

GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT OR PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY
A STUDY OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN
GHANZI DISTRICT



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GLOSSARY

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
BAC	Botswana Agricultural College
CD	Community Development
CFDA	Communal First Development Area
CPO	Council Planning Officer
DAEO	District Adult Education Officer
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DO(L)	District Officer (Lands)
kgotla	community meeting; the place where such a meeting is held
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
PTA	Parent-Teachers Association
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADA	Remote Area Development Assistant
RADO	Remote Area Development Officer
RIO	Rural Industrial Officer
VDC	Village Development Committee

Preface

This study is part of the Applied Research Unit's research on the role and strengthening of local institutions in communal area resource management and land use planning. This particular study took place between December and May 1982 at the request of the Ghanzi District Administration as part of the district's Communal First Development Area programme.

Ghanzi District personnel strongly expressed the desire that the research and the resulting recommendations be of relevant use to district planners. This led to an investigation into the specific training needs of district extension staff, particularly of the Remote Area Development and Social and Community Development departments and the development of methods which could lead to implementation of the recommendations. A four-day workshop involving district planners and extension workers was held from 10-13th May 1982 as the final input of this phase of the research. The three following reports include: (a) research findings and recommendations; (b) training guidelines which were developed from district needs; and (c) review of the problems, benefits and recommendations for follow-up training for extension staff involved in the Communal First Development Area and other remote area settlements.

It is our view that research can serve as an important tool for development if properly utilised by district personnel. This was an

essential goal of the institutions training workshop--to integrate the research with district planning and to provide a situation that enabled district planners to study and take action upon research recommendations.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of all the Ghanzi District personnel involved in this institutions development project. It is hoped that the work done thus far is only the first step towards making local institutions a viable and important part of development, particularly in newly established remote area communities of Ghanzi District and that this initial effort be continued and be enhanced by district staff in cooperation with the Applied Research Unit.

Gary Childers

Joyce Stanley

Kathryn Rick

22nd June 1982

Summary of Research Recommendations
for Institutions Development for the
Ghanzi District Communal First Development Area
and Other Remote Area Communities

1. Efforts should be made to reinstate Botswanacraft purchases of local handwork. [p. 12]
2. The original intent of the Land and Water Development Project--settlement by Basarwa people who have lost their rights to traditional land areas due to the development of the Ghanzi Freehold Farms--be strictly followed. This should be the major criterion for allowing settlement at West Hanahai and the future sites at East Hanahai and Groot Laagte. [p. 19]
3. Second priority be given to non-Basarwa people who have resided in the Ghanzi area for the majority of their lives and who do not have present access to land on the farm block or in other traditional village areas. Such persons should only be allowed to settle at these sites if they are found to be in a relatively equal situation as the majority of settlement inhabitants. [p. 19]
4. All people who wish to move to the RAD (Remote Area Dweller) settlements be required to make an application for residential and arable field sites to the Ghanzi Land Board. These applications should be referred to the Senior RADO for investigation into the economic situation and type of character of each applicant. [p. 19]

5. A committee be set up to include local residents as well as representatives from the Ghanzi RAD Office and the Ghanzi Land Board for the purpose of evaluating the above applications. [pp. 19-20]
6. An existing institution at West Hanahai, such as a sub-group of the VDC be used as a committee to deal with these settlement matters. The decision of this committee should then be referred to the Land Board for allocation of land, if appropriate, according to the settlement land use plans which should eventually be drawn up by the Ghanzi DO(L) in consultation with the RADs. [p. 20]
7. The agreed upon policies and procedures for settlement at RAD communities be submitted in written form to the Ghanzi District Council and District Development Committee for approval. [p. 20]
8. The extension personnel at West Hanahai work with the strengthening and development of the two basic institutions only, the VDC and the Kgotla Committee. [p. 42]
9. The proliferation of organisations be avoided at West Hanahai, and no other organisation be formed which concerns itself with village development until such a time that a need is clearly felt by the community. [p. 42]
10. The extension workers initially concentrate their efforts on upgrading the VDC rather than disperse their efforts on two poorly functioning institutions at once. [p. 42].

11. The PTA remain dormant and that the VDC meanwhile take over any responsibilities for development efforts that affect the school.
[p. 42]
12. The VDC should be elected by the community or the kgotla every two years as called for in the VDC Handbook, rather than being appointed by the Councillor every now and then. [p. 43]
13. Total VDC membership should be reduced from sixteen to ten members to help create a more workable meeting atmosphere. [p. 43]
14. Instead of having one reluctant VDC Chairman, a system of group leadership is proposed whereby an executive or leadership committee or a group of elders is elected to share the leadership position. Under this system, a group of perhaps four people could take turns in chairing a meeting and could share the burdensome responsibilities that would normally be given to one person. This type of system would have the advantages of taking the onus of running the VDC off of one individual and of providing a stronger leadership through group decision which is more suitable to their customary approaches to authority amongst their own people. This sub-committee should have clear support from government personnel.
[pp. 43]
15. Group training should be provided for VDC members on skills in community organisation, basic meeting procedures, assessing community needs, problem solving and decision making. [p. 43]

16. Training should be provided on an on-going basis by well qualified Social and Community Development staff or other appropriate extension personnel. [p. 43]
17. A training programme for teaching organisational and problem solving skills should be developed around a specific development project, such as the planned self-help perimeter fencing project. [p. 43-44]
18. The community should be well informed by government officials about the role and responsibilities of the VDC and the VDC executive or leadership committee. [p. 44]
19. VDC self-help projects should be generated from the community or the VDC as a response to community needs rather than a response to government needs for the community. All VDC projects should be submitted to the community at the kgotla before approaching Council with the project proposal. Self-help efforts should be encouraged to concentrate mainly on those projects which directly affect and improve and economic conditions of the community. Self-help projects should enable the community to become more economically independent. [p. 44]
20. A maximum of one major self-help project per year be planned for implementation at West Hanahai. The district IG17 small projects officer should coordinate all self-help efforts at RAD settlements as is done in other villages of Ghanzi District. [p. 44]

21. Food for work should not be provided by the government for the implementation of village self-help projects as it would only increase the already high level of dependency on the government. If food is required for people who participate in the implementation of community self-help projects, the community itself should raise funds to provide food for the workers. [p. 44]
22. This would be done by forming a small scale cooperative shop at West Hanahai similar to the shop system at Kagcae. The rules for establishing and management of the shop should be run by the VDC or a sub-committee of the VDC. The VDC would choose a trustworthy manager who would be advised and assisted by a community extension worker. [p. 45]
23. The Kgotla Committee should be reduced from seven members (including the kgotla leader or "headman") to five members. These members of the Kgotla Committee should be elected every two years by the community at a kgotla meeting. [p. 45]
24. There should be no kgotla leader or "headman" since this position implies that one man is capable of providing the leadership at the kgotla. [p. 45]
25. The Kgotla Committee members take turns chairing the kgotla meetings in the same fashion as recommended for the VDC executive group. [p.;46]

26. That an intensive training programme should be arranged for the Kgotla Committee members by the RAD and 3&CD departments. Training in kgotla procedures and leadership methods are recommended. The Ghanzi kgotla should be used as a forum for observation followed by role playing and popular theatre training techniques. [p. 46]
27. The community is well informed by the District Commissioner about the role and responsibilities of the Kgotla Committee. The community's understanding and respect for the Kgotla Committee are crucial for a functional kgotla system. [p. 46]
28. The District Commissioner and the Ghanzi Tribal Authority monitor and assist the functioning of the Kgotla Committee at West Hanahai. They should remain aware of any Kgotla Committee members who show leadership abilities and the potential of taking over the responsibilities of a village headman. [p. 46]
29. If it is eventually found necessary to have individual leadership at West Hanahai, it is recommended that the District Commissioner gain the community's permission to appoint an appropriate person to the position. [p. 46]
30. The RADA (Remote Area Development Assistant) cadre be phased out. With no training or supervision, these officers are providing little, if any, assistance to RAD communities. [p. 47]

31. The RADAs who have shown interest, potential and have been able to work with RADs in a helpful manner be given the opportunity to receive social and community development training. [p. 47]
32. Trained and experienced S&CD workers who have expressed or shown a particular interest in remote area development be recruited to provide extension work in remote area settlements. [p. 47]
33. The remote area extension personnel be recruited through advertising for available positions or other recruitment methods of utilising those more socially conscious individuals who voluntarily seek work in remote area settlements be initiated. [p. 47]
34. Any new extension personnel (ACDOs, teachers, CSPs, etc.) who are new to working in remote area settlements be given an introduction into the particular problems of RAD settlements and the type of approach that is most appropriate for working successfully with remote area dwellers. The head of the S&CD department should continually evaluate the abilities of extension staff to work cross-culturally. [p. 47]
35. A clear and consistent consultation be provided by one person who is given the responsibility for liaising with the community on planning for development and implementation schedules. [p. 47]
36. The Ministry come forth with conclusive decisions on the Egner report and take action on the final decisions, particularly the

policy recommendations that the RADP objectives be submitted to Cabinet for approval. [p. 48]

37. Two steps be taken by the district to secure the rights of RADs to land, water, services and self-reliance. First, Ghanzi District Council and the Ghanzi Land Board should recognise and act against destructive potential of powerful cattle interests in the district to the future stability and viability of RAD settlements. Second, there is a lack of any effective political representation for remote area settlements in Ghanzi District. A separate Council constituency should be established for the district's RAD settlements. The Council RAD office should help to identify appropriate candidates for the position of Councillor who will effectively represent the needs of remote area dweller communities. [pp. 48-49]
38. The rate of CFDA implementation as stipulated in the 1982/83 Ghanzi District Annual Plan be slowed down and that major efforts for development be focussed on institutions development along with community consultation. [p. 53]
39. That village level consultation be used as a method of strengthening institutions by working with village institutions on developing their organisations and planning skills. District planners and extension personnel should work with the VIX to identify community

needs, to set priorities and to make more appropriate plans for CFDA programs. [p. 53]

40. On-going monitoring and evaluations of the economic and sociological impacts of the CFDA implementation on the community to help understand the positive and negative effects of the development process be carried out in the Ghanzi CFDA. [p. 54]
41. The Ghanzi District development bodies (DGC, DDC, LUPAG) make a firm commitment and give top priority to the training and development of institutions at the district's CFDA. This report should be used in conjunction with the accompanying report on guidelines as a basis for training district planners and extension workers in the problems and types of institutions training methods which are most appropriate in the Ghanzi CFDA. [p. 55]
42. The District Commissioner and/or Ghanzi Tribal Authority should visit Xade with the purpose of supporting the headman and the kgotla system at Xade, to educate the community on the role and responsibilities of the kgotla and the headman and to listen and try to assist with the problems relating to the kgotla and the resolution of local disputes. [p. 60]
43. A link between the Ghanzi and Xade kgotlas should be made in order that the more difficult cases at Xade can easily be referred to Ghanzi for trial. [p. 61]

44. The Xade headman should receive training in methods of running a kgotla. Arrangements to visit other kgotlas in the district for observation purposes should be made. The headman should also participate in any courses designed for Kgotla Committee members at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements. [p. 61]
45. No other institutions or community organisation should be formed at Xade unless the need specifically arises out of the kgotla for a group to deal with any community-based development issues which are too cumbersome for the kgotla itself to handle. [p. 61]
46. The kgotla should put more emphasis on discussing development issues which affect Xade. If necessary, a sub-committee should be selected from the kgotla to deal with village development needs. [p. 61]
47. The organisations/institutions at Bere should be reduced to one functional group. The role of this group should be determined and defined by the community or the group itself. It is recommended that this group, be it VDC, Kgotla Committee or whatever, should eventually be responsible for dealing with the wide range of problems that exist in the village, from personal disputes to development needs. Any additional organisations should only be formed once a strong identifiable need arises from the community. [pp. 66-67]

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48. The aforementioned group should be run on a group basis (such as recommended for West Hanahai) until such time as the group or community themselves decide they want an individual as their group leader. It should be clearly decided by the community what the exact role of the leader should be in the community. [p. 67]

49. Any group leaders or headman should be provided with training by the Ghanzi District Council and Tribal Authority as to their role and responsibilities in the community. [p. 67]
50. Group members should also be given training to help define and understand their specific role and responsibilities. Training in needs assessment and project planning should be considered a priority for institutions development. Consultation and explanations with the community regarding the role and responsibilities of the group should also be undertaken. [p. 67]
51. A clear and consistent approach should be taken by government to consult with the Bere community. One extension worker should be appointed as the liaison person with the District Council. Promises which unrealistically raise development expectations should be avoided. Consultation on development projects should occur only when the projects are an accepted part of the annual district development plan. [p. 67]
52. All extension workers should primarily keep in mind the need for local control. Extension workers should only act as advisors and encourage leadership from within. [p. 68]
53. Attempts should be made by extension workers to revive The Committee at Kagcae to deal with general community problems. Extension personnel should help to advise and structure The Committee's approach to problem solving and create realistic expectations of their abilities. [p. 72]
54. A local community leader or headman should only be elected when and if the community members are clearly able to accept one of their own people in this position. [p. 73]
55. The Ghanzi District Commissioner and Tribal Authority should supervise any election of a headman and put their full support behind the position. [p. 73]

Summary of Recommendations from the Ghanzi Seminar

From the Participants

1. Though the Community Development staff and the Remote Area Development staff should remain administratively separate, planning should be integrated through more frequent meetings of senior staff, integration of field work schedules and through the development of a cooperative village training schedule.
2. Employ better qualified RADAs immediately or provide formal community development training to the present RADA cadre.
3. Continue in-service training for the present RADA cadre on a regular basis.
4. The ACDO--Remote Areas Ghanzi--should work closely with the RADAs developing a village training programme and providing the needed in-service training.
5. Begin training of the remote area VDCs in roles and responsibilities of VDC leaders, the importance of voluntary organisations and methods for organising villagers.
6. VDC members should be selected at the kgotla and the group's chairperson and other officers should then be selected by the VDC.
7. A Land Use Plan should be developed for each new village with community participation.

8. A Land Use Planning Committee should be established in each new community to encourage the development of skills in planning and the participation in decision making during selection of new residents for the community.
9. The senior planners and department heads should take a more active role in supporting the RADAs and Community Development staff working in remote areas.

From the Facilitator

1. Relevant district staff should be included in all stages of seminar planning and if this does not take place, a seminar should be postponed until mutual planning can occur.
2. Every district seminar should have a district-based seminar coordinator to act as liaison between planners and the district.
3. Adequate on-site planning time should be allowed prior to every seminar.
4. Participatory methods should be used in all seminars, workshops and district consultations. The encouragement of all participants to be actively involved and to use the knowledge they possess will result in increased confidence and increased potential for action after a seminar or consultation.
5. The content of a seminar should be integrated with the work people are doing every day.
6. Seminar coordinators should be available for follow-up and should encourage the development of follow-up plans.
7. Action plans developed by the field staff should have adequate follow-up by district staff.

PART A

Government Settlement or People's Community?

A Report on Local Institutions Research in the Ghanzi District
Communal First Development Area and Other Remote Area Communities

by Gary Childers

1. Introduction and Acknowledgements

This report is the result of approximately two months of field research conducted in four remote area settlements in Ghanzi District between 28th December 1981 and 21st February 1982. This research was undertaken in Ghanzi District's Communal First Development Area (CFDA), initially to have included the settlements at East Hanahai and West Hanahai, also known as Xu. Due to the long delay in drilling a borehole at East Hanahai*, no people had moved there at the time of writing. The majority of the research therefore took place at three year old settlement at West Hanahai.

The terms of reference for the research project (Appendix A-1) called for a comparative analysis of institutions development to date at

* A successful borehole was finally drilled at East Hanahai in November 1981 and the road to the proposed settlement site was being de-bushed by labourers from West Hanahai, hired by the District Council, during the research period.

the three other major remote area settlements in Ghanzi District: Xade, Kagcae and Bere. This report concentrates on the problems and constraints of developing viable institutional/organisational structures at West Hanahai and the particular problems associated with accelerated development efforts through the CFDA programme with reference to any relevant factors of institutional development that have taken place at the latter three settlements. The observations and recommendations made concerning the approach to development at the CFDA at West Hanahai, as a replicable model for development of remote area settlements, are meant to apply to other present and future RAD settlements in Ghanzi District.

The recommendations from this report are meant to be of use to district officials and LUPAG in the planning and coordination of the CFDA as well as providing relevant information on training needs. It is hoped that training community members in institutions development will be given sufficient priority during the forthcoming efforts at implementing the CFDA programme.

A special note of appreciation should be made to Mr. T.G.G.G. Seeletso, the Ghanzi District Commissioner, for his high degree of support, interest and cooperation during the research period; to Joyce Stanley, whose identification of training needs and consultation on the institutions development proposals gave meaning to the research process; to Bernhard and Ranata Clauss for their valuable insights into the problems of PAD (Remote Area Dweller) settlements; to Louise Fortmann for her excellent editorial abilities; and to the residents of the remote area settlements whose receptiveness and helpfulness made the research there a pleasant and productive task.

Working with the Remote Area Development Assistants (RADAs) stationed at West Hanahai and the Agriculture Field Assistant at Xade was particularly useful during the research process. Extension workers, Jan Xhari, Soutie Teye and Robert Gosiame assisted with translation as well as providing valuable insights into their communities. Their level of involvement and amount of trust gained from community members was also an important factor in getting reliable information.

2. Methodology

The general research method used was that of participant-observation. Although no formal questionnaire was used, a listing of the points of information which needed to be determined was used as a guide for obtaining the relevant research information. Because of the relatively small number of institutions that have developed to date in Ghanzi remote area settlements, there was a minimal amount of quantitative data to be collected through an inventory type process. The research thus concentrated heavily on less tangible information such as community structures and settlement patterns, economic systems, management issues, leadership, conflict resolution, communication channels and the type of government involvement that has taken place in the remote area settlements of Ghanzi District.

Observations were made at VDC, Kgotla Committee and community meetings. I sometimes made participatory comments and suggestions at such occasions which also helped to gain an understanding of the community members' reaction to outside influence. Discussions were held on an informal small group basis with local residents. Individual

interviews were also carried out at people's homes. These various information gathering techniques allowed for obtaining knowledge of the communities in different lights. For example, one might gain a certain impression about the attitudes towards the Councillor or VDC Chairman at a meeting and find out that this initial impression was entirely wrong when speaking to people in the security of their own homes.

The amount of time that was spent at each settlement was also a factor in gathering qualitative information. After three weeks of residing at West Hanahai, it became apparent that my familiarity in the village allowed for less guarded and more honest reactions from community members. The shorter periods spent in the other three settlements most likely affected the quality of information gained from those communities.

There were several problems that became apparent due to the method of research used. Apart from the short amount of time spent in each community which prevented building up a higher degree of trust between myself and the community, the foremost problem I perceived was that people often responded in a manner that they thought the researcher would prefer to hear. Second, problems that were discussed due to my presence often led to an increased amount of activity by local organisations. As a participant in village gatherings and in informal discussions, I found that my remarks were sometimes taken as the correct way to approach a problem when they were meant only as alternative suggestions. I ultimately became more of an observer and less of a participant during community meetings lest the community development decisions be attributed to my presence and not from the community generated needs and ideas.

3. Background of West Hanahai Settlement

West Hanahai is the first of four settlements for remote area dwellers that were originally planned in 1976 under the district's Land and Water Development Project for the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa (Project LG;32(v)). The project was the direct result of a one year intensive investigation by a government officer into the situation of the 4500 Basarwa (1976) residing on the Ghanzi Farm Block. It was found that the primary need according to the Basarwa themselves was to have their "own place" with an adequate water supply where they would have an alternative to their living status as squatters and discontented labourers on the freehold farm block. The settlement was seen as a way of providing Ghanzi Farm Basarwa with access to land and water which would enable them to work for their own livelihood.

The plan was to bring them out of their extreme poverty and onto a level where they could adequately subsist. It was also seen as an opportunity for the formation of communities and for the fostering of development among this long neglected population by providing access to education, health and other government services that are generally available to citizens of Botswana.

A successful borehole was drilled and equipped at West Hanahai in 1978 and 400 km² of land surrounding the borehole was allocated to the settlement for use by its inhabitants. In early 1979, through the supervision of the District Council's Remote Area Development office, several Basarwa families (approximately 150 people) moved from several areas of the Ghanzi Farm Block to the settlement site near the borehole in the Hanahai Valley.

West Hanahai is the only area under the Land and Water Development Project for Ghanzi Farm Basarwa that has been settled to date. A recently drilled borehole at East Hanahai is ready to be equipped. That settlement should get under way during 1982. The Groot Laagte area, north-west of the Ghanzi farms, is scheduled for borehole drilling within the next few months. The fourth proposed settlement area at Rooibrak, east of the Ghanzi Farm Block, has been postponed indefinitely due to difficulties in finding water in that area.

4. Present Population at West Hanahai

Since the initial surge of migration from the Ghanzi farms to West Hanahai during 1979, population growth has been slower but steady. The 1981 population census figures enumerated only 157 residents at West Hanahai. However, the fact that the census was taken during the school holidays meant that many residents were away from the settlement at the time, visiting friends and relatives on the Ghanzi farms. The baseline data collected in May 1981 (see Appendix A.1) under the supervision of the Ghanzi DO(L), undoubtedly give a more accurate picture of the settlement population during the school term. The May 1981 survey enumerated 191 people with approximately 20-25 per cent being absent at any point in time. Ten new households have also taken up residence since May 1981, bringing the total estimated population in January 1982 to 290-300 people.

