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PLANNING FOR LOCAL INSTITUTIONS DEVELOPMENT
IN THE CFDA_s OF BOTSWANA

Preliminary Discussion Paper and Report

by

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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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John W. Bruce
Africa Program Coordinator

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. Gofamodimo, D. Keebine, O. Mobusa, W. Raditloaneng, 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 CFDAs 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.

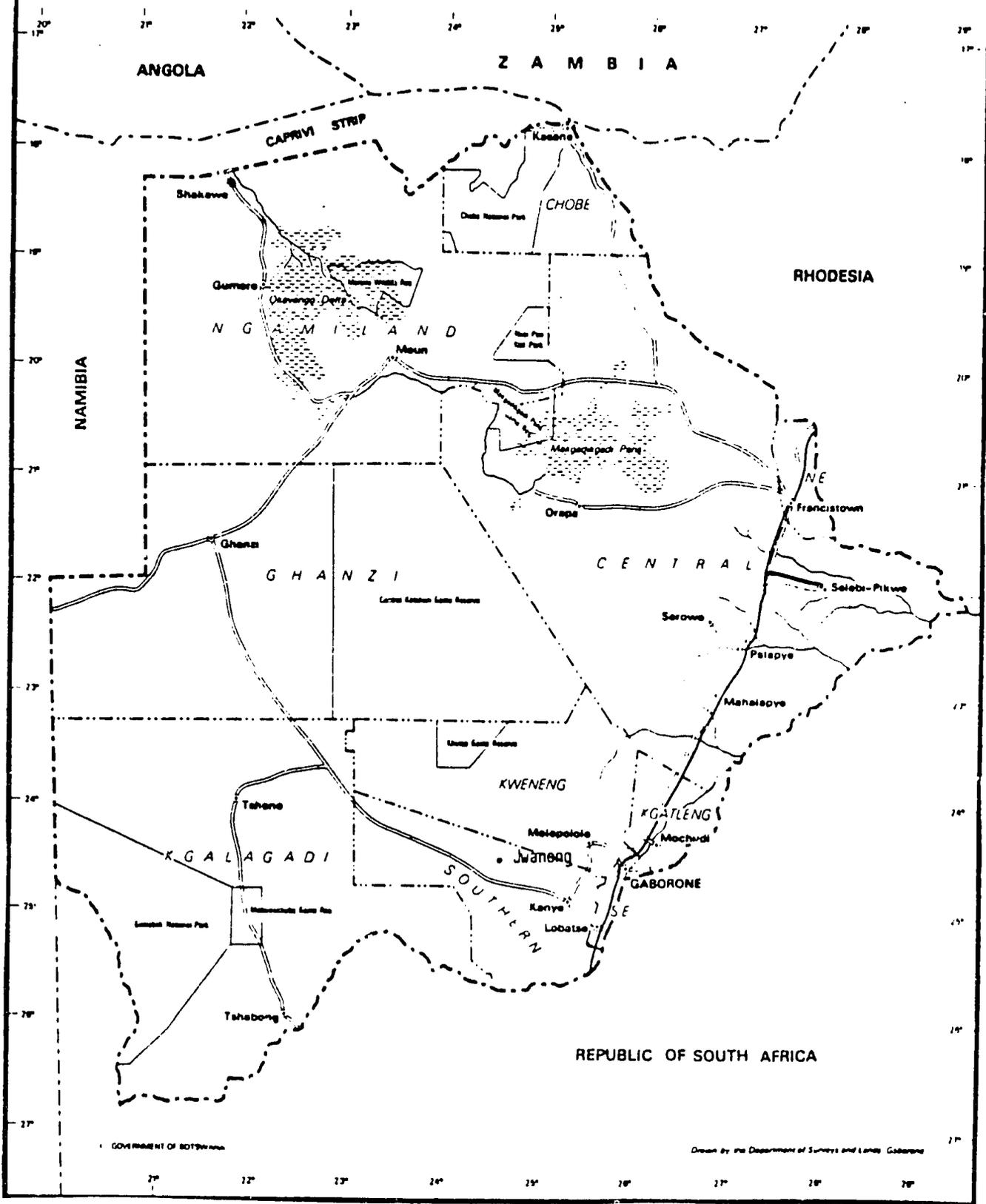
C. Brown, Issues in Communal Resource Management.

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

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



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



GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA

Drawn by the Department of Surveys and Lands, Gaborone

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Executive Summary

1. The authority of headmen is declining in many villages due to scattering population, changes in government structure, a slowly dying ward system, and growing competition for authority from other, newer areas.
2. The kgotla is still able to perform its judicial functions, but it is growing less effective as a means of communicating decisions and announcements to villagers. The effectiveness of the kgotla is most often directly related to the effectiveness of the headman. The kgotla cannot be used as a planning or decision-making unit because of its diffuseness and lack of continuity.
3. The VDCs make an effort to function in most villages. Lack of experience, lack of adequate training, and lack of extension support make it difficult for some VDCs to be effective. VDCs have succeeded in undertaking complex projects and, with support, this can be expected to continue. The success of the VDC, however, seems largely dependent on the quality of its leadership.
4. Village extension teams exist in only one of the villages we have surveyed. This is due in part to the newness of the idea, but it is also due to competition between extension agents, the large size of their territories, and a lack of understanding about their own jobs.
5. Village extension agents (ADs, ACDOs, FWEs, and Head Teachers) are not very effective as agents of change. Large territories and lack of transportation reduce effectiveness. Inadequate training and supervision often leave the extension worker unable to solve village problems or to motivate action. As a result, many agents were largely idle in the villages we surveyed. Differences in education between villagers and extension officers are found to deter communication in some cases.
6. Other village organizations can be divided into those which have been formed by extension workers or are part of national programs and those which represent organizational responses to locally felt needs. The latter organizations are the most long-lasting and successful.
7. Programs requiring the cooperation of local people must focus on projects perceived as useful, if not essential, by the local community.
8. Although seminars and handbooks are useful, more on-the-job training of committee members and ongoing support of local organizational activities are needed.
9. Major differences in institutional strength seem to cluster on a district or subdistrict basis. Thus much institutional planning can be done on this basis rather than on a village-by-village basis.
10. Village institutions need external support to counteract their declining position if community-based programming is to be part of the CFDA.

11. Although the current extension effort has had only minimal effect, support for local institutions must come through some kind of extension program.
12. There is a need for a program which:
 - a) increases and regularizes contacts between villagers and extension personnel,
 - b) recognizes the need for dialogue as a model for action,
 - c) recognizes the need to learn and understand village dynamics before work can begin,
 - d) recognizes the need for a flexible approach, and
 - e) provides organizational support only until organizations can act effectively on their own.
13. The lack of content in the CFDA program is a problem that might be solved by focusing on priorities set by local communities. These efforts would be supported by members of a redefined community-based extension service.
14. This redefinition of the extension program to implement this approach would require either:
 - a) adding new community development-oriented facilitators to existing staff in the CFDA's, or
 - b) retraining existing personnel as community development-oriented facilitators, or
 - c) replacing existing personnel with community development-oriented facilitators.
15. Training programs need to be organized for general rather than highly technical facilitators and would allow the worker to research his/her assigned community in order to understand local problems and to identify local leaders. To help local people organize, the facilitator would be trained to work with them to solve the problems they identify, to help them find resources to solve these problems, and to act as a go-between, facilitating a dialogue between villagers and district-level resource personnel.
16. Generalist training which would eliminate the differences between the AD and ACDO positions would make it possible to put permanent extension officers in more villages.
17. The job of the facilitator would be easier and the quality of local government improved if the kgotla and the VDC worked together more closely. One step toward achieving this cooperation would be to make the headman an official member of the VDC.

18. More emphasis should be placed on Batswana methods of organization and control rather than on the more Westernized methods stressed in the VDC Handbook.
19. The VDC Handbook needs to provide more information on how to involve villagers in development activities.
20. A better means of handling and safeguarding project money must be devised. Most important, the village contribution must be insured to minimize risk and to encourage continued participation in village-level development programs.
21. The mobility of extension personnel must be increased to permit greater opportunity to work with small groups at the lands.
22. Financing local projects should be simplified and handled at the district level to reduce the confusion and intimidation caused by the current procedures and to reduce the amount of time required to process funds.
23. Field-level supervisors need retraining commensurate with this new community-development orientation, and their field tours increased and regularized to enable them to consult with and support field staff.

1. Introduction

The report and recommendations which follow are the outcome of the first phase of a research program undertaken by the Applied Research Unit (ARU) of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (MLGL) to support the design of a communal areas development policy and to designate Communal First Development Areas (CFDAs). The purpose of this research program is to examine local people's participation in planning and development through the study of local institutional and administrative structures in various communal area villages.

The first phase of this research program consisted of a "village inventory" of local institutions and organizations, a study of the institutions for the local administration of justice and the resolution of resource allocation disputes, and an exploration of the lines of communication between local people and the higher levels of government in three districts. This report presents an overview of the results of this first phase of research. A more detailed analysis of work specifically done for each district, as well as recommendations for district-level programming, are presented in separate district reports.

This phase of institutional research was undertaken in Southern and Kgatleng Districts between 18 May and 31 July 1981. The Southern District research site was the CFDA, a corridor which runs along the northern tip of the Barolong Farms from Pitsane to west of Metlojane, then south along the road through the southern Ngwaketse area from Mokgomane to Phitsane-Molopo. The area includes the fast-growing village of Pitsane which is located on a rail line, as well as small scattered villages with land and cattleposts nearby. The road from Lobatse to Mafeking (currently being paved) passes through the edge of the CFDA.

