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Agricultural Group Development in Botswana

Volume I
Chapters 1-8

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AGRICULTURAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

A preliminary survey of the experience of the Group Development Programme of the Division of Agricultural Management Associations within the Department of Agricultural Field Services, Ministry of Agriculture, Botswana.

For USAID/Botswana

By
A. B. J. Willett

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Volume I: Chapters 1 - 8

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The views and interpretations expressed in the report are those of the author and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

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Full Tables of Contents for each Chapter are provided at the start of each chapter.

SCOPE OF WORK

This study of group development was commissioned by USAID in order to supplement the external evaluation made in May 1980 of the USAID funded Range and Livestock Management Project.

The scope of work was as follows.

The Contractor will provide:

1. An historical discussion covering the evolution of the group development process, the "gradualist approach to TGLP in the communal areas", the idea behind Agricultural Management Associations, and the most recent developments in strategy like ALDEP and CAPAD.

2. An account of the experiences in three regions (Central, Gaborone and Southern) but will also briefly review, on a comparative basis, experience in the other regions.

3. A discussion of the constraints to group development - organisational, institutional, legal, social and cultural.

4. An account of the management framework for the promotion and support of group projects, particularly the linkages between Group Development Officers, other staff and involved departments, and the CAMA office.

5. Recommendations on the technologies for group action - what potential there is for communal and group activity in terms of possible viable projects and activities.

6. Detailed data which may be presented in tabular form as an Appendix to the report on

   (i) Farmers Associations
   (ii) Farmers Committees
   (iii) Tick control projects and related cattle husbandry
   (iv) Small stock groups
   (v) Dam groups
   (vi) Borehole syndicates/associations
   (vii) Drift fences (lands)
   (viii) Fencing of grazing enclosures
   (ix) Conservation projects
   (x) Molapo bunding
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7. An analytic and descriptive summary of the findings, conclusions and policy implications of the above data which takes into consideration regional, technological, ecological and cultural differences among and within the above typology.

PREFACE

Why is this report so long? One GDO specifically advised against the production of yet another lengthy document. What is needed are practical guidelines of direct value to staff and groups in the field. This opinion is certainly correct, but the author had to face many different expectations for this report. Farmers wanted their difficulties communicated fully to Government. Some officials wanted to see brought together for the first time a full picture of the number of groups formed. Others wanted a thorough treatment of how the group development programme came about to help new staff joining Government to be clearer on their aims, and to assist evaluation. Then there were those who felt that what was most needed was an in depth account of what was involved in the group development process.

The scope of work requested by USAID was naturally the determinant in how to approach writing this report. It necessitated background chapters as well as a series of chapters each detailing what is involved in each area of group activity. In practice these chapters took on somewhat different forms in order to show in each case the particular factors determining progress, the special problems there have been and what needs future attention. Some of these areas of activity could each merit a report in themselves. It was taking a fresh look at each of these areas that took so much time and resulted in the size of this study. In this connection the author felt obliged to try to do equal justice to every area of group activity, since so many people responsible for and interested in their particular programmes had given up many valuable hours of time discussing problems and sharing ideas.

Despite the above, this report is admittedly still too long. This is because its size became too big to be edited in the consultancy time available. For this the author can only express regret and beg the patience of readers.

However, the author is also aware that despite its size, the report falls far short of providing all the answers needed. It has been difficult especially to attempt proper technical and economic appraisal. But hopefully the report will succeed in creating awareness of how broad an area group development covers, and the analysis will have been deep enough in most cases to create awareness too of how much is involved. As for providing guidelines, it is realised that a great deal of work has been left to the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture. It is regretted that the kind of practical guidelines needed proved beyond what this report could accomplish. It is sincerely hoped that the information which has been found, the method of analysis and the suggestions made in Chapter 26 for the way guidelines should be produced all represent a positive step in the right direction and will help the staff of the CAMA office to initiate the further work required.

To help readers cope with the size of this report all the chapters, except Chapter 1 and Chapter 26, have been summarised. The summaries appear as the last section at the end of each chapter. In this way readers can quickly obtain an idea of the main points the chapters make and refer straight to the full text of sections of interest. Chapters 1 and 26 were excluded from this treatment as it was assumed that any reader would in any case wish to study the purpose and overall conclusions of this report in full.

