

A STUDY OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS
AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INQUIRY
IN EASTERN CENTRAL
DISTRICT



F.S. ZUFFEREY

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Local Institutions Reports

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by

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Applied Research Unit
Ministry of Local Government
and Lands

Land Tenure Centre
University of Wisconsin

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List of Abbreviations

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Land Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO (LR)	Agricultural Officer Land Resources
APO	Animal Production Officer
BAC	Botswana Agricultural College
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
MBC	Botswana Meat Commission
CCDO	Chief Community Development Officer
CSM	Corn Soya Milk Mixture
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DDC	District Development Committee
DO	District Officer
DO(L)	District Officer - Lands
EO	Education Officer
FC	Farmers Committee
FG	Fencing Group
FWE	Family Welfare Educator
HT	Head Teacher
LB	Land Board
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MRTC	Mahalapye Rural Training Centre
NLB	Ngwato Land Board
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
RDU	Rural Development Unit
RECC	Rural Extension Coordinating Committee
RIO	Rural Industrial Officer
SLB	Subordinate Land Board
S & CD	Social and Community Development (Division)
SWC	Social Welfare Committee
TGLP	Tribal and Grazing Land Policy
UCCSA	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
VA	Veterinary Assistant
VDC	Village Development Committee
VET	Village Extension Team
VHT	Village Health Committee

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
List of Abbreviations	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Diagrams, Tables, Maps and Water Indices	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
<u>SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS</u>	x
1. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
1.1. <u>Background of the Study</u>	1
1.1.1. <u>Fencing Study Outline</u>	1
1.1.2. <u>Institutions and Resource Management Research</u>	1
1.2. <u>Origin of the Data</u>	3
1.3. <u>The Report</u>	3
1.4. <u>Note on Research Methodology</u>	3
1.5. <u>Quality of Information</u>	4
2. <u>TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE</u>	5
2.1. <u>Kgagodi Ward Structure</u>	5
2.2. <u>Kgagodi Ward History</u>	5
2.2.1. <u>Kgagodi Ward</u>	6
2.2.2. <u>Modibana and Moetlapele Wards</u>	6
2.2.3. <u>Mosokwane Ward</u>	6
2.2.4. <u>Khapane Ward</u>	6
2.2.5. <u>Mhaladi Ward</u>	6
2.2.6. <u>Mokatane Ward</u>	7
2.2.7. <u>Lekama Ward</u>	7
2.2.8. <u>Magwaneng Ward</u>	7
2.3. <u>Moshopa Traditional Structure</u>	7
2.3.1. <u>Ethnic Composition and Ward Structure</u>	7
2.3.2. <u>Historical Background</u>	8
2.3.2.1. <u>Bahurutshe</u>	8
2.3.2.2. <u>Babirwa</u>	9
2.3.2.3. <u>Baseleka</u>	10
2.4. <u>Maape Traditional Structure</u>	10
2.4.1. <u>Ethnic and Historical Context</u>	10

	<u>Page No.</u>
2.4.1.1. <u>Mathibatsela and Mabuo</u>	11
2.4.1.2. <u>Sesetlha and Mosarwa</u>	11
2.5. <u>Sajwe Lands Area</u>	12
2.5.1. <u>Historical Background</u>	12
2.5.2. <u>Ward Linkages</u>	12
2.6. <u>Headmen - Chiefs</u>	13
2.6.1. <u>Chieftainship</u>	13
2.6.2. <u>Headmen and Traditional Chief's Duties and Jurisdiction</u>	13
2.6.3. <u>Tribal Authority Chiefs</u>	15
2.6.4. <u>Problems of Traditional Leadership</u>	15
2.6.4.1. <u>Control over Resources</u>	16
2.6.4.2. <u>Decision-Making Power</u>	16
2.6.4.3. <u>Representativeness of the Kgotla</u>	17
2.7. <u>Summary</u>	18
3. <u>MODERN INSTITUTIONS</u>	20
3.1. <u>Introduction and Definition</u>	20
3.2. <u>Kgagodi Agricultural Groups</u>	21
3.2.1. <u>Fencing Group (FG)</u>	21
3.2.2. <u>Small Stock Groups (ss.gr.)</u>	24
3.2.3. <u>Tick Control Group (Diloro)</u>	25
3.2.4. <u>Cooperative (Coop)</u>	26
3.2.5. <u>4B Club</u>	26
3.3. <u>Kgagodi Voluntary Institutions</u>	27
3.3.1. <u>Parent Teachers Association (PTA)</u>	27
3.3.2. <u>Botswana Council of Women (BCW)</u>	28
3.3.3. <u>Social Welfare Committee (SWC)</u>	29
3.3.4. <u>Village Health Committee (VHC)</u>	30
3.4. <u>Kgagodi Coordinating Committees</u>	31
3.4.1. <u>Farmers Committee</u>	31
3.4.2. <u>Village Development Committee</u>	33
3.5. <u>Moshopa Agricultural Group</u>	37
3.5.1. <u>Fencing Group (FG)</u>	37
3.6. <u>Moshopa Voluntary Institutions</u>	43
3.6.1. <u>Parent Teacher Association (PTA)</u>	44
3.6.2. <u>Botswana Council of Women (BCW)</u>	45

	<u>Page No.</u>
3.6.3. <u>Social Welfare Committee (SWC)</u>	47
3.6.4. <u>"Mabeleapudi" 4B Club</u>	47
3.7. <u>Moshopa Coordinating Committees</u>	49
3.7.1. <u>Farmers Committee (FC)</u>	49
3.7.2. <u>Moshopa Village Development Committee</u>	50
3.8. <u>Sajwe Fencing Group (FG)</u>	53
3.8.1. <u>Background</u>	53
3.8.2. <u>Origin and Membership</u>	53
3.8.3. <u>Group Status</u>	53
3.8.4. <u>Project Description and Progress</u>	54
3.8.5. <u>Group Organisation and Management</u>	54
3.8.6. <u>Problems</u>	57
3.9. <u>Maape Community</u>	58
3.10. <u>Extension</u>	58
3.10.1. <u>Staff Inventory</u>	58
3.10.2. <u>Village Extension Team (VET)</u>	58
3.10.3. <u>Extension Staff</u>	59
3.11. <u>Problems of Modern Institutions - A Summary</u>	60
3.11.1. <u>General Problems</u>	60
3.11.2. <u>Specific Problems</u>	62
3.11.3. <u>Problems Related to Government Institutions</u>	62
3.12. <u>Analysis and Recommendations</u>	63
3.12.1. <u>Creation of Local Institutions</u>	64
3.12.2. <u>Group and Management Skills</u>	64
3.12.3. <u>Training Support and Follow Up</u>	65
3.12.4. <u>Recommendations</u>	65

PART II RESOURCES MANAGEMENT - INVENTORY, CHARACTERISTICS

<u>AND PROBLEMS</u>	69
4. <u>THE RESOURCE BASE</u>	69
4.1. <u>Introduction</u>	69

	<u>Page No.</u>
4.2. <u>Community Characteristics and Definition</u>	69
4.3. <u>Population Profile</u>	69
4.4. <u>Land and Water Sources Inventory</u>	70
4.5. <u>Arable Land Characteristics</u>	70
4.6. <u>Grazing Land Characteristics</u>	70
4.7. <u>Water Sources Characteristics</u>	82
4.8. <u>Livestock Resources</u>	83
5. <u>LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT</u>	85
5.1. <u>Introduction</u>	85
5.2. <u>Traditional Management Practices</u>	85
5.2.1. <u>Land Allocation</u>	85
5.2.2. <u>Traditional Land Use Practices</u>	85
5.2.3. <u>Traditional Grazing Practices</u>	87
5.2.4. <u>Observations</u>	87
5.3. <u>Current Management Practices</u>	89
5.3.1. <u>Introduction of Modern Institution</u>	89
5.3.2. <u>General Implications</u>	89
5.3.3. <u>Role of Land Boards</u>	89
5.3.4. <u>Management Practices</u>	90
5.3.4.1. <u>Rotational Grazing</u>	90
5.3.4.2. <u>Grazing Management</u>	90
5.3.4.3. <u>Water Management</u>	91
6. <u>ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</u>	104
6.1. <u>Factors Affecting Community Resource Management</u>	104
6.1.1. <u>Traditional Elements</u>	104
6.1.1.1. <u>Attitude to Land</u>	104
6.1.2. <u>Inheritance of Land</u>	105
6.1.3. <u>Scope within Environment Perception</u>	106
6.1.4. <u>Lack of Exposure to Innovations</u>	106
6.1.5. <u>Constraints Experienced by Land Boards</u>	106

	<u>Page No.</u>
6.1.5.1. <u>Lack of Administrative Mechanism</u>	107
6.1.5.2. <u>Lack of Administrative Guidance</u>	107
6.1.5.3. <u>Absence of Records for Land Administration</u>	107
6.1.5.4. <u>Circumscribed Land-Use Planning</u>	107
6.1.5.5. <u>Ad hoc Allocation Criteria</u>	107
6.1.5.6. <u>Spatial Context of Land Allocations</u>	108
6.1.6. <u>Lack of Community Power and Control</u>	108
6.1.6.1. <u>Lack of Local Level Inputs</u>	109
6.1.6.2. <u>Centralised Power and Control</u>	110
6.1.6.3. <u>The Extensive Role of the Minister</u>	111
6.1.6.4. <u>Recommendations</u>	112
6.2. <u>Potential Elements for Resource Management</u>	113
6.2.1. <u>Introduction</u>	113
6.2.2. <u>Traditional and Modern Management</u>	113
6.2.3. <u>Decentralisation of Controls</u>	114
6.2.4. <u>Comprehensive Information at SLB Constituency Level</u>	116
6.3. <u>Recommended Elements for a Resource Management Strategy</u>	117
6.3.1. <u>Preliminary Note</u>	117
6.3.2. <u>Elements of a Strategy</u>	117
6.3.2.1. <u>Resource Management Committee Membership</u>	118
6.3.2.2. <u>Fundamental Objective</u>	118
6.3.2.3. <u>Plan of Operations</u>	119
6.3.2.4. <u>Implementation Requirements</u>	123
6.3.3. <u>The Unit of Planning</u>	124
6.3.3.1. <u>A Definition</u>	124
6.3.3.2. <u>Principle of Flexibility</u>	125
6.3.4. <u>Concluding Note</u>	125

		<u>Page No.</u>
APPENDIX 1A	Central: Research Guidelines on Local Institutions	127
APPENDIX 1B	Resource Management Research Guidelines - Central District	139
APPENDIX 2	Wards and Headmen Characteristics in Kgagodi and Moshupa Villages	146
APPENDIX 3A	Ngwato Land Board - Report	151
APPENDIX 3B	Community Answer to Ngwato Land Board Report	153
APPENDIX 3C	Minutes of Kgotla Meeting with Ngwato Land Board	156
REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY		158

List of Diagrams Includes:

Kgagodi Traditional Structure	5
Moshopa Traditional Structure	8
Kgagodi Modern Structure	35

Tables:

Table 1: Moshupa Drift-Fence Survey Data	42
Table 2: Permanent Population Profile	69
Table 3: Kgagodi Remote Cattle-posts	88

Maps:

Map 1: Research Sites	2
Map 2: Kgagodi Communal Fence/Current Status (Dec. 1981)	23
Map 3: Moshopa Drift-Fence - Organisational Chart of Fencing Sub-Groups	40
Map 4A: Sajwe Group Fence - Proposed Fence and Current Development	55
Map 4B: Sajwe Group Fence - Current Status (Dec. 1981)	56
Map 5: Sajwe Fence and Water Sources	71
Map 6: Kgagodi Proposed Fence - Lands Areas and Water Sources	73
Map 7: Moshopa Drift-Fence - Lands and Water Sources	76
Map 8: Maape Village - Lands Areas and Water Sources	79

Water Indices:

Sajwe Water Source Index	72
Kgagodi Water Source Index	74
Moshopa Water Source Index	77
Maape Water Source Index	80

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SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONSI CREATION OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Where no VDC has yet been introduced

1. Extension workers and more specifically ACDOs, first, identify and promote by careful need assessment with the active participation of the residents, one or two groups/institutions best tailored to community needs, and, then devote as much effort on extending group and management skills (as defined in 3.12.2.) as on providing technical input.
2. For that exercise, extension workers consult and use "Re a Tlhaloganyana" extension manual (Stanley and Rick: 1982) or other appropriate material.
3. When such groups/institutions have proved viable, the ACDO in collaboration with other extension agents cautiously introduce in the community the concept of VDC, by launching widespread information campaigns, to explain to the community at large the roles and objectives of a VDC.
4. Such training be performed with appropriate non-formal adult education techniques and appropriate media, e.g. popular theatre, community rallies, posters and other visual aids, study groups, role playing, etc. instead of straight forward talks from the ACDO.
5. VDC elections only be attempted when the residents have acquired sufficient understanding of roles, objectives and operations of their VDC, so as to elect appropriate members accordingly.

Where VDCs and FCs already have been introduced:

6. Peripheral, dysfunctional and non-operational institutions be left aside and extension efforts ONLY concentrate on those few institutions identified by careful community need assessment that are:
 - first, highly valued and meet real needs of the residents and,
 - second, offer the best potential for simultaneous development of group skills and group management.
7. The ACDOs, in collaboration with other extension workers, give priority

to creating general community awareness of roles and objectives of VDC, as recommended in 2. and 3. above, and ensure that Chiefs are included in that training.

8. Once community-wide knowledge has been established new VDCs be elected with full participation of community residents.
9. The ACDO concentrate on extending group and management skills (as defined in 3.12.2) and design on-going training programmes for improving VDC operations as appropriate.
10. On-going training emphasise to VDC members the representative nature of their position and the fact that they are ultimately accountable to the community at large.
11. The ACDO, in collaboration with other extension workers, also organise similar information and consultation sessions for migrant labour as appropriate and encourage the VDC to include representatives of that segment of the community.

II. EXTENSION AT THE CENTRE

12. The Rural Extension Coordination Committee (RECC) facilitate and take active measures to ensure coordination of extension efforts among various departments and ministries involved (3.10.2.2.) by:
 - Including VET duties in the job description of extension cadres.
 - Requiring regular reports of cooperative projects from each extension cadre.
 - Requiring regular VET meetings.
 - Requiring district/national supervisors to visit at least once a year the VETs as a team.
13. RECC become the recognised forum for joint extension planning by:
 - Requesting the Departments/Ministries involved to circulate their annual plans to each other and to RECC.
 - Drawing a single integrated plan from various department plans and ensuring its implementation and supervision.

14. RECC investigate, design and promote the necessary mechanisms to also make extension staff accountable to their VDC for their work and performance.
15. An internal evaluation of the S and CD Division be conducted and the Division's specific role in extension be redefined in line with the recommendations presented in several Institutions Research reports.
16. That both S and CD and the Department of Field Services (MoA) in collaboration with Districts and Regions study the possibility of reducing the size of extension areas and have those of the different cadres coincide as much as possible.

III. EXTENSION TRAINING

17. Extension training for both ACDOs and ADs emphasise working with rural people along the line of their interests and needs, particularly those related to improving livelihood, physical level of living and community welfare.
18. Extension training curriculum be seriously revised and some of the following elements possibly included:
 - group planning, consultation, meetings, workshops and participatory techniques.
 - effective use of subject and result demonstrations.
 - effective use of adult education complementary supporting activities such as: relevant technical support, formulation of work-plans, preparation of calendar of events, planning for committees in-service training, evaluation processes of group/project activities etc.
 - familiarisation with informal training techniques, e.g. popular theatre, exhibits, tours, use of media.
19. For appropriate subjects, extension workers be trained together at BAC and the importance of team work in extension be emphasised.

IV. LAND LEGISLATION

20. That the Presidential Commission on Land Tenure; considers investigating the legal constraints reported in 6.1.5.1-3: and recommend effective mechanisms to remedy the law.
21. That the same Commission also considers facilitating the design of effective legal mechanisms for assisting the Land Boards in their difficult task of land resource, administration, as reported in 6.1.4.
22. That the same Commission assess the performance of the Land Division(MLGL) and draft effective Terms of Reference for future operations of the Division.
23. That the Minister, by virtue of the powers granted to him under the TLA (para. 37b and c) consider prescribing the inclusion of SLB plans and policies into Tribal Land Board main policies and the other enforcement mechanisms outlined in 6.3.2.3. Step 1B.

V. RESOURCE MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

24. That a resource management Pilot Project be initiated in the Mahalapye Subordinate Land Board Area.
25. Resource Management Committee Membership.
It is recommended that:
 - (a) A Resource Management Committee be established, formed of:
 - All SLB members
 - Two additional members (to be appointed)
 - One DO(L) (possibly the new one to be recruited for the sub district).
 - (b) The DO and Tribal Authority (Mahalapye) serve as advisory members to the Committee in customary matters.
26. Plan of Operations.
In order to achieve this objective, the three following steps are recommended:
STEP 1: Decentralisation of Controls
That the necessary measures be taken by the Minister of Local Government

the Main Land Board Council and District authorities for facilitating the decentralisation of the controls listed in 6.2.2. to the communities of Mahalapye SLB constituency.

27. Enforcement Mechanisms.

Community decisions to be effective, must derive from the power to actually enforce these decisions. Thus, the following mechanisms appear necessary and are therefore recommended for empowering the VDCs to enforce community decisions:

- 1) That Community plans drawn in collaboration with the SLB, as outlined in Step 2(g) and further revised Step 3(b), be ratified by the Tribal Land Board and made official community management policies.
- 2) That any further modification of the community plan be made with the consent of both the community at large and the SLB, and be reported to the Tribal Land Board.
- 3) That the VDC become the official responsible body accountable to the Land Boards and District Council for ensuring the implementation of the community plan by all village residents.
- 4) That both Tribal and Subordinate Land Boards discharge their duties and obligations granted to them under the Act and Regulations, subject to approved community plans.

28. STEP 2: Rural Communities as Resource Management Base.

That rural communities (as defined in 2.2.) with their respective village lands and grazing locations, become the primary base for resource management.

In this second step it is recommended that the Resource Management Committee:

- (a) Organise a first round of consultations with each village government body (i.e. VDC/Chief plus extension workers) in order to inform them of the Resource Management Programme, and establish a schedule for future consultations with community wide membership.

- (b) Organise, at the set time and dates, a second round of consultations in order to explain and discuss the programme with the communities at large.
- (c) Conduct additional information sessions, as necessary, until the residents fully understand the aim and objectives of the programme and its implications.
- (d) Also adequately inform the communities about the roles, purpose and functions of Land Boards and other institutions, pertaining to the management of local resources (e.g. Land Utilisation, Conservation Committees, Range Ecology, DOL, AO(LR), etc.)
- (e) Brief the communities on objectives and content of current District and National land policies.
- (f) Emphasise at all stages of the information/consultation process that resource management is the joint responsibility of both residents and Land Boards, and ensure to demonstrate it to the residents (see 6.2.1.).
- (g) Encourage the communities to produce a simple "mental" resource management plan for each community area, based on the community's perception of spacial distribution of local resources and on general consensus, which could, at a later stage, be sketched by the committee. (The list provided in 6.2.3. could serve as a guide).
- (h) Compile, in the meantime, any other pertinent information available on the constituency, as outlined in 6.2.3.
- (i) Summarise and make a sketch-map of all community plans; note all requirements and constraints mentioned and locate them geographically on a constituency map (e.g. water sources, arable requirement, grazing constraints, land shortages, possible new settlements, etc.)
- (j) Compile and analyse all the findings as outlined in Step 3.

29. STEP 3: Drafting Resource Management Proposals

That in relation to the findings and analysis, the resource management committee attempt to draft resource management proposals for the constituency.

It is therefore recommended that, before drafting proposals, the Resource Management Committee:

- (a) Present the results of the analysis to each community in the constituency.
- (b) Present and discuss incompatible community plans with the communities concerned and clearly expose the reasons why/how their plans ought to be modified.
- (c) Also consult with the appropriate officers and staff (and other resource persons), directly implicated in all proposals to be drafted.
- (d) When community plans are compatible and in agreement with constituency planning, resources be allocated in accordance with respective community plans, unless counter to Government or Land Board regulations.

VI. IMPLEMENTATION REQUIREMENTS

30. Political Support

In this perspective it is therefore recommended that the Ministry, the Tribal Land Board, Council and District Authorities give full support to the decentralisation of controls (listed in 6.2.3.) to the communities of Mahalapye SLB constituency, so as to both strengthen the leadership and decision-making power of village institutions in those communities, and raise their incentive to plan and manage community resources in collaboration with the Land Boards (see 2.6.4. and 6.2.3.).

31. Staffing and Transport.

For implementing this project it is recommended that:

- (a) Two additional members be appointed on the Mahalapye SLB for at least the length of the field work.
- (b) A DO(L) be recruited to provide guidance and technical support to the SLB team.
- (c) The DO(L) and at least two SLB members (interchangeable) constitute the field-work team.
- (d) The team be provided with a 4 x 4 vehicle for its field work.

32. Training Requirements and Material.

- (a) The Resource Management Committee, under the guidance of the DO(L) and in consultation with the Main Land Board, Tribal Authority and other appropriate resource persons, first make a clear and simple summary of:
 - Current land policies
 - Specific roles and functions of the Land Board.
 - Roles and functions of: Conservation Committees and Range Ecology and Land Resource Officers.and make sure that there is consensus among themselves on all these points.
- (b) Consultation/Information Sessions on land utilisation, resource conservation or other, be planned and designed in collaboration with Non-Formal Education staff or other competent resource persons, and on the basis of appropriate extension material. e.g. "Re A Tlhaloganyana", a handbook for facilitators (Stanley & Rick, 1982).
- (c) Information Sessions primarily aim at stimulating the general participation in land-use discussions with the villagers, and avoid confronting the communities with pre-conceived plans.
- (d) Appropriate visual aids be utilised, (e.g. posters, flip-charts, slides, etc.) to illustrate various types of land-use, instead of maps which virtually no resident understands.

33. Subordinate Land Boards Boundaries.

In relation to this problem it is recommended that the SLB constituency boundaries, (to be soon revised and mapped) be drawn in accordance with resource management findings around manageable numbers of well demarcated communities with related resources, clearly defined, farming preferably homogenous ecological units, or homogeneous resource management units rather than areas based on tribal ties.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

This report on Local Institutions and Resource Management is a companion study to that conducted during the 1980-81 agricultural season. (Zufferey, 1982), which established baseline data for a fencing impact study in the same four communities i.e. Sajwe Fencing Group, Kgagodi, Moshopa and Maape Villages (Map 1).

1.1.1. Fencing Study Outline

Given the extensive adoption of fencing practices in communal areas of Central District in August 1980, Central Agricultural Region initiated a fencing impact study in collaboration with the Rural Sociology Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture, in order to analyse the impact of group/communal fencing on crop production, household income, access to water and land, livestock movements, quality of grazing and management practices.

To that end, three fencing groups (Sajwe, Kgagodi and Moshopa) at early fencing stage and representing a cross-section of the three most common types of fences were selected, as well as one control site (Maape) which was considered unlikely to initiate a fencing project.

The study was planned to be conducted into two distinct phases:

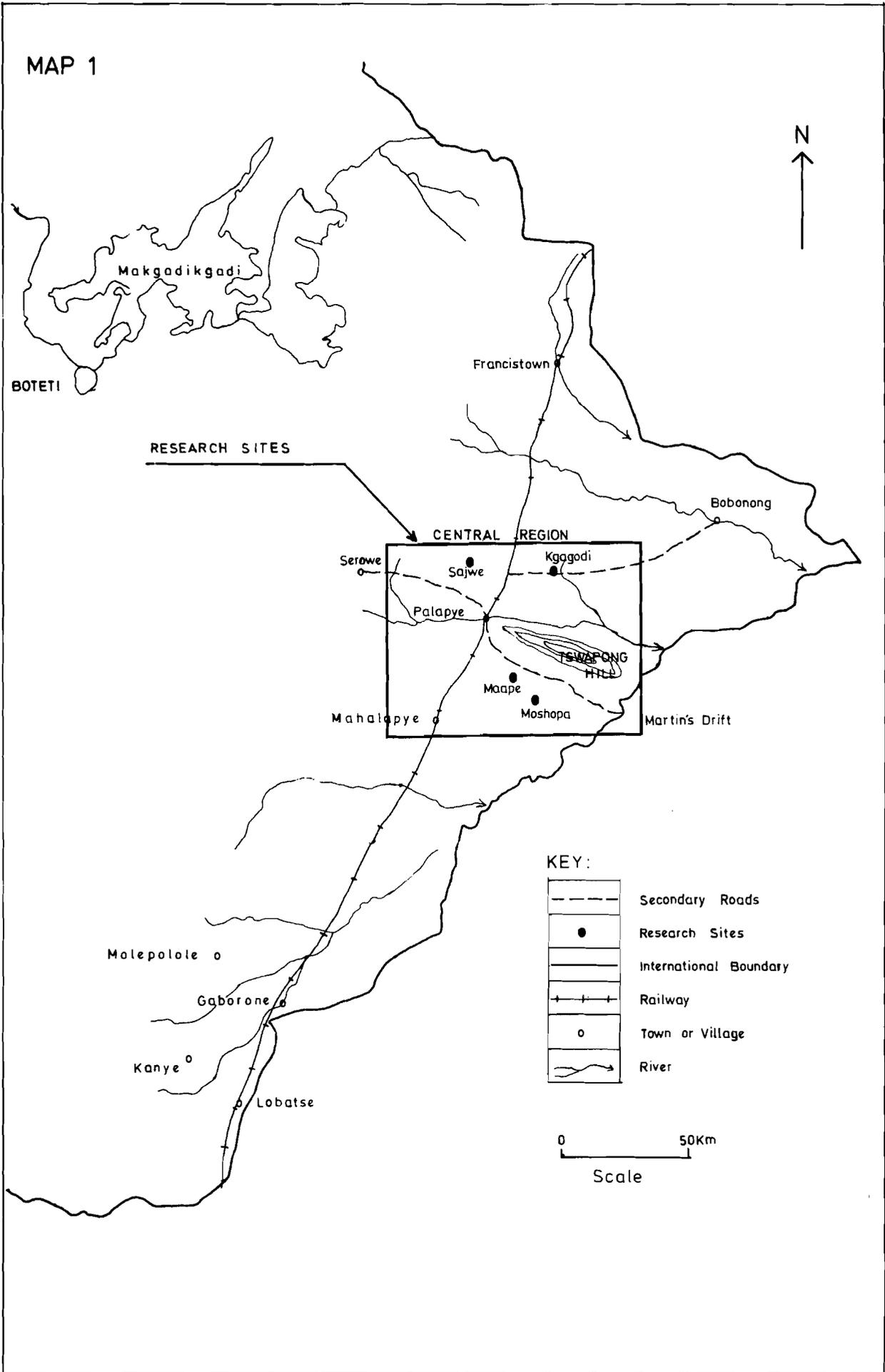
Phase 1: Pre-fencing data gathering (completed)

Phase 2: Post-fencing analysis (to be conducted after completion of the fences)

1.1.2. Institutions and Resource Management Research

Central District identified its first CFDA on 26.3.82 (see Zufferey, 1983). The CFDA Programme staff perceived the Fencing Study to offer an appropriate setting for initiating research on local institutions in Central District. Thus, with the contribution of two additional university students, research on local institutions was conducted simultaneously with the Fencing Study post-harvest data gathering in September-October 1981.

The resource management component, to be initially included in the analysis of local institutions, was ultimately conducted separately. Because of time constraint and the complex nature of land-use and resource management in communal areas, three weeks field work was further conducted in December 1981 with five University students in order to only concentrate on resource management issues.



1.2. Origin of the Data

Since both the Fencing Study and this enquiry on institutions and resource management were simultaneously conducted in the same communities, the data and figures presented in this document derive from the Fencing Study and are not, therefore, fully presented in this report.

1.3. The Report

This report is composed of two distinct parts:

Part 1 deals specifically with local institutions.

- It first presents the ethnic and historical background of the communities studied, gives a detailed analysis of the traditional structure and analyses the major problems identified.
- Second, it gives a detailed inventory and analysis of modern institutions and extension, summarises the problems and gives recommendations.

Part 2 deals with resource management characteristics and problems.

- It first makes an inventory of the resources identified, illustrated with maps and indices, and presents the resource base with its population, land, water and livestock characteristics.
- Second, it gives an overview of traditional and current management practices and includes three case studies as illustrative examples of current resource management in those communities.
- Finally, it summarises the constraints identified, highlights potential elements for resource management and suggests a land-use and resource management pilot approach for the communal areas of Central District.

1.4. Note on Research Methodology

The research combined interviews of both traditional and modern community leaders, groups and Coordinating Committees, informal conversations and a great deal of participant observation, such as taking part in fencing activities (e.g. cutting, transporting poles, clearing etc.) systematically attending all Kgotla and local institution meetings, and joining other community informal events (e.g. beer parties, school concerts, dances, beauty contests, etc.)

Student researchers were provided with basic research guidelines, produced in Appendices 1A and 1B, which were drafted by the research Coordinator in collaboration with the District Officer/Development (DOD) and the District Officer (Lands (DO/L)) in Serowe, and the research programme staff. These guidelines were thoroughly studied and discussed with the students before going to the field and in the field itself.

A sample survey was conducted in Kgagodi and Moshopa villages in order to crosscheck the information on Village Development Committees (VDC) with the communities at large (see Questionnaire in Appendix 1A), and another one was prepared for a similar purpose with regard to Subordinate Land Boards (SLB) operations. (See Appendix 1B). The latter, however, was replaced by informal discussions with the residents, after realising that most questions pertaining to village settlement, land allocation and Land Boards were raising considerable uneasiness and suspicion among the farming community.

1.5. Quality of Information

The initial time period (2 1/2 months) enabled the students to integrate fairly well into the communities and soon to establish good relationships with and reliable information networks among the residents. Physical participation in group work and community activities significantly contributed to breaking down communication barriers, allowing frank talk with most villagers.

The resource management study was greatly facilitated from the fact that two of the five students had already researched local institutions in those villages and, therefore, already knew the residents, the area and the basic problems of those communities.

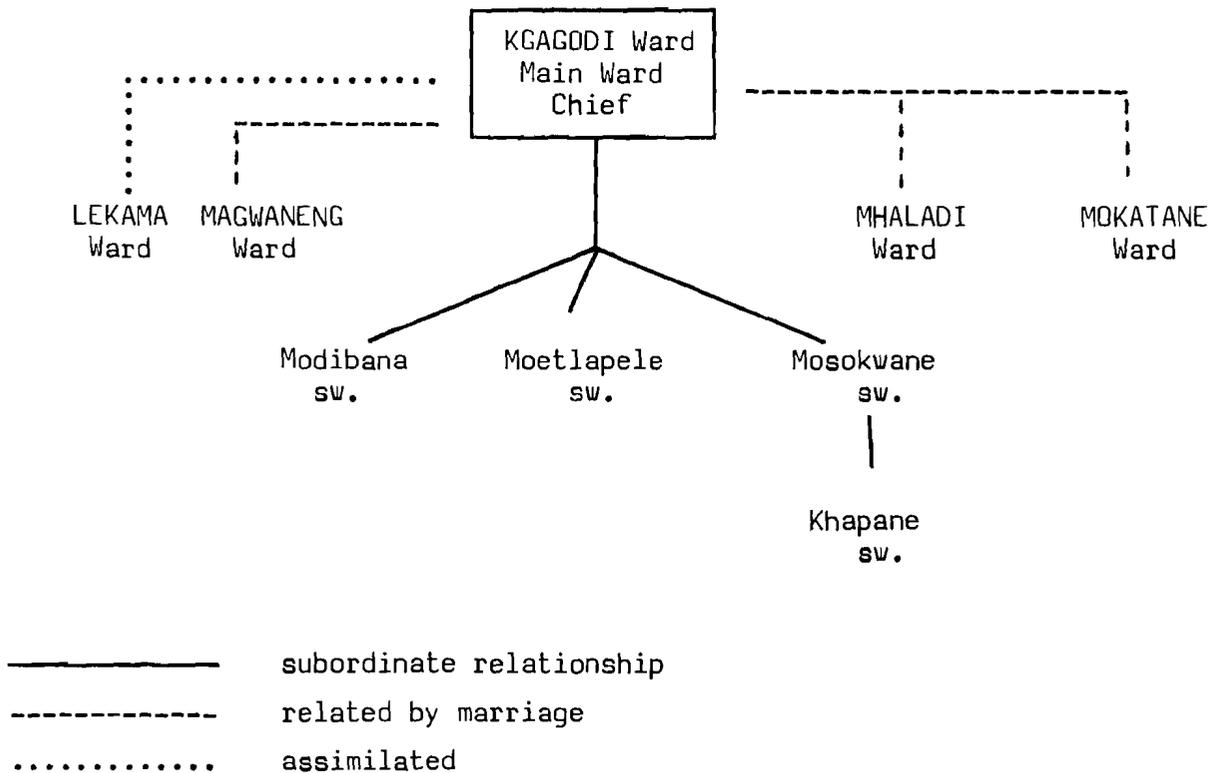
Finally, the permanent presence of the Coordinator in the field also enabled to systematically discuss with the students all information gathered and all other problems or issues as they arose, and to make accordingly the necessary research adaptations.

CHAPTER 2: TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE

2.1. KGAGODI WARD STRUCTURE

Kgagodi village presents features of a tightknit community in which virtually all nine wards are closely interrelated and clustered around the Chief's ward. The ward structure could be summarised as follows:

Diagram 1: Kgagodi Ward Structure



The majority of the residents are Talaote people from the modern Ngwato tribe distributed into four sub-wards clustered around Kgosing (chief's ward). Modibana and Moetlapele already were subordinate wards of Kgagodi in Shoshong before 1889 and Mosokwane joined Kgagodi in 1902. While Lekama ward was assimilated during the tribal move to Palapye (1889), Magwaneng, Mhaladi and Mokatane are related to Kgosing by intermarriages of the wardheads into the Chief's family.

2.2. KGAGODI WARD HISTORY

The BoTalaote originated from Shoshong (first capital), moved with the tribe to Palapye (second capital) and were then dispersed or allocated new territories east of Palapye by Khama the Great, partly because of water shortages in Palapye and partly because of Khama's plan to consolidate his

kingdom against the Boers threatening to move north.

2.2.1. Kgagodi Ward

The main ward was established as Kgagodi Ward of BoTalaote in Shoshong and Palapye. Because of leadership conflicts arising between Phalalo, the head of the ward, and his younger brothers, Khama moved the ward to Maokaatuwe (current Kgagodi). This move was done to preserve Phalalo's authority, but also was part of Khama's strategic plan.

2.2.2. Modibana and Moetlapele Wards

These were sub-wards of Kgagodi in Shoshong and Palapye, and followed their main ward to Maokaatuwe.

2.2.3. Mosokwane Ward

Mosokwane also was composed of BoTalaote people in Shoshong and settled later in Palapye. Mosokwane ward became a sub-ward of Kgagodi in Palapye. When the capital moved to Serowe (1902), some Mosokwane people went to Sefhope, some to Malaka and others to Diloru (close to current Kgagodi). This ward still is closely related to the current chief. (Mosokwane Headman is the chief's nephew).

2.2.4. Khapane Ward

This ward originated from Mosweu ward in Palapye. In 1902, Mosweu people went to settle in Sefhope. Khapane (Mosweu's brother) separated from his ward and joined BoTalaote to Maokaatuwe. Since Mosweu already was a sub-ward of Mosokwane in Palapye, they remained with their main ward in Kgagodi. However, this sub-ward only included 1 family: Khapane, his wife and 4 boys, and still now they are referred to as the "Khapane family" rather than ward. Currently, only two families are still alive in the village. Since their headman lives at Palapye, they are administered by Mosokwane ward.

