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LOCAL INSTITUTIONS DEVELOPMENT IN THE NGAMILAND  
COMMUNAL FIRST DEVELOPMENT AREA: A RESEARCH AND TRAINING PROGRAM

by

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With Appendix 2 by Richard Morgan

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper is one of thirteen reports produced by the Botswana Local Institutions Research Project. The project was a collaborative effort by the Land Tenure Center and the Applied Research Unit of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Earlier versions of these reports were published in Botswana by the Ministry, in limited numbers. LTC is reproducing them in its publication series to ensure the availability of some excellent primary information on Botswana to scholars in the U.S. and elsewhere outside Botswana.

The research product is in three parts. The results of a local institutions inventory are presented in the first five reports. A later research phase, focused on local institutions and resource management, is represented by the next six reports. Finally, there are two summary reports, directed to policy-makers.

LTC wishes to express its appreciation, first, to the Project Coordinator, Louise Fortmann. Vast amounts of her thought and energy have gone into this project, and in retrospect, we feel that few others could have made so much of this research opportunity. Second, LTC is grateful to the members of the research team, the authors of these reports. Their exceptional commitment to the research shows in the product.

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Finally, the research was funded by AID/Gaborone through its Rural Sector Grant. The project would, of course, not have been possible without this funding, but it also benefited greatly from the active interest and involvement of John Pielemier, project officer during the formative stages of the project, and his successor, Laurier Melleux.

John W. Bruce  
Africa Program Coordinator

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BOTSWANA LOCAL INSTITUTIONS RESEARCH PROJECT PAPERS

C. Brown, V. Bontsi, K. Gobotswang, T. Selata, A Study of Local Institutions in Kgatleng District.

G. Childers, Government Settlement or People's Community: A Study of Local Institutions in Ghanzi District.

A. Rude, K. Gofamodino, D. Keebine, O. Mobusa, W. Raditloane, G. Serebolo, Report on Local Institutions in Five Villages in the Southern District Communal First Development Area.

G. Childers, Local Institutions in Ngamiland CFDA.

A. Manzardo, Planning for Local Institutions Development in the CFDA's of Botswana.

A. Rude, Agricultural Cooperatives in Southern District CFDA.

F.S. Zuffrey, A Study of Local Institutions and Resource Management Inquiry in Eastern Central District.

L. Fortmann, K.E. Gobotswang, U. Edzani, A. Magama, L. Motswogole, T. Woto, Local Institutions and Resource Management in the North-East District CFDA.

F.S. Zuffrey, A Study of Local Institutions in Mopipi Communal First Development Area, Central District.

C. Brown, Resource Management in Kweneng District.

L. Fortmann, The Role of Local Institutions in Communal Area Development.

C. Brown, Issues in Communal Resource Management.

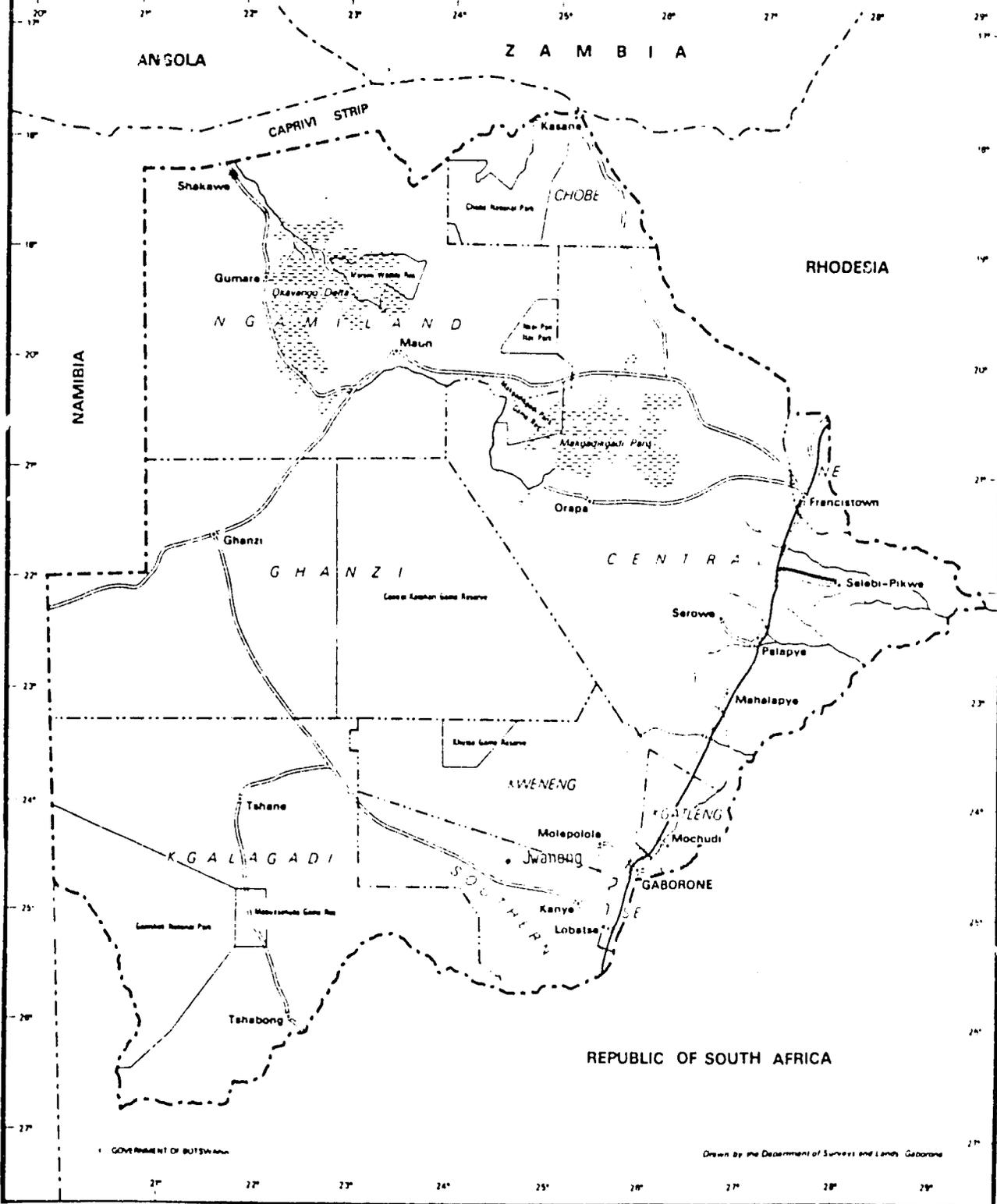
B. Machacha, Botswana's Land Boards as Land Management Institutions.

# REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



- Road
- Railway
- District Boundary
- National Park
- River

0 100 200 Kilometers



GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA

Drawn by the Department of Surveys and Lands, Gaborone

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The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of USAID, the Government of Botswana, or the University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center.

Gary Childers  
(Oct. 1982)

Abbreviations and Setswana Words  
Used in This Report

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
ARU	Applied Research Unit, Gaborone
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BIP	Botswana Independence Party
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
CFDA	Communal First Development Area
CSDA	Communal Second Development Area
CD	Community Development
CDA	Community Development Assistant
CODEC	Cooperative Development Center, Sebele
DAEO	District Adult Education Officer
DET	District Extension Team
DOD	District Officer Development
FC	Farmers Committee
IFP	International Food Program
IMCC	International Medical Cooperation Committee
<u>ipelegeng</u>	self-help
LA	Literacy Assistant
LG17	Village Development Program (funds)
<u>molapo</u>	arable fields along the course of a river
<u>maluti</u>	corn-soya-milk mixture donated by the IFP to schools and health facilities
<u>matimela</u>	system under which stray cattle are held, formerly by the chief, now by the District Council, and are returned to the owner upon payment of a fee
meat tree	a specific tree in the village under which meat is sold by and to local residents
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
<u>mophato</u> (plural <u>mephato</u> )	a traditional system of age regimentation by village, once used for implementing village-based work projects
MP	Member of Parliament
NWDC	Northwest District Council

OPSS	Okavango Private Secondary School
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
P	pula (1 pula = US\$0.92)
PHC	Primary Health Committee
RIO	Rural Industrial Officer
S&DC	Social and Community Development Department
SCDO	Senior Community Development Officer
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist (church)
TB	tuberculosis
Tirelo Sechaba	Botswana's national community service scheme for school-leavers
UCCSA	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
VDA	Village Development Assistant
VDC	Village Development Committee
VET	Village Extension Team
VHC	Village Health Committee
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZCC	Zionist Christian Church

## General Recommendations

### VDC Systems of Operation

1. VDC members should be more carefully selected by the **kgotla** every two years. A VDC nominating committee should be selected at the **kgotla** for the purpose of nominating VDC candidates who are likely to be active and responsible committee members. Potential candidates should be screened to ensure that they normally live in the village rather than at the lands or the cattlepost and that they are normally available to attend meetings. Their level of interest in VDC activities should also be taken into account by the nominating committee which would submit a list of nominees to the **kgotla** for election of VDC members.
2. The secretary should keep a VDC meeting attendance record. The VDC members should agree on the number of unexcused absences at consecutive VDC meetings a member may have before impeachment proceedings are begun.
3. Annual schedules of VDC meetings should be made and agreed upon by the members. These schedules should be given to all members, extension workers, other committee officers, and government departments. The schedule should be strictly followed and meetings held by government officers should be expected to coincide with the VDC's on these scheduled dates.
4. An agenda should be made by the chairperson and the secretary prior to each meeting. The agenda should include the reading of previous minutes, treasurer's report, old and new business. The item "old business" should include reports on action taken on all resolutions from previous meetings which have not yet been concluded by the VDC.
5. The secretary should keep a well-organized file of all incoming and outgoing copies of VDC correspondence.
6. The young adults of the community should be encouraged at the **kgotla** to take a more active role in the community affairs such as participating in committee work and self-help projects.
7. All tribal and language groups living in a village area should be encouraged to participate in the VDC and other village institutions. VDC members should be elected by the ward or area system to ensure a well-balanced ethnic participation.
8. VDCs should be urged by extension workers to look at alternatives to the normal self-help infrastructure-type projects. Projects that assist in village resource management or production/development activities should be encouraged.
9. Subcommittees should be utilized for supervising and general management of VDC self-help projects. Each project subcommittee should be comprised of one VDC member plus two members of the community at large who would be elected by the **kgotla** and serve until the project's completion.

10. The VDC should investigate different methods of project organization to ensure timely completion of self-help projects. Village residents could be organized in small groups to do specific required tasks, to sign up for work-days, or each household in the village could be expected to contribute a certain number of days toward a project.
11. The more active VDCs in the larger villages such as Gomare and Nokaneng should clearly redefine their purpose as the coordinator of village-based development rather than being directly responsible for the implementation of self-help projects. As the "umbrella organization," these VDCs should increasingly turn over project organization and implementation to other village organizations or to VDC subcommittees.
12. The VDC should keep a record of participants for every self-help project.
13. Alternative means of fund-raising should be expanded by VDCs by concentrating on projects which provide a service to the community and simultaneously raise funds for the VDC (i.e., rents from a butchery, community hall, tool and implement loans, etc.).
14. The VWDC should improve and expedite its system of processing LG17 funding applications as well as the ordering and delivery of materials in order that VDCs do not become discouraged due to long delays in project implementation and completion.
15. VDCs should consider holding an opening ceremony for larger VDC projects to provide information to community members on the costs, work involved, use of facilities, etc. For smaller VDC projects, such information should be provided at the kgotla by the VDC chairperson.
16. VDCs should evaluate each self-help project after its completion with assistance from the ACDO. A standardized project evaluation format should be designed by the ACDOs to include information which will help improve future project organization.
17. Reports concerning the VDC's financial status, including amount of money received and spent, how money was spent, and cash balance, should be reported to the VDC at least once every three months and to the kgotla at least on an annual basis.
18. VDCs should not make loans to individuals under any circumstances.
19. VDCs should put any amount of money over P100 for which no immediate use is planned into a bank to earn interest.
20. Extension workers should ensure that VDC treasurers reconcile their actual cash balance with their cashbooks on a regular basis.

#### VDC Training

21. Training should be provided by ACDOs in the upgrading of skills for members of each VDC according to the following areas of priority:

- a) Treasurers should be examined and trained in keeping of a cashbook, reconciling the cashbook, and compiling a financial statement.
  - b) Secretaries and vice-secretaries should be trained in keeping clean and accurate minutes including recording all VDC resolutions and action to be taken.
  - c) All VDC members should receive training in community needs assessments and project planning skills. ACDOs should receive special training in these areas in order to assist VDCs.
  - d) Members should receive group training in meeting procedures and roles of officers.
22. Tirelo Sechaba participants should be used whenever possible for training VDC members on specific tasks as requested by the ACDO.
  23. The VDC Handbook should be used as a training tool whenever appropriate, with the recognition that the written Setswana may be too difficult for some VDCs to understand.
  24. ACDOs must follow up all their training efforts with each VDC on a regular and planned basis to ensure that VDC members are learning to apply what is being taught. There is no use embarking on VDC training unless follow-up can be provided.
  25. All courses, workshops, and seminars attended by VDC members should be followed up with discussion of new ideas by the local VDC. The ACDO and workshop attendants should attempt to adopt new ideas for practical use by the VDC.
 

Social and Community Development workshops should be geared more toward teaching practical skills that members of village institutions can practice in the community and less toward information-oriented seminars.
  27. VDC members who are illiterate should be encouraged to attend nonformal literacy programs in their community.

#### Extension Work in the CFDA

27. The VDA should be given a written job description which should include regular reporting to the ACDO on all activities performed.
28. The residents of local villages, particularly members of village institutions, should be better informed about the duties of Community Development and other extension workers based in their village. Community Development extension workers should be made to be more accountable to village institutions, especially the kgotla and the VDC, for their work rather than just to the District Council.
29. There should be increased support by extension workers for VDC projects by increasing their involvement in facilitating village-level expertise in project planning and implementation.

CFDA Planning

30. Government and Council departments which are directly involved with village-based development efforts in the CFDA should be more involved in CFDA planning on the district level and thus be made more aware of the purpose of the CFDA program and the development plans in the area. The Social and Community Development Department of NWDC in particular should be more involved in CFDA planning and implementation by increasing support for community development extension workers in the CFDA. Essential support should include improved staff supervision, better physical support, and increasing and upgrading staff in the area.
31. District-level CFDA planners should make greater efforts at village-level consultation in order that local VDCs become more aware, involved, and therefore more committed to CFDA project proposals. VDCs should be provided with increased skills in assessing village needs and in project identification and planning by the Village Extension Team.
32. The CFDA coordinator should liaise primarily with the Village Extension Teams regarding village development within the CFDA. The coordinator should act as a facilitator to extension workers to increase their capacities to implement village-based development.
33. The CFDA coordinator should particularly assist the ACDOs in the region to implement the village institutions development sectors of the CFDA plan.
34. Government should embark on efforts to strengthen kgotlas and tribal administrations under the CFDA as a major component for the program of upgrading village institutions. The strength of traditional kgotla systems should be recognized as a major factor in the ability of "modern" village institutions to evoke successful community participation in village-based development.
35. Any payment to VDC members as a sitting allowance or monthly remuneration should be made only by agreement of the community itself and made through locally raised funds. The government should not become involved in providing payment to VDC members.

Recommendations for Specific VillagesEtsha 1 and 6

36. The election of women to VDC should be encouraged at Etsha 1 and 6.
37. The Northwest District Council should recognize the Etsha 1 VDC as a separate village institution from the Etsha 6 VDC as well as recognizing the needs for development in the Etsha 1 vicinity.
38. The community members at Etsha 1, 6, and 13 should be addressed at the kgotla by a high-ranking government official on the importance of

self-help participation in their community. This should be conducted along with a wider campaign educating the Etsha community about the meaning of self-help which should be conducted by the District's S&CD Department.

39. The present ACDO based in Gomare should be transferred to Etsha as a priority area for institutions development but still having overall responsibility for visiting Gomare on a regular basis.
40. A Village Extension Team should be formed in Etsha 6 to help facilitate village-based development in Etsha 1, 6, and 13. The Etsha VEXT should work to counteract discriminatory attitudes by extension workers toward Mbukushu people of Etsha and concentrate on active support of the VDC, starting with improving the confidence of VDC members in approaching their development tasks.

