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A STUDY OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN  
MOPIPI COMMUNAL FIRST DEVELOPMENT AREA,  
CENTRAL DISTRICT

F.S. Zufferey

Local Institutions Research Project  
Louise Fortmann, Project Coordinator

A collaborative effort by

LAND TENURE CENTER  
University of Wisconsin  
Madison, Wisconsin, USA

APPLIED RESEARCH UNIT  
Ministry of Local  
Government and Lands  
Gaborone, Botswana

April 1983

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by

**F.S. Zufferey**

**APPLIED RESEARCH UNIT  
MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS**

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**LAND TENURE CENTER  
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON**

**April 1983**

## INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

**John W. Bruce**  
**Africa Program Coordinator**

BOTSWANA LOCAL INSTITUTIONS RESEARCH PROJECT PAPERS

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

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

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

G. Childers, Local Institutions in Ngamiland CFDA.

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

A. Rude, Agricultural Cooperatives in Southern District CFDA.

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

L. Fortmann, U. Edzani, K. Gobotswang, A. Magama, L. Motswagole, T. Woto, Local Institutions and Resource Management in the Northeast District CFDA.

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

C. Brown, Resource Management in Kweneng District.

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

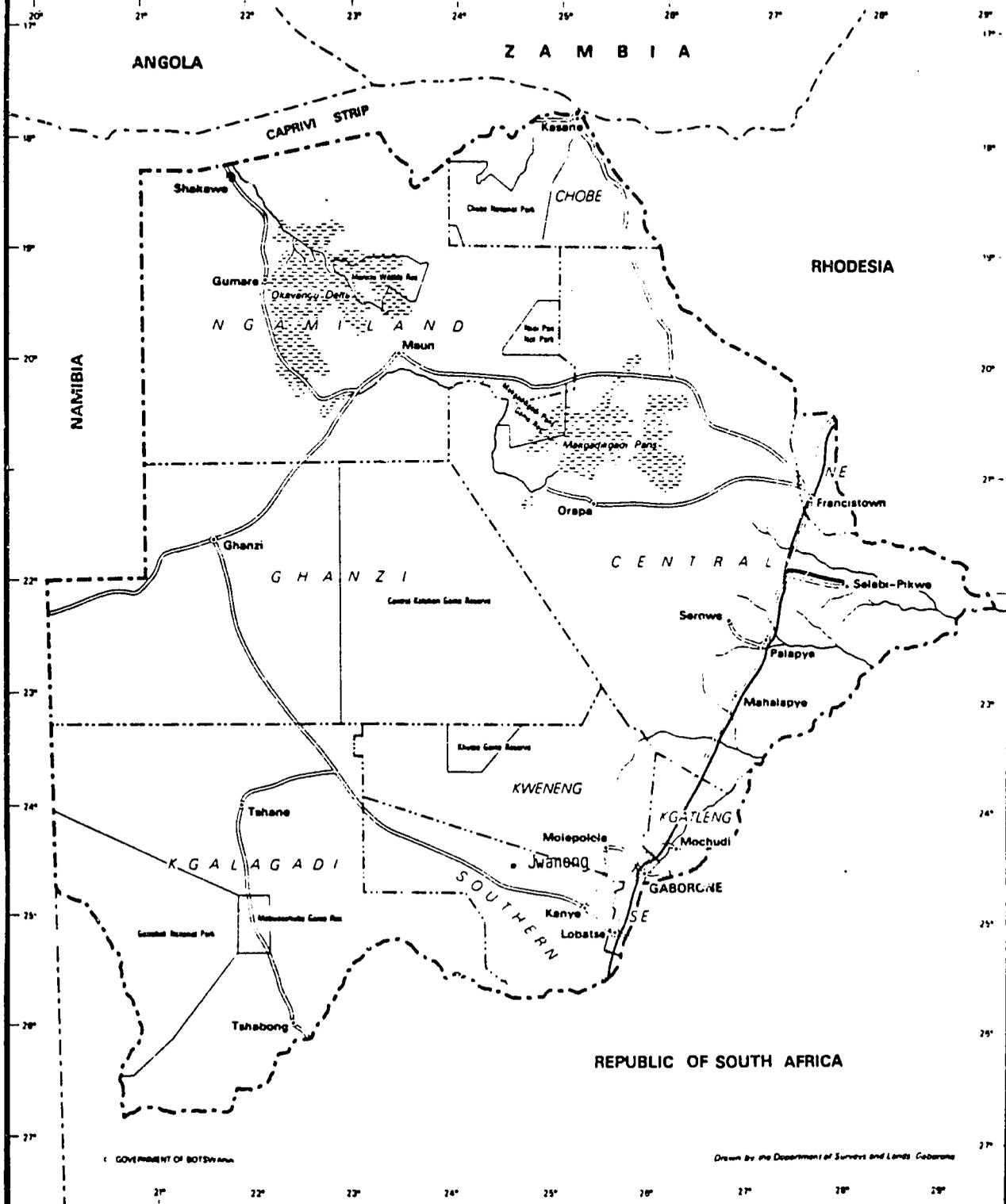
C. Brown, Issues in Communal Resource Management.

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

# REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



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



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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
List of Abbreviations	ix
List of Tables	xi
List of Maps	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Summary of Recommendations	xv
<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Selection of a Communal First Development Area (CFDA) in Central District	1
1.2 Scope and Objectives of the Research	3
1.3 Note on Research Methodology	3
1.4 General Description and Population Characteristics	3
1.4.1 Boteti Subdistrict	3
1.4.2 Mopipi CFDA	5
1.5 Land Utilization and Resource Characteristics	5
1.5.1 Grazing	5
1.5.2 Molapo Farming	7
1.5.3 Dryland Farming	8
1.5.4 Wildlife	9
1.5.5 Gravel Extraction	9
1.5.6 Fishing	9
<b>2. The Traditional Structure</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Ethnic Composition and Historical Background	10
2.1.1 The Basarwa	10
2.1.2 The Bateti	10
2.1.3 The Bakgalagadi	11
2.1.4 The Bakhurutshe	11
2.1.5 The Bayiei	12
2.1.6 The Bakalanga (Bakalaka)	12
2.1.7 The Herero (Mathama)	13
2.1.8 The Banambjwa	14
2.1.9 The Zatsaiti	14
2.1.10 The Barotse	14
2.2 Ward Inventory and Characteristics	14
2.2.1 Ward Inventory and Population	14
2.2.2 Ward Hierarchy	14
2.2.3 Vertical Linkages (Chief's Ward and Wards)	17

2.2.4	Horizontal Linkages Between Wards	17
2.2.5	"Family Wards"	18
2.2.6	Council Wards	18
2.2.7	Role of Wards	18
2.3	Analysis and Problems of the Traditional Structure	18
2.3.1	Tribal Integration	18
2.3.2	Regional Integration	19
2.3.3	Problems of Regional Integration	20
2.4	Chiefs and Leadership	21
2.4.1	Role and Jurisdiction of Chiefs	21
2.4.2	Leadership	21
2.4.3	Xhumo Village	21
2.4.4	Mopipi Village	22
2.5	Summary	23
2.6	Conclusions	24
3.	Xhumo Modern Institutions	25
3.1	Introduction and Definitions	25
3.2	Xhumo Village: Agricultural Groups	26
3.2.1	Jibwi Fencing Group	26
3.2.2	Ruthuwe Fencing Group	29
3.2.3	Livestock Management Group	29
3.2.4	Borehole Syndicate (Godiko)	31
3.2.5	Xhumo Cooperative	31
3.3	Xhumo Voluntary Institutions	32
3.3.1	Botswana Council of Women	32
3.3.2	Village Health Committee	33
3.3.3	Social Welfare Committee	34
3.3.4	4-B Club	34
3.3.5	Parent-Teachers Association	35
3.4	Xhumo Coordinating Committees	36
3.4.1	Farmers Committee	37
3.4.2	Village Development Committee	37
4.	Mopipi Modern Institutions	41
4.1	Mopipi Agricultural Groups	41
4.1.1	The First Fishing Group	41
4.1.2	"New Fisheries"	43
4.1.3	Machana Fencing Group	44
4.1.4	Morula Fencing Group	47
4.1.5	Maka Borehole Syndicate	49
4.1.6	Setata Borehole Syndicate	49
4.1.7	Mopipi Cooperative	50

4.2	Mopipi Voluntary Institutions	52
4.2.1	Independence Committee	52
4.2.2	Catering Committee	53
4.2.3	Village Health Committee	53
4.2.4	Botswana Council of Women	54
4.2.5	Parent-Teachers Association	55
4.2.6	4-B Club	56
4.3	Mopipi Coordinating Committees	56
4.3.1	Farmers Committee	56
4.3.2	Village Development Committee	58
5.	Extension	61
5.1	Introduction	61
5.2	Village Extension Teams	61
5.2.1	Mopipi VET	61
5.2.2	Xhumo VET	62
5.2.3	Problems of VETs	62
5.3	Extension Staff (Observations)	62
5.3.1	ACDO	62
5.3.2	ADs	64
5.3.3	Family Welfare Educators	65
5.3.4	Head Teachers	65
6.	Wildlife: Situations and Problems	66
6.1	General Description	66
6.2	Hunting Game License Characteristics	66
6.3	Problems	66
6.4	Recommendations	68
7.	A Summary of Local Institutions' Problems in Mopipi and Xhumo	69
7.1	Problems of Traditional Institutions	69
7.2	Problems of Modern Institutions	69
7.2.1	General Problems	69
7.2.2	Specific Problems	70
7.3	Government Institutions Working in Local Communities	71
7.3.1	Institutions Based in Communities	71
7.3.2	Government Institutions Outside Communities	72

<b>8. Analysis and Recommendations</b>	<b>73</b>
8.1 Analysis	73
8.2 Major Factors Affecting Performance	74
8.3 Elements of a CFDA Strategy	75
<b>9. Kedia Settlement: A Study of a Council Institution</b>	<b>79</b>
9.1 General Description and Characteristics	79
9.1.1 Introduction	79
9.1.2 Description and Background	79
9.2 Sarwa "Settlements": Inventory and Characteristics	81
9.2.1 Inventory and Population	81
9.2.2 Subsistence in Neighboring Settlements	82
9.3 Kedia "Village" Characteristics	82
9.3.1 Ethnic Composition and Population	82
9.3.2 Cattle and Land Distribution	82
9.4 Institutional Action in Kedia	84
9.4.1 Background	84
9.4.2 Origin of Kedia Village	84
9.4.3 Consultation and Organization	85
9.4.4 Project Implementation (1980)	85
9.4.5 Expectations	89
9.4.6 Potential Problems	89
9.5 The Findings	89
9.5.1 Historical Background	89
9.5.2 Implications for the New Village	90
9.5.3 New Arrivals	90
9.5.4 Implications of New Arrivals	91
9.5.5 Ethnic Discrimination	91
9.5.6 Leadership and Control	93
9.5.7 Problems of Local Institutions	93
9.5.8 Problems of Support Staff	94
9.5.9 Recommendations	95
9.5.10 Summary	96
9.6 Analysis	96
<b>10. Recommended Projects</b>	<b>97</b>
10.1 Mopipi Credit Union	97
10.2 Kedia Game Harvesting Project	98

<b>11. Related Research Proposals</b>	<b>99</b>
11.1 Fish Stock Assessment in Mopipi Dam	99
11.2 Fish-and-Game Produce Marketing Study	99
11.3 Surveys on Land Use and Attitudes Toward Resource Management	100
11.3.1 Natural Flooding Behavior of the Boteti River	100
11.3.2 Anglo-American Waterworks	102
11.3.3 Effects of Waterworks on Arable Farming	102
11.3.4 The Rainfall Regime	103
11.3.5 Implications for the Future	103
11.3.6 Further Research Recommendations	104
11.3.7 Concluding Remarks	105
<b>References</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>Appendix 1 Central: Research Guidelines on Local Institutions</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>Appendix 2 Detailed Data on Wards and Headmen</b>	<b>119</b>

List of Abbreviations

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
ACS	Assistant Council Secretary
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Program
ARU	Applied Research Unit
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
BGI	Botswana Game Industry
BMC	Botswana Meat Commission
CD	Community Development
CDC	Central District Council
CDO	Community Development Officer
CFDA	Communal First Development Area
CHN	Community Health Nurse
CODEC	Cooperative Development Center
CSU	Community Social Worker
CU	Credit Union
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DDC	District Development Committee
DET	District Extension Team
DO	District Officer
DOD	District Officer-Development
DRP	Drought Relief Program
DTRP	Department of Town and Regional Planning
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
EEC	European Economic Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
FC	Farmers Committee
FG	Fencing Group
FU	Fisheries Unit (Ministry of Agriculture)
FWE	Family Welfare Educator

GDO	Group Development Officer
GEO	Game Extension Officer
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
IFP	Institutional Food Program
JC	Junior Certificate
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MP	Member of Parliament
NDB	National Development Bank
NIR	National Institute of Research
PTA	Parent-Teachers Association
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADA	Remote Area Development Assistant
RADO	Remote Area Development Officer
RADP	Remote Area Development Program
RHT	Regional Health Team
RIIC	Rural Industrial Innovations Center
RIO	Rural Industrial Officer
RMO	Regional Medical Officer
SRADO	Senior Remote Area Development Officer
S&CD	Social Welfare and Community Development (Division)
SWC	Social Welfare Committee
SLB	Subordinate Land Board
SDET	Subdistrict Extension Team
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Lands Policy
VA	Veterinary Assistant
VDC	Village Development Committee
VET	Village Extension Team
VHC	Village Health Committee

List of Tables

Table 1	1981 CFDA Village Populations	7
Table 2	Wards and Families by Ethnic Group (Mopipi-Xhumo)	15
Table 3	Xhumo VDC's Project Priorities	39
Table 4	Kedia Settlements: Inventory, Water Sources, and Population	81
Table 5	Kedia Village: Ethnic Composition and Population	82
Table 6	Kedia Village: Cattle and Land Distribution by Ethnic Group, Families, and Population	83
Table 7	Kedia: Percent of Total Population Owning Land and Cattle by Ethnic Group	83

List of Maps

Map 1	Proposed Communal First Development Areas, Central District	2
Map 2	Republic of Botswana: Central and Boteti Districts	4
Map 3	Mopipi CFDA	6
Map 4	Jibwi Drift-Fence Survey	27
Map 5	Machana Fence Survey	45
Map 6	Morula Fence Survey	48
Map 7	Controlled Hunting Areas, Central District	67
Map 8	Kedia Settlement	80
Map 9	Waterworks in Mopipi Swamps	101

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Summary of Recommendations

**A. Fundamental Directions: Traditional Structure (2.3)<sup>+</sup>**

1. Development efforts ought to be designed in such a way as to minimize as much as possible ethnic, cultural, and social differences currently hindering regional development.
2. Conversely, development efforts ought to emphasize that the participation and contribution of all ethnic and cultural groups living in the CFDA are necessary to achieve integration in the Development Area, and that each group has equal responsibility to make it a success.
3. Development efforts ought to concentrate primarily on projects (programs) that promote widespread interaction, group work, and cooperative activities among residents in order to improve management skills and to promote effective leadership.
4. Development efforts ought to be carefully selected so as to respond to specific regional needs that may not necessarily be identical to others in other parts of Central District. Thus, a district program, however good it may be, may not automatically be suited for the CFDA.

**B. Local Institutions (Chapter 8)**

Given the small proportion of the district population (1.7 percent) that the CFDA represents, the shortage and quality of staff (5.3), and the low managerial potential of local institutions in the current CFDA considered, it is recommended that:

- \*5. Letlhakane be included in the CFDA and become the major service center for both the CFDA and the subdistrict.
- \*6. A second CFDA be planned, if desired, for the northern Boteti subdistrict served by Rakops.
- \*7. Work with peripheral, disfunctional, and nonoperational institutions be temporarily ended, and the integrated effort of both district and field staff concentrate only on those few institutions/groups, identified by careful community needs assessment, that are, first, highly valued by and functional to local residents, and, second, offer the best potential for simultaneous development of group skills and group management (e.g., fishing groups, some FGs, semi-cooperatives or cooperatives, etc.).

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<sup>+</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to the sections/chapters in the report.

Asterisk (\*) indicates the recommendations rejected or amended by the CFDA Work Group (16 Feb. 1983). See note on page xxxiii.

20. The current ACDO's extension area be subdivided into two areas with another ACDO appointed for Xhumo and Toromoja.

**E. Roles of Extension Teams**

**Sub-DET (8.3.4.1)**

21. The Letlhakane sub-DET become the main extension coordinating body in the CFDA and Boteti subdistrict.

The role of the Sub-DET should be to:

22. Establish strong and effective VETs in respective communities of the CFDA and subdistrict and work closely with each of them.
23. Design extension training programs with the VETs to meet their needs and objectives.
24. Identify with VETs group projects tailored to meet community needs.
25. Analyze, revise, and provide input into VETs' plans.
26. Provide ongoing training, guidance, and supervision to respective VET programs.
27. Periodically assess progress and constraints of VETs and take the necessary measures to remedy them.

**VETs (8.3.4.2)**

VETs' main role is to:

28. Assess together the basic needs and problems of the community.
29. Identify appropriate group projects to meet community objectives.
- \*30. Design a team plan of action and have it discussed with sub-DET.
- \*31. Amend the plan in accordance with the sub-DET's recommendations.
32. Consult with the community about the revised plan.
33. Encourage, provide guidance and support for implementation.

**DET (8.3.4.3)**

DET's major roles are to:

34. Encourage the formation and training of an effective sub-DET in Letlhakane (CFDA priority).
35. Provide necessary information, guidance, resources, and support to the sub-DET's efforts.

C. CFDA Strategy (8.3)

Central District development efforts in Mopipi CFDA ought to tend toward five fundamental objectives (8.3.2):

8. a. Promote widespread group action and community interaction.
9. b. Reduce ethnic tensions and minimize leadership problems.
10. c. Initiate and strengthen group management and group organizational skills.
11. d. Create functional institutions.
12. e. Adopt an integrated approach to implementation.

D. Preconditions Recommended

At District Level (8.3.3)

13. The agricultural boundaries of Central and Ngamiland Regions be made to coincide with their respective district boundaries.
14. The DET (Serowe) be itself a team and operate as a team.

At Subdistrict Level (8.3.3)

15. The agricultural boundaries be altered and made to coincide with the Boteti subdistrict boundaries.
16. A DAO Office be opened as soon as possible in Letlhakane to coordinate agricultural activities and monitor agricultural extension in the Boteti subdistrict.
17. The Community Public Health Nurse (CHN), currently in Rakops, and the RMO for Boteti Medical Region be based with his/her Regional Health Team in Letlhakane, so as to form a coherent sub-DET with Senior Sister, CDO, ACS, RADA, Education Secretary, and SLB Officers already operating out of Letlhakane.
18. The DO's Office be integrated into the subdistrict administration in Letlhakane instead of Orapa where, currently, anybody who wishes to consult the DO has first to request an entry permit from Orapa Mines administration.

At Community Level (8.3.3)

19. The selection and appointment of extension staff be carefully reconsidered. CFDA extension workers (ADs and ACDOs in particular) need to be experienced and as proficient as possible in community work, communications, and group skills and adult education techniques.

36. Supervise the monitoring of the sub-DETs.
- 37.. Assess the performance and constraints and take the necessary measures to remedy problems.

**F. Means to Perform Roles**

In order to perform those roles, it is recommended that:

**DETs, Sub-DETs, and VETs (8.3.5.1)**

38. Operate as teams.
39. Take or organize the training necessary for becoming effective teams and performing their respective duties.
40. Seek advice and help from IAE and ARU for designing appropriate training workshops or seminars.
41. Consult and use A Handbook for Facilitators / Bukana Ya Baeteledi-pele Ba Dithopa Tsotlhe extension manual (or other pertinent guidelines) to design training and group process activities.
42. Be well informed about CFDA objectives and priorities.

**Sub-DETs and VETs (8.3.5.2)**

43. Be adequately briefed on consultation, needs assessment, and planning techniques.
44. Include Game Scouts in the training.
45. Get regular meeting schedules for reporting and consulting with each other.
46. Primarily concentrate on a few groups/institutions, i.e., those that are most functional to the community and offer best potential for group development.
47. Concentrate on a few specific projects, highly valued by residents, which can generate rapid benefits.
48. In those groups and projects, focus on group management and group organizational skills.
49. In conjunction with the Department of Nonformal Education, design relevant leadership training programs and other community experiences based on popular theater and other appropriate adult education techniques.

**VETs (8.3.5.3)**

50. Design team plans of action in each community and submit and discuss them with the Sub-DET prior to implementation.

- \*51. Draft specific terms of reference for both the VET and each extension worker in the community relating to the team's plan and desired objectives.
- 52. Screen introduction of all innovations, organizations, associations, or movements in their community. Those innovations that do not directly contribute to the VET's plan or come at the wrong time be abandoned.
- \*53. Be systematically informed by SLBs, and keep records of all land allocations in order to discourage illegal allocation of land.

DET (8.3.5.4)

- 54. Provide general guidance, supervision, and effective solutions to problems arising at lower levels.
- 55. Keep up-to-date information and facilitate access to training material, resource people, financial assistance, and other support available for lower levels, as necessary.
- 56. Set and keep regular meeting schedules for reporting and consulting with the Sub-DET.

Coordinator (8.3.6)

- 57. A coordinator be appointed to coordinate the CFDA program.
- 58. That he/she be well trained in adult education and nonformal education methods, group processes, participatory techniques, needs assessment, and project planning, and be familiar with grassroots cooperatives and related community development.
- 59. His/her basic role be to:
  - Assist the formation of extension teams at the three levels as necessary.
  - Provide guidance, organizational support, and adequate training input at various team levels.
  - Maintain project identification and implementation consistent with desired objectives.
  - Encourage information flow, consultation, reports, and supervision between various team levels.

G. Wildlife (6.4)

- 60. That, in order to avoid all possible confusion, a clear outline be traced along the southern boundary of Makgadikgadi Game Reserve.

61. That the Wildlife Education Unit in conjunction with the wildlife staff from Rakops/Serowe and the RADOs initiate appropriate information campaigns on usage, content, and coverage of game licenses and protected game species.
62. That the same staff initiate, at least in the CFDA, ongoing training programs underlining clear reasons for wildlife conservation and hunting restrictions, importance and potential of wildlife, role and responsibility of Game Scouts, etc.
63. That wildlife staff (Rakops) be integrated in VET and Sub-DET training (8.3.5.2).
64. That the Department of Nonformal Education Serowe/Gaborone, IAE, ARU, as well as the CFDA Coordinator be consulted on design and methods to be used for such training.
65. That concerned VETs be equally informed and participate in the actual training.

H. Community Service Workers: Tirelo Sechaba (9.5.9)

It is recommended that CSWs posted in remote areas:

66. Receive immersion training in basic objectives, purpose, and running of local institutions before being "dropped" in remote postings.
67. Provision be made by the Tirelo Sechaba program to include participants in local RADO programs, be able to utilize their education and skills (e.g., basic surveys, problem identification, needs assessment, and other community analyses).
68. Guidance and supervision mechanisms be seriously scrutinized and the necessary improvements be made.

I. Project Recommendations

Mopipi Credit Union (Pilot) (10.1)

69. That DET, Sub-DET, and VET give high priority to the project and be adequately briefed or trained at their respective levels on basic credit union principles, objectives, and operations.
70. That DET contact relevant agencies and gather documentation and training material available, e.g., Department of Cooperatives, credit unions and savings associations in other countries.
71. That DET and Sub-DET work in close collaboration with the Department of Cooperatives and seek from them guidance, assistance, and support.
72. That the CFDA Coordinator work intensively with the VET and the Study Group and provide training at various levels as necessary.

73. That enough time be devoted to the study period so that a strong founder group can be adequately trained.
74. That, at the time of the training period, general information campaigns, with use of appropriate media, be organized by the founder group and the VET, under the supervision of the CFDA Coordinator, in the community at large.

Kedia Game Harvesting Project (10.2)

75. That the Game Extension Officer (GEO) be experienced in extension work and be familiar and sympathetic to the remote area problems of Central District.
76. That at least equal efforts be devoted to group management and skills as to production.
- \*77. That the GEO give high priority to the formation and training of Sarwa groups.
78. That training be organized and coordinated in close collaboration with the DWNP's Education Unit and District Wildlife Offices concerned.
79. That the project, if implemented, be given adequate support and commitment from Council authorities and respective extension teams.
80. That the Council authorities facilitate both the purchase and the licensing of rifles for RADs, a requirement for project implementation.
81. That, in order to save time, accepted registration be processed both at the DC's office and at the Arms Registry simultaneously as group project application, instead of individually.
82. That the DWNP reconsider the number of "Special Game Licenses" to be issued in the Serowe area according to need, population, and relevance of the project underlined in this report. (Only 44 were issued by the Serowe Office in 1981, and 48 in 1982.)
- \*83. That the necessary arrangements be made between the Veterinary Department and the DWNP so as to allow the project members to make use of dead animal skins in the CFDA.<sup>+</sup>

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<sup>+</sup> Hundreds of wildebeests in particular regularly die exhausted around Lake Xau during the dry season before reaching water. Under current regulations no one is allowed to make use of dead animals either because of disease control or because those animals were not shot under license. As a result, considerable valuable wildlife "raw material" is wasted.

84. That the "Game Groups" accommodate license-purchasing nonhunters (e.g., women, the elderly, and the infirm) on behalf of whom game can be shot.

#### J. Related Research Proposals

85. That a "Fish Stock Assessment" be conducted in Mopipi Dam (11.1).
86. That a fish-and-game produce marketing study for the CFDA be conducted (11.2).
87. That land-use and attitude surveys be conducted in Mopipi, Chikwe, and Lake Xau lands areas (11.3).
- a. The extent of flooding be systematically plotted in the CFDA, and more particularly in Chikwe, Xau, and the Forebay lands, and the amount of water and time of floods be clearly established (11.3.6).
  - b. Agricultural surveys be conducted in most suitable areas (as determined in a.) in order to establish the acreage, production per hectare, farming practices, and related problems (11.3.6).
  - c. Surveys of attitudes toward management of local resources be simultaneously conducted in the farming communities of the CFDA (11.3.6).

**Note:** The above recommendations (except 87) were discussed by the CFDA Working Group on 16 February 1983. Those marked with an asterisk were either rejected, amended, or debated.

#### Rejected Recommendations

Rec 5-6: These were rejected for three reasons.

- Since each of the five subdistricts has a planned CFDA of its own, the Working Group felt that population criteria ought to be considered from a subdistrict rather than a central district perspective. The CFDA represents 27 percent of the subdistrict population, which was felt to be an adequate coverage to justify subdistrict/district support and not too ambitious for staff requirements.
- It was felt that the Letlhakane staff did not have to be geographically included in the CFDA because, being in charge of the overall administration of the subdistrict, they had equal responsibility toward the other communities of the subdistrict. It was felt, however, that the Letlhakane staff had to give priority to the CFDA.
- A secondary CFDA served from Rakops was felt (a) too ambitious, and (b) politically unacceptable vis-à-vis the other subdistricts. If a second CFDA is to be initiated, it has to be in a different subdistrict.

Rec 51: The rejection of this recommendation relates to the lack of integration of the overall extension efforts at the center. A majority of the participants felt that the extension workers had to, first, be kept accountable to their respective departments and ministries, and, only then, see what could possibly be achieved in common. The expression itself, "terms of reference," sounded rather threatening to some participants.

Rec 84: This recommendation was rejected because it was found extremely difficult to identify a simple and effective mechanism ensuring that dead animal skins actually are not the result of poaching.

#### Amended Recommendations

Rec 7: This recommendation was almost felt discriminatory against local institutions and a majority of the participants emphasized the support all institutions ought to receive instead of discarding them. "Integrated efforts of both field and district staff concentrated on those institutions" was suggested instead. The participants, however, reckoned that VDCs and VETs are the two institutions that should receive attention first.

Some district and Council officers strongly felt the need to "appoint" VDCs in order to have as soon as possible one village institution responsible for handling Council services at the local level. The viability of the VDCs and the management requirements these committees actually need to perform this very role were felt much less urgent.

Rec 30-31: Instead of having two successive steps, it was felt that both the sub-DET and the VETs should collaborate to make the team plan. The word "amend" appeared to confer too much top-down authority to the sub-DET and was suggested to be "taken off."

Rec 77: Although it was agreed that priority ought to be given to the settlements, it was strongly emphasized that ethnic distinction should be avoided since all Kedia residents equally are Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) and all permanent residents of Botswana are Batswana. It was therefore suggested that the word "Sarwa" be deleted.

#### Debated Recommendation

Rec 53: Consensus was not reached on this recommendation. Some felt that extension workers might be requested to witness in court in cases of land conflicts and this could cause prejudice to their work and reputation. The agricultural staff, on the other hand, felt that land allocation records could facilitate local planning by the VETs and help the ADs give more pertinent advice to farmers, more particularly so since SLR records often are not kept or are not easily accessible.

The Working Group presented the report with their observations, recommendations, and amendments to the District Development Committee on 1 March 1983, and these were endorsed without much discussion by the DDC. It was resolved to recruit a CFDA Coordinator.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Selection of a Communal First Development Area (CFDA) in Central District

1.1.1 The CFDA concept was first presented by the District Officer of Development (DOD) to the District Financial Committee, a subcommittee of Central District Council (CDC), in mid-1981.

1.1.2 At first, the CFDA concept was received with mixed feelings, if not skepticism, primarily because the idea and the name itself were associated to the Tribal Grazing Lands Policy's (TGLP) First Development Area Program which had not proved very successful. Further, because of the size and the great variety of ecological conditions and development potential of various areas in Central District, Council found it quite difficult to select a CFDA for the district as a whole. Finally, the differing importance which the members placed on the various selection criteria used prevented general consensus on one specific CFDA.

1.1.3 After lengthy discussions, it was resolved to make a thorough inventory of major service centers in the district and the areas that could be served from each center. General criteria used to identify service centers were: population, community infrastructure, presence of VDCs and self-help projects, and livestock/arable potential in the area. Thus, each service center with its adjacent rural area became a potential CFDA. In collaboration with the Department of Town and Regional Planning (DTRP) of Francistown, a map was produced, and later revised, presenting the district inventory of potential CFDA's (map 1, following page).

1.1.4 Yet again, no consensus could be reached on any proposed area for very much the same reasons as before. It was then decided to let each of the five subdistricts recommend an area of their own choice in their constituency, resulting in five CFDA's for the whole district (map 1). That proposal was submitted to Central District Council on 26 March, 1982 with the recommendation of the CFDA Working Group and the District Development Committee (DDC) to select Lerala as the first CFDA. Lerala was felt to offer the best potential for success because of its proximity and easy access from Serowe, its high rural industrial potential, and the good performance of its Farmers Committee (FC) and Village Development Committee (VDC). Central District Council, however, opted for Mopipi, the CFDA recommended by Boteti Subdistrict, because of its remoteness and long-standing neglect in comparison to other areas in the district.

1.1.5 Mopipi CFDA includes three communities: Mopipi, Xhumo, and Kedia (map 3, p. 6). In Mopipi and Xhumo, which are both relatively well established villages, a number of local institutions have been operating for some time. Kedia, in contrast, is not yet a gazetted village, but an area recently identified by Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs), south of Lake Xau (map 3 and map 7, p. 67, where CDC is currently establishing a new settlement for Remote Area Dwellers--RADs). Thus, in Kedia local institutions still are at

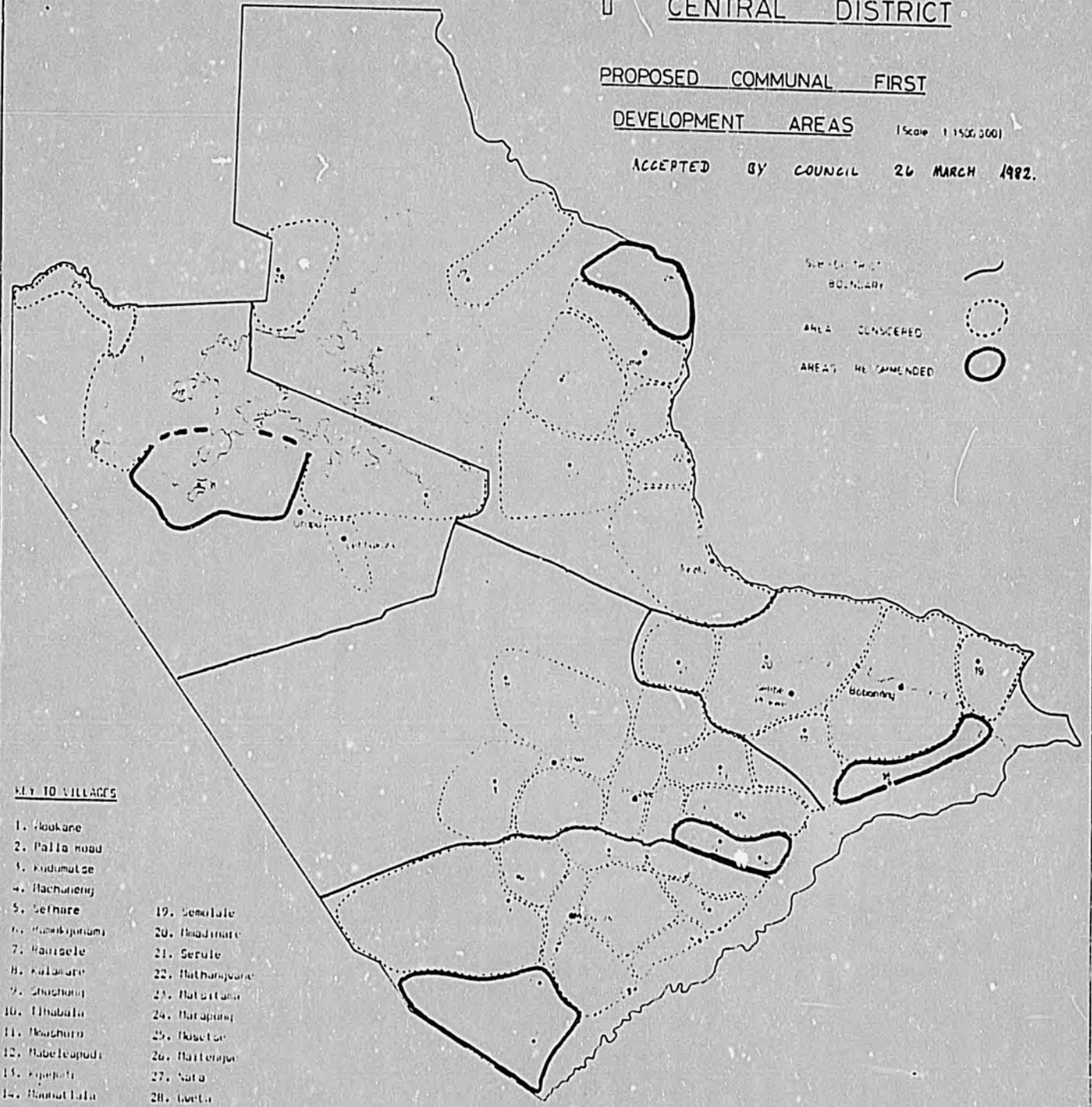
**Map 1**

↑ CENTRAL DISTRICT

PROPOSED COMMUNAL FIRST  
DEVELOPMENT AREAS (Scale 1:150,000)

ACCEPTED BY COUNCIL 26 MARCH 1982.

