are (or are not) dynamic, forceful, motivated, etc. There seems to be no other way to explain, for instance, the continued strong performance of the Bokaa Village Extension Team. The fact that organizational success seems to depend so critically on having strong members is a clear indication that the institutional structures themselves are weak.

Analysis of Voluntary Organizations

Overall, the picture of voluntary organizations that emerges is not encouraging. There are occasional examples of success among the various modern organizations, and these are worth studying for any clues they may provide to the path ahead. But for the most part, the modern organizations are poorly understood, poorly operated, and incapable of accomplishing any but the simplest tasks. They have in no way replaced the traditional institutions as the authoritative village institutions.

It would be wrong to create the impression that village people are to blame for the failures of their organizations. They are not. One does best to start from the assumption of rationality and suppose that if people are not working to make these organizations a success, they must have some reasons for doing so. By examining three things: (1) the examples of successful organizations, (2) the incentive structure created by government, and (3) the role of local organizations in people's lives, it should become clearer why organizations have the problems they do.

In terms of achieving their stated goals, the Burial Societies are by far the most successful voluntary organization. As was discussed in Chapter 6, the primary reason

for their success is that they respond to an important, locally-perceived need that would not otherwise be dealt with. In the case of the Burial Societies, there are other factors which help to explain their success, such as the fact that they operate in an essentially "open field," having no competing organizations, and are able to apply effective individual sanctions against members who break their rules. The main factor contributing to their success, however, remains their utility to members.

Most of the other more successful organizations, such as the VHCs and some farmers' committees, also meet this criterion of utility. There is a clear message here. Voluntary organizations are much more likely to succeed if they respond to an important local need which cannot be dealt with in some other way. The surest way to know that such a need exists is if local people themselves initiate the organization, as they have the Burial Societies and some farmers' committees. The frequent failure or ineffectiveness of organizations initiated from outside indicates that planners have not always succeeded in correctly identifying local needs.

The incentive structure created by government, deliberately or inadvertently, goes a long way toward explaining why voluntary organizations fail. In the villages there is simply not a lot of locally-generated activity going on. Much of this can be attributed to government's own, well-intended, efforts to promote rural development.

One obvious and important aspect of this process concerns the major social infrastructure programs -- schools, health facilities and water supplies in particular. In a very short period, mostly since the start of the Accelerated Rural Development Program in 1973, government has provided impressively large numbers of these facilities. Because it was faster and more efficient to do so, government provided these facilities without significantly involving villagers in planning or implementation. Yet these are precisely the social amenities and facilities which the VDC and other voluntary organizations are best at providing. People now see that there is no point in providing these things themselves; it is much easier to adopt the passive approach of begging the MP or the district planners at the annual district development conferences to supply them. Given the simple fact that government can, and does, supply development "goods" much faster and more cheaply (for the villagers) than they themselves can, villagers understandably ask what is the purpose of attempting to provide them through voluntary organizations.

There is a second factor affecting the government-villager relationship. This is that government's repeated calls for self-help are often seen as a ploy to exploit villagers. Many people say they believed in self-help in the past when Botswana was

patently a poor country. Now, however, they hear on the radio all the time about diamond revenues and about new aid agreements, and they no longer believe the government when it says self-help is necessary. Furthermore, rightly or wrongly, many villagers believe that they are being asked to build on a self-help basis major projects such as secondary schools which are being provided at no cost to users in the towns. In this respect, the Sikwane VHC, which refuses even to meet unless committee members are paid, typifies the attitude of many villagers.

A third, and final, government influence undermining people's willingness to contribute voluntarily to the self-help efforts of village organizations is Botswana's experience with Food for Work programs. On at least two occasions in the past ten years, government has used Food for Work to provide relief during a drought. The actual Food for Work projects were of the same general nature as typical village self-help projects. People do not make the connection between a poor harvest and Food for Work programs. Instead, they ask why labor for a given kind of project was rewarded with food one year but not the next.