Research in Southern District's CFDA was undertaken by five University of Botswana students living full-time in five villages for the research period. The students were supervised by an ARU researcher from the University of Wisconsin, Andrew Rude. The second team was involved in research in three major areas of Kgatleng. Each area was being considered for designation as a CFDA at the time. A University of Botswana student (supervised by an ARU researcher from Cornell University, Chris Brown) resided in each of the four villages.

Generally, supervisors met with students on a weekly basis to discuss substantive issues. With the supervisor's assistance, students drew up a weekly work plan of people to be interviewed. Students used data forms and lists of prepared questions during interviews. In order to probe more deeply into the structure of certain institutions, responses to the interviews were used to modify these data forms and questions. Meetings were held as often as possible to iron out difficulties. In addition, discussions were continuously held between ARU staff members and district representatives to ensure that the data being sought met district planning needs.¹

1. Cf. MLGL/ARU, "Interim Report to CFDA Working Group on Research Programme on the Role of Local Institutions in Communal Area Development," Mimeo., 10 July 1981.

The report also draws on an ongoing research project on fencing groups in Central District carried out under the supervision of Freddie Zufferey (Rural Sociology Unit/Ministry of Agriculture, Serowe), supported in part by the ARU. This support was given in the form of consultation and the secondment of two UCB students, assistant researchers to the area. Complementing a repeated series of seasonal agricultural surveys in villages with and without drift fences, the student researchers used inventories to identify institutional features that characterized those villages constructing drift fences, and the institutional processes and strains derived from this activity. This report uses an analysis of the inventories from only two of those communities. Further results of Zufferey's study and his preliminary analysis may be found in Zufferey (1981).

The analysis which follows is based on a series of reports and data sheets completed by UCB student research assistants as well as on taped and untaped interviews with them. In addition, frequent meetings were held with local leaders. The insights of the three field supervisors, as well as Dr. Turner of the ARU, have added substantially in helping to overcome my inexperience. Any errors present in this analysis, however, are strictly my own.

I hope that my position as the most mobile researcher in this study has enabled me to provide an overview of some of the institutional processes at work in Botswana. (In addition to working with research in Southern, Central, and Kgatleng Districts, I was able to meet and discuss problems with district officials in Ngamiland, Ghanzi, Chobe, and Northeast Districts.) If the village-level institutions research can be likened to a farmer working on his own individual plot, this paper should be seen from the point of view of a passenger in an airplane looking at the patchwork of fields below, commenting on how they fit together.

What follows is a discussion of the present state of selected local institutions in rural Botswana derived from field survey data and other sources, a discussion of the philosophy of Communal First Development Areas, and some tentative recommendations.

The village names have been deleted from this report as it was our purpose to find out the problems encountered by local village institutions and their leaders and not to report on or evaluate the performance of specific individuals. This is for their protection and to thank the villagers for their frankness and kind help in undertaking this research.

2. Traditional Village Institutions

2.1 The Headman and the Ward System

In recent years the role of the village headman has changed greatly but not uniformly throughout Botswana. The status and power of individual headmen differ due to a variety of historical factors, local political pressures, and differences in talent and temperament. However, even in villages where the headman has only minimal authority, he is a person who is listened to and respected by virtue of his rank.

The headman is traditionally a person of "very wide authority. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and adjudicates over disputes between any of his people" (Schapera, cited in Kooijman 1978:53).

Although the headmanship is still often a hereditary position, there are several examples in the research where the government appointed headmen or other cases where the accepted "royal" line has been sidestepped. There is no reason to believe that this is entirely a recent phenomenon since there are always ways for certain remarkable individuals to achieve power. Recently, however, there are signs that the headmanship has come under increased pressure and under increasing jeopardy.

Kooijman presents this as a vicious circle of ever-decreasing power. She notes that the village headmen traditionally used the village as the integrative basis of their power. Thus headmen forced villagers to return to the villages from the lands each year. Chief Bathoen II commented:

I have found the system of people living in big villages advantageous in all respects for the sake of administration of the people themselves. From my own experience, people who leave the main village and live at their lands or cattleposts soon become lawless, they have no pride of house and lose interest in tribal activities and political matters (Schapera in Kooijman 1978:647).

As the population in these villages increased, Kooijman points out, the lands nearest the village started to lose their fertility. People, forced to move farther away from the village to obtain fertile, arable land, became scattered, thus making it more difficult for the headman to call them back. The villagers, Kooijman argues, found themselves freed from the responsibilities of forced labor and other duties. They were therefore not likely to return to the village, further weakening the chief's ability to call on villagers to do communal work (ibid.:47-48 et passim).

The trend toward a more scattered population has been further exacerbated by labor migration, which, as Schapera pointed out as far back as 1939, means "that many men are seldom at home to attend to the routine tasks in which they formerly engaged and that a greater burden has been thrown upon those remaining behind" (Schapera 1939:132). This left a larger burden of labor to those who remained behind, making escape to the lands even more desirable and in the long run further weakening the headman's position to organize "self-help" labor at the village level.

The ward system has also been affected by this type of change. The ward system linked closely related families living close together through the authority of a ward headman. This local leader represented the power of the paramount chief at a more personal level than the village headman and represented the first level for adjudicating disputes as well as being the first level of organization for communal activity. In all the areas covered by this first round of local institutions research except Ngwaketse south, the ward system has virtually disappeared.

The reasons for this disappearance are several. The problems of population scattering and labor migration are important since potential hereditary

ward heads are themselves among the migrant population and no one is selected to take their place. Like other villagers, ward heads move to the lands to avoid irksome tasks (Kooijman 1978:48).

The government has made headmen part of the administration and they are often paid. Lower-level ward heads not unnaturally want to be paid to do their jobs as well, although their jobs have become less necessary. It is now possible, for example, to bypass the ward head's power to administer justice. Reporting a crime to the police brings it directly to the headman's *kgotla*; thus the ward heads lose authority. Without the ward heads, however, the local headman loses the ability to keep track of many of the problems within his village.

Some headmen have given up many of their responsibilities and spend the bulk of their time taking care of other business, giving only occasional attention to their official duties. Of nine headmen in the Kgatleng and Southern District samples, six are well off and have major financial interests outside their own duties: one is a government-paid carpenter and is seldom in the village, one is not well off but devotes little time to the headmanship, and one has an unknown financial position but is virtually a full-time headman.

Many of the resources which a headman once administered for the village or used for maintaining his own status within the traditional political system (such as lending of *mafisa*² cattle to subjects) are now treated as the headman's own private property. This has led to confusion between what should to be a community resource and what is the personal property of the chief. Such confusion over property rights has led to several cases in which VDC funds or other resources have apparently been expropriated by local headmen for their own use. As a result local VDCs have been unable to raise funds for projects because villagers feel resources will not be used for the designated public purposes. In some places, village headmen are liabilities who abuse their powers while having lost their ability to organize local communal efforts.

Still the headmen and the *kgotla* do provide the most consistently available means of bringing villagers together. According to the RSU study of the *kgotla*, "More people understand *kgotla* proceedings and voice their aspirations, grievances, and support for the government of the day than through all other forms put together" (RSU/MOA 1981:vii). Although there are many imperfections in this system, it must be taken into account in planning.

Profiles of all headmen in the study areas can be found in table 1.

2. *Mafisa* is a system under which one person manages livestock belonging to another, thereby obtaining benefits such as draft power, milk, or cattle.

TABLE 1
Profiles of Headmen

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>NATURE OF HEADMANSHIP</u>	<u>YEARS IN OFFICE</u>	<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>PERSONAL STATUS*</u>	<u>AUTHORITY*</u>
Kgatlang:						
Village A	42	Hereditary	9	B.A.C.	M	H
Village B	55-60	Appointed	13	Old Std. VII	L	M
Village C	60+	Appointed	-	-	M	M
Village D	35	Hereditary	5	Std. II	L	L
Barolong:						
Village E	56	Hereditary	-	Old Std. IV	M	L
Village F	70	Hereditary	20	None	M	L
Village G	70	Hereditary	-	None	H	L
Barolong Ward Head	50	Appointed	5	Old Std. IV+	H	H
Ngwaketse South:						
Village I	50+	Hereditary	25	unknown: literate	M	L
Village J	45+	Elected by elders	7	Std. III		

* To be taken as a vague indicator; derived from subjective impressions and student reports: L = low; M = average; H = high.

2.1.1 The Headmen in Kgatleng District

The current situation in Kgatleng is most typical of Kooijman's argument. There are traditional headmen in only Villages A and D; the other two villages have appointed headmen. The persons who would have been hereditary headmen still reside in their villages: one is awaiting appointment by the paramount chief; the other is too old to serve as headmen. Both, however, provide a potential organizing point for factions opposing those in office.

Of the two traditional headmen, that of Village A is the son of an illustrious father. Considered fairly active at VDC meetings and influential enough to override certain decisions of the VDC or VET, he still has difficulty in matching his father's reputation. Although seldom present on a day-to-day basis, he has been able to muster enough support to undertake an impressive building program with his village in recent years, including a Youth Center and a dip tank.

The headman's ability to call together effective labor groups with apparent ease is facilitated by the recent revival of the regimental system³ by Kgosi Linchwe II, the paramount chief of the Bakgatla. The regimental system was responsible for the building of the Mochudi airport and agricultural grounds in the 1930s. At one point it was possible for the paramount chief to send members of regiments abroad to earn money for needed projects. Today, the regiments have been called up to work on a new kgotla shelter in Mochudi. Apparently, the regiments in Kgatleng can be called up for village labor as well and although wards are sometimes used as the basis for organizing contributions of thatch or other objects for community projects, the regiments are the most commonly used basis for organizing labor. Village A is a model for the pattern of increased residence in the lands. The headman and the VDC, for example, must increasingly take their business out to the lands and hold "mini-kgotlas" to pass on news or to handle village problems. Village kgotla meetings have low attendance except in the months when people return from the lands. However, if fields are located farther from the village each year fewer people may be expected to return regularly.