5. Population Trends and Outlooks

The establishment of the East Hanahai settlement during 1982 will have a major impact on the present population at West Hanahai. Roughly

half of the households at West Hanahai (19 out of 37 total households) plan to migrate to the recently drilled East Hanahai borehole once it has been equipped and the District Council allows migration to the settlement area. It should be noted here that this intended movement to East Hanahai does not indicate discontent with the community of West Hanahai. Rather, it is due to traditional territorial ties and kinship groupings that draw certain people of the Nharo language group to different settlement vicinities. As outlined under the project memorandum for Land and Water Development for the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa (UG 32(v), each of the four originally planned settlements around the Ghanzi Farm Block was determined according to traditions of territoriality and knowledge of traditional hunting and gathering land areas.

Another three households at West Hanahai are eagerly awaiting the establishment of the Groot Laagte settlement. These are households headed by people of the Makuakau language group who consider themselves only in temporary residence at West Hanahai until a borehole is drilled and a settlement established in their traditional territory.

With over one-half of the present population expected to leave West Hanahai over the next year or two, the question of the future outlook of the settlement population must be taken into account by district planners. Although permanent West Hanahai residents claim that relatives and other families will soon settle there, after they have obtained their own livestock, it is clear that a wait and see approach must be taken. The fact that a large percentage of school children come from nearby farms (40 out of 104 total students or 38 per cent in 1982) and stay with relatives at West Hanahai gives some indication that others are now

beginning to identify closer with West Hanahai as their real home. However, by all accounts it is anticipated that after the initial emigration to East Hanahai and Groot Laagte and a large drop in the settlement population of 120-140 people, that the number of inhabitants will again gradually increase and eventually stabilise at an estimated 200-300 people.

6. Settlement Formation

Several Ghanzi District officials have expressed the need for more information on the stability and composition of the West Hanahai population. One official wondered whether West Hanahai was evolving into a retirement centre for those elderly people who could no longer work on the farms. Other concerns have arisen about the ability of people to sustain themselves at West Hanahai and how this has affected the permanence of the population and the long term viability of the community.

It was found during the research that the West Hanahai community is made up of a cross section of age groups. Nearly all residents are part of an extended family which has moved to West Hanahai. The extended family usually includes the elderly parents, their children and grandchildren along with various brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, etc. There is one age group that is noticeably absent from West Hanahai--young men and women in their twenties and early thirties. This age group appears to be more interested in farm employment or in the common transient state of moving from farm to farm seeking food from an employed relative or friend. However, older residents say that they expect their younger family members to eventually "settle down" at Hanahai once they

are married and have a family. One theory that was presented was that many young people have not learned the skills of hunting and gathering which is an important supplementary means of subsistence at West Hanahai. They are therefore doubtful of their ability to sustain themselves away from the Ghanzi farms.

Of the approximately forty households that have at one time resided at West Hanahai since its formation in 1979, only three households were found to have established themselves at the settlement and later left the area to seek work on the farms. In each case the families claim that they plan to return to Hanahai after earning a bit of money through employment.

Several families have come to stay among relatives at West Hanahai with the male household members returning to the farms to continue working. This, however, is not the norm. The large majority of households which have settled in the community have made a clear decision and commitment to move off the farms for good, to be free of servitude or being unwanted squatters on someone else's land, to attempt to work independently for their livelihood and with the intention to form a viable community amongst their own people. A statement made by one man sums up the general feelings expressed by the Hanahai people,

This is a good place for me because I can now work for myself rather than for the benefit of someone else on the farms. I have no other place to go where I can be free.

7. Economic Viability of West Hanahai

For the remote area dwellers who have lived their entire lives in highly dependent relationships on the Ghanzi Farm Block, the move to establishing an independent livelihood at West Hanahai has been quite a new proposition. The ability to sustain themselves has been the key question as to the viability of the settlement programme. There have been four main economic factors that have largely contributed to the relative success of the community to date. First, the agricultural skills that the residents have learned as labourers on the Ghanzi farms have given them a clear advantage in becoming independent agriculturalists. Knowledge of proper methods of cattle management, fence construction, leather work and vegetable gardening has helped people at West Hanahai to subsist. Second, the fact that over half of the households which have settled at Hanahai have arrived with their own cattle (normally 2-8 head) indicates that these are the more agriculturally progressive people amongst the Basarwa from the Ghanzi farm area*. Third, the interest and activity that has taken place in arable agriculture pursuits has been impressive, especially since it is the first opportunity for most residents to plough their own fields. Fourth, most of the Hanahai inhabitants have retained traditional hunting and gathering skills which have become an important supplementary means of subsistence.

* The 1976 survey/investigation of the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa showed that 85 per cent of the population owned no cattle.

There are six main sources of livelihood for the people of West Hanahai. The first and perhaps the most important subsistence means in the long run is the raising of livestock. The total cattle herd numbered over 200 in January 1982, over half of these belonging to two residents. The District Council has provided eighteen cattle to nine non-cattle owners since 1979 under its livestock support scheme. This local privately funded scheme provides two heifers for non-cattle owners who have shown interest in cattle management at the remote area settlements in Ghanzi District. The second calf from each heifer is returned to the Council for distribution to other RAD households and the remaining calves born are kept by the owner to begin building up his own cattle herd and a basis for his livelihood. This livestock support scheme has worked well thus far, enabling nearly all households at West Hanahai to have access to cattle production. All except two households own smallstock. Although the Council's Remote Area Agriculture Advisor has been delinquent in the record keeping and follow-up of cattle production from the livestock scheme, the livestock at Hanahai were found to have been managed well by their owners even though very few have received much financial return to date from livestock raising. However, if herds increase with proper management and assistance from agriculture extension workers, livestock production could become an important and major means of subsistence for the people of Hanahai and other planned remote area settlements.

Arable agriculture is being practiced by nearly all households to some extent. Most fields are small, averaging 2.5 ha in size, but many households plan to expand their fields in the near future. Fields are

located next to their residential sites. The availability of two community ploughs provided by the Council has enabled people to cultivate the soil properly although some were not able to get use of the ploughs until late in the ploughing season. Besides the inevitable problems that occur during years with poor rainfall, the major constraint to increased crop production has been the destruction of crops by livestock entering into their bush-fenced fields. The community's solution to this problem has been to ask the Council for materials to construct a self-help perimeter drift fence around the residential and lands areas. This project will be discussed further under the institutions development section of this report.

Craft production has been an important source of income for many Hanahai residents until mid-1981 when Botswanacraft funds were discontinued for the purchase of Bushmen crafts in Ghanzi District. Botswanacraft's system of hawking food items in exchange for crafts on a regular basis was a very favourable system for Ghanzi RADs. The curtailing of craft purchase has been a big disappointment for people at Ghanzi remote area settlements and has meant a reduction in their ability to obtain cash for the purchase of a few essential items of food and clothing and in some cases, the purchase of livestock. The Ghanzi District Rural Industrial Officer is currently investigating why Botswanacraft purchases have stopped in Ghanzi District. Efforts should be made to reinstate this important source of income to Ghanzi District remote area settlements.

Gathering activities are of vital importance to the people of West Hanahai. Extensive gathering of moretlwa and morogo was seen during the

research period. Gathering of veld foods is a major subsistence activity during and after the rainy season. West Hanahai area appears to be abundant in certain veld foods although there is a noticeable lack of the favourite protein-rich morama nut, which grows so profusely in other areas of the region.

Special hunting licenses, freely issued to hunter-gatherer people who use traditional hunting methods as required under the Unified Hunting Regulations, have been distributed to West Hanahai residents. Until January 1982, these licenses were mistakenly issued for only certain months of the year. This mistake has been corrected and special licenses are now issued for traditional hunting practices for the entire year. Hunting activities are most predominant after the rainy season and through the winter months when larger game animals move closer to the West Hanahai area. Residents claim that wildlife is still plentiful in the area during certain times of the year and that hunting continues to be an important food source at West Hanahai.

The other source of livelihood for some people at West Hanahai is temporary employment. During the research period, twenty-five men were temporarily employed for occasional work clearing the road to the newly drilled East Hanahai borehole at P2.30 per day. Others seek temporary employment on the farms, returning to Hanahai after several months of farm labour. However, employment for wages is sporadic and farm wages are still very low*. Employment is considered by some as only an alternative means of livelihood when no other source of subsistence is

* The 1976 survey/investigation of the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa situation showed that average cash wages were P6.13/month.

available. Some residents claim that they would only return to work if the farmer came to Hanahai to fetch them. Even if they did return to work at the farmer's request, residents claimed they would only work for a short period of time before returning to their home at Hanahai.

The main complaint about conditions at West Hanahai continued to be that there is a lack of food and that hunger is a common condition. Some government officials recommend that food should be regularly distributed at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements. This would certainly take care of the immediate problem of lack of food but in the long run this type of approach would only create complete dependency on the government. Ghanzi Farm Basarwa, having long been accustomed to a relationship of dependence on the Ghanzi farms, have a high propensity for relying on others to provide their immediate needs. The original purpose for establishing the community was to decrease dependency. There is a real danger in transferring this type of dependent relationship from the Ghanzi farmer to the government if the right steps are not taken in the development process.

The long term economic viability of West Hanahai and each of the remote area settlements depends upon the extent to which the residents can attain an economic livelihood independent of outside assistance. Programmes that give people access to opportunities to raise their standard of living are appropriate ways of meeting these objectives. The viability of West Hanahai will be determined by the extent and type of government assistance that is provided. After three years the settlement is still growing with very few people leaving the area due to lack of food. Certainly hunger will continue to be a problem at times but to

solve this problem requires not the provision of food supplies but rather work on long term goals to ensure an economically independent community. Upgrading skills, providing economic opportunities and assistance in developing community institutional structures are some means by which an economically viable community can be created.

8. Who Should Be Allowed to Settle at East and West Hanahai?

The question often arises in Ghanzi District as to who should be allowed to settle at West Hanahai and the up-coming settlement at East Hanahai. No specific policies have been established to date as to who should be allocated land for residence or be allowed to graze at the settlement sites established under the Ghanzi Land and Water Development Programme and located adjacent to the Ghanzi Farm Block. There is a general recognition by most district officials that the settlements are to cater to Basarwa who desire a place to live away from the Ghanzi farms. The Ghanzi District Council Remote Area Development office has thus far taken the responsibility of determining who will be allowed to settle at West Hanahai by requiring that all prospective residents must first report to that office to seek permission before moving to the settlement. These prospective residents are judged by their ethnic background, the amount of livestock owned, their economic situation and their general character. If it appears that a person has too many livestock or is the type of individual who is capable of dominating or exploiting other community members, the individual will most likely be refused permission to move to West Hanahai. This system has worked

fairly well thus far but it holds potential problems for the future because of its subjective nature.

Pressure from other outside interests seeking to move their cattle herds into non-overgrazed areas where a livestock watering supply is available is a potential danger to the future existence of the settlements. A situation has already arisen at West Hanahai whereby owners of large cattle herds had begun moving into the area from a neighbouring borehole at Didibane which was not operating. The infiltration of these large cattle herds caused numerous problems for West Hanahai people including over-taxing the low yielding water supply and denuding the surrounding veld area. The District Council finally put a stop to this situation after considerable effort by the Senior RADO. However, a similar but worse situation continues to seriously affect the RAD community at Kagcae. There have been six years of on-going problems whereby several thousand cattle from two neighbouring boreholes of Kang and Kalkfontein syndicate members continue to destroy the veld and much physical infrastructure at Kagcae. This situation has been well documented in at least two reports* and in numerous government correspondence. However, nothing has been done to halt the situation to date and the problems of property and resource destruction as well as the subordination and manipulation of Kagcae residents continue to date. This clearly points out the future effects of powerful cattle interests in the district if they are allowed to dominate or graze their livestock in Basarwa occupied settlements.

* M. English, "Final Report on Remote Area Development" (Ghanzi District Council, July 1980); C. Sharp, "Report on Lone Tree Area Boreholes" (June 1977).

Certainly the integration of Basarwa and non-Basarwa peoples is a desirable objective if they can live together in a non-exploitive manner. One non-Mosarwa household which owns only a few head of goats lives very quietly and unobtrusively at West Hanahai. This same family is well accepted by the rest of the community. The other non-Mosarwa who resides at West Hanahai is there for the purpose of conducting a hawker's business. Extremely high prices are charged for staple commodities.*

People use their small amount of cash earnings to pay the hawker's exorbitant prices for basic items since the nearest shop is 40 km away where items can be purchased at less than half the hawker's prices. This same resident, who is also the appointed Councillor for Ghanzi RAD settlements, is often involved in community meetings, taking a very dominant position, addressing others in a demeaning manner and sometimes making unilateral decisions on behalf of the community. This latter situation exemplifies another type of outside involvement which can and has been detrimental to the goals of developing an independent RAD community which controls its own affairs and decision making.

Many of the Basarwa residents themselves have expressed an interest in living with non-Basarwa at West Hanahai but only in a situation where they are treated as equals. The West Hanahai people are keenly aware of those who will attempt to take advantage of their benign manner by dominating them or treating them as inferiors. This is the very reason

* Fifty grams of Red Roses tea which costs 28 thebe at Oasis Store in Ghanzi was purchased for 70 thebe from the hawker at West Hanahai. A box of matches costs 2 thebe in Ghanzi and was purchased for 5 thebe in Hanahai.

why they left the farm and came to Hanahai--to get away from this kind of domination.

The loss of control of one's own situation leads to the kind of dependency, lack of interest and motivation which can destroy a community. This is one of the greatest dangers to the viability of the remote area settlement schemes and must be clearly taken into account when planning policies for the type of individuals for whom the settlement programme was intended. True integration can only occur when people of different socio-economic and ethnic groups can intermix on an equal basis.

It should be reiterated here that the Land and Water Development Programme, of which West Hanahai is the first settlement scheme to be established, was originally planned because of the specific land and water needs of the Ghanzi Farm Basarwa. The question of who should be allowed to settle at the RAD settlements boils down to the original purpose for establishing this type of programme, that unlike other inhabitants of Ghanzi District, this particular group of Basarwa who occupy the Ghanzi farms no longer have access to their traditional land and water resources because the area is now freehold farms. The settlement schemes were devised in order that Basarwa gain the same rights to land resources that all other citizens of Botswana have.

As mentioned earlier, the subjective nature of the current procedures for approving the movement of individuals and households to West Hanahai and the future settlements at East Hanahai and Groot Laagte leaves room for numerous complaints and disputes over land rights. This will inevitably cause more problems as water availability along with

adequate grazing land becomes even scarcer in the district. Owners of large cattle herds and others who would cause major conflicts are going to want to move to West Hanahai and other RAD settlements. Under the present system, an unobservant or weak RAD department could easily lose control of the situation if no clear procedures and strategies are formulated by the Ghanzi District Council as to how settlement at these sites should be controlled.

8.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that the original intent of the Land and Water Development Project--settlement by Basarwa people who have lost their rights to traditional land areas due to the development of the Ghanzi freehold farms--be strictly followed. This should be the major criterion for allowing settlement at West Hanahai and the future sites at East Hanahai and Groot Laagte. It is recommended that a second priority be given to those non-Basarwa people who have resided in the Ghanzi area for the majority of their lives and who do not have present access to land on the farm block or in other traditional village areas. Such persons should only be allowed to settle at these sites if they are found to be on a relatively equal economic situation as the majority of settlement inhabitants.

It is also recommended that all people who wish to move to the RAD settlements be required to make an application for residential and arable field sites to the Ghanzi Land Board. These applications should be referred to the Senior RADO for investigation into the economic situation and the type of character of each applicant. It is further recommended that a committee be set up to include local residents as well as

representatives from the Ghanzi RAD office and the Ghanzi Land Board for the purpose of evaluating and making decisions upon applications for residence to the Ghanzi Land Board, based upon the criteria as outlined above. It is recommended that an existing institution at West Hanahai, such as a sub-group of the VDC, be used as the committee to deal with these settlement matters. The decision of this committee should then be referred to the Land Board for allocation of land, if appropriate, according to the settlement land use plans which should eventually be drawn up by the Ghanzi DO(L) in consultation with the RADAs.

It is recommended that the agreed upon policies and procedures for settlement at RAD communities should be submitted in written form to the Ghanzi District Council and the District Development Committee for approval. Although the procedures as recommended here may be somewhat more bureaucratic than the existing system, the recommended process should take between two weeks to three months for land allocations to be made if properly expedited by the RAD office and the Ghanzi DO(L). Because the Ghanzi Land Board meets only once every three months, the process could be delayed while waiting for the Land Board to convene. However, the long term viability of the settlements is highly dependent upon setting controls of movements by both local authorities and the community itself.

9. Institutions Development at West Hanahai

The formation of a community larger than an extended family group is a new situation for the people who have settled at West Hanahai. Their past experience as labourers or transient squatters on the Ghanzi farms

has not provided them with the kind of experience or skills required to organise a community which can begin to solve its own problems. Their past dependency on the Ghanzi farms has taught them to respond to directives. Many major life decisions, such as where they could live or work, whether they could own livestock, plough a small field or send their children to school were usually made by the farmer rather than the people themselves. Planning, problem solving and decision making skills have thus been poorly developed. The nature of the egalitarian Basarwa society which lacks traditional forms of leadership and community organisation outside of the extended family unit also causes particular difficulties in establishing viable community organisational structures.

There have been attempts to establish three different organisations at West Hanahai to date, each with different objectives in helping to meet community needs. None of these organisations has evolved from any type of traditional form; rather they have been introduced as new forms of organisation amongst the Basarwa people. These organisations are patterned after typical institutional structures found in most other villages in Botswana, the VDC, PTA and the kgotla system. The question arises as to whether these structures are appropriate for adaptation to a primarily Basarwa community, where the type of interaction between people, forms of leadership and awareness of the needs of a community are distinctly different from the Tswana culture. It becomes necessary to look at systems of organisation which may be more suitable and adaptable to traditional Basarwa culture as well as the appropriateness of more standard forms of village level organisations in Botswana which can be easily understood and adapted to Basarwa communities.

9.i Village Development Committee

The VDC at West Hanahai was first formed in 1980 under the leadership of the local MP and the appointed Councillor for the area. Few people, if any, understood the purpose of the organisation. Without functional leadership from within the community or further guidance from extension personnel, the VDC rarely met and little interest was shown in its operation. The VDC improved in 1981 when one Community Service Participant stationed at West Hanahai chose the VDC as his community project. From early 1981, the VDC began to meet more regularly, at least once a month for the purpose of discussing community problems and needs. The Community Service Participant appears to have been the main force behind convening meetings, establishing some basic procedures and assisting members in the often difficult decision making process. A new committee was elected by the community in May 1981 as it was realised by the more active members that other members were not interested in attending VDC meetings. Minutes of the meetings have been taken since May 1981 by the Community Service Participant and more recently by a RADA stationed at Hanahai.

The West Hanahai VDC presently has five elected officers and eleven additional committee members. Because there are no literate community residents, extension staff (RADAs, teachers, Community Service Participants) take the positions of Secretary, Vice-Secretary and Treasurer. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman positions are held by local residents.

The role of the Chairman is not well understood by either the committee members or the Chairman himself. The Chairman is wary of the

amount of leadership or authority he should try to exercise in this position and therefore seems highly reluctant to take initiatives to convene meetings or to take any control over them. This reluctance appears to stem from the generally held feeling that anyone who tries to take a disproportionate amount of authority in the community will be regarded by others as one who sees himself as being of a superior status in a traditional egalitarian society. This person will often be ignored or treated with disdain by others for this kind of behaviour.

The level of functioning of the VDC appears to depend, for the most part, on outside leadership. Meetings are normally initiated by extension officers or other outside government or Council officials who visit the community to discuss specific project proposals. VDC meeting activity, for example, increased during the research period due to suggestions brought forth for discussion on particular issues facing the community. Although most VDC members expressed an interest in their VDC involvement and a general understanding of the VDC objectives, there is little initiative taken by local people to run the VDC on their own.

The meeting process itself shows little form of organisation. The Chairman as well as the members lack the basic understanding of the role of officers, standard meeting procedures, record keeping, etc. No agenda is made prior to the meetings and the Chairman is often uninformed as to why the meeting has been called. The Chairman is unable to lead discussion or generally keep order at meetings. Discussions usually end in no clear resolutions. Meeting attendance is generally poor if the members are notified only by the Chairman or other members. If efforts

are made by extension workers or government officers to call meetings, attendance appears to improve substantially.

Attempts to fill the gap of community-based leadership at West Hanahai have taken several different forms. Different intervention techniques by government authorities have most probably provided more confusion than assistance to the VDC. Two contrasting approaches were observed during the three VDC meetings held during the research period. The RADA, on the one hand, participates in a low key manner, occasionally asking questions and making observations and suggestions as to help guide the discussion. The Councillor, on the other hand, takes a more dominant approach, often instructing on meeting procedures and on how certain discussion items should be decided.

Despite the low level of organisational structure, project ideas have come forth from the VDC and they have been able to organise themselves and evoke community participation on two occasions to work on VDC projects. The main concerns brought up by the VDC itself have related directly to their economic situation: perimeter drift fence, concerns over water problems and lack of food. Concern over management of their resources has been shown by their fencing proposal and an often discussed idea of acquiring a VDC donkey cart to gather firewood outside the village area. Other VDC members have made proposals concerning more general social welfare issues such as provision of a radio, construction of public toilets and a school kitchen.

The most important effort to date by the VDC has been their involvement in the proposed self-help perimeter drift fence project. This project was a direct result of problems created from livestock

damaging their small fields of crops that are planted next to their residential site. The idea for a perimeter fence to encompass the residential and arable lands area was generated by the VDC through community concern to exclude livestock from the village centre. The VDC made this proposal to government officials in early 1981. Having been told that materials would arrive shortly, the VDC, with participation from the general community, de-bushed nearly 5 km of fence line during four days in October. However, the AEL0 project memorandum for the P1,800 worth of fencing materials was only finally approved by the district in December 1981 and shortly thereafter submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture for funding. In the meantime, the Hanahai VDC was being told to prepare itself for their self-help contribution of constructing the 6 km long fence. In February 1982, the Director of Agricultural Field Services rejected the proposal without further consultation with district officials. While it now appears, after some effort, that this decision will be reversed, the background of this project provides a clear example of the kind of delays, inconsistencies and confusion to which the VDC is exposed.