#### Gomare and Nokaneng

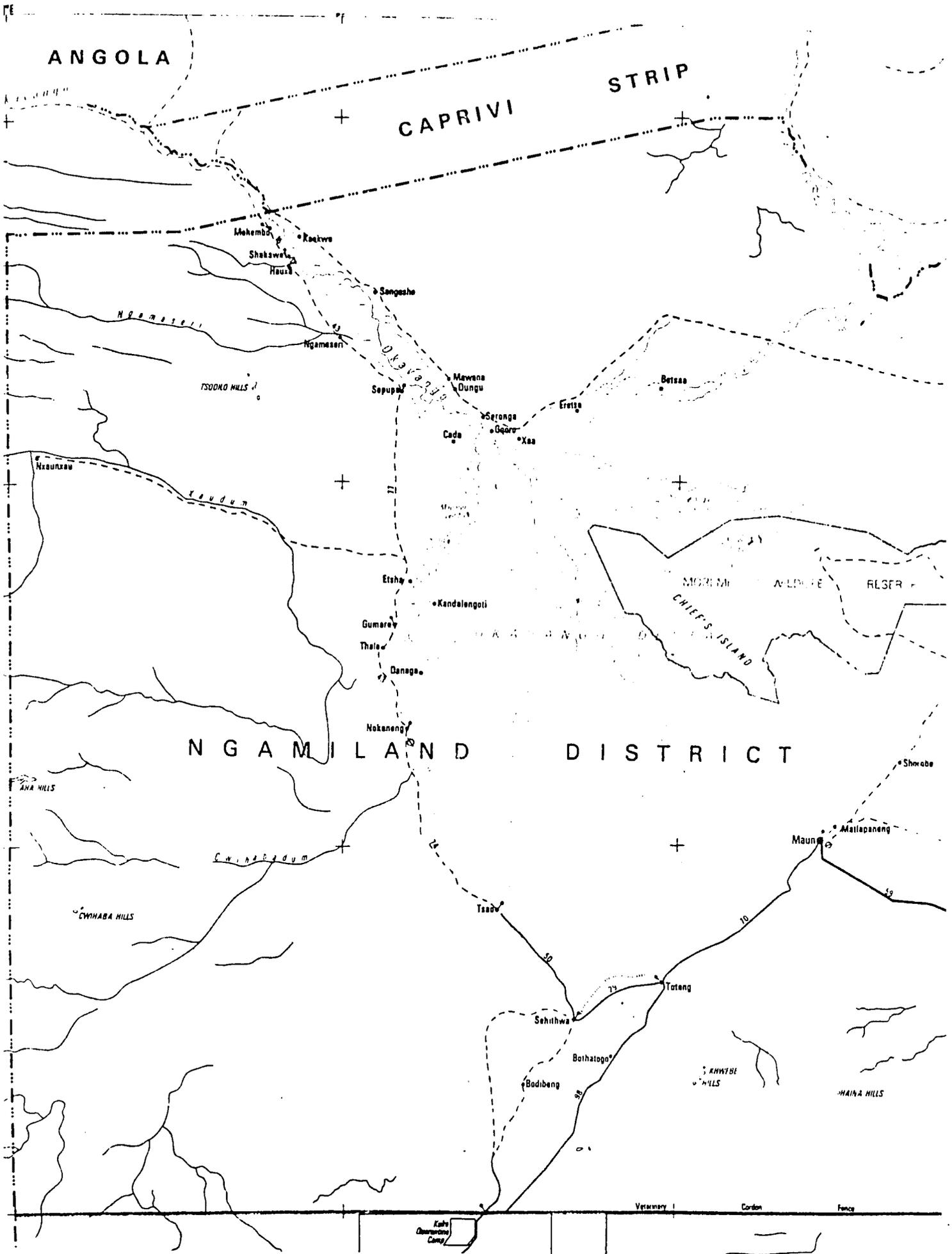
41. The VDA based in Gomare should be temporarily transferred to work with the ACDO in Nokaneng (or the Nokaneng ACDO be temporarily transferred to Gomare) for the purpose of on-the-job training in the approach of working with village institutions. The VDA, if he is a satisfactory trainee, should be stationed in Gomare but under the supervisory responsibility of the area's ACDO.
42. Village Extension Teams should be revitalized in Gomare and Nokaneng to become more active in advising and supporting village-based development. Village Extension Team members should be trained as a group in methods of village-level organization and planning in order to better undertake their task.

#### Habu

43. The ACDO at Nokaneng should devote more time and attention to working with and upgrading the abilities of Habu VDC members as a priority area within the CFDA. Transport should be provided by S&CD Department to Habu on a regularly scheduled basis.

#### Tubu

44. The ACDO based in the Gomare area should ensure that the Tubu VDC members receive an increased amount of assistance in upgrading skills and guiding development efforts by spending several days at one time in the area on a regular basis. Transport should be provided to Tubu, as a priority CFDA area, on a pre-scheduled basis.



## 1. Introduction

This report is the result of research carried out from 20 March to 10 June 1982. In accordance with District priorities, the research focused on five of the seven VDCs in the Ngamiland CFDA. Not only were the constraints which VDCs faced to be identified but a training program to address these constraints was to be developed and implemented. Accordingly, training consultant, Joyce Stanley, Applied Research Unit, conducted a three-day workshop with VET members from Gomare and Etsha at the end of the research based on the research findings.

Brief descriptions on the formation, activities, projects, and problems faced by each VDC within the CFDA can be found in Sect. 10 of this report. For those readers not familiar with the Ngamiland area, this report may be more easily understood by referring to these descriptions before the more general analysis.

## 2. The Formation of Village Development Committees in Western Ngamiland

Nationwide formation of Village Development Committees began in 1968 after a Presidential Directive to put more emphasis on achieving village-based development in Botswana. The concept of the VDC was first introduced to the Western Ngamiland area in 1969 by the councillor (the present chief's representative) at Nokaneng who had heard about this new type of village institution through the District Council in Maun. The Gomare VDC was formed in 1975 upon the request of the chief's representative for assistance from a Community Development Officer from Maun. These two villages, through the kgotlas, gave their full support to the VDCs as the new village institutions responsible for organizing village-based development projects.

Other VDCs, such as those at Etsha 6, Etsha 13, and Etsha 1, were initiated by people from outside the community (councillor, extension workers) who proposed the idea of a VDC as a forum for developing these villages. The Etsha villagers, former Angolan refugees still insecure in their status as residents of Botswana, accepted the VDC as the correct means of running their newly formed villages just as they had accepted nearly all projects introduced up to that time. However, in the newly established community which was still in the process of reforming traditional institutional structures, the notion of *ipelegeng* or self-help remained a foreign idea that was poorly understood.

The present-day strength of the VDCs depends on four main factors. First, the origin of the VDC--whether imposed from outside or resulting from a need generated from within the community--has a major bearing on the future viability of the modern institution. Second, the level of involvement and support from the kgotla or other traditional institutions as well as the strength of the traditional institution itself are important factors in the future strength and viability of the VDC. Third, the degree of understanding and participation

by the community members has a major effect on VDC operations. The fourth factor is the role and level of involvement of extension workers in the development of the VDC, which will be examined first in this report.

### 3. Community Development Extension Work in the CFDA

There are three Social and Community Development staff members who work within the CFDA. One ACDO, based in Nokaneng since 1979, covers the CFDA Village Development Committees of Nokaneng and Habu. The other ACDO is based in Gomare together with a Village Development Assistant (VDA) who claims Gomare as his home village. Each of the three community development workers has a completely different approach toward his work. The ACDO in Nokaneng has concentrated his efforts on training and advising members of the various organizations mainly in Nokaneng village. The Gomare ACDO, on the other hand, has not concentrated on any single village or area of endeavor but rather has dealt with the more general issues concerning VDCs since his assignment to the area in early 1981. The VDA, based in Gomare since 1976, has received only a few months of formal training in community development. He tends to associate himself closely with the Gomare VDC and other village institutions by taking on the task of project organization himself, rather than serving in an advisory capacity.

Looking first at the problems found to exist with the Gomare-based community development workers, it was found that a poor working relationship exists between the ACDO and the VDA to the point where it could become harmful to development efforts in Gomare and surrounding areas. There is very little cooperation between the two extension workers, each trying instead to exert control and decision-making authority over the other. This is often confusing to community leaders who feel that they are being pulled in two different directions. According to the S&CD hierarchy, the ACDO should have supervisory authority over the VDA. However, the VDA has never been clearly informed of this line of authority by the head of department in Maun. The ACDO has made recent attempts to instruct the VDA on duties that need to be performed in the village. This effort has generally failed as the VDA continues to ignore the supervisory authority of the ACDO and do work on his own, sometimes in direct opposition to the intent of the ACDO. The VDA has no written job description available to him. Both officers view their jobs as basically the same--to do general community development work within their extension area.

The community development workers based in Gomare are responsible for working with five of the seven VDCs within the CFDA--Gomare, Tubu, Etsha 1, Etsha 6, and Etsha 13. Prior to the research only minimal contact had been made with the VDCs outside of Gomare. Meetings have been held at the kgotlas or with the VDCs to discuss general community development issues. However, priorities for selecting issues for discussion are not made around the VDCs' organizational needs. Attention is often directed by extension workers toward the identification and implementation of self-help projects before VDC members understand their function and role within the organization.

The ACDO in Gomare complains about lack of transport as a major hindrance to his work in his extension area. This is certainly true for much of his area

of operation. However, when transport was available it was noticed that the ACDO went to places such as Etsha or Tubu for only one purpose, rather than taking advantage of scarce transport and organizing all his outstanding work in the area at one time. Government and Council transport to Etsha passes through Gomare regularly. Making arrangements to spend a week or so at a time in the Etsha settlements on a regular basis could enable the ACDO to work with the VDC and other organizations on a much closer basis and to follow up all the outstanding needs in the area.

The Gomare-based VDA did make occasional efforts, prior to 1981, to meet with communities within the extension area. The VDA helped get the VDCs started at Etsha 1, 13, and at Tubu. However, no follow-up was ever provided once election of members took place. Newly elected VDC members were handed copies of the VDC Handbook and told to proceed from there. The VDA has shown an interest in actively participating in VDC affairs but usually as a participant rather than in an advisory position. The VDA took major credit for the implementation of the guest house in 1976. However, his work often excludes the VDC members themselves. He lacks the necessary knowledge of how to advise and assist members with project implementation in order to be an effective community development worker.

The ACDO based in Nokaneng has, since 1979, made effective progress in upgrading the skills of officers and members of the VDC and other voluntary organizations in Nokaneng. The ACDO works in a low-key manner with each of the groups but has managed to effect a general improvement in community development in the village by working mainly with and maintaining close relationships to individual officers of the various community organizations.

The ACDO at Nokaneng also finds it difficult to travel to areas off the main road such as Habu. However, transport should become less of a difficulty since the Council school opened at Haba in 1981. The ACDO has been able to visit the Habu area every few months to address meetings at the kgotla or to discuss issues involving destitutes, self-help project funding and application forms, and voluntary organizations with the VDC and PTA. Applying the same systematic approach which he has used with VDC members at Nokaneng is essential for the Habu VDC to develop. The ACDO should make the necessary arrangements to spend several days at Habu at least on a bimonthly basis.

The presence and support of senior officers from the District Council's Social and Community Development Department is noticeably lacking in the CFDA region. Heads of the department pay no particular attention to the problems and activities of their junior staff. The long outstanding need to post a community development worker in Etsha as well as the disparity of having two S&CD extension workers based in Gomare and none at the larger Etsha area has received no attention to date. There are ACDOs also placed in southern villages of Kareng, Tsau, and Sehitwa, each having a smaller area of operation than the Gomare-based ACDO. Providing a job description and clear line of authority for the VDA is the responsibility of the senior officers based in Maun. The senior S&CD officials appear to have little knowledge of the CFDA or its relevance to institutions development and therefore have made no attempts to improve the extension efforts through the improved placement of extension workers, upgrading skills of extension staff, or provision of transport, office space, and other types of administrative support.

Gomare and Nokaneng both have Village Extension Teams (VETs) which have been formed for the purpose of serving as an advisory group of village extension workers. Problems and project proposals which are identified by the VET are taken to the VDC or other appropriate committee for consideration. The VETs have served a useful role in the past by bringing village health hazards or new development ideas, such as the formation of the Gomare Burial Society, to the notice of the VDC. The Gomare VET met five times during 1981 but had failed to meet since their last meeting of 15 September 1981 as of the time of writing (June 1982).

Poor attendance and lack of interest in the VET by many extension workers was given as the main cause for suspension of VET meetings and activities in Gomare. The Nokaneng VET meets on an irregular basis (only one meeting held from January to May 1982) but has been at times involved with village development efforts. The pumper, the chairman of the VET, initiated the fencing of water taps through the VET. It is apparent that the VETs in both Gomare and Nokaneng have at times served important functions and have strong potential for providing well-informed guidance for village development efforts. Village Extension Teams need to serve as model organizations for other village institutions by leading the way toward development. How can village residents be expected to plan, organize, and coordinate developments when paid government personnel cannot even manage to hold regular meetings?

#### 4. Relationships Between the VDC and Other Village Institutions

Clearly the most important village institutional link that the VDC maintains is with the kgotla. All VDCs in the Ngamiland CFDA have strong ties to the kgotla as the parent body. VDC agreements to undertake development projects are routinely taken to the kgotla for discussion and final approval by the community before project implementation can take place. Chief's representatives and headmen play active roles as ex officio members in each of the VDCs. There are no signs of power struggles between the heads of traditional and modern institutions. The VDCs clearly see themselves as being ultimately responsible to the kgotla and as working on its behalf.

The relative strength of the VDCs in Gomare and Nokaneng, compared to those at Etsha, can be largely credited to a strong kgotla and well-respected chief's representatives. The accepted authority of the kgotla legitimizes VDCs for otherwise skeptical community members. There is a clear parallel between villages with well-attended kgotla meetings and the strength of the local VDC. On the other hand, villages which invariably have poor attendance at the kgotla also provide minimal support for the VDC.

VDCs and other modern institutions must also be well understood by the community in order to receive its support. Any organizational structure that is imposed on a community without full understanding, acceptance, or a well-grounded need is unlikely to receive much attention or contribution from village residents.

The VDCs at Gomare and Nokaneng have taken on the role of an umbrella organization for development projects in their villages. These two CFDA villages

have a proliferation of development and service-related projects which require coordination of village development efforts. A well-recognized procedure exists for taking any proposed development projects to the VDC for review before it is submitted to the kgotla for final approval. In this way the VDC avoids overlapping and duplication of work by various village committees and is also in the position to give suggestions and advice to organizations less experienced in implementing development projects.

The position of these VDCs has surprisingly produced no apparent difficulties between village institutions. Village organizations clearly regard the VDC as the committee assigned to ensure well-coordinated village-based development.

##### 5. VDC Membership

One of the most impressive aspects of the VDCs in the Ngamiland CFDA is the participation of a wide spectrum of people of different sexes, ethnic groups, and economic status as well as the apparent lack of dominating forces from certain families or individuals within the village institutions as is commonly found in other villages in Botswana. Reporting on village institutions in the Southern District CFDA, Rude (1981) stated that, "There is often a class bias in modern institutions. Wealthier segments of the village have the strongest influence over these institutions and often use them to protect their interest." This is not true in Western Ngamiland where VDC members are neither the richest nor the poorest village residents. There has been no evidence of any VDC members using their positions to promote self-interests. VDC members tend to be active members of the community, often serving in several village organizations (Gomare and Nokaneng), but in no case was it found that any one person or family was in a position of dominating the realm of village institutions.

People from a variety of ethnic groups are increasingly becoming involved in village institutions. The Herero community in Nokaneng, once reluctant to involve themselves in village development, now have people in the VDC. The Herero people have also shown an increased amount of interest in participating in village self-help projects. In Etsha 6, the larger Mbukushu tribe dominates the village institutions. However, two current VDC members, the past VDC chairman, and current PTA chairman are all of the minority but wealthier Bayei tribe.

Women are also taking more active roles in village institutions. The majority of the VDC members at Gomare and Nokeneng are now women. Tubu and Habu VDCs are dominated by men but have women members. The Mbukushu at Etsha, however, have maintained a strong tradition of male-dominated leadership. Women have never been included in the VDCs at Etsha 1 and 6. However, Etsha 13 has two women members on its VDC as the result of a last minute point being raised at the kgotla by an extension worker about the inclusion of women on the VDC. It appears that women members of village institutions simply do not normally occur and the people of Etsha generally view women as incapable of providing any form of village leadership.

## 6. Community Participation in Village Development

The level of community involvement in village development activities varies considerably between villages to the south and to the north of the CFDA. The majority Bayei villages of Gomare, Tubu, Nokaneng, and Habu all have shown reasonable involvement from the community in village self-help projects. This self-help spirit has evolved from a traditionally strong and strict mophato or age regiment system among the Bayei. According to the chief's representative in Nokaneng, there was a natural transfer from the community duties required by each mophato to the practice of self-help which was established after independence. People readily understood the meaning of self-help as a necessary part of community life. For Nokaneng, the work carried on by the mophato, which was abolished in 1963, was willingly carried forward by the formation of the VDC in 1969, in the euphoric post-independence period.

The major differences between the old and new systems of working on behalf of the community was that under ipelegeng, or self-help, villagers were no longer punished for any lack of participation in community activities as people were under the mophato system. This could provide at least a partial explanation for why VDCs in the Bayei-dominated villages receive such small amounts of participation from the younger generations. VDC members in Nokaneng complain that young people are not interested in contributing toward self-help projects, but rather are only interested in wage-earning employment.

In the Nbukushee villages of Etsha, self-help is a new concept. According to one village resident, "We have never been well informed about the needs for self-help in our village. We are new people who did not know about such things before we came to Botswana [from Angola]."

With no tradition of village self-help and therefore very little understanding of their need to contribute on village projects, the level of community participation in VDC projects is very low at Etsha 1, 6, and 13. Although the community is called upon at the kgotla to help work on a VDC project, it is generally unlikely that anyone, other than VDC members themselves, will attend the work project.

There is a general trend among all VDCs in the region for less and less association of the VDC with the community members at large. Discussions with village residents throughout the CFDA made it clear that village residents generally feel that development is now the responsibility of government and the VDC. People no longer tend to see themselves as part of the development process. According to all accounts, this gap in communication and understanding between the average village resident and the activities of the VDC is widening. The VDC is increasingly viewed as being responsible to the government rather than to the villagers through the kgotla. With increasing government involvement with VDCs, members also see their role as increasingly oriented toward working for the government. As a result VDC members are now highly vociferous about being paid by the government for their work on the VDC. This notion is also becoming widely accepted among informed community members which points to a general misunderstanding of the original purpose of establishing the VDC--for identifying village development needs and organizing self-help projects on behalf of the kgotla.

## 7. VDC Functions and Systems of Operation

VDCs in Western Ngamiland serve two main functions in the development of their village: (1) the planning and implementation of village-based development projects; and (2) coordinating all development efforts in the village through ongoing consultation and communication with District development planners and other village institutions.

### 7.1 Project Planning and Implementation

This is the area of endeavor which is perceived by nearly all village residents including VDC members themselves as the principal role of the VDC. Indeed, when VDCs were first initiated in a highly underdeveloped Botswana of 1968, organizing self-help projects was envisaged as the entire task of the VDC. The VDC Handbook defines the VDC as "a group of villagers elected in kgotla who are responsible for organizing self-help projects" (Botswana Extension College, 1978).

Assessing the needs of the village and identifying appropriate projects to meet those needs is the first task in project planning for untrained and often illiterate VDC members. VDC members often select projects because they believe it is what is expected of them. Guest houses, for instance, are popular projects because they already exist in many major villages in Ngamiland. Village gardens and community centers are commonly introduced by extension workers who perceive them as a need of village residents. However, very little effort is spent in actually gathering information from villagers, either through the kgotla or any other needs assessment technique. Little attention has been paid by the VDCs to issues that concern the everyday life of people in the community--economic conditions, social problems, management of resources, and how will they feed themselves and their children. The question must then be asked as to whether the village self-help projects meet the actual needs of the community or only the needs that are perceived to exist by outsiders.