Although a hereditary leader, the headman of Village D is not a particularly forceful individual. The villagers respect his position without necessarily showing him much personal respect. Younger than most and nearly illiterate, he is largely without followers and serves a virtually empty community. Thus, he finds it difficult to be an effective organizer.

The ward system of Village D has decayed to the point that it is no longer the basis of residence. Whereas once they built only within the

3. "Traditionally all adult Batswana, men and women, belonged to an age-set, or regiment. A new regiment of youths in their late teens or early twenties would be initiated approximately every five years, at the paramount chief's discretion. Regiments were available for any community task assigned by the paramount chief. The regiments are disappearing in many parts of Botswana, though among the Bakgelle they remain relatively strong" (Brown 1982:106).

geographic confines of their ward, people now build houses anywhere they like in the village. It is said that this too makes effective organization difficult.

Village D is being drained by migration. It has become a "bedroom community" in recent years since improved transportation makes it possible for many to travel daily to South Africa to work, returning to the village each night. Still others, including some of the village's once most active members, have left permanently for Gaborone or South Africa.⁴

The Village B headman was assigned by the paramount chief because the rightful headman was too young to serve at the time of his father's death. A kinsman of the paramount chief and not from the village, the assigned headman is considered a foreigner and the villagers show him little respect, claiming that the true headman has now come of age and should be confirmed.

Because he is a "foreigner," the headman of Village B rarely participates in village activities and finds it difficult to call together a *kgotla*. On the other hand, he is considered the paramount chief's representative in the area and consequently represents the highest traditional level of local justice. Wards and regiments are both intact in Village B.

The current headman in Village C is not hereditary. He assumed the post on the retirement of the traditional headman, but it is not clear how he obtained the position. Of all the headmen in this study, this man seemed to spend the most time in the pursuit of his official duties. He was nearly always available in the tribal office and was said to attend meetings regularly. On the other hand, he seemed poorly informed about village organizations, which may be an indication that he is somewhat outside the stream of social life. Wards appeared little used in Village C.

2.1.2 Headmen in the Barolong Farms

The Barolong was originally set up as a territory of 41 discrete land areas or "farms," each with its own headman. In 1976, it was transformed into a subdistrict made up of five wards, each with its own appointed headman.⁵ In many locations in the Barolong, there is a certain degree of competition between the traditional headman and the newly appointed ward heads.

The three Barolong villages are part of the constituency of a single ward head,⁶ a man who has held office since 1976, when the local government structure was changed. The ward head is about 50, appointed and

4. It should be noted that many Bakgatla live in the RSA, thus many Botswana Bakgatla have ready-made ties there.

5. Cf. Comaroff 1977.

6. The term "ward" has a different meaning in the context of the Barolong where it is considered a unit higher than the village rather than a subunit.

salaried. He is considered to have a less than average standard of living for the Barolong, cycling 15 km daily from his home to his place of work.

The traditional headmen still maintain varying degrees of control and varying degrees of rivalry with the ward headman. The traditional headman of Village E, for example, works as a government carpenter and is therefore absent from his village all but a few days each month. He has therefore appointed another man to act in his place, but both actually work in support of the ward headman in Good Hope. At any rate, the population of Village E is so small that little institutional activity is found there. The support for the ward headman, therefore, may exist largely by default.

Village F has a strong elderly hereditary headman who is trying to maintain his traditional authority in spite of the reorganization of the headmanship in the Barolong. His followers, who live on the affluent eastern side of the village, find themselves opposed to those living on the western side. The west-siders, the more affluent group, in large part, support the ward chief and work with him through the local VDC. The traditional chief and his followers do not take part in village-level development activities, so all development projects are under the auspices of the west-siders and built on the west side of this village.

Similarly, the 70-year-old traditional headman of Village G, although no longer actively opposed to the ward headman, remains fairly bitter about the new system, and generally does not participate in ward-level political matters. As traditional headman, he is consulted by villagers over purely local concerns, but legal matters are referred to the ward headman. In this village, too, the ward headman functions largely through the VDC.

2.1.3 Headmen in Ngwaketse South

In Ngwaketse South, the headmanship and the ward system are largely intact in the villages we studied.

Village I, for example, has a headman who was elected after the former headman became the chief's representative in another village. An unpaid headman, he lives outside of the village. Because he is unpaid, the people sympathize with him when he doesn't do his job, for one must think of his own living first. He is considered an effective leader by villagers, and his advice is sought by all groups. The kgotla seldom meets but has a good attendance when it does. The ward structure of Village I functions actively with four centralized wards. It was the ward elders who elected the village headman, so the two levels interact quite well.

Village H is the largest village studied in Southern District. It has an effective ward system with active headmen in each ward, with some of the wards being made up of Bangwaketse, while the others are Barolong. The Barolong dominate the kgotla even though the area is within the Bangwaketse tribal territory.

The hereditary headman of Village H assumed the role in 1956 after the death of his father. He has little administrative function in the village,

and is said to lack the sternness which some have come to expect in a headman. He does spend a great deal of time making day-to-day rounds visiting people in the village, which is an essential trait in good local political organization. He is most effective in hearing cases. A judicial *kgotla* is held nearly twice a week and, although attendance is generally low (except when an interesting case is at hand), the meetings continue to be held and the headman strongly upholds his role as protector of law and order. The *kgotla* as a forum is nearly absent from the village and meetings are poorly attended.

2.2 The Headman and the Kgotla

It is difficult to speak of the headman without mentioning the *kgotla*, because the ability of the *kgotla* to function often appears tied to the personal qualities of the headman. Thus, where there is a strong, dedicated headman in touch with his community, there is a strong *kgotla*. Where the headman is weak, uninterested, or in conflict with members of his community, the *kgotla* is moribund. In cases where an active community exists in spite of a poor headman or an active opposition to the headman is present, other organizations must take over some of the *kgotla*'s functions.

In all villages studied, the judicial functions of the *kgotla* have remained fairly strong, even where the headman is essentially out of tune with his community. The nonhereditary headmen, for example, are still able to function quite well as judicial officers. For many headmen, this judicial function is often the only responsibility which still continues to hold their interest, with the headman turning up only when there are cases. The final insult to an ineffective headman is to say that he is no longer trustworthy even in the dispensing of justice.

The importance of the judicial function to the headmanship and the *kgotla* is especially demonstrated in the Barolong, where these judicial powers have been effectively shifted from the 41 village headmen to the five ward headman. In these three villages the VDC has definitely taken on the strongest role as a local institution at the expense of the *kgotla* and the village headman.

Although nobody will deny the importance of the *kgotla* as a judicial institution, one still has to question whether the *kgotla* is an effective institution for development. Part of this question can be answered by looking at participation in the *kgotla*.

With few exceptions, attendance at *kgotla* meetings was observed to be low. This observation could be partially explained by the fact that surveys were made during the harvest season, when village population is generally at its lowest point of the year. On the other hand, Kooijman and others have pointed out that permanent migration to the lands is growing increasingly common so that: "The village is visited for short periods at a time in order to see relatives, attend courtcases, celebrations, etc. but no longer do they live in the village for several months a year" (Kooijman 1978:84). There are, therefore, a decreasing number of people present in the village at any time of the year so the chances of holding a well-attended *kgotla*

meeting have greatly diminished. Long-term labor migration⁷ even further decreases the number of potential kgotla participants. The biggest problem in the kgotla is to find a quorum.

Within the population that remains in the village to attend the kgotla, there is variable interest from meeting to meeting. Researchers noted that kgotla attendance is nearly always poor except when a high-level government official (MP or minister) is scheduled to come. In some cases, headmen were reluctant to call meetings (for example, to announce the presence of our researchers) because they knew they could not get enough people together at the kgotla to avoid embarrassment.

Kuper (1970:83) points out that in Kgalagadi a few citizens tend to dominate even the best attended kgotlas. We also found this to be the case. In some areas, women continue to be nonparticipants although they do attend kgotla meetings. In other areas, especially areas where there are large numbers of labor migrants, women dominate the kgotla.

After hearing disputes, the second most important function of the kgotla is to provide information. In each of the survey villages, the kgotla has a major part in introducing new programs and new people and explaining programs already underway. That few people seem to get much information from kgotlas remains disturbing. Although there was no systematic surveying of villagers to see what they were able to learn from kgotlas,⁸ questions about ALDEP and other national programs showed that few knew about them even in cases when they had been discussed in the kgotla. There are several important reasons for this:

- 1) the low attendance at kgotla meetings;
- 2) the length of kgotla meetings results in people wandering in and out, missing crucial sections of the meetings;
- 3) the complexity of government programs themselves make them difficult to present to large gatherings; and
- 4) communicators are often unable to make coherent systematic presentations at kgotlas because they do not comprehend the complex programs or sufficiently prepare their presentations.

Low attendance can be attributed to several factors: village rivalries, lack of respect for the headman, and low village population at any given time. The lack of a systematic method for announcing kgotla meetings in many villages makes meetings difficult to organize. Village leaders often use school children to bring home information and to announce upcoming

7. Kooijman puts the total migration out of Bokaa in 1972, for example, at about 47.7% of the total population (ibid.:201).

8. Due to the national Census, the Central Statistics Office prohibited the use of questionnaires during this research--such a survey ought to be done.

kgotla meetings, but this procedure appears highly ineffective.⁹ Another problem is that speakers do not show up when they are supposed to and meetings are often postponed repeatedly to the point that even those who are interested in attending finally lose patience.