For many readers only certain parts of this report will be of interest. The report has been written in such a way that each subject area can virtually stand on its own. Chapter 2 deals with the methodology of this study. Chapter 3 deals with an analysis of traditional areas of group and communal activity and their relevance to group development today. Chapters 4 to 6 deal with the more recent historical background which led up to there being a group development programme, followed in Chapter 7 by a brief description of the structure of the CAMA office in the Department of Agricultural Field Services. Chapter 8 is also by way of background - a description of the communal areas, the main zone in which group development has to take place to assist the target group. Chapters 9 to 24 then cover the areas of group activity, starting with communal fencing projects to enclose or separate lands areas from grazing, turning to attempts to establish communal area ranches and the experience with commercial ranching groups, and then moving on to other types of project activity. Chapter 25 assesses the experience with a particular form of management organisation for communal area development activities - the role and achievement of Farmers Committees. Finally in Chapter 26 (overall conclusions) an attempt is made to answer a series of general questions about the group development programme - what has been achieved overall? What have been the main constraints? What does group development involve? How can the goals be realised?

A large number of recommendations are made. These are typed in capitals in the text and a separate extract of all recommendations from the report is provided (see page xxi).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To acknowledge and thank adequately all those who have played a part in producing this report is an almost impossible task. The memories of all the help received are endless. Close on one thousand people contributed their ideas, openly discussed problems or spent hours or even days of their time with the author explaining what they were doing or thinking. Often this went on into evenings and through weekends. The list includes farmers, village headmen, group leaders, agricultural and other field staff, District and HQ officials and many others. It has been possible to name or otherwise mention many of the contributors in Appendices 22 and 23. For their co-operation and so importantly their interest in this study the author is immensely grateful.

Chapter 2 explains how this study was done. When the consultant's itinerary is also studied it will immediately become apparent how amazingly all the arrangements worked out. For this the author must thank many people. The Director of Agricultural Field Services and the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations between them helped to establish the happy working relationship between the consultant and regional and district staff by providing the opportunity at an RAOs/DAOs meeting for the consultant to explain the purpose of the study and set up initial arrangements. From there the story was one long series of thoughtfully planned and successfully arranged tours and meetings. RAOs allowed the consultant time to participate in regional meetings. DAOs included the consultant on their monthly meeting agendas, sometimes knocking back their schedule by more than half a day. In turn arrangements made by RAOs, GDOs, DAOs and ADs for visits to groups in the extension areas worked like clockwork. The author would arrive usually to find the AD and a group of farmers already assembled and prepared. Or the AD would spend sometimes a full day, or even longer, accompanying the author on extensive trips out of the village to where farmers were working and, here again, there was always ready co-operation even though the consultant was sometimes interrupting activities during the busy farming season. Sometimes DAOs too accompanied the consultant. Many gave up valuable time to discuss the consultant's findings in their districts as did RAOs in the regions. The list includes RTC staff and other regional support staff. It includes DO(L)s who invited the consultant to LUPAG meetings, discussed land use planning, and in a number of cases provided helpful data and maps. Several Land Boards arranged special sessions to meet the consultant. And in most districts other workers - in Development Trusts, church missions and Council departments - also gave immensely valuable additional insights into group development from their experience.

For all this help and co-operation in the regions, districts and extension areas, the author wishes to express deep gratitude.

In the regions special thanks must be expressed, though, to the Group Development Officers - Dennis Verhof, Katie Rick, Jim Hope, Mark Thomas, Ben Mpinyane and Nshingi Ndzinge who were in post at the time of this consultancy, and to Jack Kloppenburg who had just left but with whom the author worked briefly in Gaborone Region in 1979. Their contribution to this report has been incredible. Not only did they give up days of their time to share ideas; search through files for data;

lend the author precious copies of field notes, training notes, constitutions and other information; help in the scheduling of the consultant's itinerary; accompany the author on some of the field trips, in some cases providing transport; but at the very end of the data collection exercise they willingly each went through the entire set of Appendix tables applying to their region carefully noting errors or updating information. But most of all the GDOs were willing to expose their inner feelings about what they were achieving, their problems and the limitations they were aware of in their approach. The author is sure that each of these people knows how grateful the author is for their help and companionship in this work.

IN HQ the author must thank all those who discussed the progress of their particular programmes. Thanks also go to those who responded in writing to the discussion papers and draft report outline including Mac Odell, David Jones, Denis Sims, Louise Fortmann, Emery Roe, Brian Egner, John Pielemeir, Katie Rick and Dennis Verhof. Outside Botswana the author wishes to thank John Howell of the Overseas Development Institute in London for his comments on the draft report outline which helped the author structure Chapter one.