SUGGESTED  
BOUNDARY   
 AREA CONSIDERED   
 AREA RECOMMENDED 



KEY TO VILLAGES

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Hookare      | 19. Semolale    |
| 2. Palla road   | 20. Madimare    |
| 3. Kudumutse    | 21. Serule      |
| 4. Hachuneng    | 22. Bathangwane |
| 5. Sefhare      | 23. Natatlana   |
| 6. Makigomani   | 24. Harapure    |
| 7. Raursele     | 25. Kasetse     |
| 8. Kalanate     | 26. Hartenpe    |
| 9. Shoshong     | 27. Nana        |
| 10. Tlhubala    | 28. Gweta       |
| 11. Moshoro     | 29. Muremouto   |
| 12. Mabeleapodi | 30. Lerengane   |
| 13. Kapelet     | 31. Boputa      |
| 14. Ramatlala   | 32. Baga        |
| 15. Letala      |                 |
| 16. Mamofo      |                 |
| 17. Sethlope    |                 |
| 18. Tsebetseje  |                 |

their very early stage and most local development problems identified directly relate to the creation of the new settlement. For this reason, the information pertaining to Kedia is presented as a separate unit integrated in the overall report (chapter 9).

### 1.2 Scope and Objectives of the Research

1. Identification of all traditional and modern institutions in the three communities of the CFDA.
2. Analysis of the potential of and constraints on the institutions identified.
3. Recommendation of strategies for strengthening local institutions.
4. Recommendation of possible means of enhancing production employment in the CFDA.

### 1.3 Note on Research Methodology

Four University of Botswana students were involved in the research from mid-June to the end of August 1982. One student was posted in each of the three CFDA communities for two-and-a-half months, and later, two in Mopipi. The research methodology combined individual interviews with community leaders, group interviews with key institution committees, informal conversations, and a great deal of participant observation (e.g., taking part in fencing group, fishing, and hunting activities; attending all kgotla and committee meetings; and partaking in other community events). No sample survey was undertaken, but students were provided with basic research guidelines for their information gathering. These guidelines, provided in appendix 1, were drafted by the ARU researcher in collaboration with the CFDA Working Group (Serowe) and thoroughly discussed with the students before going to the field and again in the field itself. In addition, institutions and meeting summary sheets were distributed to help summarize the information gathered in a more consistent and systematic fashion. The time period (two-and-a-half months) allowed each student to integrate fairly well into the community, and they soon established good relationships and a reasonably reliable information network among local residents. Participation in group work and community activities significantly contributed to breaking down communication barriers, allowing frank talks with most participants. In Kedia integration in the community was reached to a lesser extent, since the student posted in that area also worked for half the fieldwork period in Serowe Council, investigating the Kedia settlement project from Council's perspective and available records. There the helpful collaboration of the Sarwa leaders and the marked enthusiasm of a young bilingual Mosarwa from Kedia greatly facilitated our introduction to the neighboring Sarwa settlements. Finally, the permanent presence of the ARU researcher in the field enabled him to systematically discuss with the students the data and problems or issues, as they arose, and to make necessary adjustments.

### 1.4 General Description and Population Characteristics

1.4.1 Boteti Subdistrict. The Boteti Subdistrict is the farthest western area of Central District adjacent to the Central Kalahari Desert and is



bordered by the Makgadikgadi Game Reserve in the north and the Makgadikgadi pans in the northeast (map 2). The northern half of the subdistrict is divided by the Boteti River which is a seasonal overflow of the Okavango Delta, strongly dependent on the Okavango hydrology and its catchment area in the highlands of Angola.<sup>1</sup>

The Boteti Subdistrict has a total area of 35,600 sq km (DOD's estimate, 1981), representing 24 percent of the total Central District area. According to the preliminary figures of the 1981 National Census, the subdistrict has a population of 27,231 inhabitants, representing a population density of 0.8/sq km, and has a total of 5,681 dwellings and 4,024 occupied dwellings. Veterinary crush figures for 1981 indicate a total number of 125,170 head of cattle, currently estimated at 126,420 head,\* a stocking rate of 28.2 ha per head.

**1.4.2 Mopipi CFDA.** Mopipi CFDA is situated immediately west of the Orapa Diamond Mine fences and includes Mopipi village as the geographic center of the CFDA, Xhumo village in the west, Kedia settlement (south of Lake Xau), and all the cattleposts scattered north of the villages toward the Makgadikgadi Game Reserve and the pans (see map 3). The CFDA has an area of 3,536 sq km (DOD's estimate, 1981), representing 10 percent of the subdistrict area and 2.4 percent of the total area of Central District.

According to the National Census preliminary figures, CFDA has a total population of 7,363 inhabitants distributed by village as indicated by table 1. The figures represent 27 percent of the total population of the subdistrict, a density of 2 inhabitants/sq km and, according to the DOD's estimate in 1981, 1.7 percent of the total population of Central District. The National Census further identified a total 1,519 dwellings and 988 occupied dwellings in the CFDA.

### 1.5 Land Utilization and Resources Characteristics

The predominant resources of the CFDA relate to land, i.e., grazing, mo-lapo/dryland farming, hunting, local gravel extraction, and to fishing both in the Mopipi Dam and in the Boteti river system.

**1.5.1 Grazing.** Grazing is primarily concentrated around the major villages and in the numerous cattleposts north and south of the Orapa-Rakops road. J. Breyer observed that, because of serious range deterioration and conflicts with arable farming, an increasing number of farmers are forced to move west into previously ungrazed areas, more particularly toward and beyond the Gidikwe Ridge.<sup>2</sup> According to veterinary crush figures, the livestock for the CFDA

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1. J.I.E. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Boteti Region, Central District, Republic of Botswana, vol. 1 (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Science, University of Botswana, 1983), p. 28.

\* The total of five veterinary area figures available out of seven for 1982 indicate a herd increase of 1 percent in those areas combined, thus bringing the total current estimate to 126,420 head.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.



TABLE 1  
1981 CFDA Village Populations

VILLAGE	VILLAGE POPULATION	VILLAGE AND ASSO- CIATED AREAS	NUMBER EMPLOYED IN ORAPA FROM VILLAGE AND ASSOCIATED AREAS <sup>a</sup>
Mopipi	1,540	4,699	45 (1.0%)
Xhumo	903	1,984	31 (1.6%)
Kedia	393 <sup>b</sup>	680	0 ( - )

SOURCE: Central Statistics Office, 1981 Population Census: Draft Guide to the Villages of Botswana (Gaborone: Government Printer, 1982).

<sup>a</sup> From Personnel Superintendent/Orapa, computer data (March 1983).

<sup>b</sup> Includes Xwatshwa. Census figures show 32 for Kedia and 361 for Xwatshwa. Our census indicates 440 for Kedia and 63 for Xwatshwa (see table 4, p. 81). It appears that Kedia residents were enumerated under Xwatshwa by the Census.

amounted to 45,515 head of cattle for 1982, representing 35 percent of the sub-district herd and with a stocking rate of 7.8 ha/head.

1.5.2 Molapo Farming. Molapo (Setswana word meaning river) is commonly used in the Boteti and northwestern areas to describe land which is flooded by the annual rise in the water level of the Okavango-Boteti river system. Floods occur during the middle of the dry winter season (May/June) and recede as the first rains of the next rainy season start to fall (November).<sup>3</sup> Molapo farming essentially consists of controlling the flooding level by constructing "bunds" across the mouths of the molapo areas where floodwaters enter from the river, so that rise in water levels is delayed until after harvest. The floods will then still occur through ground seepage, but will be lower than without a bund.

Breyer's observations (1978 and 1982), during periods of high floods, indicate that the water can back up from Mopipi to Gwi and flooding of molapos

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3. A.B.J. Willett, Agricultural Group Development in Botswana, vol. 3, (Gaborone: Agricultural Management Associations, Ministry of Agriculture, 1981), pp. 41-45.

is experienced as far as Xodio.\*<sup>4</sup> Floods leave behind a rich, heavy soil full of plant material and moisture which allows planting well in advance of the main rains. Yields obtained in Xhumo were reported to be between 12 and 13 bags of maize (50 kg) for a plot of approximately 1 ha. The sizes of molapo fields range from less than 5 to 30 ha, and the total area under molapo farming between Rakops and Mopipi was estimated to be 1,850 ha.<sup>5</sup>

Molapo farming thus is directly conditioned by the amount of water overflowing from the Boteti riverbanks and, in the CFDA and the lower Boteti in general, has also been considerably affected by the extensive waterworks undertaken in the Mopipi swamps in 1970/71 to provide the Orapa Diamond Mine with water. Some of these problems are presented below in more detail (see ch 11.3). Finally, the exceptionally high floods of 1978 destroyed a large number of traditional bunds, most of which were not rebuilt. According to Willett, the major reason for not rebuilding them has been the general breakdown of economic activities in those areas influenced by the recruitment of mine labor, tourism, hunting, and drought-relief programs.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, as long as flooding conditions are satisfactory, there exists considerable potential not only for group and community-wide action, land-use planning, and subsequent management of the molapo areas, but also, in the long term, for arable farming in the CFDA and in the overall Boteti river system. The combination of seasonal floods and rainfall with fertile soils along the river margin also offers appreciable potential for horticulture with low-cost irrigation.

**1.5.3 Dryland Farming.** In Mopipi, dryland farming is concentrated 12 km southeast of the village at Machana and at Morula, immediately south of Mopipi Dam. These lands areas are being fenced by two fencing groups (see details below, map 5, p. 45, and map 6, p. 48). In Xhumo, some lands areas are situated south of the main road going to Rakops, within walking distance of the village to the northwest and southeast. Other dryland areas extend from molapo fields north and south of the river. The whole area extending from Jibwi lands (south of Gwi pan) to Gcanamukwe pan, is currently being fenced by four successive drift fences separated by livestock corridors to the river (see map 4, p. 27). This fencing project includes both dryland fields of Jibwi lands (section 1, map 4) and the floodplains south and southwest of Gcanamukwe pan (sections 3 and 4, map 4). The same phenomenon is observed in Ruthuwe lands, south of the river, opposite Jibwi lands. The proposed fence (map 4) will include dryland fields in the western part and floodplains in

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\* For a detailed description of hydrology, extent of and flooding patterns of the lower Boteti River, as well as the geology and geomorphology of the area, consult J.I.E. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Boteti Region, Central District, Republic of Botswana, vol. 1 (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Science, University of Botswana, 1983), p. 23.

4. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Region, p. 29.

5. Ibid., p. 7.

6. Willett, Agricultural Group Development, vol. 3, p. 45.

the eastern part of the project. In Kedia, lands areas are located in Mogotho, along the western bank of the Xau Delta (see map 8, p. 80) and are dryland fields.

The size of dryland fields ranges between 1 and 40 ha. The total area under dryland farming for the lower Boteti region (from Rakops to Mopipi) was estimated from aerial photography to be 640 ha.<sup>7</sup> Crop mixtures (millet, maize, pumpkins, sweet reeds, melons, beans) are planted in both dryland and molapo fields. However, Xhumo farmers reported that, because of severe bird damage to millet in the molapo, maize is predominantly cultivated there.

**1.5.4 Wildlife.** Mopipi CFDA, situated in "Safari Company Concessions" area (see map 7, p. 67), has considerable potential for game harvesting. Good hunting locations are said to be: the Machana area (east of Mopipi); the areas northeast of Gwi pan and west from the Gidikwe Ridge;<sup>8</sup> the areas south-east of Xhorodomo pan and Lake Xau; and the areas adjacent to the Makgadikgadi pans and game reserve. Common species in the area include: important herds of wildebeests, ostriches, a variety of small game, and zebra in the northern part of area 10 (map 7).<sup>9</sup> Many RADs depend on subsistence hunting and many other citizens obtain part of their income from supplementary hunting.<sup>10</sup>

**1.5.5 Gravel Extraction.** A number of large and small gravel pits have been recorded in the CFDA which provide basic material for local infrastructure and the building industry. This gravel, extracted on a large scale, is utilized to build the new road between Mopipi and Rakops. One pit was identified along the northern side of the dam (east of Mopipi village), one close to the eastern pump house, two others between Gwi and Gcanamukwe pans, and another between Xhumo and the river.<sup>11</sup>

**1.5.6 Fishing.** Fish in the Boteti river system, and Mopipi Dam in particular, are a significant resource of the CFDA.

Mopipi Dam, with a water surface of 21 sq km, is generally maintained at between 75 percent and 92 percent capacity, provided that there is sufficient water in the Boteti River. Assuming that the volume of the dam remains above

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7. J.I.E. Breyer, "Notes on Preliminary Land Use Map of the Lower Boteti Region, Central District," mimeo. (Gaborone: Department of Environmental Science, University of Botswana, 1982).

8. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Region, p. 8.

9. Ibid., p. 12.

10. J. Carter, "Wildlife Management Areas: Definition, Function and Management," Draft Report Outline (Gaborone: Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, n.d.), p. 2.

11. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Region, p. 8; and Breyer, "Notes on Land Use Map," p. 6.

75 percent, a potential harvest of 31 tons of whole fish per year can be expected. The composition of these 31 tons is as follows--sardines, 18 tons; bream species, 4 tons; barbel species, 8 tons; other species, 1 ton--if using 1" gill nets and throw nets for sardines, 4" and 5" gill nets for barbel and bream, and "jigging" for barbel.<sup>12</sup>

Although no new figures exist for Lake Xau and the Boteti river system, in a survey by Maar (1963-64), the high productivity of the two waters was recognized. An annual yield of 100 tons of bream and barbel are estimated as minimal figures, depending on the size of Lake Xau.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. The Traditional Structure

### 2.1 Ethnic Composition and Historical Background

This preliminary inquiry in the social environment of Mopipi CFDA reveals that the area is complex in terms of both its history and its ethnic composition. Ten distinct ethnic groups were identified as follows.

2.1.1 The Basarwa. The Basarwa, commonly called "Bushmen," were the first people to occupy the central Kalahari, the sandveld region and virtually every part of Central District. Khoisan in origin,<sup>14</sup> the Basarwa bordering the southern CFDA boundary identify themselves as Xanakhwee ("people of Xana") as opposed to Xgwickhwee ("people of the bush," Ghanzi area). The Basarwa were egalitarian hunter-gatherers, but many of them were gradually made into serfs (malata) by prominent cattle owners in neighboring cattle-posts.

2.1.2 The Bateti. The Bateti could say little about their origin but most of them deny having any Bushman ties. Bateti appear to be Hottentot in origin and to have occupied southern African land more than 1,000 years ago, before any Tswana migration occurred. The Hottentots, akin to Bushmen, abandoned at some stage their hunting-gathering mode of subsistence to raise sheep and goats and gradually became pastoralists.

Pressed to move north by the Dutch expansion of the 1700s and south by incursions of Namibian and Nguni tribes, the Hottentots fled in the desert and finally found their livelihood along rivers, and thus sometimes are referred to as Banoka or "River Bushmen." In addition to the Bateti, named after the Boteti River, the Banoka include Baqamikhwe (north of the Okavango Delta), the

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12. R.C. Pott, Fisheries Potential of Mopipi Dam, Report for Anglo American Botswana Services (Proprietary)/SA Forest Investment Group (Gaborone: Fisheries Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, 1981), pp. 2-5.

13. J. Rogers, "Project Appraisal Memorandum: Tswelelo Fele Fishing Group, Mopipi" (Gaborone: Fisheries Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, n.d.), p. 2.

14. R.K. Hitchcock, Kalahari Cattle-Posts (Gaborone: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1978), p. 106.

Bakakhwe (south and middle of the delta), and several smaller groups like the Bagumanii, who live throughout the delta area.<sup>15</sup>

Livingstone described them as "Bakalahari," as distinct from "Bushmen." He wrote:

Bakalahari are traditionally reported to be the oldest Bechuana tribe and they are said to have possessed enormous herds of large horned cattle until they were despoiled of them and driven into the desert by fresh migration of their own nation. . . . Ever since, those people lived with "Bushmen" on the same plains, subject to the same influences and subsisting on similar food. Yet, the Bakalahari retain in undying vigour the Bechuana love for agriculture and domestic animals.<sup>16</sup>

Livingstone also observed that Bakalahari were a "timid race" of small stature and generally attached themselves to influential men in other tribes in order to barter goods and other supplies against game skins.<sup>17</sup>

2.1.3 The Bakgalagadi. Little is known of the history of the Bakgalagadi in the Boteti area. According to Hitchcock,<sup>18</sup> the major Kgalagadi group in the western sandveld is a breakaway group Bakgwathheng, one of the four main Kgalagadi groups. The majority of those interviewed reported to have moved to the Boteti from Shoshong (northwest of Mahalapye), where--with Serowe and the Kgalagadi District--a number of their wards still exist.

2.1.4 The Bakhurutshe. The Bakhurutshe, who broke away from the Hurutshe, are one of the earliest Tswana groups to have occupied the western sandveld.<sup>19</sup> Bakhurutshe appear to have originated from Lehurutshe (South Africa) and settled in Shoshong in the early eighteenth century. Some moved then to Northeast District, others settled in Serowe, while still others occupied the Boteti<sup>20</sup> after settling in Shoshong in the 1840s.

It appears that fairly early the Bakhurutshe were assimilated by the Bangwato, adopted their totem (phuti), and still now consider themselves to belong to Maaloso-wa-Ngwana royal ward. These early Khurutshe intermarried with Bateti people already established along the Boteti riverbanks, and some

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15. T. Tlou, "The Peopling of the Okavango Delta," in Symposium on the Okavango Delta, August 30 to September 2, 1976 (Gaborone: Botswana Society, 1976), p. 49.

16. D. Livingstone, Journeys and Research in Southern Africa (London: John Murray, 1857), pp. 49-50.

17. Ibid., p. 50.

18. Hitchcock, Kalahari Cattle-Posts, p. 106.

19. Ibid., p. 105.

20. I. Schapera, "The Early History of the Khurutshe," Botswana Notes and Records, 2, 1969, pp. 1-13.

still associate more with Bateti than other ethnic groups. During the Ndebele wars, more Khurutshe people fled from Tonota to Gubaga (north of Mopipi) meeting other Kalanga on their retreat (Maditse ward, see below 2.1.6). One faction of this second Khurutshe group, led by Mogale, settled in Xodio (northwest of Xhumo); others, led by Tawana, found refuge in Mopipi; and a third group, led by Mokwale, occupied the Xhumo area.

This second Khurutshe group found Bayiei already established along the Boteti riverbanks, who assimilated them in their tribe. In the process, they abandoned their Ngwato totem (phuti) and adopted Masele, the Yei totem. Serious landownership conflicts apparently arose almost immediately between Bakhurutshe and Bateti. Because Bateti (and Basarwa) were hunter-gatherers and did not plow, the Bakhurutshe forced them out of their territory in order to occupy the land. In addition, the Bakhurutshe found support from Tshekedi Khama in their struggle for land because of their Ngwato status. In this conflict, however, the Bateti did not seem to have put up much resistance. Their reaction was, rather, to "wait and see" what the Bakhurutshe were going to do. Ever since, the Bateti are frequently nicknamed chaikagao (lit., "let's first stand and look"). Their lack of farming knowledge and their passive attitude reinforced Ngwato superiority in the area.

2.1.5 The Bayiei. Bayiei\* originated from what is now Zambia and moved southward toward the Okavango Delta and along the Boteti River. They are both fishermen and agriculturists, and some of them herd the cattle of other groups.<sup>21</sup> A number of them are still concentrated in Diyiei, Shorobe, and Shankoyo in the Maun area. Others are found in Rakops and Xhumo. Most of them have been assimilated by Bangwato tribes, i.e., Batawana in Maun and Bakhurutshe in Mopipi areas (see above, 2.1.4). More recently (1973) a group of six Yei families, at the suggestion of Mr. C. Cross of the Department of Fisheries in Maun, settled in Mopipi in order to help Mopipi residents initiate a fishing group in the village (see below, 4.1.1). These Bayiei have now become part of Sekeletu ward of Bakalanga.

2.1.6 The Bakalanga (Bakalaka). The Bakalanga represent the most important ethnic group in the CFDA area. They all originate from Matabeleland (Zimbabwe). Many fled westward to Northeast District, Tutume (Bokalaka), and the Boteti area during the Ndebele wars. Six successive waves of Bakalanga appear to have reached the lower Boteti region as follows. The first group, led by Malisa, seemingly fled from Wankie (Zimbabwe) in the early 1930s, meeting Chief Seosenyeng (Mokhurutshe) and his people on the way. The two groups first settled in Gubaga and later moved together to Mopipi. In the same period, another group, led by Ntewane, found refuge in Xhumo and remained there until 1941, when Tshekedi Khama moved them to Mmatshumo because of severe drought. This group, known in Mopipi as the "Nshaba group," returned to Mopipi in 1970. A third group, led by Sekeletu, fled from Wankie to Makuswe in the Bokalaka and later moved further west to Mopipi, under leadership of Thotobolo Mapambeu. The Sekeletu group joined the others already established in Mopipi.

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\* In some reports the Bayiei are referred to as Makoba; however, they consider this term pejorative.

21. Hitchcock, Kalahari Cattle-Posts, p. 107.

A fourth group, led by Nkoshu, fled from Zimbabwe and occupied Phatswe-nyane (northeast of Mopipi) until 1941 when Tshekedi Khama moved them to Letlhakane. In the 1970s they returned to Mopipi and formed the Tamocha ward. A fifth group, known as the Letsibogo family (ward), initially joined the Khurutshe group--adopting Khurutshe names--and settled in Xanamokwe, in Teti lands, northwest of Mopipi. In 1969, G. Loeto, headman of Letsibogo ward, moved to Mopipi after being granted permission by Chief Sekeletu (local Tribal Authority) to open a business. The following year, Phoromathe, his older brother, joined him in Mopipi. The last group, known as the "Shaka Kopo group," came to Mopipi in 1971 from Rakops in order to seek employment in the Orapa mines. Finally, a number of families who arrived after 1971 have not been integrated into any ward, but are themselves called "wards."

**2.1.7 The Herero (Mathama).** This Bantu-speaking group of pastoralists originated from Kahanya (Namibia) and fled the German occupation in the 1900s. This group of Herero has to be distinguished from the "Mabanderu" in Toromoja who are commonly called Herero. Those Mabanderu also came from Namibia but appear to belong to a different Herero group not related to those in Mopipi.

The Mopipi Hereros joined their Chief Samuel Maherero who fled to Botswana after being defeated in Waterburg in 1904. Arriving in Maun, they heard of a Paramount Chief Khama in Serowe. Chief Samuel sent messengers to inform Chief Khama of their flight and beg him to grant them shelter in his country. In the meantime, some settled in Maun under the leadership of Kathodiga Kadjii, father of current Kaikunama leader in Makakung (Ngamiland). Others settled in Mopipi, Mosolotsane, and Kedia without a leader. Upon arriving in Serowe, Chief Samuel was received by Chief Khama and was given permission to settle in the Mahalapye area. From Serowe Chief Samuel then returned to Mopipi to see Chief Lenthuma of Bakhurutshe and ask him to administer the Mopipi Hereros on his behalf. Fundamentally pastoralists, the Herero appear to have preferred associating with the Khurutshe who had at that time more cattle than Bateti and Bakalanga. Thus, the Boteti Herero first started herding Khurutshe cattle and using ma-fisa animals for their own subsistence.

As time went on and the old Khurutshe "masters" died, the Herero people managed to trek some of the remaining cattle from their homeland to Botswana and recover some of their family patrimony. In addition, some of their children found employment in South African mines, thus contributing to building up new herds. With their cattle recovered, the Herero gradually seceded from the Bakhurutshe and recovered their autonomy.

Once they had become cattle owners, Khama raised taxes on livestock among the Herero population. Tax collectors, however, found it quite difficult to collect taxes because the Herero farmers were scattered all over the countryside. This complaint reached Chief Samuel in Mahalapye, who immediately mandated Asa Kadjii to regroup the Boteti Herero and become their leader. This regrouping took place in 1939 in Phorokwe (north of Lake Xau), and Asa led the Herero group until his death in 1957. Asera, his son and successor, found himself too busy with his cattle and delegated leadership to his uncle, Sakareya Kedi, who held office until his death in 1970. Wire Sakareya, his son, succeeded him and currently is in office.

In 1955, the Phorokwe settlement scattered again along the Orapa Road to Machana, Mapanyana, and Mokubatana lands areas where Sakareya had his well because grazing was diminishing in Phorokwe.

2.1.8 The Banambjwa. Banambjwa people also appear to have originated from Zimbabwe and first settled in the Gweta area. Five families moved from Gweta to Mopipi between 1968-1973, and are commonly known as "the Kalanga from Gweta," or "foreigners." Two of those families are integrated in Maditse ward of Bakalanga; two others in Sekeletu ward of Bakalanga; and one in Motho-a-Kgari ward of Bateti.

2.1.9 The Batsaiti. It appears that this group originally belonged to Barolong and Kubu is their totem. Some of the Barolong also fled the Matabele and dispersed into two groups. The Kgomo group moved to Serowe and the Baganetseng group went further east across the Limpopo River and finally settled in Thabatshukudu, halfway between Gweta and Mmatshumo, between Ntwetwe and Sua pans. From there, some moved to Gubaga where they met the Molato group of Bateti, younger brother of Motho-a-Kgari. Baganetseng was welcomed by Motho-a-Kgari and Molato. He was given land at Xudi (west of Lake Xau) and a home at Xhumo. From there they followed the Bateti and were integrated in their group. Currently, Baganetseng is an assimilated ward of the Teti ward structure (see 2.2.2.1).

2.1.10 The Barotse. This Bantu-speaking group are related to the Lozi tribe from Barotseland in southwestern Zambia. In quest for employment in South African mines, some settled in the Boteti and others in the Tswapong Hills (east of Palapye). Currently, Borotsi village, close to Chadibe, is still essentially composed of Barotse. Among those who settled in the Boteti, the majority went to Xhumo and Gwee in the 1940s. The Barotse from Gwee were then moved by Khama to Mopipi and are currently integrated in Sekeletu ward of Bakalanga.

## 2.2 Ward Inventory and Characteristics

2.2.1 Ward Inventory and Population. The most striking characteristic of Mopipi CFDA's traditional structure is the large number of wards in each community. In Mopipi alone, 23 wards were identified, composed of 6 different ethnic groups, totaling approximately 240 families.

Xhumo village is composed of 12 wards with 4 distinct ethnic groups, totaling approximately 135 families. This information is summarized in table 2.

It can be seen that the majority of the population in both villages is Kalanga. The Bateti and the Bakhurutshe are the two other predominant groups in Mopipi, while the Bayiei are the second-most important group in Xhumo. A full inventory and description of wards are presented in appendix 2.

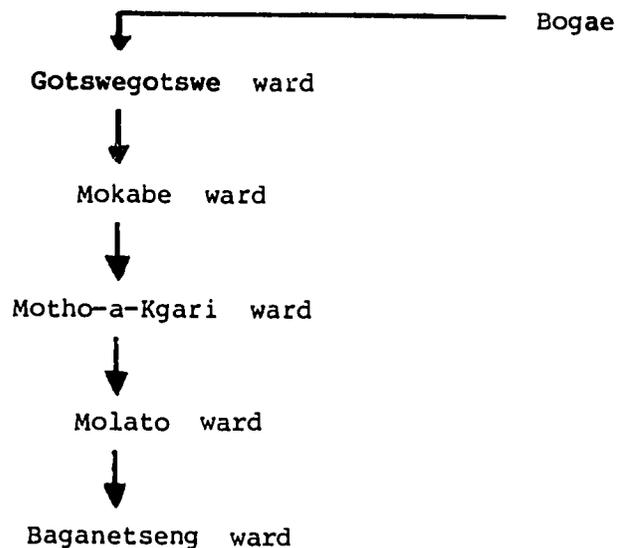
2.2.2 Ward Hierarchy. A second striking characteristic of Mopipi CFDA's traditional structure is the inconsistent hierarchy that exists among the various wards. Ward hierarchy follows different patterns according to various ethnic groups. In Mopipi, for example, among the Bateti group, ward hierarchy is based on age seniority of the ward heads who founded the wards. These relationships are illustrated following table 2.

TABLE 4  
Wards and Families by Ethnic Group (Mopipi-Xhumo)

NO. OF WARDS	ETHNIC GROUP	NO. OF FAMILIES <sup>a</sup>
<u>Mopipi</u>		
9	Kalanga	143
5	Teti	27
5	Khurutshe	39
2	Kgalagadi	12
1	Herero	8
1	Rotse	11
<u>Xhumo</u>		
8	Kalanga	94
2	Yiei	21
1	Teti	12
1	Khurutshe	8

<sup>a</sup> These are approximate figures from interviews with headman.

#### 2.2.2.1 Teti Hierarchy.



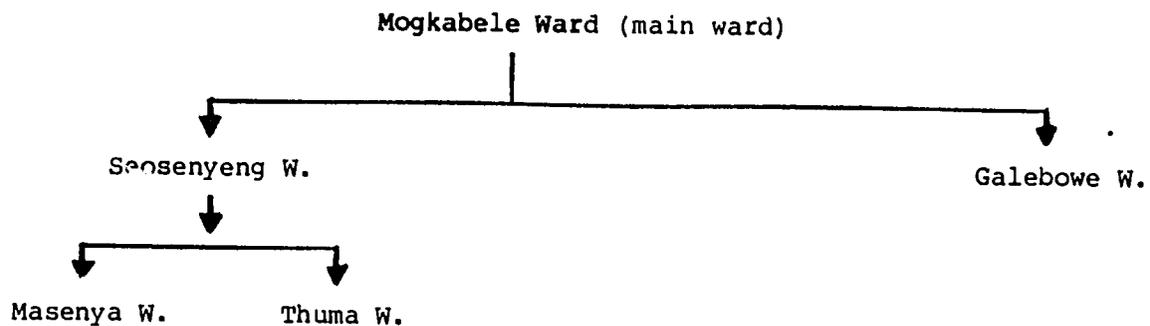
All four wards--Gotswegotswe, Mokabe, Motho-a-Kgari, and Molato--originated from sons of Bogae. Each of them constitutes a distinct ward in the community. Gotswegotswe is considered to be the main ward because it originated from the oldest son of Bogae. Members of Baganetseng were assimilated (see Batsaiti, at 2.1.9).

**2.2.2.2 Kalanga Hierarchy.** The Kalanga group, in contrast, based its ward hierarchy on the dates of arrival of the various groups in the area. Three groups--Malisa, Ntewane, and Sekeletu--arrived almost simultaneously in the Boteti around the 1930s (see above, 2.1.6) and eventually clustered in Mopipi. In 1941, when Ntewane group was moved to Mmatshumo, Sekeletu ward remained in Mopipi, thus becoming the senior Kalanga ward in the community. Currently, the Kalanga hierarchy looks as follows:

WARD		APPROXIMATE SETTLEMENT DATE
Sekeletu	(main ward)	1930
Molai Maditse	ward	1930
Tamocha	ward	1969
Lotsi Bogo	ward	1970
Ntakula Makgoro	ward	1970
Nshaba	(returned from Mmatshumo)	1970
Shaka Kopo	ward	1971
Other individual families	"wards"	1972

**2.2.2.3 Bakhurutshe and Bayiei.** Bakhurutshe and Bayiei follow more closely the traditional hereditary chieftainship pattern adopted in eastern Botswana.

Among the Khurutshe in Mopipi, the ward hierarchy looks as follows:



The three original Khurutshe groups that settled in the area were Mogale and his younger brother, Mokwalo, and Tawana from another Khurutshe ward (see above, 2.1.4).

Mogkabelele is currently the main ward because Mogkabelele descended in direct line from Mogale, the oldest leader. Seosenyeng, son of Mokwalo, became subordinate ward to Mogkabelele since it originated from Mogale's younger brother's line. Masenya and Thuma (sons of Seosenyeng) broke off to form their own wards and became, by the very fact, Seosenyeng's subwards.

Galebowe, on the other hand, who was Tawana's son, the third original Khurutshe leader, formed a branch of its own, because Tawana belonged to another senior Khurutshe ward. Currently, Galebowe has no subwards.

2.2.2.4 The Herero. The Herero do not observe any hierarchy and are not structured into wards. They live as a separate group under the leadership of their chosen leader. Whenever they are requested to contribute in any community activities, they participate as a group, not by ward.

2.2.2.5 The Banambjwa. Other groups, such as the Banambjwa, did not establish new wards in the community, but were dispersed in various existing wards such as Sekeletu, Maditse, Motho-a-Kgari.

2.2.2.6 The Basarwa. Finally, the Basarwa who have never really lived in organized wards of their own, still are the serfs (malata) they always were, with virtually no input into any community decision or organization.

2.2.2.7 Summary. There is no single organizing principle of ward hierarchy in these communities. Some groups follow the traditional system, others use date-of-arrival, and some have no wards at all. These differences in ward hierarchy and social organization prevent integration and effective linkages among the various ethnic groups composing those communities.

2.2.3 Vertical Linkages (Chief's Ward and Wards). A significant factor causing poor ward integration appears to be the peculiar position the chief's ward (Kgosing) occupies in the overall structure. In most areas of Central District which are also composed of different ethnic groups, the chief's ward is the main ward around which the other wards are organized according to the degree of relationship each ward has with the main ward, or according to the degree of royal authority of each ward head. A strict sense of hierarchy is usually observed and, in relating to Kgosing, subwards do not bypass their senior wards.

In contrast, in Mopipi CFDA chiefs do not head the main ward in the community. In Xhumo the chief has no ward of his own. His brother, instead, is heading the ward where the chief belongs. In Mopipi, the chief heads Mctho-a-Kgari ward of Bateti, which is only the third in importance in the Teti hierarchy (see above, 2.2.2.1). The fact that other Teti wards are senior to his has several leadership implications, as we shall see later (see 2.4.4.1-3).

Thus, in both cases Kgosing, which is the vital link keeping the traditional structure together, virtually does not exist. Both chiefs operate more in their capacity of Tribal Authority administrators than as traditional chiefs.

2.2.4 Horizontal Linkages Between Wards. If vertical integration between the main ward and other wards is nonexistent, it almost follows that wards among themselves will not be integrated. As it is, there is virtually no formal link between wards of different ethnic groups in the community. Each of them stands very much on its own, and the only bond that could be said common to them all is the direct relationship each ward maintains individually with the chief. Each ward reports privately to the chief on its domestic matters or unsettled cases without consulting any other ward or senior wards.

If they do, as sometimes is the case with the Bateti and Bakhurutshe, they do so out of courtesy for their senior headmen. But none of them really expects any formal or legal action to be taken at the senior ward level. Thus, the traditional ward structure, even though still identifiable to some extent, no longer is truly operational.

2.2.5 "Family Wards". In addition to the main groups that still show some remnants of traditional structure, an increasing number of family units, also called wards, have recently settled in the CFDA. These families, after seeking permission of local Tribal Authority and SLB established themselves in those communities but are not related to or integrated into any other organized ward. In this case, the meaning of "headman" and "ward" is used in a rather loose sense which is closer to the meaning commonly associated with the Mong (household head) of the malwapa (families). But because they are not integrated in any structured ward they have become wards of their own and relate directly to the chief.

2.2.6 Council Wards. Because of the multiplicity of wards in the village, tax collectors faced increasing difficulty in collecting revenues. It was, therefore, decided in 1980 to divide the village into two easily recognizable sections. The easiest way was to divide the village north-south, following the road crossing the village east-west, behind Mr. Loeto's property. The northern section was called "Motho-a-Kgari ward" and the southern section is known as "Sekeletu ward." Although the name of the chief's ward has been given to the northern section, the headman of Gotswegotswe ward (senior ward of Bateti) is actually in charge of keeping track of defaulters and advising tax collectors. The headman of Sekeletu (senior ward of Bakalanga) is responsible for the southern section.