The Food for Work programs are remembered in the villages as having been a success. In each village, people can quickly name the various dams, teacher's quarters and other facilities that were constructed in the past using Food for Work. Once Food for Work becomes the norm, however, people expect it all the time. It then becomes very hard to get people to participate in voluntary self-help projects.

Taken together, one unintended and undesired side effect of the government's considerable rural development efforts in the past decade seems to have been to demobilize the villages. It is unrealistic, and probably undesirable, to try to induce village voluntary organizations to compete with government in the business of providing basic social infrastructure. Voluntary organizations, no doubt, have a role to play in filling in the gaps of government building programs, but this will not be a large role. If they are to play a significant role in mobilizing people for rural development, voluntary organizations will have to turn away from social amenity facilities and concentrate on providing those things which government cannot easily provide.

This brings us to the third variable explaining organizations' performance, the role they play in people's lives. Most voluntary organizations in fact play only a peripheral role in people's lives. With the exception of a few organizations, such as some farmers' committees, they are neither enhancing people's income sources nor providing alternatives. People make their living through a combination of subsistence agriculture, cattle herding and remittances from migrant labor. These are people's most important

concerns, yet these are by and large not the concerns of local organizations. Whenever a conflict develops between giving time to a voluntary group and undertaking economic activity, people invariably drop their organizational responsibilities, for instance, to go to the lands.

Another important factor in this regard is that voluntary organizations have yet to develop adequate institutional responses to the migratory movements of the typical Botswana household. Organizations are predominantly based in the village. This means that they typically become dormant for six months out of every year while people go to the lands. The influence of organizations does not extend to the lands. Some of the larger lands areas have the same basic organizations as the villages (VDC, PTA, VHC), but this is rare. Where these organizations do exist at the lands, there is no link between them and parallel organizations in the village.

The result is that village-based organizations, although they may control some resources in the village, control no resources at the lands. This increases people's perception that voluntary organizations are peripheral to the essentials of life. It also reduces the likely effectiveness of any development strategy which builds on village-based organizations, as these are presently constituted. In order to make a significant rural development impact, voluntary organizations need to address people's main social and economic concerns more directly and to develop strategies for dealing with people's migratory habits.

Extension Workers

There are many government workers in the village. Those usually considered to be the key extension workers are the Assistant Community Development Officer, the Agricultural Demonstrator, the Family Welfare Educator and nurses at the clinic or health post, and the teachers at the school. Other government employees in some or all villages are the Land Board clerk, the revenue collector, the customary court clerk, and the chief himself. Although not strictly a government employee, the Councillor is also often included in discussions about extension workers.

This study observed that the existing extension network has a great deal of potential for acting as a catalyst for local participation in rural development, a potential which is unfortunately all too infrequently realized. It should be quickly noted that, with the exception of the ACDO, the job descriptions for extension workers do not focus upon working with village organizations. The primary responsibility of teachers is to teach; nurses are concerned in the first place with running the clinic. Yet there is

reason to consider more carefully what role extension workers can and should play in promoting local participation in rural development.

It may seem obvious that the extension workers would have great potential to act as catalysts for local participation in rural development. They are full-time development workers. They are also far and away the best-educated and best-informed village residents. Two examples of extension success illustrate that this potential is real.

The Village Health Committees have already been cited as an example of a relatively active voluntary organization. One key ingredient of their success is that they respond to a need which villagers regard as important; another factor is the continuous, well-conceived extension support they receive. Clinic staff provide the necessary professional guidance. The Health Education Unit in the Ministry of Health lets the VHCs know they are appreciated by doing such things as organizing periodic seminars for them. Without overwhelming them, the extension staff seem to be giving the VHCs the support they need in order to prosper.

A perhaps more striking example is the Bokaa Village Extension Team. In the other three villages, there is no VET. In Bokaa, however, there is a group of extension workers who are natives of the village and who have been in their post for many years. They now form the nucleus of an extremely active VET. This VET is the driving force behind most projects in Bokaa, including the recently constructed Youth Training and Community Center. By working together through the VET, these extension workers have made contributions well beyond the terms of their individual job descriptions.