2.2.5. Mhaladi Ward

This ward originated from Palapye Mhaladi ward. Mhaladi people, like most other people in Palapye, suffered from water and land shortages and were in quest of a better settlement. When Kgagodi moved, they joined him to Maokaatuwe. This ward is related to Kgagodi ward by inter-marriage only. The current headman is the chief's first cousin.

2.2.6. Mokatane Ward

This ward originated from Mokatane royal ward in South Africa. Their chief Moganane and families (father and five uncles of current headman) came north after the Ngwato move of 1902 and settled in Maokaatuwe. They were initially attached to Mhaladi ward, but maintained an autonomous kgotla. When they grew in number, they formed their own ward, Mokatane. This ward is now related to the main ward since chief Malokoane from Kgagodi (previous chief) married an aunt of the current headman.

2.2.7. Lekama Ward

The Lekama people originated from Kaa people in South Africa. The Kaa people are said to be offshoots of the Rolong who dispersed at the death of their chief Tau in 1760. Ancestors of Lekama people had settled in Shoshong as royal ward of BaKaa. During the tribal move to Palapye (1889), they were assimilated by BoTalaote and moved to Maokaatuwe with Kgagodi. It is said that because of conflicts arising between Chief Kgagodi's sons and Lekama people, Kgagodi moved the ward close to his, at the western side of the village where they still are today. This ward is also said to have introduced in Kgagodi the first Christian Church, London Missionary Society, of which the headman's mother was a minister.

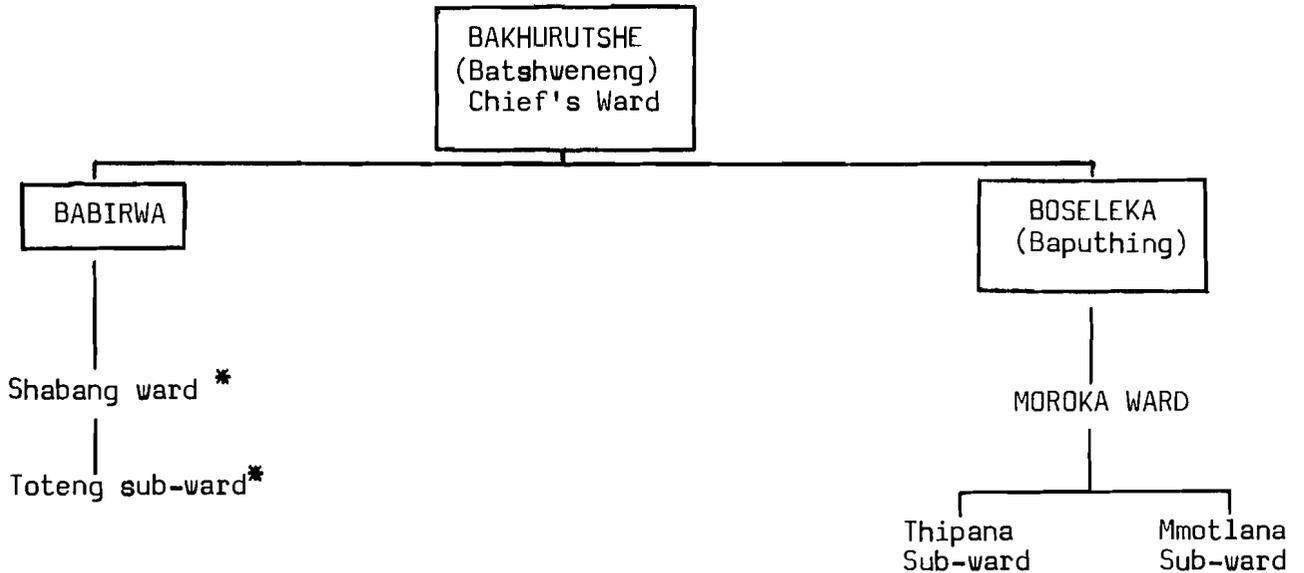
2.2.8. Magwaneng Ward

Magwaneng ward originates from Magwaneng kgotla in Maunatlala. After the death of her husband, one of the current Magwaneng people's ancestors (Magoleng), left Maunatlala for Shoshong, the Ngwato capital. Magoleng remarried in Shoshong among Kgagodi people and her sister (Sempone) joined her later in Shoshong, where Magwaneng people appear to have first been incorporated in the Ntabana and later in the Kgagodi wards. When they grew in sufficient numbers, they formed their own kgotla Magwaneng, named after their grandfather. When the capital moved to Palapye, Magwaneng was told by Khama the Great to follow Kgagodi to Maokaatuwe, current Kgagodi.

2.3. MOSHOPA TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE

2.3.1. Ethnic Composition and Ward Structure

Moshopa community was found to be composed of three predominant ethnic groups: Bakhurutshe, Bobirwa and Boseleka, and the ward structure is summarised as follows:

Diagram 2: Moshopa Ward Structure

* Those two wards often are referred to as one: the "Bobirwa Ward".

2.3.2. Historical Background

2.3.2.1. Bahurutshe

The Bahurutshe with Bakwena and Bakgatla were the last (third) and greatest wave of Sotho people who entered South Africa around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They ultimately settled in what is now Western Transvaal and, according to tradition, were originally united under Mohurutshe, the same leader. Yet, because of disputes among his descendents, they rapidly broke up into different segments each of which became afterwards separated in many different tribes. Thus by the end of the 18th century, the Bakwena who seceded from Mohurutshe had divided into: BaMogôpa-Kwena, Bakwena (of Bechuanaland), BaNgwaketse, Bangwato and Batawana. (Shapera 1952:6).

The Bahurutshe meanwhile had also broken apart. Mohurutshe's son and successor Motebele ill-treated his younger brother Motebejane who moved away and established his own village. He was joined later by other members of the tribe who disliked Motebele's rule. Motebele tried to bring them back by force,

but was defeated and fled to Ootse. There he quarreled with another brother, named Lesele, of whose marriage he disapproved. Lesele withdrew from the village accompanied by most of the people and ultimately settled in what is now known as North East District. There they came in contact with Bakalaka by whom their tribal name was corrupted into its current form of "BaKhurutshe". (Schapera, 1952:9).

Among the BaKhurutshe, further disputes about succession to the chieftainship led to the secession of a large group which fled under Moatshe and Tsapo along the Boteti River where they lived as an independent tribe until subjugated by the Bangwato. (c. 1845). Other disputes between Chief Moloise and other members of the royal family remaining behind in Tati district caused several of the chief's uncles to flee to the Bangwato and Moloise himself after quarrelling with Molebatsi his successor, also fled to the Bangwato (Schapera, ibid: 13).

Eight community elders interviewed concurred that the Bakhurutshe, initially established in Serowe, moved four generations ago to the current Moshopa area under the leadership of their chief Molokomme and are the first ethnic group to have settled in Moshopa. It appears that a second group of Bakhurutshe, currently known as "Batshweneng" (Khurutshe totem) arrived in the area and initially settled in Psweroge south of the current Moshopa. Those Batshweneng have been apparently assimilated by Chief Molokomme and one of their leaders married in Malokomme's family. From that marriage one son (Moshopa) was born, whose son Morulanyi was the great grandfather of current Chief Morulanyi.

2.3.2.2. Babirwa

Babirwa, Bapedi and several other groups who became subject communities in the eastern part of the Ngwato territory are said to be allied to the Sotho peoples of the north western Transvaal (Eastern Sotho). Social, political organisation and mode of life of all these groups seem to have much in common with the Tswana people, despite many obvious differences in detail. However, we still know very little about them (Schapera, 1952:4).

From Birwa accounts in Moshopa, the Babirwa apparently occupied the Bobonong area and, after having subjugated Chief Molokomme, a group of them occupied Moshopa. Those Babirwa later fled to Bobididi (S.A.) chased by Matabele

incursions. On their return to Bobonong, Toteng, Shabang's brother left Bobonong, to settle in Mokobeng and Chadibe area. Later Shabang himself, the leader of the tribe, joined his younger brother but formed a separate ward. One son of the Chief in Chadibe married Sekgantshwane, Shabang's daughter. At the death of her husband, she returned to her father's with three sons (Morulanyi, Rabatsheka and Raboneti) and one daughter (Matino). Since Shabang's only son (Raisaka) stayed in South Africa, Shabang nominated Morulanyi (his grandson and grand father of the current chief) as his successor.

2.3.2.3. Baseleka

Seleka people in eastern Botswana are generally also classed as Transvaal Sotho since they have assimilated the language and culture. But in origin, they are really Transvaal Ndebele from Nguni stock.

The Baseleka from Mmadinare have a close relationship with Ba Malete whom they regard as parent tribe. Separation apparently took place on the vicinity of Ngwapa Hill on the Crocodile River, due to a dispute in the course of which the Malete chief looted the cattle of his younger brother who thereupon seceded and became the founder of the Seleka tribe.

The Voortrekkers' treatment of the local population led in 1852-3 to the flight of several tribes into Ngwaketse and Kwena territories. The Seleka people crossed further north into the territory of the Bangwato. (Schapera, *ibid.*: 4, 5, 11).

From community accounts, Baseleka moved north from Seleka in South Africa to the current Seleka in Tswapong (north east of Moshopa) under the leadership of Mateolo. Some of them settled in Moshopa after establishing supremacy over Mmotlana ward who had come from Gosetshe ward in Serowe (also called Mmotlana) with their Chief Kgagabi Lesarwa. These people currently form a cluster of three wards: Moroka being the main ward with Mmotlana (sub-ward by assimilation) and Thipana (decentralisation of Moroka).

2.4. MAAPE TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE

2.4.1. Ethnic and Historical Context

Community residents say that Maape community was originally composed of

four predominant ethnic groups: the Mathibatsela, Mabuo, Mosarwa and Sesetlha people.

2.4.1.1. Mathibatsela and Mabuo

In the 1850s, Chief Moremi from Tswapong undertook to allocate new areas to his brothers in order to consolidate his kingdom against frequent incursions of white settlers in quest of lands. One of them, Mathibatsela, occupied the Malaka area and had four sons: Mogome, Tlhobukwe, Letate and Nyabane. At the Ngwato tribal move from Shoshong to Palapye (1998), Mathibatsela and his people were assimilated by the Bangwato and remained loyal to Paramount Chief Khama.

Letate, succeeding his brother Mogome discovered Maape River (Semakwakwe) on a hunt. That area was then occupied by Mabuo people from Gotau. Mabuo people however, found that settlement inadequate and left for Bobodidi (Transvaal). Letate then asked Chief Khama's permission to settle in the area. Permission was granted on the condition that his royal messengers and soldiers still could keep their base in Maape. Letate, Nyabane, Papadi and families (7 10 people) settled in Maape and ever since have justified their name of "Mathibatsela".*

On their return from Bobididi, Mabuo people under leadership of Nkgakge went straight to Maape, their former settlement. Conflict erupted over land ownership and Mabuo people accused Mathibatsela to have usurped their territory. Paramount Chief Khama sent his councillor Mokubung to settle the dispute and demanded co-existence of both groups. Since the Mathibatsela people were already well established and organised in Maape and since a settlement could not possible have two heads, the "new comers" became somewhat subordinate to Mathibatsela. Each group formed separate Kgotlas which are sometimes referred to collectively as the "Mogome ward". At Letate's death, Morupisi, one of his four sons, took chieftainship.

2.4.1.2. Sesetlha and Mosarwa

Under the reign of Mathibatsela in Malaka a certain Ditshwang in quest of better settlement came from Serowe from Sesetlha Kgotla, sub-ward of Basenya at Metsemasweu. Ditshwang married Nyabane's daughter and had a son, Moepi,

* From "Motse o thibile tsela", lit. "village that blocked the road" (to soldiers).

who established the Sesetlha ward in Maape.

In the same manner Sebihelo from the Mosarwa ward in Shoshong, moved to Maape with his brother Papadi. When he was on his way from Serowe to rejoin his brothers reported to be in Tutswe, Sebihelo's wife died in Malaka. Sebihelo then settled in Malaka, married one of Nyabane's sisters and gradually established the Mosarwa ward in Maape.

These two wards were foreign to Batswapong. Even though Chief Morupisi delegated headmanship to Moepi (Sesetlha) and Sebihelo (Mosarwa) with kgotla autonomy, they did not seem to have had much influence in local politics and remained subordinate to Mathibatsela and Mabuo chiefs.

Although the origin and history of such wards has been confirmed by older people, current royal family members still deny the existence of Sesetlha and Mosarwa as official kgotlas. The current chieftainship crisis in Maape appears to originate from those early tribal conflicts and supremacy of the "Mogome ward" (Mabuo and Mathibatsela) over the others.

2.5. SAJWE LANDS AREA

Sajwe is not a village community, but a lands area 42 kilometres northeast of Serowe where a group of Serowe farmers plough together.

2.5.1. Historical Background

The Sajwe farmers are composed of 37 original families of Goseetsho ward from Serowe, initially occupying the eastern side of Serowe Hill. As part of the Serowe wards decentralisation process of the 1940s due to increasing congestion at the Centre, Goseetsho ward was reallocated opposite BoTalaote ward in 1947 in order to make more room for Maaloso royal ward. Gasebalwe Seretse, advisor and relative of Tshekedi Khama, was mandated to relocate the ward and the same year (1947) Seetsho people moved to their current location under the headmanship of Kgosietsho Ramojababo.

2.5.2. Ward Linkages

The Goseetsho ward headman reported that traditional general consultation among Serowe wardheads on major community issues and respective Kgotla cases is fast disappearing. The presence in Serowe of both the District Senior Tribal Authority and District Council Administration appear to be two

significant factors directly affecting quality and relevance of the traditional ward structure in the community.

Goseetsho ward, as most other wards in Serowe, was said to only collaborate with adjacent wards on issues of immediate concern common to all of them, e.g. water reticulation, infrastructure, etc. Similarly, wardheads only consult each other on issues pertaining to respective kgotla membership and unresolved matters are directly forwarded to Serowe main kgotla by the headmen concerned.

2.6. HEADMEN - CHIEFS

Community leadership in all communities studied is essentially exercised by the headmen and chiefs at their respective levels.

2.6.1. Chieftainship

It must be noted that two distinct levels of chieftainship have to be distinguished between "traditional chiefs" and "nominated chiefs", referred to hereafter as Tribal Authority Chiefs. Traditional Chiefs are the leaders who inherited the chieftainship. Tribal Authority Chiefs are those who were nominated and elected and currently perform a role of paid civil servants in constituencies covering several villages.

Confusion often arises from the fact that Tribal Authority Chiefs are commonly referred to as Chiefs, while traditional Chiefs have become known as Headmen. Yet, in the eyes of the population, both are equally "kgosi" (Chiefs), except that traditional chiefs appear to command more loyalty among village residents than Tribal Authority Chiefs who often are perceived as outside government officials. (See below, 2.6.3.).

Thus, in those communities, leadership can be said to be exercised through three successive levels: the headmen (ward level), traditional chiefs (his ward (Kgosing) or village level). Tribal Authority Chiefs (Tribal Authority constituency levels).

2.6.2. Headmen and Traditional Chief's Duties and Jurisdiction

While each headman (and traditional chief) performs duties and jurisdiction at his own ward level, the traditional chiefs, in addition, attend in main Kgotla meetings to matters unresolved at the ward level. Unsolved matters

at main kgotla level are in turn referred to Tribal Authority Chiefs.

2.6.2.1. Thus the headmen's duties basically are twofold:

- they perform the role of leaders and referees in their ward membership;
- they also liaise between their ward and Kgosing (chief's ward) by transmitting resolutions from the chief's ward to their people and referring ward unsolved matters to the main Kgotla.

2.6.2.2. In both Moshopa and Kgagodi a strict sense of hierarchy was observed in this interrelationship. For example, a wardhead does not interfere into the domestic matters of his sub-ward, unless such matters are referred to him by his sub-headman. Similarly a sub-ward head will not report to Kgosing (main Kgotla) prior to consulting with his main ward head. In the same way, headmen do not report to Tribal Authority chiefs without first informing Kgosing (main Kgotla/traditional chief) and the traditional chief will not intervene in any ward matters unless requested to do so.

2.6.2.3. The jurisdiction of headmen is currently limited to the following:

- settling ward disputes
- seduction, rape and divorce cases
- crop damage cases
- fights involving no physical injury
- selection of site for newcomers in the ward in consultation with traditional chief.

In relation to those cases, headmen and traditional chiefs can apply the following sanctions and penalties:

- fines of 4 head of cattle in cases of illegitimate pregnancies
- one ox in cases of crop damage by cattle
- one goat in cases of crop damage by smallstock
- up to 4 lashes in other cases

Cases beyond the jurisdiction of headmen and traditional chiefs include:

- murder
- fights involving physical injuries
- thefts
- fines payable in cash

All of those have to be referred to Tribal Authority Chiefs because they

normally require official records, police statements or receipts.

2.6.3. Tribal Authority Chiefs

Tribal Authority Chiefs have now become the official authority in customary matters. Unlike traditional chiefs, they are not attached to wards but adjudicate cases and customary matters referred to their court by the traditional chiefs in their constituency. The same kgotla procedures are followed in Tribal Authority Courts as in any other Kgotla hearing, except for the use of official forms and documents, written records taken by a court clerk and sanctions enforced by Tribal Authority policemen.

The new Tribal Administration, just as the traditional chieftainship, has been stripped of many of the pre-Independence prerogatives attached to chiefs, e.g. land allocation, control of stray cattle (matimela) etc. The Tribal Administration's main functions are limited to:

- a) Administering justice through customary courts
- b) Settling land disputes
- c) Carrying out certain traditional and ceremonial functions
- d) Providing general leadership and advice in everyday matters (Reilly 1981:15)

Further, Senior Tribal Authority Chiefs fall under direct control of Government. While still appointed according to custom, their official recognition must be ratified by Government and Government may refuse to recognise someone's appointment. In such cases that Chief forfeits both his salary and membership in the House of Chiefs. In turn, Senior Tribal Authority Chiefs, appoint sub-chiefs who also have to be officially recognised before they are eligible for a salary or can exercise formal authority at their respective courts.

As a result most Tribal Authority Chiefs tend to place their loyalty more into the District Administration - their formal employment agency - than in the communities they actually administer.

2.6.4. Problems of Traditional Leadership

The current authority exercised at the various levels of Chieftainship appear to be considerably weakened by two basic factors: loss of their own control and decision-making power, and skewed attendance in the Kgotla.

Despite the well established ward structure and strict hierarchy still observed between ward heads in some of those communities, all headmen and traditional Chiefs deplore the low attendance at Kgotla meetings. Out of 20 wardheads interviewed, eight attributed this phenomenon to people's "irresponsibility" or "indifference". The majority (12) felt that they are gradually "losing authority" because, in their own terms, "government is now minimising the importance of attending meetings". Further interviews revealed three major reasons that appear to be weakening traditional leadership:

2.6.4.1. Control over Resources

Allocation of land and, to some extent, management planning of community resources (i.e. water, grazing and arable land) - both prerogatives of traditional chiefs - are currently controlled by Land Boards (LB) and Subordinate Land Boards (SLB) which in all communities studied, are institutions located outside those communities. (5.3.3.) Even though chiefs are requested to sign SLB applications, their control over community resources remains "symbolic" since, in cases of conflict, LBs take the final decision. (See below Moshopa (5.3.4.3. (iii)). As a result (though not common) some residents tend to by-pass the regular channels by applying for land/water directly to SLBs. In this process, not only allocation, but also management planning of community resources itself becomes ultimately dependent on outside institutions, thus reducing considerably traditional authority in the communities. (See case studies below. 5.3.4.3. (i-iii)).

2.6.4.2. Decision-Making Power

If control over resources rests outside the communities, decision-making power, by the same token, loses much of its relevance and effectiveness. What headmen and traditional chiefs qualified as "loss of authority" and "poor emphasis from Government on meeting attendance" appears to relate directly to the quality of decision-making currently taking place in rural communities. Local residents realise that, unless they have effective control over community resources, their inputs in Kgotla meetings or other consultation/planning exercises - however democratic they may be - lose much of their relevance. Thus, many residents have become disinterested (if not cynical) about attending Kgotla meetings, and those who do attend appear to participate more out of curiosity than community concerns.

2.6.4.3. Representativeness of the Kgotla

Beside the problems of control and decision-making power the current Kgotla has its own inherent limitations.

Traditionally, the village Kgotla was the only representative institution at village level ruled by the unquestioned final decision of the chief. Currently the Kgotla still is recognised as the official focus of rural communities. The Kgotla still is the main village body dealing with customary law and general community issues; it is the acknowledged public place where information is disseminated and violators disciplined; it is, also the place where any adult can stand and voice his/her own views. For these reasons, the Kgotla still gives official character to community decisions and maintains very high legitimacy compared to other village institutions. (See for example, RSU 1981:Part I). Thus, because of the high legitimacy chiefs and Kgotlas still enjoy, it is commonly assumed that Kgotla decisions/resolutions "represent" the community.

Yet, 27% of a sample of 372 households (70% sample) taken across the four communities had family members working elsewhere. That migrant labour force amounted to 5.2% of all family members in the sample ranging between 2.8% and 11% of respective village sampled populations.* These people were primarily young men and women with often higher formal education who were forced to seek employment in South Africa or other major centres throughout Botswana. This means that a good proportion of the most able-bodied segment of the population lives outside the villages and, at any time, is not represented at the village Kgotla.

Those migrants, however, still belong to their village. Since only few find long-term employment in towns, the majority has to be content with short term or unskilled work and periodically return to their extended family. A crucial factor is that those people return home with an important asset: cash. From the same sample, 62% of the migrant labour force were found to contribute to their household, i.e. 47.8% in cash, 8.5% in kind and 5.7% both in cash and kind. Thus, the majority of them (53.5%) not only bring cash to their community but also control their assets. Part of this income is usually spent on domestic consumption (food, livestock etc.), a good part

* Source: Consult 1.2

of it is spent on beer. Thus, new cash influx encourages dependency of older residents on outside resources and, because the migrants spend a large proportion of their time at beer-parties, the village Kgotla has become the preserve of older residents. (See also, Gulbrandsen, 1980: 82-85 and Noppen 1982: 130-134). No alternative has yet been found for incorporating the migrant labour force into the community consultation and decision processes.

2.7. SUMMARY

2.7.1. This inquiry into the traditional structure indicates that all village communities studied are composed of different ethnic groups and that the traditional ward structure varies from one community to the next. While in Kgagodi and Moshopa all wards are clustered around Kgosing (chief's ward) and observe a strict hierarchy, both with Kgosing and among themselves, Maape presents a profile of a community divided into two distinct factions competing for control and leadership. Sajwe, in contrast, illustrates a phenomenon common to most major villages, where traditional ward linkages are fast disappearing. Because of the presence of the Senior Tribal Authority and Council agencies, in major centres, traditional wards tend to relate individually to Senior Tribal and Council authorities instead of following the traditional channels.

2.7.2. Despite those differences, the traditional ward structure with its chiefs and headmen still remains in those communities the recognised forum for community consultation and the central motor of community mobilisation and organisation upon which even modern institutions derive their authority (See below VDC, 3.4.2.)

2.7.3. Yet, the influence of traditional authority is considerably reduced because:

- jurisdiction and authority in customary matters now rest with Tribal Authority Chiefs to whom Traditional Chiefs must report.
- ultimate control over community resources lies in new institutions (LB and SLBs), generally located outside village communities.
- since control of resources lies elsewhere, traditional decision-making power has lost much of its relevance and effectiveness, resulting in general disinterest in traditional consultation/planning processes.

- Finally, the migrant labour returning periodically with cash to their villages gives rise to new community fora organised around beer parties and divorced from traditional Kgotla gatherings, which discourages Kgotla meeting attendance and increases the dependency of older residents on outside resources.

CHAPTER 3: MODERN INSTITUTIONS

3.1. INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Modern village institutions can be classified into three distinct groups:

- 1) Institutions directly related to agricultural activities. Those include: Fencing groups (FG), Tick Control Groups, Borehole Syndicates, Co-operatives, Small Stock Groups, and sometimes 4B Clubs.
- 2) Other Voluntary Village institutions, such as Botswana Council of Women (BCW), Village Health Committees (VHC), Parent Teachers Associations (PTA), Social Welfare Committees (SWC), Organisations for Destitutes, etc.
- 3) Coordinating Committees

Ideally agricultural groups in Central District are coordinated by a Farmers Committee (FC). No official standard definition of an FC has yet been adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture. Thus, agricultural regions have differed in their approach. Central region and district staff developed a first set of guidelines in 1977, and, after one year of practical experience with FCs, a revised version was adopted in Central Region and followed by some other regions (e.g. Gaborone).

The purpose of an FC as defined in those terms of reference, is:

- a) to support the Agricultural Demonstrator (AD) in planning, organising and implementing extension activities within an extension area;
- b) to represent the farming community in making the community's problems, needs, opinions and proposals known to the Ministry of Agriculture or other outside organisations;
- c) to plan, implement and manage agricultural development projects affecting or involving the extension area as a whole.
(Central Region 1978:1).

The important distinction between FCs and other agricultural groups is that FCs are supposed to represent the community as a whole.

All other local institutions, including the FC itself, fall under the leadership of the Village Development Committee (VDC) which is the official planning and coordinating body in the community.

VDCs and FCs can therefore be said in Central District to be the two key committees responsible for coordinating all modern village institutions.

3.2. KGAGODI AGRICULTURAL GROUPS

In Kgagodi, five agricultural groups were identified as follows:-

- Fencing group
- Small stock group
- Tick Control group
- Cooperative
- 4B Club

3.2.1. Fencing Group (FG)

Origin

The idea of fencing a community's arable lands originated in 1978 from Mokoane cattle-post residents who had long fenced their private "gardens"* and from three farmers who had past working experience at the Mmankgodi fence in the Mahalapye area. The purpose of erecting a communal fence is to reduce crop damage by livestock. In 1980, crop damage cases reported to wardheads ranged between three and eight per Kgotla. Many others went unreported.

Status

In 1979, an executive committee of five was elected in Kgotla for one year, but no election has been held since. The general membership includes all 141 households ploughing in the fenced enclosure, or 63.5% of the total households, ploughing in the community. Other residents however, are encouraged to contribute and participate.

In early 1980, fencing contributions were set at P40.00 for male adults and P20.00 for females. Because of foot and mouth constraints, these fees were later reduced to P20.00 and P15.00 respectively. In April 1981, it was decided to reduce them once more to P10.00/household (P5.00 each). Controversies over contributions prevented completion of group bye-laws, and collection of joining fees. So far only two rolls of wire were donated

* Cultivated lands at cattle posts are usually referred to as "gardens". Arable land is not legally allocated in grazing areas, but small garden plots are allowed. The size of the gardens, however, tends to reach gigantic proportions. One measured was 800 m x 750 m. The majority of cattle post residents do have "gardens".

by two farmers as total group contributions.

In March 1981, the FG submitted its project to the Subordinate Land Board(SLB) in Maunatlala, but as of February 1983, has not received yet firm approval. In June 1981, SLB Officers pegged the three major corners of the fence without surveying the whole project systematically. SLB officers expect the fence line to be first cleared so they can drive along it, measure it and then decide whether or not to approve it. (see below, Problem 5).

Training is limited to three members who attended a one week course on fencing at Mahalapye Rural Training Centre (MRTC) in 1980. In addition seven members have past experience in fencing from Serowe, Bobonong, Ramotlabama and South Africa.

Progress

The fencing project was surveyed in December 1981 and those findings are summarized in Map 2. The fence encloses 25.8 kilometres immediately south of Kgagodi village composed of two sections (east and west) separated by the road running south to Maunatlala. Of the total length, 10.4 kilometres have been cleared, 15.4 kilometres are still to be cleared and 12 gates proposed.

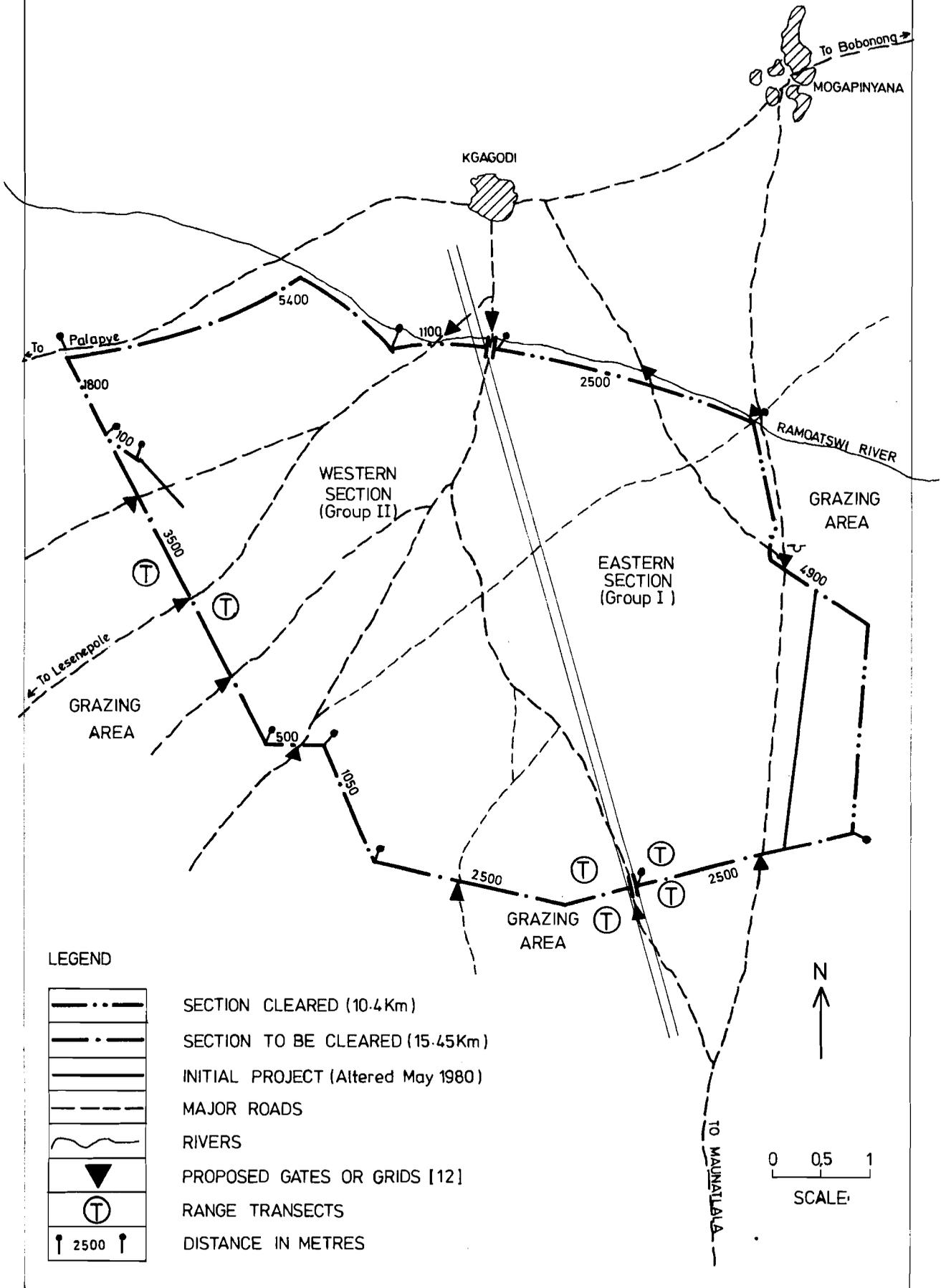
A noticeable difference in performance can be observed between both sections or sub-groups. While in the 10 kilometre covered by the eastern section 7.4 kilometres had been cleared, the western section covering 15.8 kilometres had only cleared 3 kilometres.

Problems

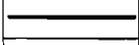
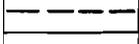
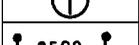
1. Lack of group management skills appears to be a fundamental problem affecting Kgagodi FG. The group has not yet reached consensus on joining fees which prevents both completion of group bye-laws and financial group contributions.
2. The Committee itself lacks basic administrative skills. Past records were kept on loose sheets of paper, most of which are lost and no funds have yet been raised to purchase proper record books.
3. There have been no financial contributions to date partly because of

MAP 2

KGAGODI COMMUNAL FENCE-CURRENT STATUS (Dec 1980)



LEGEND

-  SECTION CLEARED (10.4 Km)
-  SECTION TO BE CLEARED (15.45 Km)
-  INITIAL PROJECT (Altered May 1980)
-  MAJOR ROADS
-  RIVERS
-  PROPOSED GATES OR GRIDS [12]
-  RANGE TRANSECTS
-  DISTANCE IN METRES



foot and mouth disease which considerably reduces income from cattle sales.

4. General participation in the project is low and uneven primarily because of water shortages for livestock in Kgagodi. Currently most farmers either must trek their cattle approximately 10 kilometres to the closest livestock borehole between Kgagodi and Tamasane or must draw water from neighbouring wells which requires heavy labour.

5. Finally the fact that the project itself has not yet received formal approval by SLB, also appears to result in the low participation in group fencing. Some farmers feel that, if the project is ultimately not approved or must be altered their effort of clearing 26 kilometres of bush will have been wasted.

3.2.2. Small Stock Group (ss.gr.)

Origin and Membership

Because the numbers of small stock were rapidly declining a ss.gr. was formed in 1979 on the initiative of the local AD. The group is composed of 23 members including an executive committee of five.

Status

Group bye-laws were completed in early 1980 and amended in April 1981 with regard to fee increase.

Initial fees were set at 38t per month regardless of the number of stock. In April 1981, an additional 10t/animal was added to the monthly contribution in order to meet dosing expenses.

In May 1981, the group had P19.00 in cash, P17.00 was spent in July on medicine and the total balance at that time amounted to P2.00.

In 1980, two demonstrations were conducted by the Small Stock Officer in April and July. The 1981 one was conducted in May.

The group doses three times a year in March, May and August with an automatic gun borrowed from the Gaborone or Mahalapye Small Stock Office and uses a private crush owned by a group member.

A dosing session involves between 130 and 150 goats. In 1980, 300 animals were dosed and in 1981, 240 in the March and May sessions combined.

Total cash sales for 1980 amounted to P627.00 for 22 goats sold to Müller's Butchery in Selebi-Phikwe at prices ranging between P23.00 and P36.00/animal.

Problems

This group was mostly concerned with how to increase its membership. The group feel that a larger membership would not only help increase group contributions but would prevent smallstock re-infection by untreated animals. Thus the group wishes the Animal Production Officer (APO) and the AD would organise campaigns and broadcasting programmes in order to encourage other residents to join.

3.2.3. Tick Control Group (Diloro)

Origin and Membership

An initial group of seven members started in 1977 as a small stock dosing group and then changed their priority to tick control. In April 1979, this group bought a Knapsack pump (P75.00) by increasing fees from P5.00 to P8.00. This pump was used by individual members at their own convenience. In April 1979, the total membership increased to 13 members managed by an executive committee of five members and has remained unchanged since.

Status

Group bye-laws were completed in early 1979.

In August 1980, the group had a cash balance of P50.00 Income is raised partly from joining fees (P8.00) and from fees of 5t per beast per month for members and 20t for non-members.

The herd size dipped per day ranges between 15 and 98 animals. It takes ten to twelve days to dip the members' cattle. The estimated number of cattle dipped ranges between 600 and 630 cattle. Dipping was reported to take place on an average of once a month. During the rains, the group dips twice or more according to the funds available.

Projects

Since 1980, the group has planned to purchase a spray race and to apply for

SLOCA subsidies but, because of foot and mouth disease, the farmers' income from cattle sales is considerably reduced and was said to prevent the group from raising enough contributions in order to purchase such facilities.