There were three main constraints to the implementation of self-help projects in West Hanahai and other Ghanzi RAD communities. First, as the preceding case as well as others of this nature exemplify, politicians and government officials are constantly providing wrong or inconsistent information to villagers and are raising expectations as to the amount of assistance the government is prepared to provide to RAD communities. There has been a lot of talk about how the government is going to assist RADs with development efforts. But requests for assistance from the

communities is met with a slow response, if any at all. Council officials inform villagers to prepare their self-help contribution only to find a delay of several months or even a year before the project is ready for implementation. By that time, people have become cynical and discouraged, having lost much of their initial enthusiasm for working on the project.

The second major constraint on a successful self-help effort is that community people complain that they must have enough food to eat in order to work properly. They claim that the time they are working on self-help projects would otherwise be spent on food procurement. It is indeed a fact that availability of food is irregular and that after working all day on a community project, some people may go home to nothing but an empty pot. As the West Hanahai group is used to the farm system whereby mealie meal rations are provided to the farm labourer, the notion of having food supplied by the government for their self-help efforts was a particularly popular idea at West Hanahai. This brings forth the question then of how well the people relate their self-help input into meeting their own needs versus meeting the needs and requirements the government is placing on them for the development of their community.

The third constraint is that self-help projects appear to be planned in a haphazard manner. Planners and extension personnel are not coordinating or setting priorities for self-help projects with the VDC. There are four self-help projects planned for the West Hanahai community in 1982 (see Table A.1), each involving a large amount of input of community labour. For a new community which is just beginning to organise itself and to gain some understanding about self-help

TABLE A.1

Development Projects at West Hanahai

YEAR	PROJECT	STATUS AND VDC/COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
1978	Borehole drilling and equipment	Completed by Dept. of Water Affairs
1979	School construction	Completed by Ghanzi District Council; local labour hired by Council for school fence construction
1979	Road de-bushing	Community labourers hired by Council
1981	Kgotla construction	Organised by Councillor without VDC involvement; constructed by community
1981	Construction of RADA's house	GDC supplied roofing irons; VDC organised construction of walls using local materials
1981	De-bushing perimeter fence line	VDC arranged community participation to de-bush 5 km of fence line
1982	Construction of perimeter drift fence	VDC proposal; materials to be supplied through AE10 funds; fence construction to be done by the community and organised by the VDC
1982	Hide treatment and storage facility	Proposed by RIO; consultation held with community and VDC about including self-help and paid labour components in the project
1982	Community vegetable garden	Proposed by RAD office; consultation held with VDC; AE10 funds to provide materials; community to provide self-help labour to construct fence
1982	Construction of public toilets	VDC proposal; community to dig pits; project memo not yet written but project appears in 1982-83 plan

initiatives, this is far too much community participation to expect in one year. This lack of coordinated planning of self-help projects is likely to lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Attempts to implement all four projects simultaneously will inevitably only result in a series of failures for the VIX and likely bring an end to its operation.

9.2 Parent-Teachers Association

The headteacher at West Hanahai attempted to form a PTA during 1981. Nine members and five officers were elected by the community and two PTA meetings have been held to date. The headteacher, who is also Chairman of the PTA, uses the PTA as a forum to call the community together to speak about problems of school attendance and other issues which involve the parents in the effective running of the school. The headteacher also proposed the staging of a concert in order raise funds for the PTA which would be used to buy school equipment.

The PTA has thus far met with little enthusiasm or participation by community members. Very few people expressed an understanding of the PTA's role, including some of the PTA members. The headteacher's fund raising proposal was met with a cold response--people said they had no money which they could spend on attending a concert.

The headteacher agrees that the PTA has really accomplished nothing to date and that parents and community members are not likely to develop much interest in PTA activities without seeing a more direct benefit to themselves.

9.2 Kaotla Committee

The presumption that a newly formed community would need to establish a process for resolving conflicts that would inevitably occur

led to the establishment of a Kgotla Committee at West Hanahai in late 1979 by the Ghanzi MP. The six Kgotla Committee members plus a committee leader, who is called the "headman" were appointed to serve as the body to officiate over any disputes that arose at West Hanahai. The idea of the Kgotla Committee, although never fully understood by the committee members, is that the committee leader or "headman" calls the kgotla and presides over the meeting. The committee members participate equally with the "headman" in the "trial" process and have an equal say in the outcome of the dispute. Two kgotla meetings were convened during the committee's first year, both times to discuss cases involving stolen goats. In both instances, however, it appears that the Kgotla Committee had little to do with the outcome of the case, the decision on how to resolve the dispute being made by the Councillor instead.

For no apparent reason, the Councillor decided that a new committee should be established, in September 1981. He appointed six new members and a new "headman" with the agreement of the community. This second committee has met once to discuss a case that arose in early January 1982. The Councillor again ran the entire meeting, attempting to resolve the conflict himself with little participation from the Kgotla Committee or the community members in general.

No attempts have been made to work with or train the members of the Kgotla Committees. As with the establishment of the initial VDC, the Councillor appointed a committee with no subsequent provision to educate the committee members in their functions or to assist them in the committee's work. Kgotla Committee members are only criticised by the Councillor for their lack of ability in running a kgotla meeting. The

kgotla system is a new concept to most Basarwa residents who have lived on the Ghanzi farms all their lives where conflicts are usually resolved very quickly and authoritatively by the white farmer. A Kgotla Committee cannot therefore be expected to function automatically simply because members have been elected. A program for training kgotla members and the community in general would first be necessary before a kgotla system could begin to function.

Indeed, one of the most pressing needs for the Ghanzi District RAD settlements is a system for resolving both internal and external conflicts*. There is a need to integrate traditional forms of conflict resolution amongst Basarwa people with a more systematic approach that meets the needs of the more complex social problems of the permanent community of West Hanahai. Basarwa traditionally have no superior authority from whom they seek help to solve conflicts with their neighbour. The person who has been wronged may confront the suspect directly with the problem or if a problem persists of a more serious nature, the resolution is often made by simply moving away and avoiding the conflict situation. This latter method is not as feasible in the new community at West Hanahai. Since people feel this is now their permanent home, hopefully they will not move away every time a serious conflict arises. The idea of confronting the accused with the grievance and utilising a group (the Kgotla Committee) rather than an individual to help solve the dispute seems to fit into both traditional Basarwa ways

* There were four disputes that arose at West Hanahai during the research period, all of which occurred during the Christmas holidays when there was a great deal of drinking in the village. Two disputes involved property destruction and two involved personal assault.

and the Tswana kgotla system that is used in the other villages in Botswana.

9.4 Leadership

The key factor for the progress and development of a community is the leadership provided through its institutions. These institutions can only be viable structures if the leadership component is developed to represent the people adequately, and guide the community. There is a leadership vacuum in most RAD settlements particularly on an organisational level. This stems from a tradition of social and economic equality amongst Basarwa people. There are, at best, only reluctant leaders who have been placed in positions of authority (VDC Chairman, Kgotla leader) in imposed organisational forms. These individuals do not in reality exercise any more authority in the community than the next person. Community members elect a chairman not only because they are told they must have leaders by government officials, but because they also recognise and understand the need for leadership in their newly established community. The problem lies in that even though they elect someone into a leadership position, many community members are unwilling to accept that person as leader. The elected leader is himself also unwilling to take the leadership role lest he be ousted or rejected by the community as attempting to take a superior position amongst his peers.

When asked about what form leadership should take in their community, nearly all people questioned at West Hanahai as well as other remote area settlements, responded that they needed a headman in their village. This, I believe, is an honestly felt necessity, not just one imposed by Batswana officials, to bring more order to their community.

Fifty per cent of those who were questioned stated that they preferred to have a headman from outside Hanahai, meaning a non-Mosarwa headman who is fair but who can be feared by the people. The group with this opinion responded that they did not believe any present Hanahai resident could do the job properly and be fully respected by the community. The other half stated that they wanted a headman from Hanahai or someone who would be considered as eligible to move to the settlement, in other words, someone like themselves. This group expressed concern that someone who was on a different socio-economic level may easily take advantage of them by exploiting their labour, disturbing their peace and treating them as inferior people. This is a sensitive issue and the reason why most of the West Hanahai residents moved away from the Ghanzi farms in the first place.

One of the greatest dangers to the long term viability of the Ghanzi remote area settlements is the development of a highly dependent relationship by the community on the leadership or authority figure. Many of the Basarwa residents at West Hanahai, having become used to highly dependent relationships on the Ghanzi farms, easily fall into this pattern of relying on the authority figure to take care of their wants and needs.

At Xade settlement in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, a headman has existed amongst the people there for at least three generations, stemming from a long history of inter-mixing with Bakgalagadi people in the eastern reserve area. The hereditary headman was officially appointed to this position by the Ghanzi District Commissioner in 1976. This official designation plus the opening of communication and basic

development efforts at Xade since 1976 has increased the community's expectations of the headman. Several Xade residents stated that they were unhappy with the headman because he wasn't developing the community or because he was not feeding them when food was scarce. Many of the Xade residents seem to be developing an attitude of increasing dependence on an individual leader rather than taking the burden of development on as a whole community.

In the case of West Hanahai, Bere and Kagcae, the only real authority figure that has emerged to date is the government, which has taken over the role of leadership in these settlements. The government and Council authorities, with all their good intentions to develop the West Hanahai community, have also succeeded in a transfer of dependency from the Ghanzi farms to the government. Instead of working towards developing a community that is self-sufficient and self-reliant, government efforts have heightened the dependency factor by its approach towards remote area development. This approach is often paternalistic and patronising. "We need to develop these Basarwa" is a common phrase heard, especially amongst politicians in Ghanzi. Government and Council officials who approach the Basarwa in this manner, as children who are not capable of making or implementing decisions on their own, only subject them to increased dependency and retrogression.

The appointment or election of community leaders or eventually a headman in the community must therefore be taken with great consideration. A dominant type of individual with a desire to control the people would likely create a community of people who were highly

reliant on their leader, to the detriment of their status as an independent community.

The strongly expressed need for leadership at the RAD settlements also reflects a growing feeling of confusion and lack of understanding about what is occurring in their village. Community members do not understand about the organisations that are set up by the Councillor or other officials. They no longer feel in control of their community's development when government is moving ahead with development projects without consulting the community and making changes at a faster pace than the community is ready to comprehend. The people at Kagcae, for example, when clearly asked to elect a PTA Chairman by the headteacher, instead thought they were electing a village headman. Not understanding the role of PTA Chairman, community members preferred to consider that they had elected a new headman who would now take care of all their village problems and needs. A leader becomes a highly desirable and necessary figure for remote area dwellers who feel they need someone who can sort through and understand the confusion and make decisions for the community about its future.

9.5 The Effect of Government Presence on Institutions Development

As pointed out in the preceding section, government's role in developing local control over community development at the Ghanzi RAD settlements has generally been characterized by confusion, lack of understanding and loss of control by the community. Additionally, the heavy degree of government input in a short time, particularly at West Hanahai, has generally had a negative effect on the possibilities of

establishing institutions to cater for development. There is a feeling that government is already doing everything.

The quantity of government services available to West Hanahai residents is impressive. West Hanahai has been noted and accepted by government departments in Ghanzi as an official settlement or village requiring all normal government services. On one particular day during the research period, vehicles belonging to six different government and Council departments were found at West Hanahai at one time, each department providing some sort of service to the community*. Although this was an exceptionally busy day, it points out that West Hanahai receives regular government services, sometimes almost overwhelmingly so.

There are three levels of officials representing government who are in regular contact with the RAD settlement at West Hanahai. Each of these officials has a particular effect on the degree of institutions development. The first level is the extension workers who reside within the community. At West Hanahai, this included two teachers, one RADA and four Community Services Participants (CSPs) in February 1982. The officer who should have the most effect on the development of institutions is the RADA whose job description requires work in many aspects of village activity. Until the end of January 1982, there were in fact two RADAs stationed at West Hanahai and Xade and one RADA at Kagcae. In each of these settlements, however, the RADAs have had the least effect on institutions and community development. Headteachers and

* Government and Council departments included Wildlife, Water Dept., Veterinary, Regional Medical Officer, Ghanzi Police and Applied Research Unit.

CSPs have thus far made the greatest effort in working with organisational development. Headteachers have made attempts to form PTAs while CSPs have formed and worked with a 4B club and a community shop committee at Kagcae and a VDC at Hanahai. The CSPs stationed at Kagcae and Hanahai in 1981 were found to have been especially creative and energetic in their work, approaching the Basarwa with respect and providing assistance whenever possible.

The Remote Area Development Assistant (RADA) cadre was formed in 1980 to provide some community development input into RAD communities and to act as a link between Council and the local community. RADAs are at least Standard 7 graduates who are recruited for their ability to speak at least one of the four major Sesarwa languages found in Ghanzi District. RADAs have received virtually no training in community development work and are provided with very little supervision from the Ghanzi Remote Area Development office. They are therefore without any of the necessary skills in order to provide a service to the community. The ineffectiveness of the RADA cadre has led to complaints from community residents at Xade and Kagcae that the only thing they received from the young RADAs stationed there were insults.

The cadre of extension personnel which is notably absent from the remote area settlements is the Social and Community Development Department. With the exception of providing social welfare services, Social and Community Development personnel have been virtually excluded from the remote area settlements in the past. An ACDO is being assigned to work with RADAs in the settlements in 1982. Other S&CD personnel such as the Youth Officer, Home Economics Officer and LG17 Small Project

Officer may also soon become more involved in community development in the remote areas. The question arises as to whether S&CD personnel will enter the RAD settlements with pre-conceived notions of development amongst Basarwa and thus potentially create more confusion in the community or whether they will listen and try to understand the problems facing remote area dwellers before moving ahead with development projects which arise from the community's concerns and needs.

The second level of government officials to make regular contacts with the West Hanahai community are the government and Council staff based in Ghanzi and who are directly involved in the planning and implementation of development projects. These include such officers as the RADA and Asst. RADO (Remote Area Agriculture Advisor), DO(D), DO(L), RIO, DAO and CPO. Planning officers should be consulting with the community about the type of projects the people wish to have implemented, the extent of community involvement in the project's implementation and the planning and implementation schedules for the project. This communication and consultation process has been sporadic at best. While consultation efforts at West Hanahai have been better than at other RAD settlements, large gaps in communication between government planners and the community still exist.

The most disheartening example of lack of consultation efforts was found at Bere where the community members had decided to construct a shelter for the school kitchen last year using self-help labour and local materials. People had gathered to cut poles and collect materials and were planning to build the kitchen when a Council-employed contractor arrived at Bere to construct a standard storeroom/kitchen facility at the

school site. This is one of the very few instances in Bere's history of any kind of self-help effort from the community. The lack of communication between the Council and the community would in this instance certainly be a big blow to any future self-help spirit at Bere.

The people at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements often complain that the Council is very slow to respond to their requests for assistance. After promises that fencing materials would arrive shortly, people at both Kagcae and Hanahai have had to wait for over a year past the time of their initial request to receive the materials. The communities are never informed of the project's status in between and therefore they eventually believe that their request has been ignored.

The third level of government representatives who are involved with the institutions and the general development of West Hanahai and other RAD settlements are the politicians. The Councillor for Ghanzi District has visited the RAD settlements on occasion, usually only before election time or when accompanying a high ranking government official around the district. The Councillor is a specially appointed member to the Ghanzi District Council who has been given the responsibility of representing the four major remote area communities in Ghanzi District*. The Councillor spends the majority of his time at West Hanahai where he has a house and a hawker's storeroom, which the residents call "the shop". His hawker's license also covers the other three RAD settlements which are part of his appointed area of representation.

* The RAD settlements are included under the Ghanzi township constituency. The elected Councillor for the constituency has given the responsibility of representing the RAD settlements to the specially appointed Councillor.

These politicians contribute to the rising expectations by remote area community members. Politicians, particularly around election time, promise a variety of development assistance in each community. Most of this assistance never takes place, at least not within a reasonable time period. The Bere people, for instance, are still awaiting the gun they were promised by the Councillor over a year ago. The idea to supply guns for hunting purposes to RADs was rejected by the Council after this promise was made. The people at Bere have since remained uninformed and therefore still expect the government to supply them with a community gun. People begin to perceive that their expectations are continuously aroused and then bitterly disappointed. When this happens year after year, they build up a resistance to government and its promises of development. A cynical attitude develops, people no longer feel that they can trust any government representatives. It is no wonder that one old man at Bere exclaimed that:

The government people come here only to talk. They don't listen or ask questions. Bere is just a place where the government tells us how to live. It is not a place for the people.

This describes the situation as it stands today at Bere and Kagcae, the first two remote area settlements in Ghanzi District to receive assistance from both private and government sources. People at Xade, because of their isolated location and being more recent recipients of government assistance, have only begun to develop a similar type of cynical attitude towards the government. At West Hanahai, the residents are still relatively positive about government's assistance. This is the result of two main factors: First, the settlement is only three years in

existence, many residents having moved to West Hanahai in more recent years. Secondly, the RAD office and government planners have put most of their energies for remote area development into West Hanahai as a model settlement structure for the future remote area settlements at East Hanahai and Groot Laagte. Government officials have thus far done a better job at keeping their promises of assistance at West Hanahai which has been given a high development priority as the district's Communal First Development Area.

The discouraged and cynical remote area community is unlikely to be interested in developing local institutions since the general feeling is that the government may respond initially to their request for assistance but will only disappoint them in the end. The dissolution of a spontaneously initiated and effective community organisation at Kagcae, which met for nearly two years to deal with personal conflicts and general community problems, was seen by extension staff there as the direct result of their disillusionment with the government.

There are other inputs from government representatives that discourage the process of institutions development. At West Hanahai, the Councillor often calls and conducts community meetings, dominating the gathering with instructions on what should be done and how it should be accomplished. The construction of the kgotla was organised by the Councillor without community participation in the planning of the project. The people built the kgotla as instructed by the Councillor. The Councillor ardently pursues the Tswana-ising of the Basarwa at West Hanahai. He expects people to understand Setswana and often does not have his words translated from Setswana to Nharo, the local Sesarwa

language. He has gone as far as seeing it as necessary to conduct a local funeral in the Tswana tradition, chiding people when they were reluctant to follow his instructions as to the proper behavior to exhibit at a Setswana style ceremony. The Basarwa at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements are made to feel that their own traditions and customs are wrong and that they are ignorant people. These types of actions not only discourage any sense of self-pride and development of any local control over their community but also increase dependence and thus deter self-motivation and self-reliance.

9.6 Recommendations

Remote area dwellers lack traditional organisational structure or skills of their own to meet the needs of their newly formed community at West Hanahai. It therefore becomes necessary to establish some form of institutional structure in order to meet the demands for resolving conflicts and general community-wide problems. While institutional structures that utilise traditional egalitarian systems might be considered most appropriate, organisations without some form of leadership have certain inherent difficulties. Without leadership there is no provision that the organisation will remain an on-going one as no one becomes responsible for calling meetings or to follow up on group decisions. The problem in setting up viable institutions in remote area settlements therefore depends upon respecting their highly democratic principles whereby all participants/members of an organisation have an equal say. It also depends upon recognising that new forms of community also require new forms of leadership.

The recommendations for the development of institutions are also based on the principle of enabling the community to regain control over its own development through education, training, consultation and improved communication. The goal of these recommendations is not to suggest sweeping changes from the established organisations, but to recommend modifications which may help the organisations begin to function. It is also important to recognise the need for institutions at RAD settlements to be adapted to standard institutional structures in the rest of Botswana, whenever appropriate. This helps to better integrate community development efforts throughout the district and creates a better understanding by extension workers and other government personnel of the institutions at West Hanahai.

It is recommended that the extension personnel at West Hanahai work with the strengthening and development of the two basic institutions only, the VDC and Kgotla Committee. It is recommended that the proliferation of organisations be avoided at West Hanahai, that no other organisation be formed which concerns itself with village development until such a time that a need is clearly felt by the community. It is recommended that extension workers initially concentrate their efforts on upgrading the VDC rather than disperse their efforts on two poorly functioning institutions at once. It is recommended that the PTA remain dormant and that the VDC meanwhile take over any responsibilities for development efforts that affect the school.

The following recommendations apply to the development of the VDC at West Hanahai:

1. The VDC should be elected by the community or the kgotla every two years as called for in the VDC Handbook, rather than being appointed by the Councillor every now and then.
2. Total VDC membership should be reduced from sixteen to ten members to help create a more workable meeting atmosphere.
3. Instead of having one reluctant VDC Chairman, a system of group leadership is proposed whereby an executive or leadership committee or a group of elders is elected to share the leadership position. Under this system, a group of perhaps four people could take turns in chairing a meeting and could share the burdensome responsibilities that would normally be given to one person. This type of system would have the advantages of taking the onus of running the VDC off of one individual and of providing a stronger leadership through group decision which is more suitable to their customary approaches to authority among their own people*. This sub-committee should have clear support from government personnel.
4. Group training should be provided for VDC members on skills in community organisation, basic meeting procedures, assessing community needs, problem solving and decision making*.
5. Training should be provided on an on-going basis by well qualified Social and Community Development staff or other appropriate extension personnel*.
6. A training programme for teaching organisational and problem solving skills should be developed around a specific development project,

* See the companion report by Joyce Stanley entitled "Training for Development in Remote Area Communities in Ghanzi District".