Sadly, examples such as these are all too rare. There are several reasons why this may be so. For one thing, the system does not require the kind of cooperation among extension workers epitomized by the Bokaa VET. Each extension worker communicates through separate channels to his or her supervisor in Mochudi or Gaborone. Each extension worker has responsibilities set forth in a timetable determined by the priorities of his or her department. There is little coordination of extension programs among these departments at higher levels. The result is that there is little impulse from above for village extension workers to work together.

Second, extension workers are controlled by the bureaucratic imperatives of the departments within which they work. All departments require extension workers to complete periodic reports. This requirement encourages a strong "project" orientation among extension workers. That is, they emphasize form over content; they count success in terms of numbers of buildings constructed rather than in terms of the use made of these buildings.

As well, the departments continuously impose new requirements on their staff. All the main extension workers are quite busy people. Much of their time, however, is taken up with paper-work, attending courses, or preparing for special events such as the annual Agricultural Show. As a result, someone like the Agricultural Demonstrator, for instance, has surprisingly little time left over for working with farmers' groups. The case may not be typical, but we found one AD who was so busy with other duties that, after three months in his post, he still had not had time to work with any local farmers.

These general problems limit the effectiveness of all extension workers. At least two further difficulties are encountered by the one extension worker whose job description mandates work with voluntary organizations, the Assistant Community Development Officer. For one thing, more than most extension workers, the ACDOs are very busy. They are expected to cover several villages. As well, their job description is so broad that they tend to be constantly assigned new tasks. Given this situation, many ACDOs concentrate upon their more concrete tasks, such as distributing clothing and food to destitutes, to the detriment of their more intangible responsibility for assisting voluntary organizations.

Second, ACDOs more than other extension workers, are prone to be regarded as "town boys" (or girls) who are incapable of understanding village ways. While most extension workers are not like typical village residents in that they are comparatively young, well-educated and well-paid, it seems that other extension workers are more easily accepted by villagers than the ADCO because they have a clearly defined area of expertise. The ACDO's expertise, by contrast, is neither well-understood nor completely appreciated by many villagers. Instead, villagers frequently resent the efforts of such impudent town youths to tell them what to do. The upshot is that the ACDO sometimes alienates the very people with whom he or she is supposed to be working.

Extension workers perform some valuable services in terms of the work they do with voluntary organizations. They could, however, do much more. Blaming individual extension workers for these shortcomings is pointless and unfair. Extension workers' performance can best be improved by examining and modifying the roles assigned them and the institutional structure of the bureaucracies within which they work.

Conclusions

At the present time, village institutions in Kgatleng District are not doing very much to promote local participation in rural development. The chieftaincy and the other traditional institutions are known and understood but they are declining in power

and influence. The modern voluntary organizations suffer from a variety of woes. With a few exceptions, they are generally weak and ineffectual. They control few resources and are incapable of making authoritative decisions significantly promoting rural development. While the traditional institutions have declined, modern institutions have not been able to take their place.

It is assumed that it is considered desirable to increase local participation in rural development. The question is how to go about doing this. Below are listed three recommended principles of action. Each of these principles is a way that government can promote increased local participation in rural development. All the principles are derived from the analysis of the traditional and modern institutions of Kgatleng District in this and preceding chapters. They are therefore likely to be particularly applicable to Kgatleng. Nonetheless, it is hoped that they may be relevant in other districts or even outside Botswana.

These conclusions are purposefully presented in a rather general form. If they are accepted, it would then be the task of the district planners, who alone possess the necessary detailed and up-to-date knowledge of local circumstances, to translate the general principles of action into specific programs.

(1) Incorporate the traditional institutions. The traditional institutions have their weaknesses but they clearly possess significant influence at the village level. Unfortunately, the traditional institutions are presently not well incorporated into the district's rural development efforts. At the district level, the Tribal Administration may be included in District Development Committee and District Council deliberations, but it is not generally considered to be an executive agency for rural development programs. At the village level, the chief is acknowledged to be the leader of the village but his official duties do not actually extend far beyond presiding over kgotla meetings and customary court cases. It is usually only a matter of personal preference if a village chief is involved in village development activities. The first recommended principle of action, therefore, is to try to mobilize the authority and legitimacy of the traditional institutions, throughout the district, by more thoroughly incorporating them into the rural development process. Examples of measures that might be taken in this regard would be for the village chief's job description to be expanded to include work with voluntary organizations and for the Tribal Administration to be given responsibility for implementing selected rural development programs.