2.2.7 Role of Wards. Despite the minimal influence of the ward structure in general, wards still remain useful entities for the practical organization of community work. When community tasks are to be implemented, the chief usually appoints or designates the wards that will perform together at a given time. No systematic grouping appears to be followed. Sometimes wards are grouped according to their geographic location in the village; at other times, wards are designated on an ethnic basis (e.g., the Bakhurutshe, Bateti, etc.); other times, still different groupings may be followed.

### 2.3 Analysis and Problems of the Traditional Structure

Both the historical background and the ward characteristics of the Mopipi CFDA (and likely in the Boteti wider context) are indicative of the complex social interaction that has taken place in that part of Botswana.

2.3.1 Tribal Integration. The process of assimilation in the Boteti has been, and still is, particularly difficult despite the elaborate administrative system developed by the Bangwato in what is now Central District. This incorporation system has been well described elsewhere.<sup>22</sup>

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22. I. Schapera, The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes, Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 11 (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1952); I. Schapera, "The Political Organisation of the Ngwato [cont.]

2.3.1.1 This integration was basically achieved by establishing a class system which included the chief (Kgosi), with his digkosana, the royals; the bahaladi or foreigners assimilated by conquests or immigration; the batlhanka, or commoners; and the malata, the serfs--the Basarwa and Bakhurutshes.

2.3.1.2 This class system was reinforced by the Kamelo system based on the mafisa practice of livestock exchange. Accepting a cattle loan meant giving up all rights to one's own property and professing allegiance to the chief. Loaned cattle were called Kamelo, or "milk pail," because the chief had the right to request a pail of milk anytime he wished. Thus, the milk pail became the symbol of the relationship.

2.3.1.3 Finally, a territorial organization was established which included eight subdistricts. A system of direct administration headed by District Governors, also called Badisa (lit. "herdsmen"), was installed. Governors were appointed to "oversee" the district like chiefs and also had the right to collect tributes (sehuba). In this way, the Bangwato managed to incorporate as many as 50 different ethnic groups in their territory.<sup>23</sup> This is the process which took place in Boteti. As already noted, Bakhurutshes adopted the Ngwato totem (phuti) and became part of Maaloso-wa-Ngwana royal ward. The Bateti call themselves Batho ba ga Kgari (lit. "people of Kgari"), presumably in relation to Kgari, eldest son of Khama the First, who fled to the Boteti in the 1820s, chased by the Kololo. Similarly, all Bakalanga profess allegiance, at least officially, to Paramount Chief Khama of Serowe. Thus, the Bangwato proved fairly successful in integrating into their tribe virtually all ethnic groups established on their tribal territory.

2.3.2 Regional Integration. One considerable weakness of the Ngwato administrative system was its failure to achieve regional integration. Simply because people of various ethnic origins are made to profess allegiance to the same chief does not necessarily mean they will become regionally integrated or live harmoniously together. Regional integration, rather, is achieved by close collaboration of all residents, irrespective of ethnic origin, tribal ties, or status, in the development of a well-delimited geographic area such as a CFDA.

The Boteti subdistrict is a case in point. People have not yet managed to cooperate with each other even though they have all been officially Bangwato and under the same chief since the nineteenth century. Both CFDA villages under study show fundamental splits into distinct ethnic camps in direct competition with each other. In Xhumo the Bakalanga and Bayiei form two major opposed factions that virtually undermine any community effort. This division is revealed both geographically and linguistically. The Bayiei and the chief occupy

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of Bechuanaland Protectorate," in African Political Systems, ed. M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard (London: Oxford University Press, 1940); N. Parsons, "The Origins of Bamangwato," Botswana Notes and Records, 5, 1973, pp. 82-103; Hitchcock, Kalahari Cattle-Posts, pp. 101-104.

23. Schapera, Ethnic Composition.

the western part of the village. The Kalanga section is built in a depression, east of the main road crossing the Boteti River, and is commonly called Ko Divisioning, or "the split section." (See also below, Leadership Problems, 2.4.3.2.) A similar division between the Bateti and the Bakalanga is found in Mopipi.

2.3.3 Problems of Regional Integration. There appear to be several reasons for poor regional integration in the Boteti.

2.3.3.1 Conflicting Land Use Practices. The Khurutshe historical account (see above, 2.1.4) leads to the conclusion that the clash between life style of hunter-gatherers and land utilization as practiced by newcomers (Bakurutshe and Bakalanga) is one origin of poor regional integration. The Basarwa, Bagkalagadi, and to some extent the Bateti, not particularly agriculturally oriente. were considered inferior and were forced off the land. In other words, early newcomers did not integrate with locals, but rather evicted them and occupied the land. This is a fundamentally different process from the one that took place in other better established Ngwato territories. In the Tswapong Hills, early newcomers had first to come to terms with local chiefs before being able to establish themselves in the area.<sup>24</sup> Most of the time, bahaladi (foreigners) were requested to apply for land to the chief and, after application, were given land in very specific areas.

Lack of initial integration in the Boteti resulted in direct antagonism between people who were first established in the area and the bahaladi, the foreigners. The original people, and the Bateti in particular, still consider themselves to be senior to any other group because, with the Basarwa and Bagkalagadi, they occupied the area first. The newcomers superseded them because they were better organized and possessed superior farming skills.

2.3.3.2 Land Distribution Conflicts. The initial antagonism which resulted from lack of integration in early settlement appears to have been exacerbated in the 1940s when T. Khama moved a great number of Bakalanga to various parts of the district (e.g., Letlhakane, Mmatshumo, Mosu; see above, 2.1.6). Many of them did move, but came back sporadically. Others refused to move and their lands and livestock were confiscated. Still others were reported to have been imprisoned in Francistown and, after appealing to private lawyers, won their case and repossessed their lands and cattle. As a result of these historical moves, a number of Mopipi and Xhumo residents lost their traditional lands and, on their return, found them occupied by farmers, from Rakops, Toromoja, Madikola, or other communities, who still currently plow in those lands.

2.3.3.3 Social Complexity. The extreme heterogeneity of the various ethnic, cultural, and social groups composing the population of Mopipi CFDA is another important factor affecting regional integration. The most strikingly different groups obviously are the Sarwa groups which have a completely

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24. F.S. Zufferey, A Study of Local Institutions and Resource Management Enquiry in Eastern Central District (Gaborone: Applied Research Unit, Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1983).

different social organization, culture, and class status from any other Tswana groups.

Other groups also follow the bend of their own genius. The Herero, for example, fundamentally pastoralists, are scattered in the lands areas and are not too concerned about arable agriculture, fencing, or draft problems.

2.3.3.4 Sporadic Arrivals. Finally, the arrival of various groups at different periods contributed to their continued fragmentation and to slow down regional integration.

## 2.4 Chiefs and Leadership

2.4.1 Role and Jurisdiction of Chiefs. In both Xhumo and Mopipi communities, the chief's duties and jurisdiction are fairly similar and can be summarized as follows.

2.4.1.1 Roles and Duties. Common roles and duties of chiefs basically include: welcoming and catering for visitors in the community; maintaining a communication link with other villages, Council, and other government agencies; resolving village disputes and adjudicating all cases referred to them, or referring them to higher authorities if they are outside their jurisdiction; calling community meetings for matters of general concern or as requested by any local institution.

2.4.1.2 Jurisdiction. Cases within the chiefs' jurisdiction include: residents' general complaints, divorce and seduction cases, deaths, cattle thefts not exceeding 3 animals, and crop damage. The maximum penalty chiefs can inflict is: 3 lashes, or 3 head of cattle (or cash equivalent).

Cases outside the chiefs' jurisdiction include: fatal injuries, murder, burglaries, rape, cattle thefts exceeding 3 animals, and fines. Such cases are currently outside the chiefs' jurisdiction because in all of them written statements or receipts are required.

2.4.1.3 Issues of General Concern. Among the issues raised in kgotla meetings are the following: building guest houses, use of community funds, initiation of projects by community institutions, extension information to community, official warning against stray cattle during plowing, buying game licenses and meat from game scouts.

2.4.2 Leadership. As already pointed out, chiefs do not head the main traditional ward in CFDA villages and operate more in their capacity of Tribal Authority administrators than as traditional chiefs. They are in a difficult leadership position in any event. Since horizontal integration is virtually nonexistent, the wards are not organized in a well-established hierarchy among themselves. Wards and groups of wards very much stand on their own rather than being integrated. All of this is complicated by the extreme ethnic diversity.

### 2.4.3 Xhumo Village

2.4.3.1 History of the Chieftainship. In 1973, Chief Keitsapile (Kalonga) was chief in Xhumo. A year later, in 1974, he was accused of ritual

murder, killing a young boy for the purposes of witchcraft. As a result, for two years the community was left without an official chief in office.

On 10 September 1976, T. Mogkwathi was chosen by the community as Acting Chief on the basis of his effectiveness in implementing the first drought relief program in the village. Meanwhile, Chief Keitsapile was found innocent, but resigned over the issue. In 1981, T. Mogkwathi (Moyiei) was officially installed as Kgosi, partly on the basis of his work during his acting period, partly because of the strong support he received from Serowe Senior Tribal Authority.

**2.4.3.2 Leadership Problems.** (1) The fundamental leadership crisis in Xhumo stems from the deep resentment Bakalanga have against the official installment of a Moyiei chief in the community. Despite the fact that they were in favor of having T. Mogkwathi temporarily as Acting Chief, they ultimately expected another Kalanga chief to be officially installed. Despite considerable efforts devoted to campaigning throughout lands areas for a Kalanga chief, a Moyiei was finally installed.

(2) As a result of this fundamental antagonism, the community is divided into two distinct and opposed factions that virtually undermine all community initiatives. (See above, Regional Integration, 2.3.2, and below, VDC, 3.4.2 (6-7).) On the one side, the chief is considered to be fair, objective, and effective. On the other, he is said to be uneducated, partial, slow in dealing with cases, and not representative of the community.

(3) From our observations, the chief appeared to command a great deal of respect on account of his own personality and his dedication in dealing with community matters and, despite endless internal conflicts, he did not seem to let himself be much moved by criticism. The chief, however, tended to want too much centralization and control under his authority (see below, PTA, 3.3.5.5 (1)) and did not seem very familiar with either the objectives or the operations of most local institutions. Furthermore, he seemed to feel rather threatened by the new committees emerging in the community because he seemed to perceive the new institutions to be taking control and authority away from him.

(4) Some common criticisms, such as partiality and slowness in dealing with cases, appear to some extent justified. At least three cases under the chief's jurisdiction have been pending since 1979. In two cases it was alleged that the court penalty was reduced because the chief had the opportunity to make business deals with the accused.

#### 2.4.4 Mopipi Village

**2.4.4.1 Leadership Characteristics.** Just as in Xhumo, both the chief's duties and his jurisdiction are very similar, and his actual function is more one of Tribal Authority administrator than of traditional chief (see above, 2.4.1 and 2.4.2).

The Mopipi community also faces internal ethnic conflicts, primarily between Bateti and Bakalanga (see Regional Integration, 2.3.2). The most

salient leadership characteristic of Mopipi, however, is that, despite his official position, the chief appears to be only a figurehead, much influenced and manipulated by Gotswegotswe ward's headman, his first cousin, who acts in the background as "informal chief" with a few associates. Thus, in order to have fruitful relations with their chief, residents first curry the favor of these informal leaders, either by inducing them to talk in their favor prior to court hearings or by offering bribes. The chief does not seem able to take decisions without his cousin's presence. The chief wants him to participate in all *kgotla* and important community meetings and his points are invariably included in the chief's final resolutions.

**2.4.4.2 Informal Leader and Source of Influence.** The chief's cousin, son of the current chief's eldest uncle, 46 years of age, who completed Standard 1 in 1959 and who currently attends nonformal education literacy classes, is neither very rich nor literate. Yet he has always been very influential in the community and he was appointed as headman of Gotswegotswe ward, the senior Teti ward in the community and above the chief's ward (see above, Teti Hierarchy, 2.2.2.1). In addition, since 1970, he has repeatedly been reelected to VDC committees (as an additional member), and, when Council divided Mopipi into two main wards, he was put in charge of Motho-a-Kgari section. (See above, 2.2.6.) When SLB officers visit the village, the chief's cousin invariably accompanies them on land allocations and he appears to be the person most authorities turn to. Finally, he also allocates land on his own initiative (see below, Machana FG, 4.1.3.6(6)).

His influence appears to stem from his own powers of persuasion and relationship with the chief. From observations at meetings (8 August 1982, and our own meetings), the chief's cousin usually sits at the back and lets everyone speak. Toward the end, he stands up, very politely, and with very clever and logical arguments can sway the general opinion in different directions. Second, his influence is also well established in the modern structure. He is head of one Council ward, FG chairman, and VDC member. Thus, formal positions in both the traditional and the modern structure have reinforced and formalized the chief's cousin's power in the community.

**2.4.4.3 Problems.** The fundamental leadership problem in Mopipi stems from the fact that official leadership is subject to considerable informal leadership pressure that influences the chief to reverse decisions (see below, VDC, 4.3.2.4) or take biased actions (see below, Cooperative, 4.1.7.4(5), VHC, 4.2.3.5(6), and FC, 4.3.1.3(4)). In other instances, informal leaders manipulate official authority and decide and act in the place of the chief, such as in land allocation (see below, Machana FG, 4.1.3.6(6)). As a result, the chief himself is perceived by many residents to be partial, unreliable, and weak.

## 2.5 Summary

2.5.1 This preliminary inquiry into social environment and traditional structure reveals the highly complex history and ethnic composition of Mopipi CFDA. The CFDA communities include as many as 10 distinct ethnic groups and a multitude of wards, ranging from 12 in Xhumo to 23 in Mopipi. (See detailed inventory in appendix 2.)

2.5.2 Ward characteristics and linkages differ significantly from other Ngwato areas (e.g., eastern Botswana). Among the most salient differences are: (1) In neither community is the chief's ward (Kgosing) the dominant traditional ward and the remnants of ward hierarchy follow different patterns in different ethnic groups. (2) An increasing number of families settle in these communities without being integrated into any existing ward and are themselves commonly called "wards." (3) Council has divided Mopipi into two main wards (sections) for tax collection purposes. (4) Both vertical and horizontal linkages are virtually nonexistent. Each ward relates directly to the chief for domestic matters without referring to any senior ward head, and there is little interaction between the various wards, which results in considerable lack of integration among various groups of wards and ethnic groups in the communities.

2.5.3 The process of assimilation has been and still is particularly difficult in the Boteti, despite the fairly elaborate administrative system developed by the Bangwato to incorporate all groups in what is now Central District. It appears that the Ngwato system has been successful in incorporating most ethnic groups into the Ngwato tribe, but little regional integration has yet been achieved.

Some of the reasons hindering regional integration appear to have been: conflicting land-use practices among early settlers; land distribution conflicts over time; extreme heterogeneity of the various ethnic, cultural, and social groups composing these communities; and the sporadic arrival of various groups in the communities.

2.5.4 Finally, community leadership in both villages is faced with considerable problems. In Xhumo the strong resentment Bakalanga have against the installment of a Moyiei chief results in fundamental antagonism that virtually undermines all community efforts. In Mopipi, the chief is subject to considerable informal leadership pressure that leads him to reverse or take biased decisions and, in some instances, the chief himself is superseded by informal leaders.

## 2.6 Conclusions

2.6.1 One fundamental objective of the CFDA approach is to achieve better regional integration in the development area. This implies that integration no longer can be based on tribal origin, but rather on general involvement and close collaboration of all CFDA residents so as to maximize the human resource potential in the area.

2.6.2 The complex ethnic, cultural, and social environment described in this section points to several fundamental directions development efforts ought to take in the CFDA.

(1) Development ought to be designed in such a way as to minimize as much as possible all ethnic, cultural, and social differences currently hindering regional development.

(2) Development ought to emphasize the participation and contribution of all ethnic and cultural groups living in the area and the equal responsibility that each group has to achieve effective development in the CFDA.

(3) Development ought to concentrate primarily on projects that promote widespread interaction, group work, and cooperative activities among residents.

(4) Development projects ought to be carefully selected so as to respond to specific regional needs that may not necessarily be identical to those in other parts of Central District.

### 3. Xhumo Modern Institutions

3.1 Introduction and Definitions. Modern institutions identified in Mopipi CFDA are similar to those commonly found in most villages of Central District. They can be divided into three basic district groups:

- 1) institutions directly related to agricultural activities; these include Fencing Groups (FG), Tick Control Groups, Borehole Syndicates, Cooperatives, Fishing Groups, etc.;
- 2) voluntary village institutions, such as Botswana Councils of Women (BCW), Village Health Committees (VHC), 4-B\* Clubs, Parent-Teachers Associations (PTA), Social Welfare Committees (SWC), Independence Committees, and Catering Committees (CT);
- 3) coordinating committees--ideally, agriculture-related groups and institutions in Central District are to be coordinated by a Farmers Committee (FC). No official standard definition of an FC has yet been adopted by the Ministry of Agriculture. Thus, 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, produced a revised version which has been followed since in central region and other regions (e.g., Gaborone).

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

to support the AD in planning, organizing and implementing extension activities within an extension area; to represent the farming community in making the community's problems, needs, opinions and proposals known to the Ministry of Agriculture or other outside organizations; to plan, implement and manage agricultural development projects affecting or involving the extension area as a whole.<sup>25</sup>

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

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\* 4-B Clubs normally are considered agricultural groups. Because 4-B Clubs in the CFDA are strictly school-based, they have been included under voluntary institutions.

25. See Willett, Agricultural Group Development, vol. 3, p. 166.

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. Therefore, in Central District VDCs and FCs can be considered the two key committees responsible for coordinating all modern village institutions.

### 3.2 Xhumo Village: Agricultural Groups

Agriculture-related institutions in Xhumo include: two Fencing Groups (Jibwi and Ruthwe); one Livestock Management Group; one Borehole Syndicate; one cooperative.

#### 3.2.1 Jibwi Fencing Group (FG)

**3.2.1.1 Origin and Membership.** Because of increasing crop damage on the northern side of the Boteti River, an FG was initiated on 15 October 1981 with the support of the local Agricultural Demonstrator (AD). The initial group was composed of 12 members. Currently, the general membership totals 60 members for Xhumo alone. Because the fence runs along many lands areas and has currently reached Gcanamukwe pan (see map 4), the total membership involved in the overall project is not well established.

**3.2.1.2 Group Status.** Jibwi FG first applied to their Rakops Sub-Land Board (SLB) in 1980. In the course of the same year bylaws were completed, and project and AE10 applications were approved for an allocated amount of P1,477 (see Maun Office records).

The constitution stipulates meetings to be held on the 15th and 30th of every month, but at the time of writing the group had not met since April 1982.

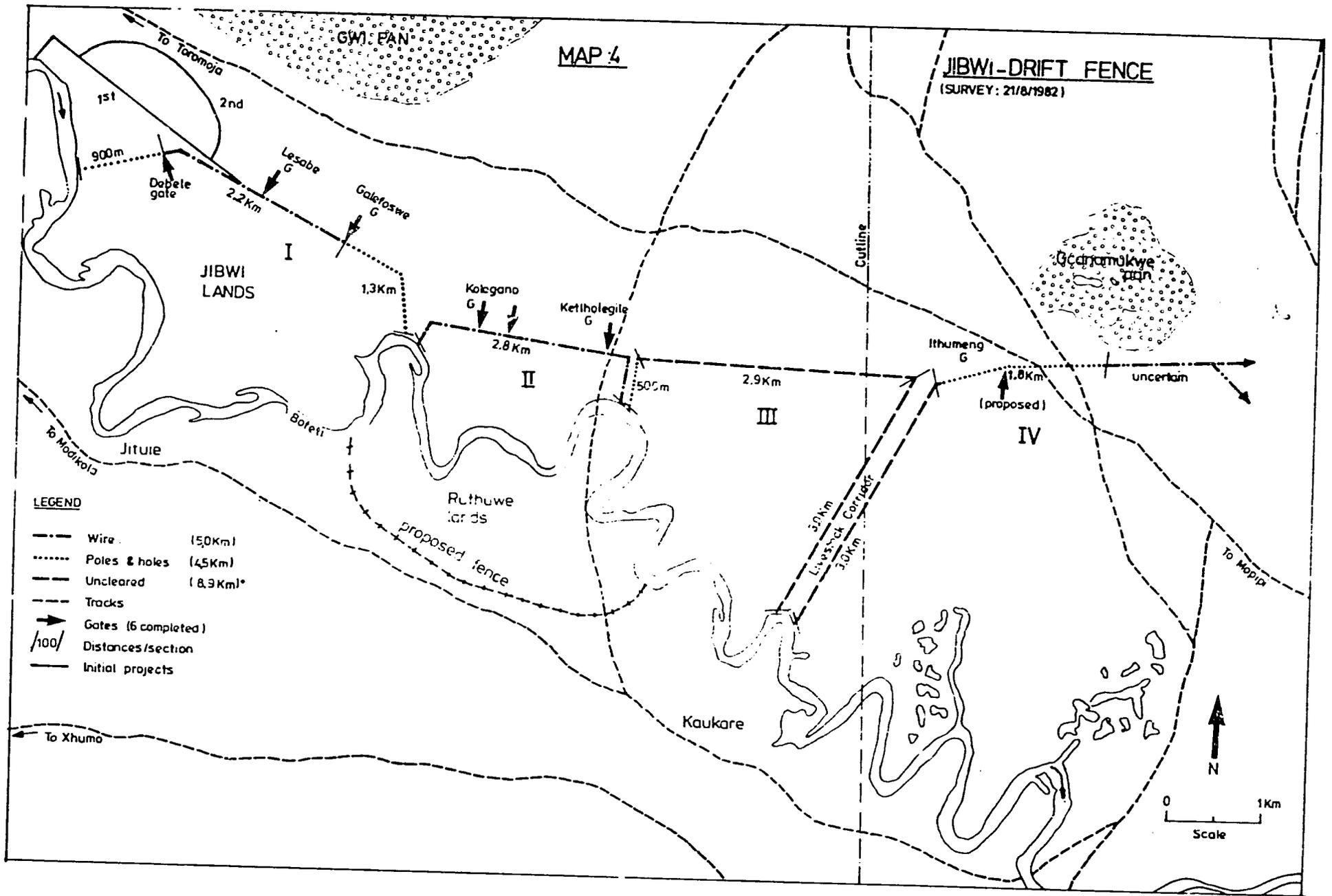
Fees and contributions are set at P10 per family per year, plus 30 poles per family. Members who cannot provide poles for legitimate reasons are requested to contribute the equivalent in cash. To date, the group cash balance amounts to P356 in addition to material received from AE10--24 rolls of high strand wire, 3 binding rolls, and 1 G. Anchor wire roll.

Training is minimal. Only one member has past fencing experience from Rakops. No other members were reported to have attended training workshops of any kind.

**3.2.1.3 Project Progress.** The Jibwi fencing project consists of a succession of four drift fences progressing eastward, south of Gcanamukwe pan, and separated by livestock access corridors to the river (see map 4).

The total length of the fence is 17.9 km, of which 5 km have been completed with five strands of high strand wire and six gates, 4.5 km with poles and holes, yet most of sections 3 and 4 (8.9 km) is still uncleared. Progression of section 4 is uncertain. It appears that it might eventually reach the river at Noanamokwe, some 6 km southeastward (see map 3, p. 6).

Two initial layouts in section 1 had to be abandoned because of lack of participation in that section (see below Problems, 3.2.1.5(6)).



**3.2.1.4 Group Organization.** All members are expected to work at the fence by the lands areas. The overall project is supervised by an elected executive committee of five members. It is felt that supervision of the entire project by a single committee will ensure uniform standards in all lands areas and minimize conflicts and pole thefts. Admission and expulsion of members are decided by the general membership. Members who do not participate also must appear before the general membership. After having received two warnings from the executive committee, a member who has land in the area to be fenced but does not participate in the project is supposed to be taken to the chief's court and higher Tribal Authority levels. This procedure has not yet been used.

**3.2.1.5 Problems**

(1) The different degree of understanding and importance attributed to the project by various groups of farmers appears to be a fundamental cause of many practical difficulties currently faced by the Jibwi FG.

(2) The composition of the committee itself is not very conducive to effective supervision and implementation. The low level of interest of the chairman and secretary, both Herero, considerably hinders the committee's leadership. This is exacerbated by the fact that they live in Toromoja, a different community.

(3) In addition, the committee suffers from poor record keeping and managerial skills.

(4) The farmers who do value the project do not necessarily agree on its design. A number of them do not consider it necessary to include livestock access corridors to the river.

(5) Because of poor coordination within the committee itself, little information filters down to subgroups and the general membership. As a result, meetings are poorly attended, decisions and resolutions are not communicated, and annual fees are not paid.

(6) While some farmers prefer fencing their fields privately to working as a group, others do not participate at all because they do not see much value in it. As a result of unequal interest among various groups, two initial layouts had to be abandoned in order to bring the first section of the fence to completion (see map 4). In the process the length of the fence had to be reduced, some fields were left out, and fencing took much longer than expected.

(7) An increasing number of farmers who did not participate in the project now want to start plowing or applying for land in the fenced area. The committee intends to bring all defaulters to customary court and, if they do so, many court cases can be expected. It still remains to be seen whether the chief will be able to adjudicate all those cases, given the leadership problems existing in the community (see above, 2.4.3.2).

(8) Finally, the FG operates very much on its own with virtually no linkage to the FC or VDC.

### 3.2.2 Ruthuwe Fencing Group (FG)

3.2.2.1 Origin and Membership. The Ruthuwe FG was initiated in April 1982 south of the river opposite Jibwi fence--also because of increasing crop damage. An initial group of 10 farmers promoted the idea of fencing their lands in common. A farmer with previous fencing experience in Maun was the main promoter of the group, called meetings with neighboring farmers, and still operates as group manager. The current membership consists of 19 members.

3.2.2.2 Group Status. Ruthuwe FG applied to Rakops SLB in June 1982, and SLB officers were to come on September 6th to survey the project and give final approval. Group bylaws have been completed this year.

Meetings are to be held whenever needs arise, and general meetings are to be held every two years to elect a new committee.

Joining fees have been set at P10 per family per year. Current contributions amount to P80 in cash and poles.

Only the group leader has attended training workshops.

3.2.2.3 Progress. This group is at its early stage of implementation. Members have cut all the poles needed for the fence but have not yet started digging or fencing. Thus no survey could be properly conducted, but the proposed site is indicated on map 4.

3.2.2.4 Group Organization. The group is administered by a committee of three members. All members intend to work as a group under supervision of their most skillful leader. Admission or expulsion of members has to be ratified by general membership. Violation of bylaws will lead to a fine of P12 after two consecutive warnings by the committee. Members who refuse to pay the fine are supposed to be brought to court. So far, this has not been done.

3.2.2.5 Problems. Because of its early stage of implementation, Ruthuwe FG has not faced too many problems yet. Those encountered include:

(1) The FG experiences difficulty in convening meetings to draw up by-laws. The AD had to press the membership to gather together in order to draft the constitution.

(2) Illiteracy still is a problem for the group. Both secretary and treasurer are illiterate, and there is practically no other member who could hold those offices.

(3) Training on fencing techniques and bookkeeping has been nonexistent.

(4) The group does not relate to any other committee. Absence of link-ages is perceived to be a good way to avoid conflicts with other institutions.

### 3.2.3 Livestock Management Group

3.2.3.1 Origin and Membership. In 1981 this group of six farmers initiated a combination of smallstock and tick control group in order to treat

their horses, cattle, and smallstock. The group is managed by a chairman and treasurer elected for two years.

**3.2.3.2 Group Status.** The group drafted its constitution in 1981 and sent the original to Maun Regional Office for approval. This draft apparently was lost in the regional office and currently the group has neither copies nor approval of their constitution.

Initially, fees were set at P10 per member per year, with no additional dosing or deticking fees. This year, the group intends to raise those fees to P20 and to P30 for new members. No fees have yet been paid for 1982 and all funds are exhausted.

In September 1981 veterinary officers demonstrated the use of hand pumps, dosing guns, and syringes. In addition, the chairman attended a bookkeeping workshop at Xaraga from 12-16 July 1981 because their treasurer is illiterate.

The group currently is in possession of: one knapsack, two dosing guns, and two syringes (10 cc and 25 cc automatic).

**3.2.3.3 Dipping Records.** In 1981 the group treated: 4 horses twice per year with Dylox and Vitamin A; 96 goats three times a year by being dosed; 215 cattle twice per year with Vitamin A and once a year with Dilox and Terramycin.

**3.2.3.4 Support.** For 1981 the Veterinary Department contributed P191 toward the cost of vaccines and medicine, and the group spent P60.

**3.2.3.5 Future Plans.** The group intends to buy a new hand pump with the most recent contributions. In the longer term, the group also intends to build a dip tank with government assistance and purchase pesticides for their fields.

#### **3.2.3.6 Problems**

(1) The survival of this group is endangered by the overly wide scope of its intended activities in relation to the very small membership. Since the group already finds it difficult to raise funds to purchase enough medicine for their horses, cattle, and smallstock combined, it is likely to face greater problems in financing pesticides, let alone a dip tank.

(2) A more fundamental problem is the poor understanding the group has of purpose and objectives of agricultural groups in the community. This group appears to be more an association of friends who attempt to improve on their own all-encompassing agricultural problems without extending their membership to other farmers faced with similar problems (see below, **Borehole Syndicate, 3.2.4,** and **Xhumo Cooperative, 3.2.5**). This group makes a point to operate strictly on their own. It does not intend to cooperate with any coordinating committee. Such attitude appears to relate to general leadership competition (**3.4.2.6(7)**). This group, composed of Bakalanga, includes the VDC chairman and opposes the Yiei faction headed by the chief.

(3) The committee itself shows little understanding of duties and responsibilities of executive officers. The chairman conveys little information to

the other members which results in poor meeting attendance and lack of group performance.

(4) Finally, the treasurer is illiterate so records are not properly kept.

#### 3.2.4 Borehole Syndicate (Godiko)

3.2.4.1 Origin and Membership. This syndicate was initiated on 15 September 1981 by a group of thirteen members who intend to dig a common borehole at Godiko, southwest from Xhumo village, close to Gidikwe pan. The group is managed by a committee of five to be reelected every year.

3.2.4.2 Group Status. The Borehole Syndicate completed its bylaws in early 1982 but still is at the planning stage. It has applied to the SLB for borehole allocation and is currently waiting for approval.

It is stipulated that the syndicate will meet four times a year and general meetings will be held twice annually.

Fees have been set at P20 per member three times a year, payable in January, April, and August, regardless of the number of stock each member will water at the borehole. Currently, the syndicate has raised P120 in cash and 13 cattle.

3.2.4.3 Group Operations. The chairman is a professional borehole driller. He uses dynamite and manual labor and is capable of maintaining the borehole. He and the secretary will supervise the group work. Their intention is to borrow a drilling rig from a private driller. The syndicate will pay for the drilling, crush, and fencing, and will rely on AG15 money for borehole equipment.

3.2.4.4 Future Plans. After completion of their borehole, the syndicate also intends to initiate their smallstock dosing group and possibly build a dip tank. (See above, Livestock Management Group, 3.2.3.6(2), and below, Xhumo Cooperative, 3.2.5.)

3.2.4.5 Problems. Since it is relatively new, Godiko Borehole Syndicate has not yet faced too many problems.

(1) Finding a drilling rig appears to be a major endeavor.

(2) The syndicate does not relate to any other group or coordinating committee.

#### 3.2.5 Xhumo Cooperative

3.2.5.1 Origin and Membership. Xhumo village attempted on 4 July 1982 to initiate a cooperative. A total of 108 members joined under the leadership of an executive committee of 9 members.

3.2.5.2 Objectives. The intended purpose of the cooperative appears to be a combination of both marketing and consumers' cooperative. Cooperative

objectives were stated as being: selling cattle to the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC); buying and handling local crops; supplying farming implements and inputs; providing medicine and vaccines for stock; selling consumer goods at cheaper prices than village stores.

**3.2.5.3 Status.** The cooperative is at its very early stage. Last August the committee communicated its intention to initiate such a cooperative to the Department of Cooperatives in Gaborone. At the time of writing they were waiting for a reply.

A joining fee has been provisionally set at P10 per member, and current funds amount to P468 in cash and 82 head of cattle.

No member has yet received any training in cooperative management, but the committee planned to send two members to Gaborone in October 1982 for a training course in cooperative management.

**3.2.5.4 Plans.** The committee intends to apply for funds from the Department of Cooperatives in order to build their cooperative buildings. In the meantime, they plan to buy cement and mold bricks so as to reduce building costs.

#### **3.2.5.5 Problems**

(1) The membership does not seem to have a clear understanding of the actual purpose and objectives of their cooperative. While some members emphasize its marketing role, the majority consider it a consumers' cooperative.

(2) A more fundamental problem is the lack of understanding by the membership of the basic principles necessary to function on a cooperative basis, such as a genuine sense of democratic control, loyalty toward the members, mutual cooperation and responsibility, and promotion of education.

(3) CODEC's response to the community's desire to have local residents trained as cooperative managers was that only "0" level candidates could be accepted for management courses. Since the highest level attained by a community resident is Junior Certificate, no resident is eligible for cooperative management training.

(4) Finally, the cooperative stands on its own without liaising with any other group or coordinating committee.

### **3.3 Xhumo Voluntary Institutions**

Among the voluntary institutions identified in Xhumo are: Botswana Council of Women (BCW); Village Health Committee (VHC); 4-B Club; Parent-Teachers Association (PTA); Social Welfare Committee (SWC).

#### **3.3.1 Botswana Council of Women**

**3.3.1.1 Origin and Membership.** The Xhumo BCW was initiated in 1979 by Mrs. G. Bethia. Thirty-six members appear on the membership list. The council is managed by an executive committee of five.

**3.3.1.2 Rule and Objectives.** The objectives of BCW were to provide teaching, sewing, cooking, and handicraft skills to housewives in the village. In addition, committee members encouraged participants to keep their house and yard clean by setting a good example themselves.

**3.3.1.3 Status.** BCW has never kept any records and does not have a constitution. No member has received any specific training for managing the group. Current funds amount to P38.73 raised from concerts, beer parties, and the P1 joining fee.

Three skilled people are members: a basket weaver, a potter who also knows how to sew, and a person who knits and builds yards (malwapa).

#### **3.3.1.5 Problems**

(1) BCW's efforts were initially discouraged after their first attempt to purchase two storage huts. The group paid a P15 deposit, but the owners of the rondavels sold them to someone else before BCW could complete payment. Their deposit was not reimbursed and the matter is still pending at the chief's court.

(2) The membership in general shows little commitment to their council because objectives and running of the organization are poorly understood. As a result, meeting attendance is minimal and no important decision can be taken.

(3) BCW also lacks funds and reported they must compete for funds with other organizations, particularly the PTA and teachers who constantly request more funds for school upkeep and activities. As an alternative, they hope to raise their own funds by selling their produce.

(4) Male interference was reported to be a significant factor preventing successful BCW operations. Women are apparently requested to ask permission from their husbands and boy friends whenever they want to attend BCW activities, and their male partners perceive this as providing women with "too much freedom."

(5) Finally, BCW does not relate to any coordinating committee.