Most VDCs in the Ngamiland CFDA, with the exception of Nokaneng and Gomare, lack the necessary skills and information to plan and implement projects on a larger scale than those requiring only village labor and local materials for building construction. Five out of the seven VDCs within the CFDA have never received any outside assistance with the planning of self-help projects. They cannot therefore be expected to know how to raise funds, submit project application forms to the Council, organize and implement the projects. Even the Gomare VDC, which has had considerable experience in organizing self-help projects has continual difficulties in thoroughly planning projects to ensure completion at a timely rate. Planning for the amount of funds needed to complete a project as well as project supervision and management are some of the major downfalls in the planning and implementation process in Gomare and other VDCs in the region. Only Nokaneng has shown a consistent ability to plan its self-help projects adequately in advance.

### 7.2 Coordination and Consultation

As villages in the Ngamiland CFDA see new developments being rapidly undertaken by both government departments and village institutions, the need for

coordination and consultation regarding development projects taking place in each village increases. Gomare, in particular, has experienced many new developments from government in recent years due to its status as the District Sub-center. In order to assess village needs and to keep the village informed of its plans for development, government development planners have increasingly made attempts to consult the VDCs, at least in Gomare and Nokaneng. Too often, however, the consultation consists of the government official politely informing the VDC of plans being made for their village. The VDC members readily agree rather than considering the priority of the planned project. Government officials too often consider the VDCs as rubber stamps for their project ideas rather than engaging the VDC members in the initial planning process.

Too often there is a major gap in communication between District planners and VDC members. As the amount and type of development becomes increasingly complex, it becomes more and more difficult to effect the process of consultation with clear understanding on both the village and District level. The first visit to the Gomare VDC by the Rural Industrial Officer in 1981 included an address on beekeeping, wildlife utilization, and a grain mill. Although the topics were appropriate for VDC discussion, it appears that VDC members had little understanding of the subject matter. No follow-up meetings were held by the RIO to discuss initiating any type of small-scale rural industry in the community.

Outside of Gomare and Nokaneng, the VDCs are usually ignored as a village planning body. A recent example of lack of participation in planning has angered residents of Tubu. There the VDC was told in 1980 to stop building its proposed private school. The Council, they were told, would build a school in their area by 1982. Recently the Council decided to postpone building the Tubu school. Any further efforts at village-based development at Tubu are now unlikely to take place for some time since a discouraged VDC has realized that its efforts have all been in vain.

As mentioned earlier, coordination between village institutions is done well in Gomare and Nokaneng where all village organizations report to the VDC as the overall village development coordinating body. Etsha 6, Etsha 13, and Habu also have additional village organizations, including the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) and Village Health Committee (VHC). Village institutions in these three areas also follow the procedure of coordinating village projects with the VDC before proposing the project to the community at the kgotla. An example of effective consultation recently took place at Etsha 6 when the VDC suggested charging the meat sellers in the village a small tax for each day they sold at the meat tree. The kgotla rejected this suggestion until a butchery structure could be erected by the VDC. All in all, the level of consultation between village institutions (under the VDC) is quite satisfactory in all the CFDA villages.

## 8. VDC Training

Two of the main objectives of the local institutions research in Ngamiland were: (1) to collect information for the purpose of facilitating future training of VDCs, and (2) to undertake setting up systems of operations for the

seven VDCs within the CFDA. This section will describe the training received to date by VDC members, some of the main areas that will require training for the purpose of strengthening the development capacity of VDCs, as well as the problems encountered in trying to initiate operational systems for VDCs during the research period.

### 8.1 Training by Social and Community Development Department

Leadership training courses for members of village institutions are held at least annually by the Northwest District Council's Social and Community Development Department at Nxaraga Rural Training Center near Maun. In 1981, two VDC members from Nokaneng, three from Gomare, three from Etsha 6, one from Tubu attended a week-long course. This was the first time VDC members from Western Ngamiland had been taken to Maun for training. Prior to 1981, a village-level course was held in Gomare which was attended by selected VDC members from Nokaneng and Gomare. Course contents for the 1981 session at Nxaraga included sixteen topics relating to VDCs. Topics included: The Relationship Between the VDC and Other Voluntary Organizations, Identification of Self-Help Projects, Role of Office-Bearers, Record-Keeping, Village Planning, Role of VET and Its Relationship to VDC, Minute Writing, Processing and Financing of Self-Help Projects, Destitutes, Role of the Councillors, Role of the Village Health Committee, VDC Programs, Rural Industries, Vegetable Gardening, Poultry Keeping, and Botswana Workcamp Association. Obviously only a brief exposure to each topic was provided during the course. When questioned about the contents of the course nine months later, those attending were able to recall very little of the program. Course attendants are encouraged to give a report to the VDC on what was learned upon returning to their village but they invariably fail to do so.

A one-week VDC leadership course was also held in Nokaneng in May 1982 especially for VDC members from remote areas and outlying villages. Two people from Habu, the VDC vice-chairman and a PTA member, attended. It was the first time a course was offered for any organizations in the Habu area.

Probably the most effective form of VDC training that can be offered is that which is provided at the village level by the ACDO. Working with office-bearers on a one-to-one basis and providing regular follow-up to ensure officers are grasping the new information have been shown to be highly effective in Nokaneng. VDC officers and members in Nokaneng are well aware of their functions and duties in running meetings, keeping records, and organizing projects. They have been taught well by the ACDO. Members of other VDCs in the CFDA area have not, unfortunately, had this kind of individual training which specifically relates to their primary duties as VDC members and officers.

### 8.2 Record-Keeping

Systems for recording minutes of VDC meetings and financial accounts were seen as of prime importance in upgrading the skills of VDCs within the CFDA. The forthcoming LG17 Block Grants to VDCs particularly require improved record-keeping skills. However, it was found that with the exception of Nokaneng and possibly Gomare, record-keeping among the VDCs is highly inadequate. Minutes

of meetings and financial records are virtually nonexistent at Etsha 1, Etsha 13, and Habu. The Tubu VDC has reasonably legible and adequate minutes but very poor financial records. The Etsha 6 VDC attempts to keep both meeting minutes and financial records but is presently failing at both.

Fairly accurate records are kept at Nokaneng and to a lesser extent at Gomare VDC. Minutes are legible and follow the general discussions at meetings. Financial records at least show the correct balance of funds in the treasury as checked by this researcher. However, after all the work done by the secretary and treasurer to keep their records in order, these records are rarely used by the VDCs during their meetings. Minutes are read from the previous meeting but rarely discussed. A financial report is infrequently made by the treasurer to the committee. VDC members do not clearly understand that records are kept to be used as tools for improving the organizational ability of their committee. Rather, keeping records is viewed as an imposing task, the reasons for which often fail to be understood by the members or even the record-keepers themselves.

The generally poor state of VDC financial records not only means that the VDC funds are rarely accounted for to the committee or to the source of funds, the community members, but also that funds can be easily misused or embezzled. The ill-founded practice of granting loans to community members (in all cases granted to only a selected individuals such as VDC members, head teachers, extension workers, prominent village members) occurred at Nokaneng, Gomare, and Etsha 6 until recently. Not only did the VDCs gain very little in interest charges for the loans (they could have earned more interest by depositing the funds in the bank), but with the nature of the loan records, loans remained outstanding for long periods of time. Loans are still outstanding in Gomare and Etsha 6, and the latter has virtually lost track of its accounts receivable.

Attempts were made during the research period to upgrade the skills of VDC record-keepers, the secretaries and most particularly, the treasurer. Together with the ACDOs based in Gomare and Nokaneng, I visited each VDC in the area for the purpose of initiating basic training in uniform systems of record-keeping (refer to Appendix 1 for translations of the written materials used). However, problems were encountered in efforts to begin the training process in the smaller communities. Treasurers were found to be illiterate in Etsha 13 and Habu. In Etsha 6 and Tubu, treasurers were semi-illiterate but unable to do the simple arithmetic that is needed for keeping their financial accounts. The Etsha 1 VDC has never elected officers. Attempts to gather the VDC together to elect officers failed as the majority of members had left the heavily drought-stricken area in search of employment. The VDC at Nokaneng was preparing to elect a new slate of members and the Gomare VDC treasurer was usually away on Land Board duties. The amount of progress that could be made in upgrading the skills of VDC record-keepers during the research period therefore had to be reevaluated in the light of an unsuspectedly low level of proficiency of VDC members in their recording tasks.

### 8.3 Roles of Office-Bearers

The other area in which attempts were made to work with VDC members was in discussing the role of VDC office-bearers. This included procedures for

preparing for meetings, running meetings, and following up on VDC decisions according to the assigned task of each officer. It was found that procedures are critically lacking, particularly in preparation and follow-up of meetings, in the newly established VDCs. However, even officers of a major VDC such as Gomare require assistance in following roles and procedures which can substantially improve the VDC's ability to progress toward its goals.

It soon became obvious that there could be very little identifiable evidence of improvement in the skills of VDC members during the research period. However, initial steps have been taken. After meetings between ourselves and VDC officers, Tirelo Sechaba participants in Etsha 13, Etsha 6, and Habu agreed to work with VDC officers on an individual basis to upgrade their skills. The ACDO based in Gomare formulated plans to follow up our initial contacts and the work of the Tirelo Sechaba people. It was clear that this type of training work is already the assigned duty of the Social and Community Development staff in the area. But to date, little was found to have been accomplished along these lines, with the exception of the ACDO's excellent work with the institutions at Nokaneng. It was felt that a researcher's duty in this instance was not to provide the training but to facilitate the ACDO's work with VDC members by initiating the training process, providing written training materials, suggesting uniform operational systems, supplying record books for VDCs, and by providing transport. Although headway appeared to be very slow, it was soon realized that training in record-keeping and the role of officers in the VDC can be effective only on a long-term basis, with ongoing follow-up work provided by village extension staff, in particular the local ACDO.

#### 8.4 Project Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation

As mentioned earlier under Sect. 7.1, project planning and implementation capacities of Ngamiland VDCs within the CFDA area are generally very low. Along with training officers and members in their roles and responsibilities and upgrading the proficiency of VDC record-keepers, improving the skills of VDCs to plan, implement, and evaluate self-help projects was seen as a major priority for training.

ACDOs are the extension personnel who, according to their job descriptions, are responsible for improving the capacity of VDCs to plan and implement village-based development projects. A training consultant was therefore brought into the area during the research period to begin some initial work with the ACDOs in upgrading their abilities to train VDCs in village needs assessments, project planning, and evaluation.

The 1982 Drought Relief Program in Botswana offers the opportunity for VDCs to involve themselves in identifying, planning, and supervising public works projects in their villages. These labor-intensive projects can be used as an experimental learning situation for VDCs with adequate guidance from extension personnel in each village. Tirelo Sechaba participants have been identified by District planners as having the major role in helping VDCs plan and supervise their drought relief. ACDOs have also been identified as regional drought relief planners within the District by being given the overall responsibility of supervising and instructing the Tirelo Sechaba participants in how to assist VDC members with organizational skills and other means of support

which they will need to run the public works projects. Although it is recognized that a very limited time was allowed for preparing the District's Drought Relief Program, training community development or other trained extension personnel in drought relief planning procedures could have proved worthwhile. By involving the VDCs in drought relief planning, their project planning and implementation skills could also have been simultaneously improved and upgraded.

9. Planning and Development in the Communal  
First Development Area of Western Ngamiland

It has been stated as a guiding principle by District planners in Ngamiland that VDCs within the CFDA should, in the long run, "be helped to the stage where they can plan and manage considerable development activities on their own" (Ngamiland LUPAG:2). As a response to this principle, village institutions research and development was included as one of the five sectors to receive special attention under the District's CFDA plan. The sectoral approach toward local institutions development, however, does not always coincide well with this "guiding principle" notion. Village institutions, VDC in particular, should be more closely related to the whole CFDA planning process itself. In order for VDCs to plan and manage development activities on their own, they should be more involved in identifying project proposals with the same kind of thorough consideration that is taken when planning projects themselves. The annual Consultation Exercise held with VDC representatives does give District planners a firsthand opportunity to hear the problems and needs of village development. But this exercise does not provide the kind of experience in assessing village needs and planning village projects that could be made available as part of the CFDA planning process. It is only the rural industrial sector which gives considerable emphasis in its plan toward working with VDC and VETs in the CFDA as part of the project identification process. A closer involvement of VDCs in the initial planning stages of all development sectors could be considered part of the broadest effort to strengthen the capacities of VDCs to identify needs and project priorities.

The process of developing village institutions should also involve a wider spectrum of government and Council departments in the planning process on the District level.

In the case of Western Ngamiland VDCs, senior staff members from Council's Social and Community Development are most notably unaware and uninvolved in plans being made for the CFDA. Village institutions within the CFDA area can be upgraded only with the support from the central office in charge of community development extension staff. Support such as transport and office space is essential for ACDOs within the CFDA if they are to improve their ability to work with village institutions throughout the area. Improving staffing of community development extension workers in the area, most notably at Etsha, is essential for beginning to develop institutions. Supervisory support must also be improved within the CFDA, particularly in the field itself. ACDOs currently receive such minimal supervision that it is virtually ineffective.

Village Extension Teams should also be utilized or where necessary, formed to assist village institutions with development efforts. VETs have

the capacity in Nokaneng, Gomare, and Etsha 6 to provide a strong leading role in development of village institutions due to the variety of agriculture, health education, and community development expertise available among the numerous cadres of officers stationed in each major village.

The position of CFDA coordinator should, in this light, be focused generally on the formation or revitalization of Village Extension Teams. The coordinator should also regard the VET as his/her main means of liaison and consultation on village development. The coordinator should work especially closely with the community development personnel in the region by encouraging and facilitating their efforts to work with strengthening VDCs and other local institutions. The role of CFDA coordinator should not be one of providing direct intervention for the purpose of promoting a quick development strategy but rather by acting as a facilitator to assist existing personnel in the area with the necessary means to carry on their work in a more effective manner.

## 10. Descriptions of VDCs and Their Projects

### 10.1 Gomare Village Development Committee

The idea for the formation of a committee to plan and coordinate village development efforts came from the past chief's representative at Gomare. He arranged for the organization of the VDC in 1975 by writing a letter to the District Council requesting assistance to form the committee. An ACDO was sent from Maun to help the VDC get started. The kgotla was also asked to select a local candidate for Village Development Assistant who attended a short course and eventually was employed under the Council's Social and Community Development Department in April 1976.

The Gomare VDC got off to an ambitious start by taking on the building of a three-room guest house at the kgotla as its first project. The Council was requested to assist the VDC with builders and roofing materials. By September 1976, less than one year after the project was first suggested, the VDC guest house was completed.

Since 1976, the VDC has initiated and completed two other projects requiring financial assistance from the Council: a self-help classroom block (1978-79), and a market building (1980-82). Other projects have included building a kraal at the kgotla, fencing village water taps, encouraging villagers to dig rubbish pits, and molding bricks for Council building projects.

The Gomare VDC has not limited its development efforts to self-help infrastructure. The VDC has made numerous requests for assistance along economic lines. The VDC persuaded Botswanacraft to purchase baskets in Gomare in 1977. A VDC request outstanding since 1980 to have a bank branch situated in Gomare is still being considered by the two commercial banks in Maun. Efforts by the VDC initiated the formation of an Agricultural Show Committee, the establishment of a post office, and a planned police camp in Gomare. The VDC's request for a BAMB depot and a breeding camp in their area have affected recent decisions to place these projects nearby Gomare.

Since the inception of the Gomare VDC in 1975, the committee has taken an increasingly important role in coordinating rather than just implementing village development efforts. VDC project implementation has slowed down since the 1976 guest house project. The current VDC project, the village marketplace, a somewhat smaller project than the guest house, has taken over two years to implement and is still not entirely completed. Not only has the Council been slower at responding with assistance for the market project, but the VDC's attention has been consistently drawn in various directions in recent years. Their organization, supervision, and follow-up of the project have been considerably lacking at times.

An ever-increasing amount of implementation work is being done by the fourteen various committees in Gomare, eight of which have been appointed in the past two years, for implementing specific areas of development such as the Okavango Private Secondary School (OPSS) Board of Governors and village sub-committee (formed 1980 and 1981), the Village Health Committee (VHC--formed in 1980) to be responsible for sanitation and health education, the Agricultural Show Committee (1981), the Burial Society (1981), and the Independence Celebration Committee.

Each of these committees, as well as others, reports to the VDC with any project proposals for village development. The VDC recently advised the VHC on locations for public toilets before endorsing the project and passing it along to the kgotla for final approval. VDC minutes since 1979 show an increasing amount of time spent by the VDC on consultation. Since Gomare has become the Sub-District Center of Ngamiland, government development projects have rapidly increased in recent years. Government officials thus frequently address the Gomare VDC on development plans. Under the CFDA, it is anticipated that Gomare VDC will expand its role as a planning and coordinating body for village development.

The shift from project implementation to project coordination responsibilities has been necessitated by accelerated development planning on the District and local levels. An allegation of inactivity by both local residents and District officials, that "the underlying level of activity and organisation has become worryingly low" (Morgan 1982:9), actually reflects this nearly imperceptible shift in priorities. The Gomare VDC members themselves are hardly aware of this gradual change in function. While still attempting to implement self-help projects as a committee, they also find themselves swamped with other demands from government officials or other village organizations.

It should be noted here that although the level of consultation between government planners and the VDC has increased along with the level of development in Gomare, it is still not always adequate. Too often "consultation" is a one-sided form of communication whereby the government official tells the VDC or the kgotla what is being planned for their village. A recent example of lack of consultation is in the compilation of the Gomare Land Use Plan by Department of Town and Regional Planning personnel. The plan takes in available factual data but the planners failed to consult the VDC or the kgotla on its plans for locating future projects or for its ideas on land use planning. The VDC remains unaware of the plan to date which is likely to cause future conflicts between the VDC and the Gomare Sub-Land Board.

VDC fund-raising activities have consistently taken place over the past five years. Nearly P2,000 have been raised since 1977 through a P1.00 tax paid to the VDC for every "party" held in the village as well as VDC-sponsored fund-raising parties which are held occasionally. Contributions toward VDC projects are also taken at the kgotla from time to time. Since 1980, P980 have been spent by the VDC on the LG17-funded market building with one month's wages owing to building laborers hired by the VDC to assist the Council builder. Funds are now depleted but the VDC has thus far been able to organize fund-raising activities to meet their debts. The VDC lacks scope in its fund-raising activities but it has never discussed alternative fund-raising methods, even after the subject was discussed at a workshop attended by several VDC members in Maun.