Problems

Since 1979 there has been no increase in membership. This was primarily attributed to foot and mouth constraints. Just as the ss.gr. this group expects assistance from the AD and other support staff for encouraging other members to join.

3.2.4. Cooperative (Coop)

On 9th July 1981, a few farmers encouraged by radio broadcastings decided to form a committee and promote a marketing Cooperative in Kgagodi. This committee liaises directly with its Farmers Committee.

Among the expected benefits of this Cooperative are the following:-

- Selling cattle to the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) at better prices.
- Possibility of distributing sorghum to farmers during drought years.
- Provision of cheaper veterinary facilities.
- Distribution of yearly dividends or interests.

Two members only have had previous experience with such institutions, but expect future training.

3.2.5. 4B Club

Origin

Kgagodi 4B Club was initiated in 1974 by Head Teacher Mantjis and the Club intended to start a school garden. In order to start operating, a school teacher temporarily lent a small garden plot to the club. In 1979, the school fenced its own garden on the school ground.

In January 1982, four teachers, including the Head Teacher, were leading a club of 50 school children.

Status

The Club is basically involved in three kinds of activities: knitting/ sewing, gardening and carpentry work. In addition, it also offers training sessions in knitting to village residents. So far three are attending those

courses.

To date, the club raised P60.00 from sales and concerts. Vegetable sales amounted to P10.00 in 1978, P25.00 in 1979 and P30.00 in 1980. The 1981 estimate is in the neighbourhood of P45.00.

The club directly liaises to its Farmers Committee (FC) through a resident 4B leader, who also is an FC member.

Problems

1) Despite its direct link to FC, Kgagodi 4B Club remains very school centered. This situation was reported to arise from the Head Teacher's possessive attitude who, residents say, "runs the club the way he wants" and considers it to be "his own thing". As a result, both 4B leaders and teachers become frustrated and the FC doesn't seem to be able to remedy this situation.

2) The Club also faces crucial problems of water shortage and lack of implements for the garden. School children currently walk 3.5 kilometres to the nearest borehole to water their garden with buckets.

The Head Teacher's intention is to raise additional funds from beauty contests and concerts in order to purchase more garden tools from Mahalapye.

3.3. KGAGODI VOLUNTARY INSTITUTIONS

Voluntary Village Institutions in Kgagodi include:

- Parent Teachers Association
- Botswana Council of Women
- Village Health Committee
- Social Welfare Committee

3.3.1. Parent Teachers Association (PTA)

Origin and Duties

A PTA was initiated in 1974 under the influence of Head Teacher Mantjis with the objective of raising participation of parents in the education of their children and in school activities. An executive committee of four members was elected in Kgotla for two years in 1980.

PTA committee members are chosen from both teachers and parents. The

community first selects a group of candidates among the teachers who then join parents candidates for final elections.

The PTA's primary function is to coordinate all school activities and attend to any problems that may arise. More specifically PTA is responsible to ensure adequate accommodation and good maintenance of school facilities.

Status

The PTA undertook two projects since its existence: the provision of school latrines and rethatching one classroom. On both counts, however, the Association ran into conflicts with the Village Development Committee which considered it to be part of its duties to implement these projects. Another thatching project is planned for this year.

The PTA raises funds from school fees at 60t/child/year and from school concerts. It's cash balance to date amounts to P100.00. Recurrent expenses amount to P24.00/month for two cooks.

Training activities so far include one seminar open to the community at large and designed to promote better understanding of role and functions of PTA in the community.

Problems

1. Lack of funds appears to be a serious problem PTA faces. Cooks' salaries at P24.00 are rather high recurrent expenses for this institution if one considers that the Association is expected to cover transport expenses to sports competitions and school rallies.
2. The general water shortage in the village is preventing the implementation of horticultural projects.
3. Conflict of role and objectives between PTA and VDC has led to many controversies and competition with each other.

3.3.2. Botswana Council of Women (BCW)

Origin and Objectives

A BCW started in 1968 under the influence of a radio programme and the perseverance of a dedicated woman from Mmadinare who was running a shop in

Kgagodi at that time. The BCW was composed of 5 women who also constituted an official committee approved by a Kgotla meeting in 1968.

The objectives of this BCW were: to ensure adequate nutrition and sanitation standards in the community concerned with poor health services in Kgaodi. BCW persuaded the Selebi Phikwe doctor to visit the community twice a week. In 1970, the BCW purchased a roundavel for medical examination purposes. In the same year, however, a Council clinic was built in Maunatlala (25 kilometres south) and, in 1974, a health post was constructed between Mogapinyana and Kgagodi, on the outskirts of the village. Since then, health needs have been adequately met and the BCW activity dropped.

Status

Inactive. The BCW never had any bye-laws. The chairlady currently lives in Maun. There were no funds. No re-elections have been held since 1968.

Problems

1. Kgagodi BCW's collapse appears to relate to the construction of the Council clinic in Maunatlala. BCW expected a clinic to be erected in Kgagodi, but it was built in Maunatlala instead. The BCW then hoped to have a health post built in the village, but it was eventually built between Kgagodi and Mogapinyana, so as to cater for both communities. This succession of events deeply frustrated BCW.
2. Internal jealousy in the membership also contributed to the downfall of the institution. Because the Family Welfare Educator (FWE) also was teaching mothers how to knit, the BCW's President was said to have reported her to Selebi Phikwe for seeking to take over BCW's leadership. This controversy spread general distrust in the membership and paralysed further progress.
3. Lack of clear understanding of BCW's purpose and objectives, together with poor group and management skills appear to have been the most fundamental problem underlying the others.

3.3.3. Social Welfare Committee (SWC)

Origin and Objectives

This committee was initiated in 1979 on the suggestion of the Selebi Phikwe physician with the intention of assisting the poor by organising distributions

of mealie meal from the closest shops. Twice a year the SWC also was to organise clotching and additional food supplies from welfare assistance.

A committee of five members was elected on the spot in Kgotla for a two year term of office.

Status

Mealie meal distributions are currently organised every Wednesday from Seumola store in Mogapinyana out of welfare assistance funds. In addition, SWC raised P20.00 from sales of empty bags.

Problems

1. Duplication of roles between the BCW, the Village Health Committee and the SWC considerably impairs the effectiveness of this committee.
2. The SWC was elected on the spot without much knowledge of purpose, role and management of such an institution.
3. Executives themselves were neither fully aware of expected roles and duties nor equipped to assume those tasks.
4. Absence of two key members (Vice Secretary elected on VDC and Treasurer married in Serowe) without replacement considerably reduced the SWC's effectiveness.
5. Chronic lack of support. SWC members complained of the regular absence of the Assistant Community Development Officer (ACDO) during rationing days and of her lack of interest in their activities.

3.3.4. Village Health Committee (VHC)

Origin and Objectives

This committee was started on 29th July 1981 on the initiative of the FWE and the Selebi Phikwe health staff. The local chief was notified by mail and a Kgotla meeting was held to elect a committee of five executives.

This committee was initiated essentially to assist FWE in tracing TB defaulters and encouraging them to take their drugs regularly. Other tasks of VHC are to: identify malnourished children, and unattended sick residents

and report any other public health or sanitation hazards in the community.

Plan of Operation

To that end, the VHC intends to recruit additional members and divide into three sub-groups of ten in order to cover the whole village area. VHC also intend to attend regular training sessions from FWE and to raise funds from concerts and beer parties.

The envisaged plan of operation consists of reporting identified needs to the chief, who will then call a VDC meeting at which VHC will inform VDC of its findings and intentions. VHC currently feels that the chief ought to be ex-officio member of their committee, because his active participation would give more weight to its decisions and operations.

3.4. KGAGODI COORDINATING COMMITTEES

As previously mentioned (3.1.(3)) both FCs and VDCs are in Central District the two most important local institutions responsible for coordinating all other groups and institutions in rural villages. While FCs' primary role is to plan, implement and manage agricultural projects with the help of the AD, VDCs have the overall task of planning and coordinating rural development at community level.

Thus, special attention was given to those committees and a special meeting arranged so as to enable wide committee membership to participate in our interviews.

3.4.1. Farmers Committee

Origin

A FC was first promoted in 1967 by the AD who emphasised the benefits of using treated seeds and ploughing subsidies, as means of raising interest in the farming community. Free distribution of seeds after the 1966 drought, convinced a few farmers to form a FC and a first committee of five members was elected in Kgotla.

For eleven years, this committee remained idle (see problems below). Because of the emphasis given to FCs by Central Region (3.1), a new one was elected in 1979, composed of five executives and 6 additional members. Five of those additional members also belong to agricultural sub-groups and ensure liaison

between these groups and the FC.

Status

Despite a relatively well established structure, Kgagodi FC met four times in 1980, held no meetings in 1981. It has no by-laws yet.

The current FC inherited P10.00 from the previous committee of which P3.50 was spent in 1980 on transport to Palapye to buy seeds. The remaining balance is P6.50. No other funds have been raised, except P1.00/member donated in 1981 to meet the transportation cost to visit Maunatlala agricultural show.

No project had been undertaken since 1979. The reasons advanced were: lack of community participation and record books.

The FC, however, planned to build a dam in Namvena valley in collaboration with Diloru and Mogapinyana farmers, starting December 1981. This project is still at the planning stage.

Training support included:

1979: Two members attending a one week workshop on FC management at MRTC.

1980: Two members taking a one week course on fencing and ploughing.

1981: Four members attending a one week FC management course.

Outside Assistance included delivery in 1980 of 50 bags of seeds from Palapye Office and, on 23rd November 1980, seven ALDEP row planters were forwarded (four not operating). The FC also expects receiving AE10 funds for communal fencing. (See above 3.2.1.).

Problems

1. The lack of knowledge of FC's role and functions combined with lack of management skills and training support likely are the fundamental problems Kgagodi FC faces. Executives themselves do not seem quite aware of the potential benefits their institution can provide to the community and they showed only little knowledge of improved farming practices.

2. The FC also has to operate under difficult conditions of widespread crop damage and severe water shortages which considerably hinders the

implementation of most agricultural projects.

3. Finally the FC lacks consistent training support. Members reported that the AD, despite his good technical knowledge, didn't show much interest and support for FC activities.

3.4.2. Village Development Committee

Origin and Membership

Kgagodi has had four consecutive VDCs elected respectively in 1967, 1969, 1975 and 1979. The current VDC composed of 17 members includes an executive committee of five, an advisory body of four additional members, three ex-officio members (ACDO, Councillor, traditional chief) and five co-opted members (FWE, AD, Veterinary Assistant, Postmaster, Revenue Officer).

Self Help

Self help was generally well defined by the executives and considered to be a useful development strategy because government agencies they say "cannot provide everybody with everything" and because "small improvements can be implemented without spending much money".

The organisation of self help activities in the community follows four consecutive steps:

1. Project identification by VDC
2. Consultation with ACDO
3. Project submission to chief
4. Kgotla meeting called by chief.

VDC Status

Ideally the VDC is to meet twice monthly. In reality it meets irregularly and no meeting was called during the 1980-81 ploughing/harvesting season. From records the average attendance is six members.

VDC identified eight basic needs in the community. In order of priority, these include:

1. provision of water in the village
2. building a community hall
3. upgrading the postal agency into post-office

4. building additional classrooms
5. upgrade the health post into clinic
6. promoting meat market facilities
7. telephone
8. inviting various government agencies to inform the population on development policies, grants and subsidies in order to raise motivation among the residents.

Completed VDC projects include:

- 3 roundavels (2 rooms and kitchen)
- 1 cement house with kitchen
- 2 one room roundavels
- Kgotla latrines
- School latrine with Council assistance
- postal agency (1978) closed in January 1981 for misuse of funds by the postal agent.

Currently no project is being implemented. All those mentioned above are "planned" projects only. i.e. intended to be forwarded to Council.

In December 1981 the VDC had P101.87 in cash raised from slaughtering fees (50t/cattle and 20t/goat), and VDC housing rents (five roundavels at P1.00 each/month and one cement house at P6.00/month).

In August 1980, skills and local production surveys were conducted by the Rural Industrial Officer (RIO) Central in the Kgagodi area. Only 13 people for the whole area including Mogapinyana and Diloru were identified practising the following productive activities:

- sorghum mill : 1 (Kgagodi)
- building pole collector : 1 (Kgagodi)
- knitting : 2 (1 in Kgagodi)
- builders : 2
- thatchers : 4
- wood work : 1
- leather work : 2

From VDC by-laws the committee is to report twice a month to the Village Kgotla. In reality, VDC was found to report once a month on average.

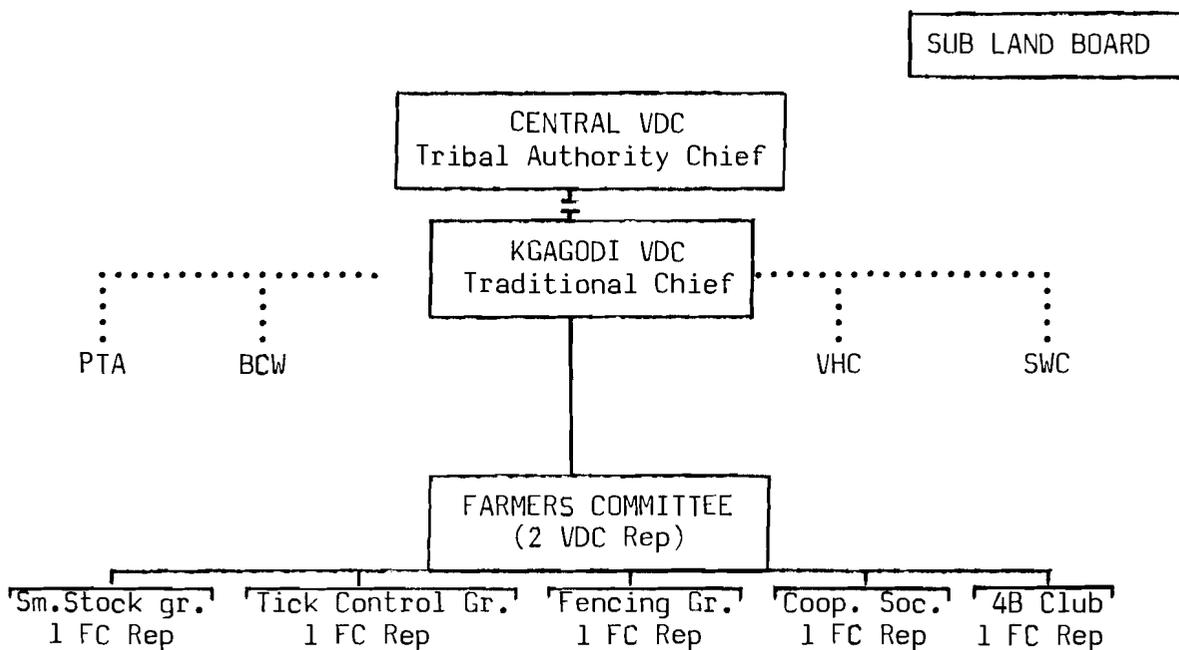
Support

Council built the school, toilets and one storeroom with VDC participation. VDC further filed an application on 5th July 1981 for a village borehole, clinic, community hall and 6 additional classrooms. None of these were being implimented in January 1982.

Linkages

Kgagodi local institutions intend to relate to each other in the following manner:

Diagram 3 KGAGODI MODERN STRUCTURE



_____ direct representation
 indirect representation

Each agricultural sub-group has one of its members on the FC who is expected to act as group representative and ensure liaison between his group and the FC. Similarly, the FC includes in its membership two VDC members who are expected to report to and represent the farming community in the VDC.

A striking feature of the Kgagodi modern structure is the presence of a so called "Central VDC" above the local VDC. This Central VDC was formed in April 1981 by the local Councillor with the intention of coordination projects

with neighbouring communities, i.e. Diloru and Mogapinyana. VDC members of the three communities are expected to liaise with Central VDC. Yet, this link with Kgagodi VDC and Diloru is non-existent (see problems below).

On the other hand, voluntary institutions do not include VDC members in their membership, but liaise indirectly to the VDC through the traditional chief who is an ex-officio member.

Finally, the sub-land board for the area is located 27 kilometres south in Maunatlala and only interacts with the community on request.

VDC Performance

Despite linkages that appear well in place, from the findings, this structure operates only in theory. VDC performance was checked at three different levels: from interviews of executives themselves, from other community leaders and from the community at large.

1. Problems perceived by Executives

VDC executives do not perceive any problem of coordination or community organisation in the village. Their only problem relates to the actual implementation of their proposed projects and their ability to persuade Council to take action.

2. VDC Performance Perceived by Community Leaders

Out of seven community leaders interviewed, four found their VDC quite unsatisfactory. The three others who found it "acceptable" relate its performance to the personal qualities of the VDC chairman.

Community leaders reported the following problems:

1. Five mentioned poor attendance and participation of VDC members in their own meetings.
2. The VDC was said rarely to attend meetings with other organisations and, after calling meetings with groups of village committees, often fail to attend themselves.
3. It was felt that the VDC had developed a self-centered attitude and looked down on other organisations because of the VDC's increasing awareness of being the umbrella committee in the community and the official channel between village and government agencies.

4. Because of this attitude of superiority, residents resent VDC coordination.
5. Extension staff complain to be regularly by-passed by Central VDC's initiatives and to never be consulted or notified of meetings despite regular visits of the Councillor in the village. The election itself of this committee was said to have been held without the ACDO's not the AD's knowledge.

3. VDC Performance Perceived by the Community

If VDCs are established to "serve the community" and meet the "real needs" of the community, the community itself was in the position to tell most objectively how the VDC operations actually reflect the residents' aspirations. Thus, a random sample of 80 families (nine per ward) were interviewed on importance, consultation and role of their VDC, on self help and possible improvements.

The survey revealed the following:

- out of 80 families, 6% had realistic expectations of the VDC.
- 5% knew its role
- 51% were not informed in any way of its activities
- 55% feel VDC projects do not help them meet their needs
- 61% suggest improvements

On the other hand, the concept of self-help (IPELEGENG) is well understood by 76% and considered important. If one adds the number of residents ready to join in self-help activities (37%) to those who already work at the fencing project, the self-help potential reaches 81%.

3.5. MOSHOPA AGRICULTURAL GROUP

Moshopa Fencing Group was the only agricultural group identified.

3.5.1. Fencing Group (FG)

Origin

The idea of communal fencing initially spread to rural areas from the TGLP radio campaigns of the 1970s. Later that idea was reinforced by two visits made to other fencing projects (Lerala 1978 and Sefhare 1979). To resident farmers considerably influenced the farming community by their determination and their previous fencing experience in Matlhakoleng (1960s). They finally convinced a nucleus of farmers to constitute a FG in Moshopa by themselves presenting the first cash contributions.

A group of ten farmers finally organised itself in 1978 with a great deal of suspicion from the farming community. Only two additional farmers brought their contributions that year. In 1979, because of much heavier crop damage by domestic animals, 51 farmers joined, thus bringing the group's cash balance to P184.00. The following year the idea of fencing won the whole community and appeared to be THE solution to solve common problems.

Reasons for Fencing

Three major reasons appear to have pushed the Moshopa farmers to initiate a fencing project:

1. The obvious one is the extensive crop damage caused by domestic animals. Out of 120 farms surveyed, 58% reported crop damage. In 1981, reported cases ranged between five and sixteen per Kgotla and an increasing number of farmers harvest in mid July, in order to avoid losing too many crops.
2. Lack of manpower appears to be another major reason. Since most children attend school or seek employment in towns, herdboys (badisa) are becoming scarce. Thus, fencing becomes a convenient alternative.
3. Finally, fencing enables basic rotational grazing. Protecting arable lands during the growing season, preserves fodder for the post-harvest period.

Group Status

On the 13th May 1979, an executive committee of five farmers was officially elected under supervision of both the local chief and the Tribal Authority Clief from Sefhare and the general membership was officialy extended to all villages and adjacent cattle posts residents.

In 1980, the FG applied to the Mahalapye SLB and the project was formally approved in winter of the same year. A sketch map was produced in 1978 by the AD(LR) Serowe and subsequent changes re-mapped in 1979 (see Map 3 below). Group by-laws were officially approved in Kgotla on 29th February 1980.

Every male adult* is expected to contribute once P5.00 and female adult P2.00.

* Common criteria used to determine adulthood are: land ownership and having worked/working in South Africa for men and a minimum of 2 children for women.

Those contributions are raised by ward and cattle post area respectively. Funds are kept at the home of the group secretary who also acts as Treasurer. As at 1st July 1981, the FG cash balance amounted to P556.50 and 1 roll of wire (1 mile) was donated by Mokoane cattle post.

In February 1982, the FG received 44 rolls of HS wire from AELO subsidies.

A 5 days workshop in fencing techniques was attended by five members in May 1977 and June 1980 at MRTC. Despite relatively little training, some farmers learnt how to fence from neighbouring groups (e.g. Sefhare), others have skills from past experience in South Africa or Matlhakoleng.

Fencing Project

1. Description

In 1979, the FG started clearing a "drift-fence" separating the community's arable lands from the adjacent grazing areas. (See Map 3). The initial line was to run from the Makote Hills in the east to Mabeleapudi Hill in the west. A year later the western section was modified in order to include additional fields of the Dingope area. The line then was going to join Didole Hill and run further north to the Mmamalwadi Hills. The final project eventually compromised between the two initial ones and the line was finally cleared half way between the initial proposals because it was felt that more grazing ought to be kept in the western section. Yet, that western section still remains very controversial and, despite formal approval of SLB, further conflicts relating to water access and grazing tenure have risen (see case study below(5.3.4.3.(iii)))

In the eastern part of the project, it was decided to have the fence join the Sefhare one already built, instead of fencing all the way to the Makote Hills.

2. Progress

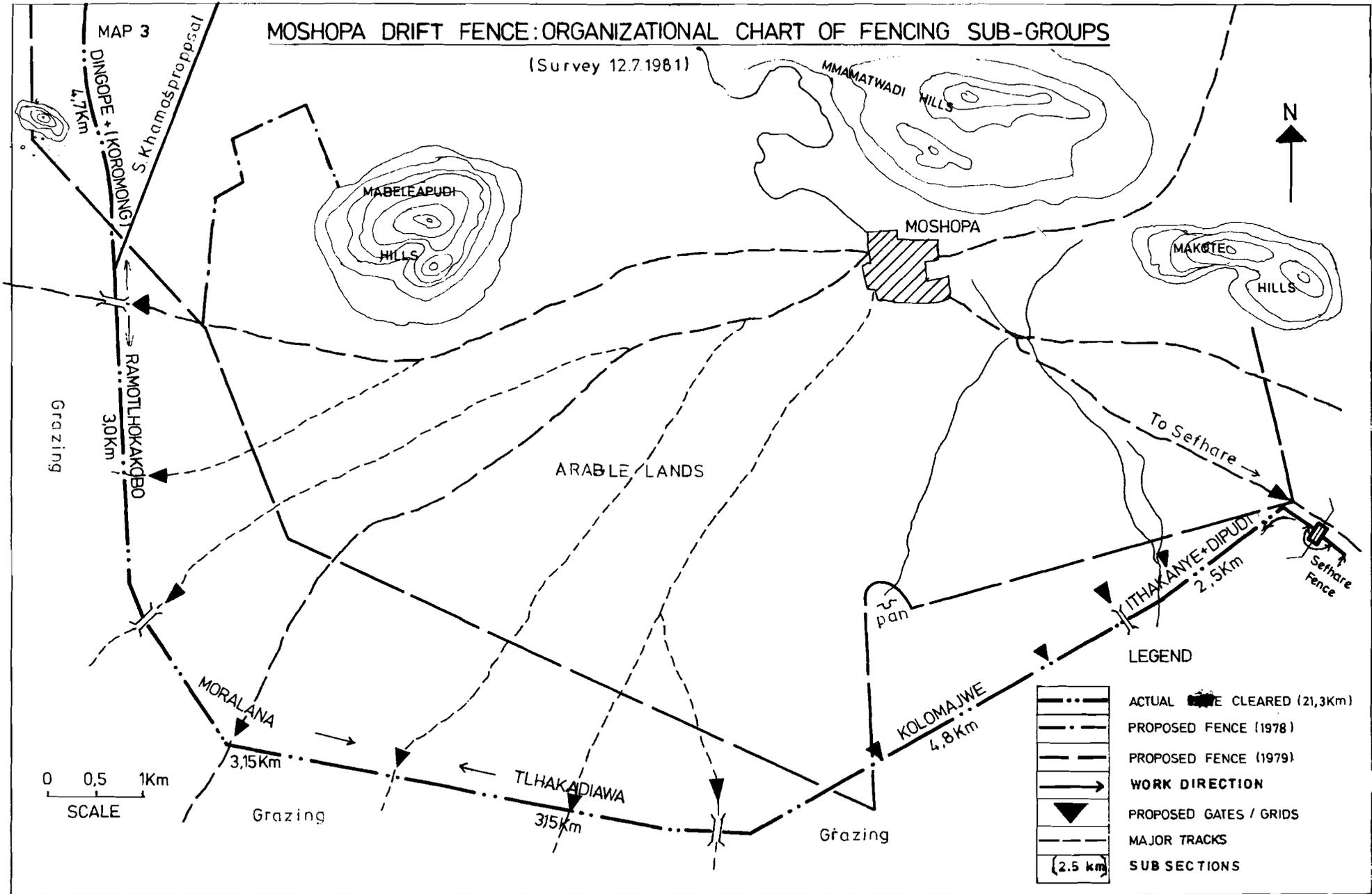
The project was surveyed on 12th July 1981 after clearing was completed. The total length of the cleared line measured 21.3 kilometres, is divided into 6 sub-sections with 12 proposed gates (Map 3). The actual fence differs considerably from the 1979 proposed map.

3. Group Organisation

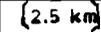
Fencing is organised by sub-sections according to lands areas and adjacent

MOSHOPA DRIFT FENCE: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF FENCING SUB-GROUPS

(Survey 12.7.1981)



LEGEND

-  ACTUAL FENCE CLEARED (21,3Km)
-  PROPOSED FENCE (1978)
-  PROPOSED FENCE (1979)
-  WORK DIRECTION
-  PROPOSED GATES / GRIDS
-  MAJOR TRACKS
-  SUB SECTIONS

0 0,5 1km
SCALE

cattle posts. Since the fence crosses six consecutive cultivated lands areas, (See Maps 3 and 7), the FG divided into six subsections. Lands areas in the interior work with adjacent areas that are on the fencing line, e.g.: all areas north of the Pilikiwe Road joined the Dingope section, Ithakanye joined Diphudi and Sekgwaneng works with Tlhakadiawa.

Yet, some of those lands areas vary considerably in size (compare Kolomajwe with Moralana or Diphudi on Map 7). The smaller sections, therefore, undertook to fence part of the larger ones in order to share the work more equitably amongst them (compare Map 3 and 7). Kolomajwe and Dingope still cover comparatively larger distances than the others, but they also include larger number of farms. Thus, despite those slight differences, the work appears well distributed among the sub-groups.

4. Group Management

A significant observation about Moshopa FG is that both organisation and project management primarily rest on the self-determination of the villagers and the traditional ward structure. Coordination by FC or VDC is virtually non-existent since both coordinating committees only are symbolic. The input of extension staff is minimal since neither an AD nor an ACDO is based in the community. Yet, with full support of the local chief and faced with a clear felt need (protecting crops), the community organised itself in order to find a solution to their common problem.

In addition to contributions collected by ward (3.5.1), each section operates independently under the leadership of a ward headman who ploughs in the area and each section establishes its own work schedule (see Table 1). All problems of attendance, punctuality or conflict are dealt with by sub-group leaders (headmen) in their respective sections and the FG committee is responsible for the overall supervision of the project.

Advice on fencing techniques is provided by one or two skilled members in each section.

Linkages

Despite the symbolic role of Coordinating Committees, the FG still refers decisions and problems to its FC which, in turn, transmits them to the VDC. These channels seem to be observed not so much to seek formal approval,

Table 1 Moshopa Drift-Fence Survey Data (12/7/1981)

Section Sub-Group	Leaders (Headmen)	Length (m)	No. of Gates ^(a)	Active Members	Work Days	No. of Poles	Labour Man Days
Dingope	Balemetse	4700	1	16	Fri-Sat	512	48
Ramotlhokakobo	Gaokgabelwe	3000	1	12	Mon-Wed	110+	36
Moralana	Keipurile	3150	2	10	Mon-Wed	103+	20
Tlhakadiawa & Sekgwaneng	Kgosietsile	3150	2	9	Mon-Wed	150	81
Kolomajwe	Gaogakwe	4800	3	15	Mon-Wed	180	150
Dipudi & Ithakanye	E. Lechaina	2500	3	30	Fri-Sat	642	525
Total		21300	12	92	- -	1697	860

(a) only planned No. of gates

+ indicate additional poles that could not be counted because dispersed in many various areas

help or solutions but, rather out of a strict sense of hierarchy similar to that in the traditional structures.

Reports to and ratification by coordinating committees further appear to ensure power of enforcement to the FC., just as Kgotla resolutions give official character to community decisions. This power, however, does not stem from authority based on performance or democratic elections, but from the fact that both FC and VDC are primarily composed of chief's relatives. Thus the nature of those linkages ensures FG committee authority which might otherwise be challenged by group members.

Problems

1. As a result of fragmented management by section, physical differences can be observed in the work. Poles vary from section to section in size, height, depth and spacing. Sub-groups also diverge on the number of strands and gates.
2. The overall coordination by the FG committee is not effective, because committee members were elected more on the basis of their status than their technical knowledge. This often results in lengthy discussions between skilled members and executives.
3. As a result of lack of uniform implementation, some sections will likely deteriorate faster than others, it still remains to be seen who will maintain the fence and how.
4. Long term land use planning factors may have been overlooked. In places (Mokoane, Kolomajwe) the fence is being built fairly close to the fields. Thus, the fenced area may not, in a long term, be adequate to satisfy the increasing demand for arable land.
5. Finally the dispute over the fence realignment in the Dingope section (western section) likely is the most fundamental problem the project is facing. This problem is treated at length in a subsequent case study (see below . (5.3.4.3.(iii))).

3.6. MOSHOPA VOLUNTARY INSTITUTIONS

Voluntary institutions identified in Moshopa included:

- Parent Teachers Association

- Botswana Council of Women
- Social Welfare Committees
- 4B Club

3.6.1. Parent Teacher Association (PTA)

Origin and Objectives

This Association was formed in January 1979 by Head Teacher Molai after facing considerable problems in feeding school children and raising funds for school activities and transport.

Thus, a committee of five members was elected in Kgotla with the immediate objective of providing pots and cooking utensils and raising additional funds for maintenance of teachers quarters.

Status

The Moshopa PTA apparently had a good start and managed to provide the cooking utensils needed and to raise an additional P10.00. Currently the PTA seems to have lost a great deal of its dynamism and efficiency.

Plans

The PTA's future plans are to build a new school kitchen and an additional one for the teachers. The PTA also intends to participate in the building of Kgotla and VDC offices if those projects are undertaken.

Problems

1. The PTA appears to suffer from considerable internal problems. The Association seems to be centered around the H.T's exclusive sphere of influence, who feels he can request parents' assistance for any activity at any time. In addition, he is very conscious of the advisory role he has to play on how PTA funds ought to be used and how committee recommendations implemented.
2. Divergence of opinion among teachers as to how the PTA should operate, and what its role ought to be resulted in some teachers withdrawing from the Association.
3. PTA also has a poor relationship with the community at large, primarily because of the attitude of the Head Teacher. The PTA, BCW members and three

other teachers believe that the significant problems of their respective institutions relate to the poor collaboration they have with their Head Teacher. One stated that the Head Teacher is a "stumbling block in the interrelationship of most village institutions".

4. Another reason that paralyses PTA was said to be the poor quality of education given at school. Parents said this could be seen in their children's behaviour and bad manners.

5. The Head Teacher was further said to "never give any advice or help", to rarely attend any community meetings or respond to any other village committee request.

6. From field observations, it appeared that Moshopa teachers, being isolated with no public transport, developed their own teaching routine without much supervision.

Several of them were regularly found drinking beer, before morning school time (8.00 a.m.).

Standard 7 classes never seemed to be given afternoon tuition unless a school inspector was expected.

In meetings, the Head Teacher gave clear signs of nervousness and boredom.

7. As a result of those problems, parents resent contributing funds to the Association. The PTA's only income is the 60t/child/year which is insufficient to cover school activities, maintenance and transport expenses.

8. Finally, PTA lacks the Chief's support and adequate skills to run the organisation effectively.

3.6.2. Botswana Council of Women (BCW)

Origin and Membership

Moshopa BCW started in 1972 after the local councillor and CCDO introduced the idea in the community and explained the benefits of such organisations. Eleven members registered but five withdrew when 50t registration fees were imposed. Thus, only six members currently remain in the Council. A new

committee was to be elected in 1981, but elections failed for lack of consultation.

Status

BCW's current main activity is to organise the distribution of Corn Soya Milk (CSM) relief food to under-five children, pregnant mothers and TB patients.

In order to be eligible to CSM rations, BCW set two conditions:

1. Mothers must bring their babies for weighing.
2. They also were requested to contribute each a bundle of thatching grass. Cash from grass sales will be used to buy a door for the new storeroom.

In addition, BCW does crochet work and knit.

BCW projects include building of 1 roundavel to store CSM food donated by Food Aid (USA). This storeroom, however, was built close to the teachers quarters' latrines and is currently not used. Thus, BCW intends to build a new storeroom in a more suitable location.

In addition, BCW intends to buy wool and material as a group and build up a common fund from knitting sales.

BCW's funds are primarily raised from beauty contests, cooking competitions held during public holidays and sometimes concerts when allowed to use a classroom by the Heath Teacher.

BCW also takes advantage of CSM distributions at the health post, to sell their knitting and cooking, and empty bags and oil containers at 5t each.

The Council's cash balance to date amounts to P70.52 kept at the Treasurer's house.

Problems

Moshopa BCW basically ignores its fundamental objectives, i.e. "to help the poor and the needy in Botswana". This institution revolves very much around its own interests and developed as "a good club" beneficiating primarily its own members. Questioned on those very objectives, the members said they felt that "there is not enough time to take that kind of commitment".

3.6.3. Social Welfare Committee (SWC)

Origin and History

In 1978, an SWC was initiated on the suggestion of the ACDO, operating from Sefhare (23 kilometres east). The function of this committee was to distribute drought relief food to the needy in the community. A committee of five executives was immediately elected in Kgotla which in turn co-opted five additional members. The ACDO was to come and train this new committee in their work. But she only came once in 1980 to inform the community that food was on the way.

Later in the same year 72 bags of maize seeds were delivered to the community. Since the AD is based in Chadibe (30 kilometres east) those seeds were put at the health-post by the VDC secretary and later distributed to the farmers by VDC in presence of the SWC's vice-secretary. The SWC's chairman later reported his deep dissatisfaction at having been by-passed and accused the VDC of taking over the SWC's duties and responsibilities. Since the SWC became disinterested and collapsed.

Problems

1. Evidently this institution collapsed because of duplication of roles between VDC and SWC and because the hierarchy set in Kgotla was not respected, i.e. intervention by another committee without consulting the chair.
2. More significant has been the lack of training and extension support which resulted in many misunderstandings on roles and duties of the organisation and the various executives. The chairman, for example expected the secretary to keep both money and records etc.
3. SWC members also complained that they had been elected in haste and forced by the Kgotla decision to take office without their knowing exactly what duties and functions the committee was to perform.

3.6.4. "Mabeleapudi" 4B Club

Origin and History

The 4B Club was introduced in 1971 on the recommendation of the 4B officer during one of his visits to the Tswapong area. Initially people were rather sceptical and chief Lechaina rather suspicious, feeling that his authority might be undermined by all those new organisations emerging in his village.