### **3.3.2 Village Health Committee (VHC)**

**3.3.2.1 Origin and Membership.** VHC was initiated in 1980 by Health Education Officers from the Ministry of Health, Gaborone. The total membership includes eleven members under the leadership of a committee of five executives elected in kgotla.

**3.3.2.2 Roles and Objectives.** The stated objective of this committee is to raise the general standard of health in the community, improve sanitation, help the Family Welfare Educator (FWE), visit sick people, and encourage them to come to the healthpost.

**3.3.2.3 Status.** VHC decided to meet once a week. In reality, it meets very irregularly. The group has no records and no constitution.

None of the members is very familiar with health problems. Two members attended a seminar in Mahalapye in 1981. No other member has received any training. The FWE intends to teach them some basic first-aid skills.

The current cash balance amounts to P2. They do not have any set fees.

**3.3.2.4 Projects.** So far the VHC managed to persuade two families to dig refuse pits, even though no committee member has dug one for himself. The VHC intends to build a public toilet between September 1982 and January 1983. They also plan to start a vegetable garden at the healthpost as soon as it is fenced.

#### **3.3.2.5 Problems**

(1) The VHC needs funds and has no fund-raising strategy.

(2) The committee and the population in general do not see the need for improving sanitation and nutrition standards, particularly because the healthpost itself has no toilet.

(3) The VHC faces considerable problems in group organization and management skills.

(4) The VHC is neither coordinated nor supported by any coordinating committee.

#### **3.3.3 Social Welfare Committee (SWC)**

**3.3.3.1 Origin and Membership.** Xhumo SWC was initiated on 27 May 1982 by the ACDO. The current membership is seventeen, including an executive committee of five elected members.

**3.3.3.2 Role.** The role of the SWC was reported to be: visiting the sick in the community, notifying the chief and requesting him to have them transported to a hospital at SWC's expense, and assisting old people in drawing water and attending to their domestic activities.

**3.3.3.3 Projects.** None so far, but SWC intends to raise funds by contributing P1.50 per member.

#### **3.3.3.4 Problems**

(1) This committee appears to have been elected without really knowing the purpose.

(2) None of the executives in office has much understanding of group organizational and managerial skills.

(3) There is no relationship with any coordinating committee.

#### **3.3.4 4-B Club**

**3.3.4.1 Origin and Membership.** Xhumo 4-B Club was initiated in January 1980 by the teacher, R. Koyano, who still is the club leader. The total membership is composed of 89 members, including a committee of 10 teachers.

**3.3.4.2 Objectives.** The 4-B Club was initiated to provide constructive activities to schoolchildren during their spare time and prevent juvenile delinquency in the village.

**3.3.4.3 Status.** Although the club has no official bylaws, it was stipulated that meetings had to be held once a month. In reality, the club meets whenever needs arise.

The skilled people who work with the 4-B include three weavers, one metal-worker, and one drawing instructor.

Current funds amount to P54.85, raised mostly from school concerts.

**3.3.4.4 Projects.** The 4-B Club took part in building VDC houses. It put a great deal of work this winter into producing wood carvings and drawings for the 4-B show held in Xhumo in August 1982.

The club built a clay oven for the school (19 July 1982). The 4-B Club also plans to start a vegetable garden and applied in August 1982 for AE10 funds. In addition, they intend to plant trees (meriti) at the kgotla.

#### **3.3.4.5 Problems**

(1) The club badly lacks parental support. No adult villager currently is involved in the club, basically because the general population ignores the roles and potential of such institutions. Most residents consider 4-B Clubs strictly school-oriented institutions pertaining only to children's activities. Whenever parents are invited to participate, they expect to be paid for their work.

(2) Another difficulty is the indifference of both head and deputy-head teachers, who do not provide much support nor encouragement to 4-B Club activities.

(3) Most of 4-B Club time is often used to carry out school-maintenance activities. This leaves little time to be strictly devoted to club activities.

(4) The club is afraid of incurring financial costs. If they reticulate water to their garden project, as intended, they believe the Council would insert a water meter and raise water fees, thus increasing the financial burden of the club.

#### **3.3.5 Parent-Teachers Association (PTA)**

**3.3.5.1 Origin and History.** A first PTA was initiated in 1973 by Mr. D. Samakabadi, teacher and local resident. This PTA was started because no accommodation was available for teachers and because Council did not seem in any hurry to build teachers' quarters. The PTA undertook to build eight rondavels. At election time in 1975, two houses were completed.

In 1975 a new PTA was elected and still is in office. It is composed of thirteen members under the leadership of four elected executives. Members of

the new committee contributed P1 each, raised additional funds from beer brewing, and completed two more rondavels in 1976.

From 1976 to 1981 the PTA remained idle because of the chieftainship crisis that occurred during that time (see Problems, below).

**3.3.5.2 Projects.** In 1977 the PTA attempted to complete the four remaining rondavels and complained of the poor assistance they received from the VDC. The PTA pointed out that the VDC had raised several fees (beer-brewing, parties, slaughtering, etc.), yet that money was not put to any profitable use in the community. The VDC, in reaction, stopped the PTA from continuing their work on the housing project, pretending that providing teachers' housing fell under its responsibility. But since then nothing has been done by the VDC, and the four houses are still incomplete.

**3.3.5.3 Status.** The PTA has not held any meeting this year. Current funds amount to P165, raised from beer parties, bread sales, and additional contributions from Orapa workers.

**3.3.5.4 Future Plans.** Both the school kitchen and additional classrooms had apparently been promised by Council in 1978. Because of delay in implementing these facilities, schoolchildren started molding bricks in 1976 and intend to build their own school kitchen with the support of the PTA and parents.

#### **3.3.5.5 Problems**

(1) The fundamental problem faced by the PTA is related to the chieftainship crisis--when the current chief was officially installed in 1981 (see above, Leadership Problems, 2.4.3.2). Prior to the current chief's installation, the PTA apparently used to contact parents in the village directly. Under the current chief, the PTA is requested to contact parents through official kgotla meetings. Adding to this the strong resentment PTA members have for the new chief, the PTA's activities have come to a stop.

(2) Conflicting roles with the VDC has caused the PTA to abandon their initial housing project.

(3) Repeated delays by Council agencies have forced the PTA to undertake ad hoc projects for which they were neither trained nor properly equipped. More recently, delay in paying the cook's allowance resulted in having to exclude children who had not contributed P1 to PTA funds raised to meet the cook's salary from attending school (PTA meeting, 1 July 1982).

(4) The PTA has no link with the VDC.

#### **3.4 Xhumo Coordinating Committees**

As already mentioned, both FCs and VDCs are, in Central District, the two most important local institutions responsible for coordinating all other groups and local institutions in rural areas. While the FCs' primary role is to plan, implement, and manage agricultural projects with the help of the AD, the VDCs

have the overall task of planning and coordinating rural development at the community level (see above, 3.1). Thus, particular attention was given to those committees and special meetings arranged so as to enable a wide segment of the committee members to participate in our interviews.

**3.4.1 Farmers Committee.** Our FC interview in Xhumo was attended by three executive members, extension staff (ADS, FWE, head teacher), and six ordinary members.

The FC was apparently started in 1981 and an executive committee of four was elected in kgotla. Fairly soon, however, it became evident that the Xhumo FC exists only on paper. The committee has never met, has no plans, and has no projects. None of the FC members had any clear idea of roles and operations of their committee and saw no benefit such a committee could bring to the community. FC members also believe that farmers belonging to any agricultural group automatically are FC members, making it rather difficult to establish the committee membership.

**3.4.2 Village Development Committee.** The VDC interview was attended by four executive members, the chief, the extension staff (AD, FWE, head teacher), and two ordinary members.

**3.4.2.1 Origin and Membership.** Xhumo has had five consecutive VDCs, elected in 1968, 1969, 1971, 1974, and 1980, respectively. The current VDC is composed of twenty-one members, including a committee of five executives. Elections were reported to be conducted among VDC members after a period of two years.

**3.4.2.2 Self-Help.** Self-help was generally correctly defined by the participants who consider it to be a useful development strategy because it was felt that no one can rely indefinitely solely on government's efforts.

The organization of self-help activities in Xhumo includes the following steps: (1) the VDC first identifies projects; (2) the VDC brings proposals to the chief; (3) the chief then calls a kgotla meeting to discuss project proposals with the community at large; (4) if the kgotla agrees, it decides who will implement the project and how--i.e., by ward or everybody at once--depending on the nature of the project.

**3.4.2.3 VDC Status.** The VDC is supposed to meet twice a month. In practice, it meets only "if there is anything to discuss."

To date, the VDC has raised P353 from various fees. Beer parties are taxed at 50t for the host and P1 for the entertainers, while slaughtering fees amount to P1 for cattle and 50t for smallstock.

**3.4.2.4 Projects.** Completed projects reported by VDC are the same as those claimed by the PTA (see above, 3.3.5.2), i.e., four rondavels for housing teachers with four others incomplete (started 1977). This housing project was actually carried out by the PTA and thatching was paid for with PTA funds at P14 per house.

A postal agency started in January 1982 but stopped operating in May (see below, 3.4.2.7(8)).

Ongoing projects initiated by the VDC include four additional rondavels, south of the kgotla, started in 1981: two for the AD (includes one store-room), one for the court clerk, one for the local policeman. The community organized itself by ward to implement this work. Yet, despite repeated encouragement of the chief, this housing project has come to a stop.

**3.4.2.5 Support.** Council completed a healthpost on 10 March 1976. Three classrooms and one toilet block were completed on 1 June 1976. Both projects were undertaken on comprehensive contract and did not involve any community contribution (from Council Works Department records).

The councillor was reported to have come only once to Xhumo in 1982 to prepare for the president's visit in June. The participants also stated that there is virtually no contact between the councillor and their committee and that he carried no weight in implementing any village project.

The VDC also requested help from the Assistant Council Secretary. The committee asked him to extend the healthpost and equip it with a radio transmitter and to provide an FWE assistant. Their second request was to extend water reticulation in the village. On both occasions the Assistant Council Secretary apparently replied that money was not available for such projects.

**3.4.2.6 Role of Coordination.** Ideally the role of VDCs is to plan and monitor local development in the village and, in supporting the village plan, to coordinate all local institutions so as to reach the desired objectives of the community. To Xhumo's VDC, however, such a role sounded completely new. The VDC had never had any village plan as such and had never heard of its responsibility to coordinate local development and other institutions. They basically functioned on their own, just as any other village committee, knowing, however, that they could voice community concerns to Council agencies and at times channel resources to community projects.

#### **3.4.2.7 Problems**

(1) Membership Size. The 16 additional members were added to the executives to make them more representative of community concerns and more effective. In fact, the larger committee of 21 members is rather unwieldy, difficult to gather, and slow in taking resolutions.

(2) Community Representation. The membership of this committee includes practically all individuals with respectable status and influence in the community. It is assumed that if all of them sit on the same committee, the community will almost automatically be represented because no one will stand in serious opposition to any committee proposal or decision. Yet the community at large has no knowledge of what a VDC is or ought to be and, as such, has no direct input into the VDC's decisions.

(3) Training. Xhumo VDC suffers from severe lack of information about VDC organization and operations. VDC participants do not know what the specific role of an ACDO is and reported they were given little help by the current one. It was stated that she usually visits Xhumo only to announce official visits or the arrival of food consignments.

(4) Planning. In discussing the most urgent community needs, the participants responded with an impressive list. All these needs, however, came straight from the chairman's private diary. The other participants clearly had never discussed them previously in their committee, let alone tried to set priorities.

It must also be noted that these needs and priorities are not consistent with those formulated in the Council questionnaire distributed to all VDCs in June 1981. Differences in priorities are shown in table 3.

TABLE 3  
Xhumo VDC's Project Priorities

NEEDS	ORDER OF PRIORITY SET ON COUNCIL'S QUESTIONNAIRE (June 1981)	ORDER OF PRIORITY DURING INTERVIEW (July 1982)
Guest houses	-	1 <sup>a</sup>
Kgotla offices	1	1 <sup>a</sup>
Kgotla kraal (Matimela)	-	2
Bus stop and latrines	-	3 <sup>a</sup>
Slaughter shelter	-	3 <sup>a</sup>
Kgotla toilets	-	4
New postal agency	-	5
Clinic	2	-
Two additional classrooms	3	-
Two additional teachers' houses	4	-
Community hall	5	-

<sup>a</sup> The attempt to set priorities during our interview failed to reach consensus on priorities 1 and 3.

(5) Duplication of Roles. The VDC and the PTA both claim to have implemented the same projects. Initially the PTA undertook the housing project because it considered it its responsibility to house teachers. After their quarrel with the VDC over community funds, the VDC claimed the same prerogative and the PTA stopped because it acknowledged that the VDC is the senior committee in the community.

(6) **Conflicting Objectives.** The new housing project initiated by the VDC under self-help is now planned to be completed under the drought relief program at a rate of P1 per day per worker. This is considered to be a good alternative to the current implementation crisis and to save time. Yet this practice considerably undermines the whole concept of self-help and, when new self-help efforts are needed, it is likely that residents will expect to be paid.

(7) **Leadership Competition.** Leadership competition between Bayiei and Bkalanga undermines virtually any community initiative (see also above, 2.4.3.2). Many instances illustrate this problem.

It was reported that if the chief (Moyiei) attends a VDC meeting, the chairman (Mokalanga) will not appear; and when the chairman takes part, the chief will not come.

With regard to the new housing project, the chief, on the one hand, considers it his duty to provide housing to newcomers (AD, clerk, etc.) and visitors. The VDC chairman, on the other hand, refuses to use VDC funds to cover some of the costs involved because he considers it to be solely the chief's responsibility to provide housing to visitors. The real reason more likely is resentment and competition since the VDC chairman covets the chief's position.

The school controversy also illustrates the same problem. Before the Council school was built, Bayiei had built a rondavel to be used as a provisional school for their children. Bakalanga later argued that they also took part in building the house and therefore had equal rights to use it. Because of increasing tension between the two groups, the house was never used by either side. The first VDC was then started in the hopes of resolving some of the differences.

(8) **Mismanagement.** The brief life of the postal agency is a clear example of mismanagement, as well as of many other problems already described. In January 1982, the VDC proposed opening a postal agency in Xhumo. This was almost universally accepted since the mail had to travel via Rakops or Maun. The VDC contacted the postmaster in Rakops, who in turn made the necessary arrangements with Gaborone Central Post Office. The VDC chairman suggested his shop as an appropriate postal location. His younger brother was chosen as postal agent. In taking office, the postal agent himself contributed an initial P25 toward the upkeep; the remaining balance of P80 and his salary thereafter were to be raised from village contributions at P1 per resident.

In May 1982, on his own initiative, the shopkeeper started charging P1 for each letter to be taken out. Residents complained to the chief, a kgotla meeting was held, and public explanations were requested. The shopkeeper certified that all that money would be remitted to the VDC treasurer. That suggestion was refused because it had previously been agreed that only the treasurer could collect postal fees.

In the meantime, the postal agent left without notice because he had not been paid. When the postmaster from Rakops checked the accounts, money was missing. The postal agent was arrested and that was the end of Xhumo postal agency.

(9) As a result of these numerous problems, general mistrust has spread in the community. Because many executive members of various committees seem to join local institutions with the hope of benefiting personally rather than furthering community welfare, many residents withdrew from local institutions and have become skeptical of any group formation in the village.

#### 4. Mopipi Modern Institutions

##### 4.1 Mopipi Agricultural Groups

Agricultural groups in Mopipi include: 2 Fishing Groups, 2 Fencing Groups, 2 Borehole Syndicates, 1 Cooperative.

##### 4.1.1 The First Fishing Group ("Old Fisheries")

4.1.1.1 Origin. This group, commonly called "Old Fisheries," refers to the initial eight families brought to Mopipi by Mr. R. Cross (Fisheries/Maun) in 1971. These fishermen used to fish in the Thamalakane River in Maun. Mr. Cross upgraded their fishing skills, introduced boats and nets to the group, taught them how to process the fish and maintain their fishing equipment, and gave them some basic administration training.

When the fish population of the Thamalakane was depleted, Mr. Cross encouraged them to move to Mopipi to continue fishing and to provide basic skills to Mopipi fishermen. In Mopipi, Mr. Cross advised them to constitute a group and operate on a cooperative basis.

4.1.1.2 Organization. To that effect, all members contributed P5 to a common treasury. They applied to the SLB for a plot which was allocated in 1979 on the Mopipi Dam shore. With AEL0 funds they set up a small shelter for processing fish and bought a P25 fence with group funds.

4.1.1.3 Problems. Despite genuine potential, this group faced three basic initial problems.

(1) The group never really understood the principles, operations, and implications of cooperative work, and training support has been minimal. The support received from 1971 to 1980 from four successive Ministry of Agriculture officers was summarized as being twofold: providing technical assistance, and weighing fish. After 1980 even that support was discontinued. By the end of 1981 only one member had attended a training workshop at Ngorega, where participants were taught rescue operations, rope work, and fish processing.

As a result of poor group training and group organizational skills, the fishing group continued to sell their catch individually. Group formation and participation were perceived as something completely separate from their regular activities. Each member continued to work as before and, in addition, tried to constitute a group. The executive members remained symbolic and, when the group needed concerted effort (e.g., for building their new shelter after the new fishing group occupied their site), no one participated.

(2) The second problem appears to have been a change in fish processing requirements. In Maun, the Department of Fisheries apparently bought fresh fish directly from the fishermen. Later on, it required the fish to be salted in order to be sold. This required extra skills and labor from the group.

(3) The most serious problem has been the parallel development of a second fishing group. This new group emerged partly because of the slow progress involved in forming a viable group and partly because of the influence of GDOs, AD, DO, and Fisheries officers, all of whom emphasized group formation as being the answer to their problems. Thus, a nucleus of fishermen, including some of the first group, decided to form a new fishing group (see below, 4.1.2).

The plot initially allocated to the original group was then reallocated to the new group which now occupies and is developing the site. The original group complained to the chief. The matter is pending.

After the first group collapsed, members decided to sell the fence they had bought and to divide the money among the contributors. Four of them returned to Maun; the others continue fishing as before and no longer want to associate with government efforts.

4.1.1.4 Reasons Against Group Formation and Government Support. Among the major reasons reported for not forming groups are the following:

(1) Fishermen do not approve of the new fish processing requirements because people do not like salted fish and complain about it. People still buy unsalted fish at the same price and, in fact, prefer it that way. Thus, salting becomes for them an unnecessary and tedious process.

(2) Fishermen perceive that past training was somewhat valuable, but often a "waste of time," requiring a great deal of "unnecessary labor."

(3) Group fishing interferes with private fishing. Fishermen perceive that they will not have enough time to make their own private catch because they will have to fish for the group.

(4) Fishermen fear that, in order to operate in a group, they will have to abandon their own private fishing implements to the group.

(5) If one's own property is put at the disposal of the group, other family members will not be able to fish for home consumption; and, if someone is sick or absent, others will benefit from his property but he will not get any share of the catch.

(6) In group fishing some members become "lazy" and will benefit from others' labor.

(7) Fishermen do not see any advantage in operating in a group, yet it is a requirement for eligibility for government subsidies; most of them join groups for that very reason.

4.1.1.5 Current Problems. This group currently faces very much the same problems as when it first arrived from Maun:

(1) These fishermen still need to buy boats. Supply points are far away in Francistown or Maun, and if they buy them through the Ministry of Agriculture it usually takes a long time.

(2) Marketing still remains a problem. Currently the fish markets are in Francistown and Selebi-Phikwe where there are no regular buyers. Fishermen have to retail in marketplaces or to private houses.

(3) Transport used consists of public buses or catching lifts, i.e., six hours by public transport to Francistown.

(4) Fishing equipment and nets in particular are difficult to find. BAMB apparently orders them from Japan and they take a long time to reach Mopipi, although recently some have been stored in the BAMB depot in Letlhakane.

**4.1.1.6 Future Plans.** Despite these real problems, the fishermen want to continue fishing. They would like government to help them improve their standards individually, not as an organized group. They wish they could get loans to purchase their equipment and are prepared to repay even with interest. They gather that with their average income of P100 to P150 per month, they would be able to do so.

#### **4.1.2 "New Fisheries" (Second Group)**

**4.1.2.1 Origin and Membership.** As already mentioned, this group broke off from the previous one. It includes seven members of the previous group, and the total membership amounts to twenty-four, including nine female members. The group is managed by a committee of five executives. This group currently occupies the site initially allocated to the first group and is working to complete two storage huts.

**4.1.2.2 Status.** Bylaws were completed at the end of 1981. A joining fee was set at P1 per member. None of the registered members paid their fee. Prior to raising funds, the group intends to complete their storage buildings. Currently, the group has no funds available.

The group requested the following from government: 1 boat, 2 engines, 20 nets, 6 buckets, 6 knives, 20 bags of salt (50 kg), 50 empty bags, 1 wheelbarrow, 4 brushes, 1 table, 200 liters of petrol, 8 bins, thread, and needles.

On 9 September 1982, the group received P4,058.40 from AE10 funds. They plan to buy additional boats with Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) assistance. A pair of fishermen would share one boat (P500), 70 percent of which (P350) would be covered by FAP and the remaining 30 percent (P150) by the fishermen themselves. Assistance in paying this 30 percent could be obtained through National Development Bank (NDB) loans. However, the Fisheries officer said that AE10 group members were not eligible for FAP.

In addition to the members who received some training in the first group, eight additional members attended a workshop on river fishing in Maun (1980) and another on bookkeeping in Mahalapye (2-4 April 1980).

#### 4.1.2.3 Problems

(1) Group interviews and observations indicated that this group does not have much understanding of group organization and does not know the fundamental purpose of group formation.

(2) There is little group cohesiveness or participation among the members. Meetings are poorly attended and there has not been much implementation on the fishing site.

(3) Respondents appeared genuinely interested in improving their group management skills and complained of receiving little guidance or help. They stated that the AD did "not help in any way," that he neither provides them with information nor shows up for their meetings. They further reported that, if he does come, he usually walks out before the end.

(4) It appears that nothing fundamentally different from the first group is actually happening in the new group. Many of them still fish privately in Phorokwe and are not too concerned about the group fishing. This seems to suggest that the reason for forming this group was access to government subsidies.

#### 4.1.3 Machana Fencing Group

4.1.3.1 Origin and Membership. The Machana FG was initiated in 1979 with the support of the AD in order to protect crops against game and domestic animals. Currently, there are 55 members, including a committee of 5 executives.

4.1.3.2 Group Status. Machana FG applied to the SLB in 1979 and the application was approved on 7 July 1979. The AE10 application was approved on 2 February 1980 in the amount of P2,100.

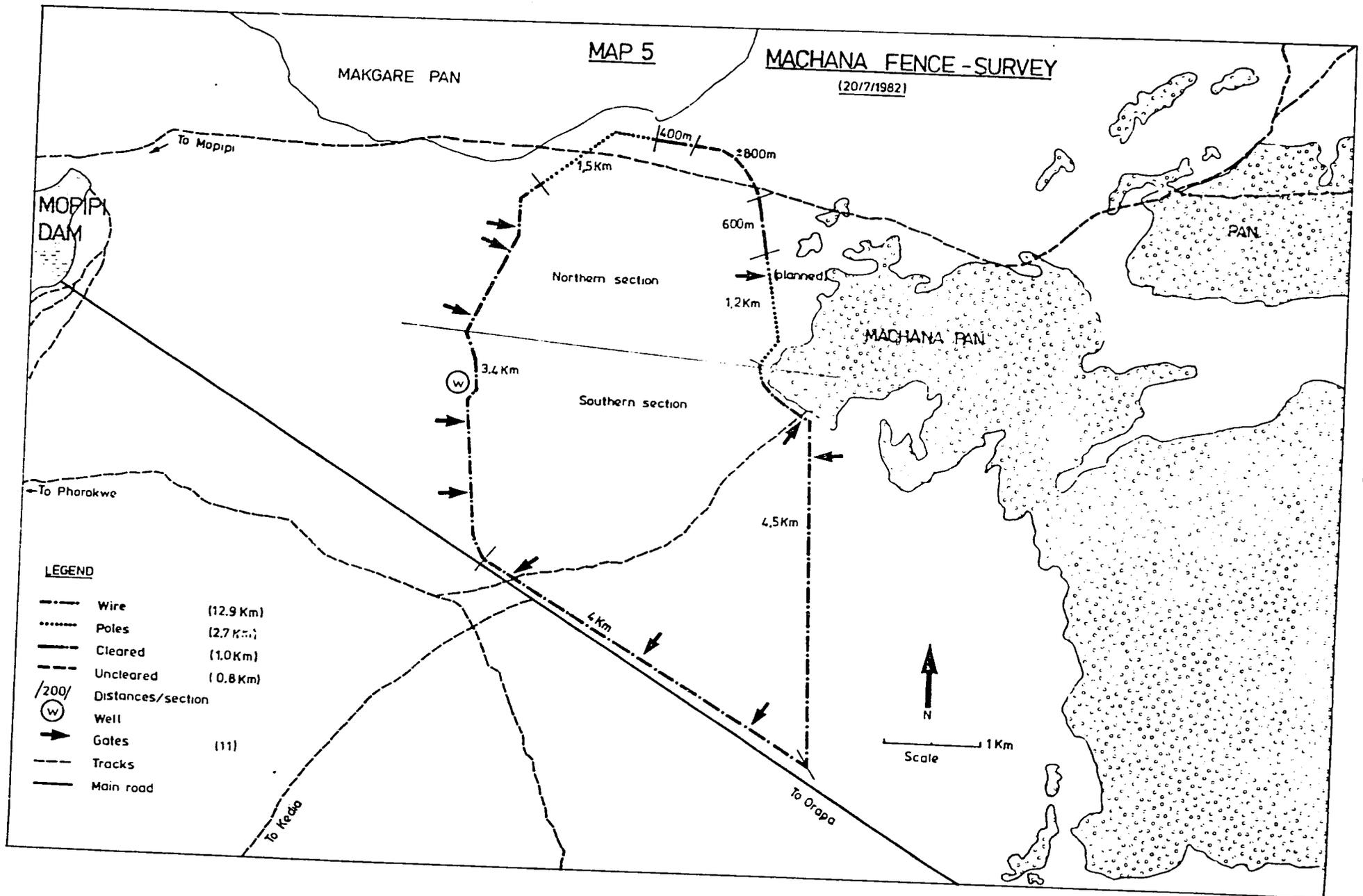
Joining fees have been set at P5 per member, and the total cash balance amounts to P137.

The group received 35 rolls of high strand wire, 3 roles of binding wire, and 1 role of galvanized anchor wire from AE10. The group reports to FC prior to reporting to the chief.

4.1.3.3 Project Progress. The Machana fence is an enclosure adjacent to the north of the Orapa-Mopipi main road, 12.5 km from Mopipi village (see map 5).

The total fence measures 17.4 km, of which 12.9 km have been completed with 5 strands high-strand wire and 2.7 km with poles; 7 additional kilometers are cleared and approximately 800 meters still are to be cleared. Provision for 10 gates has been made along the completed sections, but none has been fixed. An additional one has been planned in the eastern part of the northern section.

4.1.3.4 Group Organization. This fence basically is the work of three determined members who work at it as if it were their own private fence, with



very little support from the general membership. A donation of P596, in four installments, was made by Orapa mine workers who cannot physically contribute to the project. With this money the few key members hire workers to work at the fence. Most of that money was used as follows.

P363 was spent on: fencing (at approximately P1 per day); digging holes (at 20t/hole in rocky locations and 10t/hole in sandy locations); and cutting poles (at about 25t per pole). An extra P20 was spent on cement, and P76 was given to the chairman to hire people on his section (northern section). The current balance is P137.

While the FG chairman supervises the northern section of the fence, the vice-chairman and treasurer supervise the southern one.

The group bylaws state that, if a member does not work physically at the project, he/she has to contribute P5 monthly. There is a fine of 50t for coming late and P5 after two warnings for not participating without reason. If members refuse to pay fines, they can be excluded from the group. An expelled member can join the group again but has to pay P80, and members who did not participate at all and those who want to join after completion of the fence have to pay P160.

4.1.3.5 Future Plans. The group intends to contact De Beers in order to reticulate a domestic water pipe to the lands from the main pipeline along the Orapa road.

#### 4.1.3.6 Problems

(1) This FG is not functioning as a group. Only a few members actually work at the project but managed to benefit from AE10 subsidies by hiring workers with Orapa members' contributions.

(2) This group also suffers from poor understanding of group operations and group organization. The committee itself is disorganized and divided because the chairman, chosen only on the basis of his influence on the chief, is not much involved in fencing but nonetheless complains when other executives take initiatives such as paying workers in his absence.

(3) The group lacks basic skills. The treasurer is illiterate. Meeting records are not kept. While the secretary keeps the ledgers, the treasurer keeps the cash.

(4) Machana FG also suffers from mismanagement. P30 from the cash balance is missing and has apparently been loaned out to a private individual. Another group member sold 38 poles to a Mopipi resident without any executive member knowing it. The FC brought the case to the kgotla. The poles were eventually returned, but the buyer has not recovered his money since the person who sold the poles disappeared with it.

(5) The planning exercise overlooked the fact that there was a Herero cemetery in the area. These graves have been fenced in. As a result, the Herero cut the fence to obtain access to their graveyard. Despite a kgotla

resolution to find a new site for the cemetery, the Herero persist in cutting the fence.

(6) The fencing project faces increasing pressure from other farmers who now want to start plowing in the fenced area. At least three cases were reported of farmers who moved into the fenced area without SIB's approval. In two of them, the FG chairman himself had actually allocated land inside the fence (kgotla meeting attended on 8 August 1982). These cases were reported but no action has yet been taken (see also above, Leadership, 2.4.4.1-2).

(7) A large number of members have not yet contributed either physically or in cash. The leaders count on the enforcement of their bylaws to recover the funds. If the bylaws are enforced, the group will end up with over P700 profit. Given the problems mentioned in (5) and the general leadership problems in the community (see above, 2.4.4.1-3), it still remains to be seen whether the chief and Sub-Land Board will ultimately be able to enforce these bylaws.

(8) The project also faces some technical problems, particularly in the eastern part on rocky soil. In that section, poles are only 1 ft deep. The fence does not resist much pressure and is regularly knocked down by ostriches. In addition, beer parties held at the lands contribute to the deterioration of the fence. People cross the fence by climbing between the strands, thus loosening both wire and poles.

(9) Finally, the Machana FG lacks support. The respondents complained that the AD does not give them any assistance. He was reported as neither checking fencing progress nor showing them anything. One member stated that "he just waits for his monthly salary."

#### 4.1.4 Morula Fencing Group

4.1.4.1 Origin and Membership. Morula FG started almost simultaneously with the Machana project in 1979. Morula group was promoted by the Group Development Officer (GDO)/Maun who emphasized the benefits of group formation.

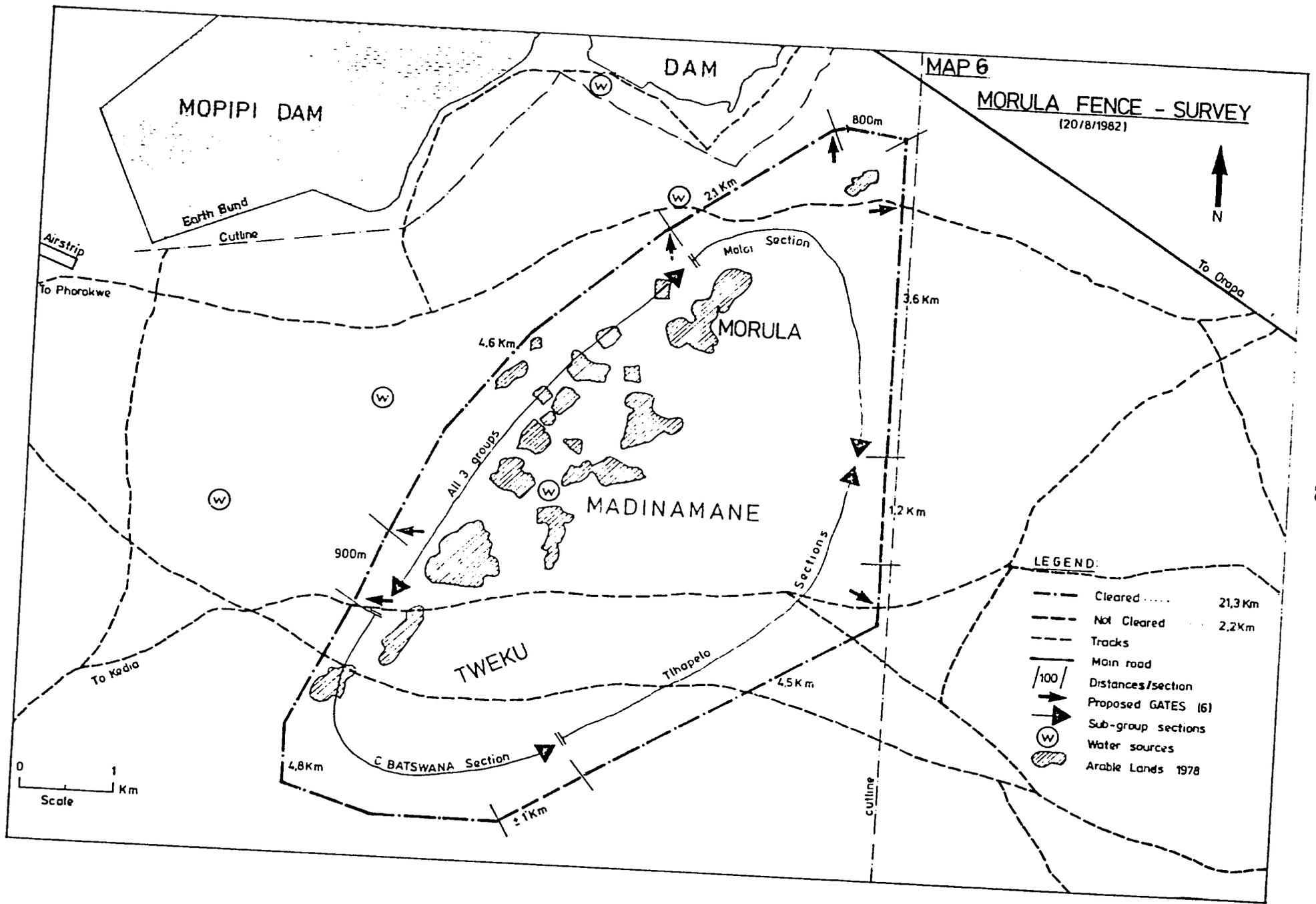
The current membership amounts to 52 members directly managed by the FC.

4.1.4.2 Status. The Morula group is at the clearing stage. It completed its bylaws in 1980. SLB applications were processed in April 1979, and the project was approved on 24 October 1980.

The group applied for AE10 funds on 11 February 1982, and funds were approved on 9 July 1982 for an allocation of P2,390.

The joining fee has been set at P10 per member, but no one has yet paid and the group has no available cash. Poles have been cut and the line is almost cleared (see map 6).

On 20 August 1982 the Morula group received 48 rolls of wire from AE10 funds (40 rolls high strand wire, 3 rolls binding wire, and 5 rolls galvanized anchor wire) and intends to start fencing in September.



4.1.4.3 Progress. The Morula fence is an enclosure south of Mopipi Dam, adjacent west to the outline running north-south, 1 km east of Mopipi Dam (see map 6). The whole enclosure measures 23.5 km, of which 21.3 km have been cleared and 2.2 km still are to be cleared. Along the line a total of 6 gates are currently proposed. Morula FG is organized into 3 subgroups to work at the fence. All 3 groups work together at the northwestern section. Map 6 also shows Morula lands mapped from 1978 air photographs (courtesy of J.I.E. Breyer, August 1982).