The kgotla may be the best attended, most common, and most understood institution in Botswana, but its ability to carry out judicial and communications functions does not necessarily mean it can carry out rural development planning, extension, or program implementation functions. In fact, the evidence points to the opposite conclusion. The judicial function of the kgotla seems intact, the communications function of the kgotla needs additional planning and support, but all planning, extension and implementation features in local level development work will have to be located elsewhere because of the diffuse, irregular, and unpredictable nature of the kgotla.

The kgotla is a place where the individual can voice grievances. It is a place where problems between individuals can be settled. But voicing grievances and settling problems, as important as they are, do not make the kgotla an institution for planning and fostering development projects. The participatory nature of the kgotla, as important as that is, should not be confused with the need for a responsible, ongoing body that undertakes less transitory activities.

3. The Village Development Committee

The Village Development Committee (VDC), unlike the kgotla or the headmanship, is a new, essentially alien system grafted onto Botswana society. First organized in 1965, the VDC concept was spread through Botswana over the years by village-level extension officers. The newest VDC in the sample was organized as late as 1979.

In 1968, the VDC Handbook was written with ministerial support (RSU 1981:13). It was revised in 1973. The essential features of the VDC, taken from this Handbook (1973:5-7), are:

1. The VDC is a committee set up by a village to help it develop.
2. Members are elected at a kgotla meeting every two years.
3. The VDC is not controlled by any political party.
4. Ex officio members include the headman, the councillor, and the ACDO. Other public officers may be involved but may not dominate the VDC.
5. There should be no more than ten members.

9. One fieldworker said that in his village they ring a bell the night before a meeting is to be held. This appears to have been more successful than the method outlined in the text above.

TABLE 2
Status of VDCs in Survey Villages

VILLAGE	ESTAB- LISHED	LAST ELECTION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS			DEGREE OF FUNC- TIONING (MEETINGS, CURRENT ACTIVITY)*	EFFECTIVE- NESS OVER TIME/TOTAL*
			Female	Male	Total		
Kgatlang:							
Village A	1967	1977	6(60%)	4(40%)	10(100%)	VH	H
Village B	1967	1979	5(56%)	4(44%)	9(100%)	L	M
Village C	1969	1978	2(25%)	6(75%)	8(100%)	M	M
Village D	1969	--	9(75%)	3(25%)	12(100%)	VL (no meeting since 1980)	M
Barolong:							
Village E	1979	1979	5(45%)	6(55%)	11(100%)	L	VL
Village F	1965	--	1(20%)	4(80%)	5(100%)	VH	VH
Village G	1968	--	7(64%)	4(36%)	11(100%)	L	L
Ngwaketse South:							
Village H	late 1960s	1979	2(50%)	2(50%)	4(100%)	M	L
Village I	1969	--	7(47%)	8(53%)	15(100%)	M	L
TOTAL			44(52%)	41(48%)	85(100%)		

* Ratings based on a subjective evaluation of the history of activities, number of activities, and attendance at meetings: VH = very high; H = high; M = average; L = low; VL = very low.

Each of the villages studied has a VDC on paper. Not all of these VDCs have functioned equally well. Not all are functioning now. Not all function according to the rules. Table 2 presents a comparison of the VDCs functioning in the survey area.

There are several reasons for differences in VDC performance:

1. Not all VDCs are clear as to exactly what it is they should be doing. It must be reiterated that the VDC is a fairly new organization and one which works in a way not familiar to those who have been called upon to serve on it. The VDC of Village E, for example; started in 1979, it is foundering and still looking for a place to start. Elections were undertaken with the help of the ACDO, but the village has received little support from him ever since. Village G also has had no direction since 1968 and has done little.
2. Election procedures are erratic. The VDC Handbook suggests elections every two years, but few VDCs have conformed to this. In addition, too often people are selected to the VDC for negative reasons. For example, in one village only those without the power to resist election were selected for the committee. In another case, former critics were forced into office through elections engineered by those going out of office who had been criticized.
3. Those who are elected often have no planning experience nor any experience in traditional forms of office. Many who find themselves in a VDC know little about what to do and thus let traditional politicians, such as the village headman or public servants, take the major role in running it.
4. Projects are too often selected literally from the examples given by ACDO staff without considering how appropriate they are for the village. This is often the result of inexperience among the VDC members. In many cases, it is difficult for VDCs to get adequate advice, which indicates a failure in extension delivery.
5. There are difficulties encountered in handling money. More care must be taken to ensure that VDCs can safely keep the money collected. The study encountered two cases where VDC funds had disappeared. Villagers in both cases became reluctant to contribute money to community projects for fear the money would again disappear.
6. The VDC Handbook and the methods encountered in the study of VDC operations show a distinct western bias. It should be possible to operate these organizations in a way more familiar to those using them. This calls for more study into methods Batswana use in organizing cooperative activities (such as in the study of fencing groups in Central District)¹⁰ and in organizations created for the villagers' own purposes (cf. Burial Societies below).

10. Cf. Zufferey 1981.

7. There is little continuity or training of VDC members. Too often a good VDC founders when its own highly active members leave or die. New members, entering without a sense of what to do, let the organization falter. For example, the VDC of Village A, which was founded in 1967 as one of the pilot project VDCs, was supported by the headman and a powerful Community Development Officer. VDC activity sharply declined in 1973, the year after the headman's death.
8. The problem of paying VDC members is still an issue, remaining the strongest in villages that were once involved in "Food for Work" programs. The reaction of members to lack of pay varies, but hardly encourages active participation of poorer members of the community in the VDC.
9. The problem of migration to the lands, to cities, and to South Africa affects the functioning of the VDC in the same way it affects other institutions. Participation in the VDC is declining, particularly in the agricultural season when the recommended monthly or twice monthly meetings are hardly ever held.

In spite of these difficulties, of the nine village VDCs studied, five were still quite active, one is struggling, and three are inactive. The histories of the individual VDCs show that five have been active since their formation. They have undertaken complex programs involving serious financing and much cooperative interaction and village labor organization. Three VDCs have been moderately active, undertaking simpler projects involving little or no financing or single projects aimed at solving particular problems. The VDC of Village E has existed in name only and has accomplished nothing.

This record is fairly good for local organizations and one which indicates that the VDC could in fact accomplish quite a bit more. Given the goals of the CFDA program to increase production by undertaking local projects, the VDC is the only village-level organization that could coordinate large-scale local projects. Thus VDCs must be considered as the cornerstone for such programs.

3.1 VDC Subcommittees

Subcommittees of the VDC are charged with working out plans for specific projects or administering ongoing village projects such as distributing IFP food or destitute relief. In the fourteen villages under consideration, only eight subcommittees were organized.¹¹

Table 3 shows that there were VDC subcommittees in only Central and Kgatleng Districts. The membership of these subcommittees was largely women (78 percent), around the age of 40, and generally active. Their projects tend to be small scale and involve little financial risk. Two subcommittees are currently totally inactive.

11. These subcommittees are found in only five out of the fourteen villages. Three villages had two subcommittees each.

TABLE 3
Village Organizations

<u>VILLAGE</u>	<u>VDC SUB-COMMITTEES</u>	<u>FARMERS ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>FINANCIAL* ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Kgatleng:						
Village B	2	0	3	2	1	8
Village C	1	1	3	3	1	9
Village A	2	2	1	2	0	7
Village D	0	1**	0	0	0	3**
Village L	1	1**	1	0	0	3**
Village M	0	1	1	0	0	2
Village N	0	1	0	0	0	1
Southern:						
Village F	0	2	2	0	0	4
Village G	0	0	3	0	1	4
Village I	0	2	3	0	1	6
Village H	0	3	1	0	0	4
Village E	0	1	1	0	0	2
Central:						
Village J	2	3	3	1	0	9
Village K	0	1	3	0	0	4
TOTALS	8	18	25	8	4	63

* Does not include +/- 40 burial societies in villages studied in Kgatleng.

** Same organization shared by both villages.

These committees should be taken as examples of a powerful individual's ability to marshal support, rather than a sign of the quality of the local VDC to become involved in larger projects on its own. All the Village Health Committees, for example, are in villages having a large clinic staffed by a government nurse. There are none in villages staffed only by Family Welfare Educators. All the Social Welfare Committees (SWC) are located in villages where an ACDO lives. Thus, the SWC should not be seen as an example of a well-organized or expanding VDC program either, but rather as the product of the ACDO finding local-level support among village residents.

4. Government Officers

4.1 The Village Extension Team (VET)

The Village Extension Team consists of the Agricultural Demonstrator (AD), Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO), Family Welfare Educator (FWE), and Head Teacher (see table 4). Its members are supposed to coordinate their activities and support the work of the VDC, which is still quite rare.¹² Of the nine villages studied only Village A had a functioning VET, and it was full of disagreements and personal dislikes which made effective functioning difficult. It is thus very difficult to discuss the VET as a probable support for CFDA programs.

Part of the reason for the lack of VETs in villages under concern is the relative newness of the VET concept. The concept has just not reached many of the villages.

Coordinating the activities of various government officials is another problem. ADs and ACDOs generally have very large territories to cover and insufficient transportation. Each is often based in a different village and their travel schedules are not coordinated. It is not likely, therefore, that extension officers will run into one another on any regular basis unless they carefully plan to do so. This problem could be overcome if VET duties were specifically assigned and were made part of the job descriptions of all extension officers.

There is a natural desire on the part of these officers to maintain distinct job descriptions. Because each works at the village level as a representative of separate ministries, each officer has a distinct reporting procedure through a distinct set of supervisors.