Yet, the chief gave the green light to the 4B leaders, although he did not attend their meetings.

The same year a committee of four executives was elected and started with a group of 25 school children producing woodwork and knitting items.

When Mr. Moloi, founder and key leader of the club was transferred to Bobonong, the 4B club considerably declined, until 1979 when he was reappointed to Moshopa. He then revived it with increased experience gained from courses he had attended at MRTC and Selibe Phikwe.

Status

The current status of Mabeleapudi 4B club looks promising. The club produced a number of crochet, knitting and sewing articles that won prizes at the Sefhare show in 1980. The boys make furniture, tools and wood carvings sold locally. From sales and concerts the club raised P22.35.

4B training reaches beyond school boundaries. Leaders are sent regularly to MRTC to attend 4B management courses and in the mind of the leaders "4B must become a broader village institution supported by all parents".

To that end, 4B leaders organise information campaigns on 4Bs in the community and encourage parents to attend courses and 4B activities.

The club intends to organise a 4B show for Moshopa residents only. This appears to be the most effective way to inform the community about the roles and benefits of 4B.

The club also plans to mould bricks for the new school kitchen and find a suitable site for horticulture.

Finally, the club intends to increase and diversify club activities, e.g. send a few candidates to courses in photography and have them teach other members how to operate a camera.

Problems

1. Lack of water on the school compound and lack of funds to buy a fence have consistently prevented the club from starting their vegetable gardening project.

2. Lack of support from the Head Teacher is another chronic problem. The Head Teacher was said never to attend 4B meetings and to show very little interest in the performance and progress of the 4B club. Use of class rooms for club activities was said to be often refused for arbitrary reasons, such as "children make too much noise". (See also PTA problems 3.6.1, BCW 3.6.2. and VDC, 3.7.2.4.(1)).

3. Finally, the club receives little support from the chief and other institutions because none of them clearly understand the role and objectives of 4B clubs, or perceive the club to be a threatening competitor(BCW).

3.7. MOSHOPA COORDINATING COMMITTEES

3.7.1. Farmers Committee (FC)

Origin

AD Samuel first attempted to establish an FC in Moshopa in 1972. A committee of five members was elected but during seven years, little progress was made because of the general suspicion of the farming community about adopting innovations such as using planters, dehorning, castrating, etc. When the AD was transferred in 1979, the FC remained idle.

Status

This committee is currently symbolic. No elections have been held since 1972. It never meets, no project has yet been initiated and it has no by-laws.

Cash available to date amounts to 75t. The AD had suggested raising funds in order to buy record books. However, nothing was recorded on those books and no additional funds collected.

Problems

1. The lack of clear understanding of role, objectives, and operations of an F.C. and the premature departure of the AD left the FC at a standstill.
2. The FC did not develop the necessary management skills.
3. Lack of expertise from FC members and general suspicion of the farming community prevented progress.

3.7.2. Moshopa Village Development Committee

Origin and History

Moshopa has had 3 consecutive VDCs as follows:-

1. First VDC (1966-1974)

Even though VDCs were officially introduced by Government in 1968, Moshopa had a very similar institution in 1966. Concerned with the increasing number of school children, Chief Lechaina and Moshopa residents felt the need to have their own school in the village, instead of sending their children to Sefhare 21 kilometres away. The Education Officer suggested they form a committee and formulate their need to Council. The application was filed in 1968 and roofing material and builders were sent to build the new school. The community moulded the bricks and paid 1/2 of the builders' salary. In 1972, the Treasurer's house burnt down with all books, records and funds.

2. Second VDC (1974 - 1979)

On the 28th July 1974, a new committee of five members was elected. This VDC managed to raise enough funds to build the AD's quarters (2 roundavels). However, it was soon discovered that community funds were misused and the VDC lost trust and cooperation of the residents. Under heavy pressure, the committee finally brought all books and funds (P188.00) to the village kgotla and resigned. Before leaving, the VDC felt it legitimate to take out an additional P127.00 to cover their travelling expenses to the installation of Ian Khama in Serowe. Since there was another P50.00 still to be paid on the AD's quarters, the incoming committee was left with P11.00 in cash.

3. Third Committee (1979+)

The current VDC was elected on 6th June 1979 and is composed of five executive, five additional members, 4 ex-officio members (ACDO, Chief and two Councillors), and one coopted member (FWE, the only extension worker based in the community). No teacher was coopted for the reasons already described above (See PTA, Problems 3.6.1).

A striking feature of this VDC is that the three major executives are close relatives of the Chief. VDC executives chosen amongst Chief's relatives were found to command greater authority and respect in the community and to be in a better position to recover the funds apparently misused by the previous VDC.

Self-Help

Just as in other communities, the concept of self-help (Ipelegeng) is generally well understood and as many put it: "it is the only way to survive". Yet, when self-help is associated with VDC or other government programmes, self-help becomes very confusing.

Such a confusion appears to arise from the fact that many programmes such as AE10, LG17, SLOCA, Drought Relief, and Labour Intensive programmes are commonly referred to as "self-help". Yet, all of them only require a small self-help component in order to establish eligibility for subsidies. Thus, in the mind of many rural dwellers, self-help has now become associated with subsidies and when a pure self-help project (Ipelegeng) is attempted, the participants expect to be paid.

VDC Status

Moshopo current VDC is inactive. Since January 1981, the committee met twice, once to enter funds in their books, and a second time to discuss the possibility of building kgotla offices. According to the records, the total attendance never exceeded five members.

No project has been implemented under current VDC. Planned projects include: building kgotla offices. Offices are felt to be a more appropriate place to keep funds and records and with new offices, VDC believes they could have their own tribal policeman and handle their own court cases instead of referring them to the Tribal Authority Chief in Sefhare.

A second potential project is building public latrines at the Kgotla, when funds will be available.

VDC's cash balance amounts to P216.00. VDC's income is raised from "party fees". Anyone organising a beer party is requested to pay VDC P1.00 (60t contributed by the host and 40t by the music men). In 1980, 60 parties were registered, and 70 between January and July 1981. In addition, VDC envisages organising concerts during the summer months (low in beer brewing).

On several occasions, VDC requested the Chief to call a Kgotla meeting in order to report on VDC activities. The chief, however, never met the request and avoids VDC meetings. It was reported that the chief and other headmen

were implicated in the missing funds affair, and, since the 11th October 1979, the chief has completely withdrawn from VDC activities.

VDC Performance

The same interviews and survey were conducted in Moshopa as in Kgagodi (see above 3.4.2.6 and 3.4.26.(3)) which revealed the following problems:

1. Problems Perceived by Executives

The legacy left by the second VDC puts the current committee in a difficult position until trust and credibility can be regained in the community.

The executive acknowledged not understanding the role, functions and operations of the VDC and complained about having no one to train and guide them. For the first time in July 1981, they actually saw the VDC Handbook.

The ACDO was said to have visited the community four times in 1980.

The Chief was reported to be a major problem in the community because of his basic lack of knowledge about the role and objectives of modern institutions, his failure to keep meeting appointments and lack of determination in defending community interests. He was said to often leave meetings in session and hide in a "shebeen"* without explanation and, in a meeting called for VDC in 1978, to have heard court cases instead.

2. Problems Perceived by Community Leaders

The seven institutions leaders interviewed are unanimous in saying that Moshopa VDC is only symbolic. Among common criticisms were mentioned:

- Poor understanding of role and VDC operations.
- Poor meeting attendance among VDC members themselves.
- No concrete projects implemented with community funds.
- Lack of self-involvement in the community.
- Reluctance to seek advice from other community leaders.

Two solutions for improvement were suggested:

- a) VDC should tackle its own committee problems first, in order to help others.
- b) VDC should discuss relevant problems with the intention of achieving results.

* Local unregistered "bar", usually in a private house.

3. Performance Perceived by the Community

A random interview of ten families per kgotla (ward) revealed that out of fifty five families:

- 62% were not consulted in any way on VDC planning.
- 40% did not know the role of a VDC.
- 79% have realistic expectations of their VDC.
- 76% consider self-help (ipelegeng) activities important, (but not because of VDC)
- 89% are ready to participate in self-help (Ipelegeng) activities.
- 44% suggest improvements
- 53% do not know how to improve it.

3.8. SAJWE FENCING GROUP (FG)

3.8.1. Background

Sajwe farmers include 37 original families from Goseetsho ward in Serowe (see above 2.5) who plough together in Sajwe lands north of Morupule Colliery, 42 kilometres north east of Serowe (Map 1).

Traditionally, it was customary to plough together in the same area as a Kgotla (ward). Seetsho people initially ploughed around Swaneng Hill (Serowe). Because the soil was poor in Swaneng, they requested permission from Chief Tshekedi Khama in 1947 to plough in Sajwe. Ever since Seetsho people have been ploughing in Sajwe lands.

3.8.2. Origin and Membership

Because of increasing crop damage, Sajwe farmers thought of fencing their lands as early as 1975, before fencing groups were officially promoted. On the advice of AD Tabengwa, who arrived in 1976, the first consultations were initiated with Sajwe farmers. TGLP radio programmes and additional visits to Mmapashalala fence convinced the Sajwe community to form a fencing group.

A first committee was elected in 1976 composed of 14 executive members. Currently the FG includes a total of 72 family units.

3.8.3. Group Status

- By-laws were completed in 1978. Membership fees were set at P100.00 or 1 beast per male adult (18 years and over) and P20.00 in cash or equivalent in kind for female members. To date the group raised P1616.15 in cash from

fees and beer parties, and received 8 gates and 16 rolls of wire (P965.85) from AE10 subsidies.

In early 1979, the group applied to SLB and the project was surveyed and approved in June 1979.

3.8.4. Project Description and Progress

Map 4a compares the initial project with recent fencing modifications. Map 4b summarises current fencing progress.

The Sajwe fence no longer is a small enclosure, as initially planned, but will join the proposed Hulwane fences (currently waiting for SLB approval) west from Sajwe lands. In addition, the north and south-east corners have been extended so as to include two additional fields.

Map 4b shows that the total fence measures 15.75 kilometres, of which 4 kilometres have been completed with 5 strands of steel wire and five gates. Four kilometers have been cleared and another 7.5 kilometres still are to be cleared.

3.8.5. Group Organisation and Management

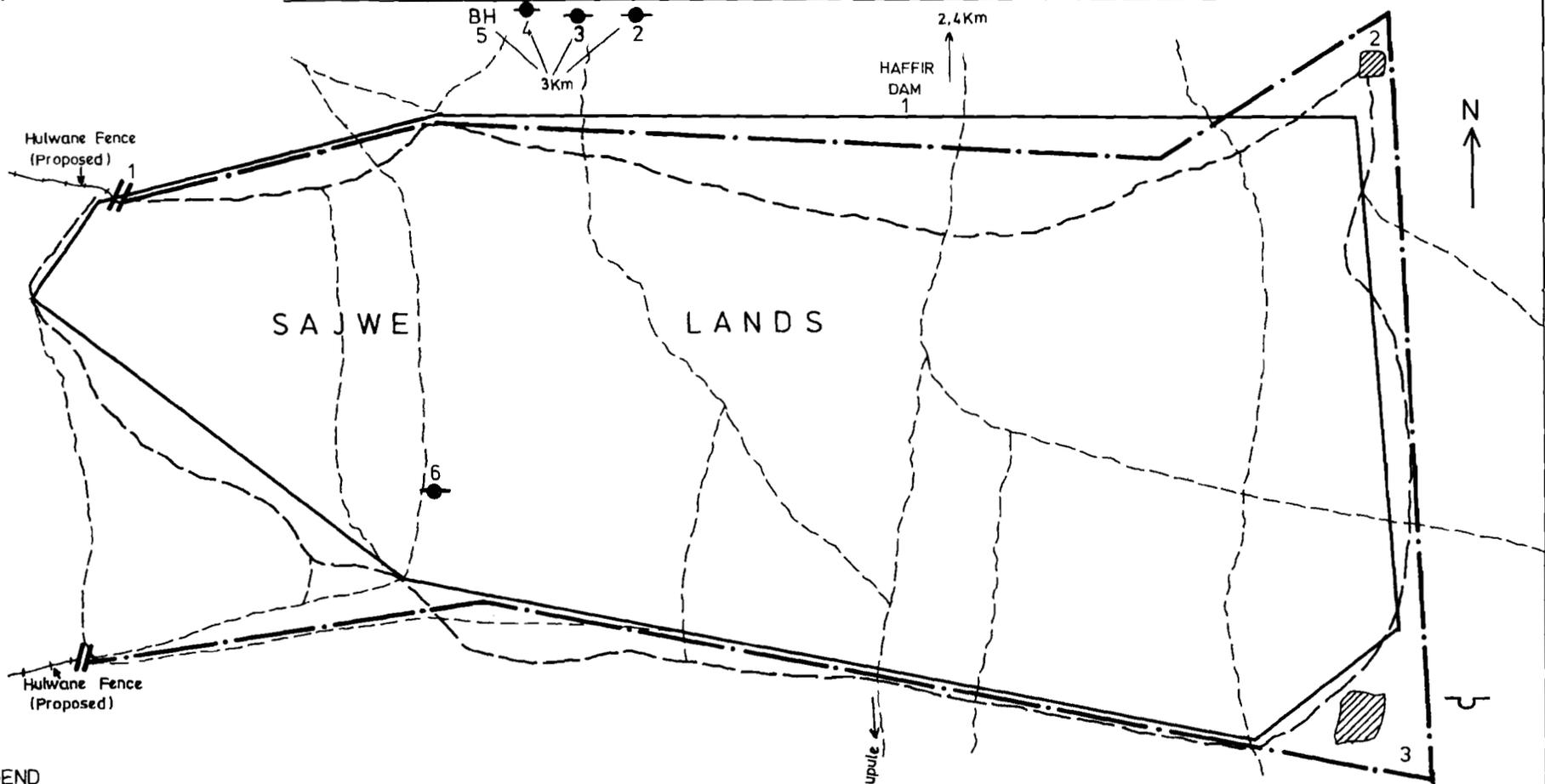
Sajwe farmers form a small homogenous group, bound by traditional kgotla ties, which operates very much as a large family. While the executive committee is re-elected every year, the general membership is considered to be the advisory body and every member has regular input in group meetings held twice monthly or when needs arise.

The FG does not relate to any coordinating committee (FC or VDC) but manages itself, with the advice and support of the AD. The chair and secretary, both female members, are the "cornerstones" who maintain cohesion, impetus and leadership in the group. Successful group management appears to stem primarily from the leadership qualities of these two members.

The chair who is 57 years old and completed Standard 2 in 1942, was said to be much respected partly because of her high rank (second top) in the United Congregational Church of South Africa (UCCSA), partly because of her patience, respect of every members' work and ideas, her initiative and tenacity. Others attributed her authority to the fact that one of her sons is DAO in Serowe or

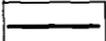
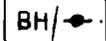
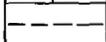
MAP 4A

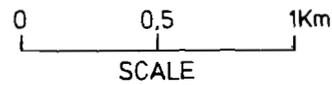
SAJWE - GROUP FENCE - PROPOSED FENCE AND CURRENT DEVELOPMENT



55

LEGEND

-  Proposed Project (D.A. Serowe, June 1979)
-  Current Modifications (D.E.C. 1980)
-  Borehole/Wells
-  Tracks

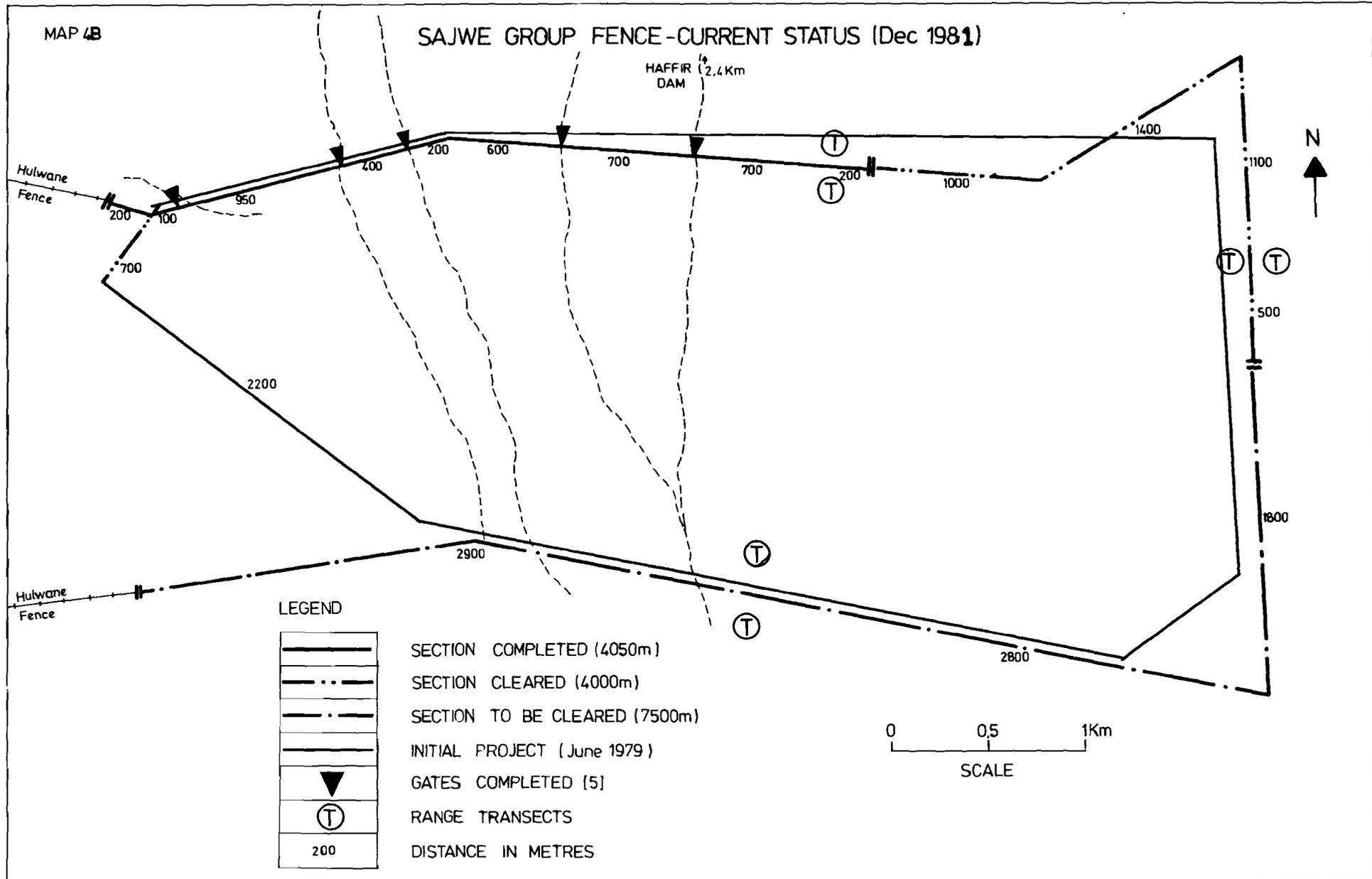


CORNERS

- 1. C. OBAKENG
- 2. M. NTLHOBATSANG
- 3. L. DITIKO

MAP 4B

SAJWE GROUP FENCE - CURRENT STATUS (Dec 1981)



to her wealth. The secretary, who is 30 years old and completed Standard 7 is also known for her conscientiousness and tenacity.

The group itself does not divide into sub-sections but distributes the work according to every member's ability. Thus, the older members will be given holes to dig, the fitter ones cut poles while women clear branches or help with the wiring. Project implementation is supervised by two skilled members.

Beside their physical participation in the project, women's most significant contribution relates to fund raising. Beer parties are organised once a month by every family in turn, raffles are organised for both children and adults with sugar and tea prizes, and Mophane worms and thatching grass are collected for sale. All of these activities are organised by women and the profit goes to the FG's treasury. In December 1981, the average profit for raffles amount to P10 (children) and P24.00 (adults) per raffle and the total profit raised with those methods amounted to P649.50.

The FG also devised means to enforce its by-laws. If younger members, for example, do not participate in the project as expected, they can be punished with two lashes and older members can be fined P40.00. If a member ploughing in the protected area never participated, upon completion of the fence, he will be fined two cattle or his harvest confiscated until a value is regained. Corporal punishment is administered during group meetings in the presence of Chief Ramojababo and at least two P40.00 fines had been paid for that year.

3.8.6. Problems

1. A number of group members are reluctant to pay their membership fees, either because those fees are believed to be too high (P100.00) or because they still doubt of the ultimate benefit of the project.
2. Palapye SLB re-allocated in the protected area one plot to a group member without consulting the FG. Thus, the new owner and the group as a whole expects further problems with the original owner.
3. The FG also faces the problem of convincing and integrating in the fencing projects (both Sajwe and adjacent ones) farmers who privately applied for land in those areas to be fenced and who were not necessarily aware of or

prepared to join in group ventures.

4. The FG also faced boundary disputes in the eastern section between Sajwe and Dikabeya FG (now settled).

3.9. MAAPE COMMUNITY

Maape is the only community under study in which no local institution has yet developed.

Maape is a widely scattered community with 34% of the residents living permanently at the lands. They were virtually no remote cattle post. The essential reason for dispersion appear to be the long history of internal leadership competition (2.4) which still persists and the failure of maintaining the village borehole in operating condition. Some of those issues and other complex land use problems relating more directly to District institutions are presented in subsequent case studies. (see below 5.3.4.3. i to iii).

In addition, Maape is fairly isolated between Pilikwe and Ramokgonami with no public transport, and the extension staff covering the area operate out of Ramokgonami, 15 kilometres east.

3.10. EXTENSION

3.10.1. Staff Inventory

The following field staff work in the study villages:

Kgagodi: 1 ACDO, 1 AD, 1 FWE, 1 VA.

Moshopa: 1 FWE (ACDO and AD operating respectively from Sefhare (21 kilometres) and Chadibe (30 kilometres)).

Maape: None (attended by Ramokgonami staff, 16 kilometres).

Sajwe: None (AD operates from Serowe, 42 kilometres).

3.10.2. Village Extension Team (VET)

Only Kgagodi is in a position to organise a VET. This was attempted in 1980 in order to promote better cooperation between local village institutions and provide advice on village development to the VDC.

This VET, however, never operated and only met once in 1980 to discuss the idea of forming a team. Despite repeated attempts from the AD and ACDO to call subsequent meetings, the VET never managed to meet again.

Problems

1. One major problem of this VET appears to be the basic lack of understanding of a team approach to extension work.
2. This problem seems to arise from the fact that each extension worker is directly accountable to different Ministries each with its own programmes and priorities that are not coordinated not integrated at any level (centre, district or village).
3. As a result, the field staff's first duty tends to satisfy his/her own department and only then to try to pull together in community work.
4. This problem is further reinforced by the fact that extension workers are not accountable to any village based institution. This situation not only undermines the field staff's motivation to meet local needs, but encourages lack of coordinated extension at village level and reinforces direct accountability to respective departments which ultimately control both salaries and promotions.

As a result, the VET concept still remains a rather theoretical approach in many communities which receives only little commitment from field workers.*

3.10.3. Extension Staff

Although no formal measure of effectiveness was used to evaluate extension staff, interviews and observations revealed considerable differences in their performance.

Observations

The first general observation was the degree of remoteness most extension workers had with rural dwellers. Their basic attitude is to wait for residents to knock on their door rather than go to the people. Moshopa VDC for example, reported to have been visited four times by their ACDO in 1980 and no visit was recalled in Maape. (See also above, 3.3.3(5) and 3.4.1.(3)).

* A detailed analysis and discussion of some of those extension problems have been presented in other reports. Consult L. Fortmann "Improving Village-Based Extension Services in Botswana", October 1982.

Extension staff do not seem to possess the rudiments of community development, communication and group processes and basic adult education techniques necessary to perform community work. In addition, some look down upon, adversely label or considerably underestimate the ability of rural people.

Problems

In addition to the fundamental problems mentioned under VET (3.10.2), extension staff face a number of logistical and administrative problems in their own extension areas:

1. The size of extension areas (ACDO is particular) is unmanageable. Most ACDOs are expected to cover two to four agricultural extension areas without means of transportation.
2. Because the various extension areas do not coincide the overall coordination of extension remains difficult.
3. Because of vacancies, some ADs have to cover up to 3 extension areas (Moshopa).
4. In-service training is minimal. AD monthly meetings, for example, are usually spent on general information update, progress reports on logistical problems in district or region. Extension training workshop as such for both ACDOs and ADs rarely amount to two per year.
5. Guidance and supervision are inadequate.

3.11. PROBLEMS OF MODERN INSTITUTIONS - A SUMMARY

The performance of modern institutions in these communities reveals numerous and quite diverse kinds of problems. Some relate to environmental conditions in the area, others to lack of support and group skills, others still relate to institutions based outside those communities. While some of the problems can be generalised to all modern institutions, others are more specifically related to coordinating committees or government institutions.

3.11.1. General Problems

Water and Disease

Lack of both domestic and livestock water in Kgagodi reduces the performance

of virtually all groups/institutions in the community (see above FG, PTA, 4B). Farmers spend much time trekking their cattle to a neighbouring borehole (15 kilometres) or drawing water from wells and domestic water is currently drawn from a borehole, 4 kilometres north of the village (see case study 5.3.4.3.(i)). Foot and mouth disease, in addition, was reported to add a further constraint directly affecting financial group contributions. Thus, the heavy work involved in securing domestic and livestock water combined to foot and mouth constraints leave the majority of Kgagodi residents with little time or money for group or other productive activities.

Foot and mouth disease also was reported to be an additional constraint affecting financial group contributions (Kgagodi: Tick control group, small stock group).

Group Skills and Group Management Problems

The majority of modern institutions, including coordinating committees, lack the basic skills to operate and function as a group:

- a number of them were formed on the spot without adequate information on objectives and purpose of their institution (Moshopa: SWC, 4B; Kgagodi SWC).
- As a result many of them duplicate roles and compete with each other for projects and fund raising (PTAs - VDCs; SWCs - BCWs; 4Bs - BCWs).
- Most executive committees show little ability to work as a group and lack basic administrative skills i.e. records/bookkeeping; lack of understanding of specific roles and duties of respective officers; information, consultation, planning, decision-making and evaluation processes; group management and supervision (BCWs, SWCs, PTAs, and Kgagodi FG Committee).

Training and Support

- Three out of four communities under study lack adequate extension staff (3.10.1). No extension worker is yet based in Maape. Only one FWE operated in Moshopa from 1979 to 1982 and staff support provided from neighbouring villages was found quite insufficient (See Moshopa: SWC, FC and Maape).
- In Kgagodi, a well staffed community (five extension agents including the HT), no on-going training for any group/institution is

planned except by the FWE.

- Finally, all 4B clubs under study and some PTAs receive little support and encouragement from their Head Teachers (see: 4B Kgagodi and Moshopa, and PTA Moshopa) and also little response from traditional chiefs because of their basic lack of understanding of objectives, role and operations of those institutions.

3.11.2. Specific Problems

Coordinating Committees (FCs and VDCs) in addition to the constraints listed above, also face problems related to their specific role and purpose:

1. Coordination and Management

The fundamental role of coordination expected from these committees is not being performed. No village plan is designed and no local institutions coordinated. The surveys conducted in Kgagodi and Moshopa (3.4.2.6(3) and 3.7.2.4.(3)) clearly show that: very few residents have realistic expectations of their VDC; the majority of them are not informed of its activities and find VDC projects not to meet their needs; and, a large majority suggest improvements.

2. Lack of Community Representation

- The current Moshopa VDC was elected on the basis of traditional influences and status (3.7.2.1.(3)) and expects to "rule" other institutions without involving themselves in project implementation (3.7.2.4.(2)).
- Kgagodi projects are identified by VDC behind closed doors and then brought to the Chief and community for approval. Kgagodi VDC was further said to select projects that improve its own "self-image" rather than the living standards of the community. (3.4.2.6.(3)).
- Finally, some VDCs tend to be used as political fora by local Councillors (see Kgagodi, Central VDC, 3.4.2.5) in which participation of extension staff and the community at large, are deliberately discarded. (3.4.2.6.(5)).

3.11.3. Problems Related to Government Institutions

Government institutions include extension staff based in the communities and others based outside such as Sub-land boards. Further problems relating to other Council agencies and decision-makers are discussed more extensively in

the Resource Management section of the report.

Extension Staff

Extension staff face a number of problems of their own which bear directly on the performance of local institutions.

1. Lack of coordination of extension efforts at the centre, considerably reduces formation of effective VETs and reinforces direct accountability of field workers to departments and ministries that themselves are not coordinated (3.11.2.2).
2. The lack of accountability to any village based institutions (VDCs-FCs) undermines field staff's motivations and encourages lack of coordinated extension at local level.
3. Extension workers tend to be divorced from rural communities and are not equipped to perform community work (3.10.3. 1 and 2)
4. Vacancies and considerable variation in size of extension areas make coordination of extension difficult or unmanageable (e.g. ACDOs.)
5. In-service training and supervision are inadequate.

Sub Land Boards (SLB)

All three fencing groups studied encountered problems with their SLB. Allocation procedures in Kgagodi inhibits general participation in fencing. Sajwe FG faces problems of land reallocation in the fenced area and both Moshopa and Sajwe FGs have or had boundary problems with their projects (See also below 5.3.4.3.(iii) and 6.6.).

3.12. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This inquiry has described a variety of local groups/institutions, most of which are dysfunctional because objectives are poorly understood and basic skills to perform group activities have not developed.

Coordinating Committees, whose primary responsibility is to plan and co-ordinate local development ignore their specific role, tend to operate in isolation and compete with traditional authority for control and leadership.

Finally, the mining labour force, an important segment of those communities, is almost invariably left out of community consultation and planning.

Several factors appear to influence low performance of local institutions.

3.12.1. Creation of Local Institutions

A number of voluntary institutions emerge under the influence of dedicated members from neighboring village institutions, a good number of others are introduced as part of government policy and development strategy (VDCs, FC, VHCs, Agric. Groups) by various government officers each of whom present the advantages and benefits of his organisation/project to the community.*

Beside the fact that each preaches for his/her own programme in isolation from his colleagues, the typical extension talk approach of government officers conveys some sense of obligation on the part of the villagers to initiate committees because of the official character of their message. As a result, a flurry of groups, committees and institutions emerges in rural communities. Only a few of them are actually established out of genuine assessment of community needs performed with and by communities.

3.12.2. Group and Management Skills

In order to become functional and viable, groups must first meet real felt needs in the community. Second, a good number of group and management skills are equally necessary to enable the group to perform group activities and operate as a group. These primary include:

- group consultations technique i.e. how to organise and run meetings; how to consult among group members, group and kgotla, group and community at large, etc.
- group decision-making techniques: i.e. how to take group decisions, how to formulate those decisions and resolutions etc.
- organisational skills: i.e. how to make agendas, calendar of events; how to keep and use records, minutes, and financial books, etc.
- planning and management techniques: i.e. how to plan group activities, how to set groups objectives, how to divide, implement and supervise group activities, how to evaluate performance; how to deal with dissident members and how to enforce group decisions, etc.

* A number of District and Council officers currently are of the opinion that it is their duty to "appoint VDCs".(CFDA meeting 16.2.1983).

None of these skills are automatically given by simply appointing committees or electing them in one kgotla meeting. Management skills rather develop from practical experience and long-standing training support. For this reason the formation of few functional groups has the special advantage of being an informal, ad hoc form of organisation, allowing time for trial and error during which group management can rise and grow before solidifying into formal organisation. When a formal organisation does emerge, it is more likely to be appropriate to its tasks than if a formal organisation is set up in the beginning. (e.g. current VDCs, FGs). This sequence allows the forms of community organisation to grow out of their functions.

Thus, Coordinating Committees (VDCs or FCs) which are expected to perform a rather complex level of management, are more likely to become functional if they emerge from simple groups and voluntary institutions that are themselves functional and operating effectively at their own levels. From successful groups a number of members with management experience and new skills emerge and can then undertake more complex management tasks (e.g. VDC or FC) while group management can then be delegated to other members. This process, however requires cumulative training as both management complexity and number of managers increase.

3.12.3. Training Support and Follow Up

Absence of on-going training and follow-up is one of the most crucial problems directly affecting low performance of local institutions. The only input received by a number of local committees is the brief general introduction given at the village kgotla at the time of elections. Elections then commonly take place with no general preparation, consultation and active participation of the community, except for a meeting notice. Then, if anything happens at all, it is usually a sporadic and ad hoc kind of assistance, most often provided in times of crisis.

This state of affairs raises serious questions on both the kind of extension approach instilled into extension cadres and the appropriateness of their training.

3.12.4. Recommendations

In the light of the above problems and analysis of local institutions it is recommended that:

I CREATION OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

Where no VDC has yet been introduced

1. Extension workers and more specifically ACDOs, first, identify and promote by careful need assessment with the active participation of the residents, one or two groups/institutions best tailored to community needs, and, then devote as much effort on extending group and management skills (as defined in 3.12.2.) as on providing technical input.
2. For that exercise, extension workers consult and use "Re a Tlhaloganyana" extension manual (Stanley:1982) or other appropriate material.
3. When such groups/institutions have proved viable, the ACDO in collaboration with other extension agents cautiously introduce in the community the concept of VDC, by launching widespread information campaigns, to explain to the community at large what are the roles and objectives of a VDC.
4. Such training be performed with appropriate non-formal adult education techniques and appropriate media, e.g. popular theatre, community rallies, posters and other visual aids, study groups, role playing, etc. instead of straight forward talks from the ACDO.
5. VDC elections only be attempted when the residents have acquired sufficient understanding of roles, objectives and operations of their VDC, so as to elect appropriate members accordingly.

Where VDCs and FCs already have been introduced:

6. Peripleral, dysfunctional and non-operational institutions be left aside and extension efforts ONLY concentrate on those few institutions identified by careful community need assessment that are:
 - first, highly valued and meet real needs of the residents and,
 - second, offer the best potential for simultaneous development of group skills and group management.
7. The ACDOs, in collaboration with other extension workers, give priority to creating general community awareness of roles and objectives of VDC, as recommended in 2. and 3. above, and ensure that Chiefs are included

in that training.

8. Once community-wide knowledge has been established new VDCs be elected with full participation of community residents.
9. The ACDO concentrate on extending group and management skills(as defined in 3.12.2) and design on-going training programmes for improving VDC operations as appropriate.
10. On-going training emphasise to VDC members the representative nature of their position and the fact that they are ultimately accountable to the community at large.
11. The ACDO, in collaboration with other extension workers, also organise similar information and consultation sessions for migrant labour as appropriate and encourage the VDC to include representatives of that segment of the community.

II. EXTENSION AT THE CENTRE

12. The Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) facilitate and take active measures to ensure coordination of extension efforts among various departments and ministries involved (3.10.2.2.) by:
 - Including VET duties in the job description of extension cadres.
 - Requiring regular reports of cooperative projects from each extension cadre.
 - Requiring regular VET meetings.
 - Requiring district/national supervisors to visit at least once a year the VETs as a team.
13. RECC become the recognised forum for joint extension planning by:
 - Requesting the Departments/Ministries involved to circulate their annual plans to each other and to RECC.
 - Drawing a single integrated plan from various department plans and ensuring its implementation and supervision.
14. RECC investigate, design and promote the necessary mechanisms to also make extension staff accountable to their VDC for their work and

performance.

15. An internal evaluation of the S and CD Division be conducted and the Division's specific role in extension be redefined in function of the recommendations presented in several Institutions Research reports.
16. That both S and CD and the Department of Field Services (MoA) in collaboration with Districts and Regions study the possibility of reducing the size of extension areas and have those of the different cadres coincide as much as possible.