4.1.4.4 Problems. The basic problem reported by the Morula group respondents was lack of support. They complained about the lack of interest shown by their AD in the project. Despite repeated invitations to come and encourage fencing activities at Morula lands, he is reported never to have gone there. Others maintain that he has not yet seen the Morula project.

#### 4.1.5 Maka Borehole Syndicate

4.1.5.1 Origins and Membership. This syndicate was initiated in 1980 with the support of AD/Lefhoko. This syndicate is composed of five members, all relatives, who decided to sink a common borehole in the sandveld south of Mopipi. Since 1960 the Maka area had been unoccupied because it was apparently infested with lions. Currently the number of lions has diminished and grazing in the area is plentiful. Thus, this family association decided to drill their borehole in Maka.

4.1.5.2 Status. Maka Syndicate does not have any bylaws yet and no joining fee is imposed, but they share the expenses involved. No funds have yet been raised.

4.1.5.3 Activities and Plans. So far the syndicate has upgraded the road to Maka and are actually looking for a drilling machine. If water is plentiful, they also intend to form a tick control group.

4.1.5.4 Problems. The syndicate has not yet faced too many problems since it is still in its early implementation stage. Among those encountered are: the difficulty of finding a drilling machine, the long time it took to have the project approved (two years), the lack of assistance from the AD--he was said to be "too lazy to visit cattleposts."

#### 4.1.6 Setata Borehole Syndicate

4.1.6.1 Origin and History. The Setata boreholes were apparently drilled before independence, in British Protectorate time. After independence the three boreholes became the property of Mr. R.A. Bailey. When Mr. Bailey left the area some ten years ago, they fell under Council ownership and some five years ago were advertised for sale.

In 1978 a Mopipi resident applied for one of them. He was called for an interview with the Council, but the invitation arrived too late and he failed to arrive on time for the meeting. Following up his request, he was then told that Setata boreholes were no longer allocated to individuals but only to groups. In order to satisfy the new application requirement, the person in

question organized a few people to form a group with him. By the end of 1978 those people applied to the SLB as a group, but their application was not considered for a long time. In the meanwhile, the group discovered that the SLB had changed its mind and wanted to allocate the borehole to someone else. The group then turned to the District Officer (DO) in Orapa for help, pointing out that the new applicant did not really need an additional borehole since he already had five in the area. They also emphasized that they had been the first applicants for it and that it had been decided to allocate it to groups. The DO put pressure on the SLB, which finally did allocate the borehole to the group in 1982. Despite this, the group still has no official certificate of grant and fears that their borehole could still be given to someone else.

**4.1.6.2 Status.** This syndicate still is at an early stage. It has five members, the minimum number required to form a syndicate. The group is not yet organized, has no bylaws, and has no funds. Members intend to contribute P200 per member, and the number of cattle to be watered at the borehole will be determined according to the water capacity.

#### **4.1.6.3 Problems**

(1) The allocation process has been and still is a problem in itself. Members interviewed felt that "nepotism and ineffectiveness of government officials account for many problems groups face in the village."

(2) Cleaning the borehole is the second major problem. Since the borehole has not been in use for approximately 20 years, it needs to be redrilled. The group arranged to have the work done by a well-established borehole driller from Serowe. His workers and equipment were to arrive from Letlhakane to Setata on 13 August 1982 and were to meet with the group at the borehole. After hiring a truck and paying P55 for transport to reach Setata, the group discovered that nobody had come to the agreed place and time and that nothing had been done on the borehole.

The driller, on the other hand, maintains that the borehole had been cleaned and the work completed. The group had already paid a deposit of P150 and wasted another P55 on transport. The matter was still pending at the time of writing.

#### **4.1.7 Mopipi Cooperative**

**4.1.7.1 Origins.** The Mopipi Cooperative was first initiated in 1976 on the recommendation of AD/Lefhoko who explained the advantages the community could draw from such an institution. The FC took the idea to the village kgotla where it was accepted.

**4.1.7.2 History.** The nature and purpose of the cooperative appear to have been a combination of a marketing and a consumers' cooperative. Just as in Xhumo, many members joined particularly because of the consumers' aspect of the intended cooperative. A joining fee was set at P2, and 217 members registered. Funds raised at that time amounted to P120 in cash; others contributed cattle.

The contributions, however, were found insufficient to establish a viable cooperative. The organization was temporarily idled until 1979 when the manager of Serowe Marketing Cooperative heard of the Mopipi Cooperative's efforts. The manager contacted the chief who took him to the FC, and the FC followed his advice. The first step the Serowe manager took was to raise fees from P2 to P10 per member. He also emphasized that in order to function effectively the Mopipi Cooperative needed support from the Serowe branch. All his suggestions were unanimously accepted.

A first shipment of maize arrived in Mopipi and was stored in the hut of the person who became the Mopipi Cooperative manager. This first effort encouraged new members to join the cooperative, and the number of members who contributed either in cash or in cattle increased to 273. In the meantime, the Serowe manager registered the Mopipi Cooperative under Serowe, and all funds raised (approximately P3,000 in total value) became Serowe Marketing Cooperative property. The Serowe Cooperative had become notorious for mismanagement of funds during recent years, and money collected from Mopipi Cooperative was included in this misuse. When membership cards made out to Serowe Cooperative came, some Mopipi members became suspicious and requested explanations. The Serowe manager reassured them, saying that by being affiliated to Serowe Cooperative Mopipi could benefit from many donor agency funds, such as European Economic Community (EEC), and that it was safer to have the backing of a well-established cooperative to start operating successfully. Some apparently were reassured, but many remained skeptical. At the same time, CID officers who were already investigating similar abuses by the Serowe Cooperative manager relating to cattle marketing intervened and formally told the membership not to contribute any more money to their cooperative. The local MP who happened to tour the area at that time heard of the problem and promised to look into the matter personally.

Mopipi members, however, did not want to have their funds reimbursed because what they wanted and still want is a cooperative.

**4.1.7.3 New Cooperative.** On the advice of the DO, two representatives of the Department of Cooperatives were sent to Mopipi early this year to explain the basic purpose and functions of a cooperative. They suggested a marketing cooperative. They also told the members that the former money would be returned to the FC and that it would be up to the members to decide on the future use of those funds. It was also suggested to continue fund-raising and to call for help if needed. The FC did write and a cooperative officer was to return to Mopipi as of April 1983, but nobody has yet come.

**4.1.7.4 Status.** In the meantime, the new cooperative applied for new registration but has not yet received a reply. The cooperative applied to SLB for a plot which was approved in May 1982.

The cooperative is managed directly by FC. New fees are set at P20 per member and one animal. So far, six members paid the new fee and the total cash balance amounts to P107 (one paid P7, while twenty-five others contributed one animal). No training is organized yet.

#### 4.1.7.5 Problems

(1) **Confusion of Purpose and Objectives.** This cooperative had no clear understanding of the specific purpose of their cooperative. While many members expected it to play essentially a marketing role, the majority wanted a consumers' cooperative. When they realized that the cooperative was actually selling goods at the same price and sometimes at higher prices than other shops, many became disillusioned and complained.

(2) **Basic Misconception of What a Cooperative Is.** Most members only expect benefits from their cooperative without understanding the basic principles necessary for functioning on a cooperative basis. This also seems to be a genuine problem within the Department of Cooperatives itself.

(3) **Organization and Running Operations.** The cooperative has received virtually no training since 1976 except for the sporadic talks given by the cooperative officers, often in time of crisis.

(4) **Past Experience.** The development of this cooperative has been seriously impaired by the direct interference of a senior cooperative officer who, under the pretext of providing help to the cooperative, registered it under his own cooperative and seized its funds. As a result of being cheated, people have become hesitant and feel that still more money may be stolen.

(5) Finally, internal leadership conflicts led to a controversy over site allocation. The chief approved a plot in Gotswegotswe ward of the Bateti, strongly objected to by the FC which did not want the cooperative to be controlled by Gotswegotswe ward's headman. (See above, Leadership, 2.4.4.1-3.)

#### 4.2 Mopipi Voluntary Institutions

Mopipi modern institutions identified include the following: Independence Committee, Catering Committee, Village Health Committee, Botswana Council of Women, Parent-Teachers Association, 4-B Club.

##### 4.2.1 Independence Committee

4.2.1.1 **Description.** Because of general lack of organization in the community during independence festivities, a committee of eleven members was formed in January 1976 with four specific objectives: (1) keep order during the celebrations; (2) attend to guests and supervise meal preparation; (3) raise additional funds; (4) support the chief in the overall organization and preparation of these festivities.

4.2.1.2 **Activities.** This committee is rather a periodic committee which functions only a few months before the independence celebrations. Its activities are limited to: drawing up a program of local celebrations with a schedule of events and invitations; contacting and coordinating possible activities with neighboring communities; organizing and supervising the meals.

4.2.1.3 **Funds.** Currently the committee has P1.65 in cash raised from concerts, beer parties, and donations.

#### 4.2.1.4 Problems

(1) This committee suffers from misuse of funds and mismanagement in general. In 1981 the committee borrowed P40 and failed to repay it.

(2) Both the secretary and the treasurer resigned over the issue of missing funds, and no one else has been elected. As a result, no records are kept and the committee has become totally disorganized.

(3) This committee gets very little support (if any) from the VDC in their efforts to organize community festivities, but rather relies on the chief for material and organizational support.

#### 4.2.2 Catering Committee

4.2.2.1 Origin and Description. On the occasion of the 1981 Youth Rally, a committee of six members was elected in order to raise funds for the rally day, cater for visitors, and organize food. The committee raised P70, most of which was spent during the rally day, and the remaining balance was given to the Youth Council.

4.2.2.2 Future Plans. Reviving this ad hoc committee and establishing it on a permanent basis so as to have an available institution responsible for any event that may take place in the community is currently being considered.

#### 4.2.3 Village Health Committee (VHC)

4.2.3.1 Origin and Membership. Mopipi VHC was initiated on 13 February 1980 by Dr. Hoyng, the Francistown RMO. A kgotla meeting was organized to receive him and a committee was elected the very same day in his presence. This committee is composed of eleven members, including an executive committee of five.

4.2.3.2 Objectives. Objectives as presented at the initial kgotla meeting were as follows: improve nutritional standards in the community; assist medical staff in identifying sick people; encourage them to attend treatment; promote sanitation, more specifically, the use of latrines and refuse pits.

4.2.3.3 Status. In 1982 the VHC met three times: on 14 January (three members attended), on 31 January (five members attended), on 20 March (four members attended). The object of these meetings was not recorded.

VHC funds amount to P10 from donations and fees of 50T per member.

The committee completed four village visits during 1982 with a view to encouraging residents to clean their yards and refrain from using the bushes on the lake shore as public latrines. The general answer to their efforts has been that the soil is too rocky to dig pits and latrines are unnecessary.

4.2.3.4 Plans. The VHC intends to build a public latrine at the bus stop and a slaughtering shelter. A small fee will be imposed for using the shelter in order to be able to finance additional projects.

#### 4.2.3.5 Problems

(1) Many problems of this committee relate to the selection process used to establish it. Members were elected on the spot at the kgotla, almost without warning, and were not prepared or equipped to assume such responsibilities.

(2) As a result, the VHC never learned how to operate and has no skilled members to do administration. The VHC is disorganized and lacks a funding strategy. Records are not kept. Members want to be paid.

(3) The VHC also suffers from mismanagement. The little money raised was misused by the secretary.

(4) Training has been minimal. The only guidance the VHC has so far received has been the initial background information received two years ago at the kgotla.

(5) The VHC reported that clinic staff tend to stifle their initiatives in the community by monopolizing all health issues. It also complained that health staff point out their ignorance rather than providing guidance to their efforts.

(6) The VHC, as most other local institutions, suffers from the ethnic tensions dividing the community. Being composed essentially of Bakalanga, the VHC receives little attention from Bateti residents. (See also Leadership, 2.4.4.1-3.)

#### 4.2.4 Botswana Council of Women (BCW)

4.2.4.1 Origin and History. Mopipi BCW was initiated in 1977 with the encouragement of a group of Letlhakane BCW women. A committee of five members was elected in kgotla and the total membership amounts to fifteen members. The BCW intended to teach knitting and cooking to other housewives in order to raise their earnings and improve living standards. These objectives, however, never materialized because there has never been much agreement among the members on the kind of activities BCW ought to undertake. At one stage, for example, some members intended to build kgotla toilets, but this project also never materialized.

On 5 August 1982 BCW attempted a new start with the help of the ACDO. A meeting was called and a new committee of five elected. Resolutions were taken to raise new funds by organizing a village raffle at 25t per ticket.

4.2.4.2 Status. The BCW is supposed to hold meetings every Wednesday and Saturday. In reality, BCW rarely meets. The last meeting was held on 5 May 1980.

The BCW raised P105 and 2 rolls of wool. Of that total, P40 was contributed by the Orapa BCW. The remaining balance was raised from concerts, parties, and a 25t/member/month fee. These funds are currently unused or lost.

Training is minimal. The chairlady only attended adult education sessions before 1977 while she lived in Rakops.

The BCW does not liaise with any coordinating committee. It relies on the chief to call its meetings.

#### 4.2.4.3 Problems

(1) No sense of purpose and a confused understanding of BCW objectives have considerably impaired that institution. BCW reported that their council would do "anything they wished to do."

(2) Lack of understanding of BCW operations and group organization has prevented the BCW from operating effectively. No meetings are called and no records kept.

(3) Lack of training in group skills and group management results in a nearly complete paralysis of the group. Before leaving the village the secretary remitted P92 to the vice-chairlady. This transaction was recorded on a loose sheet of paper. Members knew that the amount remitted was less than the group's total cash balance but no records exist to prove it. Meanwhile, the vice-chairlady was requested to bring the P92 to the BCW committee. But apparently "the cash box key is lost." The membership suspects that these funds too have been misused. The vice-chairlady was also asked to replace two rolls of missing wool. The case is still under investigation.

(4) Finally, BCW members reported that husbands and boy friends considerably inhibit the group because women still have to request permission from their male partners for virtually everything they do (see also above, 3.3.1.5 (4).)

#### 4.2.5 Parent-Teachers Association (PTA)

4.2.5.1 Origin and Objectives. The Mopipi PTA started in 1975. A new committee, reelected in 1981, is still in office. The PTA is composed of ten members chosen in kgotla for a period of one year.

The PTA's objectives are: promoting cooperation between teachers and parents and settling possible disputes; raising funds for the cook's salary and sports activities; advising the head teacher on the allocation of secondary school bursaries at the end of each academic year; promoting parents' involvement in their children's education; maintaining good communications between parents and teachers.

4.2.5.2 Status. The PTA meets as needs arise. Fees are set at 80t per child. The 1981 PTA raised P340 used for sports and school activities.

#### 4.2.5.3 Problems

(1) The fundamental problem of the Mopipi PTA appears to be the low value parents place on education. Some of them take their children from school and send them to the cattlepost to herd cattle.

(2) The PTA thus finds it difficult to involve parents in school activities and to have them contribute school fees. It was reported that parents will come to school only if they can get something in return, such as food, but even then they don't want to participate in the cooking.

#### 4.2.6 4-B Club

4.2.6.1 Membership. The Mopipi 4-B Club started in 1970. Currently, 114 pupils are registered under the leadership of a committee of eleven members composed of five teachers and seven adult residents.

4.2.6.2 Status. The 4-B Club is primarily involved in basket weaving and crafts. It intends to start a vegetable garden.

The club raised P142 from selling crafts and school concerts. The club sent two students to specialized courses in the hope of diversifying club activities. One went to a course in photography; another, to secretarial workshops.

#### 4.2.6.3 Problems

(1) The club remains a school-based organization not much supported by residents. Few parents see any advantage or purpose in such clubs basically because the population has not much understanding of what 4-B Clubs are and can do. As a result, no parent has joined the club yet, and when school closes all 4-B activities also come to a halt.

(2) Because of the relatively low value the general population attributes to 4-B clubs, people are reluctant to contribute either funds or labor.

(3) The 4-B committee also reported that there was little guidance or support from either the ACDO or the AD. While the ACDO was said not to see any role she could possibly play in such clubs, the AD was reported to have slowed down the vegetable garden project by saying that the Ministry of Agriculture would not advance AE10 funds until the Machana FG had completed fencing. Respondents also complained that their AD had lent 4-B tools to a carpenter and that the tools had disappeared.

(4) Finally, the club committee suffers from poor administrative skills and management. Records are not properly kept, and 4-B time is often used to carry out other domestic school activities.

### 4.3 Mopipi Coordinating Committees

#### 4.3.1 Farmers Committee (FC)

4.3.1.1 Origin and Objectives. The Mopipi FC was started in 1975 by AD/Lefhoko with the following intended objectives: encouraging local production through the adoption of improved farming techniques; promoting and facilitating farmers' solidarity and responding to farming problems in the community (this was to be achieved by encouraging the formation of agricultural groups in order to have access to government subsidies); establishing an organization through

which farmers can market their produce and sell livestock (the marketing cooperative indeed is directly managed by FC; see above, 4.1.7.1-2).

In 1977 the first FC, composed of five executives and eight ordinary members, was officially elected. With the support of their AD, three members of that committee adopted progressive practices and agreed to row plant their fields as a demonstration to other farmers. The current FC was elected in 1979. Two former executives remained on the new committee and an additional member was added. The FC is now composed of fourteen members.

**4.3.1.2 Status.** The FC set a joining fee of P4 per member, and its current cash balance amounts to P122.

The FC claims to manage both Machana and Morula FGs, the two borehole syndicates, the fisheries, and the cooperative.

In reality, its fundamental role of coordination is limited to forwarding to the chief the various problems arising in the different agricultural subgroups. In both fencing groups, the FC as such never had and still does not have much input. (See above, Machana and Morula FGs, 4.1.3.4 and 4.1.3.6 (6-7) and 4.1.4.1.) In Machana it never had much influence, and the direct management it claims to have in Morula arises more from the fact that most FC members plow in Morula than from direct management concerns. Similar sorts of management are observed with the cooperative and with the other groups where the FC plays a role only of intermediary between them and the chief.

In 1981, one member attended an FC workshop in Rakops. In 1980, two members participated in an FC seminar in Maun.

Mopipi FC's future plans are to build a storeroom for seeds and implements--or to find means to acquire one--and to promote ALDEP horticultural projects in the Malapo.

#### **4.3.1.3 Problems**

(1) Despite the FC's consciousness of overall coordination of farming activities, it does not seem to understand clearly the specific role and the kind of input it ought to provide to each agricultural subgroup. As a result, problems perceived by the FC relate more to storage, distance, transport, lack of implements, infrastructure (bridges), crop damage, etc., rather than to problems of overall coordination.

(2) The FC does not have a clear constitution to guide it in its operations.

(3) The executive committee is handicapped by vacancies (vice-secretary) not replaced and general lack of basic skills of its members. Neither the secretary and nor the treasurer were ever shown how to keep records.

(4) The FC also complained of the low support it receives from the chief. In 1981, despite repeated invitations, the chief never attended any FC meeting called to organize the agricultural show. Eventually, because of his withdrawal the project had to be cancelled. (See above, Leadership, 2.4.4.1-3.)

(5) Finally, the FC lacks sustained training support. FC respondents reported that, after the transfer of their former AD, the technical advice of most agricultural staff was provided primarily in the form of talks at the village kgotla. Apparently none of these officers have approached the FC directly and no practical demonstration was ever conducted.

The current AD was reported by the people to be "symbolic," "very lazy," to "confine himself to teachers' quarters," plainly to show "no interest in farming and training activities," and not to inform any committee of courses or workshops organized in the agricultural region.

#### 4.3.2 Village Development Committee (VDC)

4.3.2.1 Origin and Membership. From 1970 to date, Mopipi has had three consecutive VDCs. The first one was in office from 1970 to 1973. Since no records were kept it has been difficult to establish its membership accurately.

On 30 July 1973 a second VDC was elected in kgotla composed of five executives and thirteen ordinary members. Members of this committee were initially chosen according to their personal status in the community. This procedure was discouraged by the former ACDO, and members are now selected according to the degree of their personal involvement and active participation in community affairs.

The current VDC was elected on 9 June 1979 and is composed of five executives (including three teachers) and five additional members. VDC members are aware that new elections must be held every two years. But, because members do not attend meetings, there have not been new elections in 1981.

4.3.2.2 Self-Help. The concept of self-help was generally well defined and understood, and VDC considers it to be a valuable approach for the development of their community because it is felt that the community can achieve a great deal on its own and that government cannot supply everything to everyone. VDC's mobilization strategy consists of communicating its proposals to the people through the chief and kgotla meetings.

4.3.2.3 VDC Status. VDC had planned to meet once a month. Records, however, indicate that the VDC held 19 meetings between 3 July 1978 and 30 June 1982, all of them on an ad hoc basis.

Interviewed on what basic needs the VDC had identified in the community, members responded with an impressive list, as follows.

<u>Needs</u>	<u>Order of Priority</u>
Midwife and ambulance	1
Post office	2
Police camp	3
More boreholes in sandveld	4

<u>Needs</u>	<u>Order of Priority</u>
Community hall	5
Public toilets	6
Storeroom for farming implements	no consensus
More teachers	"
More classrooms	"
Guest houses	"
Phone	"
Bridges	"

All these needs clearly emerged for the first time as a result of our interview. None of the VDC members, let alone the community at large, had talked about any of these needs in previous VDC meetings nor had they set priorities. The order of priority shown above is a result of an exercise conducted during our meeting. Much more time would have been needed to reach consensus on the whole list. It must also be noted that the above list consists of needs identified by the VDC and, as such, is not necessarily representative of community needs.

The current cash balance amounts to P379.74 raised from slaughtering fees of 50t for cattle and 25t for goats.

Mopipi VDC has no ongoing project. Completed projects include: three rondavels behind the ACDO's home, completed in 1981; two additional houses built from October 1981 to December 1981; kgotla toilets built from October 1981 to January 1982 (in this project the bricklayer was paid P50 and the pit digger P60 out of VDC funds; the community molded 1,365 bricks).

None of the needs listed above have been firmly considered by the VDC, and since March 1981 no project application has been filed by the ACDO.

From Council Works Department records, Council support includes three classrooms, one toilet, one revenue office, and three teachers' quarters, completed on 1 June 1976. In addition, six classrooms (B), two teachers' quarters, one school kitchen, and one healthpost were completed on 10 April 1978. The ACDO's quarters and offices were opened on 9 September 1980, and the kgotla offices were completed on 14 April 1982. All these projects were undertaken on comprehensive contracts with no contribution by the community residents.

The VDC apparently tried to present a financial report to the kgotla in October 1981, but very few residents attended the meeting. In January 1982 a similar exercise was to take place, but this time the VDC itself failed to attend the kgotla meeting.

**4.3.2.4 Problems.** When our discussion approached some of the problems faced by the VDC, tension rose among the members and eventually the meeting

had to be stopped. We then pursued our inquiry by interviewing the members privately. Results of this inquiry revealed the following problems.

(1) The fundamental problem undermining VDC operations originates from tribal conflicts and leadership competition between Bakalanga and Bateti, the two predominant ethnic groups in the community. Bateti, village informal leaders and the chief (see above, Leadership, 2.4.4.1-3), consider the others as "foreigners" and resent any kind of leadership coming from them. On the other side of the fence, Bakalanga are perceived as monopolizing VDC's decisions and community control by their lack of consultation and collaboration with other members. They were accused of being "too rigid," "self-centered," and unwilling to consider anybody else's advice and suggestions.

(2) The poor understanding of VDC objectives and operations is another fundamental problem of the Mopipi VDC. The VDC does not operate according to the VDC Handbook or any other constitution. The VDC considers itself to be a private club without any community-wide obligations or accountability. It does not consult, involve, or report to the general community, despite being elected by the people. As a result, it has become divorced from the community at large.

(3) Mopipi also faces mismanagement problems. The failure to present financial reports or to account for additional funeral "ines" collected has led the community to believe that community funds were misused. That suspicion was recently confirmed when the treasurer took out P79 from the community treasury without the VDC's knowledge (kgotla meeting attended, 14 June 1982). Management problems have further reinforced the lack of confidence the community already had in its VDC, and many residents no longer associate with it.

(4) The chief attributed VDC's weaknesses to the "unwillingness of the residents to respond to VDC's initiatives." General lack of participation, according to him, is due to the fact that traditional executive powers have now faded and that chiefs can no longer exercise the authority they used to.

(5) Most other institutions' leaders, and a few headmen, concur in saying that their chief is weak, partial, and unreliable. Three of them mentioned that, when the VDC decided to initiate the 1981 housing project, the chief (ex officio VDC member) had first given his support within the VDC itself, but by the time he called the kgotla meeting he had changed his mind and, in front of the community, failed to support the VDC proposal. (See above, Leadership, 2.4.4.1-3.)

(6) According to the ACDO, the Mopipi VDC is only "symbolic." Since March 1981 she reported that she "only saw names of people who are said to be VDC members, but never saw any meeting being convened." However, she apparently started to contact a few members with a view to conducting new VDC elections.

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\* It was recently decided that people expected to attend funerals would be fined P4 if they did not come. Those funds amount to P16 and are kept in the VDC treasury.

## 5. Extension

### 5.1 Introduction

This section gives a brief history of Village Extension Teams (VETs) and some observations on extension staff. In each CFDA community, a VET has recently been attempted.

Extension workers include the following: one ACDO, covering Mopipi, Kedia, Xhumo, and Toromoja; three ADs--one in Mopipi, one in Xhumo, one in Kedia; one VA in Mopipi, residing most of the time in Serowe; three FWEs--one in Mopipi, one in Xhumo, one for Kedia but temporarily stationed in Mopipi; three head teachers--one in Mopipi, one in Kedia, one in Xhumo.

### 5.2 Village Extension Teams (VET)

Reasons for initiating VETs, objectives and operations of VETs are generally confused and vary from one community to the next.

#### 5.2.1 Mopipi VET

5.2.1.1 First VET. In Mopipi the first attempt to form a VET was made in May 1982 by the Assistant Council Secretary (ACS) from Letlhakane, who gave specific instructions in kgotla on VET membership and objectives. He first informed the community that VETs were to be composed of every institutional leader in the community, including chief, clinic staff, and community service workers (Tirelo Sechaba).

Second, the VET's main objectives were: to advise and help all committees in the community meet their needs (such as requesting assistance from Council and central government agencies); to work together as a team; to raise funds for community projects; to supervise and follow up on work, performance, and progress of all village institutions.

The only concrete achievement of the first VET was to raise sufficient funds to pay transport expenses for teachers who had agreed to come ahead of schooltime to organize the presidential reception in Mopipi. In addition, the team held a few meetings to discuss fund-raising strategies for purchasing their record books.

5.2.1.2 Second VET. After attending a VET seminar in Letlhakane on 5 June 1982, most CFDA extension staff realized that VET roles and objectives, as presented in the seminar, were somewhat different from those they were actually pursuing at home. Extension staff understood that a VET primarily was a team composed of local extension staff responsible to provide guidance and support to their VDC's development efforts. It also became clearer that, in order to better coordinate village development, extension workers had to become more aware of each other's work, role, and responsibilities.

As a result of the Letlhakane seminar, extension workers plan to start a VET on a new basis. But most of them feel somewhat inhibited by some of the implications which a new start entails: starting a new VET implies dissolving

the first one established by the ACS; in turn, dissolving the first VET requires giving the members of the first team acceptable reasons for dissolving it and for having primary extension workers sitting on its replacement; deciding the kind of structure the new VET ought to develop and who should be taking the lead still remain as unanswered questions. By their very function all extension workers occupy predominant positions in the community. It is felt that one of them must break the ice and encourage others to come together, yet none of them really feels that he/she ought to be the one taking such a step.

Despite the reasonably good explanation of VET objectives at the Letlhakane seminar, extension workers do not see much difference between a VET and any other local institution. During our interview, VET participants were ready to elect on the spot a new VET with its own committee of five executives and start fund-raising.

5.2.2 Xhumo VET. Xhumo extension workers also attended the same VET seminar at Letlhakane on 5 June 1982, and many of the observations as in Mopipi can be made. On their return from the seminar, they attempted to form a VET for the first time. An executive committee was elected and fund-raising started. Yet the VET did not consider their connections with the VDC and did not know how their funds would be used.

5.2.3 Problems of VETs. Mopipi VET's history in itself points to several problems.

(1) Some senior Council officers (and likely others) are not themselves fully aware of the specific roles, objectives, and operations of VETs or of extension work in general.

(2) This first problem, in turn, points to the poor degree of coordination currently existing between DET and VETs. Another VDC workshop was conducted in Toromoja in August 1982 by the Letlhakane staff without S&CD's or DET's knowledge.

(3) Random intervention of unqualified staff in communities results in general confusion and considerably inhibits development and effectiveness of local institutions.

(4) Results of the Letlhakane seminar must lead one to question the appropriateness of the workshop design itself. The fact that intellectually extension workers know the purpose and operations of a VET reasonably well but in practice organize it on the model of any other village committee suggests that the seminar design might not have been sufficiently practical and action oriented.

(5) Seminar results also indicate that sporadic workshops, however good they might be, are not sufficient. Rather, VETs require additional organizational guidelines tailored to each specific village situation and consistent follow-up in order to operate effectively.

### 5.3 Extension Staff (Observations)

5.3.1 ACDO. The current ACDO took office in Mopipi in March 1981. This was her first posting, and she is expected to cover by bicycle a wide extension

area that encompasses four agricultural extension areas --Mopipi, Xhumo, Kedia, and Toromoja--with their respective lands and cattleposts.

**5.3.1.1 Performance.** Apart from the Mopipi BCW (see above, 4.2.4), members of most institutions do not know her specific role and complain that they receive little training and support in their village committees. Xhumo VDC reported that they see her only when she comes to announce official visits or the arrival of other government officers (see above, VDC, 3.4.2.7(3)). Yet, if someone requests specific assistance, most respondents concur in saying that the ACDO is prepared to help.

It appears that the ACDO's basic attitude is to wait for people to come to her rather than for her to go to people (see also her comments on VDC, 4.3.2.4(6)). She commits much of her time to office work and too little time is actually spent with the various village committees in assessing problems and extending skills, let alone with the communities at large. As a result, most institutions, including VETs and VDCs, do not know their specific roles and operations and lack basic group skills, such as decision-making and group organization methods, how to hold and conduct meetings, consultation processes, record keeping, bookkeeping, calendar of events, etc.

On many occasions, the ACDO also gave the clear impression of not being herself too familiar with roles and operations of local institutions and of not knowing very much about dealing with institutional problems.

#### **5.3.1.2 Problems**

(1) Some of these observations lead to serious questions about the quality and appropriateness of training currently given to ACDOs. Those cadres do not seem to have the rudiments of community animation, group and communication skills, and basic adult education techniques necessary for community work.

(2) Considering the large amount of time CD work requires to be devoted to each village institution, the current extension area size (larger than the CFDA) is unmanageable.

(3) When such an area has to be covered by bicycle, CD work becomes physically impossible because of distances and sandy conditions.

(4) Because the various extension areas do not coincide, the overall coordination of extension efforts remains problematic. In the CFDA alone, the ACDO has to work with three different ADs, three FWEs, and three head teachers who live in other villages. Those cadres often have different interests and perceptions of what extension ought to be, depending on the community they are attached to, and their own personal understanding of extension often differs.

(5) The ACDO also lacks guidance and supervision in her work.\*

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

(6) Finally, appointment procedures ought to balance caliber and experience of ACDOs against the degree of difficulty found in respective extension areas. The fact that the current ACDO's first posting was Mopipi area, where polygamy is extensive and women have little say, if any, in most decisions (see above, BCWs, 3.3.1.5(4) and 4.2.4.3(4)), appears to have stifled her initial enthusiasm. This, combined with her relatively young age, means that her audience and influence in the community are considerably reduced.

5.3.2 ADs. Although no formal measure of effectiveness was used to evaluate ADs' work, results from interviews and observations revealed considerable differences in their performance.

A first general observation was that ADs do not seem very familiar with Farmers Committees as defined in Central Agricultural Region and do not hinge their extension efforts on FCs (see above, purpose of FCs, 3.1(3)).

5.3.2.1 Xhumo. The AD's performance in Xhumo was both observed and unanimously reported to be satisfactory. The AD is respected for his hard work and interest in the farming community and other village organizations (e.g., 4-B). He has also been quite helpful and showed appreciable interest in the research conducted.

5.3.2.2 Mopipi. Mopipi community, on the other hand, faces serious problems with its AD. His performance is at best very poor, if not detrimental to the farming community. Every single agricultural group and most other respondents complained about his lack of interest in community efforts and the minute amount of assistance he actually provides. (See above, Problems, in FC, Fisheries, FGs, Borehole Syndicate, 4-B et al.).

In some instances he was reported to be a "a stumbling block in village development" for the following reasons. (1) At least two farmers reported they were discouraged by their AD from adopting the ALDEP pilot project in horticulture because he pretended not to know anything about it. (2) Others explained that the former AD had divided arable lands into subareas and supplied each of them with implements at the lands. The current AD apparently took all these implements back to the village and they are currently not being used. As a result, those farmers now intend to apply for NDB loans in order to purchase their own planters and cultivators. (3) After repeated invitations to go to Morula and encourage participation in the fencing project, the AD was reported to have never come nor seen the Morula fence (see also above, Morula FG, 4.1.4.4).

Some of the following quotes, collected during informal talks with residents, illustrate people's general assessment of their AD: "The AD drinks beer and waits for his next salary; we may as well not have one" (PTA member); "If you ask the AD to come to your cattlepost, he will always say, 'Yes, I'll come tomorrow,' but he will never show up" (a cattlepost resident); "Seeking assistance from the AD is a waste of time and effort for nothing" (a woman farmer).

The farming community tried to remedy this problem by talking privately to the AD, and Machana FG brought him before the FC. He was further reported to his DAO in Maun who is aware of the problem and did try to resolve the

crisis. Yet none of these measures brought significant changes in the AD's conduct.

During the research the AD's input was minimal. He was regularly absent from his quarters, he never attended any of our meetings, and his information proved to be unreliable.

#### 5.3.2.3 Problems

(1) ADs face much of the same training and coordination problems as ACDOs (see above, Problems, 5.3.1.2(1-4)). In addition, the much larger size of the ACDO's extension area, bad roads, and inadequate means of transportation considerably impair the overall coordination of extension efforts.

(2) In-service training is minimal. Monthly meetings are usually spent on general information update, progress reports, or logistical problems in the district or region. Extension training workshops as such rarely amount to as many as two per year.

(3) Lack of guidance and supervision appears to be a fundamental problem ADs face in the CFDA.

(4) Effective supervision is considerably impaired by the lack of integration of sectoral boundaries within Central District. Since agricultural extension in the Boteti is monitored by Ngamiland Agricultural Region, Maun staff have to cover long distances (320 km) to visit Mopipi which, according to them, does not always justify the time and cost involved.

5.3.3 Family Welfare Educators (FWE). FWEs in general appear to be the most effective extension workers in the CFDA, and two out of three conduct their health-related activities with relative success.