- such as the planned self-help perimeter fencing project,* or the Hanahai land use planning exercise.
7. The community should be well informed by government officials about the role and responsibilities of the VDC and the VDC executive or leadership committee.
 8. VDC self-help projects should be generated from community needs rather than a response to government needs for the community. All VDC projects should be submitted to the community at the kgotla before approaching Council with the project proposal. Self-help efforts should be encouraged to concentrate mainly on those projects which directly affect and improve the economic conditions of the community. Self-help projects should enable the community to become more economically independent.
 9. A maximum of one major self-help project per year be planned for implementation at West Hanahai. The district LG17 Small Projects officer should coordinate all self-help efforts at RAD settlements as in done in other villages of Ghanzi District.
 10. Food for work should not be provided by the government for the implementation of village self-help projects as it would only increase the already high level of dependency on the government. If food is required for people who participate in the implementation of community self-help projects, the community itself should raise funds to provide food for the workers.

* See the companion report by Joyce Stanley entitled "Training for Development in Remote Area Communities in Ghanzi District".

It is recommended that this be done by forming a small scale cooperative shop at West Hanahai similar to the shop system at Kagae. The rules for establishing and management of the shop should be run by the VDC or a sub-committee of the VDC. The VDC would choose a trustworthy manager who would be advised and assisted by a community extension worker. Funds to start the shop could be as low as P50, which could be raised through VDC fund-raising parties or by a small fee charged to each household which wanted to participate in the cooperative. The VDC or its sub-committee would also be responsible for ensuring that a profit was being made on its shop since there would most likely be no overheads except a small monthly wage to the shop manager. Council could assist with the transport of goods on its many trips to the settlement. Profits from the shop activities could be used to benefit the community, such as providing food for self-help workers or any other activity in which the VDC and the community wished to engage itself.

The idea of establishing a Kgotla Committee structure at West Hanahai is appropriate since it provides a suitable balance between the problem of developing individual leadership amongst Basarwa people and the traditional kgotla system that is used elsewhere in Botswana. It is recommended that the Kgotla Committee should be reduced from seven members (including the kgotla leader or "headman") to five members. These members of the Kgotla Committee should be elected every two years by the community at a kgotla meeting. It is recommended that there be no kgotla leader or "headman" since this position implies that one man is capable of providing the leadership at the kgotla. Since the West Hanahai residents are not in complete agreement about the type of headman

that is needed for their community, the responsibility of running the kgotla should be shared amongst the Kgotla Committee members. It is recommended that Kgotla Committee members take turns chairing the kgotla meetings in the same fashion as recommended for the VDC executive group. It is recommended that an intensive training programme be arranged for the Kgotla Committee members by the RAL and S&CD departments. Training in kgotla procedures and leadership methods are recommended. The Ghanzi kgotla should be used as a forum for observation followed by role playing and popular theatre training techniques. It is recommended that the community is well informed by the District Commissioner about the role and responsibility of the Kgotla Committee. The community's understanding and respect for the Kgotla Committee is crucial for a functional kgotla system. It is further recommended that the District Commissioner and the Ghanzi Tribal Authority monitor and assist the functioning of the Kgotla Committee at West Hanahai. They should remain aware of any Kgotla Committee members who show leadership abilities and the potential of taking over the responsibilities of a village headman. If it is eventually found necessary to have individual leadership at West Hanahai, it is recommended that the District Commissioner gain the community's permission to appoint an appropriate person to the position. It is important not to make a hasty appointment of a headman but rather to take time to ensure that there is an appropriate person who would be well able to handle the job and to ensure that this person was well respected but not exploitative of the community. It is finally recommended that the kgotla be the forum for all community meetings. Government representatives and others who address the community should go

through the Kgotla Committee to arrange for a community meeting rather than calling the people together on their own accord.

It is recommended that the RADA cadre be phased out. With no training or supervision, these officers are providing little, if any, assistance to RAD communities. It is recommended that RADAs who have shown interest and potential and have been able to work with RADs in a helpful manner be given the opportunity to receive social and community development training. It is recommended that trained and experienced S&CD workers who have expressed or shown a particular interest in remote area development be recruited to provide extension work in remote area settlements. It is recommended that remote area extension personnel be recruited through advertising for available positions or other recruitment methods of utilising those more socially conscious individuals who voluntarily seek work in remote area settlements. It is recommended that any new extension personnel (ACDOs, teachers, CSPs, etc.) who are new to working in remote area settlements be given an introduction into the particular problems of RAD settlements and the type of approach that is most appropriate for working successfully with remote area dwellers. The head of the S&CD department should continually evaluate the abilities of extension staff to work cross-culturally.

Government representatives must re-evaluate their approach towards dealing with development efforts in remote area settlements. It is recommended that clear and consistent consultation be provided by one person who is given the responsibility for liaising with the community on planning for development and implementation schedules. This liaison person should be a trained community development worker who must be kept

clearly informed about development plans and withhold promises of development projects. However, this person should ensure that consultation and communication is made on projects that are included in the district development plan.

Perhaps the most important objectives to be met for the future viability of remote area settlements are the over-riding political and legal objectives of the Remote Area Development Programme. Egner's 1981 RADP Evaluation for the Ministry of Local Government and Lands points out some crucial issues that need to be addressed from the centre if government is serious about its attempts to provide special assistance to its citizens who are on the lowest scale of social and economic development. It is recommended that the Ministry come forth with conclusive decisions on the Egner report and take action on the final decisions, particularly the policy recommendations that the RADP objectives be submitted to Cabinet for approval. The over-riding political/legal objectives of self-reliance, reducing dependency, social integration and awareness of rights have been largely ignored and which most directly affect the development of institutions.

In line with the political/legal objectives of RADP, it is recommended that two steps be taken by the district to secure the rights of RADs to land, water, services and self-reliance. First, the Ghanzi District Council and the Ghanzi Land Board should recognise and act against destructive potential of powerful cattle interests in the district to the future stability and viability of RAD settlements. Second, there is a lack of any effective political representation for remote area settlements in Ghanzi District. A separate Council

constituency should be established for the district's RAD settlements. The Council RAD office should help to identify appropriate candidates for the position of Councillor who will effectively represent the needs of remote area dweller communities.

10. The Communal First Development Area at West Hanahai

West Hanahai and the proposed settlements at East Hanahai were approved by the Ghanzi District Development Committee and the Ghanzi District Council as the district's Communal First Development Area (CFDA) in February and March 1981. According to the Ghanzi CFDA plan, these two settlements were chosen as the Ghanzi CFDA for the following reasons:

1. They are relatively new settlements, offering the opportunity to properly develop new communities, with the associated institutions, programmes, and infrastructures, virtually from scratch.
2. They are the first of a series of settlements involving unemployed and underemployed people staying on freehold land, by giving them alternative sources of livelihoods. As such, they will serve as models for the expansion of this concept.
3. They are close to the district centre, allowing district officials to supplement the efforts of existing extension staff, especially in agriculture, where the district organisation is severely understaffed.
4. Their residents are among the poorest and most socially under-privileged people in Ghanzi District, towards whom a

redirection of infrastructure development, institutions development, and extension effort is taking place.

A CFDA plan for East and West Hanahai was drawn up in June 1981 (see summary of plan under Appendix A.3). The plan covers development strategies in the areas of land use planning, agriculture, rural industries, community development, education, health, water and roads. No specific timetable has yet been developed for the implementation of the entire plan but it appears that the majority of the proposed projects are intended for implementation under the 1982/83 annual district development plan.

When looking at the role of institutions in the CFDA strategy, it should be asked: how much of the CFDA plan originates from the village level? Also, to what extent has the community been consulted or become aware of the CFDA plans for their village? There is virtually only one project in the CFDA plan that is well understood by the West Hanahai community, the perimeter fencing project which emanated from community needs and was proposed by the VDC to district officials. There is a strong identification by the community with this project. Other proposed projects are unlikely to meet the equal enthusiasm or much motivation by the community since they have not arisen from needs generated from within the community. Little awareness has been shown at the district level of the need to involve village dwellers and their institutional representatives in identifying priorities and in planning and management of projects in order that development efforts can be self-sustained.

There is a strong tendency for district officials to move at a pace of development dictated by central government officials, particularly in

the case of the CFDA. There are quite rational reasons, as listed above, for the selection of East and West Hanahai as the district's CFDA. However, it is the very nature of these newly established RAD communities which makes an accelerated rate of development under the CFDA plan a risk to the future viability and self-reliance of the community. The CFDA plan, as it now stands, provides a large amount of training and development input over a short period of time. Newly settled remote area dwellers in particular are not used to the fast rate of development offered by government. The outcome is bound to have some negative effects on community and institutions development. Community members are not likely to understand or comprehend all that is taking place in their settlement which will inevitably result in a feeling of loss of control, "that the government will provide everything" type of attitude. It is crucial for the future viability of the Hanahai settlements that the people retain positive attitudes, a feeling of concern and control over their development process. Lessons should be learned from Bere and Kagae settlements where past development approaches have caused community members to feel generally apathetic and cynical about government development proposals. They no longer feel that they are able to make real or effective decisions about the future development of their community.

The crucial factor in Ghanzi District CFDA development is therefore the approach that government takes towards development. Central government and District Council officials must assist rather than obstruct the progress of the CFDA. The only land management project in any Botswana CFDA to be planned from village level needs is the AE 10

perimetre drift fence project at West Hanahai. As previously explained, it has been over one year since this project was originally proposed by the community. Now it has been rejected by the Ministry of Agriculture's Director of Agriculture Field Services as having no effect on agricultural production. If the government is serious about implementing CFDA programmes and particularly in strengthening local institutions, these types of bottlenecks and lack of consultation have to be successfully overcome.

Ghanzi District planning bodies have not, at this point, expressed a strong commitment to or understanding of the Applied Research Unit's institutions research and subsequent institutions development efforts as part of the CFDA programme. The institutions development programme of the Applied Research Unit will only succeed if a thorough understanding and commitment is made by district planners and extension departments who are involved in the CFDA to make a special and concentrated effort at working to strengthen local organisations at East and West Hanahai.

Institutions development should not be viewed as just another component of the CFDA plan, but as the basis for the programme's successful implementation. There is no point in talking about development amongst remote area dwellers without their involvement in the process from the beginning. Basarwa at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements in Ghanzi District are highly sensitised to being under the control of others, having had a history of being dominated and lacking control over their lives. The development of local institutions and decision making authority is crucial for the Ghanzi Basarwa to regain a sense of command over their own situation. Effective training and

extension work should be given the highest priority by district planning bodies for development in the CFDA.

10.1 Recommendations

District CFDA planners should take a closer look at the proposed rate of CFDA implementation. The influx of several types of training programmes, i.e. tanning courses, literacy programmes, training in smallstock management and veld food cultivation together with the provision of infrastructure, development of institutions and other inputs all at one time is likely to be somewhat overwhelming for remote area dwellers who are just becoming adjusted to new forms of social organisation at their three year old settlement of West Hanahai. It is recommended that the rate of CFDA implementation as stipulated in the 1982/83 Ghanzi District Annual Plan be slowed down and that major efforts for CFDA development be focussed on institutions development along with community consultancies. A slower pace of CFDA project implementation is necessary in order that the community, through its newly formed organisations, be given the chance to catch up with the rate of planned development through efforts aimed at strengthening its institutions. Village level planning and implementation of CFDA projects can only occur when enough time is allowed to improve institutions' capacity to understand and participate in the development process. It is recommended that village level consultation be used as a method of strengthening institutions by working with village institutions on developing their organisations and planning skills. District planners and extension personnel should work with the VIC to identify community needs, to set priorities and to make more appropriate plans for CFDA programme. This

type of consultation will assist the community and will help district planners to ensure that the CFDA plan is meeting the real needs of East and West Hanahai residents. This consultation process is in itself likely to slow down CFDA plans. Quantity of projects needs to be sacrificed for a more qualitative approach to CFDA implementation.

One of the main purposes of the CFDA concept is that what is learned from the successes and failures at East and West Hanahai is to serve as a model for future development efforts in Ghanzi RAD communities. Replicability of a successful model of development can only be attained if a thorough and continual monitoring and evaluation of the programme is made. The Barclay report (August 1981:9-10) points out that while district planners are used to using "activity targets" to evaluate progress through quantifiable terms, such as "how many school latrines were built in Ghanzi in 1981?", there is a need to also establish "impact targets" to indicate the qualitative changes that have occurred in the social and economic conditions in the community. It is recommended that on-going monitoring and evaluations of the economic and sociological impacts of the CFDA implementation on the community to help understand the positive and negative effects of the development process be carried out in the Ghanzi CFDA. The Applied Research Unit could be requested to assist the district to set up a monitoring and evaluation process with IJPAG being the reference group for evaluating what impact CFDA activities have had on the community and particularly its institutions. This type of evaluation process is most important in Ghanzi because of the nature of the newly established RAD communities. Remote area dwellers have never before experienced this rate of development. It is

crucial that district planning keep close tabs on the impact of this pilot project of accelerated development on Basarwa people, their attitudes, motivation and self-reliance and be prepared to modify and alter programmes to better suit the development needs of Basarwa people in other remote areas of Ghanzi District.

Finally, it is recommended that the Ghanzi District development bodies (GDC, DDC, LUPAG) make a firm commitment and give top priority to the training and development of institutions at the district's CFDA. This report should be used in conjunction with the accompanying report on training guidelines as a basis for training district planners and extension workers in the problems and type of institutions training methods which are most appropriate in the Ghanzi CFDA.

11. Institutions Development at Other Remote Area Settlements in Ghanzi District

Many of the analyses and recommendations about the problems related to institutions development at West Hanahai also relate to the other Ghanzi District RAD settlements of Xade, Bere and Kagcae. With adequate evaluation and redesign, the Ghanzi CFDA programme at East and West Hanahai should provide a model for institutions development at other RAD settlements. In each settlement, however, there has been a different kind of experience with attempts to develop institutions and leadership in the community. A brief review of the background and institutions development to date plus some specific recommendations for the development of institutions at each settlement will therefore be made here.

11.1 Xade

11.1.1 Background of Xade Settlement. The community of Xade, more accurately known as Gîwi/dom, in the western Central Kalahari Game Reserve, was formed around a borehole drilled in 1962 upon arrangements made by Dr. G.B. Silberbauer, the Bechuanaland Government Bushmen Survey Officer. Until the late 1960s the borehole was used only when Silberbauer was at Xade. Silberbauer's Bushmen Survey Report notes that this was done to alleviate the social problems that were arising due to the convergence of a large group of people in one place*. A private anthropologist who studied the people in the area in the late 1960s finally trained a resident to pump the borehole engine. A year-round water supply thus became available to the people in the area and for the first time a permanent and stable community was formed at the borehole site. The enumerated population of Xade in 1976 was 170 people of both the G/wikwe and G//annakwe language and kinship groups*. The growth in population is due to movements from two major areas. Since 1976, several households of people who were born in the Central Kalahari Game Research (CKGR) have returned to Xade from the Ghanzi farm area to reside. There is also movement from the eastern CKGR towards Xade, particularly in the dry season. There was evidence that people tend to stay longer at Xade than in previous years and there is also increased numbers of people from the east who have settled year around at Xade.

* G. Silberbauer, Report to the Government of Bechuanaland on the Bushmen Survey (Gaborone: 1965).

** B. Jeffers and G. Childers, "Gîwi/dom - A Borehole Community in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve" (Ghanzi: September 1976), p. 16

The provision of a permanent water supply and the resulting decrease in seasonal migrations has also brought about a shift in subsistence patterns in recent years. Subsistence activities providing the basis of livelihood for most people are still gathering and, to a lesser extent, hunting. However, there has been a noticeable increase in agricultural activities since 1976. Many more households are participating in small scale agriculture activities. The provision of seeds and implements by the Ghanzi RAD department and the fine extension assistance provided by the ALDEP Field Assistant stationed at Xade have contributed to a greatly increased interest and participation in arable agriculture over the past two years.

Cattle are not allowed to graze in the CKGR due to its status as a game reserve. However, many goats, donkeys and horses are evident at Xade. English et al. found that 37 per cent of the Xade households owned goats but that the distribution of goat ownership amongst this 37 per cent was highly skewed with a few individuals owning the large majority of livestock^{*}.

It was reported by Xade residents that one of their most important cash earning activities in 1981 had been the sale of Bushmen crafts to the Botswanacraft buyer who had, for a short time, begun to visit Xade on a regular basis to purchase traditional Basarwa handwork. More than one person was able to save the cash paid by Botswanacraft to purchase a horse from the Ghanzi farms. Despite the promise of regular visits, it

^{*} English et al., "We, the People of the Short Blanket" (Ghanzi: June 1980), p. 25.

has now been over six months since Botswana craft has visited the settlement. People are asking of their whereabouts as they continue to produce hunting sets and other items for sale. It is appearing that the pattern of disappointing KAD communities through raised expectations is occurring once again at Xade.

11.1.2 Development of Leadership and Institutions. The one institution which exists at Xade is the kgotla. It is run by the headman and his two assistants. Prior to 1976, the person in the hereditary position of headman existed in name only and was accepted as the community leader by only a few households of G//annakwe people. In 1976, the Ghanzi District Commissioner visited Xade, the first major government official to visit the area since the time of Silberbauer. The DC consulted with the people about having a headman to resolve problems in the community. The community finally selected the man who had hereditary claims to the position as their headman, who was then officially appointed by the DC during his visit. This official appointment appears to have had some major effect on the headmanship position of authority at Xade. The kgotla has developed as an institution in the community since 1976. The community has generally accepted the headman and have respect for his authority.

It is important to note the reasons for the acceptance of a headman from amongst their own people at the Basarwa settlement of Xade while other Basarwa communities in Ghanzi District cannot agree on a person from their own community as their leader or headman. First, the G//annakwe group, who comprised 42 per cent of the Xade population in

1980*, have a tradition of headmanship due to their mixed Basarwa (G/wikwe) and Bakglalagadi heritage. The G/wikwe people have come to accept the headman at Xade as well because the G//annakwe have always been the more progressive group. The G//annakwe have always been the leaders since the two groups came together but have lived with the G/wikwe in a non-exploitive manner. While it is highly doubtful that the G/wikwe people would accept one of their own people as headman, most can accept a G//annakwe person in the position of authority. Second, the headman is respected by others because of his abilities and his manner in dealing with people.

The third major reason why the Xade headman has earned general acceptance at the kgotla is largely due to his appointed assistant, a Mokgalagadi man (the only non-Mosarwa residing at Xade) who was born in the Xade area, lived in Tsetseng and Ghanzi, and returned to Xade in 1976. This man is most familiar with the kgotla process and has been an important figure in advising the headman on how to run an effective kgotla meeting.

The Xade headman is not, however, regarded by all community members as an effective authority figure. Several G//annakwe people expressed a disregard for his authority while he is unanimously accepted by the "lower class" G/wikwe people. The headman's opponents complain that he does not provide enough leadership in terms of arranging development efforts with the government such as providing food for the people during hard times. These and other complaints generally point to the fact that

* Ibid., p. 11.

the role and responsibilities of the headman are not well understood, that unrealistic expectations are often placed on the headman.

Kgotla meetings are generally held for the purposes of trying cases and solving disputes. Community-wide problems are occasionally discussed at the kgotla but not on any regular basis. The community has, since 1976, contributed in four self-help projects that were initiated by RAD officers and then discussed and approved at the kgotla. These projects include building a kgotla structure, fencing the borehole area, construction of two houses for Council extension staff using local materials and fencing the staff quarters yard.

Since 1976, no District Commissioner or other major government official has visited Xade. The kgotla has basically operated on its own since its inception with some encouragement from the Senior RAD staff from Ghanzi. Despite the vastly improved communications to Xade in recent years by radio communication and relatively frequent transport*, people have expressed a feeling of isolation from the centre and a need to be better recognised and supported by Ghanzi District officials and the Ghanzi Tribal Authority as a village with an effective kgotla system.

11.1.3 Recommendations

1. The District Commissioner and/or Ghanzi Tribal Authority should visit Xade with the purpose of supporting the headman and the kgotla system at Xade, to educate the community on the role and responsibilities of the kgotla and the headman and to listen and try to assist with the problems relating to the kgotla and the resolution of local disputes.

* There is approximately 1 vehicle per week going to Xade in 1982 versus approximately 1 vehicle every 6 months visiting the settlement in 1976.

2. A link between the Ghanzi and Xade kgotlas should be made in order that the more difficult cases at Xade can easily be referred to Ghanzi for trial.

3. The Xade headman should receive training in methods of running a kgotla. Arrangements to visit other kgotlas in the district for observation purposes should be made. The headman should also participate in any courses designed for Kgotla Committee members at West Hanahai and other RAD settlements.

4. No other institutions or community organisations should be formed at Xade unless the need specifically arises out of the kgotla for a group to deal with any community-based development issues which are too cumbersome for the kgotla itself to handle.

5. The kgotla should put more emphasis on discussing development issues which affect Xade. If necessary, a sub-committee should be selected from the kgotla to deal with village development needs.

11.2 Bere

11.2.1 Background of Bere Settlement. Bere settlement was created around the need for a permanent settlement for four bands of !xo-speaking Basarwa from the Okwa-Takatshwane region. These four bands began congregating around Takatshwane Veterinary Department borehole in the dry winter months in the 1960s. An extended drought during that decade plus the selection of Takatshwane Borehole as the drought relief distribution centre brought about more concentrated settlement at the borehole. Disputes between the inter-related bands frequently arose at Takatshwane borehole and grievances from the Veterinary Department came forth as one

band began attaining a few donkeys and goats which they watered at government's expense.