(2) Shift the focus of voluntary organizations. Too many voluntary organizations, especially those initiated from outside the village, do not respond to an important

locally-perceived need that cannot be dealt with in any other way. Such organizations simply do not address people's main social and economic concerns, nor do they adequately accommodate the migratory habits of most Batswana. The second recommended principle of action, therefore, is to try to shift the focus of voluntary organizations. Government need be less concerned with voluntary organizations that focus on infrastructure provision and similar activities. Instead, government's emphasis should be upon voluntary organizations, especially locally-initiated ones, that seek to increase rural incomes. In the past, VDCs have sponsored commercial ventures such as brick-molding. There is no reason why, in the future, VDCs and other voluntary organizations cannot be involved in a wide range of similar economic activities.

(3) Re-emphasize extension workers' role in promoting local participation in rural development. The extension network is a valuable resource that is not being put to its maximum possible use. The third recommended principle of action is to re-emphasize extension workers' role in promoting local participation in rural development. The necessary first step in this direction would be to make the activities of the Village Extension Team a key focus of each extension worker's job description. Another possible measure would be to draw presently under-worked government employees, such as the Land Board clerk, revenue collector and court clerk, into extension work with local organizations.

APPENDICES

Appendix I
GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

This glossary lists terms and abbreviations which may be new to the reader unfamiliar with Botswana. The terms are defined on the basis of personal observation and experience.

ACDO: Assistant Community Development Officer. This officer is the village extension worker of the Social and Community Development Department of the District Council. The ACDO has special responsibility for working with the Village Development Committee.

AD: Agricultural Demonstrator. This officer is the village extension worker of the Ministry of Agriculture. The AD works closely with the various farmers' committees in the village.

ALDEP: Arable Lands Development Program. This program, launched in 1980, is the center-piece of the government's current efforts to raise rural incomes and make Botswana self-sufficient in basic grain production. A wide range of extension programs, credit schemes and other activities are included under the ALDEP umbrella.

BDP: Botswana Democratic Party. The ruling party in Botswana's multi-party democracy.

bottle store: A store which sells bottled and canned beverages, both alcoholic and non-alcoholic.

chief: Each tribe in Botswana, such as the Bakgatla of Kgatleng District, has an intricate hierarchy of chiefs. The leader of the tribe is the paramount chief; Kgori Lunchive II, who lives in Mochudi, the tribal capital, is the current paramount chief of the Bakgatla. Below the paramount chief, and under his direct authority, are numerous graduations of subordinate chiefs. There is, at least in theory, a chief for every village, and for every ward within each village. The rank of a particular chief depends on the size of the village or ward he leads. The chiefs with larger jurisdictions are paid government employees. Chiefs with smaller jurisdictions are referred to as headmen.

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The terms headman and chief are often used interchangeably to describe the leaders of medium-sized jurisdictions such as the villages in this study.

Council: See "District Council".

CUSO: Canadian University Services Overseas. A development agency which supplies volunteer technical assistance personnel as well as some project funding.

District Council: The elected local government in each of Botswana's nine districts. The District Councils have statutory responsibility for primary education, primary health care, rural roads, domestic water supply and social and community development.

drift fence: A fence, usually several miles in length, designed to separate grazing and plowing areas, rather than to enclose a given area.

FWE: Family Welfare Educator. This officer is the village extension worker of the Health Department of the District Council. The FWE's duties focus upon the preventive rather than the curative aspects of health care.

gumba-gumba party: A party featuring the distinctive South African contemporary music known as gumba-gumba. Individuals and organizations hold these parties in order to raise money through the sale of beer and food.

headman: See discussion under "chief".