Four basic factors appear to influence their effectiveness: (1) The very nature of health and its paramount importance give health workers prestige and authority. (2) Their field is well defined and restricted to health education alone, as compared to the much more wide and complex field of action other extension workers are expected to cover. (3) FWEs benefit from more consistent in-service training. Each healthpost is regularly visited two to three times a month by staff nurses, and two to three times a year regional seminars are organized by the Regional Health Team. (4) FWEs are selected from and residing in their own community, thus reducing considerably the image of "civil servant" or "government bureaucrat" commonly reflected by other extension workers.

It is worth noting that the only FWE not showing much interest, initiative, or commitment to her work actually is one who requested to be transferred. In the demanding process of adaptation and gaining local confidence, she appears to have become more anxious to keep her job than to perform the responsibilities that go with it.

5.3.4 Head Teachers (HT). It is still debated whether head teachers fully belong to extension staff. In the CFDA, both HTs and deputies occupy predominant positions in VDCs and VETs and therefore were included. It appears

that HTs were elected in those institutions primarily because of their higher standard of education and their respectable positions in the communities. Yet their actual influence in extension as such is minimal, and those few efforts they make are devoted to education or school-related activities.

## 6. Wildlife: Situation and Problems

### 6.1 General Description

In addition to village institutions, the CFDA, and Xhumo in particular, faces problems related to wildlife and hunting. The CFDA is located in "Safari Company Concessions" area. It includes two wildlife areas (area 10 and 11) separated by the Boteti River and is adjacent north to the Makgadikgadi Game Reserve (see map 7).

### 6.2 Hunting Game License Characteristics

During the hunting season, four hunting licenses are issued. A special game license (comprehensive hunting) is issued free to remote area dwellers and "poor Tswana residents," i.e., unemployed people not owning land and livestock. This license aims at providing additional means of subsistence. Game meat acquired on this license cannot be sold without a permit signed by either a chief or the Department of Wildlife.

Any other citizen, resident and nonresident, can apply for a small game license, a bird license, and a maximum of four single game licenses, depending on the quota allowed for the seasons. Single game licenses are provided with register boxes, where the owner, within 30 days, has to indicate species, area, and date of killing before reapplying if he wishes.

### 6.3 Problems

#### Game Reserve Boundary

(1) Problems arise from unclear demarcation of the southern game reserve boundary. One-foot pegs are placed in dense bush every 300 meters or so. The result is that neither residents nor game scouts know exactly where the boundary runs.

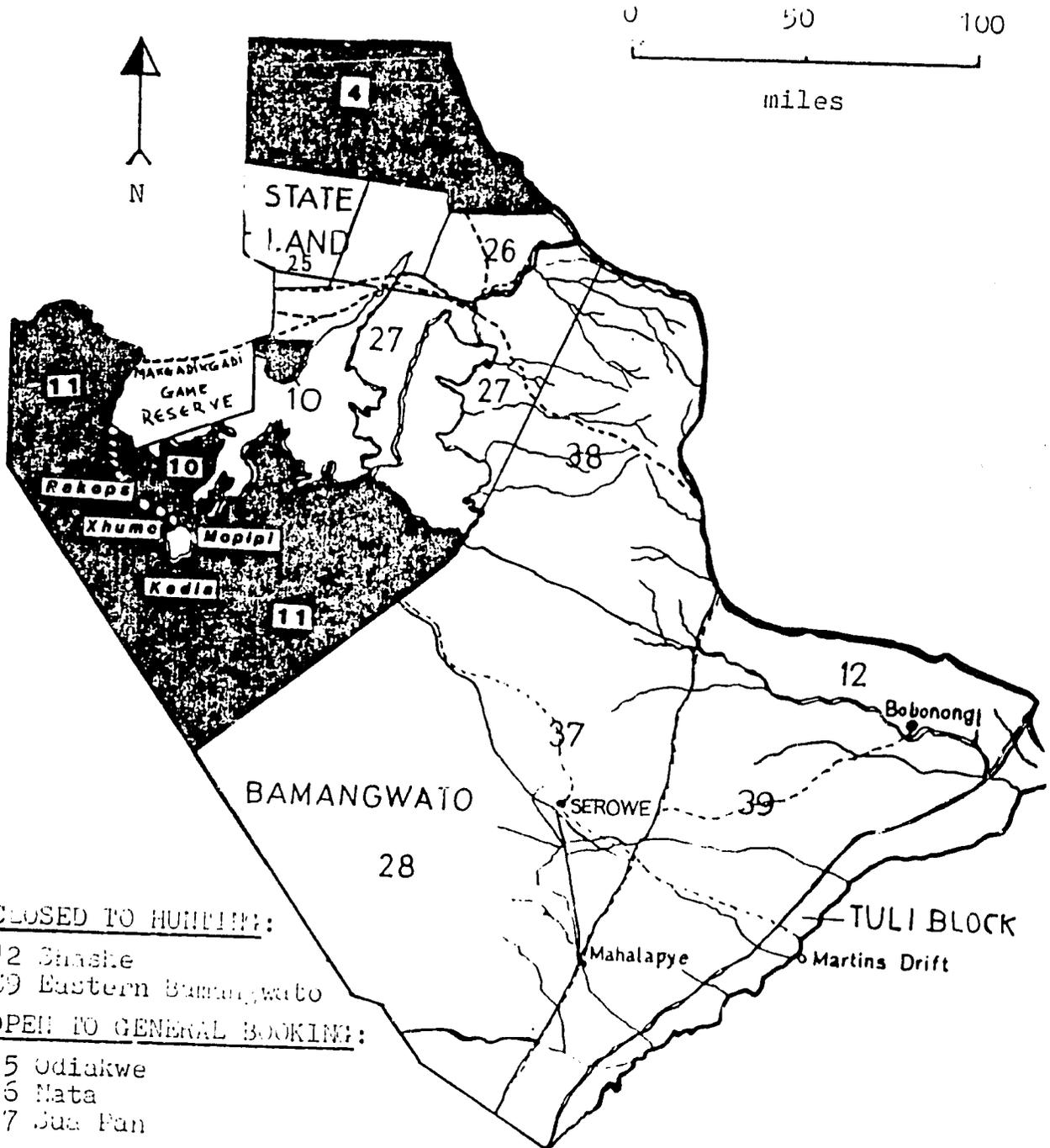
(2) As a result of unclear boundary demarcation, a number of residents are prosecuted and fined for poaching in areas where apparently they were used to hunting for years, and their guns and vehicles are confiscated according to wildlife conservation regulations.

#### Licenses

(3) Problems also arise from lack of knowledge of respective license area coverage, such as hunters in possession of an area 10 license prosecuted for hunting in area 11 or vice versa.

(4) Others ignore the actual licensing content of those documents. Some are caught hunting with a license that is not transferable. Others hunt with transferable licenses which are not made out to them.

Map 7 CONTROLLED HUNTING AREAS - CENTRAL DISTRICT



CLOSED TO HUNTING:

- 12 Shashe
- 39 Eastern Bamangwato

OPEN TO GENERAL BOOKING:

- 25 Odiakwe
- 26 Nata
- 27 Sua Pan

OPEN TO BAMANGWATO RESIDENTS:

- 23 Leburu
- 37 Mea
- 38 Dukwe

SAFARY COMPANY CONCESSIONS:

- 4 Tamafhupa
- 10 Boteti
- 11 Rakops

(5) Poaching is extensive, particularly under single game licenses. Register boxes provided on the license tend to be used only when hunters meet game scouts. In the meantime, many animals are killed and, if a game scout arrives, hunters still get away with it by filling register boxes. Furthermore, up to four or five animals are commonly shot at once, and a good number of the wounded die wasted in the bush.

(6) A good number of other residents are illiterate and cannot fill in the register boxes as expected.

(7) Finally, imposition of licenses generates considerable confusion among the Sarwa population. Employed Basarwa at cattleposts feel discriminated against for having to purchase hunting licenses when hunter-gatherers get them free and further complain that their wages (usually in kind) are too low to allow them to purchase a license.

#### Information on Wildlife Conservation

(8) Information on preserved species currently is passed on to remote hunter-gatherers by other Basarwa who live in cattleposts. Because this information is unevenly spread, tensions arise among Sarwa groups for not being accurately told what species are actually being protected.

(9) Education is the fundamental problem affecting most others. Many restrictions and regulations on wildlife conservation and hunting have been imposed. Yet the population is not being told why those regulations are enforced.

(10) Game scouts are perceived more as policemen than as officers trying to preserve an important renewable resource of the country.

(11) The Wildlife Education Unit, based in Gaborone, has done little to educate the general population in those areas, and game scouts themselves show little ability to train and work with people.

#### 6.4 Recommendations

In relation to these problems, the following is recommended:

- (1) That, in order to avoid all possible confusion, a clear outline be traced along the southern boundary of the Makgadikgadi game reserve.
- (2) That the Wildlife Education Unit, in conjunction with the Wildlife staff from Rakops and the RADOs in Serowe, initiate appropriate information campaigns on usage, content, and coverage of game licenses and on protected game species.
- (3) That the Rakops Wildlife staff be integrated in sub-DET and VET training (see below, CFDA strategy, 8.3.5.2(2)).
- (4) That the same staff initiate at least in the Mopipi CFDA ongoing training programs underlining clear reasons for wildlife conservation

and hunting restrictions, importance and potential of wildlife, role and responsibilities of game scouts, etc.

- (5) That the IAE, ARU, the Department of Non-Formal Education of Serowe and Gaborone, as well as the CFDA coordinator be consulted on design and methods to be used for such training.
- (6) That the concerned VETs be equally informed and participate in the actual training.

## 7. A Summary of Local Institutions' Problems in Mopipi and Xhumo

The two previous chapters have examined numerous and quite diverse kinds of institutional problems. Some of them emerge from traditional institutions and community leadership characteristics; others relate more to group organization; others still involve government institutions. This chapter attempts to make a synthesis of these various problems.

### 7.1 Problems of Traditional Institutions

7.1.1 Ward Linkages. The fundamental problem emerging from the traditional structure is the lack of integration among the many wards composing CFDA communities. The chief's ward is in neither case the main traditional ward (kgosing) and the ward hierarchy follows different patterns according to various ethnic groups. Thus each ward or group of wards practically stands on its own and both vertical and horizontal linkages are virtually nonexistent. (See above, 2.2.3-4.)

7.1.2 Community Leadership. Lack of ward integration combined with great ethnic diversity in CFDA communities gives rise to tribalism and competition for leadership and control among predominant ethnic groups. As a result, opposed factions undermine each others' efforts and in some cases official leadership (chiefs) is manipulated by informal leaders. (See above, chiefs, 2.4.4.1-3, and Problems, in FGs, PTA Xhumo, Co-op Mopipi, VDCs, FCs.)

### 7.2 Problems of Modern Institutions

A good number of problems affect equally all local institutions in the CFDA and can be generalized to all modern institutions. Others affect more specifically coordinating committees.

#### 7.2.1 General Problems

7.2.1.1 Attitudinal Problems. Members attribute various degrees of importance to projects attempted in their group or institution. At times even members do not see much relevance in their group's efforts. Thus, for example: the low value generally attributed to education frustrates most 4-B Clubs and PTAs; the perceived irrelevance of sanitation paralyzes VHCs' efforts; the different degree of importance attributed to fencing causes many problems in Jibwi and Machana FGs.

**7.2.1.2 Lack of Understanding of Group Institutions' Purpose and Objectives.** Very few groups/institutions (if any) have a clear understanding of their objectives and specific purpose. As a result of this problem, local institutions: undertake a scope of activities beyond their resources and capabilities (Livestock Management Group/Mopipi); devote time to inappropriate activities (4-Bs); do not reach consensus on projects (BCW/Mopipi); duplicate roles (VDC-PTA/Xhumo; SWC-VHC/Xhumo; Independence Committee-Catering Committee/Mopipi; BCW-PTA/Xhumo); compete with each other (BCW-PTA/Xhumo; VDC-PTA/Xhumo); do not include best qualified members on their committees (VHC/Mopipi; SWC/Xhumo).

**7.2.1.3 Self-Centeredness.** Most local institutions operate on their own rather than considering the community: none of them relate to their VDC; others developed as a family or association of "good friends" (Borehole Syndicates/Mopipi; Livestock Management Group/Mopipi).

**7.2.1.4 Illiteracy.** Performance of many groups/institutions is considerably impaired by illiterate secretaries and/or treasurers. Lack of records has often led to mismanagement of funds and general distrust (FG/Xhumo; Livestock Management Group/Mopipi; Catering Committee and Independence Committee/Mopipi).

**7.2.1.5 Lack of Group Organizational Skills.** All modern institutions, including coordinating committees, lack the basic skills to organize and perform group activities. It is commonly assumed that, because five or more executives have been elected and funds are raised, a group/institution is operating. Yet the executive committees, not to mention group memberships, have little understanding of: how to keep proper minutes and financial records; specific roles, duties, and responsibilities of the executives; information, consultation, planning, decision-making, and evaluation processes; group management and supervision.

**7.2.1.6 Lack of Training and Support.** Crucial lack of training is the most fundamental problem local institutions face. Training input from regional and district officers is sporadic, often takes the format of kgotla meetings (see FC/Mopipi, 4.3.1.3(1-5), or becomes training by crisis (Co-op/Mopipi, 4.1.7.5(3)). The only training input other institutions have received is the general background information given at the initial kgotla meeting when committees were elected on the spot (VHC/Mopipi; SWC/Xhumo).

Except for agricultural groups in Xhumo, the extension support from ACDO, AD, and HTs is minimal. 4-B Clubs suffer from lack of interest from HTs in their activities, and all agricultural groups in Mopipi bitterly complain of the little support received from their AD. No ongoing training program for any group/institution is currently organized by the ACDO in the extension area.

**7.2.2 Specific Problems.** Coordinating committees (FC and VDCs), in addition to the constraints listed above, also face problems related to their specific role and purpose.

**7.2.2.1 Representation.** Community representation is neither understood nor based on the input of a majority number of residents. Rather, the community is felt "represented" when the most influential community members are

consulted or included in coordinating committees. Thus VDCs, FCs, as well as FGs include large memberships in order to be "more representative" of the community and "more effective."

**7.2.2.2 Consultation.** Consultation operates much on the same principle. When most influential residents are consulted, it is generally accepted that the community at large also is "consulted" because, despite kgotla meetings, no one else will seriously oppose the decisions or proposals of more influential members.

**7.2.2.3 Elections.** The fact that VDC executives are elected by VDC members from VDC membership (e.g., in Xhumo) confirms the kind of representation and consultation actually taking place.

**7.2.2.4 Organization of Self-Help.** Despite the reasonable general understanding of self-help (ipelegeng), the actual organization of self-help efforts does not include the input of the community at large. Projects are invariably identified by VDC members behind closed doors, then brought to the chief and the community for approval. In this process, self-help projects do not always meet the actual needs of the general population.

**7.2.2.5 Coordination and Management.** The fundamental role of coordination expected from those committees is not being performed. No village plan is designed and no local institution coordinated. Coordinating committees stand on their own, just as any other voluntary organization or group, with the only difference being that they can apply to Council agencies for resources in the name of the community.

### 7.3 Government Institutions Working in Local Communities

**7.3.1 Institutions Based in Communities.** Government workers based in communities essentially include: extension, health, tax, and wildlife officers; councillors; and tribal authority chiefs (see 2.4 above).

**7.3.1.1 Extension Staff.** Basic problems identified among extension workers include:

(1) Training. The performance of extension workers leads to serious questions about the quality and appropriateness of training given to the ACDOs and ADs. These cadres badly lack community animation, communication and group skills, and basic adult education techniques to perform community work.

In addition, in-service training is insufficient. The AD monthly meetings are usually spent on information update, progress reports, or logistical problems in the district/region. Workshops are usually designed to provide specific information about innovations or new programs to be implemented. In-service extension training as such for both ACDOs and ADs rarely amounts to two workshops per year. Similarly, head teachers and teachers, occupying predominant positions on both VETs and VDCs, also need additional training in adult education, communication, and group techniques.

(2) Size of Extension Area--Coordination and Transport. Extension efforts are seriously impaired by the considerable difference in size of the

various extension areas. The ACDO's area being larger than the CFDA itself results in her having to work in the CFDA alone, with three different ADs, three FWEs, and three head teachers who live in different communities. Thus coordination of local extension efforts remains quite problematic, communications difficult, and the means of transport (bicycles) inadequate.

(3) Sectoral Boundaries. The problems of overlapping extension areas is further complicated by the lack of integration of sectoral boundaries. The fact that agricultural extension is monitored by Ngamiland region causes problems for both Ngamiland Agricultural Region and Central District. Maun staff must cover long distances to visit the Mopipi area. And agriculture, the most vital sector in that region of Central District, is administered from another district, thus causing significant coordination problems to the district.

(4) Guidance and Supervision. Both CDOs' and DAOs' visits are too infrequent (two-three times a year) to provide adequate guidance and supervision to extension workers. Maun staff also feel that the long distance to cover between Maun and Mopipi does not always justify time and cost involved.

(5) Appointment Criteria. Finally, appointment procedures ought to balance the caliber and experience of field workers against the degree of difficulty of work in different extension areas. (See ACDO, 5.3.1.)

7.3.1.2 Councillors. Both councillors (Letlhakane and Rakops) were reported to have no contact with VDCs and little influence in project implementation. Their visits were said to be rare (one per year in Xhumo) and usually for special purposes such as accompanying presidential or other important visitors.

7.3.1.3 Health Staff. Clinic staff were reported to give little guidance and support to health-related institutions (see VHC/Mopipi, 4.2.3.5(5)) and to refrain from addressing community health issues with the VHC because of its basic ignorance of health matters.

7.3.1.4 Game Scouts. Game scouts showed little ability to train and work with the population. They project more of an image of policemen than of officers devoting time and effort to preserving an important renewable resource of the country.

7.3.2 Government Institutions Outside Communities. Problems encountered with government institutions not based in villages include the following.

(1) Information/Consultation. Information transmitted by government officers essentially is a one-way, top-down communication process which usually takes place during kgotla meetings (FC/Mopipi). After the message has been delivered, officers return home and for a long time nothing happens (Cooperative/Mopipi; Borehole Syndicate/Mopipi). Besides delivering messages that often are foreign, uncoordinated, or conflicting with each other, various government officers do not always comprehend the fundamental aspirations of village residents. The history of Mopipi fisheries gives a clear illustration of such phenomena. Organization of fishing groups was the ready-made answer to fishermen's problems, yet most of them never wished to operate as a group and were

even less prepared to function as a group. Reallocation of the site and promotion of a parallel group gave the final blow to the original fishing group and consolidated its distrust in government's efforts (Mopipi fisheries).

(2) Creation of New Institutions. Other institutions were initiated by government officers for doubtful reasons without much knowledge of purpose and operations of such institutions (first VET/Mopipi).

(3) Conflicting Objectives. Projects to be carried out under self-help are now planned to be completed under the drought relief program at P1/day, thus undermining the whole concept of self-help (VDC/Xhumo).

(4) Contradictory Examples. VHC's efforts to raise sanitation standards in the community remain unfruitful primarily because, at the healthpost itself, no latrine was built (VHC/Xhumo).

(5) Delays. Other local institutions suffered from the long allocation period (borehole syndicates) and delays in provision of services. At times, delays have forced local institutions to take ad hoc measures for which they were neither trained nor properly equipped (PTA/Xhumo).

(6) Nepotism. The Setata borehole allocation process gives a good illustration of this problem. Syndicate members reported that "nepotism and ineffectiveness of government officials" account for many problems groups face in the village. (See 4.1.6.)

(7) Interference and Abuses. The whole history of Mopipi Cooperative illustrates how senior government officials not only can interfere in local institutions but abuse them because of rural peoples' lack of information and training (Mopipi Co-op). Some institutions also suffer from similar abuses from other professionals like drillers (Setata Borehole Syndicate).

(8) Government Requirements. Some requirements imposed by government agencies cannot be met by these communities, e.g., CODEC requirements for management training (Cooperative/Xhumo); others are perceived to be unnecessary and rather tedious, e.g., fish processing (Fisheries/Mopipi).

## 8. Analysis and Recommendations

### 8.1 Analysis

8.1.1 CFDA communities suffer from severe ethnic divisions and internal leadership competition that undermine the performance of local institutions.

8.1.2 Support from politicians has so far been minimal and government support, inadequate. Government staff (extension workers in particular) face considerable problems of training, supervision, and coordination in their own extension areas. The relations between local institutions and government agencies based outside communities have been sporadic and top-down, uncoordinated or inappropriate, frustrating, and at times detrimental to the development of local institutions.

8.1.3 Finally, people do not clearly understand the purpose and objectives of a wide variety of local institutions and do not possess the basic organizational skills to perform group activities.

## 8.2 Major Factors Affecting Performance

8.2.1 Plurality and Relevance of Institutions. Many village institutions, including coordinating committees, have been formed on the initiative of government officers or other visitors, each advocating advantages and benefits of his/her institution to the community. Some voluntary organizations were influenced by dedicated members from neighboring villages (BCWs). Others were/are introduced as part of government policy and strategy (VDCs, FCs, VHCs, agricultural groups). As a result, a flurry of local institutions emerge in rural communities more under the influence of outside agents than out of genuine needs felt by residents.

8.2.2 How Local Institutions Are Created. Many local institutions were/are formed after a brief general introduction at the village kgotla with virtually no preparation, consultation, or active participation of the general community. The typical "extension talk" approach of government officers conveys, in addition, some sense of obligation on the part of villagers to initiate institutions because of the official character of the message. Thus executive committees are elected, sometimes on the spot, without knowledge of their roles and responsibilities and without the skills necessary to perform their tasks.

8.2.3 Support and Follow-up. Once executives have taken office and fund-raising is started, it is commonly assumed that these institutions are now in place and functional. Some of them received no training other than the background information given at the initial kgotla meeting when they were formed (VHCs, SWCs). For most, no ongoing training or follow-up is provided to guide and support them in their operations. The combination of these three factors with internal leadership problems results in general lack of group management, the most fundamental problem common to all local institutions in the CFDA.

8.2.4 Recommendations. The selection of CFDAs was based on the capacity of local service centers to serve their surrounding rural areas. The criteria used were: population, agricultural potential, community infrastructure, and local institutions (1.1).

The study shows that several important selection criteria do not appear to be met: the CFDA population is a very small proportion of the total district population (1.7 percent); extension staff is insufficient and of poor quality; the management potential of local institutions is very low. The closest service center that could fulfill those requirements is Letlhakane, which is to become the Boteti sub-district administrative center.

It is therefore recommended that:

- (1) Letlhakane be included in the CFDA and become the major service center for both the CFDA and Boteti sub-district.

- (2) A second CFDA be planned, if desired, for the northern Boteti, served by Rakops.
- (3) Peripheral, dysfunctional, and nonoperational institutions be temporarily left alone while integrated efforts of both district and field staff concentrate only on those few institutions/groups identified by careful community needs assessment that, first, are highly valued and functional to local residents, and, second, offer the best simultaneous potential for development of group skills and group management (e.g., fishing groups, some fencing groups, semi-cooperatives or cooperatives, or others identified).

### 8.3 Elements of a CFDA Strategy

8.3.1 Fundamental Objectives. The description and analysis of local institutions presented in this report suggest that Central District development efforts in Mopipi CFDA ought to tend toward five fundamental objectives: (1) promoting widespread group action and community interaction; (2) reducing ethnic tensions and minimizing leadership problems; (3) initiating and strengthening group management and group organizational skills; (4) creating functional institutions; (5) adopting an integrated approach to implementation.

8.3.2 General Strategy. An overall strategy to reach those objectives could include the following elements.

8.3.2.1 Group Decision/Group Action (First Objective). The basic objective underlying all others aims at generating widespread group decisions and group action. Internal conflicts and ethnic competitions in those communities can be reduced only if as many residents as possible become involved in making their own decisions together and implementing together identified projects.

8.3.2.2 Training for Leadership (Second Objective). It is a popular belief that in every community or group, there is a leader who has special personality traits, leadership qualities, royal origin, or status. Sound leadership, rather, depends on the situation and the qualities of the members, their needs, and tasks. Thus, leadership is perhaps best defined as doing something together that helps solve a problem or accomplish an objective. Effective leadership, therefore, presupposes the general involvement of the whole population in as many group/community decisions, group/community actions, group/community experiences as possible so as to enable the total leadership potential of each community to emerge and be used to the benefit of all residents.

8.3.2.3 Action for Training (Third Objective). Group management training ought to adopt an action-for-training rather than a training-for-action approach. These should not be mutually exclusive but complementary. Group management training is best achieved when it is designed around specific projects, highly valued by groups or communities. Group projects then provide a meaningful setting to extend problem-solving, decision-making, and other appropriate organizational skills to the group.

8.3.2.4 More Group Action and More Training (Fourth Objective). Even though strengthening local institutions alone will not immediately generate

additional employment or production, without effective institutional ability to manage and guide the local development process many development efforts will continue to be wasted and no benefit is likely to last.

Creation of functional institutions is the logical continuation of the third objective. To be functional, local institutions must grow from practical group experience and long-standing training support rather than being established at once. The formation of groups has the special advantage of being an informal ad hoc form of organization, allowing time for trial and error during which group management can rise and grow before solidifying into formal organization. For this reason, when formal organization later emerges it is more likely to be appropriate to its task than if formal organization is set up at once. This sequence allows the forms of community organization to grow out of their functions.

Thus coordinating committees (VDCs, FCs), for example, will become functional only if they emerge from groups and voluntary institutions that are themselves operating effectively. From successful groups a number of members with new skills and group management experience will emerge and can then undertake more complex management tasks (VDC, FC) while group management is transferred to other subgroups as other group projects are initiated. This process, however, requires cumulative training and group support as both the complexity of management and the number of managers increase.

8.3.2.5 Integrated and Coordinated Efforts (Fifth Objective). Finally, efforts of all government workers at community, subdistrict, and district levels must be coherent and integrated if such an approach is to become effective.

8.3.3 Specific Preconditions Recommended. Implementation of such a strategy first requires a number of specific administrative prerequisites and several organizational steps to be taken. It is therefore recommended that:

At District Level

- (1) The agricultural boundaries of Central and Ngamiland regions be made to coincide with their respective district boundaries.
- (2) The DET (Serowe) be itself a team and operate as a team.

At Subdistrict Level

- (1) The agricultural boundaries be altered and made to coincide with the Boteti subdistrict boundaries.
- (2) A District Agricultural Office be opened as soon as possible in Letlhakane to coordinate all agricultural activities and monitor agricultural extension in the Boteti subdistrict.
- (3) The Community Health Nurse (CHN), currently in Rakops and the Regional Medical Officer (RMO) for Boteti medical region be based with his/her Regional Health Team (RHT) in Letlhakane so as to form a coherent subdistrict extension team with the Senior Sister, CDO, ACS,

RADA, Education Secretary, and SLB officers already operating out of Letlhakane.

- (4) The District Officer's office be integrated with the subdistrict administration in Letlhakane instead of Orapa, where currently anybody who wishes to consult the DO has first to request an entry permit from Orapa Mines.

#### At Community Level

- (1) The selection and appointment of extension staff be carefully reconsidered. CFDA extension workers (ADs and ACDOs, in particular) need to be experienced and as proficient as possible in community work, communication and group skills, and adult education techniques.
- (2) The current ACDO's extension area be subdivided into two areas and another ACDO appointed for Xhumo and Toromoja.

#### 8.3.4 Roles

8.3.4.1 With these preconditions fulfilled, roles and responsibilities of each coordinating level of extension ought to be clearly defined and established. The subdistrict extension team (sub-DET) in Letlhakane becomes the main extension coordinating body for the Boteti subdistrict. Its essential roles are: (1) to establish strong and effective VETs in CFDA communities and subdistricts and work closely with each of them; (2) to design with VETs appropriate extension training programs to meet needs and objectives; (3) to identify with VETs group projects tailored to community needs in relation to the desired objectives; (4) to consider, revise, and provide input into VETs' plans; (5) to provide sustained training, guidance, and supervision to respective VET programs; (6) to assess periodically the progress and constraints of VETs and take the necessary measures to remedy them.

8.3.4.2 Village Extension Team (VET). All extension agents and government workers in CFDA communities, possibly with additional experienced members, e.g., ex-teachers or skilled residents, constitute the VET which is the community-based body assessing, planning, and coordinating local development efforts until VDCs become experienced and skilled enough to take over this task.

The VETs' main roles are to: (1) assess together the basic needs and problems of the community; (2) identify the most appropriate group projects to meet the desired objectives; (3) design a team plan of action and have it discussed with sub-DET; (4) improve the plan in accordance with the sub-DET's recommendations; (5) feed back the revised plan to the community; (6) encourage and provide guidance and support for implementation.

8.3.4.3 District Extension Team (DET). The most important role of DET is to provide information, support, and necessary resources to sub-DETs' and VETs' efforts in function of their respective needs. Its major roles include: (1) encourage the formation and training of an effective sub-DET in Letlhakane; (2) provide necessary information, guidance, resources, and support to the sub-DET's efforts; (3) supervise the monitoring of the sub-DET in conformity with

program objectives; (4) assess the performance and constraints and take the necessary measures to remedy them.

**8.3.5 Means to Perform Roles.** In order to perform these tasks in the CFDA, a number of steps ought to be taken and requirements fulfilled. It is therefore recommended that:

**8.3.5.1 DET, Sub-DET, and VETs**

- (1) Operate as teams at their own respective levels.
- (2) Take or organize the training necessary for becoming effective teams and performing their respective duties.
- (3) Be well informed of CFDA's objectives and priorities.
- (4) Seek advice and help from the Department of Non-Formal Education and the Applied Research Unit for designing appropriate training workshops or seminars.
- (5) Consult and use A Handbook for Facilitators, a manual for facilitators to design training and group process activities.

**8.3.5.2 Sub-DET and VETs**

- (1) Be adequately briefed on consultation, needs assessment, and planning techniques.
- (2) Include game scouts in the training.
- (3) Set regular meeting schedules for reporting and consulting.
- (4) Primarily concentrate on a few groups/local institutions in each village, i.e., those that are most functional to the community and offer the most potential for group development.
- (5) Concentrate only on a few specific projects that are highly valued by residents and generate immediate benefits.
- (6) In those groups and projects give essential focus to group management and group organization skills.
- (7) In conjunction with the Department of Non-Formal Education, design relevant leadership training programs and community experiences based on popular theater and other appropriate adult education techniques.

**8.3.5.3 VETs**

- (1) Design team plans of action in their respective communities and submit them and discuss them with the sub-DET prior to implementation.
- (2) Draft specific terms of reference for both the VET and each extension worker in the community according to the team's plan and desired objectives.

- (3) Screen the introduction of all innovations, organizations, or associations in their community.
- (4) Discard those innovations that do not directly contribute to the VET's plan or come at the wrong time.
- (5) Be systematically informed by SLBs and keep records of all land allocations in order to discourage illegal allocation of land.

#### 8.3.5.4 DET

- (1) Provide general guidance, supervision, and effective solutions to problems arising at lower levels.
- (2) Keep up-to-date information and facilitate access to training material, resource people, financial assistance, transport, and other support available for lower levels, as necessary.
- (3) Set and keep regular meeting schedules for reporting and consulting with the sub-DET.

8.3.6 CFDA Coordinator. Because of the numerous linkages and great diversity of training inputs implied in this strategy, it is felt that a coordinator ought to be appointed to facilitate its implementation. It is therefore recommended that:

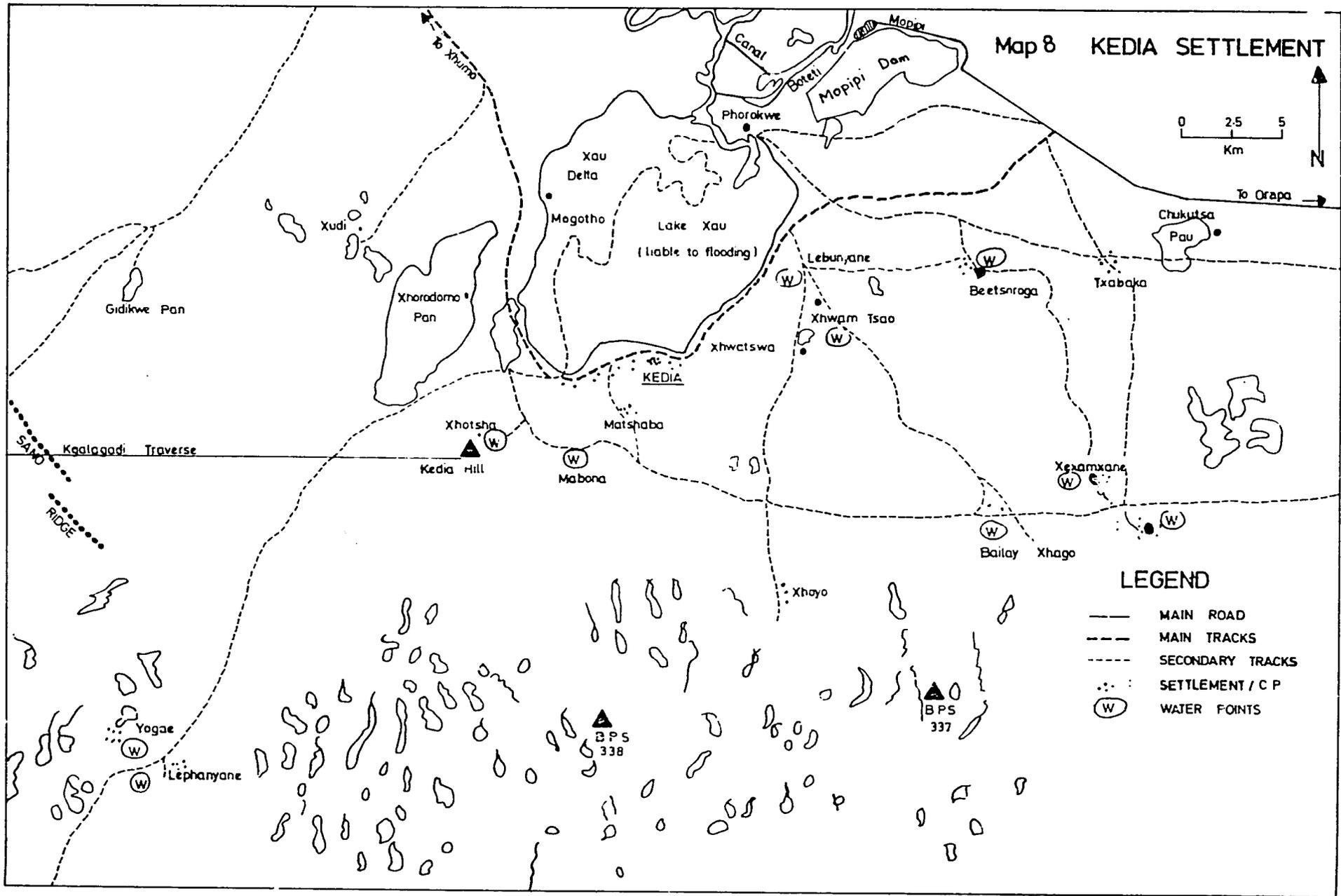
- (1) A coordinator be appointed to coordinate the Mopipi CFDA program.
- (2) The coordinator be well trained in adult education and nonformal education methods, group processes and participatory techniques, needs assessment and project planning, and be experienced with grass-roots cooperatives and other CD-related processes.
- (3) His/her role essentially be to: assist good team formation at all levels, as necessary; provide guidance, organizational support, and adequate training input at various team levels; maintain project identification and implementation in focus with the desired objectives; encourage information flow, consultation, reports, and supervision among various team levels.