There appears to be little cooperation between ministry officials below the DDC (District Development Committee) and DET (District Extension Team) levels, and so each officer tends to see his/her duties as being distinct from, if not competitive to, the duties of other officials in the village.

12. See Section H.8 in the District Planning Handbook (MLGL).

TABLE 4
Village Extension Officers*

	V I L L A G E S								
	A	C	D	B	E	F	G	I	H
Agricultural Demonstrator	Effective	Moderate (34) territory too large	None	Effective (30)	Moderate territory too large	No visits	No visits	Seldom visits (45) territory too large	Effective (30+)
ACDO	Moderate	Moderate (26)	Shared--Moderate-- personality conflicts		No visits	Share--Irregular-- territory too large		Moderate (30) territory too large	Moderate (21+) territory too large
Family Welfare Educator	Staff Nurses	Staff Nurse	Moderate (low education)	Staff Nurse	No rating	Effective	Effective	Not known	Staff Nurse
Head Teacher	Effective	Conflict	Conflict with PTA	Effective	No school	Effective	Effective	No	Conflict
Village Extension Team	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no

* Ratings based on amount and type of activity. Absence from assigned village noted, along with major reasons for lowered ratings. Approximate age where available in parentheses.

The major problem of the VET, however, is the poor performance of individual extension officers, rather than the concept of an extension team as a whole. To understand the difficulties inherent in organizing VETs, it is important to first understand this ineffective performance by extension officers.

4.2 Agricultural Demonstrators (ADs)

Agricultural Demonstrators are field-level representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture. According to the ADs' own description of their work, they are resource personnel in agriculture as well as community organizers of agriculturally related activities who work with Farmers Committees, 4Bs, and the VDC. The ADs support these organizations, helping them to get projects planned and financed, and giving them advice which will enable members to successfully carry out their plans.

An AD has had at least two years training at the Botswana Agricultural College or an equivalent. The ADs in the nine villages studied ranged between 20-60 years of age. The amount of experience therefore differs greatly from village to village.

Nearly all villages, even the larger villages, share their AD with other surrounding villages, which means that an AD must travel between villages. Travel is difficult because none of the ADs has any form of transport.¹³ Since many of the farmers spend from six to twelve months a year in the lands or cattleposts, the area that has to be covered by a single AD is staggering, even for one who is determined to do his job at all costs. (For example, the two most distant of the villages in one Barolong extension area are some 20 km apart.)

In reality, however, most ADs tend to remain in a single village, visiting other villages occasionally at best. ADs interviewed seldom visited the lands, which means that the actual percentage of each year an AD spends doing his/her job is pretty low. The percentage of time spent in each of the outlying villages is nearly zero. Several researchers reported that the AD assigned to the village never appeared in that village during the entire period of observation. In one village, the AD was reported to have been absent for two years. Although it is easy to understand how this happened, it is clear that this can adversely affect projects undertaken by local VDCs.

The presence of an AD in the village does not necessarily ensure that his/her advice is competent. In Village A, for example, a dip tank was built but is seldom used because of its poor design, which makes it difficult to fill and empty. More support in designing the tank might have prevented this problem, as it did, for example, in one village in Southern District. When design problems arose in a spray race in that village, a fast telephone

13. One of the ADs, in fact, had been crippled in an accident. He is said to be quite effective, but somebody in the Farmers Committee has to give him a ride to meetings.

call to agriculture officials in Lobatse brought out a team which helped straighten out the problems.

The scarcity of extension workers truly oriented toward community development in most villages is another problem. Without the encouragement of such a person, some organizations never get off the ground and others rapidly become moribund.

4.3 Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO)

The Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO) is the field-level employee of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. The job of the ACDO is more nebulous than that of the AD and involves working with organizations such as the PTA, the Village Health Committee, Youth Clubs, and the VDC. The job involves development work (helping to start organizations), administrative work (helping to keep them running), and social work (helping to identify destitutes and the mentally ill, and administer their treatment and support). The ACDO is a graduate of the Community Development Training Program at Botswana Agricultural College, a two-year program.

Unlike ADs, the results of the work of even a highly successful ACDO are not easily apparent to members of the community. This is frustrating to the ACDO and makes it difficult for villagers to understand the nature of his/her task. ACDOs also suffer from many of the same problems which plague the AD, such as large territories and no transportation. Many ACDOs, therefore, seldom visit most of the villages in their territory.

The ability to make regular visits to villages would still not ensure an answer to all the ACDO problems. Participation in activities remains low among ACDOs even in their village of residence. Many ACDOs said that they had tried to call meetings in villages, but people never came, and they simply gave up. Some now insist that they go to villages only by request. Others have very little idea what activities are taking place in villages and visit them only when they are asked to write reports. Clearly, there are basic problems in this approach if an ACDO has no resources at his/her disposal but retreat.

4.4 Family Welfare Educator (FWE)

The FWE is a trained villager who teaches basic health and sanitation practices in villages where there is a health post. In villages with higher level health facilities and more highly trained personnel such as a staff nurse, the FWEs take on a more supportive role.

The FWE also treats common diseases, cuts, bruises, and other simple ailments as well as recording deaths in the village. The job has a relatively low status. Of the nine villages under study, four villages had staff nurses heading health programs, two had FWEs as heads, two had no health officers at all, and one is unknown.

The size of the sample is not adequate to generalize about the value of the FWE. However, the FWE's level of training does not seem high enough to

warrant the statement in the VDC Handbook that, "the VDC should consult her on projects concerned with improving the standard of health and sanitation in the village" (p. 45).

4.5 Head Teacher

The head teacher is a member of the VDC in most villages and is the most highly educated member of the village-level extension staff. Only eight of the nine survey villages have schools. Of the eight head teachers, three have serious problems in getting along with others in their village. These conflicts generally involved poor performance on the secondary-school entrance examination or relations between the head teacher and the PTA.

The potential conflict between educated outsiders and the villagers themselves becomes most obvious in the relationship between the village and the head teacher. Here the head teacher is faced with a dilemma. There are few opportunities to get a secondary education, and the village-level schools have a hard time preparing students well enough to compete with town dwellers for those few openings. The villagers see those openings as the road to success for their children, and they blame the head teacher when their children do not succeed. In reaction, the head teacher either dominates or withdraws. Thus, even in villages where there is no open dislike shown for the head teacher, he/she may not take much of a role in village activities.

More important, the head teacher, as the most highly educated village-level officer, may perceive himself/herself as being unlike the villagers because of education. When these differences become acute and the villagers perceive the head teacher, or any other extension officer, as being significantly different from them in needs and orientation, communication stops and conflict begins. Officers must be selected and trained to minimize this social gap through proper behavior.

5. Other Village Organizations

The following section presents an analysis of smaller organizations in 14 villages¹⁴ in Central, Southern, and Kgatleng Districts. See tables 3 and 5 for a complete breakdown of these organizations.

5.1 Farmers Organizations¹⁵

Although some farmers organizations are the product of the momentary interest of extension staff and quickly die, others represent cases where local people have come together to solve problems on their own and get local

14. Three villages neighboring Village D have been added here as well as the two villages surveyed in Central District.

15. See Willet (1981) for a detailed discussion of these groups.

TABLE 5
Village Organizations by Type

<u>VDC SUB-COMMITTEES</u>	<u>FARMERS ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>	<u>POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>
Social Welfare Committee (3)	Dip Tanks (3) Dam Groups (2)	PTA (9) Red Cross (3)	Co-ops (4) Thrift and Loan Societies	BDP: Youth (1)
Village Health Committee (5)	Fencing (5) Small Stock (2) Farmers Committee (3)	BCW (5) 4B (6) YWCA (1)	Weavers Management (1) *	Women (1) Comm (1) Teachers Union (1)
Borehole Groups (3)	Popular Theater (1)			
— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —
		T O T A L S		
(8)	(18)	(25)	(8)	(4)

* Burial Societies (+/- 40)--Kgatleng only.

projects under way. Eighteen farmers organizations were identified in the 14 villages.

Organizations that were clearly only the products of efforts by ADs were primarily found in the Ngwaketse South subdistrict. These AD-inspired organizations (generally termed Farmers Committees or Smallstock Committees) had small memberships and rarely met.

Other agricultural groups, however, were special purpose committees with specific goals. These included fencing groups, borehole groups, dam groups, and dip tank or dousing groups (see tables 3 and 5). This type of farmers group generally had the support of the ADs, but was also strongly supported by active farmers. However, more work needs to be done to determine whether these committees are made up only of the richest members of the farming community and whether or not they ignore the needs of the poor. The activities of these groups involved the highest financial outlays of any group except for certain VDCs themselves. The major problem encountered by these groups was the lack of design skill when undertaking certain complex projects. As to be expected, such organizations become less active when their primary goal has been achieved.

The problems of project maintenance and continued purchase of supplies or allocation of resources might become a problem as the organization becomes less formal over time. Respondents note, however, that even though meetings become less frequent as time passes, they remain well-attended as long as the project continues to provide a needed service.

In such organizations, a major portion of the dues are paid before the project is started. Those who join after the completion of the project have to pay double dues. An additional use fee is generally charged for boreholes, dip tanks, and so on. When the organization completed a task perceived useful to the community, there were generally no complaints about administration.

5.2 Educational Organizations

In the 14 villages under study, there were 24 educational organizations. These include youth organizations such as the 4B (6), the YWCA (1), and the PTA (9), and service or training organizations such as the Red Cross (3) and the BCW (5). In addition, there is a Popular Theater Organization in Village C which was set up with the help of the Swedish founders of the weavers group. It uses puppets and dramatization to explain things to villagers such as the purposes of new organizations or how to do things.