The Gomare VDC has adopted a few basic procedures which it follows at every meeting. Minutes are legible and adequately record the proceedings of each meeting. However, the minutes often lack a clear record of conclusions and resolutions of discussion items and the necessary follow-up action to be taken.

Financial records include a cashbook and receipt book which are kept by the treasurer with some degree of accuracy. However, details are lacking, making it difficult for an outsider to audit the books or for a financial statement to be adequately prepared from the existing information. Reports of financial status to the VDC are given only in terms of the cash balance. Neither the VDC nor the kgotla is informed about how VDC funds are received or expended, what community funds were spent on a project, and other relevant financial information.

The interest and amount of activity shown by VDC members vary considerably. Four of the five VDC officers and several *ex officio* members are active. Only two of the original members elected in 1975 (the treasurer and secretary) are still members of the VDC in 1982. Newer members appear to be either reluctant or unable to regularly attend meetings or become involved with VDC projects.

The Gomare VDC is both well known and well thought of by village residents. Of ten villagers with whom the VDC was discussed, five were well acquainted with the VDC and its activities. An additional three were aware of the VDC only through its projects in the village (guest house, marketplace). Two respondents, both who stayed at their lands area the majority of the time, claimed they were not familiar with the work of the VDC. Only two people stated that they had assisted with VDC self-help projects in their villages. This seemingly low level of participation is due to the method of project organization in Gomare. Self-help projects are normally implemented through the raising of funds and hiring laborers to implement the project rather than soliciting self-help labor from the village. All eight respondents who were familiar with the VDC gave the organization good marks for its work in village development.

The once prevalent situation of divisive political factions within Gomare is no longer a strong hindrance to development. Until 1979, the different political affiliations of village leaders prevented a high degree of cooperation

in village affairs. The chief's representative, a staunch BDP supporter, was often contradicted by the leaders of the BIP in Gomare, the councillor, and the village headman. The BIP (the party of many Bayei people) supporters would often refuse to work on self-help efforts that had been initiated by the chief's representative.

The chief's representative and the headman of Gomare both passed away in 1979. A new BDP councillor was elected from outside Gomare during the same year. The newly appointed chief's representative in Gomare has worked on reducing these interparty frictions. The level of political divisiveness had therefore been substantially reduced by 1982. This factor need no longer be a major concern to those participating in the development process in Gomare.

Data on Gomare VDC: Date of formation: 1975. Frequency of meetings: 14 meetings held during 1980; 20 meetings held during 1981. Average meeting attendance: an average of 6 elected members and 2 ex officio members attended meetings during 1980-81. Elections held for new members and officers: 1976, 1979, 1981. Records kept: minutebook, cashbook, receipt book.

Gomare VDC Projects: (1) Guest house. The first project implemented by the newly formed Gomare VDC was a three-room guest house built at the kgotla. The guest house was suggested by the Village Development Assistant (VDA) and agreed upon by the VDC in 1975. The District Council was contacted to provide LG17 funds during that year. The VDC raised funds by holding parties in the village. VDC funds were used to purchase cement, to hire brickmakers as well as four laborers to assist Council builders in construction of the project. The guest house was started in January 1976 and completed in September of that year. There are no records available from either the VDC or the Council S&CD Department files on the cost of the project or the amount of self-help contribution by the Gomare VDC.

The difficulties encountered with the project were minimal. Council responded relatively quickly and the project was built in less than a year from the time it was initiated. Problems were encountered with the laborers who were paid by the VDC. They complained that their monthly wage of P12 was too low for the heavy work that was required. However, the VDC's initial project was by all accounts a success. The guest house is well utilized by visitors to Gomare, especially Council and government employees spending the night while on trips in the Western Ngamiland area. Ministers and other noteworthy officials have also used the VDC guest house when conducting kgotla meetings in Gomare. The main problem the VDC faces is with the maintenance of the building. The guest house is cleaned only upon occasional visits by government dignitaries. No system has been organized by the VDC for the regular maintenance of the building.

(2) Kgotla kraal. In 1980, the headman initiated a project to construct a cattle kraal at the kgotla for use by the public. The project was officially run through the VDC but the task of organizing the project fell mainly on the Tribal Administration staff. The VDC contributed P40 for the purchase of wire for tying the fencing poles together. The kraal was constructed through village self-help labor during September-October 1980.

(3) **Village market.** The suggestion to build a village market was first raised by the Gomare VDC in 1978. The project was finally proposed to Council in 1980 and approved as an LG17 self-help project in March 1981. Bricks were begun to be molded by VDC in June and actual construction commenced by builders hired by Council in November 1981. The self-help contribution included P364 in cash for materials, payment of laborers for molding bricks and as builders' assistants. The total cost of the project including market building, toilet, and fencing is estimated at approximately P5,000. VDC contribution to May 1982 amounts to P980, or nearly 20 percent of the total cost of the project. These funds were raised through parties held by the VDC as well as the P1.00 tax collected by the VDC for each party held in the village. In May 1982, the market project is nearly 100 percent completed, awaiting only some finishing touches before the building can be utilized.

The market project encountered a number of delays during its implementation, mostly from the Council side. The VDC was slow in getting its bricks molded. The committee also became aware of the need to apply to the Land Board for a building site only after the project had been approved. However, the Council was slow to respond in nearly all aspects of the project, from delay in approval, delay in hiring builders and delivery of building material for the site. The project has taken two years to date and is still not ready for use.

The market project, when it is finally complete, will most likely be well utilized by the village vendors who now sell a variety of foodstuffs just outside the market fence. It will provide a shelter for the sellers and hopefully more hygienic conditions for the sale of items of food if the VDC can properly organize the regular cleaning of the market building area.

(4) **Fencing village water taps.** This project was initiated by the village pumper who realized the damage that was being done and water that was being wasted at unfenced village water taps by livestock roaming through the village. The pumper took this idea to the Village Extension Team which agreed and in turn went to the VDC as the appropriate body to implement the fencing of village water taps. The project was organized through ward headmen to ensure that water taps in each ward were properly fenced. The VDC discussed and organized the project through the kgotla in the same month, August 1981. The final result was at various stages of completion. Some taps were well fenced, others only partially so and which remain uncompleted to date.

The organizational method for this project, of giving responsibility to ward headmen for fencing of the water taps in their ward area, was most appropriate. The failure of some headmen to complete their fencing project points to a lack of follow-up by the VDC to ensure project completion. The VDC failed to appoint an individual or subcommittee to take the responsibility of supervising the project implementation.

#### 10.2 Tubu Village Development Committee

The Tubu VDC was formed in March 1980 upon the suggestion of the Goware-based VDA. The people of Tubu subsequently decided to form a VDC around their need for a school to be established in this agricultural area. The VDC made an ambitious start by meeting regularly, at least once a month, in 1980, by

organizing self-help labor to construct the classrooms, to elect a PTA Committee, and by raising the amount of P171 toward the running of their private school. All of this was done without any further advice or assistance from extension workers. The project came to a halt, however, when the VDC, having enumerated 122 children to attend their private school, contacted the Council's Education Secretary for permission to establish the school. The Council replied in 1981 that the Tubu VDC should discontinue their project and that the Council would build a school at Tubu in 1982. The organization of the private school stopped and the VDC simultaneously slowed down its activities. No further VDC meetings were held for the last six months of 1981 as the VDC had lost its immediate reason for existence.

The VDC began meeting again in early 1982 around the need to reconstruct the local health post which they had initially built in 1980. Members showed skepticism at the time with the Council and their permission to build a school as they had not heard of any progress or preparations concerning the projects. By May 1982, when rumors of the cancellation of their school by the Council reached the VDC, their skepticism turned to downright cynicism. The VDC now remains in a quandary, particularly without assistance from extension workers, about what direction to take for the future of community development at Tubu.

The VDC has been fortunate to have strong and well-respected leadership from both the Tubu headman and the VDC chairperson. Community members are called to work on self-help projects by the headman at the kgotla. Despite the fact that the Tubu area is large and dwellings scattered, people come from long distances to attend kgotla meetings and self-help projects. The VDC has received strong support thus far from the more permanent residents of the area as they, just as the people of Habu, have a strong desire to identify their area as a separate identifiable community rather than just masimo a Gomare.

The VDC members at Tubu expressed a strong desire to receive training in upgrading their skills in the running of a meeting, record-keeping, and the "way toward development." The VDC chairperson attended a five-day leadership course for VDC members at Nxarage Training Center in 1981. However, without follow-up from extension personnel, he has been unable to implement any skills that were taught or ideas that were introduced. Community development workers from Gomare occasionally visit Tubu for part of a day to address meetings. There has, however, been no real guidance or direction from extension workers in a way that will improve their ability to effect development in their community.

Data on Tubu VDC: Date of formation: March 1980. Frequency of meetings: 12 meetings held in 1980; 5 meetings held in 1981; 6 meetings held between January-May 1982; meetings now scheduled twice a month when chairperson is present at Tubu. Average meeting attendance: no record available. Elections held for members and officers: 1980; and April 1982 new members were elected to replace inactive or absent old members. Records kept: minutebook; record of financial contributions.

Tubu VDC Projects: (1) Private school. The need for a school at Tubu has been long recognized by those who reside at Tubu on a nearly full-time basis. The VDC formed around this project in March 1980 and during that year

the community began to build a classroom using local materials. However, the building was never completed or utilized as the District Council agreed to the VDC's request to build a school at Tubu and halted the opening of their private school in 1981. The only difficulty encountered during the project implementation stage was that it was discovered during the construction process that an allocation of land by the Sub-Land Board was essential before the building could continue.

(2) Health post. The idea of building a small shelter to be used by visiting Gomare clinic personnel (twice monthly) came from the Tubu headman and was presented to the newly established Tubu VDC in early 1980. A small hut was built shortly thereafter through community participation. In January 1982, the VDC began construction on a new larger and more permanent health post facility using local materials. The construction of the building was organized through the kgotla and was started with enthusiasm. The structure was about 80 percent complete in May 1982. Work on the building had not progressed in several months due to a lack of organization of a work schedule and follow-up by VDC leaders.

### 10.3 Etsha 1 Village Development Committee

The VDC at Etsha 1 was formed in January 1981 at the kgotla of the area's headmen which includes the settlements of Etsha 1, 2, and 3. The formation of a separate VDC from Etsha 6 was suggested by the VDC from Gomare. An eleven-member committee was elected to identify and take action to solve the particular problems of this community which is located 13 km from services available at Etsha 6.

The VDC at Etsha 1 operates in much the same way as the headman relates to the chief's representative at Etsha 6. Any VDC resolutions or project proposals are taken to the Etsha 6 VDC for approval as well as the local kgotla. Two members of the Etsha 1 committee also serve on the Etsha 6 VDC.

The Etsha 1 VDC has not yet taken hold as a viable village institution. Only four meetings were held during 1981 and two between January and May 1982. VDC officers have never been elected because, they claim, all members are never present at a meeting. There is only an acting chairman who presides over meetings and who attempts to take minutes of meetings. It was apparent that VDC members have little idea about the roles of the officers that they have been told to elect. Also, the lack of literate community members makes record-keeping a difficult task. Being the first and only village committee to establish itself in the vicinity, they have few models to follow. Difficulties have mounted as Etsha 1 has been the most severely drought-stricken community in the area. Over half of the VDC members had left the area by April 1982 to earn a temporary income elsewhere.

The Etsha 1 VDC has received only two visits from community development workers since its formation. They have been addressed on the functions of the VDC and project funding availability. While the VDC has collected P20 from beer-brewing fines, they have never embarked on fund raising as a committee. However, the VDC was able to implement a successful self-help project in 1981 without assistance from extension workers. Using local materials, a small

building was erected to be used by clinic staff, over an eight-month period by members of the community.

The establishment of a VDC at Etsha 1 is an attempt by a smaller and basically unrecognized community to assert itself as independent from the larger settlement at Etsha 6. The VDC has spoken of a need to establish a private school in their area since virtually none of the estimated 150-200 school-age children in the area are able to attend school at Etsha 6. As existing services in the Etsha area are too far to be of use to the majority of residents from Etsha 1-3, the establishment of a VDC to voice their development needs is an encouraging step toward self-reliance and progress for this neglected community.

Data on Etsha 1 VDC: Date of formation: January 1981. Frequency of meetings: approximately every two months during 1981; one meeting held during January-May 1982. Average meeting attendance: 5 members. Elections held for members: January 1981. Elections held for officers: none to date. Reports kept: brief, illegible minutes taken by acting chairman; no financial records.

Etsha 1 VDC Projects: (1) Health post. The acting VDC chairman had the idea of building a hut for the clinic staff to use while visiting Etsha 1 in 1979 prior to the formation of the VDC. The project was taken to the Etsha 6 VDC as well as the people of Etsha 1, and eventually approved. The construction of the mud-and-thatch hut began in January 1981 and was not completed until August of that year. Two members of the newly elected VDC at Etsha 1 were chosen as project leaders. The VDC divided people into groups from Xerube (south of Etsha 1) to Etsha 3 for the purpose of organizing project materials. One group brought poles, another brought thatching grass, another group constructed the walls, etc. No funds were used to construct the health post. The problems of delay in completion of the project were due to some groups falling behind and not completing their assigned work load, thus stalling other groups who were ready to move ahead. After groups were divided and tasks chosen, there was no follow-up by the project leaders to ensure timely implementation. The project was a success, however, in that a well-constructed building was completed due to a highly cooperative effort by the communities and a well-organized implementation plan. Unfortunately, the building is not used by the clinic staff because it is too dark for examining patients. Advice from clinic staff on the type of building required would have helped to avoid this discouraging situation.

#### 10.4 Etsha 6 Village Development Committee

Since the settlement of the Mbukushu refugees at Etsha in 1969, their experience with village-based development was following the instructions of the Refugee Settlement Officer who had arranged for various community development projects prior to the VDC formation. As a self-help contribution to the United Nations-funded community center at Etsha 6 in 1974-75, the Settlement Officer informed the community that he would deduct 20t from all baskets and other crafts which he purchased and sold to Botswana Craft. Labor was, however, contributed by Consumer Cooperative members on two occasions to build two cooperative buildings--in 1972 and 1975. Members were scheduled by the Settlement Officer to work only two days each as their contribution.

The Etsha 6 VDC, the first village institution to be formed in the newly established Hambukushu refugee settlement, originated in 1976. The VDC was formed by the chief's representative, who at that time was Chief Maboaneng of Gomare, together with the councillor, who was also from Gomare. The formation of the VDC occurred around no particular need or issue among the Etsha residents but rather from the notion of the chief's representative that Etsha should begin to organize village-based development projects.

As commonly occurs with village institutions which are not formed around a need identified by the villagers but rather are imposed by an outsider, the committee barely functioned. The committee lacked any practical knowledge of its purpose as well as enough self-confidence to move forward. No follow-up was provided to teach VDC members how to operate their committee until 1979 when a Community Development Officer from Maun was sent to Etsha to train members on VDC functions and project identification. It was only then that the VDC took on their first village self-help project, the construction of the Tribal Administrative Office at the kgotla.

Three VDCs at Etsha 6 have been elected by the kgotla since 1976. The first committee apparently kept no records, met infrequently, and took on no self-help projects. The second committee, elected in 1979, constructed the tribal office. Their only other project was the construction of two huts for Tirelo Sechaba participants in 1980. Both of these projects used local materials for construction. This committee also planned a community vegetable garden and was granted a site by the Land Board. However, no other progress has been made to date on this project. The general inactivity of the previous development committee can be largely credited to the lack of any strong leadership and to a VDC chairman who hindered development progress.

The third VDC was elected in January 1982. This new group of generally illiterate members, has, in a five-month period, already accomplished a considerable amount of self-help work. This ambitious beginning has been made mainly through the efforts of four-to-five members. The newly elected VDC has thus far rebuilt the kgotla kraal, begun fencing village water taps, made considerable progress on the construction of a toilet at the kgotla, dug a rubbish pit at the meat tree, and started collecting poles for the construction of a guest house. However, the implementation of these projects has mainly been done by VDC members themselves. The VDC is becoming frustrated by the lack of community participation but is hopeful that its present efforts at community development will serve as an inspiration for reluctant community members to contribute. But VDC members continue to lack self-confidence in their work. They receive very little active support for their work from extension personnel and thus continue to feel they are not doing their work satisfactorily according to the government's expectations.

Although residents in Etsha 6 and the surrounding Etsha settlements have shown little participation in self-help projects to date, community members who live near to the Etsha 6 settlement appear to be aware of the existence and the general purpose of the VDC. Villagers often erroneously associated the VDC with the construction of the highly visible community hall. Others were aware of more recent VDC projects including the proposed VDC guest house which had recently been discussed at the kgotla. The kgotla is the source of most

information about the activities of the VDC. Project proposals are submitted to the *kgotla* for general discussion and approval before any project is embarked upon. The VDC has a good relationship with the chief's representative who is highly supportive of all VDC efforts.

The lack of general community support or participation can most probably be traced to three main factors. First, a strong *kgotla* or chief's representative is lacking in Etsha 6. The chief's representative is respected and well liked by villagers who elected him to his position in May 1980. However, the chief's representative lacks traditional authority, particularly in regard to leading development efforts; he fails to command strong support among villagers and *kgotla* meetings are generally not well attended. As one resident put it, "the people do respect the Chief, but they don't fear him." Second, as mentioned earlier in this section, the Mbukushu of Etsha had no tradition of understanding of self-help. Nothing of that kind had occurred in their homeland of Angola. They remain unknowledgeable about the role of self-help in Botswana's development. Third, as a thirteen-year-old refugee community, they have been provided, with minimal or no effort on the part of the community, with all of the developments at Etsha, which is considerably more than they had experienced in their Angola homeland. United Nations and the Botswana government have provided considerable infrastructure with very minimal consultation with the Etsha community. The community has not needed to participate in their own development process thus far.

One of the problems with extension work in general which is apparent at Etsha is the attitude displayed by most extension workers working with the Mbukushu people. The Mbukushu are often treated as inferior by the Setswana-speaking extension workers at the clinic or in the village. There is a tendency to view the largely illiterate and non-Setswana-speaking residents in a patronizing manner by talking down to them rather than consulting them on an equal basis about community problems. A nurse at the clinic is known to threaten people who don't behave to her liking "that they will be sent back to Angola" if they don't do as they are told. The sister-in-charge, in order to start the toilet construction project at the *kgotla*, instructed the VDC members at a *kgotla* meeting to dig the pit on a certain day. This was done without any prior consultation with the VDC about the project. It is no wonder the VDC members and the Etsha public in general lack the necessary self-confidence to take steps toward making progress on the behalf of their village.