## 9. Kedia Settlement: A Study of a Council Institution

### 9.1 General Description and Characteristics

9.1.1 Introduction. Kedia is the third community included in Mopipi CFDA. Most institutional problems in Kedia revolve around the creation of a new village for Basarwa and remote area dwellers (RADs).

9.1.2 Description and Background. Kedia, traditionally known as Xwa-tshwa, is situated on the southern banks of Lake Xau, 25 km northeast of Mopipi village and 35 km northwest of Xhumo (see map 8). Kedia area is a "communal area" and has long been traditional Sarwa territory. Approximately 10 years before independence, cattle owners from Mopipi and Xhumo gradually opened new



cattleposts in the area. In 1979/80 the Remote Area Development Officers (RADOs) decided Kedia was a suitable area for establishing a Sarwa settlement where basic facilities could be extended to RADs.

## 9.2 Sarwa "Settlements": Inventory and Characteristics

9.2.1 Inventory and Population. Eleven settlements were identified in a radius of approximately 30 km around Kedia. The term "settlement" is used here to refer to groups of hunter-gatherers and other Basarwa living at cattle-post boreholes who consider themselves as belonging to the Kedia area or were at some stage living in Kedia itself. An inventory and the characteristics of these settlements are summarized in table 4.

TABLE 4  
Kedia Settlements: Inventory, Water Sources, and Population

NAME OF SETTLEMENT	DISTANCE FROM KEDIA	WATER SOURCES	SARWA POPULATION		TOTAL <sup>a</sup> POPULATION
			POPULATION	OTHERS	
Xwatshwa	2 km	Lake Xau	50	13 (Bateti)	63 <sup>b</sup>
Legunyane	10 km	Karowe's b/h no. 1	59	-	59
Matshaba	6 km	Lake Xau	17	-	17
Khoyo	20 km	Karowe's b/h no. 2	46	-	46
Khago	25 km	Karowe's b/h no. 2	53	8 (Bateti)	61
Beetsoroga	22 km	Mohinamone's b/h	21	-	21
Xexamxare	32 km	Karowe's b/h no. 3	3	10 (Bateti)	13
Xhwamtsao	7 km	Mokgwa's well	9	2 (Kalanga)	11
Yogae	28 km	Gabaratane's b/h	19	4 (Bateti)	23
Lephanyane	32 km	Engleton's b/h	21	5 (Bateti)	26
Xhots'na	16 km	Ranko's b/h	37	4 (Bateti)	41
Settlements total	-	-	335 (88.0%)	46	381
Kedia "village"	-	Lake Xau	117 (26.6%)	323	440 <sup>b,c</sup>
Kedia total	-	-	452 (55.0%)	369	821

<sup>a</sup> It must be noted that these figures were recorded at the peak of the hunting season and therefore likely show a low population profile in those settlements. Some of these figures can triple during the nonhunting season (RADO's survey at Yogae, 1979).

<sup>b</sup> Compares with 361 for Xhwatshwa and 32 for Kedia as recorded by the 1981 National Census. It appears that the census recorded Kedia residents under Xhwatshwa (see also table 1, fn b).

<sup>c</sup> Excludes teachers and community service workers (Tirelo Sechaba); includes AD.

**9.2.2 Subsistence in Neighboring Settlements.** Of the 381 people (46 percent of the total area population) living in these settlements, 170 (45 percent) were found to subsist on mafisa cattle; 100 (26 percent) on purely hunting-gathering; 61 (16 percent) on herding for cash or kind (between P6 and P10/month); 44 (11.5 percent) own cattle; and 6 (1.5 percent) have goats and donkeys. Of the 11.5 percent who actually own cattle, 8 percent are Bateti or Bakalanga. Thus there are 13 Sarwa cattle owners (3.4 percent).

Arable agriculture is practiced in a few settlements (Lebunyane, Xexamxare, Xhwatshwa) where RADs have livestock. Only 8 households (2 percent) were found to plow.

### 9.3 Kedia "Village" Characteristics

**9.3.1 Ethnic Composition and Population.** The total population of the future village itself (440 inhabitants) is composed of Bakalanga, Bateti, Basarwa, Bakgalagadi, and includes the AD. The breakdown by family and by tribe is shown in table 5.

TABLE 5  
Kedia Village: Ethnic Composition and Population

ETHNIC GROUP	NO. OF FAMILIES	TOTAL POPULATION	
		(#)	(%)
Bakalanga	19	216	(49.1)
Bateti	8	89	(20.2)
Basarwa	15	117	(26.6)
Bakgalagadi	2	17	(3.9)
AD	-	1	(0.2)
Total	44*	440	(100.0)

\* The average family size is high because 13 households have between 2 and 6 wives and 39 families include other relatives residing permanently with them.

**9.3.2 Cattle and Land Distribution.** Both access to cattle and land is unevenly distributed in Kedia itself between Bakalanga and Bateti, on the one hand, and Basarwa and Bakgalagadi, on the other. Tables 6 and 7 summarize this information.

TABLE 6

**Kedia Village: Cattle and Land Distribution  
by Ethnic Group, Families and Population**

ETHNIC GROUP	CATTLE ONLY		LAND ONLY		CATTLE AND LAND		NEITHER CATTLE NOR LAND		TOTAL	
	Fam-ilies/lation	Popu-lation	Fam-ilies/lation	Popu-lation	Fam-ilies/lation	Popu-lation	Fam-ilies/lation	Popu-lation	Fam-ilies/lation	Popu-lation
Bakalanga	5	54	-	-	11	143	3	19	19	216
Bateti	2	10	1	9	5	70	-	-	8	89
Basarwa	1	4	3	26	2	13	9	74	15	117
Bakgalagadi	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	17	2	17
Village total	8	68	4	35	18	226	14	110	44	439*

\* Excludes 1 (AD).

Percentages of land and cattle ownership by ethnic group are summarized in table 7.

Table 7

**Kedia: Percent of Total Population Owning Land and Cattle by Ethnic Group**

ETHNIC GROUP	OWN CATTLE ONLY	LAND ONLY	CATTLE AND LAND	NEITHER LAND NOR CATTLE	TOTAL POPULATION
Bakalanga	12.3	-	32.6	4.3	49.2
Bateti	2.3	2.0	16.0	-	20.3
Basarwa	0.9	5.9	3.0	16.8	26.6
Bakgalagadi	-	-	-	3.9	3.9
Total	15.5	7.9	51.6	25.0	100.0

Table 6 shows that of the combined 27 Kalanga and Teti families only 3 do not possess land and cattle, while of the remaining 17 Sarwa and Kgalagadi families, 11 do not have land and cattle.

The calculations from tables 6 and 7 show that while the Bakalanga and Bateti comprise 69.5 percent of the population, they comprise only 17.0 percent of those with neither cattle nor land. In contrast, the Basarwa and Bakgalagadi comprise 30.5 percent of the population and 83 percent of the assetless.

#### 9.4 Institutional Action in Kedia

9.4.1 Background. General characteristics described above show clearly the disparity persisting between RADs and other Tswana tribes. Yet attempts to provide extra assistance to RADs go back as far as the 1930s and were stressed at various periods (e.g., 1930s, 1959-1966, and from 1973 to date), depending on the financial resources available. The Basarwa Development Program of 1974, under direct administration of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, was decentralized to district administrations in 1978 and became known as the Remote Area Development Program (RADP). The basic objectives of RADP, however, remained fairly consistent and were restated in the 1978 Remote Area Development Workshop as being: (a) social services--extension of basic services (education, health, drinking water, vulnerable group feeding programs) to remote areas; (b) economic--access to land, water rights, income-earning opportunities for RADs; (c) political/legal--self-reliance, reducing dependence, social integration, awareness of rights.<sup>26</sup>

9.4.2 Origin of Kedia Village. The pursuit of RADP objectives and the emphasis of the World Bank Rural Income Survey Report of 1974 on severe rural income disparity in rural areas of Botswana, particularly among RADs, led Central District RADOs to conduct additional surveys in 1979 in the northwestern sandveld and Lake Xau. The objectives of those surveys were to: (a) establish more accurately which people actually belong to the RAD category; (b) establish how many RADs were living in the areas; (c) locate the most important RAD settlements in Central District.

In 1979 there was a severe outbreak of measles in the area and Basarwa died in large numbers. Botaboe, a Sarwa leader, reported the incident to the chief in Mopipi who, in turn, notified Council. Health staff arrived from Francistown and eventually ended the epidemic. This incident and the 1979 findings confirmed the necessity of establishing organized settlements in the area in order to provide better service to the RADs. The RADOs' surveys assumed Kedia to have good water prospects (along the lake shore) and found it to be virtually the only location not directly interfering with water access rights from neighboring boreholes. Finally, Botaboe, who strongly supported the settlement project, also appeared to have the support of most RADs in the area on the matter. Thus, the settlement project was submitted to Central District Council in 1980 and both CDC and Ngwato Land Board supported it.

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26. E.B. Egner, The Remote Area Development Programme--An Evaluation (Gaborone: Economic Consultancies, June 1981), n.p.

**9.4.3 Consultation and Organization.** The RADOs realized that unanimous consensus among all RADs was necessary before any project could be attempted. Thus they contacted all RADs in the area and explained that Kedia was going to be their new village, that with the help of Council and other government agencies new facilities could be built, and that every Mosarwa could in the future have the same development opportunities as any other Motswana.

**9.4.3.1 Identification of Leadership.** The RADOs then explained that the first step necessary was to choose a leader, representing all RADs, who would be their official representative and authority in the new village. The choice was unanimously in favor of Botaboe. Yet, because he was illiterate (literacy being a necessary requirement to become official chief), Botaboe was told to designate someone else among his relatives who could satisfy the qualifications for office. Simane Akanyang, his nephew and current chief, was then chosen by unanimous agreement.

**9.4.4 Project Implementation (1980).** Under new leadership the settlement project started with identification of water points.

**9.4.4.1 Water.** In 1980 the Department of Water Affairs was given an advance of P10,000 to drill boreholes in the vicinity of the settlement. Three holes were drilled; two did not yield any water, and the third one produced only very saline water. RADOs then suggested trying Mr. Mabona's borehole (approximately 7 km southwest of Kedia; see map 8, p. 80), drilled in 1972 but abandoned the same year. Water technicians also found it dry. RADOs then discovered a CDC borehole in Makoba (Xhago area), 16 km southeast of Kedia. Further investigations revealed that this borehole was not a Central District Council borehole, but a Commonwealth Development Corporation borehole (CDC), rented to Mr. Bailey until 1965, when he abandoned it to move further east toward Letlhakane. The corporation readily agreed to have it used for the village. Since broken pipes had fallen in the borehole, technicians suggested redrilling a new hole beside it instead of repairing the original one. Water was struck at a shallow level but the yield was insufficient to provide an adequate supply to the village.

Nongovernment organizations were also contacted in the attempt to find possible solutions to the water problems. The Unitarian Service Committee of Canada was at some point interested in undertaking a water desalination project at Lake Xau. This project never materialized. After all these unsuccessful attempts, RADOs came to the conclusion that there was no water in the area and encouraged RADs to move to Kedia where they could temporarily draw water from Lake Xau.

In the meantime, the District Officer promised to help the population find water. He made arrangements with a neighboring cattle owner, well established in the area and an expert driller, to come and prospect in Kedia. This initiative led to tensions between RADOs and the DO over the role, responsibility, and administration of RADP (correspondence, 22 Jan. - 2 Feb. 1981). Besides feeling directly responsible for planning and administering RADP according to Council procedures, RADOs feared that, if water were struck, the cattle owner in question would keep borehole ownership and ultimately control water access in the settlement.

In May 1982 Mr. S. Engleton from Rakops and Lephanyane was contracted to prospect for water. He was to start surveying as soon as Kedia was gazetted as a village.

**9.4.4.2 Drought Relief Programs (DRP).** DRPs have been a second form of support to Kedia. For the first time in 1979, a drought year, the DRP was extended to Kedia area. The objective was to distribute rations of sorghum to Basarwa first and then to all RADs. Because at that time the school was not yet registered, schoolchildren were not entitled to receive rations from Institutional Food Program (IFP). RADs compromised with food from DRP and somehow also distributed drought relief food to schoolchildren.

**9.4.4.3 Labor-Intensive Activities (1980).** Rapidly RADs realized that most RADs had virtually no means of income generation. Thus labor-intensive activities--components of the DRP--were introduced at a rate of P1/day. Under this program, the following projects were completed: two rondavels (initial healthpost); one rondavel storeroom (currently occupied by a teacher); one rondavel for teachers' quarters; one rondavel for the AD.

When the DRP ended in September 1981, funds to pay the workers stopped coming and other projects under way were abandoned: part of the school fence; two incomplete rondavels (to be the FWE quarters); collection of stones for cooperative buildings.

**9.4.4.4 Local Institutions.** The creation of local institutions has been another effort to support the project. In June 1980, the Mopipi chief and Senior Tribal Authority in the area visited Kedia. In a kgotla meeting he reemphasized the importance of labor-intensive activities and emphasized the need for a VDC and PTA which he saw were to become the vital coordinating bodies of village development activities in the new community (minutes, 25 June 1980).

**First VDC.** On the chief's recommendation, a first VDC was formed a few months after his visit with the support of SRADO. This committee was composed of a Mokgalagadi chairman and a Teti vice-chairman. No treasurer or secretary were elected, and the VDC never met after elections. (See Problems, below, 9.5.7.1.)

**Second VDC.** In May 1981, a second VDC was elected in kgotla, temporarily composed of nine members as follows: chairman (vacant currently, undertaken on an acting basis by the first VDC vice-chairman.); secretary (undertaken on an acting basis by the AD because of the problem of illiteracy); treasurer (lives at Xhotsha cattlepost, 16 km away; is also treasurer of Rakops VDC); four additional members (includes three Basarwa); two community service workers (Tirelo Sechaba) until December 1982.

The major achievements of the second VDC include the following: (1) proposal of fencing the AD's and teachers' quarters and completing the previously unfinished projects under current DRP of P1.50/day (this proposal was never implemented because members felt they first had to eat before being able to undertake physical activities); resolution of registering all animals to be slaughtered and sold so as to minimize theft and identification of a tree as

official selling place; preparation and organization of three official receptions--for the local MP (and vice-president), Senior Tribal Authority from Serowe, and President Masire in April 1982 (for the three visits combined, the VDC raised one animal, four goats, and an additional P79 in cash).

Cooperative. In April 1981, the RADOs attempted to promote a marketing cooperative in Kedia. Under labor-intensive activities stones were collected for the cooperative building. Both this effort and the cooperative project stopped in September 1981 when the DRP ended.

Parent-Teachers Association. In July 1981, a PTA was initiated, formed of eight residents, including: school principal, two teachers, two temporary community service workers, and three additional members. The association is under the leadership of three executives: chairman, vice-chairman, and treasurer.

The PTA's achievements include the purchase of: cooking pots (P63.43), exercise books (P19.95), cooking utensils (P2.00), and footballs (P26.95), for a total purchase of P112.33 worth of items. Adding the cook's salary (áP6/month, for 15 months to date, equals P90) to this total brings the PTA expenditures to a grand total of P202.33. These funds were raised from beer parties and beauty contests.

In addition, the PTA built a cooking shelter and maintains the school grounds in a joint effort with school pupils. The PTA's cash balance ought to be P26.90. These funds are currently missing and were reported to have been misused by the treasurer. (See additional problems below, 9.5.7.2.)

4-B Club. In June 1981, the AD initiated a 4-B Club, currently composed of 5 advisers and 39 members. The most significant project so far attempted was a school garden (October 1981), which was almost bound to fail given the general shortage of water in the settlement. In addition, the club is involved in wood carving and other crafts and encourages traditional dancing. (See Problems, below, 9.5.7.3.)

Red Cross Association. A Red Cross Association was attempted in February 1981 by the AD. This association, currently composed of nine members--all 4-Bs, includes an executive committee of three members and is mainly involved in knitting. This association is supported by the RIO's Small Project Fund, and P165 worth of wool and needles were committed in January 1982. To date, the association has generated a total income of P14.50 from knitted items and an additional P38.35 from concerts and parties. Their current cash balance amounts to P42.85. (See Problems, below, 9.5.7.3.)

9.4.4.5 Support Staff. Extension support staff were also introduced to the village and those based in Kedia currently include: one AD Extension Assistant, one head teacher, and two temporary community service workers (Tirelo Sechaba). Both the ACDO and the FWE operate out of Mopipi. Other extension cadres involved in the settlement include the following.

RADOs. RADOs first conducted population surveys and identified the location of the settlement. The RADOs have been/are mainly involved with initial consultation processes, DRPs, and labor-intensive activities.

AD. The AD is a female Extension Assistant, 25 years of age with Standard 7 education and three years of experience with Serowe farmers (Tlhabala), who was posted in Kedia in 1980 with the mission of devoting most of her efforts to RADs. This extension worker has a strong personality, rides donkeys to the amazement of most residents, and operates as multipurpose extension worker in the settlement. She simultaneously plays the roles of AD, ACDO, FWE, and VA and takes an active part in all community meetings and local institutions. She currently acts as VDC secretary (no literate executives); is general adviser in 4-B, PTA, Red Cross, and most kgotla meetings; and also administers drugs left by the FWE. (See Problems, below, 9.5.8.1.)

Head Teacher. A temporary unqualified head teacher is in charge of the education of 110 pupils currently attending the local school. The school presently offers Standard 3 level and is expected to open Standard 4 in 1983. (See Problems, below, 9.5.8.2.)

ACDO. The ACDO for the area, based in Mopipi, was reported to have visited the settlement three times since 1980. (See Extension Staff/Mopipi, 5.3.1.)

FWE. Temporarily based in Mopipi until completion of the new buildings, the FWE visits the community once or twice a month with the enrolled nurses' mobile clinic in the area. (See Extension Staff/Mopipi, 5.3.3.)

Community Service Workers (Tirelo Sechaba). In January 1982, two workers were placed in the settlement for one year. Currently they are primarily involved in teaching at the school and in PTA activities. (See Problems below, 9.5.8.3.)

9.4.4.6 New Facilities. One of the main efforts in developing Kedia is the provision of new building facilities. In early 1982, CDC contracted Eddie Brothers for the construction of: one kgotla office (3 rooms and latrines); one healthpost with latrines; one school block (2 rooms and latrines); two teachers' houses (2 rooms each and latrines). These buildings are currently close to completion and are expected to be occupied by January 1983.

9.4.4.7 Official Visits. Several official visits to Kedia have had considerable influence in the implementation of the project.

In 1981, the local MP visiting his constituency was driven to Kedia. The area itself and the general condition of the RADs made considerable impression on him, and the MP took it upon himself to provide assistance for Kedia. Two weeks after his visit, funds arrived in the CDC's treasury for supporting the project.

In July 1982, President Masire himself gave further encouragement to Kedia residents during his familiarization tour of the Boteti.

In contrast, the local councillor, based in Letlhakane, was reported to have shown little interest in the project and in remote areas in general and not to represent Kedia's concerns to CDC.

**9.4.4.8 Recent Development.** On 10 June 1982, the DO and chiefs of Mopipi and Letlhakane visited the community and announced that soon government intended to gazette Kedia as a village. They further explained that a new village also needed a gazetted chief and therefore new elections had to be held. The participants were requested to nominate three candidates among whom figured the school principal and current chief. Results of the poll were as follows: school principal, 61 votes; current chief, 44 votes; third candidate, 2 votes; abstentions, 23. Results of the vote have been forwarded to Gaborone for final decision, together with age, education, marital status, and work experience of each candidate. (See Problems below, 9.5.8.2.)

**9.4.5 Expectations.** With new facilities, local institutions, and, hopefully soon, water and full extension staff, it is expected that the new village will make appreciable progress and will enable all RADs to have equal access to basic services and production undertakings. The intention is to promote self-sufficiency of all RADs by encouraging arable agriculture to revive the cooperative project abandoned in September 1981 and to promote productive employment in the community.

**9.4.6 Potential Problems.** Among potential problems the RADs mention the possible resistance of neighboring cattle owners to allowing Sarwa children to attend school (a problem already faced in Mmaletswai settlement). According to the RADs, the emancipation of the Basarwa comes as a threat to cattle owners because, once Basarwa become literate, they no longer can be as easily abused and may find more rewarding employment than under current conditions.

## 9.5 The Findings

Extensive interviews, participant observation, meetings, and informal talks with both Sarwa and Tswana groups revealed considerable and very complex problems in the overall settlement issue. Many of these relate to different traditional social organization of the respective groups, others to historical development in the area, and still others to ethnic discrimination and complex leadership dynamics within the community itself and between community and outside authority.

### 9.5.1 Historical Background

9.5.1.1 According to the Sarwa account, Kgautswe people (Basarwa) have always occupied that area of the sandveld. The Kgautswe band, increasing in population, subdivided into two groups, each with their respective territory. The Cheke group, under the leadership of Kgautswe's younger brother, occupied the area southwest of Lake Xau, and the Kgautswe group the southeastern area, meeting at Kedia, the borderline. Around the 1890s, during the Ndebele wars, Chief Khama moved from the Nata area with his Basarwa and was given by Rra Kgautswe the current Kedia area along the southern bank of Lake Xau, while Kgautswe established himself at Xhwatshwa, a few kilometers east. Khama, in turn, raised Pelowe to a senior position among his Basarwa and left him in charge of the Kedia area. Later Pelowe married a daughter of Rra Kgautswe, thus becoming, in the Sarwa concept, the legal heir of the Kedia area.

9.5.1.2 Botaboe, son of Pelowe and Kgautswe's daughter, married a niece of a Cheke leader (his uncle) and upon the death of his parents also inherited

the Kedia area, thus becoming a major figure in both bands. Because Kgautswe's sons, the legitimate heirs and leaders in Kgautswe territory, felt rather inhibited in dealing with outsiders and government officials,\* they let their nephew Botaboe act as their representative in their external relations. In addition, Botaboe's personal involvement in reporting the 1979 epidemic to the chief in Mopipi further reinforced his sphere of influence and prestige. Thus, whenever outsiders visited the area, Botaboe came to stand as the official representative of all Basarwa.

## 9.5.2 Implications for the New Village

9.5.2.1 Territoriality. When Kedia was identified and suggested as a potential new village for RADs, Botaboe strongly supported the proposal and worked actively with the RADs to convince all Basarwa to move to Kedia. Not only was the new village going to be established in his own territory, thus securing him full Council authority in the new village, but the project also offered him an excellent opportunity to gain supremacy over the other Sarwa groups. Both Kgautswe and Cheke people never really opposed the village project as such, but still are far from willing to settle in Kedia because, if they did so, they would lose their territorial autonomy and fall under Botaboe's direct authority.

9.5.2.2 Internal Conflicts. The issue of traditional territoriality generated tensions among the Sarwa bands. The basic attitude of the Basarwa appears to have been, at first, one of noninterference. They did not feel they would lose much by having a new village established, particularly in a territory of one of their relatives; rather, they could only draw potential benefits from it. But when Botaboe's popularity with outsiders increased to the point of pressing them to move to establish themselves in Kedia, both Cheke and Kgautswe people started questioning his real authority. Botaboe indeed was "at home" in Kedia, but was not the legitimate leader in the other bands. Further, Kgautswe and Cheke Basarwa started accusing him of siding too much with outside officials and to have himself influenced the choice of Kedia in his own interest.

## 9.5.3 New Arrivals

9.5.3.1 "Bakwena." During the 1930s a Tswana group, known as the "Bakwena," moved to Kedia. Originally Bakgalagadi, these people were first established in Sookwane, north of Rakops. When their Chief Letsweletse moved to Mosu, some of them preferred establishing themselves in Xhwatshwa (Pelowe's area, now Kedia). These newcomers, presumably because of their common Hottentot origin, settled peacefully among Pelowe Basarwa and intermarried with both Pelowe and Kgautswe people. Yet most of them worked as herdboys for Kalanga cattle owners and currently own cattle, while the other Basarwa continued their traditional hunting-gathering mode of subsistence.

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\* RADs were apparently perceived to be double agents for the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

9.5.3.2 Bakalanga. More recently, and during the pre-independence decade in particular, Bakalanga from Mopipi, Xhumo, and Rakops gradually opened new cattleposts closer to the area and currently compose the majority of the population in the village (see table 5, p. 45).

9.5.4 Implications of New Arrivals. The coexistence of different ethnic groups and the opening of new cattleposts in traditional Sarwa territory increased tensions between the various groups.

9.5.4.1 The presence of newcomers strengthened Botaboe's determination to prevent outsiders from occupying his area. Yet, because of territoriality and internal leadership problems among Basarwa themselves (9.5.2.1 and 9.5.2.2), Botaboe did not receive much support from the other bands. Thus both Botaboe's pressure on the Sarwa groups to settle in Kedia before other Batswana and the general resentment of the Basarwa increased proportionally.

9.5.4.2 "Bakwena" (Bateti) and Bakalanga, all pastoralists, moved into the area with considerably superior means of subsistence in comparison to hunter-gatherers. Currently, virtually all Kalanga and Teti families in the settlement are livestock owners and possess arable lands (see tables 6 and 7, pp. 48 and 67).

9.5.5 Ethnic Discrimination. Cultural differences and unequal means of subsistence in a settlement that is meant to help all RADs equally continue to generate tensions among Basarwa themselves and further discrimination among Basarwa and other groups, essentially because Basarwa feel themselves to be more RADs than others. Discrimination is particularly apparent in the following situations.

9.5.5.1 Mafisa. Since no water has yet been found in the village, Basarwa have become dependent on neighboring boreholes, where the owners set their own conditions for access to water. In the eleven neighboring Sarwa settlements, 45 percent of the population were found to depend on mafisa and reported that, for them, it currently is the only means of survival. The majority of this group is paid in milk or clothes. Those paid in cash receive between P6 and P10/month. Respondents also reported that dependency on mafisa entails high risk factors. If lions kill livestock, they often are accused of cattle thefts, resulting in prison sentences or confiscation of their own property. Cattle theft cases were further reported to be almost invariably adjudicated in favor of cattle owners and the testimony of the accused was said to be heard with little seriousness by the court.\*

9.5.5.2 Access to Arable Land. Kedia lands are located in Mogotho (map 8, p. 80), along the western bank of Lake Xau,, in traditional Teti lands. Currently, no Mosarwa plows in that area. Basarwa reported that, when they apply for land in Mogotho, they generally are allocated barren, salty plots. The few Basarwa who plow (2 percent) do so in cattlepost areas. Some of them

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\* One respondent had just served a six-month jail sentence for a cattle theft by another Mosarwa.

were evicted by cattle owners, and others complained that livestock owners ignore their efforts and deliberately allow their cattle to destroy the crops because those plots never were formally approved by SLBs. Since most Basarwa are paid in kind or little cash, they cannot afford a fence; neither can they benefit from any ALDEP pilot project currently based on a matching grant system.

In order to provide assistance in arable farming to Basarwa, a communal plow was brought to Kedia in 1980 by the RADOs. The same year that plow was "borrowed" by Teti farmers and, ever since, became a "Tswana" plow, currently stored at the village kgotla.

**9.5.5.3 Food Relief Programs.** General lack of understanding of the various food relief programs further exacerbates tensions and discrimination among Sarwa groups and between Basarwa and Batswana. For most Basarwa the village project appears to mean simply more food opportunities, the only perceived tangible help received from government. Thus, when DRPs and labor-intensive activities stop, Basarwa generally interpret it to be discriminatory measures directly taken against them. Since no wild food, game, or water are to be found in Kedia, they return to the bush and cattleposts.

Ill feelings also arise among cattlepost Basarwa and remote hunter-gatherers who accuse them of not passing on information when food consignments arrive at the settlement. According to them, cattlepost Basarwa do not transmit such information because they want to keep the food to themselves. Further tensions arise from confusion between the initial Basarwa Development Program--directly supporting the Basarwa, the RADP which was extended to all RADs, and the Institutional Food Program (IFP). Most Basarwa do not clearly understand the scope and objectives of those programs and feel discriminated against because they are now expected to share an equal amount of food with other RADs who have superior means of subsistence.

**9.5.5.4 Food Distribution.** Food distribution is a confusing discriminating process in itself. Both the assessment of the most poverty-stricken residents and the amount of food to be distributed per family unit are not clearly defined. Generally food distribution is supervised by the AD, who makes a point of distributing food to Basarwa first and keeping consistent measures for all. Yet a first consignment of 60 bags of sorghum was delivered in June 1982 and was distributed at a rate of 3 buckets (12.5 kg) per family, irrespective of the family size. In July 1982 a second consignment of 200 bags arrived, and the measure used was 1 bucket/family. This generated additional ill feelings among the Basarwa who felt that more food was given to Bateti and Bakalanga than to their own people. Basarwa also complain of being regularly harassed over food by the other ethnic groups, to be called "sheep" (dinkhu), and as such to be expected to find their own subsistence.

In the absence of the AD, food is distributed by non-Sarwa residents. In this case, the process is reversed. Non-Sarwa people first secure their share and divide the remaining among Basarwa. In addition, they also take an extra portion for their labor. This process generally results in food shortages and general conflict between both groups, non-Sarwa maintaining that food is distributed on an equal basis and Basarwa arguing that distribution is biased in favor of cattle-owner recipients.

The AD, in turn, blames the RADA (also subdistrict drought coordinator) for the food shortages and also blames him for his lack of coordination and supervision of food distribution. Shortly after the August consignment arrived, the AD had to attend her monthly meeting in Maun. Before leaving, she gave strict orders not to distribute food in her absence. The RADA, in the meantime, arrived from Letlhakane and ordered the distribution of the consignment stored at the AD's quarters. In no time 200 bags vanished, resulting in more conflicts and frustrations.

**9.5.5.5 Input and Decision-Making Power.** Finally, discrimination was observed during meetings, community decisions, and consultation. Because most Basarwa are illiterate and have little understanding (if any) of objectives, functions, and operations of local institutions, they are excluded from holding offices. More fundamentally still, their inputs in discussions and decisions are rarely taken seriously and most of the time ignored (kgotla meetings, 9 July 1982 and 26 July 1982 et al.).

**9.5.6 Leadership and Control.** The Kedia village faces additional problems of leadership and control. The current chief, related to Kgautswe Basarwa (Botaboe's nephew) appears well respected by non-Sarwa residents and concerned about the future of his village. Despite the low response from the community, he built himself his own kgotla and pointed out that he has now been working for over three years without pay. The Kedia chief appears to be subject to considerable pressure from the Mopipi tribal authority chief, who also is one of Botaboe's relatives from Kgautswe people. Yet the Mopipi chief denies his Sarwa origin and prefers to identify himself as a Moteti. In turn, pressure is put on the Kedia chief to side with the non-Sarwa people in the settlement. As a result, the leadership in the community is considerably impaired. If the chief supports the Sarwa cause, he is reproved by his immediate superior, and, if he sides with non-Sarwa residents, Basarwa accuse him of betraying them. (See also head teacher and elections, 9.5.8.2.)

**9.5.6.2** This situation has contributed to serious deterioration of both internal and external relations, i.e., between Basarwa, Basarwa and the chief, the chief and his nephew, the chief and the tribal authority. Botaboe's son-in-law's fate appears to be an illustration of this. The house of Botaboe's son-in-law, a Mokgalagadi established for six years in Kedia and accused for some time of seeking too much popularity and power, was burned down at night during his absence. His wife and daughter died in the flames, two other children were severely burned and hospitalized, and all property was lost. Non-Sarwa residents consider the incident to be very unfortunate. Botaboe's son-in-law and the other Basarwa are convinced that it was not a mere accident.

**9.5.7 Problems of Local Institutions.** The four institutions promoted in the settlement (VDC, PTA, 4-B, and Red Cross) face much the same problems as those already described under the two other villages (see above, 7.2), only here these problems appear more acute because communications are far more difficult and staff and training less accessible. Institutional problems relating more specifically to Kedia are as follows.

**9.5.7.1 VDC.** Sarwa accounts, also confirmed by RADOs, revealed that the first VDC elections (June 1980) were not held democratically but were considerably influenced by the Mopipi Tribal Authority Chief. The new elections of May

1981 appear fairly consistent with the internal leadership problems described above (9.5.6). No Mosarwa was elected to an executive position, and the former Kgalagadi chairman was demoted to the rank of additional member. In addition, the current committee, which lacks both an elected chairman and a treasurer and has an acting secretary (the AD), does not offer much operational potential.

9.5.7.2 PTA. Elections of PTA members take place at the kgotla where candidates are nominated from the participants. The treasurers, however, were said to be chosen among well-to-do residents because, in case of missing funds, such persons are more solvent than others and their status commands more respect. The PTA also feels that the VDC's inactivity considerably impairs its own involvement to the community. The association finds that a lot needs to be done in Kedia, but, without the backing of and coordination by most influential members (VDC), little can be achieved.

9.5.7.3 4-B and Red Cross. Some of the constraints faced by these two institutions arise from the competition among the leaders of the two clubs involving the same membership. Both clubs are essentially school-based and the expectations of the head teacher and other advisers often differ. In the process, the most affected are the children.

The following are some of their complaints: some children were registered against their will and with no consultation by the head teacher; club members are forced under corporal punishment (one lash) to fetch water for school cooking twice a day (3 km); many children resent dancing half naked, yet traditional dancing has universally become part of the 4-B curriculum; some living in distant settlements find Kedia too far and get penalized for not attending club activities; others are forced to join activities in which they are not interested (e.g., wood carving).

9.5.8 Problems of Support Staff. In addition to common problems of communication, guidance, supervision, and training already described (see above, 5.3.1.2, 5.3.2.3), specific problems related to Kedia field support staff include the following.

9.5.8.1 AD. Given the general lack of means among Basarwa residents, the intended role of the AD of raising farming skills among hunter-gatherers and bringing them closer to the level of self-reliance in crop production is virtually made impossible. Unless all RADs have equal access to lands, draft power, and farming inputs, little can be done by the AD to extend farming skills to that segment of the population. Until then, she is almost bound to continue working with well-to-do farmers.

Lack of adequate transport prevents her from visiting the neighboring settlements regularly and keeping regular contact with all RADs. Bicycles are inadequate in the sandy conditions. She uses donkeys when available; most of the time she walks, sometimes up to 16 km.

Great variations in the population residing at any time at the various cattleposts and settlements make food distribution planning particularly difficult.

Finally, the AD repeatedly requested the ACDO's assistance, but without success.

9.5.8.2 Head Teacher. The performance of the head teacher generally is negative in both professional and extension terms. The administration and supervision of school activities was reported to be minimal, and a significant part of Kedia school curriculum appears to be singing and playing. The head teacher himself was said to come to school at his own times and to spend much of his time drinking beer in the village, often during school hours. Most other teachers also take a break at any time and for any length of time. The efforts of both the AD and the chief to try to remedy this situation have so far proved unsuccessful. The head teacher was further said to show little interest in working with local residents and extension staff, and, whenever he attended kgotla meetings (9 July 1982 and 26 July 1982), he soon left for more beer.

Yet the head teacher won the recent elections (10 June 1982) for the post of new chief in the future village (see also 9.4.4.8). These elections were reported to have been won by campaigning among the youth in the community and obtaining their votes with beer, a means which clearly was beyond the financial resources of the other candidates. With the fact that the head teacher is a Mopipi resident, apparently supported by Mopipi Tribal Authority, and given the leadership tensions between the Tribal Authority and the current chief, chances are that, with final approval from Gaborone, the head teacher will take office. Further leadership problems can therefore be anticipated in the future village.