Some of these organizations are strongly supported from the outside by a national bureaucracy. The 4B, for example, is supported by the Ministry of Agriculture and uses school teachers to help maintain programming. Likewise, the Red Cross, the BCW, and, to a lesser extent, the YWCA are national programs. Thus, only the Popular Theater Group of Village C (with 4 members) can be considered a locally based educational group.

The PTA is active in many places and represents a means for villages to help support their schools. The PTA's primary function seems to be administering funds for purchasing firewood and paying cooks for the school lunch program. It should be noted that voluntary collection of firewood (each child bringing a piece of firewood to school for the cooking of school lunches) and voluntary labor for these food programs (each child's parent donating time as a cook) have failed wherever they were tried. All surveyed villages now substitute fees for voluntary labor or donations in these programs.¹⁶

5.3 Financial Organizations

Financial organizations exist only in the largest villages. Out of 14 villages, only 4 co-ops and 3 thrift-and-loan societies were found. Each of the thrift-and-loan societies were located in villages that had co-ops, so only 4 out of 14 villages had formal financial organizations. In addition, Village C has a management committee for a local working cooperative which will be considered a financial organization.

The most active financial organizations in Kgatleng are of a less formal nature. These are the burial societies. In the 4 major Kgatleng villages under study, we identified over 40 burial societies. A burial society is strictly a village-level organization. Burial societies are organized by villagers, their records are kept by villagers, and bylaws are strictly enforced by the organization itself.

Although it is not precisely clear why burial societies are limited to Kgatleng, it is probable that they were derived from similar societies which originated and are still operating among the miners in South Africa. There, it was necessary to have money laid aside to assure proper burials for comrades suddenly killed in mine accidents. In Kgatleng, the gradual disappearance of village-level mutual support systems brought on by population scattering and the breakdown of the ward cohesiveness has made support by friends and relatives less certain at critical life points. People have begun to realize that they have to put aside money of their own to cover unexpected large expenses. The cost of a proper funeral is often the largest such expense encountered.¹⁷

There is generally a fee for joining a burial society, followed by a monthly assessment. As in any insurance plan, one must keep up-to-date to be covered. With few exceptions to join a burial society after it has begun operating, one must pay all of the fees collected since the founding of the organization. This is one of the reasons there are so many burial societies,

16. Here people attribute failure of volunteer programs to the fact that people were "paid" for such work under the earlier "Food for Work" program.

17. Some have asked why weddings are not covered by similar arrangements. The answer could be that a wedding's financial obligations can often be planned for, while death often comes as a surprise.

for it is often less expensive to join a new society if one has fallen too far in arrears than to pay what one owes to the society one has already joined.

Coverage provided differs from society to society, but generally includes mourners and labor for cooking food for those attending as well as cash to pay for burial costs.

The burial society has an executive committee which meets once a month and takes the decisions necessary to plan and run the society. A general membership meeting is also held once a month which is run like a kgotla for the airing of grievances, the paying of fees, and the trying of members who have not attended funerals or done their share of the labor.

Like the more successful farmers groups, the burial society is run by local people with important specific goals. As in these farmers groups, the methods of collecting contributions and enforcing the rules are strictly extra-governmental. When the goals are perceived as valuable, very little external help is needed in running the organization on a day-to-day basis for long periods of time.

5.4 Politics and Village Organizations

In the 14 villages under consideration, only four had organizations of an extrinsically political nature. One village had the local branch of the teachers union, while three villages had different arms of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). One village had the BDP local committee; one, a youth organization; and the third, a women's organization. Neither the youth group nor the women's organization was particularly active.

Severe, specifically political schisms were uncommon in the villages under study. One village in the Barolong had a schism which was expressed directly in political terms,¹⁸ but this was only one of the levels on which a larger rivalry between individuals or groups was expressed. A similar occurrence was found in one Kgatleng village but in milder form.

In most cases, where politics was mentioned at all, it was a factor which followed personal rivalries, ethnic differences, ward competition, family disputes, or economic factors as a source of antagonism. Generally, where politics is mentioned, it becomes a means of emphasizing these other differences, which is not to say that there are no political rivalries within Botswana, nor that there are not areas within Botswana where problems of this kind are of primary importance.¹⁹

18. Rivalry was between members of the BDP and the BNF (Botswana National Front).

19. Gomare, the Communal First Development Area of Ngamiland, is characterized by intense political opposition to the BDP. According to some informants, feeling is so intense that all extension activities are seen as attempts by the BDP to infiltrate local politics. It is impossible for some to separate the government from the BDP.

On the other hand, villagers do respond strongly to both national and district politicians. Kgotla attendance usually shot up when a major political figure was to attend. It was also fairly easy to elicit opinions about local politicians. Many villagers, for example, felt they had been deserted by their councillors and MPs. In several villages, people complained that their councillor never visited their village or visited only when he wanted something. One kgotla was described in which the local MP was shouted down by very angry villagers and his policies questioned in a way, local people emphasized, which would never have been done to a headman. Thus, in some areas these politicians have less status than traditional leaders.

6. Local Organizations: What's Wrong?

1. Evidence from the survey supports the hypothesis that organizations are more likely to fail if objectives are determined by an outside agency. The success of organizations which have grown out of locally perceived needs (notably dam groups, fencing groups, and other such farmers organizations, as well as the burial societies of Kgatleng) present a sharp contrast to organizations such as moribund VDCs or some of the Farmers Committees started by ADs.

Any program which uses local labor must undertake projects which are perceived locally as useful. Thus, the first step in planning must be to find out what people see as necessary in their own community. Once this is done, the evidence clearly indicates that Batswana are quite skillful at organizing and administering their own programs.

Programs created by outsiders, even by the District Council (and the evidence shows that the communications link between Council and the villages is quite weak), will be perceived as work done for outsiders. As Kooijman (1978:235) points out, work for others without pay puts the worker into the position of a hereditary servant and this is felt to be shameful. Work programmed strictly from outside the village will have to be paid for in the model of "Food for Work" programs. As we have shown, this applies even to projects such as cooking school lunches.

2. Programs which most often fail in Botswana are large-scale regional projects without a local basis. In the research area, for example, one need only compare the ALDEP-style program (which is still admittedly in an early phase) to the kind of projects undertaken by organizing fencing groups in Central. The few farmers who knew about ALDEP in our research area thought it seemed diffuse and confusing, with a great many regulations they considered illogical.

3. The impetus for forming "standard organizations" (such as the Red Cross, the BCW, the YWCA, and so on) comes from outside the village. They are often started by ACDOs who themselves have little idea of what to do and so reach for the ready-made organizations as a basis for programming. Richer members of the village become involved in standard organizations to bring the trappings of status or development to their villages, and many of these

programs revolve around followers of these local elites. Unfortunately, the standard organizations seldom provide programming to their village-level members and so participation generally finds expression in projects of limited value that seldom focus on any organized program or activity such as teaching knitting or cooking fatcakes. Those who do not aspire to the social circle of the organization's leadership do not participate.

It is unlikely that any of these somewhat inappropriate standard organizations will be useful as a basis for further village-level organization except as a source of leadership for other, similar programs. The leadership skills of village elites make these organizations more important than they might otherwise be.

4. Some organizations in Botswana are of little or no benefit to the poor or have overly high costs relative to benefits. Often the poorer villager cannot meet membership requirements (such as in cooperatives or thrift-and-loan societies which require minimum deposits or share ownership before credit can be obtained), cannot fulfill requirements, or cannot follow the procedures necessary to reap benefits.

There are no data from this study which can provide a clear understanding of differences in membership and participation at different socioeconomic levels. It stands to reason, however, that certain organizations such as dip tank groups and smallstock groups are automatically closed to those who own neither cattle nor smallstock. Many special purpose organizations such as borehole groups or fencing groups have joining fees, although many of these are set low enough for most people to participate.²⁰ Similarly, not all organizations are of equal benefit to all members. In many of them the bias tends to favor the rich. The fee for using the dip tank in Village A, for example, is the same for all members. A big cattle owner, therefore, pays the same to dip a hundred head as a poor owner pays for two.

5. Although programs to train VDCs, members of Farmers Committees, and so on, do exist in Botswana, a greater effort must be made to train people to organize themselves. Although occasional seminars may be valuable to inspire local leaders, ongoing, in-village training and program support are more useful.

The personnel who might do this must work under a series of crippling constraints. Their territories are much too large to be covered in any meaningful way without transport. On the other hand, both ACDOs and ADs seem unable to cope with many of the basic problems of community organization (people not showing up for meetings or being unwilling to contribute time to projects) even in the villages where they live. Many extension

20. Burial societies adversely affect the poor in that much spare cash goes to paying the monthly fees to the society. The numbers who cannot always pay are indicated by the age mix in a newly formed burial society. Here, older members who have dropped out of other societies for nonpayment of fees find it cheaper to join new societies than catch up on unpaid dues.

workers do not know how to motivate villagers and so lose their own motivation by simply sitting around the village with nothing to do. Supervisors are either unable to spot problems or have no way to cope with them. Although the problem has been recognized, little has been done.

The VDC Handbook provides a case in point. Page 17 opens a discussion of the problem of motivation, noting that what should be done if people do not cooperate "is the most difficult question of all." The Handbook offers only these suggestions:

Make sure that each person understands how he or she can benefit from each project. Try to keep people involved from the planning stage onwards. If people feel that they have been left out in a matter that concerns them, or about which they have something useful to say or do, perhaps you can put them on a sub-committee or give them a special job to do on the project.

While these suggestions are not without value, they are insufficient. In no other place in the Handbook are these problems ever fully discussed.

7. Implications for Planning Institutions Research

7.1 CFDAs, Institutions Research, and Program Planning

A basic inventory of local institutions and their functioning has been made. In addition, the survey has assessed the effects of certain external factors, especially extension agents, migration, changes in local government structure (such as in the Barolong), and ecological changes (such as the need to seek arable land farther from the village).