The Etsha 6 VDC has received only very minimal assistance from community development extension workers. The ACDO based in Gomare has the responsibility of working with the village institutions at Etsha. The ACDO's visits though have usually consisted of addressing *kgotla* meetings or the VDC on general issues concerning government programs and policies, i.e., destitutes, self-help project funding alternatives, functions and purpose of the VDC. He had not spent time, prior to the research period, working with Etsha VDC members for the purpose of upgrading skills or assisting with project planning and implementation. There have been no LGL7 funds applied for to date by the Etsha VDC. "Lack of transport" was the main reason given for inattention to social and community development at Etsha.

The lack of attention paid to teaching VDC members their roles and responsibilities is highly evident at Etsha. Records are in a poor state, meetings

procedures are unknown, and officers are hardly acquainted with the duties of their position.

The large community hall (built with United Nations Refugee Settlement funds) which stands in the center of Etsha was eventually turned over to the VDC along with the responsibility of maintaining the facility and collecting fees from its use by the public. The VDC and the community, having had little direct input into the construction of the hall, have also shown little interest in its upkeep. With prodding by this research team, the present VDC has recently made successful efforts to contact the cooperative manager, who has been using the hall as a co-op storeroom, and to request the cooperative to make repairs to the building as a form of payment for their use of the hall.

One area where the past VDCs have had some measure of success is in fund raising. Funds are raised mainly through a P1.00 charge levied on parties held in the village. A P1.00 fee is also levied for groups which infrequently use the community hall for concerts, etc. A total of P392 was found in the Etsha 6 VDC treasury (kept at the office in the cooperative shop). These funds were found to rarely have been counted or reconciled with the VDC financial records. The treasurer's cashbook showed P105 less than was actually counted in cash. However, funds are rarely spent as the VDC has not taken on any projects requiring much expense. The largest expenditure to date has been approximately P100 which was spent to pay builders for constructing the Tribal Administration Office. VDC funds are not only losing money by not receiving bank interest but are totally unaccounted for to either the community or the VDC itself.

Data on Etsha 6 VDC: Date of formation: 1976. Frequency of meetings: 17 meetings held during 1981; 7 meetings held from January-May 1982. Average meeting attendance: 10 elected and ex officio members during 1981-82. Elections held for new members and officers: 1976; 1979; 1982. Records kept: minutebook, cashbook, record book of party fees.

Etsha 6 VDC Projects: (1) Tribal Administration Office. The first VDC self-help project at Etsha 6 was initiated by the newly elected chief's representative at Etsha in 1979 through the VDC. The mud, pole, and thatched office was built in 1980 with VDC funds to pay six local people to build the hut. Women in the village voluntarily laid the dung-smearred floor. Nearly P100 was spent on the building, including the cost of the door. The project took two weeks to implement. No significant problems were encountered. The project was a success because it was reasonably well organized with no delays in implementation. It also met an urgent need for the newly elected chief's representative who helped organize the project's implementation.

(2) Two houses of Tirelo Sechaba participants. This project was initiated by the chief's representative in Etsha 6 in 1980 to accommodate the newly placed community service participants in June of that year. The two huts were built shortly after their June arrival. VDC members led the building of the huts with help from community members who supplied local materials. No funds were used for construction and no major problems were encountered. The project was successful because it met an urgent need and received some degree of cooperation from the community.

(3) Kgotla kraal. It was agreed to rebuild the kgotla kraal at the January 1982 VDC meeting at the suggestion of the chief's representative. The kraal was constructed in one day in February after it was discussed at two kgotla meetings. The self-help project participants were mainly VDC members. No funds were used for the project. The main problem with the project's implementation was the lack of community participation. Although it was successfully completed in one day, this was due to the diligence of the VDC members themselves.

(4) Fencing village water taps. This project was also suggested by the newly elected VDC in January 1982. The project was agreed upon at the kgotla and arranged for implementation during February. A few people showed up the first day to help install the poles around the water taps but later withdrew from working as they found others not participating in the project. It resulted that two taps were completely fenced, two were half fenced, and two taps were not fenced at all. No attempts have been made to complete the fencing since February. The project was basically a failure, it was said, because villagers said they were hungry and couldn't work. VDC members feel that people are just being lazy and uncooperative, even after agreeing at the kgotla to implement the project. Etsha residents do not, apparently, understand or are not interested in participating in self-help efforts. The lack of a strong traditional institution as well as having a tradition of self-help makes it difficult to get the community involved.

(5) Kgotla toilet. This project was decided upon at an April 1982 kgotla meeting when the sister-in-charge at the Etsha clinic announced that she had received materials for building public toilets and that the VDC should organize the digging of a toilet at the kgotla the following week. No discussions were even held by the VDC members themselves. Nevertheless, several VDC members eventually dug the pit and, with the assistance of the Health Assistant based in Gomare, started construction of the toilet. The toilet is approximately 75 percent complete at the end of May 1982 and is awaiting the organization of donations of reeds from villagers for the wall and roof construction. No VDC funds will be used for this project. The public toilet at the kgotla will most likely be completed only due to the perseverance of the Health Department staff. The few VDC members who are participating do so mainly out of fear of the sister-in-charge. The project is a failure in terms of self-help as it involves no community participation apart from the VDC members. This is partly due to poor organization of the project which did not involve the VDC in its initial phase of decision-making.

#### 10.5 Etsha 13 Village Development Committee

The people of Etsha 13 originally fell under the authority of the Etsha 6 kgotla. It was only during a visit to the community by the then-Vice-President Q.K.J. Masire in 1979 that the Etsha 13 residents were encouraged to establish their own community identity. The Vice-President agreed that the distance of 13 km to Etsha 6 was too far to travel to take advantage of any services available there. Shortly thereafter the people elected a headman for Etsha 13 who was directly responsible to the chief's representative at Etsha 6. The residents of Etsha 10 through 13, Xaxana, and other surrounding lands and cattlepost areas fall under the jurisdiction of the Etsha 13 headman. The

elected headman was related to a traditional chief or "rainmaker" in their homeland of Angola. The kgotla system in Botswana, whereby the headman is largely involved in village development efforts, was an entirely new approach for the Mbukushu from Angola. Having no tradition of community development or of small cohesive communities such as Etsha 13 is becoming, the headman appears to have little awareness of authority in terms of leading village development.

A visit by the VDA based in Gomare in early 1980 also prompted the election of a VDC by the Etsha 13 kgotla in April 1980. The first needs identified by the Etsha 13 VDC were for a school and health facility in their community. The VDC chairman met with the VDC and the head teacher at Etsha 6 concerning the need for a school. They all agreed that the school at Etsha 6 was too far away for Etsha 13 school-age children to attend. A letter was sent by the Etsha 13 VDC chairman to the Council and eventually the school was constructed and opened in May 1981.

The erection of a VDC health post of local materials was the first project undertaken by the VDC. The shelter was built during 1980 primarily by VDC members themselves. The health post idea was initiated by the VDC without prior consultation with the clinic staff. The clinic staff had also never advised the VDC on their needs for a consultation room. Consequently, the VDC health post, as also occurred in Etsha 1, was never used for clinic visits. A Council-built health post was constructed shortly thereafter unknown to the VDC. The pleasure of having a fine new health facility in their village was somewhat diminished after their disappointing first self-help project experience.

Not surprisingly, the VDC remained inactive in 1981, participating in no new self-help efforts as the Council opened the school and the health post at Etsha 13 during the year. It was only in February 1982 that the second planned VDC project, the construction of three huts for Tirelo Sechaba participants, was begun. Only one of the huts has been built to date, mainly by the Tirelo Sechaba participant herself, with the second hut still planned for construction.

The Etsha 13 VDC members expressed frustration with the lack of community participation just as did the VDC members of Etsha 6. Even after agreement at the kgotla to undertake a self-help project, community members do not help. VDC members are aware that their purpose is to organize and motivate the community to participate in the development process rather than to do all the work themselves in order to implement a self-help project. However, this enthusiasm is unlikely to last as their frustration builds, stemming from their inability to know how to go about eliciting more community participation and involvement.

Etsha 13 also boasts a PTA and a Village Health Committee, both of which have shown a fair amount of activity. The PTA, led by the teachers, has hired school cooks, raised P80 for purchasing pots, and recently planned to build classroom shelters of local materials. The VDC assists clinic staff at the health post and generally follows directions from the clinic nurses by delivering messages in the area, interpreting into Setswana, etc. VDC members, recently returned from a workshop on village health in Shakawe, gave an excellent report to the kgotla on what they had learned.

The VDC is faced with the most difficult task of the three committees at Etsha 13. The VDC has probably accomplished the least. This is largely due to lack of VDC leadership and understanding of how to undertake their work. While the TA and VHC have been given direction by extension workers, e.g., teachers and/or clinic staff, community development workers have never spent time assisting with the VDC operation. The committee's knowledge of basics such as meeting procedures, roles of officers, record-keeping is virtually nil. While they have shown some ability to identify needs, their project planning and implementation ability has been shown to be poor. Fund-raising efforts have been minimal. The VDC charges a 50t to P1.00 tax for parties held in the village (depending on the type of party held) from which P64 have been raised to date. No other attempts at raising funds have been made by the VDC.

Since January 1982, the three Tirelo Sechaba participants at Etsha 13 have begun working with the VDC. Meeting activity has substantially increased with three of the six meetings held during the first five months of 1982 having been called by the participants. Progress has also been made by sending letters to the Council regarding equipping their community borehole and to the Etsha Cooperative manager concerning their need for a shop at Etsha 13. Upon the suggestion of the Fisheries Department, the VDC has submitted the names of thirty-one individuals interested in forming a fishing group. The Tirelo Sechaba participants have also, as part of the newly established training effort begun during this research period, begun working with VDC officers regarding their roles and record-keeping.

Data on Etsha 13 VDC: Date of formation: April 1980. Frequency of meetings: no record available for 1981; approximately 6 meetings held from January-May 1982. Average meeting attendance: no record available. Elections held: April 1980. Records kept: minutes of meetings taken only occasionally; no financial records.

Etsha 13 Project Data: (1) Health post/house for Family Welfare Educator. The VDC came up with the idea to build a small health post or clinic consultation room in 1980 as its first self-help project. The building was constructed using local materials during the same year. A door for the health post was purchased for P9.00. Funds were raised by a VDC party held whereby locally brewed beer (mberera) was made from sorghum collected by VDC members around the area. When it came to actual construction, VDC members were the only ones who participated. This lack of support from local residents was the major difficulty. However, the project was completed due to the commitment of the VDC members. However, the health post has never been used by the clinic staff for their weekly visits. In 1981, a Council-built health post was completed at Etsha 13. The VDC health post was then renovated in 1982 for use as accommodation by the still-to-be-posted Family Welfare Educator.

(2) Houses for Tirelo Sechaba participants. This project, initiated by VDC members in December 1981, was originally for the construction of three houses for the three participants who arrived in Etsha 13 in January 1982. The first house was begun in February and finished in less than one week, with over half of the work done by the Tirelo Sechaba participants who reside in the house. The second and third houses have not been constructed as the participants found alternative housing so there is no longer a pressing need. No

funds were used for construction. Again, the major problem was lack of community participation even including poor participation by VDC members.

#### 10.6 Nokaneng Village Development Committee

The VDC at Nokaneng was started in 1969 by the present chief's representative who was the councillor for the area in 1969. Having heard about the new concept of the VDC from a Ministry of Local Government and Lands representative, the councillor returned to the kgotla at Nokaneng with the proposal to start one of the first VDCs in Ngamiland. In fact, a three-person committee chosen by the kgotla to lead village development projects had already existed in Nokaneng since 1965. The establishment of a VDC basically changed only the name and gave the committee a more official status. The Nokaneng villagers readily adapted to the VDC concept since it served as a replacement for the by then defunct mophato or age regiment system, a system whereby duties were assigned by the kgotla to villagers by age groups. The mophato system had operated in Nokaneng until 1962.

Largely due to this strong traditional mophato system and an acute understanding of the meaning of community participation and the new terminology of self-help, the VDC was immediately a successful undertaking. The VDC received vigorous support from the community and, most important, from the highly respected chief's representative. From 1969-74, the VDC spearheaded a number of self-help projects under the leadership of the present councillor from Nokaneng, projects such as the construction of two guest houses, one with funds partially provided by the Council and the other of traditional materials; a kraal and a public toilet located at the kgotla; and a teacher's quarters built with local materials. The VDC has continued with annual projects to date including molding of bricks for Council ARDP projects in 1974-75; a third guest house; school kitchen; waiting room at the health post; a temporary market shelter; and their largest and current project, a butchery.

Funds have been raised by the VDC since its inception when contributions were collected at the kgotla as necessary. By 1975, the VDC began making more effort at fund raising by holding fund-raising parties. A VDC tax of P1.00 for each "party" held in the village has been a regular source of revenue since then. The VDC also is considering charging a rental fee for those selling meat at the new butchery.

The community of Nokaneng is well aware of the VDC and its work in the village. Indeed, of the five people with whom discussions were held, each person could name several VDC projects and all had participated in various self-help efforts over the past twelve years. The VDC has also had a regular turnover of members and is therefore not controlled by any special interest groups (e.g., wealthy farmers) or powerful families. Eight of the nine present VDC members were elected for the first time in 1980. The VDC is also no longer run entirely by the majority Setswana-speaking tribal groups of Bayel and Batawana. There are two active Hereros on the present committee, exemplifying an encouraging trend of more community involvement by the minority Herero population in Nokaneng.

VDC officers and members receive ongoing training in their duties by the ACDO stationed at Nokaneng which has resulted in a well organized and smooth

running committee. The chairperson needs meeting procedures and follow-ups with VDC resolutions. The treasurer keeps up-to-date financial records and gives regular financial reports to the VDC. Projects are relatively well planned and implemented.

The Nokaneng VDC has clearly accomplished more than any other institution within the Ngamiland CFDA. It is the most active and well organized of the seven VDCs in the area. There are several factors that account for the success of the Nokaneng VDC. First and foremost, the chief's representative, having started the VDC in 1967 as the former councillor, is very supportive of VDC activities. He regularly participates in VDC meetings and gives the community a strong push at kgotla meetings to join in with project implementation. He is well respected and maintains a great deal of authority in a community which continues to hold onto traditional ways of life. Second, as mentioned earlier, the VDC stems from a well-established tradition of self-help through a strong mophato system. Third, excellent communication and cooperation exist at Nokaneng. Since kgotla meetings are well attended, people seem to hear about and have a greater awareness of government plans as well as village-based development than elsewhere in the CFDA. All VDC decisions are taken to the kgotla for a final decision. The VDC enjoys a high degree of cooperation with other village institutions. Recently, the VDC, low on funds due to its expensive butchery project, asked for and received money from other village committees to pay the post office for Nokaneng's private bag. Fourth, there has been strong and well directed leadership of the VDC through the chief's representative, the present chairperson, and the ACDO, who has helped to develop leadership abilities among officers of village institutions. All in all, the people of Nokaneng have a greater sense of controlling the development of their village than elsewhere in the CFDA region and most other villages in Botswana. They are actually guiding most of the development efforts in their village rather than being subject to development imposed on an unconcerned and uninvolved community.

Data on Nokaneng VDC: Date of formation: 1969. Frequency of meetings: 21 meetings held during 1981; average meeting attendance: 6.5 elected members (1981). Elections held for new members and officers: 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982 (planned). Records kept: minutebook, cashbook, receipt book, record book of party fees.

Nokaneng VDC Projects: 1969-74: kgotla kraal; public toilet at kgotla; two guest houses (one using cement bricks from Council self-help project funds); teacher's quarters. 1974-75: brickmolding (using Council-supplied cement) for health post and nurse's house. 1976-77: guest house; school kitchen. 1978-79: health post waiting room. 1980: market shelter; refencing kgotla kraal; reroofing school kitchen. 1980-82: school fence; teacher's kitchens/quarters; butchery; village garden; fencing village water taps.

1980-82: (1) School fence. A long outstanding project to fence the primary school at Nokaneng was first suggested by the PTA and approved by the VDC and the kgotla in March 1980. An LG17 project application was submitted to the District Council in April 1980 and eventually approved by the Council at an estimated cost of P6,000. The self-help component was to provide labor for the cutting and fixing of fencing poles and installation of the fencing

wire. The project is to be supervised by a PTA subcommittee. The fencing wire was purchased by Council and delivered to Nokaneng in 1981. However, a delay was caused over a dispute about the land area to be fenced. It was then believed that some fencing wire was stolen and finally the person hired by the Council for fencing projects has been employed elsewhere. As the VDC and Council are attempting to sort out these problems, the ACDO expects the fencing to begin in June 1982.

(2) Teacher's kitchens/quarters. Two huts were built in 1980 by the PTA in conjunction with the VDC to be used as kitchens for the school teachers who lived in rondavels at the school site. The PTA (head teacher) initiated the project and collected over P40 from the village to purchase two doors, locks, and hinges. A subcommittee was elected at the kgotla to be in charge of the project. Community members constructed the buildings as self-help labor. In 1982, due to a shortage of teacher accommodation, the PTA and VDC returned to the two huts to do maintenance work for the purpose of converting the kitchens into teacher's quarters. There were no particular problems associated with this project in either 1980 or 1982. The project was a success for several reasons: the project was well organized (using a subcommittee) and received a good self-help response from the community; the VDC and PTA cooperated well together on the project; working with local resources rarely presents the problems involved with materials requiring transport, storage, and money.

(3) Butchery. The Village Extension Team of Nokaneng suggested the construction of a communal butchery to the VDC in 1980 to replace the meat tree as the village site for the sale of meat. The LG17 project application was sent to Council in February 1980 but was not approved until early 1981. The VDC hired brickmolders as well as receiving self-help brickmolding labor to begin work in April 1981. The Council-hired builder started work in July 1981. However, due to sometimes long delays in the delivery of materials by the Council, the butchery building and fence were not completed until April 1982. Even at that time, the butchery could not yet be used as it was determined only in early 1982 that a toilet was required by the sanitation requirements. As there were no readily available materials for toilet construction by the Council this is causing a further delay in the opening of the butchery.

The VDC's contribution to the project amounted to over P600.00 thus far, including:

VDC contribution for materials	P100
Payment of roofer	160
Payment of brickmakers	75
Payment of building laborers	150
Purchase of thatching grass	150*
	<u>P635</u>

\* Approximate cost.