III. EXTENSION TRAINING

17. Extension training for both ACDOs and ADs emphasise working with rural people along the line of their interests and needs, particularly those related to improving livelihood, physical level of living and community welfare.
18. Extension training curriculum be seriously revised and some of the following elements possibly included:
 - group planning, consultation, meetings, workshops and participatory techniques.
 - effective use of subject and result demonstrations.
 - effective use of adult education complementary supporting activities such as: relevant technical support, formulation of work-plans, preparation of calendar of events, planning for committees in-service training, evaluation processes of group/project activities, etc.
 - familiarisation with informal training techniques, e.g. popular theatre, exhibits, tours, use of media.
19. For appropriate subjects, extension workers be trained together at BAC and the importance of team work in extension be emphasised.

PART II RESOURCES MANAGEMENT - INVENTORY, CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMSCHAPTER 4. THE RESOURCE BASE

4.1. The predominant resources available to those communities are essentially natural resources, i.e. land and water, and livestock. This section first gives a brief population profile of the communities and describes the resources identified.

4.2. Community Characteristics and Definition

Most communities of eastern Botswana normally include a village residential area, an adjacent arable lands area and a number of cattle posts, either adjacent to villages or arable lands, or in more remote areas. Except for Sajwe, which is not a village community as such, but a group ploughing in Serowe lands, the term "community" refers thereafter to all three locations. Agricultural data on the other hand, was only collected for lands areas being fenced, excluding cattle post "gardens" (see above 3.2.1. footnote).

4.3. Population Profile

From August to October 1980, a community census was conducted in each community including lands and cattle post areas in order to establish land ownership and population living permanently in those communities. Dependent school children studying outside those communities were also included in those figures.

Table 2. summarises these findings and compares them with the 1981 Population Census figures for villages and Associated Areas combined.

Table 2 Permanent Population Profile

	Total Permanent Residents (Community Census) Oct-1980	Village and Associated Areas* Total (1981 Census figures)
Sajwe Fencing Group	543	-
Kgagodi	1447	1656
Moshopa	1556	1619
Maape	1173	1078

* Differences appear to result from the fact that "associated areas" seem to have been associated by the Census on a geographical basis for Census purposes and, therefore, include enumerated people who do not necessarily strictly belong to those communities. (e.g. Mokgoana E.A.20 included in Moshopa or Serule borehole, E.A. 90 included in Kgagodi.)

4.4. Land and Water Sources Inventory

Arable lands with related fencing projects are shown in relation to grazing areas and water sources for each community respectively in the following Maps 5 to 8. In addition, an index following each map presents characteristics, ownership and usage of each water source identified.

4.5. Arable Land Characteristics

The maps show that arable lands appear as fairly homogeneous islands of land in the middle of grazing areas and, in most cases, located close to the village residential area. Such tenure appears to have been influenced by the traditional land allocation pattern, when land was allocated by local chiefs and ploughed by wards (see 3.8.7. and 5.2).

The maps also illustrate the current trend in Central District to communally fence arable lands. Since arable areas still are fairly well demarcated (at least traditionally), communities find it easier to fence the whole village lands area at once rather than to fence individually.

For the 1980-81 agricultural season, the area ploughed inside those fences ranged between 158 hectares for Sajwe, 446 hectares for Kgagodi and 639 hectares for Moshopa, representing a respective average of 2,5, 3,3 and 3,5 hectares per farm, with respective total yield averages of 0.19, 0.12 and 0.14 tons of total crops per hectare. For the same season, crop damage was reported in 55% of the farms in Sajwe, 40% in Kgagodi and 58% in Moshopa.*

4.6. Grazing Land Characteristics

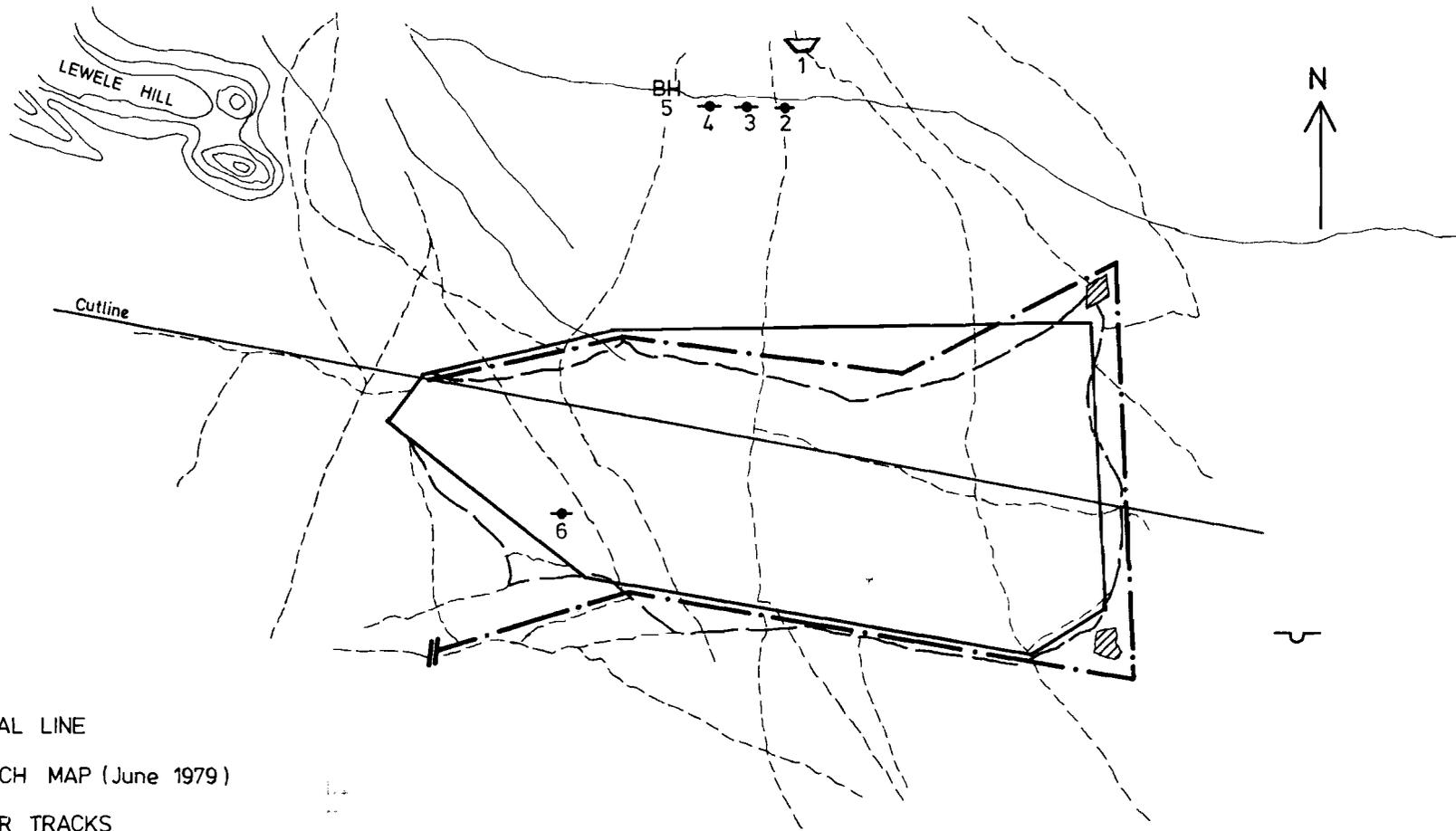
Arable lands generally are surrounded by pastures predominantly shared with adjacent communities and cattle-post residents. This sharing of grazing resources, however, is not a well established pattern. Any other resident can, in agreement with the farmers established in those areas, pasture his cattle with theirs.

In the four communities studied, this predominant sharing pattern was observed, yet with differences from one community to the next.

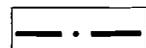
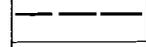
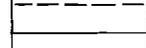
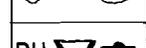
* Source: see 1.2

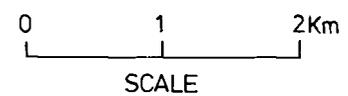
MAP 5

SAJWE FENCE AND WATER SOURCES



LEGEND:

-  ACTUAL LINE
-  SKETCH MAP (June 1979)
-  MAJOR TRACKS
-  TRACKS
-  RIVERS
-  BOHEHOLE DAM, WELLS



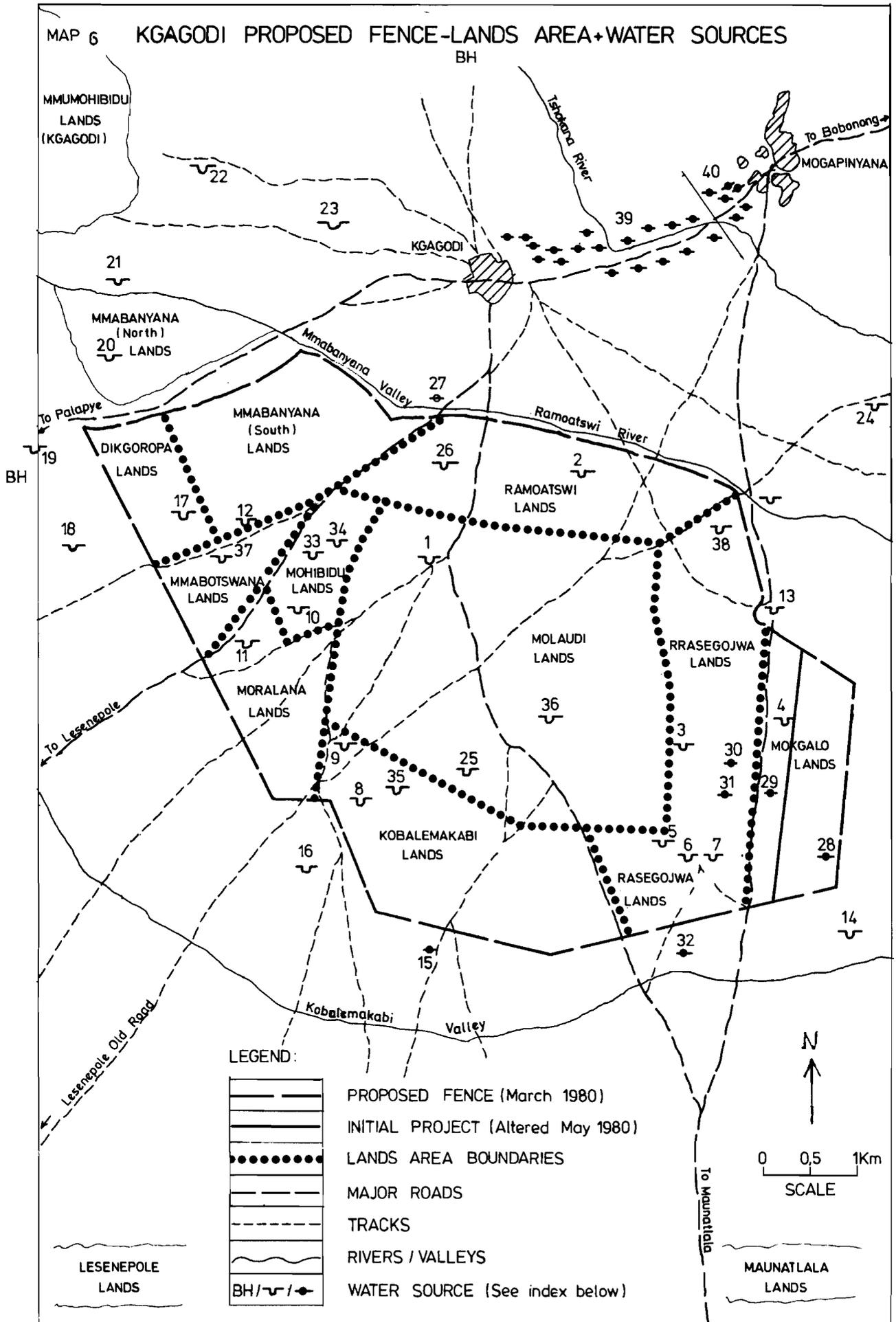
SAJWE - WATER SOURCES INDEX

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom</u>
		Pan (p)	communal(co)	domestic(d)	(months)		Council (C)
		Dam (d)	private (pr)	livestock(l)			Self (s)
		Well (w)		both (b)			
		B/H (bh)					

1	BOJALEKUDU	d	"pr"*	b	all year	1979	dam-group
2	G. MOSIAKGOMO's	w	pr	b	all year	1940	s
3	MUSI's	w	pr	b	all year	1935	s
4	SIANANG's	w	pr	N/A	N/A	1948	s (not maintained)
5	DAJU	bh	co	b	all year	1948	C
6	L. MOSIAKGOMO's	w	pr	b	Dec	1962	s

* Restricted to group members only

MAP 6 KGAGODI PROPOSED FENCE-LANDS AREA+ WATER SOURCES



KGAGODI - WATER SOURCES INDEX

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>
		Pan (p) Dam (d) Well (w) B/H (bh)	communal (co) private (pr)	domestic (d) livestock (l) both (b)	(months)		council (C) self (s)
-	KGAGODI B/H	bh	co	d	all year	1970	C
1	MOLAUDI	p	co	b	Nov-Apr/Jul	-	-
2	MMACHETE	p	co	b	Nov-Apr	-	-
3	BULA's	d	pr	d	" "	1973	s
4	SEPOKE	p	co	b	" "	-	-
5	MABOLANE	p	co	b	" "	-	-
6	MOROTOLOGA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
7	MMANOTUNKELO	p	co	b	" "	-	-
8	NTAPA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
9	MORALANA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
10	MOHIBIDU	p	co	l	" "	-	-
11	MMADIKELEDI	p	co	l	" "	-	-
12	MMAMPSWE	p	co	l	" "	-	-
13	RASEGOJWA	p	co	l	Nov-Apr/Jul	-	-
14	MMAESEPELE	p	co	l	Nov-Apr	-	-
15	JEOFFREY's	w	pr	(? lives in Maunatlala)			
16	MOSU	p	co	l	Nov-Apr	-	-
17	DOKGOROPANA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
18	MPANE	p	co	l	" "	-	-
19	DIKGOROPA (1)	p	co	l	" "	-	-
20	SEKGOROPANA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
21	MANWANA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
22	DIKGOROPA(2)	p	co	l	" "	-	-
23	MONPATI	p	co	l	" "	-	-
24	MOKOBA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
25	KEIKANNE	p	co	l	" "	-	-
26	MAKOOBIDITSE	p	co	l	" "	-	-
27	NOGE's	w	pr	l	all year	±1920	s

KGAGODI - WATER SOURCES INDEX Continued

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>
		Pan (p)	communal (co)	domestic (d)	(months)		council (C)
		Dam (d)	private (pr)	livestock(l)			self (s)
		Well (w)		both (b)			
		B/H (bh)					
28	MOSUKUKI'S	d	pr	b	Nov-Jul	1968	s
29	KAKANA'S	d	pr	b	Nov-Apr	1973	s
30	OTSILE'S	d	pr	b	" "	1974	s
31	KGOMOTSO'S	d	pr	b	" "	1972	s
32	MOTSHERE'S	d	pr	b	Nov-Apr	1972	s
33	MHATA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
34	MMOTA	p	co	l	" "	-	-
35	NOGE'S	p	co	b	" "	-	-
36	RAKELAPILE	p	co	b	" "	-	-
37	MMABOTSWANA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
38	MOKWEBA	p	co	b	" "	-	-

39 includes a series of 18 private chain wells on both sides of the road going to Mogapinyana north of the village past the health post on the western side of the river (Tshokana).

These wells belong respectively to: B. Sephako, Moseki, Senata Mogapi, K. Monakane, S. Pharabatho, G. Kolonyane, E. Monthe, M. Palalo, K. Lesolame, K. Dichaba, O. Mmopi, L. Magwaneng, T. Mapulane, O. Mosweu, K. Morupise, K. Tebogo, K. Mokalake, Malokoane.

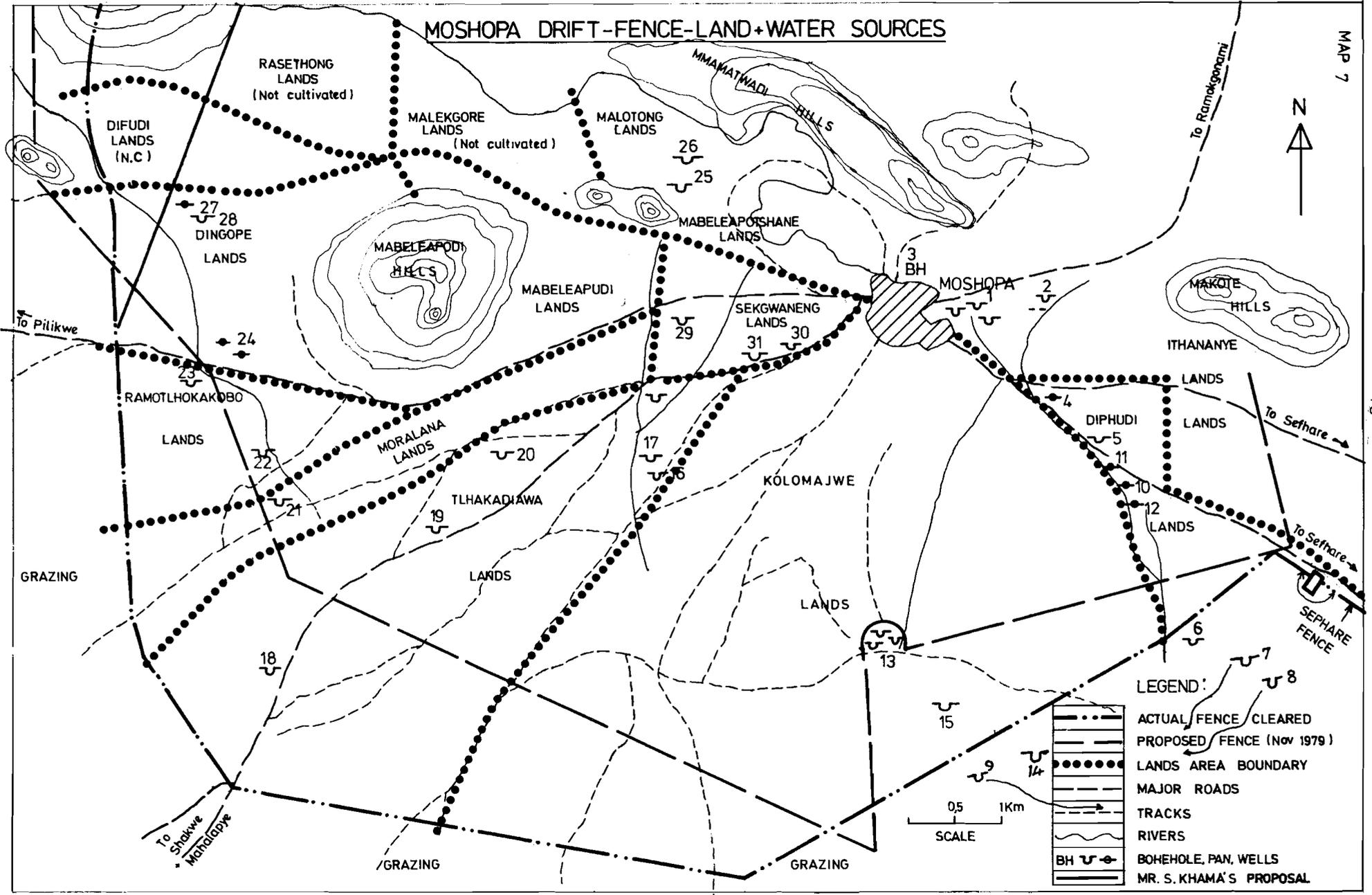
40 includes 6 private chain wells on the eastern side of the Tshokana river (Mogapinyana) Kekgethile, Sekomile, Masheleng, Motsamai, Makolo, Billie.

Note: Those wells are domestic wells and were dug around 1945 and are used throughout the year. Some, however, are also used for livestock. Prices vary from well to well according to the number of stock and range from 1 beast/year to 1 goat for 8 cattle.

Except for Malokoane's well (Kgosing well), most others are salty and few people actually buy water for livestock. Further details, uncertain.

MOSHOPA DRIFT-FENCE-LAND+WATER SOURCES

MAP 7



- LEGEND:
- ACTUAL FENCE
 - CLEARED PROPOSED FENCE (Nov 1979)
 - LANDS AREA BOUNDARY
 - MAJOR ROADS
 - TRACKS
 - RIVERS
 - BOHEHOLE, PAN, WELLS
 - MR. S. KHAMA'S PROPOSAL

0.5 1Km
SCALE

76

MOSHOPA - WATER SOURCES INDEX

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>
		Pan (p)	communal (co)	domestic (d)	(months)		council (C)
		Dam (d)	private (pr)	livestock (l)			self (s)
		Well (w)		both (b)			
		B/H (bh)					
1	NOKAENNYE	w	co	b	all year	+ 1920	village
2	NOKAETONA	w	co	b	all year	+ 1920	"
3	VILLAGE	bh	co	d	all year	1965	C
4	VILLAGE	w	co	b	all year	1968	village
5	MAKHIBA	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
6	RAMAGORWE	p	co	l	Dec	-	-
7	MAPYE	p	co	l	Dec-Feb	-	-
8	MORUKUTSHWANE	p	co	l	" "	-	-
9	MAMALOTWANA (1)	p	co	l	Dec-Jan	-	-
10	OBONETSE 's	d	pr	d	Dec-Apr	1974	s
11	GAKEMOITSE 's	d	pr	d	" "	1973	s
12	SEBOKO 's	d	pr	d	" "	1972	s
13	KOLOMAJWE	p	co	b	Oct-Jul	-	-
14	DIGKAMA 's	p	co	l	Dec	-	-
15	GATALAPHIRI	p	co	l	Dec-Feb	-	-
16	RADINONYANE	p	co	b	" "	-	-
17	LEKGARAPANA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
18	MALEKGALA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
19	DINOIPANA	p	co	b	Dec-Mar	-	-
20	MODISE	p	co	b	Dec-Jan	-	-
21	MORALANA	p	co	b	Dec-Mar	-	-
22	RAMOTLHOKAKOBO	p	co	b	Dec-Mar	-	-
23	MAMALOTWANA (2)	p	co	b	" "	-	-
24	DINGOPE	w	co	b	Dec-Apr	1962	Dingope farmers
25	MOSOLA 's	d	pr	d	Oct-Jul	1974	s
26	MOTATE	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
27	MPYANE	p	co	b	Dec-Feb	-	-

MOSHOPA - WATER SOURCES INDEX Continued

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>	
		Pan (p)	communal (co)	domestic (d)	(months)		council (C)	
		Dam (d)	private (pr)	livestock (l)			self (s)	
		Well (w)		both (b)				
		B/H (bh)						
28	DINGOPE	d	(applied for by Dingope group, not built yet)					
29	SILEJI	p	co	d	Dec-Feb	-	-	
30	SESAKAJWE	p	co	d	" "	-	-	
31	MOLDI	p	co	b	Dec-Mar	-	-	

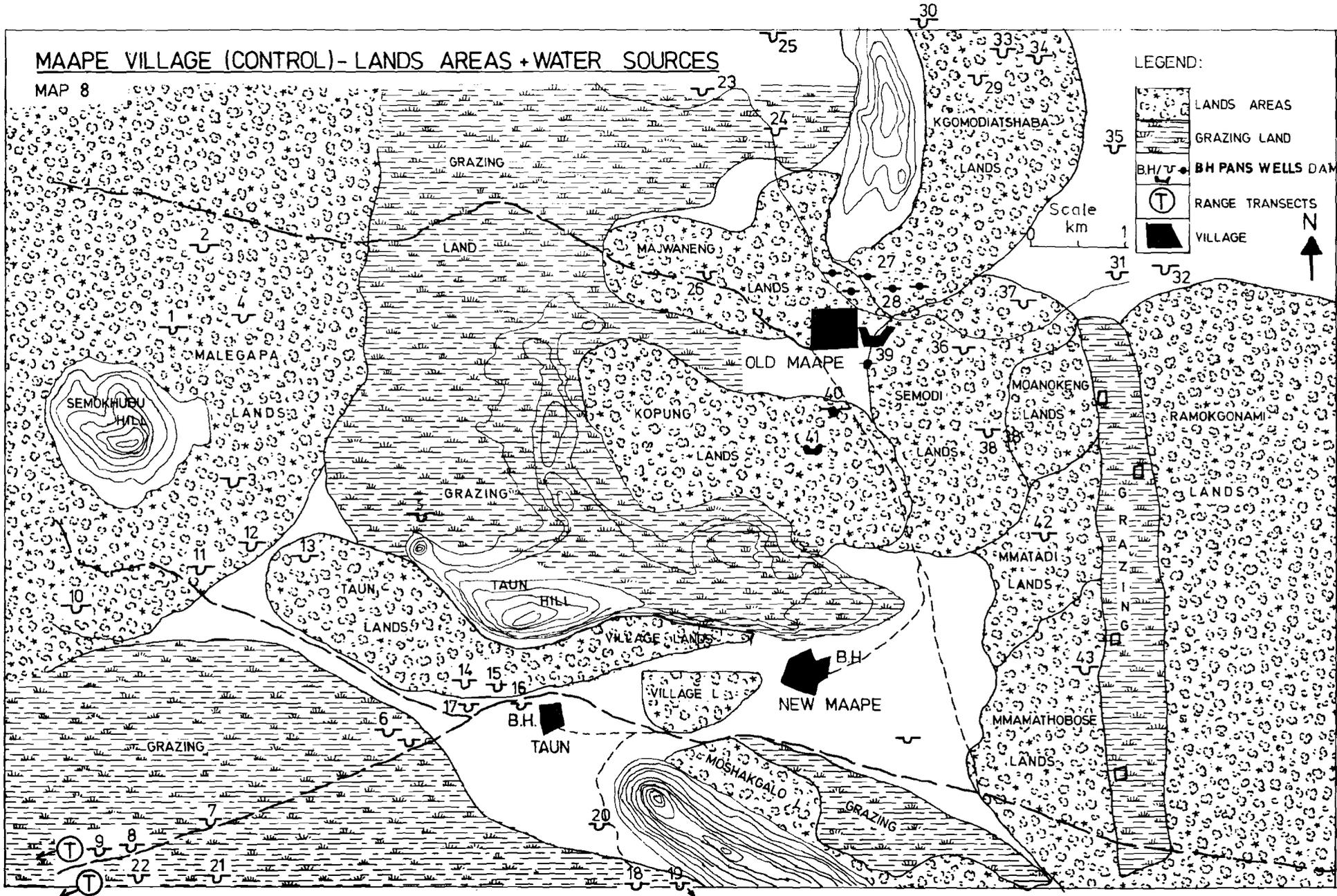
MAAPE VILLAGE (CONTROL) - LANDS AREAS + WATER SOURCES

MAP 8

LEGEND:

-  LANDS AREAS
-  GRAZING LAND
-  BH PANS WELLS DAM
-  RANGE TRANSECTS
-  VILLAGE

Scale
km 1



MAAPE - WATER SOURCES INDEX

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>
		Pan (p) Dam (d) Well (w) B/H (bh)	communal (co) private (pr)	domestic (d) livestock (l) both (b)	(months)		council (C) self (s)
1	MAKEKELETE	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
2	DITLHOJANE	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
3	MALEGAPA	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
4	GASONOKI	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
5	DINKU	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
6	DIGANA	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
7	MOSWE	p	co	l	Dec	-	-
8	MAKOBANA	p	co	l	1 week	-	-
9	RAMONABE	p	co	b	Dec-Jan	-	-
10	KHUDAGA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
11	SESA	p	co	b	" "	-	-
12	TADI	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
13	MOSU	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
14	MASUKUSU	p	co	b	Dec-Feb	-	-
15	LENGANANG	p	co	b	" "	-	-
16	PHIBEDU	p	co	l	Dec-Jan	-	-
17	MOLATO(1)	p	co	l	" "	-	-
18	MOLATO(2)	p	co	l	Dec	-	-
19	DIPHOLOGOLO	p	co	l	"	-	-
20	MORUWELE	p	co	l	"	-	-
21	MAIPUTSHWANE	p	co	l	1 week	-	-
22	METSIMOHIBIDU	p	co	l	1 week	-	-
23	MOGOLOKI	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
24	SEKGARAPANA	p	co	b	2 weeks	-	-
25	DITHAGANE	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
26	MMADINONYANE	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
27	DIPITSE (*)	w	pr	b	all year	±1920	families
28	MAJWANENG	d	co	b	all year	1960	Majwaneng resid.

MAAPE - WATER SOURCES INDEX Continued

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Usage</u>	<u>Time Used</u>	<u>Date Built</u>	<u>By Whom?</u>
		Pan (p) Dam (d) Well (w) B/H (bh)	communal (co) private (pr)	domestic (d) livestock (l) both (b)	(months)		council (C) self (s)
29	MALOTWANA	p	co	b	Dec-Jan	-	-
30	RANTSIAPANA	p	co	b	Dec-Feb	-	-
31	MOTOPI	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
32	PEKWAENA	p	co	b	2 weeks	-	-
33	MALETONA	p	co	b	Dec-Jan	-	-
34	MATHATSWANE	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
35	MORALANENG	p	co	b	Dec-May	-	-
36	SEMODI	p	co	b	Dec-Feb	-	-
37	MOAMOKEME	p	co	b	Dec	-	-
38	MOPHENE	p	co	b	1 week	-	-
39	KOPUN	w	co	b	all year	1980	Kopun residents
40	OLD MAAPE	w	co	b	all year	±1920	village
41	OLD MAAPE	d	co	b	all year	1968	"
-	MAAPE B/H	bh	co	d	all year	1953	Tshekedi Khama
-	TAUN B/H	bh	co	l	all year	(1957 (1970	Mr. Rich C

(*) As the name indicates, DIPITSE refers to a series of dug (chain) wells. These "dipitse", all close to the dam, include 8 wells belonging respectively to: Morupisi, Poso, Nkgakge, Matlhoane, Modise, Mmasentshwela, Mofiki and Matiose. Two, however, (Modise and Matiose) have not been maintained and are no longer in use.

Thus, in Sajwe (Map 5), within a radius of approximately 45 kilometres, pastures situated north of the fence are predominantly shared with Phikwe and Letshana communities; in the east by Palapye and Dikabeya; in the south by Palapye and Bikwe; and, in the western section by Hulwane and Botepetepe lands areas.

In Moshopa (Map 7), a similar general trend is followed with the difference that pastures immediately adjacent to arable lands areas are predominantly grazed by the farmers ploughing in the lands and adjacent to the communities. Thus, for example, farmers ploughing in Dipudi lands, predominantly pasture their herds immediately across the fence section protecting Dipudi lands and share south-eastern grazing areas (e.g. Motshverekgomo, Mokoane, Morukutshwane, Mapye) with both their neighbouring sections (Kolomajwe) and Maifhala residents from Sefhare. It must be reemphasised, however, that this practice only is a general trend and that cattle movements in grazing areas are neither governed by official boundaries nor any other legal provision.

Kgagodi (Map 6) follows the same general trend as in Moshopa along the fence. But, in addition to sharing those adjacent grazing areas, Kgagodi also has at least 25 remote cattle posts spread around the village area within a radius of approximately 50 kilometres. Those remote cattle posts were said to belong to Kgagodi since 1902 when the village was founded during the tribal move to Serowe.

Maape (Map 8), in contrast, presents a situation where grazing is very much interlocked with arable land. Pastures shown on Map 8 are shared by Ramokgonami community in the east, Mahalapitsa north-west and Moshopa, further south. In addition, Maape has no distant cattle post and virtually all the village herd (1355 head in 1981) is pastured on grazing areas shown on the Map.

Maape residents expressed their desire to protect and possibly extend grazing within their community areas particularly in what is left in the eastern section.

4.7. Water Sources Characteristics

The water sources indices following each map record a relatively large number of sources in each community area. Yet the majority of those are natural pans which depend on the amount and nature of the rains. Their capacity and usage

also depend on the size of both the natural depressions and water catchments. Thus, in what is considered to be "good rainy seasons", as was the case in 1980-81, most of those natural pans contained water for only two to three months after the rains, i.e. from December to April. Only a few contained enough water to last nearly to the next ploughing season. Those included Molaudi and Rasegojwa pans in Kgagodi; Kolomajwe Pans in Moshopa; and Moralaneng in Maape.

A number of other water sources consists in small private dams. Those dams usually are very simple mud bunds built across small catchments or slopes by individual farmers in their own field and function very much in the same way as natural pans, subject to the same constraints.

The most reliable sources clearly are boreholes and chain wells all of which rely on technology such as drilling or blasting in order to reach the water table, and some communal dams generally built with mechanical assistance on much wider water catchments. Among reliable sources in those communities figure the following:

- 4 in Sajwe: Index numbers: 1, 2, 3 and 5
- 3 in Kgagodi: Index numbers: 27, 39 (Malokoane) and Kgagodi Bh.
- 4 in Moshopa : Index numbers: 1, 2, 3 and 4
- 7 in Maape: Index numbers: 27, 28, 39, 40, 41, Maape Bh and Taun Bh.

From this inventory one observes that reliable water sources are generally located close to the village residential area and that lands areas are virtually void of reliable sources. When the rains are satisfactory both domestic and livestock water at the lands only is sufficient for a few months after the rains stop and in a good number of them water lasts less than a month. As natural sources dry up, water must then be brought to the lands from reliable sources either by sledge or donkey carts.

4.8. Livestock Resources

During the 1980-81 agricultural season an average of 65% of all farmers in the four communities combined were found to own cattle. The average numbers of head per owner was 18 Maape, 28 Moshopa, 32 Kgagodi and 43 in Sajwe. An average of 35% of the population of the four communities had no livestock of their own, while 58% were found to either borrow, hire or use mafisa animals

for ploughing their fields. *

Small stock husbandry was found to be much less substantial. An average of only 44.5% of the total households owned goats and 9.5% owned sheep with an average herd size of ten head per owner for both sheep and goats. Small stock is primarily reared for domestic consumption. Out of those 44.5%, only 10% of goat owners and 5% of sheep owners had respectively sold an average of 2.5 and 1.1 animals for a whole year.*

* Source and origin, see 1.2

CHAPTER 5 LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

5.1. This Chapter attempts to summarise in a first section the major traditional resource management trends followed in those communities and highlights, in a second section, current practices and problems. The management of communal perennial water sources appears to be particularly difficult and, therefore, three brief historical accounts of communal boreholes are presented in order to better illustrate the management complexity of those resources.

5.2. TRADITIONAL MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

All respondents concurred that chiefs traditionally played a key role in land allocation and management of communal resources.

Settlement in and management of natural resources in some areas studied have been delegated to royal ward heads by Paramount Chiefs (Kgagodi 1902). In other instances, local chiefs (Batswapong) were assimilated into the Ngwato tribe, but kept their chiefly functions at their own level (Maape). In others still, some groups established supremacy over others, prior to being themselves assimilated into the main tribe (Moshopa). Yet, in all cases, one major responsibility of traditional chiefs, in addition to keeping law and order, was to allocate land and, to some extent, manage communal resources with their people.

5.2.1. Land Allocation

At the time of the early settlement land was considered to be plentiful and the common patrimony of the "morafe" (nation). Local Chiefs designated and allocated areas of land to community wards (2.4.1.1. and 3.8.1) and ward members ploughed in their respective ward lands. As communities developed, however, local residents were forced to adjust traditional tenure to needs and constraints arising in their communities.

5.2.2. Traditional Land Use Practices

Historical accounts of the lands areas studied (Consult Maps 6 to 8) revealed the following practices:

1. As the original wards grew in size and population, new lands had to be cleared and wards were given additional land. Thus, for example, Moralana lands in Moshopa (Map 7) became an extension of the Sekgwaneng area; Majwaneng and Kgomodiatshaba lands in Maape (Map 8) are respective decentralizations of Semodi and Moshakgalo lands; and, Rasegojwa, Molaudi and

Moralana lands in Kgagodi (Map 6) are decentralisations of Ramoatswi lands, etc.