Several interesting patterns have been revealed. Institutions differ in strength and sophistication from village to village. Different organizations are dominant in different villages. Even though this is the case and no single institution can be thought of as an all-purpose liaison group for district officers throughout the research area, differences in individual institutional strength seem to cluster according to district or subdistrict, so that institutional planning can be made on this rather than on a village-by-village basis. Any plan for strengthening local institutions will still have to be flexible.

The question which has yet to be satisfactorily answered is: "What do we strengthen local institutions to do?" Obviously, not all programs require participation by strong local institutions. Community-based programs certainly require participation by members of local institutions. Programs which are essentially transfers of capital (such as in the building of a sunflower seed oil plant) require less. Thus, institutions research is essential primarily in support of community-based programming.

Finally, the question must be answered: "Where is the community?" Some land areas (notably in the Barolong) are evolving into villages, yet there

is still no overwhelming force drawing the Batswana together. Service delivery is facilitated by the growth of population centers, but these newly formed communities are still of low density and widely scattered. The major trend, however, seems to favor the centrifugal forces scattering population, which has made it difficult for many local institutions to function. This does not mean that Botswana is undergoing a massive social disintegration; it means that certain elements of social organization are changing. Apparently villages are becoming less a focus in the lives of rural Batswana and, if village-based development programming is to be part of the CFDA programming, then village institutions will need organizational support to counteract the deterioration already under way.

7.2 Support for Local Institutions

To find a potential source of support for local institutions, one looks naturally to the extension agents in the villages: the AD, ACDO, FWE, and head teachers. However, in general, these individuals have not been very effective because of poor training,²¹ poor supervision, lack of support, too large a territory, inadequate transportation, poor motivation, and personal difficulties.

Yet, it is the extension officer who is the only constant source of contact between villages and higher government levels. If the government is to support local institutions, it must be done through an extension service. It is clear, however, that the present system has not worked and that some reevaluation of priorities is necessary.

Dunford (1981 Annex:21) has suggested a facilitator--a community worker who would ideally draw villages into a dialogue with district-level specialists. The facilitator is a generalist with a good grasp of the land/people issues of the District. He/she should "understand" villagers both because he/she has a village background and speaks fluent Setswana. This approach is similar to the gradualist approach used by some extension workers in working to form fencing groups.²² In both approaches, a single individual travels from village to village acting as a catalyst--getting projects off the ground and then moving on to another village. Dunford (1981:4) feels that the "facilitator does not need to live in the target village, but rather must meet with respondents regularly for as long a period as is necessary" and ought to be able to handle from four to six villages a year.

There are several factors which deserve attention in a community-based CFDA program:

21. It has been pointed out by Alan Pfothenhauer of Botswana Agricultural College that many extension officers in the field were trained some time ago and that recent training programs are greatly improved. There is, therefore, a time lag between the present quality of a training program and its appearance in the field. This study reflects only what was seen in the field.

22. See Hope (1980).

1. A program is necessary which will increase and regularize contact between villagers and extension workers. Today this contact is too sporadic in most villages to be of much value in catalyzing village activity.
2. The dynamics of individual villages must be understood before work can begin, either by employing a villager or by having one outsider begin work with research into village dynamics.
3. Dialogue is a model for action. The villagers as "local experts" identify their own problems and work out solutions. "Technical experts" are called in to help with problems of design. The community worker acts as a catalyst and a facilitator of dialogue.
4. Flexibility is essential as it may not be possible to work with a specific village-level organization. Both formal and informal organizations can be used in the organizational process.
5. A certain amount of organizational support is necessary until villagers learn how to organize themselves and solve their own problems. Therefore, an organizer is temporary in nature and of necessity succeeds by making his/her own job obsolete in a particular village. Elements of this type of system are already part of the basic concepts of an ACDO or an AD, but the principles are not followed in practice. There are several ways that the extension services can reestablish their credibility. The CFDA concept permits a framework attempt at community organization as a means of strengthening local institutions. The lack of content in CFDA programming then disappears for the actual priorities of the CFDA are set by local communities themselves and are supported through the efforts of the facilitator. The community development program itself would then become the focus of the CFDA program.

7.3 Reorganization of Community Development in Botswana

Reorganizing this commitment to institutional development in the Botswana CFDAs could proceed on one of three levels. Each of these successive levels calls for increased reorganization and retraining, and an increasing amount of cooperation between the districts, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Each of the options for reorganization which follow is suggested only as a possibility. The five guidelines listed above are stressed no matter what reorganization option is adopted. If this is done, the chances for a successful extension program would be greatly enhanced.

1. Addition of a group of community facilitators to existing MLGL and MOA field staff.

This option calls for the training of only a few facilitators for each of the CFDAs. The option means bending the "no additional personnel" ruling outlined in the MLGL's CFDA position paper of 23 July 1981 (P.O. II). On

the other hand, exercising this option leaves the field extension staff of MLGL (ACDOs) and MOA (ADs), as well as other field-level personnel, in place and present local programming intact, which means that coordinated program changes from these ministries can be kept at an absolute minimum.

It is recommended that the new facilitators be directly supervised by the District Councils, but paid from national CFDA development funds, with a review of their overall progress by both the districts and the RDU. Information on facilitator activities could be passed between districts, as well as from district to the center.

2. Retraining existing extension personnel in new techniques for community organization.

This option means taking existing ACDOs and ADs out of villages in the CFDAs and sending them to courses in community development techniques (see below). This could be done either at one time or over a longer period to minimize the effects of their absence.²³

Selection of ACDOs and ADs could take place over the entire district with only the extension officers who have shown a talent for working with villagers being selected for retraining. Trained workers would then be returned to villages located in the CFDAs at least in the initial phase of the program.

The difficulty with this strategy is that it requires the Ministries of Local Government and Lands and Agriculture to cooperate in staff retraining. It should be emphasized that retraining would eliminate the differences between ADs and ACDOs. Also, to be effective, these retrained extension officers would have to work more closely with district officials than they have in the past. The ministries would have to sacrifice some degree of direct presence in the villages in the CFDAs to help this program get under way.

There are several other disadvantages to this strategy. Some officers, unless staff were quite carefully selected, might end up after retraining in villages where they had already developed bad relations. While this could be avoided by always sending individuals to new villages, such a policy would keep good individuals from returning to places they liked and create a burden in the form of transfers for extension staff not involved in the program.

At the same time, this strategy would avoid the problem of competition between the older program extension officers and the new, because the two would not have to coexist as they would in the first strategy.

23. With the exception of ADs, if the extension workers are taken out of the field during the agricultural season when most of the villagers are at the lands, the extension workers will not be as sorely missed since lack of transportation makes it difficult for them to do much at this time anyway.

As the organizing skills of extension officers are improved, their distribution will automatically be improved. If the number of officers in the CFDA is maintained, the elimination of the differences between ADs and ACDOs through generalist retraining will make trained officers available to more villages through the elimination of duplication. Each extension officer would then operate in a smaller territory. Given no change in transportation facilities, smaller territories to cover should increase the number of contacts between villagers and extension personnel and should thereby increase their efficiency.

3. Reorganization of the village-level extension program in CFDA's.

This is a strategy which requires the highest commitment to reorganization. It calls for sending newly recruited, newly trained personnel at whatever educational level deemed appropriate,²⁴ to replace existing village-level extension staff within the CFDA. These officers would be recruited in the same number as the officers they replace, but would be supervised by the district-level CFDA committee under review by the RDU.

Currently hired extension personnel would come under review. Highly effective individuals or individuals with special knowledge, experience, or talent could be transferred to become part of a district-level resource staff which could then be drawn upon as consultants by facilitators and others in the district. The personnel who remain can beef up existing staff, and the least effective ones can be given jobs outside the field.

The final option has the advantage of simultaneously improving the effectiveness of village-level organization by the addition of trained community-level workers and eliminating potentially disruptive rivalries among workers. At the same time, the ministries, the districts, and the CFDA's would be able to retrain the bulk of their extension staff, with the most talented ones available for use throughout the district as consultants.

This option calls for the MOA and the MLGL to give up most of their direct day-to-day presence in the village, allowing their representatives to be replaced by a district-controlled extension unit overseen by an interministerial council. At the same time, a single village-level extension worker retains contact with these ministries and calls upon their resources at the request of the villagers. This would seem a necessary step if the goal of decentralization inherent in the CFDA concept is to be realized.

Training programs in all cases would need to allow facilitators to:

- 1) come into the village with a general understanding of how Botswana communities are structured;

24. One could argue for lower-level personnel here in a system similar to that being developed in the Tirelo Setshaba program operating through the Office of the President; cf. Office of the President, "Tirelo Setshaba, Community Service" (undated pamphlet).

- 2) do research into the specific situation of the village to which they are assigned;
- 3) locate village leaders and potential leaders;
- 4) work with these leaders and others to find the problems and concerns of the villagers;
- 5) work within local systems to plan solutions for these problems;
- 6) act as go-between, initiating dialogue with district-level resource personnel to help villagers locate resources available from various agencies to solve local problems, and to educate them to continue the dialogue themselves;
- 7) help villagers widen the circle of local involvement if that is necessary to solve problems; and
- 8) repeat this process until local communities are organizationally self-sustaining.

The length of the training program depends largely on the lead-time remaining before active CFDA programming must get under way. The programs can, however, be developed using the current facilities of the Botswana Agricultural College. It is not likely that a generalist, community development program need take two years as in the case of the present AD and ACDO training programs.