Dr. H.J. Heinz, who had been doing anthropological studies amongst the Takatshwane bands for several years, initiated the settlement scheme at Bere to alleviate the problems associated with settlement at Takatshwane borehole. A borehole was drilled in 1971 at Bere, some 12 km south of Takatshwane and the Ghanzi-Lobatse road, using private funds. Heinz originally viewed Bere as a cooperative cattle ranch largely due to the district's bias towards livestock raising as the only valid use of land in the area. Thus, two cows per family were required for "membership" at Bere.

The 140-150 original settlers at Bere were, however, clearly not ready to become pastoralists. Management of cattle, which were purchased by the residents with Dr. Heinz's assistance, was extremely poor even after considerable efforts were made to teach the Basarwa livestock owners about proper cattle management techniques. Some families lost all of their cattle after a short time due to selling or slaughtering them or because they were eaten by lions. Hunting and gathering has continued to date to be the most important subsistence activities for the Bere people. The sale of handicrafts, especially during the scheme's initial phases, has been a major income-generating activity.

Wily points out that the major reason that the people remain at Bere is clearly not because it provides a place to establish themselves as commercial cattlemen*. Rather, the success of the settlement at Bere

* E.A. Wily, "Bere and Ka/gae - A Brief Note on Two Settlement Schemes Involving Traditionally Nomadic Basarwa" (1976), p. 6.

stems from a strong identification by the inhabitants with their traditional territory, a feeling that "this is our place and our water--people know we are here".

The 1981 national population census enumerated 156 people at Bere, showing an insignificant population growth during the ten years of settlement. Initial fears that the first borehole in the region specifically for Basarwa would attract large numbers of Basarwa from other regions have proved unfounded. Strong ties to traditional territories have kept Basarwa from other areas from having an interest in moving to the Bere settlement.

11.2.2 Development of Leadership and Institutions. Each of the original bands which congregated at Bere were led by their elder male members. When the bands joined together at Takatshwane and later at Bere, conflicts between the two main groups reinforced separate identities, making it difficult to create any single leadership or decision making group structure from amongst the people themselves. The rapid approach to development of the scheme and a general lack of control of their changing situation led to the community's acceptance of Dr. Heinz as their "headman". The large amount of initial infrastructure built by Bere people through a food-for-work scheme arranged by Dr. Heinz, who controlled all initiatives, plans, decisions and construction, caused great uncertainty as to whose "place" Bere was. Some had the idea that Bere was Dr. Heinz's place and that they were being paid to work for him. A highly dependent relationship developed between Heinz and the Bere people, eventually hindering any growth towards self-reliance and self-determination.

Heinz appointed a "headwoman" at Bere, whom he had also set up as the shop owner, to run the community affairs during his extended absences. This caused a further disturbance amongst the Bere people. Wily says that the appointment of the "headwoman" and thus "uplifting one member of the band" was a complete contradiction and a major factor in the breakdown in traditional society.

By 1975, Heinz no longer visited the Bere settlement. The "headwoman", who never placed herself in a position of authority, was also never accepted as such by the community. No other viable leadership or community institutional structures had been created by that time as the Bere people had not yet had the opportunity to learn about decision making to use in their new community. No self-reliant spirit existed because residents were used to a system of being paid for their community work at Bere.

The first attempt to form a village organisation was in 1975 when the expatriate teacher requested Social and Community Development personnel from Ghanzi to help form a VDC at Bere. Several meetings were held, but without on-going assistance from a community development officer, the VDC died shortly thereafter. Since that time, there have been various and sundry appointments and elections of "headman", "councillor", "kgotla leader" and officers and members of various committees, all instigated by various government officials, none of which have been understood by the community and all of which have failed to accomplish anything. Government officials have provided virtually no follow-up on the development of any institutions which they have chosen. Committee members and people appointed to positions of authority are clearly unaware of their purpose and responsibilities.

Table A.2 lists the organisations and Ghanzi positions which have been appointed or elected at Bere.

TABLE A.2
Institutions at Bere

YEAR	INSTITUTION	ORGANISED BY WHOM	STATUS
1972	Headwoman	Dr. Heinz	non-functional
1975	VDC	Ghanzi ACDO	non-functional
1977	Headman	RADO	non-functional
1979	Village "councillor"	MP and Councillor	non-functional
1980	PTA	Headteacher	few meetings held
1981	VDC	Councillor	1 meeting held to date
1981	Kgotla Committee	Councillor	1 meeting held to date
1981	PTA	Headteacher	1 meeting held to date
1981	Kgotla leader	Councillor	non-functional

There have been no village self-help projects which have evolved from any institutional structure. No "headman", "councillor", or "kgotla leader" has ever solved a dispute. No local institutions have ever made an effective decision regarding their community. Government officials have repeatedly appointed or advised the community to elect members of organisations and community leaders. No thought has apparently been given to the need for increasing the community's ability to understand or generally function using institutional structures.

Development assistance to the people of Bere has, since its inception over ten years ago, been provided in a top heavy manner. Bere residents feel a sense of confusion and loss of control over their lives as private and government development assistance has rapidly moved ahead without the community's full conception of what was happening to them. A high degree of cynicism has developed towards government due to this loss of control as well as mis-communication by Botswana government officials who do not interpret their messages into the Bere language of !xo. The Bere people claimed they were promised a gun for use by the community by the Councillor and a new fence around the school by the RADO. Some claim that the Councillor even promised them a lorry for their village. This cynicism and distrust of government and outsiders in general appears to have provided a force for unifying the community. People have become so dissatisfied with government's approach towards their community that they have joined together to reject government proposals on several occasions. Bere was the only community in Botswana to reject the Community Service Programme for their village in 1981. People at Bere sometimes demand mealie meal or tobacco before answering questions of government officials or even sending their children to school. This type of attitude, however uncooperative it may be for the moment, because it indicates solidarity, can lead the way towards providing increased community control and decision making, improving the community's self-image and eventually lead to increased self-determination.

11.2.3 Recommendations

1. The organisations/institutions at Bere should be reduced to one functional group. The role of this group should be determined and

defined by the community or the group itself. It is recommended that this group, be it VDC, Kgotla Committee or whatever, should eventually be responsible for dealing with the wide range of problems that exist in the village, from personal disputes to development needs. Any additional organisations should only be formed once a strong identifiable need arises from the community.

2. The aforementioned group should be run on a group basis (such as recommended for West Hanahai) until such time as the group or community themselves decided they want an individual as their group leader. It should be clearly decided by the community what the exact role of the leader should be.

3. Any group leaders or headman should be provided with training by the Ghanzi District Council and Tribal Authority as to their role and responsibilities in their community.

4. Group members should also be given training to help define and understand their specific role and responsibilities. Training in needs assessment and project planning should be considered a priority for institutions development. Consultation and explanations with the community regarding the role and responsibilities of the group should also be undertaken.

5. A clear and consistent approach should be taken by government to consult with the Bere community. One extension worker should be appointed as the liaison person with the District Council. Promises which unrealistically raise development expectations should be avoided. Consultation on development projects should occur only when the projects are an accepted part of the annual district development plan.

6. All extension workers should primarily keep in mind the need for local control. Extension workers should only act as advisors and encourage leadership from within.

11.3 Kagcae

11.3.1 Background of Kagcae Settlement. Kagcae settlement was created out of the permanent land and water needs of a traditional hunter-gatherer group of !xo-speaking Basarwa. Their situation is highly analogous to that of the Bere people. The drilling of water points along the Ghanzi-Lobatse trek route in the early 1950s had a major effect on the Kagcae group. They were naturally drawn to the Lone Tree borehole as a permanent water supply. Their mobility was thus substantially reduced, and their way of life began to change for the first time after centuries of carrying on an exclusively hunting and gathering tradition. The drought of the early 1960s also drew them to the borehole on an increasingly frequent basis. Increased sedentism meant contact with more people and they began to create a dependent relationship upon the cattle owners in the area, the pumper at Lone Tree, the treckers, etc. Tourists would also visit the "wild Bushmen" at Lone Tree and throw money at the Basarwa while they danced for them. Dissatisfaction with their traditional ways of life was created; they began to desire an alternative means of subsistence and to accumulate a few purchased goods.

Like Bere, the idea for establishing a permanent water supply and to thus settle this Basarwa group at their own place, was taken up by Mr. A. Traill, a linguist from South Africa. Mr. Traill had been extensively studying the !xo language and had thus built up an amenable relationship with the Kagcae people. In January 1976, the move was made from Lone

Tree to the newly drilled borehole at Kagcae, 13 km north-east of Lone Tree borehole. By September 1976, a school room and teacher's quarters were built by the Kagcae settlers through a food-for-work scheme arranged by M. Traill and the school was begun by an expatriate volunteer couple assigned to teach and do community development work at the settlement.

There were reported to be about 120 people in the original group of settlers. The 1981 national population census enumerated 164 people at Kagcae. The population increase is due to the immigration of a family group of G/wikwe people from the Xade area to Kagcae in more recent years.

11.3.2 Development of Leadership and Institutions. An attempt was made by Traill and the Ministry's Basarwa Development Officer to learn from the mistakes made in creating the settlement at Bere, to create a "low-key scheme" that was not initially tied to livestock production. Nevertheless, some of the same problems have emerged at Kagcae. A situation of dependency upon Traill was already well established by Kagcae residents when the volunteer teachers first arrived there. The high degree of interest by the planners of the scheme in ensuring that Kagcae "work" led to an over zealous expatriate influence from the beginning. The introduction of a borehole, shop, garden, school livestock, outside agricultural training, sale of handicrafts for high prices within a nine month period of time all contributed to a high degree of change within a short time period for the new Kagcae settlers. The Kagcae people could not and did not make the effective decisions regarding life in their new community. They were undoubtedly rather overwhelmed from the beginning.

As part of their job description, the teachers/community development workers were required to have the community elect a headman. Although the people agreed that they wanted a headman, when asking the community for nominations, no one agreed to take the position for fear of repercussions and lack of respect from their fellow community members. They wanted either the volunteer teacher or a black man who would be fair and non-exploitive.

The volunteers felt they had failed to form any form of leadership at Kagcae until a time in 1978 when the volunteers were away from the settlement. The community members decided to call themselves together to elect a group of people to deal with the problems of the community. This group of six people, who operated on an equal basis and who simply called themselves "The Committee" began attempts to solve community conflict, problems with the community owned shop, community-wide cattle problems strictly on their own initiative. The Committee even went as far as banning the sale of sugar from the Kagcae community shop for a while because of the increased level of khadi drinking at Kagcae which was causing disturbances to the community. During the first year of the Committee's operation, they began dealing with real problems thus gaining a new sense of confidence in themselves. This was especially important in confronting the Bakgalagadi from the neighbouring borehole whose some 2,000 head of cattle were causing major disturbances at Kagcae. The Kagcae people also began to develop an identity with the Ghanzi RAD department personnel who were highly supportive during the settlement's early years.

The Committee met for about two years but their efforts began to dissolve in early 1980 for two major reasons. First, repeated attempts by the Kagcae people to ask government to solve the problem of neighbouring cattle herds denuding the veld and destroying physical property at Kagcae, of the cattle owners' constant accusations and intimidations towards the Kagcae people met with promises but no action. The situation went from bad to worse as the Kagcae people found they could no longer fight against the stronger Bakgalagadi neighbours. Cattle had destroyed the school fence, shower, cattle trough, 4B garden, water taps, buildings, cultivated fields and newly planted fruit trees by the end of 1981. After repairing the school fence numerous times, the residents no longer felt they could do anything to change this situation.

Second, the raised expectations of the Kagcae community often led to disappointment. One example of this is that after introducing the livestock scheme to Kagcae and initial supervision by the Remote Area Agricultural Advisor, the on-going support and assistance stopped when the present Agricultural Advisor was posted to the remote area settlements, showing no interest in helping them with the problems of their newly acquired livestock. From an initial period of high enthusiasm this has led to a decreasing lack of motivation to herd or manage their livestock properly. Exploitation by neighbouring Bakgalagadi has also been the result of people who no longer are motivated to manage their livestock.

The Committee was somehow led to believe that they could, with the help of government, solve all their community problems. Government inevitably let down the Committee's expectations. A pattern of

development which has emerged at both Bere and Kagcae is one of initial enthusiasm : a large input of development by expatriates which has led to raised expectations by the community as well as a sense of lack of comprehension and loss of control by the people over their own lives. This follows with decreased amounts of enthusiasm and input into the community after its first few years, particularly when government officials take over development assistance to the remote area settlements. The result is feelings of confusion, disappointment, anger, cynicism and apathy by the community.

What has been gained by this process? While it seems that the community may be in a situation of decelerating community and institutions development, what has happened is that control of their own situation has begun to be returned to the community. While attempts by extension workers at forming leadership at Kagcae failed, there are indications that they are now ready to accept a certain member of their own community as their headman. The development of leadership and institutions at newly established remote area settlements can and will happen in their own time. Forced development has shown it doesn't work. Community development personnel should be prepared to work with developing leadership and institutions at a pace that is understood and accepted by the community of Kagcae.

11.3.3 Recommendations

1. Attempts should be made by extension workers to revive the Committee at Kagcae to deal with general community problems. Extension personnel should help to advise and structure the Committee's approach to problem solving and create realistic expectations of their abilities and

that of the government's to solve their problems. The formation of any additional community organisation structures should be avoided for the near future.

2. A local community leader or headman should only be elected when and if the community members are clearly able to accept one of their own people in this position.

3. The Ghanzi District Commissioner and Tribal Authority should supervise any election of a headman and put their full support behind the position.

4. Training in the headman's role and responsibilities should be provided for both the headman and the community. The headman's training should be arranged by district officials in conjunction with the training of community leaders in other remote area settlements in the district.

5. Training of The Committee members should also be provided by the Council extension departments in conjunction with training for other remote area committee members.

6. The headman should become the leader of The Committee but The Committee should first clearly define the amount of authority of the headman in relation to other Committee members.

7. A clear and consistent approach should be taken by government to consult with the Kagae community. Extension workers must keep in mind the need for local control over their institutions as well as keeping expectations realistic about the community's development if they are to succeed. One extension worker should be appointed as the liaison person with the District Council to provide clear and consistent consultations with the community regarding their development needs and implementation of projects in their community.

APPENDIX A.1

Ministry of Local Government and Lands - Applied Research Unit :
Research on the Role of Local Institutions in Communal
Area Development - Ghanzi District

Terms of Reference

Research will be undertaken in four areas within Ghanzi District, Bere, Kagcae, Xade, with a major focus on the new settlement areas within Hanahai. Observations will be made by a resident senior researcher to undertake a detailed analysis of the development or lack of development of local institutions within recent settlements of Basarwa in these localities. The following issues are to be stressed:

1. Present institutional structure will be ascertained stressing the Hanahai settlement with comparative data to be collected in the other three settlement areas. The present level of functioning will be assessed based on frequency of meetings and the type of projects and/or responsibilities undertaken by each group including conflict resolution, projects undertaken, meetings held as well as type and size of membership. Relations between groups within the village will be assessed along with relations between these groups and other groups elsewhere, including local government representatives.
2. Evaluations of local institutions will be made on the basis of how members of the community perceive these groups. An attempt will be made to elicit local opinion on the direction of present leadership

within the community and what form that leadership should follow in the future.

3. On the basis of these opinions and on the basis of the analysis of institutional structures, assess the chances for permanence for each of these four communities. Wherever possible other types of data such as ecological viability will be brought into the analysis, but this particular analysis will stress the institutional viability of the settlements to make the transition into self-sustaining viable communities.
4. Recommendations for future policy will be made as to which types of local institutions, if any, will provide the most fruitful avenues for dialogue between the local communities under study and the government agencies wishing to serve them. In this sense, we are to assess the degree to which special social structures have been, are being or will be formed to serve the specific needs of the Basarwa or to what degree the act of sedentarization itself has caused them to follow the institutions of the sedentary groups living around them.
5. The researcher will liaise closely in this work with district planning officers and the district Remote Areas Development Officer. Where appropriate the researcher will seek the assistance in the field of resident Community Service workers.

APPENDIX A.2

Ghanzi District Communal First Development Area - West and East Hanahai :
Summary of Base Data Questionnaire Carried Out
in West Hanahai in May 1981

A. POPULATION

1. Total number of households (HHs) 26
2. Total number of people 191 Adults 62 Children 126
3. Average number in each HH 6.3
(Two HHs claiming to have 20 people in their HH were not included in the average.)
4. No. of HHs wanting to move from West Hanahai 12 (87 people)
No. of HHs wanting to move to East Hanahai 10 (81 people)
No. of HHs wanting to move to Groot Laagte 2 (6 people)
No. of people related to existing HHs wanting to move to West Hanahai 63
5. Children attending school at West Hanahai 76.0%
Children attending school elsewhere 20.0%
6. Reasons for moving to West Hanahai:
water (only) 7.7%
own home (only) 34.6% 88.5%
water & own home 46.2%
school 15.4%

B. FOOD

1. Veld foods collected: Moretlwa (berries)
Motsotsojwane (sour berries)
Morame nuts (Morama)
Morogo (vegetables)
Mooka (sweet tuber)
 - 96.2% HHs collect veld foods
 - most HHs claim that veld foods are abundant when there is enough rain
 - distance travelled to collect veld foods 1 - 3 km
 - time taken to collect veld foods 2 hr - 1/2 a day

- little information on frequency of consumption--most indicate veld foods are eaten when they are available

2. Sources of food other than veld foods:

maize meal (26.9%)	sorghum (11.5%)
maize (50.0%)	meat (88.5% - hunted)
beans (62.2%)	(50.0% - livestock)
melons (30.0%)	milk (11.5%)

3. Number of HHs growing crops 92.3%

4. Crops grown: maize 87.5%
beans 83.3%
sorghum 12.5%
melons 75.0%
vegetables 62.5%
tobacco 16.7%

All HHs complain of crop damage by livestock.

C. LIVESTOCK

1. Number of HHs owning livestock 92.3%

Number of HHs owning cattle 38.5%

Number of HHs owning goats 46.2%

Number of HHs owning horses 30.8%

Number of HHs owning donkeys 80.0%

2. Number of HHs owning cattle which have had calves 8 (33 calves)

3. Number of HHs with cattle who sell these 40.0%

4. Number of HHs with cattle who eat these 76.5%

5. Number of HHs with cattle who vaccinate these 80.0%

D. INCOME

1. There are three sources of income:

a. employment within HH - self 15.4% - family 53.8%

b. crafts 76.9%

c. cattle 15.4%

Income to the HH will usually come from more than one of the above.

2. Crafts - 76.9% HH sell crafts

- all of these sell to Botswana-craft and some also to Mrs. De Graaf

- HHS receive on average P4.00/bag; some receive up to P20 for a bow and arrow set
- 38.5% HHS said they would like a shop at Hanahai where they could sell their crafts

E. GENERAL

1. Hunting - 88.5% HHS hunt
 - 57.7% of these claim game is abundant
 - 4.3% of these claim game is scarce
 2. Firewood - HHS will walk 1-2 km to collect firewood
 - 88.5% HHS claim firewood is abundant
 - 11.5 HHS claim firewood is scarce
- Other facilities wanted - fencing (69.2)
- standpipes (30.8)
 - donkeys (3.8%)
 - ploughing/agricultural tools (15.4%)
 - tractor (11.5%)
 - clinic (53.8%)
 - shop (38.5% - particularly where HHS can sell their crafts)
4. All HHS expressed interest in the four agricultural projects, i.e. woodlot scheme, fencing, morama nut cultivation, grapple plant cultivation. All HHS will assist in these.
 5. Problems - very few HHS responded to this question
 - those HHS that did respond (26.9%) present their problems to the Council
 - general problems include:
 - lack of fencing
 - lack of employment, therefore no income
 - shortage of cattle

APPENDIX A.3

Ghanzi District Communal First Development Area :
Summary of Proposed Projects

Land Use Planning

WMA planning	DWNP, LUPAG
Settlement demarcation	DOL, SRADO, land utilisation
Careful borehole allocation	LUPAG, Land Board
Education on land rights	SRADO
Rationalisation of residential areas	Land Board
DWNP aerial photography	DOL, DWNP
Hanahai Land Use Plan	DOL

Agriculture

Veld foods cultivation and utilisation	UBS, Nutrition Unit, RAAA
"Land's' and peripheral fencing	DAO, RAAA
Inclusion of settlements in District-wide courses and campaigns	DAO
Seeds and implements	RAA
Dryland farming research	DOL, Agric. Research
East Hanahai range study	Range ecologist
SLOCA	DAO, RAAA
AI education	AI officer
Veterinary assistance	Livestock officer
Smallstock management programme	Smallstock Unit, RAAA, DAO
Group/4B development	DAO, RAAA
Firebreaks	DAO, RAAA
BAMP utilisation	RAAA
Woodlot	Forestry Unit, DAO, RAAA

Rural Industries

Cooperative marketing-Ghanzi workshop	RIO
Processing and marketing of gathered products	MCI, RIO
Subsidies	PDC

Wildlife utilisation investigations	DWNP
Local wildlife utilisation projects	SGS, RIO
Tanning courses	RIO, RIIC
Improved licensing	GGs
Beekeeping	SRADO, RIO

Community Development

Institutions research	SRADO, MLGL Applied Research
Inclusion of set elements in District-wide courses and events	SCTO
Education of RADAs about funding sources	SRADO
Community service contributoins	CSPO

Education

Schools development	CPO, EAS
Implementation of the Tabachnick Report	MoE, EAS, SRADO
Regular provision of current literature	EO
Book box scheme	ENLS, FOD
Literacy programme	DAFO
Other NFE programmes	DAEO

Health

Health posts development and staffing	CPO, Council PHN
Mobile services	CPO, Council PHN
Inclusion of settlement in District-wide courses and campaigns	RMO, PHN-RHT
Specialised health services	RMO, MO-Health Centre
IFP storage and logistics	DCD. IFP manager

Other Infrastructure and Developments

East Hanahai borehole and water systems	Water Affairs
West points system	Water Affairs, range ecologist, LUPAG, water technician
West Hanahai road	PWE roads, roads foreman, DOD, CPO
East Hanahai road	SRADO, roads foreman, CPO
Housing	SRADO, CPO
Rain gauge	Meteorology, DPD
Radio	SRADO

PART B

Training for Development in Remote Area
Communities in Ghanzi District

by Joyce Stanley

1. Introduction and Acknowledgements

The people of West Hanahai were concerned about a major problem. Their cattle were destroying the crops planted near their homes. The first attempt at a solution was the construction of bush fences, but these weren't strong enough. Finally, the people decided to request funds from government for the construction of a drift fence around the community boundaries. The people agreed to provide the labour; the government would provide the materials and technical assistance. The people began clearing the bush along the proposed fence line, even before Council approved their request.