2. Conflicts with neighbouring settlements over land ownership pushed farmers to plough in different areas. Thus, in Kgagodi, conflicts arising between Diloru and Mmadinkhu farmers in the 1940s, resulted in the latter moving to Mmumohibidu area. (Map 6).
3. The opening of new lands also was part of some chiefs' strategy to consolidate their community territory by preventing neighbouring settlements from taking too much land. Thus, Ithakanye lands in Moshopa (Map 7) were opened in order to prevent Sefhare farmers from encroaching in Moshopa territory.
4. Poor soil also was a reason for finding better lands. For example, Moshopa farmers ploughing in Malotong (Map 7) moved to Dingope. Others in Kgagodi (map 6) moved from Moralana to Kobalemakabi and from Madintha to Ramoatswi for the same reason.
5. Regular floods along rivers and depressions encouraged other farms to find more suitable lands. This problem pushed Chief Morupisi in Maape to re-designate permanent lands areas for each of the four wards as follows:
 - Semodi lands to Mathibatshela ward
 - Moshakgalo lands to Mabuo ward
 - Malegapa lands to Seseilha ward
 - Taun lands to Mosarwa ward
6. Dense vegetation along some river valleys raised the expectations of other farmers to find new water sources and plough in those areas. For example, the Marumo family from Kgagodi moved from Mmabotswana lands in the 1940s to Mmampswe Valley.
7. More successful farming by neighbouring farmers attracted others to come and plough in the same area. (e.g. Mr. Ramoswai from Ratholo ploughing in Semodi).
8. In other instances, chiefs requested farmers to plough elsewhere, in order, to protect grazing. Thus, because of high overgrazing in Ramoatswi and Rasegojwa caused by large numbers of stock watering in Rasegojwa and Mokweba pans, Chief Kgagodi, in concert with Chief Monyepetsi from Mogapinyana moved

Mosokwane ward to Moralana while Mogapinyana farmers were moved north east of Mogapinyana.

Early land use practices therefore appear to have been largely influenced by:

- demographic expansion of rural settlements
- the need to consolidate settlements' territory
- local ecological conditions (water, soil, vegetation etc.)
- the concern to strike a healthy balance between arable and grazing resources.

5.2.3. Traditional Grazing Practices

Traditional grazing patterns, still currently characterised by distribution and sharing of grazing resources with adjacent communities and cattle posts residents according to respective lands areas, appear to illustrate what traditionally was common grazing practice based on ward relationship and family ties.

This phenomenon can also be observed in communities that have distant cattle posts such as Kgagodi. Each cattle post identified (Table 3, below) still has a "Modisa-naga" (grazing "controller") whose primary duty is to control who is actually grazing in the cattle post area.

These Badisa-dinaga were/are selected according to the degree of seniority in the cattle post area and were traditionally liaising directly with the village chief. Decisions to allow or prohibit outsiders to graze their livestock in those areas were ultimately taken in concert with the chief and unauthorised farmers were reported to the village kgotla.

A striking characteristic of that practice is that the stocking rate or grazing capacity of the land were/are rather marginal considerations in managing grazing resources. Permission to or prohibition of outsiders in those grazing areas was rather based on the degree of relationship those people had with village wards or community residents.

5.2.4. Observations

Early practices seem to indicate that land management essentially was a community affair strongly based on traditional chief-wards relationship in which the chief was expected to be the "provider" or "manager" (modisa) of the common patrimony, subject however, to common decisions taken with his

TABLE 3 KGAGODI REMOTE CATTLE-POSTS

<u>Name of Area</u>	<u>Shared with (communities)</u>	<u>Badisa-Dinaga or Grazing "controllers" (Name)</u>
DIBOKOLODI	Mogapinyana	Tselapedi
DIGKOROPA	Lesenepole, Dilor, Tamasane	S. Kenosi
DIKWALO	Tamasane, Mogapinyana, Dilor	K. Kapaletswe
DOODOMATSHELE	Moremi, Tamasane	T. Mokutedi
KGOPATHATE	Mogapi, Mogapinyana, Lesenepole, Maunatlala	M. Masale
KOBALEMAKABI	Tamasane, Lesenepole, Maunatlala, Dilor	S. Mokaatobolo (south) D. Mmopi (s-west) Marume (west)
MADIBABONTSO	Mogapinyana, Maunatlala, Lesenepole	K. Tebogo
MAFSEFSE	Serowe	*
MAILADIMMALA	Mogapinyana	K. Kapaletswe
MARETELE	Mogapinyana, Dilor	*
MASWESWE	Mogapi, Mogapinyana	R. Kolonyane
MMABANYANA	Kgagodi only	K. Kapaletswe
MMABALELWA	Mogapinyana, Dilor	K. Kapaletswe
MMADIKHUDU	Dilor	*
MOKGATSHADINAMA	Mogapi, Mogapinyana, Lesenepole, Maunatlala	K. Reasentshe N. Chulube
MONABENG	Mogapinyana, Mogapi	Kebadile
MOTOTSWANE	Maunatlala, Mogapi, Lesenepole, Mogapinyana	M. Rabadubi
MPANE	Tamasane, Moremi, Maunatlala, Lesenepole	E. Mokwai
SASAJWE	Mogapinyana	Sepako
SEGOGWANE	Kgagodi only	*
SEMELORE (hill)	Dilor	Kedikilwe
SEPENANE	Mogapinyana, Maunatlala	*
SETOTE	Mogapi, Lesenepole, Maunatlala, Moremi	O. Kebonang
TLHAGASANUNG	Mogapinyana	G. Kolonyane
TSHOKANENG	Lesenepole, Mogapinyana, Maunatlala	*

* indicates vacancies or names uncertain

people through the kgotla system, within the limitations, of course, that system entails (e.g. authoritarian or tyrannical attitude of some chiefs).

Land use practices described above also illustrate that the usage of community land was in no way uniformly systematized, but rather left to the discretionary management of the residents within respective settlements territories.

In their respective community areas, residents gradually learned both the potential and constraints of their environment and appear to have adapted to problems arising primarily by expanding or moving to new lands. Yet, none of those moves or decisions were arbitrarily left to private initiative, but either came as straight directives from the chiefs or were ratified by Kgotla meetings.

5.3. CURRENT MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

5.3.1. Introduction of Modern Institutions

In the 1960s new institutions were introduced as part of government development strategy both in districts and villages. While LBs and SLBs were given the control and custody of the country's natural resources, a number of Council Agencies became the official channels providing government resources to rural communities, and Tribal Authority Chiefs became the official authority in customary matters (see 2.6.3.). In the villages, the VDC became the official local institution responsible for coordinating village development and the official channel liaising with council agencies.

5.3.2. General Implications

In the process of modernisation, the traditional resource management pattern, very much "Chief-community" centered, lost a great deal of its autonomy. Local Chiefs, virtually stripped from their traditional jurisdiction, now have to come to terms with modern institutions, which not only are foreign to most rural dwellers, but ultimately control their community resources. As a result, traditional chiefs face considerable leadership problems and the traditional community decision-making process has lost much of its effectiveness (see 2.6.4.)

5.3.3. Role of Land Boards

The Land Boards were first set up in 1970, and according to the Tribal Land Act of 1968, Land Boards now have the following power:

"all powers vested in a chief under customary law in relation to land, including:

1. the granting of rights to use any land;
2. the cancellation of the use of any rights to use any land;
3. hearing of appeals from, conferring or setting aside any decision of any subordinate land authority;
4. the impositions of Restrictions on the use of Tribal Land".(Para. 13).

The Tribal Land (Subordinate Land Boards) Regulations of 1973, also states that "a Subordinate Land Board may regulate its own procedures" subject to "direction made by the Tribal Land Board" (para. 7).

5.3.4. Management Practices

The results of this research indicate that, in those communities, management of community resources still remains to a large extent based on traditional patterns and that current progress essentially is the result of agricultural extension emphasis on the Group Development Programme started in the early 1970s, which advocates a group approach as one method of reaching the rural poor (Willett 1981: II, 49).

5.3.4.1. Rotational Grazing

The most obvious form of resource management currently taking place in those communities clearly is group/communal drift fencing. These fences, separating grazing areas from arable lands, enable the farming community to practice basic rotational grazing. Protecting lands areas during the growing season preserves fodder for the post-harvest period. After harvest, with general community consensus, the opening date of the gates is officially announced in Kgotla by the chief and cattle will then be moved from the grazing side into the lands areas.

Communal fences in addition, were also found to be the ideal solution to the general lack of 'badisa' (herdboys) and to reduce the problem of crop damage, particularly in those lands close to water sources.

5.3.4.2. Grazing Management

Little more is currently undertaken to manage grazing resources than in traditional times (3.2.3). Traditionally local chiefs found solutions to overgrazing problems by requesting farmers to move to different areas (see

3.2.2.(8)). Currently, chiefs still try to discourage application for land in overgrazed areas, but no longer have the authority to compel farmers to plough or graze in different areas. Similarly, "grazing controllers" in distant cattle posts no longer tend to take the decision with the chief to accept or refuse grazing areas to outsiders, but consider that responsibility to be theirs with other residents' in the grazing area.

5.3.4.3. Water Management

For the purpose of this analysis, water sources have been classified into four main categories: surface water sources, subject to general management by the community at large; private seasonal sources, generally including small dams and seep wells at the lands; private perennial sources, such as chain wells, boreholes and some group dams; and, communal perennial sources, referring to communal chain wells or boreholes. (See also Fortmann & Roe, 1981; Bailey, 1980).

1. Surface Water Management

The general water management tendency consists in making maximum use of surface water and, as those sources run dry, in moving gradually to perennial sources as need arises. Surface water in pans and small dams reaches full capacity during the growing season (January-February) at the time the herd is grazed outside the fences. Thus, the livestock is first watered from surface water found in grazing areas.

After the harvest, cattle move into the arable area and use both water at the lands and in grazing areas, if still is available. Water sources at the lands are used by any resident farmer with no order of succession from one lands area to the next, and no stock limitation is imposed at any of these sources.

When water becomes scarce at the lands, cattle are then trekked to the closest reliable sources (either major pans, chain wells or livestock boreholes), starting by the farmers who do not own private sources. Thus, in the dry season Kgagodi farmers water their stock at a borehole approximately ten kilometres west of the village on the Bobonong-Palapye road; Moshopa farmers water in Kolomajwe pans and village wells (Index Nos:13, 1 and 4), and Maape uses Gotau wells, north of Martin's Drift road (± 15 kilometres).

2. Private Seasonal Sources

In addition to surface water, small private dams or seep wells are also used at the lands for both domestic and livestock supply. Although private, those sources normally are shared with neighbouring farmers at the lands with no fee or restriction imposed. Usage of private sources, however, requires the owner's permission and neighbours are expected to use them for domestic supply only while the owner uses it indifferently for both domestic and livestock purposes.

The maintenance of private seasonal sources is the owner's entire responsibility. Yet, in case of major repairs, the farmers drawing at that source will normally come together and do the necessary work. Other owners resort to "Letsema"* as a means of maintaining their water facilities.

From observation, most people drawing water from those private small sources appeared to possess a strong sense of common responsibility for keeping those facilities in best possible conditions. When drawing water, everyone seemed careful to either reshape the banks, scoop mud or skim grass as necessary, without waiting for the owner's request to do so.

3. Private Perennial Sources

This category refers to privately owned, chain-wells, or boreholes that yield water most of the year and to one group dam. Chain wells refer thereafter as shafts dug deeper than they are wide, the top portion of which is lined with logs to prevent cave-ins and equipped with a roller, chain and bucket (Formann & Roe, 1981a:155). Both the perennial nature and restricted ownership of group dams are quite debatable since many of them run dry and their ownership is sometimes extended to the community at large. However, the only group dam identified during the study satisfies both criteria and was, therefore, classified in this category.

Wells and Boreholes

As water in these sources is more reliable, both access and management increase in complexity. Unlike in temporary sources, wells and borehole owners set fees and conditions for drawing water from those sources which vary a great deal from one owner to the next. Some of them only allow to draw water for

* Practice consisting of paying voluntary labour with beer.

domestic supply; others also sell water for livestock. Those fees too vary substantially and were found to range between one beast per year for an unlimited number of stock to one goat/sheep per eight head of cattle. (See Kgagodi Index Nos:39,40).

Other private perennial wells were inherited and are managed as common property by family members. Noge's well in Kgagodi (Index No. 27) provides such example. The six legal heirs of the family well (five brothers and one sister) delegated the management responsibility of their well to the eldest brother who also happens to be a ward headman. At that well, livestock fees are imposed in the amount of one beast per year for 40 and more head of cattle. Below 40 head water fees are paid in cash (between P10.00 and P50.00) according to the number of stock watered.

Funds plus livestock and their offspring obtained from water fees also are managed by the eldest brother and shared by the co-owners of the well. Those resources were said to be barely sufficient to cover maintenance costs. Yet, in case of water shortage, the well owners, rather than reducing access, prefer to water elsewhere themselves.

On the other hand, because fees are paid, the well can only be closed after consulting with the fee payers. Yet, Noge's well had to be temporarily closed in January 1982 because of the increasing pressure placed on it resulting from its close location in the village area and general water shortages in other sources.

Sajwe Group Dam

Sajwe dam is a perennial haffir-dam located approximately 2.5 kilometres north of the fence (Map 5) and was completed in 1980 in collaboration with the Dam Building Unit (MoA), by the same group of farmers that initiated almost simultaneously the fencing project (see 2.5 and 3.8). A haffir-dam is a dam in which the water is held back by a mud wall, but less than half of the water at full storage lies above the ground level that existed before the haffir-dam was built. (Fortmann & Roe 1981a:154). This source is considered to be "private" in the sense that water access strictly is restricted to group members (72 families) and no water is sold to any outsider.

The group by-laws, completed in 1981, state the following:

- In addition to an executive committee of five members, the group elects every year a management committee of three farmers in charge of controlling, one week each in turn, the number of cattle watered at the dam. The maximum accepted is 50 beasts per owner. Excess cattle are expected to be watered at other wells. To that end, every group member, watering at the dam reports in advance to the management committee the exact number of stock he intends to water and the committee keeps records of both names of farmers and respective number of stock. When watering, access to the dam is refused to both non group-members and non-recorded livestock.
- Group members who have not worked physically at the project are requested to pay P5.00 compensation and no other fee is imposed.
- A group member who damages the fence is charged P100.00; if an outsider does it he is requested to pay 2 head of cattle and is liable to customary court.
- The dam is maintained by hired labour paid out of group funds raised from group parties (see 3.8.5.5.).

4. Communal Perennial Sources

In this category, a distinction must be made between communal wells, which are/were all built by the residents (consult Water Indices with Maps 5 to 8), and communal boreholes, which are installed for the communities by the Council Works Department.

While communal wells are by and large managed by the villagers on a self-help basis or in the same way as private temporary sources at the lands (3.3.4.3.(2)), management of communal boreholes faces abysmal problems. Some of those constraints relate to the nature and quality of relations between government agencies, politicians and local levels. In other cases the presence of communal boreholes reinforced internal factionalism in communities. In others still, communal boreholes interfere with management of grazing and arable resources. In order to highlight some of those constraints it was felt appropriate to present three brief historical accounts of communal boreholes:

CASE STUDIES

i. Kgagodi Borehole

Water shortage in Kgagodi has been a persistent problem. Around 1966, the general concern about lack of domestic water reached its climax and pushed the community to discuss possible solutions. After consulting Mogapinyana and Diloru residents, Chief Monnaatlala from Kgagodi held a general meeting and consensus was reached to have a borehole drilled in the village. That decision was transmitted to the local Councillor who was pressed to present the community's request to Council.

A first water survey was conducted by the Department of Water Affairs from Palapye in 1967 and two holes were drilled: one at Leupane, north-east of the village, the other along the Ramoatswi river, south-east. The first drilling at Leupane raised strong opposition from Malokoane people who feared that their private well would be completely drained by the new borehole. The drillers then went to the second location, but did not strike water. It was then concluded that there was no water and the search was abandoned.

A year later (1968), further complaints were channelled to Council by the newly appointed Councillor and a new survey followed in 1969. Surveyors were reported to have "dropped" in the village without informing, consulting or involving anyone in the community and to have declared (after one day) that the only water available was too salty. The same survey, however, identified an important source four kilometres north of the village on the Tshokana river and decided to drill the borehole in that location. The work was started by Council in 1970 and completed in 1971.

The community still expressed its dissatisfaction because of the distant location of the borehole (four kilometres), and the poor quality of consultation, particularly since their local traditional doctors, all confirmed abundant water in the village.

Those concerns were once more forwarded to Council, which suggested having water reticulated from the borehole to each of the three communities instead of drilling new holes. This suggestion, however, was massively rejected by the community for fear of not having enough water to supply the three villages and running the borehole dry. Eventually, Council promised to have a third survey conducted in 1978, but nothing happened since.

Meanwhile, Kgagodi residents had to rely on donkey carts and two local tractors to transport domestic water from the new borehole to the village, and currently they buy their domestic water at P1.00 per drum (includes transport and fees).

In 1980, new delegates were again sent to Council to inquire about the delay of the third survey. The answer was that their project had to be postponed until Christmas 1981, but no action has yet been taken.

Thus, eleven years after the construction of the new borehole, the most affluent residents still buy their domestic water and water for livestock is not provided. As a result, other perennial sources (Noge's and Malokoane's wells) face increasing pressure and the owners currently lock their wells.

ii. Maape and Taun Boreholes

The management constraints of those two boreholes closely relate, as we shall see, to the creation of a permanent settlement for Maape residents. Both these boreholes are only 3.5 kilometres from each other (Map 8), and technically belong to the Maape area; Taun being traditionally a lands area of Maape. Both locations have had their respective boreholes for a number of years:

a) Maape Village Borehole (Mophene)

Maape borehole was drilled in 1953 by Chief Tshekedi Khama. It was apparently part of Khama's strategy to drill boreholes throughout Ngwato Tribal Land in order to win the loyalty of local tribes and prevent the Boers from moving north, to settle in tribal lands. It appears that drilling a borehole in Maape also was part of Khama's effort to win the local population's loyalty of that area of Tswapong * against Seretse. At that time, Tshekedi and part of the tribe were opposing Seretse because of his intention to marry a white woman. After drilling the borehole, Tshekedi asked Maape people to equip it, but the Maape residents, remaining loyal to Seretse, refused.

b) Taun Borehole

A trader from Zeerust (S.A.) trading in Mahalapye and owning shops in Ramogkonami and Maape, used to buy cattle frequently in the Tswapng area. In 1957, the trader in question applied to Tshekedi Khama for a piece of land in order to build a borehole in Taun for watering his cattle in transit to BMC.

* Maape only is at 18 kilometres from Pilikwe, which was founded in 1953 by Tshekedi Khama on his arrival in the area, and still is considered to be Tshekedi Khama's village.

The presence of new water in the area considerably modified the social organisation of the community. Before the opening of the borehole water shortage in Taun had already pushed Ramodise and Lemogang (successors and sons of Headman Modise, Mosarwa leader in Taun) to settle in Semodi lands. Attracted by the vacancy in Taun, Johanne (son of Sesehlha headman of Malegapa) established himself as "chief" of Taun against Chief Poso's agreement and started allocating land in both Taun and Malegapa areas. The opening of this new borehole in Taun crystallized these divisions and further encouraged Taun and Malegapa residents to settle permanently in their area, instead of returning periodically to the village.

The borehole owner employed an increasing number of local residents to cater for his cattle and trained one resident to be his full-time pumper. However, the borehole which was intended to be exclusive property of the owner, gradually supplied domestic water to local residents with the complicity of the pumper, and later on also supplied water for livestock without the owner's knowledge until the pumper, in 1967 (10 years later) was caught red-handed and fired on the spot.

The same month, the pumper took the case to Mahalapye Magistrates Court and to the MP and charged his employer with having fired him without notice, having been granted no leave for ten years and refusing water access to local residents. While the borehole owner was found guilty by the court on the first two charges and had to compensate his pumper, the MP took the third one to Parliament and the trader was requested to leave Maape within the year, after compensation of P800.00 had been paid (half by the whole Maape community, half by government).

c) Settlement and Water Management

The ethnic and historical context of Maape (2.4.1.) already described a long history of tribal conflicts between Mabuo ward on the one hand and Sesehlha and Mosarwa wards, or the "foreigners" (Bahaladi) on the other. Sesehlha and Mosarwa wards, which initially were allocated respectively Malegapa and Taun lands areas (Map 8) by Chief Morupisi, currently want to have the new village established in Taun, while Mabuo ward wants it in Mophene (New Maape). Each faction's determination to have the new village built on its side is further reinforced by the presence of perennial water in both locations.

In 1968, the Council Secretary and the local MP encouraged Chief Rantsiapana to

gather his people and settle in Sekgweng (north east) because Maape was too inaccessible and the population too scattered to provide adequate services. Chief Rantsiapana suggested that he would rather move to Mophene. (New Maape), since water already was available in that location and Sekgweng was not his area. He also suggested to keep Taun as a grazing area and use the Taun borehole for livestock only.

The Taun faction strongly opposed those suggestions and argued that, while still in the old village, the decision had been taken to build the new village in Taun. After lengthy debates, Taun swung council's decision in their favour and the Taun borehole was re-equipped by Council in 1974. In the same year, however, the Council Secretary met again with the Maape community in order to finalise the settlement issue. A general meeting was held and a majority of the residents were in favour of moving to Mophene, but Taun found the proposition unacceptable arguing that Taun residents are in the minority. The Council Secretary then ordered the removal of all installations from the Taun borehole to be used to equip the Maape borehole which had remained unequipped since 1953. The Taun faction then appealed to the DO Mahalapye who supported the Council Secretary. Appealing further, Taun finally found support in the MP against the Council Secretary who was said to be accused by the MP of "making trouble in villages".

With the support of the MP (who paid half the cost) and with self-help funds, Taun residents re-equipped their borehole. In 1975, a total of P869.89 was raised from local contributions set at P20.00 per household and mine worker, and 50t per female resident for cleaning the reservoir. A borehole committee was formed of three members and initial water fees set at P1.00/farmer/month for cattle owners and 50t for non-owners.

This form of management, however, faced considerable problems. The pumper's salary set at P8.00/month proved to be too high for local contributions and people's general expectation to be paid for working at the borehole nearly led the borehole operations to complete paralysis, until a second pumper, also trained by the original borehole owner from Zeerust, offered to operate the borehole free of charge.

In 1976-77, when a Council school and health-post were built in Taun*, local

* see footnote page

fees became insufficient to cover the additional water expenses incurred in the construction of those buildings. Council then decided to provide free fuel for the borehole engine as a contribution, which further discouraged the residents from paying their water fees. Ultimately, for the second time, Council had to take over the management of the borehole. The same pumper was kept on with an increased salary of P140.00/month and was given an extra compensation of P600.00 for previous work. The borehole is currently used for domestic supply and for livestock during the dry season only at 20t/ beast/month.

In the meantime, Maape residents bitterly complained to Council for allowing Taun to equip privately a borehole which was to be used by the whole Maape community, but no action was taken by Council. In addition, the Maape borehole had its own problems.

After 21 years, the Maape borehole was finally re-drilled and equipped in 1974 with the installations brought from Taun under Council Secretary's orders. Yet, water proved insufficient to supply the Maape community. The residents thus requested council to re-drill it once more. Three years later (1977) Council responded and drilled a new hole very close to the first one (five metres east), but no water was struck. The drillers then concluded that water was insufficient in that location for borehole requirements. The borehole equipment was once more transferred to Lecheng village which desperately needed both pump and engine.

In 1981, acting Chief K. Poso, still convinced that water was plentiful in Mophene, hired a borehole mechanic from Machaneng and asked him to re-investigate the water potential in Maape. When inspecting the initial Council drilling, (21 lengths), the mechanic realised that it had gone beyond the water table. After reducing the shaft by one length, water was plentiful. Since February 1982, Council has re-equipped the Maape borehole for the second time. The

* Similar antagonism between both factions also occurred over the location of the new school and health-post and also involved Councillor and MP each supporting one faction against the other. A new Council Secretary elected at that time, after referring the issue to the Senior Tribal Authority because of the tribal nature of the conflict finally decided to build the school in Taun since the borehole was already equipped. Once the school was established, the health-post was obviously going to be built close to the school and water.

entire process of making the Maape borehole operational has taken 29 years.

iii Resource Management in Moshopa

This account illustrates that it is difficult to dissociate management of a community's arable and grazing resources from water management. The previous sections already described general characteristics of arable and grazing resources (4.5, 4.6 and 5.2.2, 5.2.3.) and showed that basic rotational grazing by means of fencing (5.3.4.1) is the essential form of managing community resources adopted by Moshopa residents. A drift-fence project was initiated in 1978 by Moshopa community in order to separate arable from grazing areas (3.5.1.).

The implementation of that community project, however, came to a standstill in January 1982 because of the consequences of the apparent misappropriation of a communal borehole situated approximately 12 kilometres north-west of Moshopa village.

a) Historical Background

Prior to the move of Tshekedi Khama to Pilikwe (1953), the grazing area west of the Dingope fence sub-section (see Maps 3 and 7), also known as Koromong, already was, according to the residents, a grazing-district (naga) belonging to Moshopa. A communal borehole (Malatso borehole) was sunk by Council in 1952 in order to provide the livestock water to Moshopa farmers who grazed in great numbers in that area at that time.

Tshekedi Khama, who grazed his cattle in both the Pilikwe area (his village) and Koromong made an agreement with Chief Lekgetho of Moshopa (c. 1956) to share that borehole with Moshopa residents, because he found the Pilikwe boreholes to be too far from Koromong (± 20 kilometres). Malatso borehole, however, was shared only temporarily with Tshekedi Khama, since a year later he moved his cattle to Nata.

Around 1968, a close female relative of Tshekedi Khama, moved her cattle from Chadibe to Koromong and was said to have renewed Tshekedi's agreement with Chief Lechaina of Moshopa, but during the same year, she equipped the communal borehole with a private engine, pump and pipes. Ever since, water access to Moshopa residents was refused on the ground that the borehole facilities were private and costly to maintain. Thus, Malatso borehole became the 'de facto'

private property of that person and now is 'owned' by her son, hereafter called the complainant.

In 1969 Malatso borehole was "registered" at the District office as Borehole ECB 66 (Central District Classification records). These records indicate that ECB 66 was drilled in 1954 and is under the ownership of "Malatso Estate". However, Malatso borehole never was registered at the Water Apportionment Board (Water Affairs). The Department of Geological Surveys (Lobatse) confirmed that Malatso borehole, official number 421, was drilled in August 1952 for Government. The Geological Survey still considers borehole 421 to be a Government borehole, i.e. communal (Record G.S. No. 66, Lobatse).

b) Implications for Grazing Resources

The appropriation of that borehole by the complainant and family not only secures them the private usage of that communal water source, but also confers on them a relative monopoly on grazing resources in the area. Since Moshopa farmers no longer have access to the borehole, they are almost compelled to graze their cattle elsewhere.

c) Implications for Arable and Grazing Resources

Beginning in 1978, the Moshopa Farming Group consulted for two and a half years with all village residents and neighbouring communities (i.e. Sefhare and adjacent cattle posts), including Koromong. The complainant, however, was said to never have himself attended any community meeting, despite repeated verbal and written invitations by the community. In winter 1980, after the drift fence project had finally been approved by the Mahalapye SLB and the 21.3 kilometres of fence line completely cleared, this person complained directly to the Ngwato Land Board (NGL) that the fence was being built too close to "his" borehole and was going to interfere with the movement of his cattle.

According to written records, the succession of events between Moshopa residents and the NLB occurred as follows:

- After the complaint reached the NLB, a first meeting was held in Moshopa between Land Board members and the community. The NLB maintains that at that meeting "an amicable decision (was) reached" and "an agreement was made that the line should be re-aligned north-east from the gate" (See

Ngwato Land Board Report, p.2. Appendix 3A).

The community said there was no agreement, because the meeting had been called on an ad hoc basis without any prior notification and was attended only by ten to fifteen uninformed people. (See Community Letter 26.9.81, p.2, Appendix 3B). Further the meeting took place only because the NLB compelled the Chief to leave a village funeral while it was still in progress to attend to their needs. (See, Kgotla Meeting Minutes, 27.10.71. p.2., Appendix 3C).

- The NLB conducted an investigation on the 9.9.81 and discovered that poles had been erected for approximately 300 metres along the disputed section of the original cleared line. This new development was interpreted as a direct violation of Land Board's authority which resulted in the production of a strong report accusing the community of deliberately neglecting the Board's ruling and aggressively violating amicable decisions (Appendix:3A, p.1.). The investigation report concluded that fencing could only continue according to the "accepted" diversion, and if this was unacceptable, fencing had to stop until a new meeting had been called by the Board. (Appendix 3A, p.2).
- The community decided to reply to the NLB's report. A special community meeting meeting was called on 24.9.81, to discuss the report and the fence re-alignment issue. 286 people attended the meeting (in contrast to the normal Kgotla attendance of ten) and all found the re-alignment unacceptable. It was then decided to draft a community letter to NLB (Appendix 3B) in order to explain that community agreement was still far from being reached and to raise fundamental questions that, it was believed, if answered, would improve community - Land Board relations. These included:
 - :specific reasons for the complaintant's complaints
 - :reasons for over-ruling the SLB's approval
 - :settlement of the borehole issue
- After receiving this letter, the NLB convened a meeting in Moshopa Village kgotla on the 27th October 1981. According to the minutes (Appendix 3C) 350 residents attended this meeting and a great deal of time was spent debating the initial "agreement" which the residents forcefully denied was a general community agreement. When the AD tried to orient the debate

towards the fundamental questions raised in the community letter, the Board members positively refused to address them on the ground that these problems were not the object of the meeting. Further, the AD was reprimanded for raising such questions. The meeting ended in complete discontent and disagreement.

- Profoundly disappointed in the outcome of the meeting, the community then decided to appeal directly to the Minister of Local Government and Lands. In January 1982, the Fencing Group Secretary drafted a letter in Setswana to the Minister in the name of the Chief and the community in which he described the problem and the entire process with copies of previous documents. To date (February 1983), 13 months later, the community still has received no reply.

In the meantime, agricultural extension supports the fencing group . An AE10 Project Memorandum for an amount of P4,173.80 was approved by the DDC in November 1981. By December 1981, poles were erected along ten kilometres and 40 rolls of steel wire were delivered in January 1982. In February 1983, 2/3 of the fence was completed with 5 strands wire and all poles fixed except in the disputed section. Moshopa farmers are anxious to complete their fence because the open area is one where many cattle congregate and enter the lands area and cause crop damage. On the other hand NLB has ordered them to stop, unless they follow the new re-alignment. Until a decision on this case is made by the Ministry, arable agriculture in the area will continue to suffer the effects of crop damage.

CHAPTER 6 ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study shows that the essential forms of local resource management in the communities studied are primarily confined to basic rotational grazing implemented by erecting drift-fences and maintenance of communal water sources.

6.1. FACTORS AFFECTING COMMUNITY RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The limited scope of local resource management undertaken by village institutions appears to be influenced by a number of factors: some derive from traditional attitudes and practices; others, from the communities' lack of awareness of and exposure to resource management innovations; others, from constraints more specifically related to Land Boards; and still others, from the shift of traditional power and control over community resources to modern institutions.

6.1.1. Traditional Elements

The first part of this report shows that, despite the creation of modern institutions both at village and District levels, the traditional forms of village organisation and resource management still prevail. Virtually all village consultations and community decisions rely on the ward structure, and the organisation of community work, collections of contributions and management of community resources, e.g. fencing, maintenance of communal wells, etc. also are strongly based on the traditional Kgotla system. Thus, resource management appears to be inhibited, first, by the lack of integration between traditional and modern forms of social organisation and is further affected by the two following elements:

6.1.1.1. Attitude to Land

Land, in the eyes of a majority of the residents of all four communities, was found still be essentially considered the common patrimony of the 'morafe' (nation) or the ward's/tribe's common property. Therefore community resources belong just as much to one ward member, de facto and 'de jure' as to any other community member. The question only is to determine with the chief where and what portion of his land a given member is going to work on. "Owning"land, thus, appears to confer to the local residents a sense of identity and membership in a specific social group in comparison with the 'bahaladi' (foreigners), who are, in contrast, expected to apply for land.

In such a context, modern notions such as: land-use planning, land allocation,

and resource management are generally poorly understood because land appears to be more an attribute of family/ward status than a commodity that ought to be better utilised or managed. Similarly, self-allocation of land by community members is quite acceptable as long as draft power allows and the chief has given his consent. Self-allocation is only bad practice because SLBs say it is and, since Land Boards now have the final control over land, the residents have to comply with Land Boards' regulations.

Such an attitude to land was particularly strong in Maape where our discussions on resource management appeared rather strange and foreign. Self-allocation also is extensive, particularly in Majwaneng lands (Map 8) where a majority of farmers had both self- and SLB- allocated fields.

6.1.2. Inheritance of Land

In addition to new lands currently allocated by SLBs, traditional family* lands still are to a large extent passed on to new generations according to a fairly well established pattern. In all communities visited, the family patrimony tends to remain with the youngest born sons. When the family land is sufficient, all members plough in their land, normally each in his own plot. If the family land is too small, as many elder sons of the household head as necessary are expected to apply to the Chief for new lands, until the remaining members are able to live off the family land. The remaining group thus includes the youngest sons with whom the family land will ultimately remain, and unmarried sisters. Female members do not inherit land because they are expected, sooner or later, to be ploughing in their husband's fields. When only unmarried female members remain, their closest male (first cousin) was said to inherit the land, and, if more land is needed, the elder sister(s) will have to apply for new lands.

This inheritance pattern suggests that family resources are highly treasured and tend to be kept as long as possible within the household. Overlooking some of those practices can generate many problems when allocating new lands, particularly if those have remained temporarily fallow and are re-allocated

* Family, here is to be understood as 'lelwapa' (extended family) in which the household head is referred to as 'Mong'. Thus in many of those family lands, a number of other relatives also can plough and often individual plots also are lent to other relatives, or neighbours. The land however, belongs to the household head, who ultimately decides who, where and how much land is distributed among family members.

by SLBs. (e.g. Sajwe 3.8.6.).

6.1.3. Scope within Environment Perception

In addition to the traditional elements mentioned above, subsistence agriculture is a central preoccupation to which the farming community devotes its efforts up to eight months of the year (October to May). Thus, improving the quality or management of community resources is not perceived to be as important by most farmers as is securing sufficient land enabling them to plough as much as the rains allow and organising adequate draft power at the best ploughing time, also dictated by the rainfall. This likely is one reason why fencing groups are popular and generally more successful* since they appear to respond more directly to one of the farming community's major preoccupation.

6.1.4. Lack of Exposure to Innovations

In addition, the average farmer has received little exposure (if any) to techniques available for improving range productivity, soil moisture and water conservation, etc. and, if he has (such as in the case of woodlot projects, rains tanks, firebreaks etc.), these innovations generally are introduced as prerogatives of 'ad hoc' groups and not as the result of overall community area management. A considerable danger in this practice is that innovations tend to be introduced and groups formed for their own sake instead of providing solutions to specific management constraints in the overall community areas.

6.1.5. Constraints Experienced by Land Boards

The Land Boards, which by virtue of the Land Act passed in 1968, were given the responsibility for the administration and custody of the land (see 5.3.3.), have the ultimate responsibility for planning and managing local resources. In the attempt to perform this task, the Land Boards and Subordinate Land Boards face a number of constraints at their own levels which evidently affect local resource management and planning. The following appear to be the major constraints identified:

* This is not to say that other groups such as: Tick control groups, dosing groups, diptank groups etc. are less successful or less important. But, because those groups are primarily oriented toward very specific and 'ad hoc' types of activities, they do not as such deal with management of communal resources.