9.5.8.3 Community Service Workers (Tirelo Sechaba). The two participants posted in Kedia in January 1982 confine most of their time and efforts to school and PTA activities.

Problems faced by these workers appear to be the following: (1) in such a rural environment which provides hardly any institutional structure to operate from, the two students appear to be at a loss, despite their relatively high academic qualifications (Form 5); (2) their lack of knowledge of objectives, functions, and operations of local institutions prevents them from improving the existing ones or initiating others; (3) the students receive little guidance (if any) and complained of not knowing whether they actually do the right things. Their monthly reports from January to June were identical, and, in August, they had not received any feedback on their activities from their supervisors.

9.5.9 Recommendations. It is therefore recommended that Community Service Workers (Tirelo Sechaba) posted in remote areas:

- (1) Receive immersion training in basic objectives, purpose, and running of local institutions before being "dropped" in these areas.
- (2) Provision be made by the Tirelo Sechaba program to include students in local RADO programs where their education and skills could be best utilized, e.g., basic surveys, problem identification, needs assessment, and other settlement analyses.

- (3) Guidance and supervision mechanisms be seriously scrutinized and the necessary improvements be made.

9.5.10 Summary. Research findings show that, despite the commendable efforts of CDC to provide assistance to the RADs, the situation of the Basarwa in particular has hardly improved. The most fundamental problem appears to be the coexistence in the same area of different ethnic groups with unequal means of subsistence gradually degrading into systematic discrimination by the more powerful ones against the less resourceful. The introduction of the village project further precipitated the race for power and control between all groups involved, i.e., between Sarwa bands, between Sarwa and non-Sarwa residents, and seemingly between the local chief and Tribal Authority. In the meantime, new building facilities are soon to be completed to assist "the RADs," but the Basarwa continue asking bitterly, "Whom are you really helping?"

## 9.6 Analysis

9.6.1 On the one hand, the Kedia project illustrates CDC's determination to provide assistance to some of the poorest residents in the district. The approach essentially relied on RADPs, attempts to provide water, posting of staff, and provision of permanent community facilities. With these facilities soon to be in place and a permanent remote area AD based in the community, it is commonly assumed that the time has now come for all RADs to change their life style and make the jump from their traditional mode of subsistence to a more progressive economy. Further, their slowness in adopting a sedentary life and progressive farming practices often is attributed to their inherent conservative attitude toward change and general lack of initiative.

9.6.2 On the other hand, the findings indicate that, despite all Council efforts devoted to the RADs in Kedia, the Basarwa in particular still remain quite marginalized and discriminated against by other groups. The study also highlights the fundamental discrepancy existing between the expectations one commonly has about the RADs and the limited means at their disposal to actually fulfill those expectations. The lack of available land, water, draft power, farming inputs, and decision-making power further prevents the field staff (AD, RADOs) from extending skills to the very people they were sent to help, and local institutions, because of the many problems inherent in their creation (consultation, training, management skills, democratic control, etc.), have had only a small impact and still are far from being functional.

9.6.3 Further analysis seems to indicate that the hierarchy of basic human needs was not observed. The Kedia project intends to bring all RADs to a new sociopolitical life--the one common to most Batswana, living sedentary life in organized villages with their chiefs, local institutions, and staff--and to raise the RADs to a more rewarding occupational level--the one of arable farming. Yet, until their basic means of subsistence are met, it is unlikely that the RADs will readily adopt improved practices or fit into the new sociopolitical structure attempted.

9.6.4 For the RADs, access to land is not only access to means of production. It is also access to a form of security because a farm is not only a place of work but is also a home. The need for security, social organization

(territoriality), family influences (leadership), division of labor (role of women and children), ethnic traditions--all are of great importance to the Basarwa and need to be fully understood in order to introduce changes that are meaningful to them. As it is, Kedia does not offer much security to most Basarwa because many of these factors have not been catered for in the strategy adopted.

9.6.5 The Basarwa in Kedia are no more conservative toward change than any other group. But it is not technology or new buildings that interest them at this stage. It is equal access to resources, less precarious living, and higher income. Ultimately, the level of economic security of the RADs will determine the degree of innovation they will accept.

9.6.6 In the final analysis, it appears that needs in Kedia are not identical for all RADs, and, therefore, separate development programs ought to be tailored to specific needs. The general consensus among Kgautswe Basarwa about establishing their own settlement in Xhago area seems to confirm both the need to have their own home and the desire to preserve their own traditions. The settlement issue yet remains a minor one until equal access to resources and adequate means of subsistence are provided. These, in turn, largely depend on the degree of determination and political will of district and central government authorities.

## 10. Recommended Projects

This report has shown that the most significant constraints Mopipi and Xhumo local institutions face are problems of attitudes and internal leadership, general lack of group management skills, lack of training and support, and poor consultation and integration of both community-based and outside government institutions between themselves and with the local level. The study of the Kedia settlement similarly shows that attempts to reach the very poorest in a direct fashion are bound to be extremely management intensive, and that it is preferable first to address socioeconomic needs in a direct fashion rather than pursue sociopolitical ideals (9.6.3). The most effective way RADs can be helped is likely to be indirectly through employment creation.

An extension strategy based on widespread group action and community interaction is advocated for strengthening local institutions, and an action-for-training approach is suggested for extending management skills to the most fundamental groups/institutions in the communities. In line with these objectives and the fundamental CFDA principle of regional integration, the two following projects are recommended.

### 10.1 Mopipi Credit Union (Pilot Project)

A credit union (CU) is, in essence, a small popular bank organized as a cooperative and formed by a small group of people having a common interest or

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27. See also G. Bridger, "Are Rural Development Projects Failing?" (London: Agricultural Science Unit, Crown Agents, 1979).

common bond, who agree to save money together and to lend their money to each other at low interest rates when needed for productive purposes and improving their living standards.<sup>28</sup>

The fundamental reasons for recommending this project are twofold: (1) A CU, based on purposeful action, e.g., fishing, provides a meaningful setting for extending numerous skills and promoting group interactions, a spirit of democracy, and mutual cooperation among members, the lack of which appears to be a major constraint in the CFDA communities. (2) The financial capital accumulated in a CU by the membership is owned, shared, managed, and controlled by the members themselves, as opposed to constantly having to rely on government subsidies whenever needs arise. Thus a CU offers a considerable potential for self-reliance and self-determination (development) of the membership.

In addition, a CU also provides the opportunity to learn about savings and money management and encourages private investments in diversified productive activities. A CU also is a safe place to save money since savings are deposited in a bank and also receive yearly dividends. Loans are issued at very low interest rates (1 percent) and sometimes members receive interest refunds. Finally, CUs can develop into multipurpose or consumer types of cooperatives which are more likely to run on sound cooperative principles with management skills that will have had time to grow and develop than if formal cooperatives are established at once as is the practice at present.

#### 10.2 Kedia Game Harvesting Project

This project, primarily directed to the RADs and Basarwa, is inspired from the game harvesting program initiated in mid-1980 in Takatokwane, Kweneng District.<sup>29</sup>

In essence, the project consists of improving the management and utilization of wildlife--a significant renewable resource of the CFDA--to the direct benefit of the RADs and local residents. To that end, it is suggested that a simple depot be built in Kedia in order to store skins, game produce, and local handicrafts, and that a suitable person be recruited as Game Extension Officer (GEO) to coordinate the project.

The basic roles of the GEO are as follows. His/her initial effort is to identify and establish "Game Skin Groups" where appropriate in the CFDA and, in collaboration with the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), to train the group members in basic shooting, skinning, and skin-curing techniques.

His/her second role is to collect game produce, market it, and distribute cash earnings to the members, until the groups have proved skilled enough to perform this task.

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28. A.J. Halubobya, What Everyone Should Know About Savings and Credit Unions (Lusaka, Zambia: Multimedia Publications, 1973), included in the draft report as Appendix 5.

29. R.A. Nickerson and R.M. Banda, "Kalahari Settlement Project--Game Harvesting Programme" (Molepolole, Botswana: KSP, n.d.).

Finally, the GEO is to organize and coordinate in-service training for the groups as appropriate in collaboration with local skilled persons and other institutions competent and equipped for such training, e.g., Botswana Game Industry (BGI), Rural Industrial Innovation Center (RIIC), DWNP, etc.

With adequate support and commitment, this game harvesting project could be a vehicle whereby a cross section of the Central District community, including the most marginalized ones, could earn sustained income from the bush. In doing so, they would meet their basic physiological needs, employ traditional skills and interests, and utilize naturally renewable resources. Virtually all income generated remains in the area (until taxes are imposed) while, in a small way, Botswana's exports may ultimately benefit.

## 11. Related Research Proposals

In relation to the projects suggested above, the efforts currently devoted to the Fisheries Unit (FU) of the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) to promote commercial fishing in Mopipi Dam and the Okavango River system, and the overall development of the CFDA, three additional research proposals are recommended.

### 11.1 Fish Stock Assessment in Mopipi Dam

It is widely felt that the Okavango River delta, Lake Liambesi, Lake Ngami, and Mopipi Dam/Lake Xau offer the greatest potential for long-term fisheries development and that all waters are substantially underexploited.<sup>30</sup> Yet, despite past consultancies, it is felt that little sound biological data exist to aid in efficient exploitation. Fish population assessment, advice on the best harvest quota, harvesting techniques, and marketing strategies all appear necessary to promote viable fishing groups and commercial fishing. In addition, the FU reckons that the establishment of these initial data would provide an adequate comparative basis and enable the unit to conduct by itself further assessments in the overall river system.

It is therefore suggested that, under the auspices of the CFDA program, a special consultancy be called in order to: establish basic fish stock technical data in Mopipi Dam/Lake Xau and adjacent Boteti ramifications; suggest appropriate research designs for further establishment of annual yield projections during the next five years; examine local fish processing and determine how it could be improved; provide basic analysis of stunted fish in Mopipi Dam; examine and recommend possible appropriate fish conservation techniques adapted to the area (e.g., "fared baskets," used in Indonesia).

### 11.2 Fish-and-Game Produce Marketing Study

Reliable marketing is a crucial element for the success of both the fishing industry and the game/harvesting project. Fish marketing potential does

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30. Ministry of Agriculture, "Fisheries Investigations in Botswana," Consultancy Terms of Reference (Gaborone: Fisheries Unit, 1982).

exist locally in Orapa and in other areas of Central District (e.g., Tutume, Serowe), in Francistown and Zimbabwe. Similarly, a substantial amount of game by-products (biltong, leather articles) can be used locally or marketed at various tanneries and leather manufacturers (e.g., BGI, Gaborone, Tswana Tanneries, Botswanacraft). In addition, a number of artisans and small businessmen also are buying crafts and leather.

Yet, little is known on quotas, extent, conditions, and feasibility of these markets. It is therefore proposed that the RIO (Serowe), in conjunction with the ARU, NIR, FU (MoA), design, plan, and conduct a fish-and-game produce marketing study in the CFDA with the possible contribution of university students in commerce, business administration, or related fields. Broadly speaking, the study would aim at: identifying and assessing local fish/game produce markets; recommending the most appropriate and cheapest ways of supplying the markets identified; investigating joint marketing/transport possibilities between the various parties involved, i.e., FU, CFDA program, RIO, end-product buyers, others; identifying means that could increase local markets or consumption (e.g., cooking demonstrations at schools, clinics, healthposts) and emphasizing the problems involved; assessing proportion and conditions under which consumption of local produce could be increased in those institutions; finally (though less urgent), assessing potential export market and determining procedures required.

### 11.3 Surveys on Land Use and Attitudes Toward Resource Management

This research proposal relates to potential conflicts that may arise between arable farming in the CFDA (including livestock) and the rights of the Anglo-American Company to the Boteti waters. The general characteristics described in Section 1, above, indicate that the large proportion of arable farming takes place along the river banks and floodplains (molapos) and is immediately subject to the amount of flood these areas receive. In order to place the problem into perspective, it is necessary to summarize briefly the flooding behavior of the river and the effects waterworks in the Mopipi swamps have on the flooding pattern.

11.3.1 Natural Flooding Behavior of the Boteti River. In November 1971, at the request of the Permanent Secretary Technical (MoA), E. Charles (Agricultural Officer/Serowe) conducted an assessment of the effects on agriculture of the Anglo-American waterworks in the area. Charles observed that the flooding behavior before the works started followed a certain sequence of events:<sup>31</sup>

- (1) The water flowed downstream toward the Daukudi area where it met a first rockbar (technically called Bot 9) which caused the water to back up to Gwii (map 9 and map 3, p. 6).
- (2) The overflow from Bot 9 then filled the basin behind a second rockbar (Bot 5), and the Chikwe stream began to flow slowly.
- (3) The overflow from Bot 5 entered then Lake Xau at Monkgakwena. Reed growth in the water passage and the influence of Lake Xau at its full capacity forced

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31. E. Charles, Survey of Anglo-American Waterworks in Context of Traditional Water Use in the Xau, Mopipi Region (Gaborone: Ministry of Agriculture, 1972), pp. 1-3.



more water upstream, thus causing more extensive flooding of molapos in the Tsibi junction, Chikwe, and as far as Xodio (northwest of Xhumo). (4) The Chikwe stream then flowed more strongly but often backed up toward Mopipi, and the main river alongside Mopipi village then started flowing slowly into the Makgadikgadi system.

11.3.2 Anglo-American Waterworks. Government authority, issued in July 1969, allowed the works to be started,<sup>32</sup> subject to a subsequent grant of water rights issued in October 1974 (no. B.175) which stated that:

The Grantee shall be the primary user of the water entering the Mopipi Swamp . . . . Some water (determined by mathematical simulation) shall be allowed to flow through the sluices of bunds B, C, D . . . . All water in excess of the Grantee's requirements shall be fed into Lake Xau or be made available to other users behind bunds . . . .

The waterworks started in 1970 and include the following manipulations. Both Bot 9 and Bot 5 were lowered and bypassed by canals (the Mopipi canal bypassing Bot 5--see map 9), thus diverting the water from the main river directly to the Forebay area. A second canal (Xau canal) was built further south to collect water bypassing Bot 5 and the Mopipi canal. Two bunds were built on the Chikwe stream: bund D with no spillway and bund C with one 4-ft sluice gate. Bund B, south of the Xau canal, controls water flowing into Lake Xau with two 4-ft sluice gates; and bund A, also equipped with two 4-ft sluice gates, controls the overflow downstream of Mopipi toward the Makgadikgadi pans.

In conformity with the operating procedures specified by the grant of water rights (above), the sequence of events currently is as follows. (1) Sluices A, B, and C are closed before the floods arrive. (2) The first floods are channeled straight to the pumping station through the canal system. (3) When the dam is filled to capacity, sluices B and C are opened to allow for flooding of Lake Xau and the Chikwe stream. Because of vegetal obstruction and the low gradients of these two streams, the water also backs up in the main river. (4) When forced backwaters reach Gwii, sluice A should be opened to let the water drain to the main pans.

11.3.3 Effects of Waterworks on Arable Farming. Charles noted that by means of these waterworks the river can be contained within the bunds and directly flow to the mining company's pumping station in the Forebay area without the old pattern of the river backing upstream, the filling of side streams and flooding of molapos, and the river meandering into Lake Xau.<sup>33</sup> In the current practice, these flooding effects can be artificially generated by closing and opening the various sluices, but, as Breyer observed: "an almost reversal of flood pattern has been induced by the waterworks, first serving the Forebay

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32. E.G. Thomas, Technical Appraisal of Water Rights Application for Orapa Diamond Mine (Gaborone: Department of Water Affairs, 1972), p. 2.

33. Charles, Survey of Anglo-American Waterworks, p. 3.

area, then Lake Xau and the Chikwe streams, followed by molapo flooding up to Gwii and lastly drainage northeast of Mopipi."<sup>34</sup>

As a result, according to Thomas,<sup>35</sup> lands had to be abandoned between Rakops and Mopipi because they do not receive floodwater, and, from Breyer's observation, currently this situation particularly arises in the Chikwe molapos.<sup>36</sup> Yet Lesole's 1978 interviews in Rakops indicate, in contrast, that Rakops farmers abandon the molapos because they are still flooded in late November/early December when planting starts.<sup>37</sup> Thus the ultimate effects of the waterworks on molapo farming still is rather unclear and poorly documented, and further land-use investigations appear therefore necessary to determine more accurately the best locations and conditions of arable farming in the CFDA and the overall lower Boteti region.

11.3.4 The Rainfall Regime. Breyer's analysis of rainfall records over the past 61 years in the Maun area indicates a cycle of 9-15 years of drought alternating with periods of 10-14 wetter years.<sup>38</sup> The dry periods, however, also include a few years of good rains, while the wet ones are interrupted by a few dry ones. Thus the period between 1923-43 was dry (below the annual mean total, ranging between 650 and 450 mm) interrupted by some wetter years from 1932 onward. The period between 1944-58 was wetter with several years of low rainfall. From 1959-71 it was dry with several years above mean rainfall, and from 1972-82 it has been wetter but again with a few years of low rainfall. Data plotted for Rakops indicate similar trends for the lower Boteti region, and further calculations of annual soil moisture balances between 1970-72 and 1978-82 indicate that soil moisture for these periods was insufficient for plant growth (aridic balance).<sup>39</sup> Thus both the rainfall pattern and the persistent drought situation currently experienced seem to indicate that a new drought cycle has begun.

11.3.5 Implications for the Future. One of the sources of vulnerability of the Boteti region is that, when planners and other officials contemplate the apparently vast water resources in the Okavango delta, they do not connect it with the livelihood of the relatively few and scattered people of the Boteti. As we have seen, previous waterworks have affected the agricultural base of the region. If, as Breyer's data would seem to indicate, the area is experiencing a new cycle of drought, the water in the river is more important than ever to the livelihood of the Botswana citizens who live and farm along its banks.

Planning the use and management of the resources in the area must include a careful look at the use of water in the region and its effect on the

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34. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Region, p. 31.

35. Thomas, Technical Appraisal of Water Rights, p. 13.

36. Breyer, Soils in the Lower Region, p. 31.

37. Quoted in *ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

39. *Ibid.*

inhabitants. Failure to consider the dependence of the regional economy on all natural resources before undertaking any resource utilization project could have disastrous effects on the life of area residents, livestock, and wildlife.

A hypothetical example involving water use is presented here to illustrate the point. Water has been chosen as it offers the most tempting target for exploitation by others; it has most often been utilized by others in the past; and it is the resource without which other resources become useless. Alterations in the water use and management system might be expected to have two contrasting effects in the area. One is water shortage; the other, excessive flooding.

Water shortage might be expected to result from such technical interventions as building of new bunds, deepening of the natural river channel, modification of spillways in current bunds, and lowering of rockbars. Such interventions could produce the following results. (1) They could further reduce the flooding of molapo areas that already are not receiving sufficient floodwater (e.g., Chikwe, Xau, Tsibi junction, possibly others). (2) Such additional water shortage would likely increase the competition for water between livestock, wildlife, and domestic usage. (3) Modifications of spillways, bund crests, and so on might cause the overflow to evaporate before the water actually reaches the molapos.

Excess flooding, on the other hand, might be expected in some other areas as the result of similar technical interventions or other modifications such as the alteration of minimum water levels. Excess flooding might cause some of the following effects. (1) Some lands areas may have to be abandoned as a result of being flooded for too long (e.g., the Forebay area). (2) Abandoning good lands raises the problem of finding other suitable lands in the vicinity. Such lands areas have become increasingly scarce since a good number of them already are abandoned for lack of sufficient floodwater. (3) If floods do not recede (naturally or artificially) at the latest in November (planting time), the molapos become unsuitable for cultivation as they are too wet. (4) Long-term flooding of flat plains in particular increases the rate of land salinity through evaporation.

**11.3.6 Further Research Recommendations.** The above considerations suggest that further surveys on land use and attitudes toward resource management would add important information to the various data already compiled in the CFDA. It is therefore recommended that:

- (1) The extent of flooding be systematically plotted in the CFDA, and more particularly in Chikwe, Xau, and the Forebay lands, and the amount of water and time of floods be clearly established. Some areas will receive too much water; others, not enough. Both situations are equally unsuitable for arable farming. In addition, in times of high floods, some lands may be surrounded by water and not be accessible for cultivation.
- (2) Surveys of attitudes toward the management of local resources be simultaneously conducted in the farming communities of the CFDA.

Local consultation on the access and usage of water was unanimously reported by all three CFDA farming communities to have been and still be minimal. Before any resource management planning can objectively be considered, it is necessary to have the residents' perception of both the local resource potential and the ways these resources ought to be managed. This information should include the following.

(1) Local perception of the livestock-arable conflict in Xau and the Forebay area in relation to the extent of the current and future floods should be established. Increased and more permanent flooding may be desirable for livestock development but can be simultaneously detrimental to arable farming in the same area. In those areas, therefore, a choice might have to be made between livestock and arable development. Water shortage, on the other hand, is detrimental to both. Thus, the farmers' attitudes and their alternatives to drought and high flooding must be clearly understood before resource management planning can be tailored to local needs.

(2) Similar assessments should be made with regard to the increasing competition for water between livestock and wildlife.

**11.3.7 Concluding Remarks.** This preliminary analysis indicates that arable agriculture is perhaps not the primary sector to be promoted in the overall development of the CFDA. Soil moisture requirements for dryland farming have been insufficient for plant growth during the past five consecutive years (see 11.3.4), and, if a ten-year drought cycle has begun, the soil moisture is not likely to improve for that length of time. **Molapo** farming offers higher potential but is subject to the amount of floods and the overall water management in the area.

Development efforts devoted to livestock management and productive employment organized around other renewable resources in the area (e.g. fishing, game industries) may prove in the long term to be more beneficial for the overall development of the CFDA.

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## APPENDIX 1

Central : Research Guidelines on Local Institutions1. Kgotla Background Information

Most of this information will have to be collected from respective headmen, except in section 1.3. Prior to interviewing the headmen concerned, however, a detailed inventory of all kgotla and sub-kgotla should be drawn.

1.1 Kgotla Inventory

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

1.2 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 headman, i.e., age, occupation, education, number of years in office, why and how did he become headman (birth, elected, appointed).
- 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 for 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 a 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.)

1.3 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:

- 1) how good, influential, and responsible their headman is;
- 2) how much they like/dislike him and why;
- 3) 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, "she-beens," or any other suitable social occasion).

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 such topics could best be 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 cross-checks and follow-ups in order to reach maximum accuracy.

## 2. VDC: Background Information

### 2.1 Origin and Membership

- 1) When was the first VDC established (date)?
- 2) Establish chronological membership of executive officers from beginning to date, with respective occupations. (Elections are normally held every two years.)
- 3) Establish present complete membership of: elected members (list all with respective occupations); ex officio members (list all with

respective occupations); co-opted members (list all with respective occupations).

- 4) Who and how many present members have multiple memberships? (List all and specify what memberships.)

## 2.2 VDC Interview

### A) Self-Help, Fundamental Objective

- 1) Find out what is the general understanding of "self-help" among VDC membership. (How do they understand it? How do they define it?)
- 2) How does VDC organize self-help assistance from villagers? (Describe their strategy with all successive stages of implementation.)
- 3) How do (have done) VDC members 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 VDC meets (weekly, monthly).
- 2) Establish the average attendance at 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 projects were 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, dates, 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 about their overall village development plan. (Describe in detail; specify priorities, long-term, objectives, etc.)
- 2) Find out from them the specific role every village organization is expected to play in their village plan. (Among village organization leaders are included: chiefs, headmen, councillors, ACDO, AD, FWE, VA, HT, FC, VHT, SWC, PTA, BCW, 4-B, YWCA, Land Board representatives, and possibly others.)
- 3) Ask about and list all difficulties VDC faces in its effort to coordinate the activities of their village organizations. (State all problems raised and try to find out why they arise.)

Second: From Village Leaders

In a second stage, cross-check that information collected from the executives with each village organization 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 cross-check that information with informal talks. Keep in mind and consult again, Note on Kgotla Guidelines.

### 3. Farmers Committees: Background Information

#### A) Origin

- 1) Why did FC start in the village?
- 2) When was its early start (date), and when did it actually begin to operate?
- 3) Who were the founding 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 the committee? (If yes, list who they are and find out why from them.)
- 3) What is their contribution to date (cash, material, other)?
- 4) How many subgroups does FC manage (e.g., fencing groups, dam groups, smallstock groups, tick-control groups, 4-B)?
- 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 bylaws (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 organize 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 memberships.)

**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 Subgroups: Background Information**

Note: Agricultural subgroups in Central District generally include: tick control group, smallstock dosing group, dam group, borehole syndicates, cooperatives, 4-B--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 members).

3) How group is managed (specify if it is by FC or by own committee).

4) If subgroup 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 dip tanks, spray race, crushes, dosing guns, hand pump).
- 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/smallstock treated in the past year.)
- 12) Describe project status. (Indicate stage: interest stage, proposal 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 bylaws, if any (on separate sheet).
- 17) Have they any other related project (e.g., the same group may have a fencing project or dams or operate with a joint borehole allocation from Land Board)?
- 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 founding 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 and 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 households?
- 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 bylaws.
- 10) Length of the fence (to be done with coordinator).
- 11) How often does the group meet? (Check records if available.)

**C) Management and 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 organize 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 Organizations: Information

Note: Among these organizations, the most common ones include PTA, BCW, YWCA, 4-B (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 organization started and by whom.
- 3) Establish present committees. (List; give occupation of each member and multiple memberships.)
- 4) Why did such an organization develop 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 organization 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 2

Detailed Data on Wards and Headmen

A. Wards Inventory: Xhumo

NAME OF WARD	TRIBE	HEADMANSHIP SUCCESSION	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF FAMILIES <sup>a</sup>
Beleshaba	Kalanga	Beleshaba - Ntshwenyang - Mothekenna (1976) - Kgosinthwa (1976+)	10
Ntshombiwa	Kalanga	Mosesane - Makweche - Ntshombiwa Mosesane	11
Senjele	Kalanga	Sebobe (-1948) - Boikantswe (1955+)	9
Mawala	Kalanga	Nkosho - Motsumi - Mawala - Matenge - Malepa (1953) - Keitsapile (1967+)	16
Makuwane	Kalanga	Nkobedi - Buka - Ntlhoiwa - Dambesi - Monageng - Gasewane Kerebotswe (1948) - Moakufi Batloseng (1948-58) - Molathiwa Atinabo (1958-69, stays in cattlepost) - Stefans Atinabo (1969+, acting)	4
Ntewane	Kalanga	? - Gabobonwe (1958+)	10
Bungu	Kalanga	? - Ditirwa Bungu (1966+)	23
Molelekwa	Kalanga	Malepa Molelekwa - (1953) - Kgasampane Molelekwa (1953+, acting)	11
Phago	Yiei	Kaku, Phago, Samatshana (Rakops) - Masikiri Mokgwathi (appointed by T. Khama, 1944) - Molefe Mokgwathi (1945-70) - Ksekang Mokgwathi (1970-81) - Koitumile Mokgwathi (1981+)	8
Matshara-tshara	Yiei	Tshairakoma - Matsharatshara - Mmange - Ketlhoilwe - Naba Keitumile (1932+)	13
Kalaya-kgosi	Teti	Moalosi Kalayakgosi - Kalayakgosi Kalayakgosi - Kebapetswe Kalayakgosi (-1967) - Moalosi Kalayakgosi (1967+)	12
Mogomelo	Khurutshe	Mogomelo - Mmopi - (1950) - Nthusang (1950-52) - Bethia Mmopi (1952+)	8

<sup>a</sup> These are only approximate figures recorded during headmen's interviews.

B. Headman Characteristics: Xhume

NAME	KGOTLA (TRIBE)	AGE	YEARS IN OFFICE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	HEADMANSHIP	MULTIPLE MEMBERSHIP	IMPORTANT RELATIONS
Kgosintwa Onangwa	Beleshaba (Kalanga)	57	6	farmer	-	inherited	Jibwi FG	-
Ntshombiwa Mosesane	Ntshombiwa (Kalanga)	60	15	hide weaver	-	inherited	-	-
Boikantswe Sebobe	Senjele (Kalanga)	50	27	farmer	-	inherited	co-op	Chief Onkabetse (Letlhakane)
Keitsapile Malepa	Mawala (Kalanga)	63	15	thatcher	-	inherited	voc, co-op, VHC	chief (Xhumo) on mother's side
Stefans Atinabo	Makuwane (Kalanga)	45	13	farmer	old St. 1	acting	VDC	Chief Maja-shango (Rakops)
Gabonwe Mmegwa	Ntewane (Kalanga)	64	24	farmer	old Sub B	inherited	- (stick)	Chief Maja-shango (Rakops)
Ditirwa Bungu	Bungu (Kalanga)	55	16	farmer	-	inherited	-	Chief Maja-shango (Rakops)
Kasampane Molelekwa	Molelekwa (Kalanga)	49	29	farmer	-	acting	-	Chief Maja-shango (Rakops); chief (Xhumo)
Keitumile Mogkwathi	Phago (Yiei)	62	7	farmer	old St. 1	inherited	VDC, FC	Maun MP (BDP); chief's brother
Naba Ketlhoilwe	Matsharatshara (Yiei)	71	50	farmer, trad. doctor	-	inherited	-	Chief Shimane (Kedia)
Moalosi Kalayakgosi	Kalayakgosi ('feti)	51	15	farmer	-	inherited	-	Chief Chocho (Mopipi)
Bethia Mmopi	Mogomelo (Khurutshe)	64	30	farmer	old St. 3	inherited	-	-
Tsietso Mokgwathi	-no ward-chief (Yiei)	62	1	borehole driller	old St. 1	appointed + elected	VDC, FC	Maun MP (BHP)

C. Wards Inventory: Mopipi

NAME OF WARD	TRIBE	HEADMANSHIP SUCCESSION	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF FAMILIES
Mogomotsi	Kgalagadi	Mosweunyane - Komanyane - Moganetsi Motseothata - Mosweunyane	8
Chawe	Kgalagadi	Chawe - Seokiso	4
Gotswagotswe	Teti	Bathobogeng (till 1961) - Gaboipewe (moved to Letlhakane) - Sechuu Keipilwe (from 1970)	9
Mokabe	Teti	Mokabe - Yabadzikwae (till 1946) - Kabo (1946-61) - Mmanthabalwe (1961-75) - Sebitwane (1975)	12
Motho-a-Kgari	Teti	uncertain	
Molato	Teti	Kelewetse - Bogamwe - Kesenyegetswe (from 1978)	5
Baganetseng	Batsaiti = (Teti)	Baganetseng - Rantaleng Baganetseng (+1966) - Nthathang Baganetseng (from 1966)	1
Sekeletu	Kalanga	already in Mopipi in 1930s (names not remembered) - Sekeletu (1951-53) - Thotobolo Zanana (from 1953)	30
Maditse	Kalanga	Malisa Maditse - Tabona Malisa - Makanda (temporary) - Mochi - Bolotho Tabona (+1960) - Moloi Malisa (from 1960)	15
Ntakula Mokgoro	Kalanga	Lesanyo Bdaule - Monyepi Mauto - Kopano Jim (1979-82) - Utakula Mokgoro (from early 1982)	14
Shaka Kopo	Kalaga	first headman	7
Letsibogo	Kalanga	Galemelwe Loeto - Phoromate Loeto (1969)	22

[continued]

[Wards Inventory: Mopipi, cont.]

NAME OF WARD	TRIBE	HEADMANSHIP SUCCESSION	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF FAMILIES
Mkosho Mo-tsonu/Tamocho	Kalanga	uncertain	10
Ntshaba	Kalanga	Ntewane (Xhumo) - Mmegwa - Gababonwe (1959) - Zanana Nshab (Mmatshumo 1942) - Temogo Sechele (from 1970)	5
Beleshaba	Kalanga	first headman	1
Makulukusa	Kalanga	Thabe - Mothogelwa - Letebele Mothogelwa	5
Teedmane	Barotse	Teemane - Sakandaba Teemane - Leso Raise - Sekandaba Maplanka	11
Sakareya	Herero	Damuel Maherero - Lenthuma (Khurutshe) - Asa Kadjii (+1937) - Asera (delegated position to his uncle) - Sakareya Kedi (+1970) - Wire Sakareya (from 1970)	8
Seosenyeng	Khurutshe	Mogale - Masenya - Mokwalo - Seosenyeng - Mosu	5
Mokgabelele	Khurutshe	Mogale - Moshabi - Mokgabelele - Galeleabilwe	11
Masenya	Khurutshe	Masenya - Mogale - Masenya - Lebapitswe	4
Thuma	Khurutshe	Mokwalo - Seosenyeng - Thuma - Mookodi	9
Galebowe	Khurutshe	Tawana - Galebonwe - Mogodi	10

D. Headman Characteristics: Mopipi

NAME	KGOTLA (TRIBE)	AGE	YEARS IN OFFICE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	HEADMANSHIP	MULTIPLE MEMBERSHIP	IMPORTANT RELATIONS
Mosweunyane Kefilwe	Mogomotsi (Kgalagadi)	74	15	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Seokiso	Chawe (Kgalagadi)	62	10	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Sechuu Keipilwe	Gotswegotswe (Teti)	46	12	farmer	St. 1	appointed	VDC, FG, FC	-
Sebitwane Balaoleng	Mokabe (Teti)	51	7	farmer	-	inherited	-	Station Commander /Kanye
Chocho Botswana (chief)	Motho-a-Kgari (Teti)	48	6	chief + Tribal Authority	St. 3	elected	VDC	-
Kesenyegetswe	Molato (Teti)	70+	4	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Nthathang Baganetseng	Baganetseng (Teti)	56	16	farmer	St. 2	inherited	PTA (treas.)	-
Thotobolo Zanana	Sekeletu (Kalanga)	61	29	farmer	St. 3	inherited	-	-
Moloi Maditse	Maditse (Kalanga)	75+	22	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Ntakula Mokgoro	Ntakula Mokgoro (Kalanga)	70+	1	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Shaka Kopo	Shaka Kopo (Kalanga)	55	12	driver in Orapa	-	appointed	-	-

[continued]

[Headmen Characteristics: Mopipi, cont.]

NAME	KGOTLA (TRIBE)	AGE	YEARS IN OFFICE	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	HEADMANSHIP	MULTIPLE MEMBERSHIP	IMPORTANT RELATIONS
Phoromate Loeto	Letsibogo (Kalanga)	63	13	farmer and businessman	St. 3	acting	-	Ambassador Garebamono
Debele Nkalakama	Nkosho (Kalanga)	64	8	casual labor (Orapa)	St. 4	inherited	-	-
Temogo Sechele	Ntshaba (Kalanga)	50	12	farmer	-	inherited	PTA, FC, fisheries	-
H. Motlhoping	Beletshaba (Kalanga)	48	13	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Letebele Mothogelwa	Makulukusa (Kalanga)	43	7	farmer	old St. 6	inherited	Machana FG	-
Sokandaba Maplanka	Teemane (Borotse)	40	11	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Wire Sakareya	Sakareya (Herero)	76	12	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
M. Mosu	Seosenyeng (Khurutshe)	84	20+	farmer	-	inherited	Setata b/h syndicate	-
Galeleabilwe Modumedi	Mokgabelele (Khurutshe)	77	53	farmer	-	inherited	-	-
Lebapitswe Moruimang	Masenya (Khurutshe)	76	53	farmer	-	inherited	VDC	-
Tlharemmitwa Mookodi	Thuma (Khurutshe)	78	30	farmer	St. 3	inherited	-	-
Mogodi Megae	Galebowe (Khurutshe)	26	2	farmer	St. 3	inherited	-	-