When funding approval comes from the central agricultural office, or when other funding sources are found, the people will have the opportunity to complete a project they themselves selected as a priority.

What have the people learned from these past events? What skills will they need to complete this project and other projects they might develop? What will the district have to do to support the community in the implementation of this and future activities?

This situation and some of the answers to these questions stimulated the following training guidelines proposed from the Ghanzi District staff and West Hanahai community.

The purpose of this document is to build on the recommendations in "Government Settlement or People's Community?: A Report on Local

Institutions Research in Ghanzi District Communal First Development Area and Other Remote Area Communities," by Gary Childers of the Applied Research Unit (MLG&L), and to provide practical training guidelines that respond to district and community needs.

Training guidelines were requested by the district to ensure that the recommendations from the institutions study would not be "lost to the files" and that the valuable work already done would result in further concrete action. The assistance of a training specialist with experience in new settlements was therefore requested to develop the follow-on activities (see Terms of Reference, Appendix B.2).

The training consultant initially resided in the district and West Hanahai community where she was able to attend a VDC meeting, talk with village residents informally, interview district staff who work in the community and consult with the institutions-study researcher. These field consultations and other background research on the West Hanahai community in its district and national context led to the development of the training guidelines.

The format for this report was chosen to illustrate the need for guidelines and programmes that exist within a context of national policy and real-world situations. It, therefore, begins with a discussion of national policies related to rural development consultation and training.

This is followed by a description of existing training programmes, methods for supplementing them and the predominant issues that can be addressed through the implementation of a district and community based training programme.

The final two sections respond to this policy, training, and issues framework and include specific recommendations for a Ghanzi District and West Hanahai community training programme.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following persons for their assistance and support in the preparation of these guidelines:

Gary Childers, the author of the institutions study that precedes and justifies this document, provided sensitive insights into all aspects of the community and its development possibilities and consistently encouraged the development of a realistic training programme. The District Commissioner, T.G.G.G. Seeletso, stimulated discussion in the village and at the district on the relationship of government to local communities and continually emphasised the need for community participation in decision making. Bob Hitchcock provided a background review of the Ghanzi situation and provided most of the written reference material from his own files. Such assistance based on field experience made the consultations especially useful.

Kathryn Rick of the Agricultural Information and Evaluation Office (Group Development) shared many important ideas on policy issues and the need for support systems in implementation and training techniques. Dave Benedetti of the same unit gave a thorough historical analysis of the Group Development Programme and its relationship to other institutions and extension areas.

The staff of the Botswana Agriculture College, especially Chris Hisayi and Alan Pfothenauer of the Social Work and Community Development Department provided necessary descriptions of their programmes and

discussed, in detail, issues related to the extension staffs' work after training. They also offered many useful recommendations on in-service training needs for field extension staff.

Louise Fortmann provided the initial inspiration and final thorough editing. Stephen Turner, Head of the ARU, provided essential logistical support and back-up.

I thank the Community Development and Remote Area Development staff of Ghanzi District for their ideas and interest in developing these training guidelines. Their inputs, both in preparation and implementation are essential for positive long term results.

Finally, I would like to thank the residents of West Hanahai who took me from the theories of planning to the reality of their daily lives. It is my sincere hope that these guidelines will lead to the implementation of a training programme that encourages the continuation and development of their community.

2. Background

These training guidelines are proposed for the residents of West Hanahai (the Ghanzi District CFDA) and some of the district staff who will be working in that area. They are based upon three basic foundations:

- 1) the National Development Plan, 1979-85
- 2) the existing training courses for government staff who support village development;

- 3) various themes that have emerged from the literature and discussions about the needs, resources and training requirements for the area participants.

2.1 The National Development Plan

As stated in the Five Year Plan, the government's strategy for rural development focusses on:

- operating and maintaining newly provided rural services as well as extending them;
- projects to support rural production and employment creation;
- applying the planning expertise developed for the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) to Communal Area Planning and Development (CAPAD) [now CFDA Programme] in conjunction with the Arable Lands Development Programme (AIDEP);
- designing measures aimed at specific groups of rural population with particular needs;
- ensuring a balanced distribution of government investments within a national settlement framework;
- continual consultation with the people;
- building up local authority institutions and giving them a leading role in designing and implementing rural development programmes.
[NDP B. 3.4]

The Plan further specifies that:

The requirement that programmes, in order to be appropriate and successful, should be based on consultation with the people most involved, entails greater devolution of responsibility to local authorities and a concomitant strengthening of their capacity to fulfil this role.
[NDP V. 3.49]

And finally, the Plan states that:

Particular groups that have been identified being in need of special assistance (in planning) include remote area dwellers
[NDP V. 3.34]²

This recognition of both a commitment to balanced development based upon consultation with rural residents and a commitment to increasing the capability of the rural population to plan and implement their own development programmes provides the larger framework for the training proposed for Ghanzi District. These guidelines will attempt to respond to both the spirit and specific directives of the Plan by recommending continued village-based consultation and organisational skill development.

2.2 Training Programme

This section will consider both existing courses for some rural extension staff and the cadres which have had no formal training opportunities.

The on-going training programmes most relevant to the development of guidelines for Ghanzi District are those presently being offered by the Botswana Agricultural College (Sebele) for the Assistant Community Development Officers, the Agricultural Demonstrators and the on-the-job training being provided to assistant RIOs in the districts.

2.2.1 The ACDO Course. Before being assigned to field positions, almost all ACDOs participate in a two year training course including

2. The National Development Plan (Gaborone: Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, November 1980).

classroom instruction and practical work in sociology, human growth and development, social work practise, communication and adult education, study of Botswana, social administration, economics and home economics. Within this general outline specific work related to rural development and community organisation include: community development, group work, communication systems and methods, adult education services and methods, social resources, self-help and extension services in Botswana. As stated in the ACDO course syllabus, "practical work is an important and integral part of the training programme",³ and students spent one-third of their time visiting local institutions, conducting field surveys, doing case work and generally implementing community development programmes under the supervision of an experienced CD officer. The programme appears to be very comprehensive providing a good balance between theory and practical work and only seems to be lacking in skill development related to financial analysis and maintenance of projects.⁴

Yet it has been stated that the course cannot totally prepare the students for the employment reality nor can it provide or encourage the essential motivation necessary for working in the field--the village. The syllabus guidelines state that "the syllabus is not seen as a once and for all training programme. It might be termed more appropriately "an initial training course", because it is envisaged that CD staff will

3. "Syllabus for Social Work and Community Development Programme" (Botswana Agricultural College, 1980).

4. The Financial Assistance Programme being implemented this year could provide this additional dimension to the ACDO's training.

continue to need in-service training after qualifying and indeed, throughout their service careers".⁵

The BAC staff who were interviewed supported this recommendation and requested that any in-service training programme specifically relate to the problems field staff encounter in the districts and concentrate on improving community project planning and implementation skills. The guidelines and training programme will directly relate to those recommendations and the evident need for encouraging motivation and improvement of practical project related skills among the field staff.

2.2.2 Agricultural Demonstrator Training. The AD programme involves a greater emphasis on technical skill development in the areas of livestock management and arable agricultural development with less emphasis given to extension or communication techniques. Though there is time allotted for field work during training, most students leave the course prepared more as technicians than as teachers of agriculture/livestock. What this means to the villager varies, often depending on the education and experience of the farmer needing assistance, and the motivation of the AD. Though the Ghanzi guidelines will not specifically deal with individual technical fields, some consideration will be given to how these field staff can become most effective in the new settlements.

2.2.3 RIO Training. The Rural Industry Officer is a relatively new position established under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to encourage the promotion of small industry development in rural areas.

5. BAC Syllabus, p. 3.

The majority of RIOs are presently expatriate. Recently Batswana Assistant RIOs have been appointed. No formal training programmes have been conducted to date for this cadre with all training presently being "on-the-job". There is a training programme for the RIO assistants and any new RIOs scheduled to begin at the Institute for Development Management sometime in late 1982 which will include course work in project planning, management, finance, book-keeping and extension. As this cadre is important to the new settlements' economic development and their training thus far has been sporadic they will be included in the training programme. The RIO staff participation could provide immediate impact in the community and also prepare the staff for the IDM course.

2.2.4 Remote Area Development Cadre. There is no formal training programme for the Remote Area Development cadre. Any training related to the community is conducted on-the-job by any government officer who has the enthusiasm and interest.

Most Remote Area Development Assistants (RADAs) are local residents with either a J.C. or Standard 7 certificate and have only their own local expertise and language to assist them in remote area development programmes. For some of the more sensitive and motivated, this is presently adequate, but for most their own experience has provided little in the way of useful skills in community work. It has been recommended in a recent Remote Area Development Programme Evaluation that RADAs become CDAs who would emphasise remote area work, but to date no action has been taken on this recommendation.⁶

6. B. Egner, "Remote Area Development Programme: An Evaluation" (July 1981).

As Fortmann points out in a discussion of the various extension cadre, the Family Welfare Educators (FWEs) appear to be the most effective development workers and one of the factors that appears to make them so successful is their appointment by and responsibility to the community within which they are working.⁷ The effectiveness of the RADAs may depend on the same factor. Thus, their major requirement now is relevant community development and project management training. These conditions are considered in the training guidelines.

2.2.5 Additional Training Considerations. Though the ACDO and AD programmes emphasise practical application of theories, this application is not always evident at the local level. The district staff generally have a clear understanding of the theories of community participation and action, but cannot always initiate field programmes related to these theories without some additional support.

The District CE staff in Chanzi felt that their training had prepared them for work in established villages, but that work in the new settlements was primarily the work of the RADAs until the communities were more firmly established. All of those consulted in the district recommended the initiation of a training programme for RADAs ranging in complexity from an in-service workshop to a full two year course in Community Development with emphasis on working with Remote Area Dwellers. Unfortunately, all of the RADAs were at a workshop in Kaglagadi at the time of consultation so they could not be interviewed,

7. Louise Fortmann, "Extension Services in Botswana", Prepared for the Rural Development Unit, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, January 1982.

but the Acting RADO agreed that some kind of community development training was essential for the Remote Area Development staff if their work was to be most effective. All those consulted in the district agreed that more should be done to integrate the CD and RAD programmes.

There are plans by the CD staff to begin consultations and community development/organisation activities in the new settlements. The implementation of a training programme that builds upon what already has been learned at PAC and in other established villages could be a timely input. The District Community Development staff expressed interest in participating in future training that would enhance their own training and experience and offered to assist in developing district centred training programmes for both the RADAs and the West Banahai community.

2.3 Training Related Issues

Government and research reports and conversation with people in the district have identified several issues that provide a framework for the training guidelines and programme. These issues are the closest to the community and district staff and therefore will have the most relevance and impact on the training. In conjunction with the institutions study and recommendations, they will provide the basic structure upon which the training programme is built.

2.3.1 Attitudes Towards the Basarwa. During the establishment of the Remote Area Development Programme several authors expressed concern over the emphasis on separate development for one community in the country. There was encouragement for integrating the Basarwa into the mainstream of development and not treating them as a special case. It was finally determined though that the people had been so severely

exploited for such a long period of time, that they would need additional specialised development assistance until they gained the confidence and expertise necessary to exist and compete equally with their more "developed" countrymen. The decision remains valid, yet continues to set the people apart when planning for development occurs. There is a separate cadre of government officials to deal with the Remote Area Dweller activities; separate communities have been established. This separateness often compounds an attitude towards the community that emphasises their apparent backwardness and inexperience in development activities and encourages the use of words like "childlike", "ignorant", "passive", "disorganised" or "inattentive" when speaking of working with the Remote Area Dweller communities.

Yet during a very short visit with members of one Basarwa community, while observing their lifestyle, their work, their interactions with each other and with outsiders, I found that words like "committed", "interested", "energetic" and "sincere" came to mind. It is true that in most cases members of the community have not developed the abstract conceptualisation skills required by formal education, nor do they maintain a long attention span while being taught formally, but when interested they maintain attention and commitment and follow through with their own established work plans.

The training programme will attempt to consider this dichotomy of attitude and encourage an analysis of the pre-conceived attitudes that exist towards the community. The result should be an increased awareness of the capabilities of the people and a greater respect for the knowledge and skills they possess.

2.3.2 Decision Making Capability. In general the residents of the CFDA and those Basarwa who will be residing in the other new settlements in Ghanzi have little or no experience in decision making. The East and West Hanahai residents have worked on the Ghanzi farms almost all of their lives and have been consistently told what to do and what not to do, including when and if a family should leave a farm. One Mosarwa when asked why he had come to West Hanahai said, "because the government moved me here". Yet upon further questioning, he admitted that, in fact, the farm workers had been consulted prior to the establishment of the settlements about location, organisation and even some aspects of village layout. Popular theatre consultations were held in 1979 with the farm workers so that sites for the first Remote Area Dweller settlements would in fact be selected by the community based upon their knowledge and history of settlement in the area.

This gentleman remembered the consultation, said he appreciated being asked about where the community should be and understood that the site selections were in fact based upon community inputs. Yet when asked why he came, he still placed the decision outside of his own realm of experience, not recognising the connection between the consultation and the movement to the community.

There remains a lack of experience in decision making outside of the most basic family related decisions (what foods to plant, how to maintain a homestead), and a parallel lack of confidence in the belief that even the most important decisions will in fact be acted upon.

The training programme at both the district and village level will consider this and encourage decision making that is related to immediate action and consequent confidence in making further decisions.

2.3.3 Political and Legal Awareness. This issue exists at both the policy and the practical level.

One of the objectives of the Remote Area Dweller Programme is "political/legal: self-reliance, reducing dependency, social integration, awareness of rights".⁸ The RADP evaluation briefly considers this issue, but only from the policy level, stating:

Until action is taken at the political level in support of staff who have to implement the general social justice objectives of national policy as well as the more specific objectives of the RADP, the political/legal objectives of the RADP must be regarded as not feasible for attainment by public servants acting on their own without political or legislative backing.⁸

However a policy initiative is not enough. The recommendation could and should also include what can be done now in the Remote Area Dweller communities, within the context of political and legislative policies and programmes that already exist. The assumption should not be that these skills and awareness will automatically result from political and legal support from the top. This backing is, of course, important, but must be coupled with the development of practical skills and awareness at the local level so that if and when policies are established, the people will be prepared to accept or react appropriately.

This policy-first approach has apparently presented problems in several other national programmes that have not achieved stated goals at the local level. A policy is developed; a programme plan established;

8. B. Egner, "Remote Area Development Programme: An Evaluation" (June 1981).

the underlying theory is accepted at the policy level; people receive training in goals, objectives and action plans related to the policy. The expectation is that action will take place at the local level, but this does not automatically happen. The continual missing link seems to be the lack of consultation prior to policy development. The assumption that the field worker or villager is prepared to act once he/she has been informed is rarely proved to be true in reality.

Several practitioners in the districts and villages point out the need for this type of local awareness and control as a primary means to achieving self-sustaining development in a community. Childers recommends that:

The RADO should institute a regular and systematic process for identifying and prioritising projects involving RADS. The RADS should be directly involved in this process in order to determine the future of their community.

Local institutions, if they exist, should be utilised to assist in the planning process. If no such institutions exist, serious effort should be made towards establishing village development committees or a local council of elders as is deemed appropriate by the community.

Pre-settlement workshops such as those held prior to the settlement of West Hanahai should be continued.⁹

Mark English also sees lack of awareness and control as a major constraint to development of Remote Area Dwellers and offers another recommendation:

9. Gary Childers, "Remote Area Development Programme Evaluation," Ghanzi Report (April 1981).

The Remote Area Dwellers in the district do not have their own formal political representation. This does not suggest that they are not represented by Councillors as in fact all Remote Areas fall under one constituency or another, but that under present boundaries, the Councillors representing the Remote Area Dwellers are either farmers from the freehold farms or people from the village areas. These representatives neither share the same interests nor the problems of the Remote Area Dwellers. Effectively any decisions made in Council concerning the Remote Area Dwellers are decisions made on their behalf and reflect a continuing element of patronage over this sector of the population of the type that "They are not able to make their own decisions". Yet the cultural characteristics of the Remote Area population and the problems associated with settlement and growth of small communities would seem to warrant the people involved representing themselves if they are going to get fair treatment in Council. Lack of political representation can only mean these communities be left wide open to manipulation from outside interests.¹⁰

Observations and interviews during the field work resulted in similar conclusions. The District Commissioner, during his stay in West Hanahai frequently pointed to the need for the community members to select their own priorities and be encouraged to make their own decisions for the community, instead of being presented with "what must be done".

This active vs. passive approach is extremely important for the development of the community and its ability to interact in a larger political realm. Every idea and decision brought from the outside etches away at the established or developing local initiative and control. Every priority selected and acted upon locally increases confidence, problem solving skills and possibilities for future action within and outside of the community.

10. Mark English, "A Final Report on Remote Area Development" (Ghanzi District Council, July 1980).

The training programme, through the development of local planning and decision-making skills will attempt to respond to these needs and increase self-reliant skills, political awareness and eventually be instrumental in leading the community to more involvement in policy decisions about their own community.

2.3.4 Egalitarian Leadership Skills. The Remote Area Dwellers of East and West Hanahai have little respect for one who takes complete control over decision making in the community. They have traditionally functioned as an egalitarian society with the group rejecting those who put themselves above others because of power, wealth or authority. The establishment of the West Hanahai VDC complete with a chairman, did not come from the community. It is obvious that neither the chairman nor the VDC members are absolutely certain how to approach this new organisation. The training will attempt to develop an appropriate leadership structure for the community within the already existing organisation so that both the needs of the community and the VDC are met.

2.3.5 Literacy. The next generation of the Basarwa will provide many educated leaders to the communities. Few who are at an age now for leadership were offered the opportunity to learn reading, writing or math while working on the farms. The communities are therefore faced with committee chairpersons who cannot read reports, secretaries unable to prepare minutes and treasurers who cannot keep books. This further increases dependence on outsiders for decision making and erodes confidence by community members to act decisively with those who do possess these skills.

Though the training will not deal specifically with literacy, district and community members will be asked to develop appropriate

methods for record keeping and report presentation to this pre-literate community. One alternative that could be explored would be the potential for tape-recorders as a record keeping device. This technology is being widely used for literacy and extension programmes throughout the world and will be an integral part of the Ghanzi District's development planning exercise over the next year.¹¹

2.3.6 Community Technical Skills. Many of the Basarwa have maintained their traditional hunting and gathering expertise and have additional skills related to agriculture, cattle raising and fence making learned on the Ghanzi farms. It is evident that with additional technical training many of these ~~resource~~ resource-management skills can be enhanced, thus increasing the community's potential to compete equally in their larger economic world.

Training related to land use planning and resource management skill development will be encouraged based on community organisation skill development and the community priorities.

This framework of national policy, existing training programmes and training issues is the basis for the following training objectives and programme.

3. Training Principles/Objectives

The training programme should:

- Include the presentation to district staff of relevant information about the Basarwa communities so that sensitivity to the community will result.

11. Consultation for the preparation of District Development Plans, in Ghanzi, December 1981.

- Be practical and relevant to district and community issues.
- Increase motivation by district staff to conduct field work.
- Increase problem solving skills of all (district officials and community residents) in every phase of training.
- Increase project planning and implementation skills in the community.
- Increase confidence in the Basarwa in their own decision making capabilities.
- Lead to economic self-reliant development activities in the communities.
- Encourage learning through problem analysis. Theories and techniques will be developed by the participants themselves with outside information provided in addition to the group-developed ideas and techniques.
- Emphasise use of small group work in order to create an atmosphere of self-discovery.
- Lead to the development of other more specific technical training programmes that respond directly to village issues.

4. Phase 1: District Training

Initial training will take place at the district level for those staff most likely to be working in remote areas with the Basarwa and will include the following general categories*:

* A specific syllabus and timetable for training will be developed after the district has commented on these recommendations and training guidelines.

4.1 Community Awareness

Some of the participants such as the RADAs will already have had considerable experience working in the Basaiwa settlements. Others will have had little or no experience. In order to look at attitudes about the community before committing themselves to action, the participants will begin with a discussion of the "ARU Institutions Report", by Gary Childers. The paper which considers the community's history, its present status and its potential for development should provide the framework for the entire seminar and could be used throughout as a reference document. This area of the seminar will be crucial in that it will set the tone and encourage analysis of accurate information about the community and attitudes that are appropriate for working there.

Additional exercises that encourage learning about the community as it exists and not as we might idealise it will be included as appropriate. For example, a discussion on the differences between learning by asking and learning by observing could be conducted, or exercises on the importance of reinforcing memory by keeping accurate records of work in a community could be incorporated.