Funds were collected from those adults who did not contribute to brickmolding. A charge of P5/man and P3/woman was levied for the butchery project.

The main difficulties were Council's delays in approving the project and delivering materials. Also, negligent planning concerning the toilet construction has also unnecessarily delayed the project's completion. Overall, the

project is a big success. It apparently meets a much-felt need for a cleaner site for selling meat. There was good support from the village in terms of financial contribution. Also the project was well organized on the village level with a VDC subcommittee taking the main responsibility for the project.

(4) Village garden. The suggestion of a village garden project, with individual households using small plots within a community-fenced area for growing vegetables, was first made in 1978 by the Nokaneng Farmers Committee to the VDC. LG17 funds for fencing materials were applied for in February 1980. However, the funding was not approved by Council due to a shortage of LG17 monies. The Council recommended applying for AE10 funds under the Ministry of Agriculture. This presented a difficulty as the VDC is not entitled to receive AE10 funds, but rather, a group had to be formed specifically to run and implement the village garden project. About thirty Nokaneng people signed up for the garden group at a kgotla meeting with the local Agricultural Demonstrator.

The garden group has thus far failed to implement the project. Fencing wire was delivered to the village in November 1981. Two group meetings had been held to April 1982 and poles have been placed in the ground surrounding the garden site. But the work of constructing the fence still remains to be organized after nearly six months of no progress. The difficulties facing the garden group are mainly lack of leadership or the lack of real desire to complete the fencing. The group is somewhat artificial as it did not originate the project but rather people were coerced to form the group to satisfy the AE10 requirements. The VDC gave up the project when it was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture for funding. The failure of this project to date stems directly from confusing and unnecessary rules and regulations regarding AE10 projects. For this case, these inflexible rules have demotivated a community from completing an important and worthwhile project.

(5) Fencing village water taps. This project was originated by the Village Extension Team when the pumper (who is VET chairperson) brought this project proposal to the group. The VDC and the kgotla also agreed in 1981 that the problem of livestock opening and damaging village water taps should be solved. One man was nominated to be responsible to ensure that people brought poles for the fencing to get under way. This project took place with community self-help labor (no funds required) over two days and with no apparent difficulties.

This problem was again brought up by the VDC in 1982 and one day's work was arranged for the community members to maintain and rebuild damaged parts of the fence around the water taps. This was also successfully done.

#### 10.7 Habu VDC

The VDC at Habu was formed in 1978 around two community needs: to establish Habu as a permanent village rather than just a lands or cattlepost area, and to establish a private school in their village. The VDC was elected at the kgotla and immediately took over the work of the "school committee" which had been formed the year before to start the community-based school.

The Habu VDC forged ahead with organizing its school project. By 1978, a classroom built of local materials was completed. Two teacher's quarters were constructed in early 1979, contributions were collected for purchasing books, teachers were hired, and the private school was under way. The private school was run for two years by the community before Council responded to the VDC's request to build a school at Habu. The Council school began operating in 1981.

Despite a lack of assistance from extension personnel, the VDC has made progress in its village development efforts. Three huts have been built through self-help efforts for various purposes--teacher's quarters, health post, storeroom. Thirty pula have been raised from community contributions to build a hut for storing IFP food. These projects enjoyed a large amount of participation from the mixed Bayei and Herero community. In February of this year, the VDC discussed the problem of lack of water at the school. When the matter was taken to the kgotla, twenty-five men showed up the following day with their picks and shovels to dig a well for the school. One of the most important contributions for which the Habu has been recognized by residents is that even though Habu has no official headman, the VDC has helped bring about a sense that Habu is indeed a separate village which is worthy of development.

The VDC is chaired by Mr. G. Masedi who is also the unofficial but recognized headman at Habu. He and three to four others are very active VDC members. Several members have left for temporary employment with Rural Roads. The committee includes Herero, Bayei, and Batawana as well as two female members.

The only other village organization at Habu is the PTA which works closely with the VDC by the process of members of either organization attending meetings of the other group. The PTA, formed in 1978, has initiated no projects to date according to the chairperson. They would like to start a school vegetable garden but the lack of water at the school is preventing this project from taking place.

Various problems are clearly evident within the Habu VDC, largely due to a lack of understanding of how a VDC functions. Because of its distant location, one hour away from the main road, the ACDO at Nokaneng has been able to visit Habu only infrequently and only on short visits. VDC elections have been held at the kgotla once a year since 1978 resulting in a turnover in over half the membership each year. VDC members do not serve long enough to learn or understand the functions of the VDC or how to work together as a committee. The amount of P22.61 raised from community contributions, was found with the VDC treasurer. However, no financial records are kept as the treasurer is illiterate. Minutes of meetings are kept irregularly and inadequately on loose sheets of paper. The VDC has no practical knowledge of community fund raising or of outside funding sources. Lack of planning skills has prevented the group from completing the IFP storeroom in over six months' time or from moving ahead with its proposed community borehole project. The four Tirelo Sechaba participants at Habu have shown interest in working with the VDC. Two of them have agreed to take the responsibility of assisting with minute taking and recording of finances in their newly supplied record books. With this assistance and more time and attention from Community Development staff, the Habu VDC shows a good deal of potential for leading development efforts in the community.

Data on Habu VDC: Date of formation: 1978. Average meeting attendance: no record available. Chairperson claims to hold meetings only when a quorum of over five members is present. Elections held for new members and officers: 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981. Records kept: minutes irregularly kept on loose sheet of paper; no financial records.

Habu VDC Projects: (1) Private school. The idea of establishing a private school in Habu came from one community member in 1977 who had previously served on the VDC at Tubu. A school committee was formed that year, a small classroom constructed, and, by 1978, the school was opened. By that time, a VDC was formed at Habu with its main objective to run the private school. An unknown amount of money was collected at the *kgotla* to pay for books and materials. School fees were paid to cover the salaries of three teachers. The main problems in organizing the school were twofold: purchasing books and materials in faraway Gaborone was never fully accomplished; and second, there was a problem for some time in getting the *kgotla* at Nokaneng to agree with the establishment of a private school at Habu. However, the private school should be considered a real success because it met a strongly felt need and led the District Council to the recognition of the need for a school in the area and eventual takeover of the school in 1981.

(2) Teacher's quarters/clinic consultation rooms. The need to accommodate the three teachers at the private school required the VDC to build three huts of local materials in 1979. The huts were built in one day with good community participation. Upon completion of the Council teacher's quarters, the two remaining huts (the third had since collapsed) became identified as consultation rooms for clinic visits. These two huts are also used for VDC meetings and are well maintained by the VDC.

(3) Storeroom for maluti. In September 1981, the IFP officer addressed the people of Habu to suggest that construction of a well-built storeroom for maluti would mean that supplies of CSM could be delivered to Habu for distribution. The VDC and *kgotla* agreed that a storeroom of local materials was an important and worthwhile project to undertake. The *kgotla* appointed the VDC chairman as project leader and in November 1981 a local man was hired for P30 to construct the frame of the hut. Funds were planned to be collected from each household which did not work directly on the project. Thereafter the storeroom project made no headway until May 1982 when some women gathered to begin thatching the hut as directed by the *kgotla*. Difficulties in completing the project included the lack of planning the project to its completion. The VDC was not prepared for Step #2. Many people were also at the lands between November and May, making it difficult to gather them for self-help projects. It appears as if the storeroom will be soon finished by community labor. A high degree of community cooperation can be given as a main reason for eventual completion. The storeroom can then be considered a success only if the VDC is able to contact IFP and obtain delivery of maluti to their storeroom.

## APPENDIX 1

## Bookkeeping Exercise for VDC Treasurers

1. Your VDC financial records show a balance brought forward for the beginning of the year of P76.50. On 5 January 1982, the VDC secretary, Mrs. Montsho, gave the treasurer the amount of P18.00. This amount was for funds raised through party fees for the previous month of December. What entries should be made? What is your current balance?
2. On 10 January 1982, the treasurer purchased 3 rolls of fencing wire from the cooperative shop for the amount of P7.50 each to be used for fencing the new VDC market project. This expenditure was approved by the VDC at their last meeting. Make the appropriate entries.
3. On 12 January, Mr. R. Pule, the VDC chairman, was given the amount of P5.00 to purchase a VDC minutebook in Maun. Make the appropriate entry.
4. On 16 January, a cow was purchased from Mr. P. Mosweu for the amount of P60.00 for a VDC fund-raising party. A bag of 12.5 kg mealie meal was also purchased at the cooperative shop for P5.26 on the same day for the same party. Make the appropriate entries.
5. On 18 January, the chairman returned from Maun with P0.56 change from purchase of the minutebook. He gave this amount to the treasurer.
6. On 20 January, the treasurer received P112.85 from the VDC secretary as income from the VDC fund-raising party held on 19 January.
7. On 26 January, the treasurer withdrew P80.00 from the VDC account at Barclays Bank in Maun. He used P1.50 of this money to purchase a receipt book for the VDC and 20¢ to buy a pen. How much cash did he have left to take back to his village? How does he record this in his books?
8. On 30 January, the treasurer pays the following people who were employed by the VDC during January:
 

Mr. K. Kagiso - brickmaker .....	P25.00
Mr. L. Leoto - brickmaker .....	P25.00
Mr. B. Setlhare - building laborer	
for market project .....	<u>P18.00</u>

Tlhaloso

Date Kgvedi	Paid for Sesupo sa tuelo	Who Ke mang	Money for what Madi ke a eng	Money + Madi a tsenang	Money - Madi a tsenang	Balance Madi a setseng
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Cash Receipt

No. .... 19...

Received from .....  
the sum of .....  
..... Pula  
..... thebe  
.....

With thanks

## APPENDIX 2

**Village Institutions Survey:  
Ngamiland Communal First Development Area**

by Richard Morgan  
District Officer (Development)

**1. Scope and Purpose of the Survey**

This survey was conceived as a first step in that part of Ngamiland's Communal First Development Area (CFDA) Program which seeks to strengthen existing village institutions to a point where they can manage and direct a significantly greater part of the development of their own communities without special or continuous outside assistance. The survey was to identify the kinds of training or extension necessary to assist these institutions.

It is important to note that the intention was not to make a complete inventory of committee organizations in the CFDA villages, but rather to focus on those with the most immediate part to play in the CFDA program. These are:

- The Village Development Committees (VDCs): these are not only the longest established "modern" organizations in the area, but also generally regarded as parent bodies for the development process.
- The Cooperative Committees: the CFDA contains a network of Consumer Cooperatives with the main society located in Etsha and branch stores in Gomare and Nokaneng. From the planners' point of view, this network contains, due to its profitability and rapid growth (physical and economic), the most immediate potential for commercial expansion of the CFDA economy and for diversification of sources of its input supply and marketing opportunities in the agricultural, handicraft, and possibly other sectors.
- Okavango Private Secondary School (OPSS): this organization, composed of a regionally elected Board of Governors and a series of subcommittees in individual villages, represents a recent and widely popular initiative to establish secondary education facilities in a remote area.

It is of interest to CFDA planning, with its bias toward production rather than services, because of its high degree of support and future potential for fostering a structure of inter-village cooperation, discussion, and planning. This kind of regional federation of communities will be important if decision-making power about factors or activities affecting a number of villages is ever to be possessed by those villages together rather than by District authorities as outside intermediaries between them.

- Other organizations: in the case of other committees, all that was sought was an update of their activities and vital statistics since

the "Ngamiland Villages Report," compiled in early 1979, which provided information on events, structures, and problems in each of the main settlements.

The data presented here have the following limitations. The objective was to obtain immediately useful, rather than comprehensive information. In addition, at least two important CFDA settlements with VDCs of their own, Habu and Tubu, were not covered. Third, the survey personnel were relatively inexperienced and in the field for only one month each. Due to illness the Nokaneng surveyor was forced to withdraw after approximately two and one-half weeks.

The survey took place from 15 November to 14 December 1981, following prior introduction of the idea at VDC and kgotla meetings. Simple questionnaires were used (Annex 2) as well as notebooks. Surveyors were left largely to their own initiative in deciding whom to interview and how to work. They were requested to give priority to the three institutions mentioned above, and to use the experience and knowledge of the ACDOs as much as possible.

Finally, some information obtained by myself from preliminary interviews with extension staff and Batirelo Sechaba, as well as in VDC meetings, is worked into the report but is not allowed to affect the findings of the S&CD staff in any substantial way.

Thanks are due to the following personnel of the Social and Community Department: Chris Tumaletse--SCDO Maun, for the deployment of his staff for this purpose; Clement Siviya--ACDO Nokaneng, for supervising the work in this village; Julius Molefhe--ACDO Gomare/Etsha, also for his supervision services; Gadiboelwe Hiri--CDA Sherobe, ex-Tirelo Sechaba at Tsau, who was the surveyor in Nokaneng; Oduetse Busang--CDA Kachikao, ex-Tirelo Sechaba at Makalamabedi, surveyor in Gomare; Moetpele "Jo" Kgangyame--CDA Seronga, ex-Tirelo Sechaba at Etsha, surveyor in Etsha.

Orientation, field visits, and conducting of the round-up meeting were done variously by Steve Turner of the Applied Research Unit, Ministry of Local Government and Lands (MLGL), Gary Childers of the same unit, and myself. Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

## 2. Village Development Committees

### 2.1 Etsha

The population of Etsha, composed mainly of Hambukushu ex-refugees, is settled in 13 different villages along the side of the Taoghe River and its adjoining molapos. A distance of 20 km separates Etsha 1 in the south from Etsha 13 in the north. For no apparent reason other than centrality, a store was established in the early 1970s at Etsha 6, and this village (or rather, the "Dihayi" area next to it) became the service, administrative, and commercial center of the Etshas. School, health, and water facilities were initially available only in Etsha 6 (although recently provided in Etsha 13) and a chief's representative was installed there, responsible for all the Etsha settlements, each with its own headman.

The Etsha 6 VDC was the first to be established in 1976. The other villages of significant population concentration, Etsha 13 and Etsha 1, formed VDCs in 1980 and 1981, respectively. Until the emergence of the latter, the Etsha 6 VDC was presumed from the outside to have at least nominal authority for the entire area.

Etsha 6 VDC was formerly involved with projects at the school and clinic, now taken over by Council.<sup>1</sup> It is supposed to be responsible for the Community Center next to the kgotla, but the history of this project, particularly as regards to who did the work, comes in three versions--those of the VDC, the Council, and the cooperative manager. The center is not maintained and hardly used by the VDC, although skins and seeds were stored there during the 1979-81 drought relief program. The co-op manager, the local buying agent for Botswana-craft, uses it quite regularly for storing baskets.

Etsha 6 VDC is now running at a low level of activity. A school garden and school kitchen are "planned" but there appears to be little effort to initiate these projects, nor any coordination with the PTA and/or Village Health Committee which are also planning these projects. The VDC was recently requested to submit the names of five fishermen in the area to be the basis of a fishing group project, but failed to do this.

The main deficiency appears to be not one of articulation--VDC members are well able to analyze the problems of development in their area, including the agricultural economy--but lack of knowledge or ability to effect organization. Committee procedure and minute-taking are almost nonexistent. Most members are semi-literate. Attendance is extremely unreliable. There are said to be intense personal conflicts with the committee, partly centering on the split between Bayei and Hambukushu representatives and the question of what language should be used in meetings, and partly on the personality of the chairman. No elections have been held "for a very long time."<sup>2</sup> The chief's representative does not appear to have much contact with the VDC, and the VDC is said to have no support in the village.<sup>3</sup> The surveyor was doubtful whether it was at all viable in its present form. Although substantial funds are raised from parties held in the Community Center and from levies (of 50t) on beer parties, the money is apparently not put to any use.

The newer committees present a somewhat different picture. Etsha 13 is a rapidly growing settlement due to the opening in 1981 of primary education facilities and the construction of a health post and water supply system. With a population of 960, it is now the largest of the Etsha settlements and a number of new fields have recently been allocated there. This dynamic situation

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1. Subsequent research found that these projects were initiated by the present co-op manager in an attempt to stimulate self-help. In the end, he himself appears to have done most of the work (GC/LF).

2. Elections of a new Etsha 6 VDC took place in January 1982, shortly after this survey was completed. The new VDC does not appear to have all the problems of its predecessor (GC/LF).

3. Further research shows that while active support is lacking, verbal support is plentiful (GC/LF).

is reinforced by a capable and popular headman,<sup>4</sup> who has given assistance to the VDC since its formulation and election in 1980. It is apparently the only formal committee in the settlement,<sup>5</sup> and has been "recognized" by the older VDC at Etsha 6. The secretary is a literate and numerate person who is fortunately very dynamic; literacy is in fact a high priority for the committee. So far they have mobilized a supply of freely given labor for the clearance of the primary school and health post sites,<sup>6</sup> and are planning to build a guest house from traditional materials. They have had very little contact with Council S&CD staff and are probably unaware of, or do not fully understand, assistance potentially available such as extension and LG17 funds. Help with basic committee procedure, minute-taking, and cash-keeping (over P80 have been raised from parties) is needed, and also more cooperation from the head teacher.

The Etsha 1 community, also expanding due to immigration, probably resulting from a successful well-digging project under the 1979-81 drought relief program, and also with new cultivation areas, has had more difficulty establishing a VDC. Proper elections do not seem to have been held, and the membership is rather scattered up toward Etsha 6. Perhaps for this reason, the Etsha 6 VDC has refused to recognize it,<sup>7</sup> and has appropriated P16 raised from parties. Despite these difficulties, Etsha 1 VDC has built up some support in Etshas 1-3 and erected a self-help health post which is used by the Etsha mobile clinic. It has in mind initiating a self-help primary school (although this would be a formidable undertaking for the community).

## 2.2 Gomare

The Gomare VDC has an active history and a reputation as a solid organization. In the past, it contributed to several Council construction projects with labor, and built a substantial guest house at the main kgotla. Today, its membership still consists of notable individuals representing the various wards of the village, but the pace of its work seems to have slowed. The marketplace, which is being built under LG17 and which has been going on for some time, seems to have distracted its energies from other things. It has in mind a butchery, community center, VDC storeroom, and clinic out-patients' waiting room as future projects, but has done nothing about them. It has requested funds together with, or on behalf of, the Board of Governors of Okavango Private Secondary School to build two teacher's quarters (a large project with an estimated cost of P16,000).