The number of community development facilitators needed would depend on whether the program leaned toward nonresident facilitators or a resident facilitation model. The former would require fewer individuals and could function with as few as one person per CFDA, given adequate transportation. Additional personnel would speed up the community development process. The latter would require more individuals to be trained and located as residents in villages throughout the CFDA.

An individual facilitator would ideally start working in those villages which have the weakest organizational structures, which assumes that the stronger, better organized villages could continue to deal with their own problems. The facilitator, in my estimation, ought to enter the village as a researcher. The purpose of the research, however, ought to be action rather than report-writing. The community-level worker ought to understand the dynamics and problems of the village.²⁵ The worker would then draw active people and program beneficiaries into assessing their own needs, finding solutions to their own problems, and finding resources to solve these problems.

25. Experience with the student enumerators used in this survey indicates that this is not only easily possible with minimal supervision and support, but is naturally a part of the process of getting accustomed to life in the village.

7.4 With Whom Does the Facilitator Work?

The facilitator has two major potential areas for operation--two poles for organizing village activities. Both poles serve different purposes; both have to be considered by the community-level worker. They are: (1) the village-level administration, and (2) the small special purpose groups.

7.4.1 Village-Level Administration

While the village becomes increasingly less important as a center for the activities of many rural Batswana, the delivery of services, such as schools and health care, continues to be provided through these villages as if they were still the main center of activity. If villages are intended to be strong institutional centers and bases for CFDA programming, they require organizational support to counteract the forces of dispersal already under way. It is not yet clear whether any degree of institutional support can counteract the flight to the lands or the growth of labor migration, but one outcome of this research should be to locate areas where this trend could be counteracted by the types of institutional support already proposed. Because different areas differ in their degree of institutional strength and the current level to which their villages have been abandoned,²⁶ one must be flexible in the approach taken for institutional support in different areas. Still, outside support is necessary if these village institutions are to become a viable basis for development activity. Several changes are recommended in the structure of village-level institutions to make them function more efficiently, thus better helping the facilitator lend them support.

In considering the development of village-level administration, one must focus on the function of the VDC and the *kgotla* within the framework of local institutions. The *kgotla* has the traditional authority and an ability to communicate decisions and settle disputes, but appears to have no ability to plan and carry out sustained activities, especially in the context of the decaying ward system. Many VDCs, on the other hand, are on uncertain ground as to authority and find it difficult to gain support from villagers. It is only when the two halves are brought together that real success is obtained. The success comes of uniting acceptance and authority with an ability to plan. This must be done by increasing the headman's role in the VDC and by supporting the activities of this group through a facilitator.²⁷

26. Kgatleng, for example, appears to have witnessed the greatest degree of abandonment of villages, while the Barolong and the CFDA of Ghanzi are witnessing attempts at village formation. The rest of the districts fall somewhere in between.

27. In "Some Thoughts About Village Government in Botswana" (in *Rural Sociology Unit*, MOA 1981:54-61), Wynne quite rightly sees the formation of VDCs as part of an attempt to create a responsible local government on the village level capable of planning projects and carrying them out. By creating a VDC, it was hoped, a new leadership independent from governmental

[cont.]

By moving the kgotla and the VDC closer together, one would fill the vacuum left by the disappearing structure of wards and the absence of ward elders. The elected members of the VDC could help the headman make better decisions.

In areas where there are already strong headmen, there would be little change involved except to help focus the attention of the headman on the problems of development. In places where the headman is weak, he can work with the support of the facilitators. In the case of paid headmen, adding official participation on the VDC to the job description gives the VDC a full-time member and representative when outside visitors seek access to the group.

Still other changes are needed to improve the Kgotla/VDC further. The Local Government Structure Commission (MLGL 1979:passim; cf. pp. 62-64) has recommended that the organization and procedures laid out in the VDC Handbook (Botswana Extension College 1973) should be retained, especially since the Handbook attempts to keep bureaucratic procedure to a minimum.

While applauding the desire to minimize bureaucracy, it is necessary to point out that the Handbook seems to place too much emphasis on Western methods of organization and none on methods which might be better adapted to the expectations of villagers. More research is needed on decision-making in small groups in Botswana before one can recommend the shape of these changes, but it clear that some adjusting should be done.

There is very little information in the VDC Handbook on how VDC leaders should go about gaining village-level support for projects. Although it is hoped that CFDA villagers will have community facilitators as part of their development program, other villages need more information to help initiate projects. In villages with a facilitator, his/her job with the VDC/Kgotla will be to help initiate activities.

The Local Government Structure Commission urged minimum supervision of VDCs to encourage initiative and therefore was willing to risk some misappropriation of funds.²⁸ They do recommend increased supervision of

forces would emerge. She quite mistakenly feels that, by legally formulating a unit separate from traditional government, it will be separate in fact. This has been shown not to be the case with the VDC, for, like the kgotla, the VDC often depends on headmen who are industrious, honest, and interested in change. Likewise, a VDC which encounters the wrath or indifference of a local hereditary headman will falter and die unless it receives support from elsewhere. While applauding Wynne's democratic ideals, one must insist that it is impossible to create a system independent of existing political elites --a pristine political system--simply by adding on new and often alier government structures by fiat. The addition of land boards brought increased confusion with little increase in honesty. Pristine VDCs might buy a few projects at the cost of increased fragmentation of leadership.

28. The Government White Paper, however, rejected this.

fund-raising through the ACDO. This is not sufficient. The ACDO does not have enough authority to stand up to a dishonest headman or village elder. Often he/she does not even have enough skill to spot clever embezzlement. Some scheme has to be devised to: (1) better control the flow of government money into villages--although some risk is necessary, even desirable; and (2) ensure the village contribution to development schemes to discourage villagers from refusing to give money to programs because they fear it will be stolen.

7.4.2 Small Groups and Empty Villages

There is already much data to indicate that smaller groups seem to be most successful in getting special purpose jobs done. If the CFDA program concerns itself with community-based development programs, then small groups must be a major concern of the community development worker. The facilitator will then, in part, locate a potential leadership core for these small groups, and help them identify problems and organize themselves to solve them.

The need for leadership leaves a major problem. Where does one go to locate this leadership? To answer this, one has to look at two major points: (1) the radius of the search, and (2) the location of the organizational solutions.

It is hoped that organizational support can lead to an improvement in village life, increased production and employment, and thus attract people back to the village. So far, in most places in Botswana, this has not been accomplished. Villagers migrating to escape their responsibilities under the traditional system see little offered to them under newer institutions and have not felt it beneficial to return to the village.

On the other hand, in some areas the trend toward decentralization might not be reversible by institutional support or any other programs available from the government. In some places there have been ecological changes, for example, in areas where lost soil fertility, overgrazing, and diminished water supplies demand a lower population density. This fact cannot be changed by the addition of small-scale rural industry programs or additional health posts and schools. Likewise, people may not find it in their best interest to live in villages and many, we are told, have begun to form their own institutions at the lands (such as privately financed schools for children). More needs to be learned about these facilities and why people are willing to support them in spite of the availability of schools in the villages themselves. What, then, will be used to attract these people back?

This point is basic to CFDA programming, for one must ask whether or not the facilitator will go out into the lands to seek the leadership for small special purpose groups and, if so, will these groups be encouraged to organize and solve problems where they live, at the lands themselves. The other alternative is for the facilitator to remain in the villages most of the year with very little to do, as is presently the case.

Of course, the situation differs from place to place, and therefore the solutions ought to be flexible. The emphasis ought to change in areas of high migration from the villages into the lands. Rather than emphasizing village programming, the facilitator needs to go out into the lands to work on programs using small groups to solve lands area problems.²⁹

In many areas, therefore, the delivery of services to villages alone is not enough. One has to bring extension, health, and education to the lands as well. In effect, this service delivery problem is closer to that usually encountered working with semi-nomadic people. The delivery problem is to locate and follow the mobile population. The semi-nomads, however, travel as compact units. Batswana live in very low-density groups. The facilitator would need to work in many places with very few people in each place. He/she would have a very difficult task, requiring an even greater degree of decentralization than considered thus far. Thus, a great deal more research needs to be done on life in the lands, particularly as it involves nonformal institutions such as unregistered schools. In addition, if one is to consider increasing the level of services to the ever-increasing number of individuals living outside the effective range of village government, one must consider ways to attract extension workers and create working situations which will keep them on the job.

In areas where the village retains more of a central focus, organizing small groups and working with the village-level administration unit (VDC/Kgotla) ought to get programming under way, particularly if that programming reflects needs perceived by the villagers themselves.

8. Some Final Points

In both kgotla, VDC, and small groups work, it is recommended that project financing procedures be simplified for facilitators and villagers. Although it is realized that programs must be financed from separate sets of accounts, there is no reason why project applications could not be sorted into the proper channel at, say, the district level. This would avoid the necessity of villagers having to learn the "alphabet soup" of project titles and would make the process less forbidding. Likewise, it would make the facilitator's job easier if the funding time were considerably shortened. This could be arranged by setting up accounts for CFDA facilitator-related projects where funding can be granted very quickly at the district level. Although this puts a greater risk on government funds, a well-selected, well-trained facilitator group should keep this risk within acceptable grounds.

29. Unless the government actively sets a policy encouraging the repopulation of villages, this seems a logical solution. No government policy of any kind exists, at present, toward settlement on the lands.

Finally, there is the problem of supervision of facilitators and their work. Supervision of ADCOs and ADs is extremely weak. The problem is that the initial groups of ADs who were poorly trained have now moved into supervisory positions and are no better prepared for that role. Extension supervisors need to be trained to work with new facilitators and be put on a rigorous touring schedule to act as support to these community-level workers. The identify of supervisors should be determined by the CFDA committee at the district level and selected from existing staff.

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