The objective will be to understand the extent to which villager behaviour is a rational response to socio-economic conditions, and to demonstrate that as government workers, we must learn as much about the community as we can in order to avoid superficial ways of addressing its problems.

4.2 Field Work Motivation

The group will be asked to present their own job description, employment motivations and general personal goals for the future. A

discussion centred on job motivation, problems and commitment will be developed from this information. The group will be asked to establish ideas for encouraging increased involvement in activities relevant to each participant's own job description.

4.3 Community Issues and Resource Assessment

Very often, because of some knowledge of a community, outsiders assume they know the priority issues of that community and the resources available to help solve given problems. Some even enter a village with a prepared list of priorities and allow the villagers to choose their first priority from the given list. The number of failed projects demonstrates that these assumptions are not always correct.

It is clear that while it is recognised that villagers should in some way participate in priority selection, outsiders do not always know how to conduct this kind of participatory exercise. In this section of training, techniques will be developed by the group that enable and encourage issue and resource assessment by the community itself. Various traditional methods such as questionnaires and group interviews will be considered as well as some less traditional and more participatory methods such as a villager-conducted survey.

The villager-conducted survey presents a different approach from the traditional survey in that the researcher does not work from a precise set of questions decided beforehand which facts he or she is going to look at. Instead the survey team, which includes villagers, listens to unstructured conversations in which people feel relaxed and talk about the things which concern them most. The emphasis is on listening and considering areas of life which are most important to the community.

They could include family, subsistence, education/socialisation, decision making about community life, recreation and beliefs and values.

The survey team does not make judgements but tries to understand:

- what people do;
- why they do it (economic, political and cultural reasons);
- what issues in each of these life areas are causing emotional interest;
- which are the most important and most frequently used words in community discussions on these issues.

The survey team would have to find ways in which they could listen to un-self-conscious discussions of the community without manipulating or embarrassing them. This would mean mixing with the community during its daily activity.

If this type of listening is done over time, with the survey team meeting regularly to summarise findings, priorities of the community would begin to emerge and meaningful programmes and projects could be established.

From the seminar discussions on this method and others, using their own field experience and theoretical knowledge, the district participants should be able to develop an appropriate needs and resource assessment technique for the community. (See Appendix C.2.a.)

4.4 Tools for Problem Analysis - Codes

Codes can be pictures, posters, slides, short stories, mimes, plays or songs. They should present a scene showing a concrete experience that relates to a village priority in a way that is totally familiar to the community. The code should never present a solution but should mirror

the problem as it is viewed by the community and include the contrasts, causes and effects and tension points that are related to that problem. By looking into this mirror of reality, the community can analyse the issue and develop their own possible solutions.

In Botswana, the most familiar discussion-analysis tool has been "popular theatre".^{12/13} Elsewhere, pictures, tape recordings or photographs have been used as codes to problem analysis. The group will learn what codes are and how they can be used in community work.

The qualities of a good code will be presented and discussed. These include:

1. The code should present a very specific familiar scene which will be recognised immediately by the participants as part of their own experience of life

2. The code should raise questions in the minds of the participants. This can often be done by showing contrasts of action (e.g. before-after scenes when discussing drought, cattle eating the crops).

3. A code should focus the attention of the group on one theme which the community has selected as a priority.

The group will have the opportunity to prepare their own codes during the course of the seminar in order to become familiar with the

12. Ross M. Kidd and Martin Byram, "Folk Media and Development: A Botswana Case Study" (June 1976).

13. Tefatshe la Bona: Our Land, The Report on the Botswana Government Public Consultation on its Policy Proposal on "GLP" (September 1977).

technique and develop their own methods for use in the field. (See Appendix C.2.b.)

4.5 Adult Learning Techniques

The district staff will be working with remote area adults who have had little experience in decision making, but who are now faced with major decisions daily. Since the participants will be adults in need of problem solving skill, the training should respect this adult status. The assumption will be that as adults the participants possess knowledge and experience and are capable of solving problems.

Specific areas for this section of training will include:

1. Group Work Techniques. The creation of a good learning situation, taking into account the psychological needs of the adult learner, is vital. Each person should have the opportunity to take an active part in discussion. The atmosphere should be relaxed and open. The seating arrangement should encourage communication.
2. The Role of the Group Leader. The group facilitator's main work is to help the participants to learn. S/he has the important role of setting the climate for learning. Discussions will centre on the qualities of a good facilitator and encourage the practise of facilitator skills.
3. Approaches to Adult Learning Situations. The group will be asked to analyse how and why adults learn and develop their own techniques and action plan for working in West Banahai.

4.6 Leadership in the Community

As the Basarwa do not have a tradition of leadership in the western sense, the training will attempt to develop leadership training

techniques appropriate to the remote area communities as well as the larger society within which such communities exist.

One idea that has already evolved includes the use of an elders or an executive committee to manage the VDC. This committee would alternate meeting-chairmanship function, would be responsible for developing an agenda and as a whole would be consulted by outsiders concerning community problems, programmes and government inputs.

The advantages of this type of group leadership include:

- a form of leadership more appropriate traditionally;
- an ability for leadership skills to develop amongst a larger number of community members;
- the potential for individual leaders to emerge within the safety of a structured group setting;
- the strength of a group force/voice when the community is dealing with government officials or any other outsiders.

The disadvantages include:

- the complexity of developing yet another type of leadership programme in the village, and
- the increased complexity of planning and decision making for the community.

This type of group leadership will be one of those considered during this section of training. The group shall develop definite recommendations concerning appropriate group leadership for the participating communities and be prepared to assist in implementation.

4.7 Action Planning

One method for developing action plans will be offered for consideration and modification according to district needs. It is

sometimes called the critical-event approach and follows this general format:

4.7.1 The Plan.

- The community lists all critical events that must take place in order for a project/programme to take place.
- The list is time ordered as much as possible in a first, second, third, etc. series. Simultaneous events are listed together.
- Costs for each event are listed.
- Person(s) responsible for each event are listed.
- A target completion date is set.

4.7.2 Problem Considerations. The group then looks at the whole event and attempts to list every possible problem that could occur during implementation and considers what the group might be able to do to either prevent the problem from happening or to act when it does, in fact, occur. This can be a very general or specific discussion depending on the event and the group, but is essential during this phase of planning.

4.7.3 Implementation. Finally, the group begins implementation and continually refers to its original plan for assistance.

This action planning approach and any others the group would like to consider will be included in this section of the seminar and should lead to the development of a specific action plan for work in the field. The plan will include a village based seminar/workshop activity, and take into consideration the techniques developed during the district seminar.

4.8 Evaluation

This section involves both evaluation of the seminar and evaluation of work in the communities.

The group will initially evaluate the seminar looking at its relevance to future community work.

Secondly, theories of evaluation will be considered so that each person increases his/her own capability to analyse projects and programmes in the district, as well as his/her own work within these activities. This will be a brief and preparatory activity that will be developed as the field work increases.

Evaluation questions that will be considered include:

- What should be evaluated?
- What are some methods for evaluating our own work?
- What evaluation questions can be asked about projects and programmes?

4.9 District Participants

Those recommended for training are the extension staff presently working in remote areas, especially the CFDA, and those most likely to continue work in new settlements. These include:

- All community development field staff working within the new villages, especially the ACDO most recently appointed to work in East and West Hanahai.
- All of the Remote Area Development Staff, including the Acting RADO, the RIO and his assistant who are presently working with the community to develop a production centre, and ALDEP field assistants working with Remote Area dwellers.

On paper this appears straightforward and reasonable. In reality this group requires a very specialised training programme because of the diverse background, experience and education of the potential participants.

4.9.1 Community Development Staff. Almost all of the CD staff have at least a certificate in CD from BAC and some have additional educational background in project planning, communication, group work and evaluation. The staff's education has provided them with an excellent theoretical base for working in the new settlements, assisting in the development of the community and community organisation. Yet, the information was not appropriate to prepare this staff for the realities of working with an uneducated and essentially unorganised community where a CD officer must start from the very beginning.

A review of the training materials from courses attended by district staff reflects a very heavy emphasis on western theories of development communication and extension with little or no offerings on how to adapt these theories to a local situation. Most important, there seems to be little or no provision for analysis that might lead one to reject the theories as inappropriate in any other setting.

It seems that all of the CD staff have an excellent understanding of the theories of communication, group development and community organisation but have not had the opportunity to put as much into action as they would like in the new settlements. Their experience has been with the more developed villages in the district where some of these theories are more likely to work.

The CD staff plans to begin visiting the new settlements with each officer investigating problems related to his/her specific area of CD concentration. All officers stated that their initial visit will include an investigation of the community's needs.

It would seem appropriate to begin in-service training now for work in the new settlements.

4.9.2 Remote Area Dweller Staff. All of the RADAs are local residents who speak Sesarwa. Their familiarity with the area and language capability could assist in encouraging very successful local work as in the case of the FWEs. Yet since none of the RADAs has received any specialized training related to community work, their effectiveness remains limited. The acting RADO has expressed strong interest in increasing his cadre's effective involvement in the community through the provision of a community-development training programme.

District personnel, then, are comprised of people ranging from the experientially well-educated to the theoretically well-educated who are expected to work in the new settlements assisting in project planning and implementation and generally encouraging community development. There is a real need to integrate this staff's skills and experience in order to make the impact on the community most effective.

The district has already shown some recognition of this need by establishing a council sub-committee called the RAD/CD Committee. The group includes the councillor from the new settlement, the RADO and SCDO, plus two-three additional councillors. Its purpose is to coordinate the work of the two sectors and at the same time provide Council with a more thorough understanding of the situation in remote areas. To date the committee has primarily considered projects as presented by each sector (the fence project and the RTO production centre), but has not really begun to emphasize coordination of the sectors in the remote areas. The plans of the CD staff to initiate work in the settlements could be the initial encouragement for such coordination, as could a combined training programme.

The programme will have to take into consideration the varied levels of experience and training and some recommendations include:

1. Utilising the CD staff as resource persons for some of the exercises, especially those related to adult education and planning.
2. Utilising the RADA staff as trainers/facilitators during job motivation and community awareness discussions.
3. Encouraging small group work within cadres in order to improve skills.
4. Encouraging interaction amongst cadres in order to increase awareness and respect for the other's problems and situations.

The training programme could be the first step in actually coordinating the two cadres; with each group acting alternatively as resource persons, the CD staff providing the theory development, the Remote Area Dweller staff the field experience, a relevant training programme could be implemented.

5. Phase 2: Village Training

The district staff, during the course of their own workshop should develop a village training programme that encourages planning and project implementation skills at the village level. As the group's awareness of the communities' needs and capabilities increases, it is expected that their ability to develop a practical training programme will also increase. A model programme will be offered to the district group at the conclusion of their own workshop which will be modified and improved as needed. One description of the programme is specifically designed for West Hanahai but could be adapted for any PAD community.

The village training programme is based upon the development themes that have emerged, the recommendations of the institutions study and time spent in the community. Through listening, and observing community interaction it became apparent that any training for the community should specifically relate to the day-to-day reality of the group and that any theory discussions should only be initiated by the community. This is not meant to imply that the Basarwa are not capable of consideration of theoretical issues, but only that training should respond to what the community needs to know to improve their daily existence. There will be time for abstractions when the community begins to learn how to take more responsibility for their own development.

The training of the VIC will be centred around a specific problem selected by the community. As the community goes through problem solving in reality, they can begin to analyse why certain things worked and why others didn't and eventually develop conclusions which can be applied to future problems.

One of the two planned community activities for the near future could be used as part of this training. The first, the construction of a drift fence would be ideal since the community selected this activity for implementation. The second activity, the construction of a community production centre would be adequate, though less ideal, since it was not selected by the community as a priority but introduced by the district.

5.1 The Drift Fence Cage

In mid-1981, the West Banahai community determined that a major problem they were facing was destruction of crops by livestock. After discussions with the BADA and Agriculture field staff, a proposal for a community drift fence project was developed. The village agreed to

provide the labour and requested material and technical assistance support from the district. The project was eventually approved by Council, but since it came under the agricultural office, required further approval and eventual funding from the Ministry of Agriculture Field Support Office. At the time of writing the villagers are still waiting for approval and the materials.

The villagers' enthusiasm for the project is reflected in their work to clear the fence line areas even before Council approval. Hopefully the community will be able to continue this enthusiastic involvement through the completion of the project. (Though the project was initially rejected, it is being reconsidered for economic and community support reasons.)

When funding is available, the following project-specific training programme could be developed:

1. Organise a fence-construction committee. The community has already discussed doing this but, reasonably, wanted to delay implementation until the fence materials were in hand.. The committee could come from the VIC and could be looked at for future leadership activities.

2. Plan the project implementation. Using pictures to encourage discussion, the group would review the history of the process that was used to select the project as a priority. Pictures would be drawn of the cattle eating crops, of the group meeting to discuss the issue, of a proposal being presented to Council, of the clearing of the fence line.

When these points had been considered, pictures depicting the next steps in an implementation plan would be presented. These would include

the materials arriving in the village and the actual fence construction activity. The fence construction portion would also include a series of pictures depicting all of the potential problems that might be encountered by the group during implementation, so that the group could look ahead and consider some possible solutions.

The discussions around the history and future of the fence construction would lead to the development of a simple action plan for fence construction. The plan would include regular group meetings to discuss the progress of the project.

3. Begin fence construction. During the construction activities, the district staff would monitor events and assist the villagers in any way appropriate. For example, if in fact enthusiasm or energy waned, the district staff could call the fence committee and/or the VDC together and discuss what should be done to solve that problem.

4. Analyse the entire process. Once the fence is completed the district staff would sit with the committee once again and review all of the critical events that took place during implementation. The final questions that would be asked of the group would be: What did you learn from the experience? What would you do again? What wouldn't you do again? What should we remember from this project when we plan and implement future activities?

The emphasis will consistently be on learning through action, with analysis and development of theories occurring only after an event has taken place.

The same process could be followed during the development of the industrial production centre and in all future projects developed by the

village. In this way, villagers would gain planning skills through action, reflection on their situation and eventually the development of confidence to continue to act on their environment, not to be passive recipients.

The result of the entire programme as proposed would be increased district interaction with the community, improvement of planning and project implementation skills by all participants and hopefully an increase in mutual respect and understanding by all actors in the process.

6. Other Training

The proposed training programme relates specifically to institutions development at the local level. Other training needs were also recognised but related to technical need as identified and observed. The implementation of these will be dependent on the community-identified need and extension staff's interest in implementation.

6.1 Land Use Planning

No official land use plan has been established for the CFDA. The DO(L) could work with the community, encouraging them to look at some principles of land use related to agriculture and cattle and then asking the people for recommendations for a village plan

This activity would be most appropriate for the future residents of East Hanahai where a successful borehole has recently been drilled, and where the community will soon begin to establish itself. A site for the school, homes and fields must be selected and since many of the future residents are from West Hanahai consultation with future East Hanahai residents should be relatively easy to organise.

APPENDIX B.1

Ministry of Local Government and Lands - Applied Research Unit :
Local Institutions Consultancy - West Hanahai -
Terms of Reference

Background

In response to a 1976 report, Ghanzi District has established a new settlement for workers from the Ghanzi farms. Government has provided a borehole, a school, a road and other amenities. Because the new settlers do not have a tradition of community institutions, the district requested the Applied Research Unit to investigate the appropriate institutions which might assist the community in undertaking and managing its own affairs. The ARU researcher currently on site has identified with district staff a need for assistance in establishing a training programme for community residents and the government officials who work with them.

Duties of the Consultant

The consultant will spend one week in the new settlement at West Hanahai working with G. Childers, the institutions researcher currently in residence. The week is to be used observing and interviewing community residents and community groups and exploring with community residents the problems of the community, particularly those of resource management. The consultancy must be undertaken immediately because of the opportunity to work with the community while it is involved in a project to create a perimeter drift fence. Based on this community experience and the data from the institutions research, the consultant

would identify training guidelines both for the community members and for government officials and extension workers who work in the community. The consultant must have experience in designing and implementing community initiated rural development programmes and in working with new settlements.

Report

The consultant's report will consist of guidelines for training extension workers and government officials working in the community. It will be reviewed by the district reference group (see below) and by the Coordinator, Institutions Research Programme. Once it is approved, copies will be supplied as follows:

- 20 copies to Ghanzi District;
- 20 copies to the Applied Research Unit;
- 5 copies to the Social and Community Development Dept., MLG&L.

Duration and Timing

The consultant should begin work on February 15, 1982, and undertake 19 days' work between that date and March 11. The report should be presented to the Coordinator, Institutions Research Programme, MLG&L, on March 11 to be forwarded to Ghanzi District by March 15. Once the district reference group has approved the report, the ARU will arrange for its printing.

Liaison and Supervision

In Ghanzi the consultant will report to the District Officer (Development). In Gaborone, the consultant will report to the

Coordinator, Institutions Research. A reference group will be constituted by the District Commissioner, Ghanzi, to supervise and review the consultant's work on behalf of the district. It should include the DO(D) and such members of the Ghanzi LUPAG and other officers as he shall designate.

APPENDIX B.2

Those Consulted During Training Guideline Preparation

Mr. T.G.G.G. Seeletso	District Commissioner (DC)
Mr. L. Thalarwa	District Officer (Development)
Mr. J. Lawler	Former DO(D)
Mr. J. Vossin	District Officer (Lands)
Mr. A. Reisinger	Rural Industries Officer
Mr. Motlhabane	Assistant RIO
Mrs. G.A. Magashula	Snr. Comm. Dev. Officer
Miss J. Mogotwe	CDO Home Economics
Miss M. Ditsile	ACDO
Mr. L.S. Baruti	ACDO
Mr. N.K. Mosimakoko	ARADO
Mr. Nonofu	CDO (Youth)
Mr. Sekisang	CD Projects Officer
Ms. D. Mosimakoko	Social Worker
Mr. R. Hitchcock	Senior Rural Sociologist (TGLP)
Ms. K. Rick	Group Development Officer (Training), MOA
Mr. D. Benedetti	Group Development Officer, (Communications), MOA
Mr. G. Childers	Institutions Research Consultant, ARU-MIG&L
Residents of West Hanahai	
Mr. Motibi	Councillor, West Hanahai

APPENDIX B.3

Ghanzi District : New Settlement Training Programme

	8 - 10 a.m.	10.30 - 12.30	2.00 - 3.00	3.30 - 4.30
Monday	Opening: District Commissioner, Introduction of Childer's Institution Guidelines	Group Discussion: Institutions Guidelines	Work Motivation: Discussion of ACDO & RADA Job Description	Work Motivation Problems
Tuesday	Needs Resource Assessment	Tools for Problem Analysis	Adult Learning Techniques	Action Planning
Wednesday	Group Work. Preparation of a learning event based on problems identified by the Group	Continuation of Group Work	Presentations, Groups I & II	Presentations, Groups III & IV
Thursday	Action Planning for New Settlements: The West Hanahai Case	Continuation of Planning	Evaluation	Closing

PART C

Ghanzi Seminar on Planning for Remote
Area Communities: Final Report

by Gary Childers, Kathryn Rick and Joyce Stanley,
Seminar Facilitators

1. Introduction

As part of the institutions research conducted by the Applied Research Unit, MLG&L, at the request of Ghanzi District, the preceding recommendations and training guidelines were developed. The guidelines and recommendations were based on consultation at the village and district level. Two major requests by all those consulted focussed on the need for increased integration of the Community Development and Remote Area Development cadres and the need for in-service training for the RADAs. These requests led to the development of a seminar on "Planning for Work in Remote Area Villages", with participants including the Remote Area Development Staff, the Community Development Staff and the senior planning staff of Ghanzi District.

The seminar syllabus was presented to the district with the training guidelines and institutions report one month before the actual seminar took place so that all potential participants would have the opportunity to comment on content. Since the seminar facilitators were not based in Ghanzi, they requested two full days of planning meetings with senior staff prior to the implementation of the seminar. Though these planning

meetings could not take place due to other commitments of the district staff, the actual seminar did take place from 10 through 13 May 1982 at the Ghanzi District Council Chambers. As stated by the facilitators at the onset, the objectives of the seminar were:

1. to increase integration between the CD and RAD staff;
2. to increase the planning skills of all participants;
3. to develop methods for working in remote area villages;
4. to increase skills in teaching others;
5. to look at and analyse participant job descriptions and motivations;
6. to look at and analyse the recommendations for the ARU Institutions Report;
7. to develop concrete action plans that would lead to increased village participation when the seminar was completed.

2. Syllabus

To fulfil these objectives the seminar syllabus included sessions on the following topics.

2.1 Institutions Report Recommendations

Gary Childers led this session asking the participants to read over a summary of the recommendations from his report, and comment on them. Final group recommendations were developed from this discussion (see Group Recommendations below).

2.2 Job Description and Motivation

The participants were asked to describe their own job description and problems and also how they perceived the job description and problems of other cadres. Each group then presented their ideas to all the participants and discussed ways of solving the problems they faced. It was especially interesting to note the similarity in definition of job descriptions and problems identified by both the RAD and CD staff.

2.3 Village Organisation Methods

A full day was spent on the presentation and development of a method for village organisation. This included a participatory survey approach for villagers to encourage their own assessment of village issues, various methods to encourage active discussion by villagers when planning and finally a practical method for project action planning. The seminar participants were able to actually practise some of the methods within the context of the seminar so that any future work in the field would be familiar to them.

2.4 Action Planning

One purpose of the seminar was to provide information that built upon past work and was practically related to future work. Because of this participants were asked to develop action plans for work after the seminar.

A detailed syllabus can be found in Appendix C.1. Minutes of the entire seminar are available at MIG&L, Applied Research Unit.

As in any seminar various benefits and problems became evident during implementation. The following is a compilation of the ideas of the facilitators and the participants and hopefully will be useful to other district seminar planners.