Surprisingly, the VDC has not worked out a maintenance system for the guest house for which it is responsible. Overnight fees could easily be

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4. Further research shows respect was based on traditional lines of chieftainship despite the headman's personal failings (GC/LF).

5. Subsequent research found a well-established PTA and VHC in Etsha 13 (GC/LF).

6. Further research appears to indicate that this labor was organized through the kgotla only (GC/LF).

7. Subsequently the Etsha 6 VDC and headman recognized the Etsha 1 VDC (GC/LF).

charged and local artisans paid to do repairs, but the committee has not taken this initiative, which calls into question its management capability. It does raise funds from "party tax" on VDC parties, and claims that it will appoint a volunteer manager for the village market when complete.

The VDC has very good relations with the chief's representative, his deputy, and the Member of Parliament, and, partly through them, with the kgotla and village itself. There is also a strong cadre of government workers, including the agriculture staff, head teacher, and ACDO, although the impression is that they tend to either dominate the VDC or become absorbed by it, rather than advising it as a Village Extension Team with a separate identity.

While the VDC has held a fair number of meetings in 1981, it should be pointed out that several of these were called by Maun-based officials for consultation on the CFDA program. The underlying level of activity and organization has become worryingly low, and the influence of ex officio members high. VDC members are strongly of the opinion that they should be paid for what they do, and compare themselves with Land Board members who receive sitting allowances.

Finally, the VDC retains a high standing in the village, but does not exercise a strong directing influence on development activities in the village.<sup>8</sup> Given the rapid rate of change brought about by government investment in Gomare as a secondary center, and the complex network of committees and clubs in the village, it would be highly desirable for the VDC to increase its activities and regain its coordinating role, rather than, as at present, fulfilling a narrower and more passive function.

### 2.3 Nokaneng

The Nokaneng VDC is a ten-member committee, started in 1969 and most recently reelected in 1980. It is highly active with meetings roughly every fortnight and relatively good records. In the past it has molded bricks for Council projects, built teacher's quarters, a school kitchen, and a guest house from local materials, as well as a kraal. It is in the final stage of a butchery project in conjunction with the Village Health Committee. Contributions for this were successfully sought through the kgotla, to which the VDC reports regularly on the progress of its activities. When a shortage of thatching grass arose on the project, a house-to-house collection was organized. The VDC have also worked out how they will raise revenue from the butchery: meat sellers with a slaughter permit will rent the building for three days each from the VDC (presumably use of the meat tree will then be abandoned).

The committee has a sense of the future development of Nokaneng, gives a high priority to job creation, and is able to give an account of its forward plans. It is regarded as a parent body by other committees, and not only assesses their project ideas, making suggestions on them before passing them

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8. A subsequent researcher concluded in contrast that the Gomare VDC fulfilled its coordinating role and was quite active in directing other village committees (GC/LF).

on to the chief and his kgotla, but also assists and even subsidizes these committees. (The VDC handles fairly large sums of money.) It has a good relationship with the Village Extension Team: while not dependent on the VET, it takes technical advice particularly on financial and funding matters. It very sensibly has a executive subcommittee which is responsible for overseeing projects. For the butchery, this subcommittee collected in excess of P100, mainly from non-Herero sections of the community,<sup>9</sup> and used this to employ four people for brickmaking.

As regards future projects, the VDC is interested in a new water tank, a school fence, and employment-generating projects discussed with the Rural Industrial Officer (RIO) such as tanning and the collection of veldfood.

#### 2.4 Conclusion

It will be realized that the VDCs described above differ widely in their levels of organization, planning, and management capabilities. Availability of literacy is one important prerequisite for a functioning VDC, and a reasonably unified village, another. However, it should be pointed out that Nokaneng VDC has progressed well despite the split between Baherero and Bayei which exists there, in contrast to the experience at Etsha 6, where the majority group is new to the area, ill-informed, and lacking in confidence. (The Nokaneng arrangement of having a Herero as vice-chairman appears to have solidified the committee.) Ultimately, the most important factors in explaining VDC performance may be the contributions of two individuals: the chief's representative, and the community development worker.

Etsha lacks a CD worker, and receives only very occasional visits from the ACDO based in Gomare due to lack of transport. Given the size of its population and its problems, plus its importance as a CFDA village, it is most essential for Council to place an experienced CD worker there in the near future. Furthermore, the chief's representative, while well liked as an individual, is not generally recognized by the Bayei or even all the Hambukushu in terms of his official authority bestowed from Maun.<sup>10</sup> He is unable to provide the requisite unifying influence.

The present ACDO in Gomare has worked there for roughly one and one-half years. The chief's representative replaced a very strong chief who passed away in 1979, and does not command the same authority as his predecessor, although he is highly respected for his conscientiousness. The falloff in VDC mobilization may have had something to do with this circumstance.

The chief's representative in Nokaneng is a dynamic man, closely interested in the development of the village, and of great assistance to the VDC.

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9. The Herero community eventually donated a sum of money which they collected themselves and handed over to the court clerk (GC/LF).

10. Another researcher concluded that the Etsha chief's representative is well recognized by Hambukushu and even reluctantly by Bayei. The problem appeared to be rather the lack of traditional authority (GC/LF).

The ACDO has worked there for over three years and can take a great deal of credit for the strength of organization in the village. In particular he has helped the VDC with its planning, record-keeping, and project management arrangements.

### 3. Cooperative Committees

The structure of the cooperative is that of a head society based at Etsha 6, started in 1973, with branches at Gomare, Nokaneng, and Sepopa (outside the CFDA) which opened in 1980. All branches retail basic consumer goods, although the Etsha store (with warehouse attached) has a much wider range of stock. Some agricultural inputs are sold, including plows, chains, and saddles, mostly at Etsha. The organization is managed by a Botswana citizen who originates from Wales, and who came to the village originally as manager of the refugee settlement scheme before settling in Etsha himself. He has proved as successful in business as in project management, and the Etsha Consumers' Society, despite its long supply lines, has consistently been the most profitable such cooperative in Botswana. All branches currently run in surplus. Some statistics:

- Membership: Etsha, 574; Gomare, 600.; Nokaneng, 408 (indicating high levels of support in the latter two villages--see population figures in Annex 5).
- Turnover (all branches): 1979 = P245,113.00; 1981 = estimated at almost 1 million.
- Net surplus (all branches): 1979 = P24,433.00; 1981 = an estimated P150,000.00.

In considering these as village institutions, however, one must examine different criteria, and basically ask the questions:

- Are they run by or accountable to the villages?
- Are they cooperatives rather than businesses?

The answer to the second question is probably affirmative. The shareholding is widely spread, and the manager is employed on a fixed salary which is negotiable with both the society and the Department of Cooperatives (a certain portion of the salary is dependent on sales). The disposal of profits is partly into a bonus system, partly into dividends, and partly plowed back for expansion of facilities (including debt servicing on expansion loans). In these ways, the society has the characteristics of a cooperative, with a large number of village-based shareholders and an objective of profit maximization in order to increase community facilities (e.g., bigger stores with a greater variety of goods, new stores in unserved villages, agricultural supply and marketing facilities) desired by the villages rather than for purely private benefit. Undeniably, the communities involved in the network are benefiting enormously from its existence.

The answer to the first question, which concerns the location of power and the processes of decision-making, is that the villages and their representatives are very little involved. There is not much that the surveyors could

find out, because there was not much to find apart from what the manager could relate, and he is not regarded as a village institution as such. There is no doubt that the whole 1,500-member, P75,000 operation is extremely dependent on his unremitting contribution. This is obvious even from a brief visit to Etsha 6. The question then becomes: What can be done to build on what is already in place in order to consolidate the organizational structure of the co-operatives (assuming that the manager is employed partly to develop its management structure)?

There nominally exist three Cooperative Committees within the CFDA, an Executive Committee composed of representatives from all four branches which meets at Etsha 6, and Village Committees in Gomare and Nokaneng. Etsha does not have a village-specific committee at this stage, but this was to be elected in early 1982.

Executive Committee meetings are supposed to be held once a month, although meetings fail because attendance is unsatisfactory (members are scattered 115 km apart in an area with little transport). The main items discussed are usually hiring and firing of staff, pricing, and stocking of goods. Most items are apparently brought up by the manager, who is secretary, and resolved according to his advice. The members are said to be interested in the bonus rather than matters concerning the running of the cooperative. There are three non-Setswana speakers, including the chairman, and other members do not know Sembukushu. Minutes are apparently written but it is doubtful whether these are used for any purpose except to forestall disagreements between the secretary and other members. (The cooperative itself has excellent financial records.)

There is more articulation of varying interests in the Gomare and Nokaneng branch committees, which have both been successful in encouraging a higher proportion of the village populations to subscribe to membership. The Gomare Committee was formed when the village joined the Etsha Society in 1979, and has been mainly involved in the membership drive and collection of fees (P2 per member). Meetings are five times per year. The committee would like to establish a new warehouse, and to initiate a sorghum mill project "to substitute for high-priced South African food." This seems a bit curious since grain production in Gomare area is almost exclusively maize, but the idea is a progressive one. (I do not know whether these projects have been discussed formally at the Executive Committee.) The Gomare branch employs a capable manager.

The Nokaneng Committee was formed in 1980, in which year it had ten meetings, falling to three in 1981. Assistance is given by the ACDO, but understanding of cooperative structures is quite low. The relationship with the Etsha Society manager is a major area of controversy, with some members wishing to take control over ordering, pricing, and funds, which at present are handled by him, and also of hiring and firing. In the future there may be a move to establish an independent society, but it is difficult to see how the shop could be bought out at this stage (a medium-size loan is to be repaid on the store) and from where the business expertise supplied by the manager would come. The committee clearly believe that not enough is being done to train their branch manager.

In conclusion, and leaving aside the questions of personality conflicts within the organization, it is apparent that an urgent need exists for both management training and member education (encompassing the committees) in cooperative practice. These are supplied nationally by the Cooperative Development Center (CODEC). Given the rapid expansion of the network, its central position in trade within the CFDA (there is only one other shop of any significance in the area), and the embryonic nature of the cooperative committees, it is suggested that CODEC place an experienced officer in the area to conduct members' education courses and to assist the functioning of the committees in all the villages involved, for two-three months. It would also be desirable to work out a three-year training schedule for bookkeeping and management staff with the society manager and assist him in the identification of suitable candidates, which has been a problem in the past due to language and literacy problems. It should be possible to arrange these things to the benefit of the society as a whole without intervention in the existing areas of dispute between the manager and certain members/committee representatives. It is not, after all, in the manager's interest, nor in the interest of the villages, to have him virtually solely responsible for the ordering, stocking, bookkeeping, transport, and general management of an operation of this size spread over four villages, and likely to grow further, however successful this arrangement has been to date.

#### 4. Other Organizations, Committees, and Clubs

##### 4.1 Regional Organizations

There are two bodies which cover all of the three main CFDA villages: the Okavango Private Secondary School, and the Primary Health Committee (PHC) or "three-clinics" committee.

4.1.1 The OPSS is a hierarchical structure, with a Board of Governors of elected representatives from six villages based in Gomare, like the school itself, and with subcommittees in six villages (Nokaneng, Gomare, Etsha, Sepopa, Seronga, and Shakawe). Nxaunxau also has a representative on the board, which is chaired by the MP, with an ex-councillor as vice-chairman and the head teacher of Gomare Primary School as secretary. The board has a lot of trouble organizing meetings, contacting its scattered membership, and finding transport for them. Radio Botswana is sometimes used to announce meetings. The meetings also have to be arranged to coincide with the presence of the MP (Parliamentary business) and the head teacher (school holidays). A further handicap is that the ex officio District Commissioner's representative is an expatriate, necessitating a certain amount of translation, which slows down the meetings. Nevertheless, the board has a number of very active individuals, and has been effective in organizing support from a poor community hit by drought and foot-and-mouth disease. About P6,000 was raised from inception in early 1980 from sales of cattle and local donations, and this could be as high as P15,000 by the end of 1982. More would have been raised but for cattle which were lost on the way to BMC Lobatse. The chairman and the District Officer are in the process of arranging donations from national and international agencies (P5,000 have been received so far), and the board has cooperated with the VDC in making an application to the Council for assistance with its most immediate project, quarters for six teachers. About 12,000 bricks have been molded and burned to

be at least partially complete by early 1983 when the building of the school (funded by United Nations Capital Development Fund) is expected to be complete.

The subcommittees in Nokaneng and Gomare have been active so far, and have raised the bulk of the cattle and thatching grass donated to the school. At Etsha, it is apparent that people do not see a clear benefit to themselves in the establishment of secondary education facilities. This, coupled with poverty/lack of cattle holding, has produced very few donations to the school. It was suggested that the board needs to visit the OPSS Subcommittee in Etsha and those to the north much more regularly to keep them in touch with the purpose of the project and its progress.

4.1.2 The Regional PHC Committee is a newer initiative, dating from August 1981, and is similarly a Gomare-based organization which has attracted support at Nokaneng but not so much at Etsha. It is made up of health and extension workers, with the exception of one private person. Its intention is the control of infectious/notifiable diseases, and the promotion of good dietary habits/nutrition. To these ends it held a seminar in Etsha in November 1981 and a fund-raising concert at Nokaneng (it has about P25). Like the OPSS, it faces problems of transport for its meetings. However, it has a good chance of success if it can activate and work through the Village Health Committees, and tap the resources existing in the Regional Health Team, the IMCC Danish Medical Project (which has staff at Etsha and is similarly oriented to preventive work), and the health center to be built in the next two years at Gomare.

#### 4.2 Village-Based Committees

4.2.1 Village Health Committees. These exist in all three of the main villages, but only the Nokaneng committee has been in existence for long. The Nokaneng committee has been effective in encouraging the clean-up of compounds and has demonstrated the use of rubbish pits in the central village. It has tried to work at the school also but did not receive help from the PTA. At Gomare the VHC has worked through the VDC and kgotla to extend messages related to sanitation, refuse disposal, and TB control, and has built a demonstration latrine. The response in the villages has been poor.<sup>11</sup> The VHC is also involved in giving out maluti to vulnerable groups at Gomare Clinic. At Etsha the recently formed VHC is reckoned to have good potential and will focus on child care and sanitation. It also wants to establish a clinic garden. However, the VHC faces the handicaps of poor attendance, illiteracy, lack of guidance and of organizational experience.

Most of the VHC members in Etsha and Nokaneng are male, while Gomare has a more even balance between sexes.

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11. Subsequent research showed that the response to the VHC in Gomare has been very good because of strong support from the previous chief's representative for rubbish pits which has carried forward to the present work of the VHC and clinic staff. The sister-in-charge at Gomare Clinic works well with the VHC, motivates its members, and is concerned about sanitation (GC/LF).

**4.2.2 Parent Teachers Associations.** All PTAs in the area seem handicapped by various factors. At Nokaneng the PTA was formed in 1977 and reelected in 1979, and includes the chief's representative, extension workers, two elected teachers, and three elected parents. Planning has been impeded by the lack of participation of (Herero) parent representatives. However, the committee has a school garden project and is capable of solving minor school disputes like the employment of cooks. It came up with the idea of fencing the school and had this approved by the VDC. The Gomare PTA was formed in 1975 and "kept being reelected because members did not understand its purpose." Membership then switched to a voluntary rather than elected basis, and regular meetings began to be held. The PTA, backed by an active head teacher, has raised money to pay for the school cooks and to send the sports team to matches in other villages via a child levy, concerts, parties, and raffles. It wants to start a vegetable garden for Standards 5-7 and to build a storeroom. The Etsha PTA was established in 1977 but now holds very few meetings (none from June 1980 to July 1981). The chairman is often away in the swamps; members do not understand the function; the head teacher and the parents' representatives are in conflict. An important project, apart from the attempt at a garden, is the school kitchen, also planned by the VDC, but the two organizations do not appear to be cooperating over it. The Etsha PTA membership has been unchanged since 1977.

**4.2.3 Village Extension Teams.** No VET really exists at Etsha, due to language problems and poor attendance; lack of a CD worker may also contribute to this. The Gomare VET was reformed in 1981 after a complete lapse and is quite active in assisting the VDC in its work, particularly advising on an informal basis on project planning and priority setting. Given the unusual range and talent of extension workers based in the village, one would hope they could grow in their activities, and the District Extension Team should discuss future directions with them. The Nokaneng VET was new in 1980, has met often since, but does not appear to be making a strong identity for itself. It has been lending a hand to VDC projects, particularly the butchery, and arranging facilities for visits of ministers.

Generally, VETs were initiated in Ngamiland by the Adult Education Officer who was posted there from 1978 to 1980. After her departure, no DAEO was provided for a full year. The DAEO arriving in the second half of 1981 has been occupied with the new Literacy Project, and has so far been unable to devote any of his time to guiding VETs.

**4.2.4 Farmers Committees.** The only Farmers Committee (FC) encountered by the survey was that at Nokaneng, whose main activity was the initiation of a village garden. According to Agricultural Officers, the extension of the idea of FCs has not so far been successful in the three CFDA extension areas. However, a number of lands-based groups loosely exist for specific projects, particularly drift fence groups at Etsha, Tlale, Danega, and Habu, and molapo bunding groups (during the 1979-81 Drought Relief Program) at Tubu and Habu. The extent of mobilization of voluntary labor in almost all of the Etsha settlements for cutting of poles and fence erection along the main road bordering the arable lands has been quite phenomenal in 1980-81.

**4.2.5 Women's Groups.** The Botswana Council of Women (BCW) has groups at Nokaneng and Gomare, and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) at

Gomare. The Nokaneng BCW, formed in 1976, seems to have fallen into inactivity despite the efforts of the ACDO. The two Gomare groups appear to duplicate each other in their activities. Both concentrate on "home economics," using their funds to purchase materials for knitting, crocheting, making dresses and children's clothes. Both report difficulty in selling these products in the village and in having their customers pay up. Both use or intend to use community development courses to improve their skills and range of patterns. The YWCA sent people to the course but those who attended failed to pass on what they had learned to other members. The BCW assists the Burial Society (see below) to some extent, but these groups seem otherwise to lack ideas for new activities.

There were no formal women's groups at Etsha; however, it is known that Etsha women pool their time for agricultural work and beer s'ling.