Ipelegeng: Self-help, literally, "carrying ourselves on our back." Ipelegeng is one of Botswana's four national principles.

kgotla: A place, a meeting and a court. The kgotla is the meeting place of a chief and his people. The chief presides over the kgotla, which is the authoritative decision-making body for all matters of communal concern. The chief also tries in the kgotla people accused of breaking customary law.

Land Board: Appointive bodies, the District Land Boards have control over all matters related to the allocation and use of communal land. This power was held by the chiefs until the creation of the Land Boards in 1970.

lands: The fields in the communal areas where Batswana cultivate their crops. Most people move out to the lands once the rainy season begins and only return to the village after harvesting their crops.

P/t: Pula, thebe. The Botswana currency. One Pula equals one hundred thebe. Currently, a Pula is equal to approximately \$1.30.

paramount chief: See discussion under "chief".

PTA: Parent and Teachers' Association. A parent-teacher liaison committee which assists the school staff in various ways.

Pula: See P/t.

regiment: Traditionally, all adult Batswana, men and women, belonged to an age-set, or regiment. A new regiment of youths in their late teens or early twenties would be initiated approximately every five years, at the paramount chief's discretion. Regiments were available for any community task assigned by the paramount chief. The regiments are disappearing in many parts of Botswana, though among the Bakgatla they remain relatively strong.

river villages: Five villagers in south-east Kgatleng District lying along the Marico River, which forms the border with South Africa -- Mabalane, Sikwane, Mathubudukwane, Malolwane and Ramonaka.

shebeen: An unlicensed establishment selling alcoholic beverages. The proprietors, usually female, are referred to as "shebeen queens."

SWC: Social Welfare Committee. A village committee formed to help the ACDO in his/her work with destitutes.

thebe: See P/t.

VDC: Village Development Committee. The village committee primarily responsible for promoting development. All village applications for District Council self-help funds must come from the VDC.

VET: Village Extension Team. An advisory committee whose core members are the government extension officers working in the village. The VET is supposed to assist the VDC in planning and implementing its projects.

VHC: Village Health Committee. A village committee which promotes preventive health care programs. The VHC is guided by the clinic staff.

ward: Most villages in Botswana are sub-divided into wards. A ward typically consists of families from a single lineage and usually has its own kgotla and ward headman.

YTCC: Youth Training and Community Center. The name given by the residents of Bokaa to the major self-help project they are currently working on.

4-B: A club for school children, supported by the Ministry of Agriculture, and usually based at the village primary school. The children participate in games and activities designed to make them good farmers and good citizens.

Appendix 2

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Each student used two standard data collection methods, the participant-observer and key informant techniques. The students attended, as observers, virtually all village meetings that occurred during the research period. They also participated in a few organizational activities, such as attending a fund-raising concert sponsored by the PTA. The majority of the data came not from these participant-observer activities, however, but from key-informant interviews. By the end of the research, the students had conducted open-ended interviews with most of the organization office-bearers who were present in the village. The quality of information from each informant varied considerably, but by conducting several interviews focusing on each organization, the students were able to build up what is probably a fairly accurate portrayal of the village institutions.

Several methods were employed to improve and systematize the students' data gathering. I visited each student weekly. The night before each visit, I read the student's notebook and then prepared written questions for discussion the next day. Each student and I also jointly prepared a weekly work plan for the student. The plan listed informants to be interviewed and issues to be discussed. Finally, each student completed a data form on each village organization for which he/she had information. To avoid introducing unnecessary bias, students did not take this form with them to interviews and meetings, but instead completed them at their homes. The questions asked on the form are below.

1. Membership: For each member: name, years in organization, position held, years in position, age, sex, occupation, education, other organizations which belong to.
2. Projects/Activities: For each project/activity: brief description, cost, funding source, starting and completion date.
3. Meetings: Frequency (actual and theoretical), attendance patterns, topics discussed at meetings attended by student, minutes.
4. Finance: Fund-raising methods, accounts kept, bank account, money available.
5. Selection: How does one become a member, an officer, of the organization?
6. By-Laws: Do they exist? Comment on their authoritativeness.
7. Linkages: Nature and extent of horizontal, vertical links.

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