Back in Botswana, a few others deserve special mention. One is Peter Nelson, the Director of Agricultural Field Services, for his co-operation in allowing the author to breeze in and out of his office to collect mail, use the telephone and other Department facilities. Within the Department greatest thanks go to the staff of the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations. Israel Matenge himself gave up much of his official and out of office time for discussions and was constantly supportive, welcoming any constructive criticism. The author hopes specially that the report will be of some immediate and permanent value to CAMA and his staff. In the CAMA office the author is particularly grateful to David Benedetti without whose encouragement and help it is doubtful whether both volumes of this report would ever have reached publication. He showed willing to take the entire responsibility for organising the typing of Volume II, and his concern for Volume I brought him to England to visit the author en route to the US. The author feels encouraged to know that his interest extends also to further work on this report which may lead hopefully to the popularising of guidelines.

Finally, the author wishes to thank the staff of the USAID office in Gaborone for their encouragement and guidance, free use of office equipment, and most of all for their symathetic attitude as employers. Patiently they permitted the author to break three deadlines for producing this report. It is hoped that the final result will be worth it.

Back in England the author is indebted to his relatives. For over 9 months they endured the author's preoccupation with writing. His mother, Mrs. B.M. Willett, mother in law, Mrs. Joyce Watkins, and sister in law, Mrs. Rosemary Whalley, all helped with proof reading or re-writing drafts for typing. But above all the author wishes the support and talent of his wife, Wendy, to be recognised. She took on the entire editing task, including the writing of the chapter summaries. She prepared the entire draft for typing, proof read most of the chapters, drew most of the maps, arranged most of the Appendices for typing and made frequent journeys to town to organise the typing, photocopying and other tasks. She spent in fact almost half as much time working on this report as did the author between September 1980 and May 1981.

For the excellently presented typing work, the author wishes to thank Mrs. Orrel Carroll and her sister Carol Spencer, of Russell's Office Services, Reading, England.

A.D.J. Willett,
Streatley, England.

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3	Key applies to maps adapted from sources
4	Provided by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs
5	Reproduced from CAPAD booklet, originally produced by DO(L), Serowe
6	Kindly drawn specially by DO(L), Tutume: G. Dyce
7	Photo-reduced from original by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs
8	Photo-reduced from original by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs
9	Adapted from originals by DO(L), Bamalete/Tlokweng: D. Luijt
10	Adapted from originals by DO(L), Serowe: E. Yaxley
11	Reproduced from the Matsheng Land Use Plan memorandum, 1979
12	Reproduced from "The Structure of Agricultural Transformation in Barolong: towards an integrated development plan" by J. L. Comaroff, January 1977
13	Adapted from maps originally produced by DO(L), Barolong: K. Traynor; kindly provided by the Rolong Land Board
14	Reproduced from Sheep and Goat Development Project (Phase I), April 1977; Smallstock Unit, Ministry of Agriculture
15	Reproduced from "Settlement Strategy, Kgatleng District" draft report, July 1980, Department of Town and Regional Planning; kindly provided by A. Lapointe

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations resulting from this study are summarized by chapter and presented in the following section. Additionally, recommendations from Chapters 10-16 are repeated in Volume II; those from Chapters 17-26 are repeated in Volume III.

Supporting arguments and contextual references are found in the respective chapters.

CHAPTER 10: COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS HOW IT IS PROCEEDING AND HOW IT CAN BE HELPED

BY-LAWS

R10/1: It is recommended that much more attention is paid to the drafting of by-laws in the initial planning stages when projects are designed and objectives agreed.

CONSULTATION

R10/2: It is recommended that internal consultation is stressed as part of the formal planning and approval procedure for communal fencing projects.

R10/3: It is recommended that intensive adult education campaigns, demonstrations and training courses are held where projects are proposed in order to make the whole community aware of the issues involved in fencing and thus make consultation truly effective.

R10/4: It is recommended that local extension workers (ADs) receive special training in internal consultation, so that they are fully aware of what is involved and of the need for a patient, long-term approach.

R10/5: It is recommended that special emphasis is placed on competence in consultation in management committee training.

FENCE OBJECTIVES AND DESIGN

R10/6: It is recommended that the fencing of an individual's lands is encouraged if it is really impossible in that individual's situation to otherwise ensure the movement of other farmers' cattle out of the lands and thus permit the individual to plough early, or if the individual desires to reserve winter fodder for specific categories of stock, or possibly for dairying.

R10/7: It is recommended that individual fencing is encouraged if there is in the area adequate water, arable soil and grazing space to support a prosperous community operating from individual homesteads.

R10/8: It is recommended that individual fencing is encouraged if social and political factors definitely make it difficult in the short-term for the individual to join a group enclosure.