3. Benefits

The return of research to the district: District decision makers looked closely at the recommendations in the institutions report, discussed them, accepted some, rejected others and in the end developed their own action plans around the content. By providing a forum for discussion of the research, the district ensured the consideration and eventual action.

Interaction between the Community Development and Remote Area Development staff: Though these groups had also attended other seminars together, this seminar looked specifically at the issue of interaction and integration and resulted in action plans that, if implemented, will lead to more effective mutually beneficial activities for both cadres.

Initiation of integrated planning by the Community Development and Remote Area Development staff: A final activity in the seminar was the development of action plans. Both the senior staff and field staff planned programmes together and initiated a schedule for village training at regular meetings.

Exposure to new methods for working in remote area villages: The participants were presented with field tested methods for encouraging villager participation in planning and implementing their own development programmes and projects. They practised using the methods and, if they choose to do so, should be able to transfer these participatory planning methods to their own work situation.

Development of concrete action plans: All groups participating developed action plans that included target dates, persons responsible and location for action. The plans can easily be implemented by district

staff within the context of their normal job descriptions and regularly scheduled activities.

Consideration of attitudes towards the remote area dwellers: One session specifically focussed on the attitudes government workers have about the remote area dwellers and how these attitudes might affect working with them.

Small group discussion and ability of all participants to be actively involved in each session: Since the seminar was advocating participatory development, the seminar methods encouraged maximum participation by all members. Group work was frequent and rather than presenting theory, facilitators encouraged the participants to develop their own ideas, with reinforcement from the facilitators as appropriate. All participants were considered experts either because of local knowledge or previous formal training and sharing of this expertise was consistently encouraged.

4. Problems

Difficulty in planning the seminar due to distance between coordinators and district: The seminar coordinators were based in Gaborone and had only one week of in-the-field planning prior to the seminar. Since communication between the district and central government is difficult, coordinated detailed planning had to be left until two days before the seminar took place. Consequently details regarding participation, food, transport and even finalising the seminar content was more hectic and less thorough than ideal.

Absence of district based seminar coordinator: There was no district person specifically selected to be responsible for the seminar. Instead the coordinators depended on various senior staff persons who have considerable other work. This resulted in mixed messages and some last minute calling in of participants.

Difficulty of follow-up support by facilitators because of their central work base: Since some methods presented at the seminar were new to the participants they expressed concern about their ability to implement these methods in their regular work. The availability of the facilitators to assist in follow-up would encourage action and consequently increase the confidence of participants as well as the relevance of the seminar. Unfortunately, the facilitators cannot easily return to Ghanzi for regular follow-up.

Venue of the meeting: The seminar was held at district headquarters in Council chambers, where district based staff could easily be called out for other work. This often disrupted the sessions and caused some members to miss activities that could have been relevant to them.

An accepted belief that seminars are to increase knowledge but not skills relevant to daily work. The facilitators attempted to develop a workshop that built upon past work and prepared the participants for future work. The participants were not familiar with this type of participatory activity and had a difficult time relating the content to either their work or other seminars which are held at the district.

The benefits and problems led both the participants and the facilitators to develop several recommendations for seminar planners. The recommendations relate both to the content of future seminars and to methods used in presenting content.

5. Recommendations by Participants

It was recommended that:

1. Though the Community Development and Remote Area Development staffs should remain administratively separate, planning should be integrated through more frequent meetings of senior staff, through planning field work schedules together and through the development of a cooperative village training schedule.
2. Either better qualified RADAs be employed to add to the existing cadre or the present cadre be given immediate formal training in community development in villages. In-service training should be continued in the meantime and could be organised by the district Community Development staff.
3. The ACDO (Ghanzi and Remote Areas) should increase his involvement with the RADAs through the planning of joint village programmes and projects. The ACDO and the IGL7 officer could provide valuable on the job training through the implementation of this recommendation.
4. Training of the remote area VDCs should begin immediately. The recommended training would begin in the CFDA-West Hanahai and would include sessions on: (a) the roles and responsibilities of VDC leaders, (b) the importance of voluntary organisations, and (c) methods for organising villages. The first seminar was scheduled for late June/early July and would be coordinated by the ACDO and IGL7 officer and the RADA staff.
5. VDC members should be selected at the kgotla and the chair and other officers then be selected by the VDC membership. This

recommendation was a result of a discussion on leadership in remote area dweller communities and the possibility of developing group leadership rather than singling out leaders because of remote area dwellers' traditions. The participants felt that a VDC should in fact have one chair, one secretary, etc. but rather than have the officers selected by the kgotla, all of the VDC members would be chosen this way and the VDC could select their own officers. Training would then be provided to this select group so that all members would have the benefit of being exposed to VDC procedures of organisation. This would apply only to new villages. The present VDCs in the remote area villages would remain the same. It was suggested that group leadership could be tested through the development of the fencing project and its organisation and implementation by a selected fencing committee. This committee's work could be followed and future discussion of group leadership based on its work.

6. A land use plan for each new village should be developed with villager participation. The initial activity will take place in West Hanahai, the CFDA, and will begin with mapping of the village. This would be followed by the formation of a LUP committee comprised of the DO(L), the RADO, one Laxi Board member and the VDC chair*. This committee would develop a land use plan and be the first decision making group when applications for residence in the village were brought forth.

7. The senior planners and department heads take a more active role in support of the RAMs and CD staff working in remote areas. This

* The facilitators recommend that two villagers participate on the committee to encourage increased community commitment and participation.

support would include: timely funding, transport, assistance in planning, provision of technical information, provision of necessary village based accommodations. The senior planning group also encourage regular two-way reporting and regular staff meetings to ensure continued interaction.

6. Recommendations by Facilitators

1. Relevant district staff should be included in all stages of detailed seminar planning and if this does not take place that the seminar be postponed until cooperative planning takes place.

2. Every district seminar should have a district-based coordinator who participates in all seminar preparation. This person does not have to be a senior staff person, but should be someone who is available and interested in the seminar content and implementation.

3. Adequate time should be given to plan the seminar on site. This recommendation is relatively easy to accomplish if the facilitators are either based in the district or have easy access to it. When the seminar is held at a distant, difficult-to-reach location, at least five days of pre-planning should be allowed.

4. Participatory methods be used in all seminars. All seminar participants are experts either because of their field-based knowledge or because of their theoretical knowledge. The encouragement of all participants to be actively involved and to use the knowledge they possess will result in increased confidence and the increased potential for action after the seminar. Group work and discussions should be encouraged. Lectures should be avoided.

5. The content of every seminar be integrated to the work people are doing every day. This will avoid taking people out of the field unnecessarily and increase more integrated and relevant planning and development.

6. Seminar coordinators should be easily available for follow-up. Seminars usually provide a great deal of information and give the participants much to think about and hopefully do. The facilitators should be available to assist the participants in working out activities after the seminar so that a connection between content and action will be made.

7. Action plans made by field staff should have adequate follow-up by district staff. This encourages both motivation and implementation.

8. Research and recommendations should always be returned to those who provided the data for the research and a forum for discussion of the research be organised by the research--e.g., all ARU institutions reports should be presented to the districts in summarized form at a meeting where the summaries can be fully discussed by decision makers such as councillors, LUPAG, DDC, etc.

9. The objectives of the seminar should be clearly stated, written down and continually referred to during the seminar.

10. The content of the seminar should be planned with the participants so that it will relate to their jobs and enable them to improve their work in the field.

11. The local language should be the main language of the seminar and all English presentations should be translated. All handouts should also be prepared in the local language as well as English.

APPENDIX C.1

Seminar Agenda

DAY:TIME	CONTENT	MATERIALS/TIMING
Mon:8-10	Topic: Introduction Objectives: To provide the seminar theme to participants; to describe seminar objectives; to learn expectations of the group; to learn about each other.	
	A. Introduction: District Commissioner	15 min
	B. Objectives of the Seminar. Background of why seminar was called. Presentation of Seminar Methodology: participatory, with little lecturing	10 min
	C. Administrative questions	
	D. Expectations of the Group	20 min
	a. Break into groups of 3.	
	b. Discuss what each expects to do/learn at this seminar.	
	c. From past seminars is there anything you would especially like to happen again, or especially like to avoid?	
	<p>This should be a short exercise that enables the seminar coordinators to identify any issues/questions for consideration that are not already on the seminar agenda. This exercise immediately follows the introduction because, very often, the participants don't quite know what to expect and they can initially repeat what was said in the introduction (e.g. improve communication skills, learn how to work more effectively in new settlements, etc.) By providing the forum and by putting people into small groups, some new ideas should emerge.</p>	
	E. Introduction	
	1. Divide into groups of 2, choosing a person you do not know very well.	10 min

2. In 2-3 minutes try to learn about your partner so that you can introduce him/her to the rest of the group.
 3. Return to the large group: each person introduces his/her partner, providing as much information as possible. 15 min
- (1 hr & 10 min)
- F. Presentation of Institutions Report Summary and Recommendations. Copies of recommendations
- G. Childers presents a summary of his findings and then looks the recommendations over with the group.
- After tea the group will discuss the content.
- 10-10.30 Tea
- 10.30-12.30 Topic: Institutions Report Recommendations.
Objective: To encourage discussion of the Institutions Report; to encourage analysis of the recommendations of the IR.
Any Questions
- A. Group Discussion--Break into groups 1 hr
1. Break into groups of 5, mixing the various cadres, keeping them area specific
 2. Each group will be asked to consider the recommendations and answer the following questions:
With which recommendations do you agree? Why?
With which do you disagree? Why?
Are there any additional recommendations you would include?
How can each of these recommendations with which you agreed be implemented? By whom? When? How?
- Each group should select a chairperson and secretary. The secretary will summarise the findings and conclusions and be prepared to present these to the larger group.
- 11.30-12.30 B. Summary: Plenary Session 1 hr
- Each group will present its summary and these will be written on newsprint.
- Mon:2-3 Job Description and Motivation
- Objectives: To increase understanding of each other's work; to determine major Newsprint

problems of ACDOs and RADAs; to increase awareness that assumptions about others' problems are not always correct.

Activity: Discussion of job descriptions and problems being faced in one's job.

1. Divide large group into 3 groups: 1 hr
CDs 1 CD Extension; RADAs-5;
others (RIO, Agriculture)

2. Ask each group to answer the following questions / provide the following definitions:

- a. What is your own job description? The CDs, SC. define theirs, the RADAs theirs, the other staff theirs.

Newsprint with prepared questions. One question on each sheet for each group.

- b. What is the job description of the other groups? (The ACDOs define the RADAs' job; the RADAs define the ACDOs'; the others define both RADA and ACDO positions.)

- c. List the problems your group faces in its work.

- d. List the problems you think the other group is facing. Again we will deal only with ACDO and RADA problems and have the "others" define the problems of both of these groups.

3. Return to large group for summaries. 1-1/2 hr

3.30-5.00

4. Each group presents its newsprint with the summary of its own job description. These are placed on the wall, with space in between to put the reports of the other groups.

5. The newsprints with the job descriptions of others are presented and placed next to the ones written by the groups describing their own work.

6. Discussion: What is the correct description? How well do we understand what the others are supposed to be doing? If understanding is good--a complement. If understanding does not exist--why?

7. Problems: Repeat presentation of newsprint summaries with alternating groups placing their newsprint next to each

other. First the groups place their own problems, then the groups placing the problems of others.

8. Discussion: Why were some perceptions correct? Why are there some misconceptions?
9. What did we learn from this exercise?

Tues:8-10

A. Needs Resource Assessment

Objectives: to analyse listening skills; to look at the various techniques used in problem identification in a village, and evaluate these; to present the listening survey technique

B. Listening Exercise:

45 min

1. Divide into groups of 4.
2. Choose a topic that was identified yesterday as a major problem for the group--something universal and not specific to any cadre.
3. Ask each person to speak to his/her group for 2-3 minutes. The rest of the group listens without commenting or questioning.
4. After all have had a chance to speak, answer the following questions: What helped you to listen well? What hindered/prevented you from listening?
5. Return to the large group for a summary of the answers to the two questions.

Conclusion: What can we do to listen more attentively? What can we do to get others to listen to us more attentively?

C. Survey Techniques - S&CD Staff

Much of our job is related to listening to villagers' problems and then developing programmes in response. What are some ways of learning villagers' needs?

1. Ask the large group this question. Write answers on newsprint--each method should have its own newsprint, (Some expected answers: interviews, questionnaires, group meetings.)

2. Ask group to describe advantages and disadvantages of each method.

D. Presentation: Listening Survey Techniques

1. Government worker organises a group of 4-5 villagers to conduct survey.
2. Group is asked to spend week going about regular business, but to be aware of what people are talking about with strong feeling, things they discuss with emotion, happiness, sadness, anger.
3. The group meets once a week to summarise their findings on newsprint.
4. At the 4th or 5th meeting the group puts all the newsprint together and simply adds up the frequency of every topic; e.g. how many times did people comment about cattle eating crops, sick children, lack of a shelter for the school kitchen, etc.
5. The group identifies the problem most frequently mentioned as the first priority for further analysis and eventual action.

10-10.30 Tea

10.30-11.30 E. Present Handout

Ask the group the questions and record these on newsprint. The final question would be: "Could this type of survey be conducted in remote area villages?"

The group can fill out their handout from what is written on newsprint.

11.30-12.30 Codes: Tools for Problem Analysis

1 hr

Objectives: expose the group to various types of codes; provide discussion and questions always used with a code.

The listening survey is completed, a problem selected. What next? The planning. Where do we start? With a discussion of the problem and the development of a plan. We can either simply ask the villagers what to do or we can gradually develop a solution that is based on problem analysis. One way of focussing discussion and encouraging analysis is through the use of CODES.

Picture codes:
cattle eating
crops; an ACDO
biking to a
distant village;
a broken down
water pump

What is a code: It can be a picture, play, photo, story or tape recording that presents a scene showing a concrete solution. The code should mirror a problem and never give a solution.

Skits:
ACDO overworked?
RADA problem?

Has any of the group been exposed to popular theatre? Are there any examples of topics that were used? Present picture codes.

There are 5 questions that you can use with a code to help focus discussion and lead the group to analysing a problem as it was shown:

1. What do you see happening?
Description of the code.
2. Why is this happening? Analysis of the problem in the code.
3. Does this happen in our situation?
Move from the code to the real life situation.
4. What problems does this bring into our lives? Identification of problems related to this situation.
5. What can we do to solve this problem?
Beginning of Action Planning?

2-3.30

Action Planning

Objective: to develop a useful planning methodology relevant to district and villagers (especially new villages).

Skit: A group of villagers sitting together discussing a problem. They had planned to build a kgotla latrine. Everyone in the VDC agreed that it was a good idea. But they ran out of money; they forgot to decide who would bring the materials; no one could remember when they had planned the next work day. The money from the villagers had never been collected because no one had been appointed to the task. There should be two parts to the skit: the first meeting when the project is simply decided upon with no real planning; the second meeting where the group comes to the realisation that real planning did not take place. The second part should show real confusion over what

is happening in the project now--and generally that no concrete plan had been developed.

After the skit ask the following question: What did you see happening? Why did it happen? Does this happen in real life village situations? What problems does this bring? What can we do to solve this problem?

Approach I*

Break into small groups and develop guidelines for action planning for villagers. Answer these questions:

15 min

What are all of the things a village group must consider when they decide to do a project? What can we, as government staff, do to help villagers in planning?

Return to group and summarise answers.

30 min

Approach II

Distribution of handout: Choose a project--e.g. school kitchen, kgotla toilet. Tell the group we are now a VDC planning this project. Fill in the form considering all of the steps necessary to reach completion, implementation.

int
ample
dout

Fill out your form with a project that would be appropriate in your community.

Prepare the group for future seminar work. Explain that tomorrow we will divide into small groups, select a problem that we chose yesterday, develop a code and a discussion around that code. The handout should help you to focus the discussion.

4.00-5.00

A. Attitudes Towards Basarwa

Objectives: to increase awareness of attitudes towards Basarwa community; to analyse approaches to adult learning.

1. Show photograph and ask participants to study it.

A photo of a group of Basarwa

Give each participant two sheets of paper. Ask them not to sign their names, but to list 3 words or phrases that in

* This approach was finally selected for implementation.

general describe personal characteristics of the Basarwa with whom they work or have worked, e.g. shy, stubborn, friendly. (Don't give examples that might pertain to the picture).

3. Ask someone to collect the unsigned lists.
4. Now ask group to think of some one specific Mosarwa they know personally. Then, ask them to list on the second unsigned sheet 3 words that describe that person, that characterise that person.
5. Appoint a second member to collect these responses.
6. Ask the participants who collected the first lists to read them aloud. Write the words on newsprint, listing all responses, even repetitions.
7. Ask the group to look at the list and decide if a response is either positive, negative or neutral. Put a + or - or 0 next to each word.
8. Ask the participant who collected the second list to read his/her responses and follow the same listing procedure.
9. Group discussion: Have group discuss differences between total number of positive, negative and neutral characteristics.
 - a. Do all Basarwa have these negative characteristics?
 - b. Are there good reasons why the Basarwa act this way?
 - c. Can we draw any conclusions on how these attitudes will affect our work with the Basarwa?

B. Adult Learning Theory

Banking Method: We presume the people are empty: have no knowledge, need to be filled with information.

Problem Posing Method: We presume people have some knowledge. We respect the knowledge they have. We expect them to be active rather than passive recipients.

They will and can: select their problem/project; analyse their problem and its cause; develop a solution; act, sometimes with assistance, on the solution; implement and conclude an activity.

This last step is important for confidence building and the likelihood that other problems will be approached in the same systematic way.

Wed:8-10

Leadership

Objective: to analyse our attitudes towards good leadership; to develop appropriate leadership forms in the Basarwa communities; to recognise that not only traditional forms of leadership are always appropriate in every case.

Skit:

Show typical Basarwa VDC meeting with outsider leading the discussion, presenting problems for action, determining the solutions.

After the meeting show the same group without the outside leader, coming to a consensus conclusion to a problem they are facing in their community.

Questions: What did you see happening in the skit? Why does this happen? Does this happen in the Basarwa villages you know? What problems does this bring? What can we do to solve this problem?

Small group discussions to answer 5th question and: What kind of leadership exists in the Basarwa communities? What kind of leadership approach would be most appropriate in the formal institutions in the Basarwa villages?

Summary: Each group reports its conclusions.

Can we, from the conclusions, introduce the recommendations that are made?

10.30-1.00

Preparation of a Learning Event

Objectives: to enable the participants to practise what they have learned in the seminar; to encourage confidence

in leading group discussions; to encourage action when the participants return to the field.

1. Review of previous days' work:

- needs and resource assessment through the listening survey;
- codes for problem analysis;
- adult learning theory;
- action planning.

2. Prepare a learning event:

- Present a list of problems to the group.
- After groups have been divided, ask each to select one problem and report it to the coordinators so there is no duplication.
- Ask groups to prepare a discussion activity around the problem (location, questions etc.).
- Develop a code; ask the 5 questions; coordinate a group discussion (remember you can break a larger group into groups or have a discussion of the whole group).
- Conduct discussion with the large group.

2.00-5.00

Presentation of each group.

Suggested topics for discussion:

- TGLP and its impact on the Basarwa
- The District Extension Team: its role and responsibilities
- Cooperatives
- Production Promotion Centre-- production development
- Outside projects (projects outside settlement)
- Lack of food
- Government officers providing bad information
- Transport in the district
- In-service training for RADAs
- Other topics from the group

Thurs:8-9

Action Planning in the New Villages

Objectives: to develop an action plan for implementation after the seminar; to encourage active participation by government workers in the new villages.

Activity:

Develop an action plan for the next 3 months using some of the activities present in the seminar: listening survey; priority selection; action planning; implementation

9.00-10.00

Evaluation

Objectives: to provide the seminar coordinators with feedback for future seminars; to encourage awareness of the need for evaluation at the completion of an activity.

Questions:

What suggestions would you make for future seminars? We are planning to conduct similar seminars in other districts. What would you eliminate from future seminars? What would you always include? What was most useful? What was least useful?

10.00

Closing

APPENDIX C.2.a

Needs and Resource Assessment in the Village

1. Government worker organises a group of 4-5 villagers to conduct a Listening Survey.
Who would you select in your remote settlement area?

2. The group is asked to spend a week going about regular business, but to be aware of what people are talking about with strong feelings. Listen for the topics discussed with emotion: sadness, happiness, anger.
Where would the people meet? What are some of the places where this listening can take place?

3. The group meets once a week to summarize their findings on a blackboard.
Would this be a good way to keep records for people who cannot read or write?
Are there other alternatives?

4. After 4-6 weeks, summarise the weekly meetings by counting how many times each problem is mentioned.

5. The group selects its priorities and decides on action to be taken in the village.

APPENDIX C.2.b

The Five Questions to be Used with a Code

1. What do you see happening? - Description of the code.
2. Why is it happening? - Analysis of the problem in the code.
3. Does this happen in our own real life situation? - Move from the code to real life.
4. What problems does this bring into our lives? - Identification of specific problems related to the situation.
5. What can we do to solve this problem? - Beginning of action planning.

APPENDIX C.2.c.

Project Implementation Schedule / Lenaneo la Ditiro Tse Di Akantsweng

Name of Project: Leina la Tiro e e ikaeletsweng.

Important Events: What must take place if the project is to be implemented?	Who will be responsible?	When will it take place?	What cost?	What problems might be expected?
Ditiro tsa botlhokwa. Go ka dirwa eng ga a le gore tiro e tshwanetse go dirwa.	Ke mang yo o tla bo a lebeletse tiro.	Go tla simolo lwa leng.	Ka thwa thwa e e ka fe?	Mathata a a kannang teng ke a fe.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

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