**4.2.6 Youth Clubs.** The school-based 4-B movement presented in all three main villages, and appears to date from 1976. In all cases the clubs seem to cover sewing, carpentry, and crafts. Some of the clubs want to embark on agricultural projects such as beekeeping, pig raising, poultry, and citrus. The Gomare 4-B seems to be the most effective in terms of fund-raising (beauty contests, raffles, traditional songs, etc.) and to have the widest membership. The Etsha 4-B meets most often but is said to lack effective leadership. The 4-B is an organization within which skilled village artisans (basket-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths) could pass on their talents to the children. This is a stated aim of the Gomare club.

A major problem faced by 4-B clubs in their projects is the effect of the school holidays. Tree-planting, horticulture, and other activities needing regular attendance have failed due to neglect during this period, when no teacher/organizer has been present. Carpentry, knitting, and the like are less vulnerable, but depend on outside supplies which may not always be available when needed. However, it can be concluded that overall the 4-B movement has shown real potential in this area.

The other youth club is a branch of the Boy Scouts established at Gomare in March 1981, also based in the primary school. It is organizing first aid sessions in conjunction with the Red Cross, and plans to organize some camps where home economics training would be given. As it is a new group, and overlaps with existing ones, its purpose is said not to be well understood.

**4.2.7 Church Groups.** We asked the surveyors to look into church-related activities only if they felt they had time, so information collected here is marginal. For Etsha no church group was reported, although there has been a priest resident for several years at Etsha 4, and plans for a joint Botswana Christian Council/Mennonite mission project are being made in Gaborone to follow up his work, including primary health care and literacy in Sembukushu. Our other information is from Nokaneng, concerning the BB (UCCSA), UCCSA Fellowship, and Dorcas (SDA) church groups, which are involved in church-related activities only. This information is in the data summary sheet in Annex 3. It is recognized that the importance of church-based groups in the CFDA probably far exceeds the prominence given to them in this survey.

**4.2.8 Other Groups.** Two other groups were found to have started in Gomare during 1981--the Burial Society and the Show Committee. Both met only once in 1981. The latter is concerned with the preparation of a show ground and exhibition or market stalls for the 1982 Gomare Show (and subsequent shows). The idea of such a show is very popular; however, the committee is only getting off the ground and has not yet explained its plans to Gomare villagers or others in Ngamiland West where it wants to set up subcommittees. It has requested contributions of P2 per person, but had less than P8 at the time of the survey.

The Burial Society is interesting in light of the fact that village institutions research has found such groups to be well organized in other areas of Botswana; they have not been known widely in Ngamiland. This society was formed with prompting from the ACDO in order to take care of the burial of the poor or destitute. It has been confirmed at the kgotla and proved so popular that P76 was donated within the first three months. However, the plowing season has interrupted its progress. There will be business for local craftsmen in the supply of coffins to the Burial Society if it continues to attract support.

## 5. Some Characteristics of the CFDA Villages

### 5.1 The Etsha Settlements

In general, the level of participation in committee or formal group work in this area is extremely low. Only three committees have been in existence for any length of time. These facts relate to the general socioeconomic conditions of Etsha, in particular:

- a high dependence on a very labor-intensive dryland cropping, and also on basketry, fishing, and hunting, which allows little time for attendance at meetings;
- a relatively high level of migration to the South African mines through the recruiting office at Shakawe;
- a very scattered settlement pattern with only a few population concentrations (Settlements 6 and 13);
- lack of extension contact, particularly with CD staff, and of understanding of extension purposes;
- a low receptivity to "Tswana" or "modern-state" organizations due to the predominant Sembukusnu culture. One aspect of this is the poor level of contact with the District Council;
- low levels of literary and of fluency in Setswana;
- conflicts between the Hambukushu and other ethnic groups in the minority at Etsha, particularly the Bayei, who are said to feel grievance at the allocation in 1969 of land to the refugees.

In fact, the Bayei are even less involved in what formal organizations there are than the Hambukushu, although they are regarded as more "progressive" by Tswana value systems.

The agricultural base of the economy leads to an extensive commerce in beer brewing, and beer drinking is a highly important social function in Etsha, and one which also mitigates against the success of formal organizations. Lack of literacy skills produces a shortage of institutional memory for committees, leading to uncertainties and disagreement over decisions taken.

Participation rates of women are quite low (22 percent of committee members surveyed), presumably due to their heavy involvement in basic economic activities and to their literacy/language skills being generally more suppressed than those of men.

The VDC does not supply leadership or guidance to the other groups at Etsha 6, with the result that duplication of effort or purpose exists, with three committees quite separately planning vegetable gardens within a small radius of one other.

The more active committees at Etsha are those most recently formed, e.g., the VDCs at Etsha 13 and Etsha 1. Since the survey was undertaken, a new VDC was elected at Etsha 6 and it will be interesting to see the effect of this new membership on the organization.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, let it be stressed that mobilization in Etsha is not necessarily less than elsewhere, but, due to cultural and economic factors, takes different forms. The examples of land clearance, drift fencing, and weeding groups suggest that a high level of ability exists in the community to organize labor on a large scale for specific purposes, if not to organize committees such as we have surveyed.

## 5.2 Gomare

People in Gomare tend to be present in the main village for most of the year: migration to the molapos lasts from about September to February and this seasonality has effects on village organization. The community is ethnically quite homogeneous and settlement is consolidated. The village has historically a strong leadership tradition and possesses a number of individuals with good organizational capabilities. However, some problems were identified by the survey which have tended, in the recent past, to dampen village-level organization:

- the weakening of the tribal authority, due to the influx of "modern" institutions such as Land Board, Field Services, and Council, and the loss of the late chief's representative;
- the high level of attention given by District authorities to Gomare due to its status as a Secondary Center, which tends or may tend to have a relaxing effect (akin to that of drought relief programs) on "self-help," even in the sense of effort put into development-oriented

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12. Subsequent research would indicate that the newly elected VDC at Etsha 6 is as active as those at Etsha 1 and Etsha 13 (GC/LF).

committees themselves. This factor and the previous one may help to explain the increasing demand for payment from VDC members and others.

Still, Gomare village has seen a great proliferation of committees and clubs in the last two years. This, however, can lead to problems such as overlapping of functions--e.g., there are four organizations doing sewing, and two horticulture, apparently quite separately, which would probably be more effective if they managed to pool their available skills, ordering of materials, selling, and general management.

Gomare is disunited to some extent by party politics<sup>13</sup> (rather than by ethnicity, although the two may correspond at a deeper level). This causes difficulties for extension workers who tend to be seen as representatives of the ruling party, rather than in their role as nonpolitical civil service advisors. In the more successful organizations, such as OPSS, there is however cooperation between ruling party (BDP) and opposition (BIP) members to good effect.

### 5.3 Nokaneng

As indicated earlier, Nokaneng has a sense of direction in its village development efforts, and the VDC plays a coordinating role. Essential support is given by the chief's representative, ACDO, and to some extent the Village Extension Team. The tendency of the large Herero part of the village not to participate in this process has not proved extremely damaging, and some steps have been taken to alter this situation.<sup>14</sup>

The community is however faced with challenges which may be beyond their ability to meet effectively. The report of the Land Use Consultants in the CFDA (Gelmroth and Benson, December 1981) indicated heavy overstocking in the Nokaneng/Habu area, particularly along the river channels, and a lack of other water sources to which cattle could be moved. The uncontrolled nature of communal grazing and very heavy pressure on the range are phenomena that are likely to be beyond the reach of the village organizations existing at present to handle, unless they can receive substantial backing from outside bodies (e.g., Land Board, Conservation Committee). Such bodies should work with these existing organizations when attempting to tackle this issue in the Nokaneng area, which has overriding implications for the local economy, particularly in drought periods such as the present time.

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13. Subsequent research indicates that political disunity has been considerably diminished since 1979 (GC/LF).

14. Subsequent research found that Hereros have recently become more involved in community affairs. There are two Hereros on the VDC (GC/LF).

## ANNEX 1

Extracts from "Ngamiland Villages Report," edited by Malcolm Odell.  
Rural Sociology Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, February-March 1979.

Nokaneng

The administrative structure is hierarchical, with the chief's representative in Kgosi ward. There are five other wards--one for the Maherero, Mogadi-ngwane, Mopako, Bayei, and Mobejetsa, each with its own headman; interestingly the ward names are almost identical to those in Gomare--the only other village with a clearly defined hierarchical ward structure.

The VDC was started in 1978, and is comprised of twelve ordinary and six *ex officio* members--including head teacher, extension staff, chief, and councillor. This committee meets twice a month, and has in the past been involved in molding bricks for the school and kitchen, for Council houses, and for the clinic. The VDC built a guest house and one kitchen, using local materials and construction methods. They also built the *matimela kraal* and the *mopako kgotla*.

Plans are in the pipeline to accommodate relatives at the clinic and for a garden on the far side of the road--for which they are seeking a site. The VDC have also a mental plan for the village's future form. They are anxious that Council developments, etc., should be located on the high ground to the west, between the school and the clinic.

The PTA is active in organizing school feeding; they also assist the VDC, and are formulating a drive to boost school attendance.

Other institutions are BCW which has not been active for a long time and the 4-B Club, run by the AD which has submitted small objects such as baskets to the show in Maun. Finally, there is a women's club simply called the "BB" with activities similar to the BCW.

Gomare

Chiefly comprised of Bayei, who are located in three of the four village wards, Gomare is also made up of Masubia, Mambukushu, and Maherero, although for the most part the latter group prefer to live at their cattleposts.

The VDC is very active, with a committee of 23, including representatives from Land Board, both shop managers, ward heads, clinic heads, the school head, and other Council representatives as well as the village extension workers. This committee was started in 1968 when it molded bricks for two classrooms. Although Council was involved in the actual construction, the VDC also contributed labor to the project. In 1974/75, bricks for a further three classrooms and an administration block were molded, as well as for the village guest house, the clinic, the Land Board office, and the Council store, all of which (bar the clinic) are focused around the Kgosi *kgotla*. Last year bricks were

molded for four classrooms, which Council has built, and for four teacher's quarters, which are now under contract. They also plan to build a house and office for the VDC, as well as four additional teacher's houses.

Most of Gomare is located to the east of the main Maun-Shakawe road. The VDC is anxious that future development post office and community hall should extend across the road to the west. At present, the VDC are involved in a scheme to establish a secondary school. However, they are anxious that this school should serve a wide area, and have consequently formed secondary school committees at Seronga, Sepopa, Nxaunxau, and Nokaneng. The decision on the location of the school will be taken by these committees. Presently they have received pledges of 450 cattle for the school.

In 1978, the VDC cleared a site, 2 km to the west of Gomare, at which to stage an agricultural show. Due to poor weather this was not held. Already this year P140 have been collected to finance a show.

The VDC also attempted to bring together the village crafts people to a central location, where they are easily accessible. This was successful for only a short time, before they dispersed again.

Other organizations in the village are PTA, BCW, and 4-B Clubs. The PTA is presently involved in organizing school feeding and the purchase of pots; the PTA also pays the cook. Funds are raised from donations from parents and subscriptions as well as from beer parties, concerts, and raffles. This PTA is very conscious of the aims and constitution of their association, and their responsibility for administration, minor repairs, and such things as teaching aids.

Both BCW and YWCA are heavily involved in sewing, knitting circles, and meet approximately twice a week; there have been very occasional advisory visits from people from the headquarters of the organizations. The YWCA however, is also planning to build a market shelter in the village.

The 4-B Club is comprised of approximately 24 children, who are taught how to knit and sew, as well as how to run a garden.

#### Etsha 6

Etsha is a settlement which has grown up over the last decade. Since 1969/70 when resettlement of Angolan refugees coincided with the eradication of tsetse fly over a 30-km strip of land on the west bank of the Okavango and east of the road between Sepopa and Gomare. Etsha with a present population of approximately 5,000 (1971 population of 3,800) is not concentrated in one village but is comprised of 13 camps, reflecting the former village composition of the refugees. Camp No. 6 with its central position has developed into the main service center for the other camps. It is the only village which has pumped water, and a well managed and very strong cooperative.

The village is made up chiefly of Mambukushu and Bayei, with a very few Makoba and Mambundu; and they tend to settle in distinct ethnic concentrations

within the village. There are also some Maherero, from Nxaunxau, who spend considerable lengths of time at Etsha.

The VDC was formed in 1975, and has a committee of 10 ordinary and four *ex officio* members--the head teachers, the headman, FWE, and AD. This committee meets twice monthly. So far, their activities have been confined to the construction of three classrooms from local materials; and assistance with five teacher's quarters, built to Council methods and standards. They have also cleared a garden at the river.

Three churches, SDA, UCCSA, and ZCC, are represented in the village. The STA meet under a tree, but the other two have church buildings located to the east of the village. There is a Catholic priest living in Camp No. 4 who holds services in various places through Etsha.

ANNEX 2  
Questionnaire

Village: .....

Institutions: .....

A. Number of Members in Total: .....

B. List of Members (if less than 20; if more, list officials only):

NAME	AGE (above 50 or below)	SEX (M or F)	OCCUPATION	OFFICE HELD IF ANY	YEAR JOINED	WHAT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO
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M. What future activities/projects are being considered? .....

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N. TO BE FILLED OUT BY THE SURVEYOR (CDA):

i) What do members see as the main purpose of the institution?

ii) Are there disagreements about the purpose? If so, describe them.

iii) What do they think are the main problems facing the organization?  
(Include needs such as training, funds, materials, etc.)

iv) Does the group have strong support in the village? If not, why is this?

v) How do you think the group could increase its support?

vi) Other comments you wish to make on the group (people involved, level of dedication, problems, ability to handle projects, etc.).

## ANNEX 3

## Data Summary Sheets: Nokaneng, Gomare

COMMITTEE	FORMED	NO. MEMBERS	NO. WOMEN	MEETINGS 1980/81	RECORDS <sup>a</sup>	CASH (P)	MEMBERS OTHER ORG.	PROJECTS <sup>b</sup>
Gomare								
VDC	1971	10	6	8/15	MB,CB	179	7	Market OG; butchery C; center, store PL
VHC	1980	10	7	6/5	MB,CB	2	1	Pits, latrines, meat tree OG
PTA	1975	15	5	6/5	MB,CB	?	3	Garden, store- room PL
Burial Society	1981	8	2	0/1	CB,REG	76	2	Funds for buri- als OG; fund
Consumer Co-op	1979	10	0	5/5	MB,CB,REG	1200	3	Sorghum mill, storeroom, PL
YWCA	1976	11	11	3/3	MB,CB,REG	30	1	Sewing, knit- ting OG
BCW	1976	11	11	4/4	MB,CB,REG	11	1	Sewing, knit- ting OG
OPSS Sub- committee	1981	12	4	0/5	MB	?	4	Brickmaking, cattle sales OG
Boy Scouts	1981	2 leaders (68 members)	1	2/0	None	0	0	First aid, tracking OG; sewing, camps PL

<sup>a</sup> CB = cashbook; MB = minutebook; C = constitution; BL = bylaws.

<sup>b</sup> C = complete; OG = ongoing; PL = planned.

(continued)

[Data Summary Sheets cont.]

COMMITTEE	FORMED	NO. MEMBERS	NO. WOMEN	MEETINGS 1980/81	RECORDS <sup>a</sup>	CASH (P)	MEMBERS OTHER ORG.	PROJECTS <sup>b</sup>	
Show Committee	1981	6	1	0/1	MB,CB	8	3	Showground and stalls PL Advisory and liaison OG Sewing, carpentry OG; citrus, poultry, garden, bees PL	
VET	1981	8	2	0/10	MB	0	0		
4-B Club	not known	6 (140 members)	3	6/2	MB,CB	28	0		
Totals/percent		109	49%				20%		
Regional Health Comm. (regional)	1981	8	3	0/1	none	24	1	Patients' waiting room PL Fund-raising OG;	
OPSS Board	1980	16	1	4/4	CB	6,700	4	Teachers quarter's PL	
Nokaneng									
VDC	1978	7	3	28/19	MB,CB,C	349	2	Teacher's houses C; school kitchen C; butchery OG; school fence	
Cooperative	1980	officials ? members 408	?	10/3	MB,BL	?	?	Opened shop C; new shop, water tank PL	

<sup>a</sup> CB = cashbook; MB = minutebook; C = constitution; BL = bylaws.

<sup>b</sup> C = complete; OG = ongoing; PL = planned.

(continued)

[Data Summary Sheets cont.]

COMMITTEE	FORMED	NO. MEMBERS	NO. WOMEN	MEETINGS 1980/81	RECORDS <sup>a</sup>	CASH (P)	MEMBERS OTHER ORG.	PROJECTS <sup>b</sup>
VHC	1974	8	1	?	none	?	2	Rubbish pits,
Farmers Comm.	1980	9	4	?	none	?	2	butchery OG
VET	1980	7	1	?/12	MB	0	2	Garden PL
							2	Advisory
PTA	1977	7	2	9/4	MB, CB, C	119	1	Garden, roofing
								for teacher's
OPSS Comm.	1978	9	2	?	CB		3	quarters OG
								Collection of
4-B Club	1976	officials 7 members 89	6	3/2	MB, CB, C	73	3	cattle & thatch- ing grass OG
								Making clothes,
BCW	1976	36	all	?/0	?	19		wood work,
								crafts, table-
BB (UCCSA)	1975	28	?	52/46	MB, CB	?	?	cloths OG; edu-
								cational tour PL
Doreas (SDA)	1980	6	6	5/0	BL	2	1	None?
UCCSAS Fellowship	1979	74	?	51/45	MB, CB	67	?	Reroofing church
								and Bishop's
								house OG; new
								church PL
								Help to desti-
								tutes OG; home
								economics PL
								Bought church
								benches
Totals/percent			37%				24%	

<sup>a</sup> CB = cashbook; MB = minutebook; C = constitution; BL = bylaws.

<sup>b</sup> C = complete; OG = ongoing; PL = planned.

ANNEX 4  
CFDA Populations: 1981 Census, Preliminary Results

ENUMERATION AREA	VILLAGE	NUMBER COUNTED
53	Habu/Khubaga	745
54	Nokaneng	649
55	Danega/Pampiri	549
56	Xaweche/Xhabemoxha	436
57	Tubu	724
58	Tlama	866
59	Thale/Etsha 1	533
60-61	Gomare	1,798
62	Etsha 6	985
63	Etsha 7 + 2	699
64	Etsha 8 + 9 + 10	709
65	Etsha 11 + 12 + Xaxana	613
66	Etsha 13	960
86	Etsha 3 + 5	657

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