6.1.5.1. Lack of Administrative Mechanisms

The virtual absence of clearly defined administrative mechanisms necessary to administer land resources effectively considerably inhibits the effectiveness of the Land Boards. Sandford (1980:51) noted this discrepancy in the 1975 White Paper in relation to water management. The White Paper advocates public control over private-owned water supplies, restriction of private sources for livestock supply and phasing out of private sources watering above allowed quota (para 30 and 40). No clear mechanisms, however, have yet been spelled out in order to enable the Land Boards to enforce these restrictions.

6.1.5.2. Lack of Administrative Guidance

This constraint closely relates to the previous one and affects the SLBs more specifically. SLBs, like Main Land Boards, are governed by the Land Act, and, according to SLB Regulations (1970), they can regulate their own procedures (see 5.3.3.) under the guidance of their Main Land Board. For most SLBs, however, the Land Act appears to be a legal document very difficult to understand or interpret correctly and no specific directives and guidance have yet been provided by the Ngwato Land Board for effective SLBs operations.

6.1.5.3. Absence of Records for Land Administration

Both the Main Land Board and SLBs commonly complain that land is "not well-defined"; that they do not know how much land is currently allocated, being used or left for future allocation; and, that land ownership is not well established since no land registry exists.

6.1.5.4. Circumscribed Land-Use Planning

The Land Boards also face boundary changes and a number of illegal allocations, self-allocations, allocations performed by Tribal Authority Chiefs. They do not feel empowered to take final decisions over these essentially because no land-use plan according to which resources should be allocated has yet been designed. By the same token, the legal and administrative mechanisms to support it have not been identified (see also RDU 1982:67)

6.1.5.5. Ad hoc Allocation Criteria

As a result of the constraints mentioned above, the SLBs tend to develop their own allocation criteria in relation to either specific problems

identified in their constituencies or convenience. Thus, in Maape, it is said that a quota of ten applications must be reached before officers will come and consider applications. In Kgagodi, the SLB systematically refuses to allocate residential water points within an eight kilometre radius of the village for fear of draining existing sources. In order to allocate the fencing project, the SLB also requested the community to first clear the line so as to be able to drive on it and measure it, after which it would approve or disapprove it. This meant considerable effort on the part of the community solely for SLB's convenience (see 3.2.1.(5)). Finally, in Moshopa, the approval of the fencing project by the SLB, was formally overruled by the Main Land Board (see 3.5.1 and 5.3.4.3.(iii)).

6.1.5.6. Spatial Context of Land Allocations

The current land allocation process appears to confine itself to single community areas. The decisions on allocations are taken on the basis of mutual consent between the local chief, the applicant and his neighbours in the community context without considering broader implications. Thus, allocations performed with mutual consent in a given community normally are beneficial to that community, but may be simultaneously detrimental to the next. Maape is a clear example of such a situation. Maape community, considerably short of grazing land, wishes to preserve the little grazing left in the eastern side of the village (See Map 8). Ramokgonami village, adjacent on the east, wants to extend arable lands into the same grazing area. Fields are currently encroaching in that grazing section because arable lands were granted from the Ramokgonami side with full consent of the Chief and the applicants, overlooking, in the process, the concerns of Maape residents. This shows that community management planning must be formulated in the context of a broader ecological area.

6.1.6. Lack of Community Power and Control

The most crucial problem resource management faces is the rural communities' lack of control over their own resources.

Legal control over land resources is currently governed by The Tribal Land Act (TLA) of 1968 which vested in the Land Boards all the right and title to land in each tribal area.

"for the benefit and advantage of the tribesmen of that area and for the purpose of promoting the economic and social development of all the people in Botswana". (para 10(1)).

The legal provisions of the TLA reflect the Government of Botswana's intention to integrate local participation (traditional community consensus) into the land planning/administration exercise, by installing both Tribal and Subordinate Land Boards as the official representative bodies at the local level over land matters. Yet, despite this intention, the power and controls established in the TLA, have remained considerably centralised and local input into the formulation of land policies, land rights and local control is minimal. This is substantiated by considering the following provisions of the Act.

6.1.6.1. Lack of Local Level Inputs

All, The Tribal Land Act (TLA), The Tribal Land Regulations (Reg) of 1970 and the Tribal Land (Subordinate Land Boards) Regulations (SKB Reg) of 1973 highlighted the lack of local level input in the following areas:

a) Policy formulation

The Tribal Land Regulations state that:

"when a Land Board proposes to formulate or adopt a policy related to its functions, it shall outline the proposed policy with the view of the District Council submitted in writing by the Secretary of the District Council" (Reg. para. 5).

The TLA states that

"a Land Board shall consult with the District Council in the formulation of policy relating to the exercise of its functions". (TLA para 11(1)) and that the

"President may give to any Land Board directions of a general or specific character" (para. 11(2)).

b) Customary Land Rights in Grazing Areas

"The Land Board, in consultation with the District Council shall determine and furnish the Minister with the description of the grazing areas within the Tribal Area" (TLA, para, 17(1)).

c) Customary Land Rights in Commonage

"A Land Board may after consultation with the District Council by resolution set aside any land outside a grazing area as commonage"...(TLA, para 18(1)).

d) Cancellation of Customary Rights

"A SLB shall in no case cancel the grant of any customary right to use land but may recommend cancellation of such rights to the Tribal Land Board." (SLB. Reg. para 18(1)).

e) Appointment of SLB Clerk

"The Tribal Land Board shall appoint a Clerk for each Subordinate Land Board in its area of jurisdiction". (SLB Reg. para. 9(1)).

f) Treasurer of Land Board

"A Land Board may with the consent of the District Council engage as its Treasurer, the Treasurer of the District Council... subject to the approval of the Minister". (Reg. para. 32).

Thus in regard to this legislation which concerns policy formulation, customary rights over grazing, commonage and cancellation of these rights, as well as the appointment of Land/Sub-Land Board staff, the only "input" SLBs have is one of advisory body to the Main Land Board on cancellation of customary rights. All other decisions remain legal prerogatives of District Council and Land Board authorities, subject to ministerial or presidential approval or directives.

6.1.6.2. Centralised Power and Controls

A number of other provisions of the TLA and subordinate legislation also reduce local control and administration of land resources to a minimum.

Among these figure the following:

a) Co-options of Land Board Members

"A Land Board may, with the approval of the Minister, co-opt not more than two persons.... to assist the board in the discharge of its functions" (TLA, para, 5(1)).

and

"A Subordinate Land Board may, with the approval of the Tribal Land Board, co-opt not more than two persons..." (SLB Reg. 5(1)).

b) Procedure of Land-Boards

"A Land-Board may regulate its own procedure" (TLA. para 7(1), but "The Minister may by notice in the Gazette ... prescribe the procedure of a Land Board or a Subordinate Land Board" (TLA, para, 37b).

and

"Subject to the provisions of the Tribal Land Act ... or to any regulations made by the Tribal Land Board, a Subordinate Land Board may regulate its own procedure". (SLB Reg. Para. 7(1) and TLA para. 19(3)).

and

"The Tribal Land Board may issue special or general direction to Subordinate Land Boards regarding their procedure or administration". (SLB Reg. para. 7(6)).

c) Customary Land Rights Appeals

Appeals against both application and cancellation of these rights must be lodged "verbally or in writing with the District Commissioner for submission to the Minister" (Reg. para 13 (1 & 3) and para. 17(1))

and similarly,

"Any person aggrieved by a decision of the Subordinate Land Board may appeal to the Tribal Land Board by lodging a notice of appeal ... with the Clerk of the Subordinate Land Board or the Secretary of the Tribal Land Board". (SLB Reg. para. 17(1)).

All of these provisions reinforce and reflect a centralisation of power. Cooption of members must be ratified either by the Minister or the Tribal Land Board at their respective levels. Rights of appeal must also be lodged with verbal or written consent of the District Commissioner in cases of appeal against Tribal Land Board and the recommendation of the SLB Clerk in cases of appeals against Subordinate Land Boards accusations. Finally, autonomous procedures are given to Tribal/Subordinate Land Boards on the one hand, but are taken away on the other by the fact that the Minister and Tribal Land Boards can prescribe any special or general direction or procedures to their subordinate Land Boards.

6.1.6.3. The Extensive Role of the Minister

Besides the involvement of Minister in the legal provisions listed above, the extensive number of prerogatives directly attributed to the Minister under the TLA further highlights the lack of decentralisation. Among the most salient are:

A. CUSTOMARY LAND RIGHTS

1. Certificate of Grants

"A Certificate of Grant of any customary right ... issued by a Land Board shall specify whatever conditions the Land Board with the approval of the Minister imposes..." (Reg. para 12).

2. See also above: 1b, 1f; 2a, 2b, 2c.

B. COMMON LAW LAND RIGHTS

1. Grant of Land Rights

"A Land Board may not grant land under this section without the consent in writing of the Minister". (TLA para. 24(1) and 23(1) & (2)).

2. Transfer of Rights

"Any person aggrieved by any decision of the Land Board not to grant its consent to a transaction... may appeal to the Minister ... and the Minister may make such order in the matter as he may think fit" (TLA para. 26(1)).

3. Change of User

"If disposed to allow the application, the Land Board shall submit to the Minister for its consideration". (Reg. para. 26(2)),

and

"The Land Board may ... refuse or allow the application provided that there shall be an appeal to the Minister against any refusal... (TLA. para. 27(2)).

4. Prohibitions on Grant of Land

"No land may be leased or granted to any person ... for agricultural or horticultural purposes, save to a tribesman or to the Government of Botswana except with the prior consent of the Minister". (TLA para. 31(1)).

5. Appeals against refusal of transaction

"... any person aggrieved thereby shall appeal to the Minister by serving on him notice of appeal"... (Reg. para. 24(1)).

All of these provisions force the centralisation of control to the Ministerial level. Grants of common law land rights and the conditions attaching to the grant of customary land rights require either the approval or written consent of the Minister, and the transfer, change of user, prohibitions on grant of land and appeals against transactions of common law land rights also are immediately subject to consideration or consent of the Minister. The general analysis of common law land rights, as established in the TLA, indicates that, despite the official installation of Tribal/Subordinate Land Boards, a significant proportion of the Minister's most valuable time must be spent on dealing with common law leases.

6.1.6.4. Recommendations

Assuming the above provisions are still in effect, it is recommended:

1. That the Presidential Commission on Land Tenure, consider investigating the legal constraints reported in 6.1.6.1. - 3 and recommend effective mechanisms to remedy the law.
2. That the same Commission also considers facilitating the design of effective legal mechanisms for assisting the Land Boards in their difficult task of land resources administration, as reported in 6.1.4.
3. That the same Commission assess the performance of the Land Division (MLGL) and draft effective Terms of Reference for future operations of the Division.
4. That the Minister, by virtue of the powers granted to him under the TLA (para. 37b and c) consider prescribing the inclusion of SLB plans and policies into Tribal Land Board main policies and the other enforcement

mechanisms outlined in 6.3.2.3. STEP 1 B.

6.2. POTENTIAL ELEMENTS FOR RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

6.2.1. Introduction

The previous section has presented a variety of constraints that affect resource management in rural communities. One fundamental constraint appears to arise from the fact that, in the process of modernizing land administration, not only the rural communities lost formal control over their resources, but many detailed controls traditionally exercised jointly by the Chief and his village Kgotla (community) can no longer operate. Thus, despite the argument that communities still are "consulted" since chiefs are requested to counter-sign land applications, and that communities still "plan" their resources, since they also propose, for example, where fences ought to run, some residents by-pass the chief's authority in matters of land application (2.6.4.1.) and community projects are paralysed because the control over community resources does not ultimately rest within the community (see 5.3.4.3.(iii)).

On the other hand, resources traditionally managed by all community members now are administered by few SLB officers who cannot be expected to possess the same extensive knowledge of land resources and constraints as did traditional communities, given their limited manpower and the large size of SLB constituencies. Further more the SLBs still depend on the chiefs and headmen for consulting communities, determining the location of resources to be allocated, and settling land disputes.

Thus, modern land administration suffers from both the loss of formal control by the communities and reduced knowledge of land resources and constraints although, in practice, a great deal of local control still is informally exercised and information provided through the traditional channels of authority and community structure. The close dependence of the modern land administration on traditional forms of management, indicates that it is premature simply to discard the 'old system' and that a synthesis of traditional and modern elements likely is to be more successful. From this analysis the following elements appear to offer some potential for improving management of local resources:

6.2.2. Traditional and Modern Management

The considerable extent of traditional forms of community organisation (6.1.1)

as well as traditional attitudes to resources and land ownership (6.1.1.1. and 2), as they still are found in those communities, should not purely and simply be "written off" on the ground that they are old fashioned. Nor should it be assumed that new institutions necessarily are more effective. The traditional system would not have survived if it did not have some value and the case studies (5.3.4.3.(i-iii)) indicate that modern institutions have not brought management of local resources any closer to the government's objectives of resource conservation and social justice.

These considerations suggest that resource management could possibly be improved by:

- a) Building on existing forms of social organisation and developing a more thorough understanding of the nature and potential of traditional practices for resource management.
- b) Adopting a resource management strategy which blends traditional elements with modern forms of management.
- c) Making the maximum use of all information and available knowledge in rural communities and integrating it into the management/planning process.
- d) Promoting a true spirit of collaboration between communities and SLBs, so that local resource management becomes their joint responsibility and not the sole prerogative of the Land Boards.

6.2.3. Decentralisation of Controls

Section 2.6.4. already established that the absence of effective control over community resources considerably undermines the leadership and decision-making power of rural communities. Absence of control further inhibits the communities' incentive to perform land-use and resource management planning in their area.

A community can be said to be in control, if it can take effective decisions on the following points:

- a. General land-use zoning: i.e. where grazing and arable lands should be; where drift fences should run; whether and where land/grazing resources should be kept, forage plantation attempted, etc.

- b. Whether and where grazing areas should be preserved or closed for resting.
 - c. Where water points should be located.
 - d. What should be the maximum size for individual arable lands allocations.
 - e. What should be the maximum limit of an individual's holding of livestock.
 - f. What activities and resources should be allocated to particular groups.
 - g. What innovations should the community undertake in the management of its resources.
 - h. What contributions and by whom should be provided for developing the management of community resources.
 - i. During what periods of the year and by whom should private and communal boreholes be used.
 - j. What is the maximum total number of livestock which may water at the boreholes.
 - k. What is the maximum number of animals any one individual should be allowed to water.
 - l. What is the maximum fee a borehole owner should be allowed to charge for watering the stock of other people.
 - m. Where and what facilities (schools, health posts, offices, etc.) should be introduced in the community.
 - n. Whether or not, according to assessment of performance, residents want to keep or change their extension staff.
- (See also Sandford 1980:50-52).

On virtually all of these points, rural communities cannot currently make effective decisions nor are they in full control of any of these issues. Community inputs are limited to suggestions or proposals (e.g. drift fencing),

but ultimately all land/water locations and allocations and drift fencing projects are subject to formal application and approval by the Land Boards. Thus, effective decentralisation of these controls to the community level could become a powerful means for both strengthening leadership and community decision processes, and raising the communities' incentive to plan and manage their own area.

6.2.4. Comprehensive Information at SLB Constituency Level

This study also show that, while considerable information and knowledge can be drawn from and with the active participation of community residents, resource management to be effective, also must encompass a broader geographic area. (see 6.1.5.6.). On the other hand, the provision of general infrastructure and services, the demarcation of communities and grazing boundaries, the integration of cattle-posts residents, etc., all are issues that can only be settled within the broader context of several communities. On the other hand, there is evidence that SLBs have little ecological knowledge of their areas, do not know most remote lands areas in their constituencies and tend to confine their visits to residential areas. The beginning of a solution to these problems could be found in encouraging and supporting the SLBs in developing a more thorough comprehensive knowledge of the communal areas in their respective constituencies. Most of this knowledge can be acquired by systematic consultation with local residents, and by gathering with them the following information in each community of the SLB constituency:

- a. Systematic identification with and by local residents of land-use needs and constraints in the arable and livestock sectors.
- b. Water supply characteristics and shortages.
- c. Characteristics of local infrastructure and problems.
- d. Population characteristics of permanent residents in cattle-posts and lands areas with their reasons for residing permanently in those locations and under what conditions would they rather settle elsewhere.
- e. Characteristics of rural industrial potential and constraints.
- f. Inventory of additional resource requirements/constraints as applicable,

(e.g. wild life or fishing requirements, firewood shortages, handicraft material, trees conservation etc.).

- g. Basic understanding of community organisation and residents' attitudes to management of community resources.
- h. Basic assessment of resource management capacity of village institutions.

This information collected in close collaboration with communities' residents, can be supplemented by compiling other technical documentation available from District, Agriculture and various Headquarters Departments (e.g. inventory and sketch maps of drift fencing projects from the AP(LR); Soil Surveys data; Range Ecology monitoring; water points and agricultural surveys; rural industrial surveys, aerial photography interpretations and any other pertinent study to the area). Finally, objectives and strategies presented in Districts National Plans can also provide valuable general directions for local planning.

This exercise may ultimately provide both most answers to current SLB concerns (see 6.1.5.3-6) and elements of solution for the demarcation of community and grazing boundaries, with the appreciable advantage of involving the rural dwellers in finding solutions to their own problems.

6.3. RECOMMENDED ELEMENTS FOR A RESOURCE MANAGEMENT STRATEGY

6.3.1. Preliminary Note

The urgency of providing the necessary technical and training support to the Land Boards cannot be too strongly emphasised. The little effort currently devoted to local resource management and land-use planning in communal areas may lead steadily to ecological disaster. And, if one considers the amount of financial support allocated to the cattle industry in comparison to that allocated to planning and managing land resources, it would not be entirely wrong to say that disaster is actually subsidized. It is therefore important that land-use and resource management issues be seriously addressed and the necessary means provided in order to alleviate these problems.

6.3.2. Elements of a Strategy

Any resource management strategy under the existing legal structure of land administration is likely to fix the basic dilemma of having to achieve what traditional communities seemed to accomplish quite well, with only two to

three SLB officers operating in areas almost as large as sub-districts. The decline of community control and planning mechanisms for managing local resources results in the SLBs having the difficult tasks of developing satisfactory knowledge of ecological, social and political conditions necessary to plan effectively the communal areas. These are some of the facts resource management must face and, if it is to improve, all means must be taken both to integrate rural communities in local resource management planning and provide the necessary support to the Land Boards.

From this study, it appears that resource management could be improved considerably by decentralisation controls to the community level, including relevant traditional elements and the knowledge of rural residents in the planning exercise, and gathering comprehensive information in broader SLB constituencies with the active participation of the residents.

In relation to these potential elements, it is recommended that a resource management pilot project be initiated in the Mahalapye Subordinate Land Board Area. This area appears to be appropriate, since Mahalapye is the second major centre of Central District, has high livestock concentration and extensive arable agriculture. Mahalapye SLB has also had to deal with a number of critical land-use issues (e.g. Moshopa) and may therefore have developed more experience than other SLBs.

6.3.2.1. Resource Management Committee Membership

It is recommended that:

- a. A Resource Management Committee be established, formed of:
 - All SLB members
 - Two additional members (to be appointed).
 - One DO(L) (possibly the new one to be recruited for the s-district).
- b. The DO and Tribal Authority (Mahalapye) serve as advisory, members to the Committee in customary matters.

6.3.2.2. Fundamental Objective

The fundamental objective of the project is to investigate, study and gather information in full collaboration with community residents with a view of improving planning and management of local resources in the SLB constituency.

6.3.2.3. Plan of Operations

In order to achieve this objective, the three following steps are recommended:

STEP 1: DECENTRALISATION OF CONTROLS

That the necessary measures be taken, by the Minister of Local Government, the Main Land-Board, Council and District authorities for facilitating the decentralisation of the controls listed in 6.2.2. to the communities of Mahalapye SLB constituency.

Decentralisation of controls is quite unpopular among some policy makers. In addition, some controls relating more directly to controlling stock quota per owner, may also appear quite unrealistic, since the general population (including many important national policy-makers) currently does not see its resources as finite. This problem appears to arise partly from the fact that current grazing areas are fairly extensive and not well demarcated and, therefore, no one can really see the finite nature of those resource, but partly also from the fact that residents have no power to enforce any restriction in their area. The management of Sajwe dam (5.3.4.3.(3)) appears to indicate, in contrast, that, when a group is functional and in full control of its facility, members do find ways and means to impose the necessary restrictions. It can therefore be argued that a community with functional institutions and provided with adequate enforcement power in a well demarcated area, may equally find ways and means of preserving its resources.

A. Unit of Enforcement

For effective decentralisation, both the unit and strategy of enforcement must be defined:

1. VDC/Kgotla

The VDC, of which the Chief (and his Kgotla) is an ex-officio member, already is the official village body responsible for planning and coordinating village development. The VDC must, therefore, be given the executive power to take with the villagers, effective decisions on planning and managing their resources.

2. Subordinate Land Board

The SLB, as outlined in Step 2, becomes the joint planning and resource management body working in close collaboration with rural communities to

stimulate local planning and providing guidance in conformity with the directives of the Tribal Land Board.

B. Enforcement Mechanisms

Community decisions to be effective, must derive from the power to actually enforce those decisions. Thus, the following mechanisms appear necessary and are therefore recommended for empowering the VDCs to enforce community decisions:

1. That community plans drawn in collaboration with the SLB, as outlined in STEP 2 (g) and further revised (STEP 3(b)) be ratified by the Tribal Land Board and made official community management policies.
2. That any further modification of the community plan be made with the consent of both the community at large and the SLB, and be notified to the Tribal Land Board.
3. That the VDC become the official responsible body accountable to the Land Boards and District Council for ensuring the implementation of the community plan by all village residents.
4. That both Tribal and Subordinate Land Boards discharge their duties and obligations granted to them under the Act and Regulations, subject to approved community plans.

STEP 2: Rural Communities as Resource Management Base

That rural communities (as defined in 2.2) with their respective village, lands and grazing locations become the primary base for resource management.

The findings show that the farmers under the traditional management system adapt to environmental constraints (3.2.2.) and currently there is evidence in all communities studied that farmers themselves still know best when fences ought to be built; grazing land protected; water preserved; or arable land extended. The most successful terms of current management also are those based on community/group wide consensus (e.g. drift-fencing, communal wells, etc.) because the traditional ward system still is the best acknowledged means of organising common activities pertaining to the general membership. These factors give, therefore, good grounds for recommending that communities become

the primary base for resource management.

In this second step it is recommended that the Resource Management Committee:

- a. Organise a first round of consultations with each village government body (i.e. VDC/Chief plus extension workers) in order to inform them of the Resource Management Programme, and establish a schedule for future consultations with community wide membership.
- b. Organise, at the set time, and dates, a second round of consultations in order to explain and discuss the programme with the communities at large.
- c. Conduct additional information sessions, as necessary, until the residents fully understand the aim and objectives of the programme and its implications.
- d. Also adequately inform the communities about the roles, purpose and functions of Land Boards and other institutions pertaining to the management of local resources (e.g. Land Utilisation, Conservation Committees, Range Ecology, DOL, AO(LR), etc.)
- e. Brief the communities on objectives and content of current District and national land policies.
- f. Emphasise at all stages of the information/consultation process that resource management is the joint responsibility of both residents and Land Boards, and ensure to demonstrate it to the residents (see 6.2.1.).
- g. Encourage the communities to produce a simple "mental" resource management plan for each community area, based on the community's perceptions of spatial distribution of local resources and on general consensus, which could, at a later stage, be sketched by the committee. (The list provided in 6.2.3. could serve as a guide).
- h. Compile, in the meantime, any other pertinent information available on the constituency, as outlined in 6.2.3.

- i. Summarise and make a sketch-map of all community plans; note all requirements and constraints mentioned and locate them geographically on a constituency map (e.g. water sources, arable requirement, grazing constraints, land shortages, possible new settlements, etc.).
- j. Compile and analyse all the findings as outlined in STEP 3.

STEP 3: DRAFTING OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS

That in relation to the findings and analysis, the Resource Management Committee attempt to draft resource management proposals for the constituency.

It is not possible, at this stage, to tell precisely what these proposals might be. However, these proposals ought to aim at either enhancing resource conservation in the overall constituency, or alleviating the specific constraints identified. Very likely some of these proposals will deal with: drift-fencing management, location and management of water sources, demarcation of community and grazing boundaries; issues dealing with planning the livestock sector, reducing livestock, improving livestock management, rehabilitation of the range capacity, introduction of forage crops, control of poisonous plants (mqau'), land/water shortages, etc.

The compilation and analysis of the global findings will likely show that a number of community plans may not be entirely compatible with the overall constituency planning requirements. It is therefore recommended that, before drafting proposals, the Resource Management Committee:

- a. Present the results of its analysis to each community in the constituency.
- b. Present and discuss incompatible community plans with the communities concerned and clearly expose the reasons why/how their plans ought to be modified.
- c. Also consult with the appropriate officers, and staff (and other resource persons), directly implicated in all proposals to be drafted.
- d. When community plans are compatible and in agreement with constituency planning, resources be allocated in accordance with respective community plans, unless counter to Government or Land Board regulations.

6.3.2.4. Implementation Requirements

In order to implement this project, a number of requirements must be fulfilled:

1. Political Support

One controversial, yet quite powerful, element proposed clearly is the decentralisation of controls to the local level. It must be re-emphasised, however, that this step is not intended to take away any power or authority from the Land Boards, who are by law the acknowledged custodians of the land. Land resources still are common patrimony of all Batswana. Given the appreciable knowledge rural residents have of their areas, every Motswana, and the work of the Land Boards, could ultimately benefit from the active involvement of rural communities in planning and managing communal resources. Yet, rural residents will not likely take serious part in local planning, unless they can make effective decisions and, have some control over their resources. In this perspective it is therefore recommended that This Minister, the Tribal Land Board, Council and District authorities give full support to the decentralisation of controls (listed in 6.2.3.) to the communities of Mahalapye SLB constituency, so as to both strengthen the leadership and decision-making power of village institutions in those communities, and raise their incentive to plan and manage community resources in collaboration with the Land Boards (See 2.6.4. and 6.2.3.)

2. Staffing and Transport

For implementing this project, it is recommended that:

- a. Two additional members be appointed on the Mahalapye SLB for at least the length of the field work.
- b. A DO(L) be recruited to provide guidance and technical support to the SLB team.
- c. The DO(L) and at least two SLB members (interchangeable) constitute the field-work team.
- d. The team be provided with a 4 x 4 vehicle for its field work.

3. Training Requirements and Material

Given the extensive consultations suggested, and the foreign character the

resource management concept has among rural residents, it is important that field workers be well prepared, information sessions cautiously planned and training material carefully selected. It is therefore recommended that:

- a. The Resource Management Committee, under the guidance of the DO(L) and in consultation with the Main Land Board, Tribal Authority and other appropriate resource persons, first make a clear and simply summary of:
 - current land policies
 - specific roles and functions of the Land Boards
 - roles and functions of: Conservation Committees and Range Ecology and Land Resource Officers,
 and make sure that there is consensus among themselves on all these points.

- b. Consultation/Information sessions on land utilization, resource conservation or other, be planned and designed in collaboration with Non-Formal Education staff or other competent resource persons, and on the basis of appropriate extension material, e.g. "Re a Ilhaloganyana", a handbook for facilitators. (Stanley & Rick, 1982).

- c. Information sessions primarily aim at stimulating the general participation in land-use discussions with the villagers, and avoid confronting the communities with pre-conceived plans.

- d. Appropriate visual aids be utilised (e.g. posters, flip-charts, slides, etc.) to illustrate various types of land-use, instead of maps which virtually no resident understands.

6.3.3. The Unit of Planning

6.3.3.1. A Definition

This topic was for the first time addressed in a Land Use Planning Seminar (RDU, 1982:2-3) where there was general agreement that land use planning in communal areas ought to be defined in terms of a community, although the term "community" remained unspecified. This study suggests that rural communities, with their respective village, lands and grazing locations be the base for resource management for the reasons mentioned in 6.3.2.3. Step 2, and that, in addition, more comprehensive information ought to be compiled at SLB constituency level in order to guide community planning from a broader geographic area. Thus, in this approach, the planning "unit" no longer is a

static or a monolithic entity such as a village or sub-district area, but rather becomes a dynamic planning process initiated in rural communities - the resource management base - gradually expanding to SLB constituency levels and guided by the ecological and institutional resource potential of and according to the constraints of the constituency.

6.3.3.2. Principle of Flexibility

This process requires a great deal of flexibility both at community and SLB constituency levels until communities can be clearly defined and demarcated, and also because each SLB constituency will develop plans dictated by a variety of constraints, means and resources that may not necessarily be identical to those in other constituencies. It is therefore important that SLBs be not stifled by rigid or unilateral policies from their Main Land Board or Ministry, but rather supported and guided in that process.

Constituences are no more static or monolithic than the community base. Resource management findings may well require to accommodate current SLB "boundaries" to constraints, resources or management needs which may presently overlap in several constituences. No clear map of SLB boundaries has yet been drawn for the District. SLB constituencies are based on old tribal territories which, not only overlap with District Council, Tribal and District Administrations, but ultimately have little meaning for resource conservation, planning or management. In relation to this problem it is recommended that the SLB constituency boundaries, (to be soon revised and mapped) be drawn in accordance with resource management findings around manageable numbers of well demarcated communities with related resources clearly defined, forming preferably homogenous ecological units, or homogenous resource management units rather than areas based on tribal ties.

Thus, flexibility at all levels must be the rule and it is strongly advocated that, whatever the "planning unit" may ultimately be, it not be a standard unit used uniformly throughout the communal areas.

6.3.4. Concluding Note

A common emphasis often expressed in current ministerial, District and Land Board circles is "to design a good land-use plan", or even to "brief Government" expecting that Government will suddenly produce a "Grand Design" which can then be implemented at every level. The proponents of this theory clearly

expect a ready-made plan, which can be formulized and then enforced onto the rural dwellers, to be THE answer to land use and resource management problems. This report also emphasises the need for planning communal resources but, instead of awaiting a ready-made plan to use, it advocates to actually make the plans with the full knowledge and participation of local communities and to gradually extend it to broader management units. Decentralisation of controls and active participation of rural residents are the key elements in this approach which can both raise incentive in local planning and management, and provide most answers to the SLB's current concerns.

APPENDIX 1ACentral: Research Guidelines on Local Institutions1. KGOTLA BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Most of this information will have to be collected from respective headmen, except in Section III. Prior to interviewing the headmen concerned, however, a detailed inventory of all kgotla and sub-kgotla should be drawn.

I. KGOTLA INVENTORY

1. List names of all kgotla and respective sub-kgotla.
2. Name of each Headman and sub-headman.
3. List all advisers to each kgotla and sub-kgotla.

II. HEADMEN INTERVIEW

The interview itself could include some of the following information:

A. Historical Background of the Kgotla

1. Any information known on the origin and past history of his people since they settled in the village (where they came from, why they chose that area, original families, chronological chieftainship, dates, assimilation and settlement conflicts, etc.)
2. What is the present membership in his kgotla?
3. Have "foreign" families joined his people? Who are they? Why and when?

B. Personal Profile

1. Give a general background of the headmen, i.e. age/occupation/education/number of years in office/why and how did he become headman? (birth, elected, appointed), etc.
2. Observe his status. Does he give the impression to be in a better financial position than the average citizen? (type of house/farming implements (tractor)/car/shops/general appearance, etc. (other status symbols)?
3. Is he or is he not related to the royal family, local chief, other chiefs, headmen, MPs, government or civil servants, etc?
If yes: what degree of relationship do they have with him and what is their occupation?
4. Does he have any other membership in other village committees or local institutions (FC, VDC, Fencing Group, etc.)?
If yes: In what institution and what position does he occupy?

C. Jurisdiction

1. What are his essential duties as Head/Sub-headman? (List all.)
2. What kinds of cases fall directly under his jurisdiction and what are those that must be referred to higher authority? (List, explain, give examples.)
3. How many cases were reported to him during the past year and what cases were they? (Describe specifically all cases.)
4. How often does he hold meetings with his people? (Weekly, monthly,...)
5. What are the issues that require kgotla meetings? (List all, explain).

D. Relationship to Other Kgotla

1. To what extent does his kgotla collaborate with the others and the main Kgotla?
2. Find out what tasks they do collaborate and for what ones they operate separately? (List all, explain).
3. Find out to what extent collaboration is effective. If there are conflicts, what are the reasons for those frictions? (political, tribal, competition, leadership, other...)
4. What impression does the headman have of the chief's influence and leadership in the community? (If good, average or poor, ask and list all reasons at all times).

E. Problems

1. Ask and list all problems the headman faces in his position and find out causes of those problems. (Such question will require a lot of probing. Virtually never does a leadership face no problem).
2. Find out what solutions could be envisaged? (List, explain).

III. AUTHORITY

In order to get some sense of the kind of authority and respect the headman (including chiefs) has among his people, it would be good to interview INFORMALLY a number of people (15 or more) in each kgotla and try to find out from them:

- . how good, influential and responsible their headman is,
- . how much they like/dislike him and why,
- . what kind of problem they may have with his leadership performance and why. (IF NO PROBLEM, also ask reasons).

This kind of question could be brought about in a very informal way during various social gatherings (e.g. "parties", dances at private homes, "shebeens" or any other suitable social occasions).

From informal talks, new informants often are identified and, depending on the importance of the information discussed, you may find it worthwhile to check or complement that information with the very people concerned.

Equally important is to recheck that information with your "key informants", listed in your private check list.

NOTE

Success in gathering this kind of information requires a great deal of tact, insight and common sense. Success will depend on several important factors (skills) you may want to develop:

1. Your ability to assess the climate of a general conversation, i.e. your ability to sense if, when and how could such topics be best brought into the conversation without offending anybody present or causing anyone to withdraw. To that effect, a reasonable knowledge (as good as possible) of the political and social aspirations of the people present in the group has proved helpful to avoid asking the wrong questions to the wrong people at the wrong time.
2. Success will also depend on your own perspicacity and insight into issues being discussed, so as to identify the root-causes of a problem and discard what is irrelevant.
3. Finally, the degree of reliability of such information will largely depend on the extent of your determination to clarify those issues, by making the necessary crosschecks and follow-ups in order to reach maximum accuracy.

2. VDC : BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I. ORIGIN AND MEMBERSHIP

1. When was the 1st VDC established? (date).
2. Establish chronological membership of Executive Officers from beginning to date with respective occupation. (Elections are normally held every two years).
3. Establish present complete membership:
 - elected members (list all with respective occupation)
 - ex-officio members (list all with respective occupation)
 - co-opted members (list all with respective occupation)
4. Who and how many present members have multiple membership? (list all and specify what memberships).

II VDC INTERVIEWA. Self-Help, Fundamental Objective

1. Find out what is the general understanding of "self-help" amongst VDC membership. (How do they understand it, how they define it?).
2. How does VDC organise self-help assistance from villagers? (Describe their strategy with all successive stages of implementation).
3. What VDC members have done/do to set an example of responsible self-help among the community? (Be specific).
4. In their opinion, how appropriate/inappropriate is a self-help approach to generate development in the community? and why?

B. Committee Status

1. Find out how often does VDC meet. (weekly, monthly, ...)
2. Establish the average attendance to meetings. (Check Minutes)
3. What are presently the most urgent needs VDC has identified in the community? (List all in order of priority).
4. Which of those needs is VDC trying to meet first?
5. How does VDC try to meet those needs? (Specify all projects being implemented and any other strategy adopted).
6. What financial resources has VDC raised to date in the community and HOW? (Check financial records).
7. To what extent are local skilled people being employed in community projects? (Check if previous skill survey has been conducted and take records).
8. What successful projects have so far been completed? (describe).
9. What were projects undertaken that failed? and Why?

Council

10. What additional projects have been suggested to Council so far? (describe and indicate date of submission response and stage of implementation).
11. Was the Councillor briefed on those projects? (If yes, indicate when and find out how important a role he did play in it).
12. Has VDC requested any other financial or technical assistance from Council? (If so, what assistance for what projects, date, response and action from Council).

13. Has VDC contacted any other government agencies (extension, health, education, etc.) to improve services in the community? (List all agencies consulted, date of consultation, and progress made).

14. How often does VDC report to Kgotla on its activities?

C. The Role of Coordination and Management

FIRST - FROM EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

1. Find out from Executive Officers what is their overall Village Development Plan. (describe in detail, specify priorities, long-term short-term objectives, etc.)
2. Find out from them the specific role every village organisation is expected to play in their village plan. (among village organisation leaders are included: chiefs, headmen, councillors, ACDO, AD, FWE, VA, HT, FC, VHT, SWC, PTA, BCW, 4B, YWCA, Land-Board representatives, and possibly others).
3. Ask and list all difficulties VDC faces in its effort to coordinate the activities of their village organisations. (state all problems raised and try to find out why they arise.)

SECOND - FROM VILLAGE LEADERS

In a second stage, crosscheck that information collected from the Executives with each village organisation leader in the community. Find out from each leader how effective VDC coordination is, and what are, according to them, the problems involved. List all and be as specific as possible.

THIRD - FROM THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE

If VDCs are established to 'serve the community' and meet 'the real needs of the community', the community alone is in a position to tell objectively whether VDC actions actually reflect what people want. For that some clipboard work may be useful. A random number of villagers (10 families or more per Kgotla) should be interviewed and asked some of the following questions:

1. How important is VDC for you? and WHY?
2. In your opinion, what role should VDC play in the community?
3. Are current VDC projects meeting your needs? (If yes HOW? If no, ask, What would you rather see VDC doing?)
4. Were you informed and consulted on such projects? (If yes, HOW?)
5. What does self-help mean to you? (definition)
6. In your opinion, is it important to have self-help activities taking place in the village? and WHY?

7. Do you take part in self-help projects? (If yes, in what way? If no, why not?)
8. In your opinion, how could VDC be made more effective?

NOTE: - For this section, use questionnaire provided as a basic tool, but also crosscheck that information with informal talks.

- Keep in mind and conduct again Note on Kgotla Guidelines.

CENTRAL - VDC BACKGROUND INFO QUESTIONNAIRE
(to be used with guidelines (in Third Section)

NO. _____

Village: _____ Kgotla: _____

NAME: _____ Enum: _____ Date: _____

1) How important is VDC to you? very medium not at all
Reasons: _____

2) In your opinion, what is the role of VDC in the community?

3) Are current VDC projects meeting your needs?
Yes How? _____
Partially Why? _____
NO Why? _____

4) Were you informed and consulted on such project?
YES: How? _____
NO :

5) What does self-help mean to you? _____

6) In your opinion, is it important to have self-help activities taking place in the village?
YES: WHY? _____
NO: WHY? _____

7) Do you take part in self-help projects?
YES: In what way? _____
NO: Why not? _____

8) In your opinion, how could VDC be made more effective?

9) Do you wish to add any other comments on VDC activities or performance? _____

3. FARMERS COMMITTEES (FC) - BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A. ORIGIN

1. Why did FC start in the village?
2. When was its early start (date), and when did it begin to actually operate?
3. Who were the founder members? (list)
4. Why and how were they chosen? (give background, occupation and multiple membership of those individuals).
5. What influence did they have in the group? (describe, give examples).

B. STATUS OF PRESENT COMMITTEE

1. Establish present membership (list all committee members and give respective functions/duties in the group).
2. Has anyone resigned from committee? (If yes, list who they are and find out from them WHY).
3. What is their contribution to date? (Cash, material, other).
4. How many sub-groups does FC manage? (e.g. fencing-groups, dam gr., small stock gr., tick control gr. 4B, etc.)
5. What are the projects implemented and future projects? (list in chronological order with dates and describe briefly).
6. What assistance did FC receive from Regional staff? and WHEN? (cash, material, technical advice, demonstrations, etc.).
7. What training did FC receive to date and when?
8. Translate by-laws. (on separate sheet).

C. MANAGEMENT

1. What is the essential role of FC and what are its responsibilities (list and describe).
2. How does FC organise itself to carry out this role? (describe, explain strategy, witness performance).
3. Who plays the most influential role in FC and WHY? (list, give background and multiple membership).

D. RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

1. How does FC relate to VDC, chiefs, headmen? (explain).
2. What is the degree of collaboration/conflict between them? (explain, give examples, witness performance).

E. PROBLEMS

1. What were/are the major problems faced by FC from beginning to date? (list all).
2. Why did such problems arise? (explain).
3. What is the most crucial problem they are facing today? and WHY?
4. Possible solutions?

4. AGRICULTURAL SUB-GROUPS - Background Information

NOTE: Agricultural sub-groups in Central generally include: tick control gr., small stock dosing gr., dam gr., B/h Syndicates, Cooperatives, 4B, normally all under FC management. On those groups, except for fencing groups, the following information would be useful:

1. Date group began.
2. Membership of group (number of registered membership).
3. How is group managed (specify if it is by FC or by own committee).
4. If sub-group is under FC find out relationship between FC and group and possible problems.
5. How much is joining fee?
6. How many registered members have paid their fees?
7. Total funds raised to date and material contributed by group.
8. Facilities and implements used by group. (describe implements, i.e. do they use diptanks, spray race, crushes, dosing guns, hand pump, etc.)
9. What are their dipping/dosing fees? (If applicable).
10. How often do they use that facility? (give dipping/dosing records for the past year).
11. How much stock did it involve? (give number of cattle/small stock treated in the past year).
12. Describe project status (indicate stage, interest stage, proposed stage, planning stage, application to sub-land board, completed, etc.)
13. Do they use other facilities or equipment? (e.g. from veterinary officers, AD, DAO's Office, other).
14. Have they received any grant assistance or do they intend to apply for it? (specify).

15. What training did group receive to date? (indicate any technical support, demonstrations and dates).
16. Translate by-laws, if any (on separate sheet).
17. Have they any other related project? (e.g. the same group may have a fencing project, dams, etc. or operate with joint borehole allocation from land boards, etc.)
18. What are the most crucial problems they presently face? (list all and explain).
19. What are possible solutions envisaged?

5. FENCING GROUP - BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A. ORIGIN

1. Why did a fencing group start in the village?
2. When did it start?
3. Who were the founder members? (list)
4. Who were/are the major personalities in the group? (Give background of each of those individuals).
5. What influence did they have in the group? (What was/is their major contribution are area of influence).

B. GROUP STATUS

1. When did the group apply to Sub-land board?
2. When was the fencing project surveyed and by whom?
3. Present membership (list all members and indicate where they stay.)
4. Has anyone withdrawn from group? (If yes, list who they are and find out from them why they left the group).
5. What are the fees imposed on the participants or household?
6. What is the group contribution to date? (cash, material).
7. What assistance did the group receive? (grant, material, other).
8. What training did members/group follow?
9. Translate 'By-laws'.
10. Length of the fence (to be done with coordinator).
11. How often does the group meet? (check records if available).

C. MANAGEMENT & TECHNOLOGY

1. How is the group managed? (own committee, FC, other. List management committee members and give background of each individual).
2. How does group organise itself to fence? (explain).
3. What are the methods used? (describe).
4. List and indicate skills of all skilled or professional people in the group.

D. GROUP RELATIONS

1. How does group relate to FC, VDC, Chief, Headmen (explain).
2. What is the degree of collaboration/conflict between them? (explain, give examples, witness performance).

E. PROBLEMS

1. What were/are the major problems encountered by group from the beginning to date? (List all problems).
2. Why did such problems arise?
3. What are possible solutions?

6. VOLUNTARY VILLAGE ORGANISATIONS - INFORMATION

Note: Among those organisations, the most common ones include PTA, BCW, YWCA, 4B (if not managed by FC) Red Cross, VHC, SWC, and possibly others.

From these some of the following inquiries could provide useful information:

1. How often does the institution meet? (check records when available)
2. Date organisation started and by whom.
3. Establish present committee (list, give occupation of each member and multiple membership).
4. Why such an organisation developed in the community?
5. What is their essential role and major activities? (list and describe all projects).
6. What have they so far achieved?
7. What are their future plans?
8. What resources do they have? (cash, material) and how do they raise them?

9. What level of training and expertise has the organisation got?
(specify training and skilled members and what skills).
10. How do they relate to VDC, chiefs (headmen) and what support do they get from them?
11. What are the major problems they face and why?
12. What are possible solutions?

APPENDIX 1BRESOURCE MANAGEMENT RESEARCH GUIDELINESCentral District1. BASIC MAP

1. Name and draw approximately each land area on map (to be provided)
2. Name and draw approximately adjacent grazing area of the village.
3. Identify and locate approximately the significant water sources in each area including cattle-posts (types and names).

2. ARABLE LANDS (Interview of best identified respondents for each area)

1. Who is predominantly ploughing in each respective area?
(kgotla, groups, other patterns).
2. How and why did those people start ploughing in that particular area?
(Find basic history of each area. Was it designated by chief?(Who? other reasons?) (When?)
3. How was/is inherited land divided and re-distributed among family members (describe). Who gets what? What is the women's share as compared to other family members?
4. Currently, how is arable land allocated? (describe procedure).
5. What influence/role have headmen, chiefs, VDC in current land allocation?
6. To what extent is land self-allocated? How is it felt by chiefs and other community leaders?
7. Can one apply for land anywhere in the village lands area? (If not, establish conditions, criteria and procedures currently used).

3. GRAZING AREAS (Key respondents of each area)

1. Give basic history of each grazing area (see item 2.2 above).
2. Which are those associated with the village? Since when?
3. Which are the most recent (dates) and how were they obtained (explain).
4. Are any grazing areas shared with other villages? (which, when?)
5. Is there a common grazing pattern from one area to the other? (from which to which area and when?)
6. Is there any control over grazing resources (modisa/naga)?
(If yes, who directs it? Who enforces it?)

7. What is people's perception of overgrazing? What are their suggestions to overcome it?

4. WATER (Key respondents of each area)

1. From your map:

- list by land area all essential water sources
- indicate name of source/location, type, ownership
- use (domestic, communal, both) USE CHART PROVIDED

2. Establish for each land area what is the succession/rotation of water sources used throughout the year. (i.e. during the ploughing season, between planting and harvesting, after harvest).

3. Are those shared: - with other land areas? Which? When?
 - with cattle post residents? Which? When?
 - with other villages? Which? When?

4. Are common decisions taken to move/rotate from one source to the other? (If yes, how are they taken? Who enforces them?)

5. From your inventory (in Item 1: provided sheet) take 1 type of each source and establish:

- what was the decision process in opening such sources
- who was responsible to do the work
- under what leadership and supervision

6. Currently is the construction of wells and other water sources the responsibility of each lands area or of the whole community?

7. How do people go about opening new water sources? (Indicate who makes the decisions, who implements, who supervises and who is responsible to maintain it).

8. Are there stock watering limitations at any water sources or can one water as many cattle as one wants? (If yes, indicate the number of authorised stock for each source applicable, how those decisions are made, who enforces them, and how).

5. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS (MAAPE - KGAGODI)

1. Establish the detailed history of the village boreholes.

2. Identify all major problems that have led to current lack of water in the village. (leadership competition, role of Council, Senior Tribal Authority, etc.)

6. CONFLICTS

With the help of chief's allocation inventory, identify cases of conflict and interview the implicated people to find out causes of conflict. (Cross check this information with other potential respondents).

7. QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to have a more objective opinion of land-board's perception, involvement and performance in the community, apply randomly provided questionnaire (10 or more families per kgotla).

LAND AREA: _____

WATER SOURCE CHART (to be used in section 4)

FOR PRIVATE
SOURCES ONLY

NAME of source or location	TYPE dam pan b/h	OWNERSHIP communal private	USAGE domestic live-stock both	TIME USED (Months)		Who BUILT it? Names, Agencies	DATE built	DATE OF ACQUISITION	FEES Charged	SHARING By whom? area/village/c.p.	TIME FROM TO	
				From	To							
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
6.												
7.												
8.												
9.												
10.												
11.												
12.												
13.												
14.												

NOTES:

COMPLEMENTARY QUESTIONNAIRE ON RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (CENTRAL)

NOTE: (This information would need to be gathered from the community at large, i.e. + 10 families per land area) and by ALL COMMUNITY LEADERS, Chief, chairman of all community organisations and extension staff).

NAME: _____ VILLAGE: _____ No. _____

OCCUPATION: _____ LAND AREA: _____

ENUMERATOR: _____ DATE: _____

LANDS:

1. Would you like to settle permanently at the land in the future?
 Yes _____ No _____

Why? _____

2. If services (water, roads, schools, clinics) were provided at the lands would you rather stay permanently at the lands?
 Yes _____ No _____

Why? _____

3. Should government provide more services at the lands _____ village _____

Which ones? VILLAGE: _____

LANDS: _____

LIVESTOCK:

4. What is currently done by government to help livestock owners?
 (List all): _____

5. Do these services help? Yes _____ No _____

If Yes: How? _____

If No : Why? _____

6. What are the most important things government ought to do to help livestock owners? (List in order of priority)

6a. How should such livestock services be provided? (explain)

6b. How should such services be managed?

By government _____ community _____ both _____ other (specify) _____

Government: Who? _____

How? _____

Community: Who? _____

How? _____

Other: Who? _____

How? _____

OTHER RESOURCES:

7. Is firewood plentiful _____ average _____ scarce? _____

If scarce, how and who should control firewood resources?

Who? _____

How? _____

8. Are you aware of any mineral deposit in your area? Yes _____

Which? _____ Where? _____

8a. Who should exploit them? _____

8b. How? _____

LAND BOARD

9. Is the current land-board system of land and water allocation

BETTER _____ or WORSE _____ than the traditional system?

Why? (explain) _____

10. What are the essential QUALITIES and DEFECTS/shortcomings
You identify in SLB?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

11. How often did SLB come to visit your area during the last year?

12. ANY OTHER COMMENTS?:

KGAGODI WARD CHARACTERISTICS

Ward	Headman	Headmanship Succession since 1902	Original Families (c)	Foreign Families (a)	Family Units (b)(c)	Total Popul. (b)(d)
KGAGODI	Monnatlala	Phalalo--Kgagodi (1915) -- Molokoane(1953) -- Monnatlala(11/53)	2	3	22	151
MODIBANA	Tshereletso Kentshitswe	Ditshabo--Kepaletwe--Tshereletso	6	2	37	226
MOETLAPELE	Kgomotso Pitso	K.Pitso Moetlapele--Senyopa Sapeng Marekwa--Kgomotso Pitso	2	0	19	175
MHALADI	Rankwaela Noge	Tselapedi--Mhaladi--Kabasia-- Noge--Gabatsoswe--Rankwaela Noge	3	2	30	218
MOKATANE	Kehakgametse Modikane	Nkape--Moganane--Mokatane-- Kehakgametse	7	0	14	52
MOSOKWANE	Selelo Mokaathobolo	Mokaathobolo Toiwa--Pharebatho (1943)--Selelo Mokaathobolo(1971)	3 ⁺	3	41	241
KHAPANE	Kedisaletse (vacant)	assimilated to Mosokwane	8	2	-	-
LEKAME	Kenyatse	Kgosi Mone Thadibe--Tshikini-- Moroke--Kenyatse	4	0	21	143
MAGWANENG	Kelapile Lesolame	Magwaneng--Lesolame-- Kelapile Lesolame	9	0	15	98
Notes on next page		TOTAL	44 ⁺	12	199	1304

KGAGODI WARD CHARACTERISTICS

Notes: + Exceeds number, others not remembered.

(a) From Headmen's interview

(b) From the Fencing Study (see 1.2).

(c) Family unit defined as the "small lelwapa" i.e. each family unit in the yard ("big lelwapa").

(d) Includes only permanent residents and dependent school children, cattle-post residents excluded.

KGAGODI HEADMEN - PROFILE

Name	Born	Nature of Headmanship	Years in Office	Education
Monnatlala (Kgagodi W.)	1911	Royal descent	28	-
Kentshitswe T. (Modibana W.)	1939	Royal descent	6	Form II
Pitso K. (Moetlapele W.)	1932	Royal descent	1	-
Noge R. (Mhaladi W.)	1929	Royal descent	8	Old St. 6
Moganane K. (Mokatane W.)	1928	Royal descent	33	Old St. 6
Mokaathobolo S. (Mosokwane W.)	1920	Royal descent	10	-
Kedisaletse (Khapane W.)	?	Royal descent	absent, administered by Mosekwane	
Lesolame (Magwaneng W.)	1915	Royal descent	16	-
Kenyatse (Lekama W.)	1919	Royal descent	11	-

MOSHOPA WARD CHARACTERISTICS

Ward	Headman	Headmanship Succession	Original Families (a)	Foreign Families (a)	Family Units (b)(c)	Total Popul. (b)(d)
KGOSING (Main W.)	Morulanyi Lekgetho	Moshopa--Morulanyi--Lekgetho-- Lechaina--Morulanyi Lekgetho	4	4	21	100
SHABANG	Letsibogo Mompoti	Raisaka--Kebonye Raisaka-- 7 years vacant--Letsibogo Mompoti	3 ⁺	5	included in Toteng	
TOTENG	Kgosietsile Ramukapane	Toteng--Moitoi-Khuduthou-- Ramukapane--Kgosietsile Ramukapane	5	4	78	481
MOROKA	Keipurile Gabanakgosi	Leanatso--Boikanyo--Gabanakgosi-- Sepelete Sebeletse--Lesego(1935)-- Keipurile Gabanakgosi	15	4	34	232
THIPANA	Balemetse Bakae	Mogami Ditshito--Ditshito Mogami-- Seboke Ditshito--Bakae Seboko (1954)-- Balemetse Bakae (June 1980)	included in Moroka		39	246
MMOTLANA	Gaokgabelwe Monthe	Kgogobi Lesarwa--Galerekwa-- Dibodu Kgogobi--Lerubisi--Olefile-- Mosola Ramothwa--Gaokgabelwe Monthe	4	0	33	194
TOTAL			31 ⁺	17	205	1253

+ Others not remembered.

(a) From Headmen's interview.

(b) From the Fencing Study (see 1.2).

(c) Family unit defined as the "small lelwapa", i.e. each family unit in the yard ("big lelwapa").

(d) Includes only permanent residents and dependent school children, cattle-post residents excluded.

MOSHOPA HEADMEN - PROFILE

Name	Born	Nature of Headmanship	Years in Office	Education
Morulanyi L. (Kgosing)	1914	Royal Descent	5	--
Letsibogo M. (Shabang W.)	1950	Royal Descent	3	Standard 7
Kgosietsile R. (Toteng W.)	1901	Royal Descent	31	--
Keipurile G. (Moraka W.)	1911	Royal Descent	41	--
Balemetse B. (Thipana W.)	1937	Royal Descent	1	--
Gaokabelwe M. (Mmotlana W.)	1922	Royal Descent	2.5	--

APPENDIX 3ANgwato Land BoardReport of the Moshopha trip undertaken on the 9th September, 1981

Moshopha drift fence - Western side of the village.

The following conducted the investigation on the allegation that the Moshopha Western drift fence is following the line formerly objected by Sekgoma T. Khama.

viz. Mr. K. Garekwe - Land Board chairman
Mr. Bob Mannathoko - D.O. (L)
Mr. M.G. Maforaga - PAO(L)

The drift fence was previously approved and allocated by the Mahalapye Sub Land Board. When the complaint reached the Main Land Board, some Land/ members went to the disputed/Board area and diverted the line to the North East.

The investigation ensured that the Moshopha Community deliberately neglected the Board ruling, poles were being lined and more holes dug. Recent foot prints were seen on the ground, marking immediate departure. A certain Mr. Oraletse Mosupiemang, a manager of Mr. Khama's cattle accompanied the Land Board delegation.

The team then proceeded to Moshopha village to talk to the Head man, with a view to investigate whether or not there was an after thought that necessitated the adamant aggressive decision that led to the violation of amicable decision reached at the former meeting.

The headman Mr. Morulane Lekgetho, when found told the team that he never likes to discuss anything with anybody unless he has someone to bear witness in future. This statement was honoured and he called a number of people who did not wait but started going away. The few that remained were:

Messrs. Kennekae Mokibise
O. Metseyabeng
Seabi Thosani
Olekantse Monageng
Omponye Tebagano

Before we could start, the headman justifiably complained that Land Board does not inform him whenever it plans to visit his village. He complained that this was a second visit of similar nature which has also been done without notice. He further adamantly stated that for as long as Mr. Mosupiemang is among us he has already drawn a conclusion that the issue we had brought up is undoubtedly connected with the Western drift fence which he has long rejected by keeping quiet.

After listening to the abovestated statement which was repeated several times, the delegates demanded from the headman an answer to the question below:-

Since an agreement was made that the line should be re-aligned north East of the gate towards a certain pan, did the community later have another meeting and raise any facts against the said agreement which purported resistance to the old one?

/2...

The answer was, "I have/a decision above in terms of /made government policies to construct a fence separating cattle from fields and this cannot be challenged by any authority. During this planning period Mr. Khama was every time informed and gave no response, the Mahalapye Sub Land Board accepted this and it is enough. We are going to continue with fence construction since we have not accepted any re-alignment."

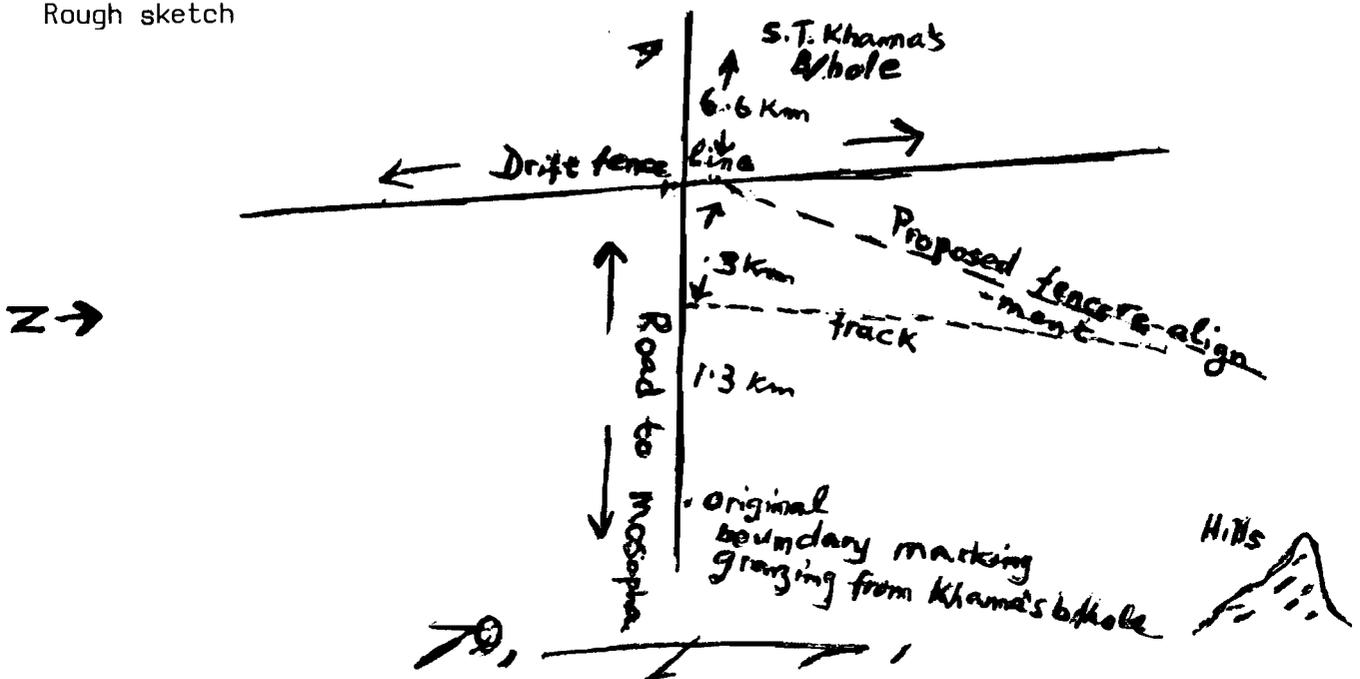
The representatives informed the headman to tell the team that the fence construction on the western line can only continue according to the accepted diversion, if this is unacceptable then the line should stop until the Land Board has convened yet another meeting which will be attended by Land Board, Mahalapye Sub Land Board, and Mr. S.T. Khama. On the date to be decided by the Land Board.

Mr. Mokibise stood in surprise of what the headman was denying to have heard. He said the issue was well settled and the headman himself had sent some men on his behalf and he (headman) accompanied them in person.

One gentleman who refused his name to be recorded pugnaciously indicated that he was going to continue the line after all, irrespective of whether Land Board likes it or not.

The team left the Kgotla (Moshopha at 1530).

Rough sketch



M.G. Maforaga - Principal Administration Officer (Lands)

- c.c. Senior Admin. Ass. - Mahalapye
- Headman - Moshopha village
- S.T. Khama - Selibe Phikwe
- Tribal Authority - Ngwato
- District Commissioner - Serowe

/JM

APPENDIX 3B

FROM: Chief Morulanyi Lekgetho, Moshopa.

26/9/1981.

TO : Principal Administration Officer (Land), Serowe.

RE: Answer to Nqwato Land-Board on Moshopa Drift Fence Report

Dear Sir,

We kindly acknowledge reception of your "Report of the Moshopa Trip" undertaken on 9/9/81, concerning your investigation of the western part of our drift fence.

A few fundamental elements in your report, however, still remain rather unclear for most Moshopa residents and its threatening tone appears to be based on either inaccurate information or false assumptions.

We would like to emphasize that our drift fence project is not and has never been undertaken in a spirit of "aggression" or "violation of Land Board's rulings", as stated. We are well aware of your ultimate responsibility and jurisdiction over land allocation and approval, and we equally know that your task is not an easy one.

Our community project was rather initiated by the Moshopa community through a long consultation process (2-1/2 years) among residents themselves and Sefhare people, our neighbours, not to defy your authority, but because our survival significantly depends on it. Crop damage is increasing every year and everyone knows here that "Tsie e fofa ka moswang". Thus, after winning community support, the drift fence was actively promoted by our FC, VDC, the DAO Mahalapye East and myself. A fencing committee was elected and, in winter 1980, the whole fence (including the western section) was formally approved by our Mahalapye Sub-Land-Board. In addition, two weeks ago our DAO submitted an AE 10 Project Memorandum to the MoA requesting additional funds (P4'173.80) to complement our community efforts in the project. We honestly feel that, if community welfare is to improve in Moshopa, the drift fence must be completed at all cost as soon as possible.

With regard to the controversy over the western section of the fence, three fundamental elements remain completely unexplained to the Moshopa community and don't seem to have been answered in your report. Satisfactory answers to the following questions may well promote greater understanding and collaboration between our community and Land Board authorities:

1. The Moshopa community still is very anxious to know what are Mr. S.T. Khama's specific complaints since for over 2 1/2 years he has never yet attended any of our community meetings concerning the project, despite our repeated invitations.

We hope you do realise that Kgotla consultation still is in my village an important process for dealing with community matters and, if anyone has any grievance with community decisions, he ought to have enough decency to express his objections in our Kgotla meetings prior to complain privately to higher levels of authority.

/2....

2. Moshopa residents further wonder on what ground did the Ngwato Land Board overrule our Mahalapye Sub-Land-Board's project approval without giving any reason or word of explanation to the very people concerned.
3. Finally, what your sketch describes as being "S.T. Khama's bore hole" has always been in our understanding a Council b/hole which for some reason has become over the years Mr. S.T. Khama's own property.

The Koromong area (western section) already was a Moshopa cattle-post before Pilikwe village even existed and prior to the arrival of Tshekedi Khama in the area in 1953. As far as we know Koromong still is communal area of Moshopa. Thus, one first wonders how can an individual, however important he may be, claim a communal area to be his own property.

Secondly, the so called "S.T. Khama b/hole" was actually sunk by Council in 1952 in order to provide water to the Moshopa residents who gathered in great number in that area at that time. In 1956, in presence of Mr. Gasebalwe Kgamane (Tribal Authority - Ramakgonami), Tshekedi Khama agreed with Chief Lekgetho of Moshopa to share this Council b/hole with Moshopa residents since he found the Pilikwe b/holes to be too far from his Koromong cattle-post. This b/hole, however, was shared only temporarily with Moshopa since one year later, Tshekedi moved his cattle to Nata. In 1968, when Mma Leapetswe (Mr. S.T. Khama's mother) moved her cattle from Chadibe to Koromong, she renewed Tshekedi's agreement with Chief Lechaina of Moshopa. This agreement, however, has not been honoured. The very same year this Council b/hole was equipped with private engine, pump and pipings, and ever since became family Khama's own property with seemingly tacit agreement of our Land Board authorities.

In the process the community has not only lost access to one of its vital water points, but is being asked also to abandon an additional portion of its communal territory for what we feel rather biased and unjustified reasons.

However, we are all very grateful for giving us in your report the opportunity to express once more our views on the fence realignment.

The so called "agreement" assumed in your report has in actual fact never been reached and even less been "amicable". Whenever previous investigations were carried out nobody, including myself, was ever informed in Moshopa of such encounters. Kgotla meetings had to be called in haste and for ad hoc purposes, gathering only 12 to 15 uninformed people on the spot. No one certainly will consider such meetings to be very representative of general community concerns and interests.

But, since such an opportunity was given, a general Kgotla meeting was held on the 24/9/1981 in presence of our AD, Mr. Musi, in order to discuss once more the acceptability of such re-alignment. 286 people attended and all found this re-alignment unacceptable. This figure speaks for itself. The massive turn-out that came to speak against fence re-alignment hopefully shows that "agreement" still is far from being reached and the proposed alternative quite unpopular.

We therefore gladly accept your kind offer to hold another meeting with your officers, Mahalapye Sub-Land-Board representatives and Mr. S.T. Khama himself at your own set dates and time, as long as we are notified enough in

advance so as to be able to inform the community at large. In addition to your suggested participants, we would also like to be honoured with the presence of some CDC members and Mma. Leapetswe herself.

While waiting for your notice, we sincerely hope that community concerns and interests will ultimately prevail in your final decision.

Sincerely yours.

AD Musi (Chadibe, Sefhare, Moshopa) for Chief Morulanyi Lekgetho

	Signed	<u>Musi</u>
Chief Morulanyi Lekgetho	Signed	<u>Morulane Lekgetho</u>
Chairman VDC		<u>Signed</u>
Chairman FC		<u>Signed</u>
Chairman Fencing-Group		<u>Signed V. Secretary for Chairman</u>

cc Permanent Secretary MLGL
 Commissioner of Lands MLGL
 Senior Rural Sociologist (TGLP) MoA
 M P Mr. Sebeso, Mahalapye
 District Commissioner, Serowe
 Council Secretary, Serowe
 District Officer (Land), Serowe
 Principal Administration Officer (Land), Serowe
 Chairman, Ngwato Land Board, Serowe
 Senior Administration Assistant, Mahalapye
 Tribal Authority - Ngwato, Serowe
 Chairman Mahalapye, Sub-Land-Board, Mahalapye
 Senior Councillor Tswapong South, Mr. G. Mack Bathuleng, Radisele
 Moshopa Councillor, Mrs. S. Mathare, Machaneng
 Chief Sefhare, Mr. Oteng Suping
 RAO, Serowe
 DAO, Mahalapye East
 GDOs, Serowe
 AO(LR) Serowe
 Mr. S.T. Khama Selebi-Phikwe
 Mma. Leapetswe, Serowe

APPENDIX 3C

Minutes of MOSHOPA KGOTLA MEETING with Ngwato Land-Board
on drift-fence re-alignment

Moshopa 27/10/1981.

Following Moshopa's community answer (29/9/81) to Ngwato Land Board's initial report (9/9/81), an extraordinary meeting was called by Ngwato Land-Board (NLB) on the 27/10/81 in Moshopa main Kgotla to debate difference on the fencing issue.

Attendance:

- After the opening prayer performed by one of the local ministers, chief O. Suping (sefhare) opened the meeting at 9.00 a.m. by introducing the following officials:

Principal Administration Officer (lands)
Ngwato Land board Chairman
" " " Secretary

Mahalapye Sub-Land-Board Chairman
" Molaudi

Local Councillor
Pilikwe sub- Tribal Authority
DAO Mahalapye-East
AD Chadibe, Sefhare, Moshopa

- Local attendance was estimated at over 350 residents.

- Despite NLB's promise (cf. Report 9/9/81) to include Mr. S.T. Khama in this meeting and the further suggestion of the Moshopa community to also invite Mma Leapetswe (26/9/81), none of the Khama family attended, even though Mr. S.T. Khama himself spent that very day at his Koromong cattle-post in Moshopa.

Debate:NLB

Ngwato Land-Board Chairman (chair of the meeting) opened the debate by asking residents why they persisted working in the western section of the fence against his approval. He reinforced his question by making it clear that he also entirely disagrees with the previous Mahalapye Sub-land-board's project approval.

No reason however were ever given for such disapproval neither to SLB neither to the residents themselves.

community

Community answered that:

1. their decision to persue fencing was based on consultation, mutual understanding and formal approval of Mahalapye SLB.

2. that this reversal of decision was a ruling enforced by NLB in complete disagreement with the community and for rather unclear reasons.

NLB

Chairman restated that there had previous agreement with chief Morulanyi and "a few other people". (cf. Report, 9/9/81).

Community:

Chief Morulanyi and other residents strongly denied that statement. The chief stated that NLB's previous visits had been made without any notice; that such meetings had to be called in haste and for ad hoc purposes gathering only a handful of uninformed people on the spot; that none of those encounters could be said to be genuinely representative of general community concerns. (cf. lettre, 26/9/81).

Chief Morulanyi further explained that, despite a burial in process in the village during the last previous investigation, he was compelled almost violently by NLB Officers to leave and gather a few other residents in order to attend to NLB's requests.

Chief Morulanyi first made clear to them that he could not agree with fence realignment without any valuable reason for it and without community consensus. Then, rather shocked by untactful consultation procedures from government officials, chief Morulanyi alledged that " I decided to remain silent and NLB members decided to take my silence as consent".

AD

The AD tried then to orient the debate toward the fundamental issues of the controversy by pointing to the 3 fundamental questions raised in the community lettre (26/9/81), i.e.

- reasons for S.T. Khama's complaints
- reasons for reversal of project approval by NLB
- council bore/hole that became Mr. S.T. Khama's property.

NLB

NLB first denied to have received any such lettre. But, when AD started reading from his own copy, NLB then acknowledged to actually be in possession of such a document.

Even though community lettre was a direct answer to NLB's Report, NLB positively refused to adress any of those questions raised in the community lettre on the ground that those problems were not the object of the actual meeting and that any of those community concerns ought to be first channelled to the Mahalapye Molaudi, not to them directly.

Furthermore, the AD was reprimanded for raising such questions, not being himself a Moshopa resident. He and the kgotla were also told that, after having spoken once, people should refrain from speaking a second time.

A rain storm eventually interrupted the debate. Before dispersal, NLB Chairman forcefully restated that the community had to follow his decision and not the one of the SLB.

Residents voiced as forcefully their disagreement with his decision.

The meeting ended in general disagreement and discontent.
Fencing Group Secretary for Moshopa community

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