R10/9: It is recommended that the trend towards large arable enclaves and enclosures is halted.

R10/10: It is recommended that, in cases where large lands enclosures are proposed in order to include room for arable expansion within the fence on unallocated areas presently used for grazing, more attention should instead be given to land consolidation through registration.

R10/11. It is recommended that small and medium sized blocks of arable lands are aimed at as the most ideal for the target group farmer.

R10/12: It is recommended that in very densely populated areas studies are made of the possibility of tractor ownership or hiring, of substituting donkeys for oxen as draft power, of discouraging big arable users from swallowing up land, of registering land to consolidate scattered fields, and of intensifying husbandry techniques.

R10/13: It is recommended that in more remote areas, where tractor farming is less feasible, attention should be paid to the objectives of reserving fodder for draft power, and ensuring adequate access to grazing during the ploughing season.

R10/14: It is recommended that priority is given to working out a long term land use strategy for Botswana.

R10/15: It is recommended that land use staff make it an immediate priority to scrutinize existing and upcoming projects in the light of the issues which have been discussed.

FUNDING POLICY

R10/16: It is recommended that provision for labour grants is completely removed.

R10/17: It is recommended that the level of the individual grant is reduced, e.g. to 25%.

R10/18: It is recommended that the cost of fencing is reduced either through the use of the cheapest effective specifications or Government subsidised prices. Fence specifications should be standardised to eliminate unfairness in grant awards.

R10/19: It is recommended that up to 4 individuals should be allowed to take advantage of ALDEP loan subsidy packages, e.g. at a rate of 25% each without a labour grant and in a cumulative way, in order to fence their lands jointly.

R10/20: It is recommended that a 50% grant should be the maximum for groups of around 5-10 people.

R10/21: It is recommended that grants for over about 10 people should continue to be given for any sized area and at a rate of 50%, but applied with discretion.

R10/22: It is recommended that every effort should be made to erase the "10%" interpretation which has become mistakenly regarded as a target in AEIO.

R10/23. It is recommended that the loan/subsidy concept should be extended across the board.

(N.B. While the figures in these recommendations (R10/16-R10/23) should be regarded as tenative pending further calculation and discussion, the principles behind them are firmly advocated).

R10/24: It is recommended that funding policies are used with discretion at all levels, in order to allow for the variations in local conditions.

R10/25: It is recommended that more work is done on costs and benefits, and more micro-level research is carried out before any final funding policy is adopted.

R10/26: It is recommended that Districts are given opportunities to comment and encouraged and assisted to develop strategies and policies appropriate to their own local situations.

SUPPORT

R10/27: It is recommended that the basic support function is to help farmers become aware of project alternatives that are desirable in the long-term, not just to help them pursue their defined objectives.

R10/28: It is recommended that proposed project areas are mapped. Maps should give information about present land use and the distribution of water sources. Ideally, information on soils and land capability should also be shown.

R10/29: It is recommended that SLOCA fencing demonstrations should be used not just to show what different types of fencing are available, but as a training resource to teach groups the skills needed to put up different fences and about the relative costs of different fence specifications. ADs should be provided with clear, practical, technical guidelines on specifications to pass on to fence committees.

R10/30: It is recommended that a priority group development role should be to facilitate the election of a representative and competent committee to manage a project.

R10/31: It is recommended that group development personnel help groups with consultation and by-laws.

R10/32: It is recommended that management committees receive specific training in planning concepts, potential problem analysis, relationships with Land Boards, internal and external consultation, by-law preparation, organisational skills, funds and record keeping. This training should help with short-term management problems and with understanding long-term communal area development.

R10/33: It is recommended that special guidelines should be prepared for regional staff on how to deal with the specialist support functions needed for a fencing project. That is, what the support functions are, whose responsibility they are and at what stage in implementation they are required.

R10/34: It is recommended that man-power resources in land use planning and mapping in all the Districts are inventoried, and that skills are more evenly distributed by reassignment, recruitment and training.

R10/35: It is recommended that a workshop is convened, representing different regions, specialists with different support functions and HQ representatives, to share ideas on monitoring support and work out procedures.

RESEARCH

R10/36: It is recommended that further research is undertaken by a joint collaboration of The Rural Sociology Unit, The Action Research Unit of Ag. Inf., The Institute of Adult Education, The MLGL Research Unit, technical divisions of MOA and regional and district staff.

R10/37: It is recommended that research is carried out on projects in the various stages of completion and including all the different types of design. Topics researched should be the length of time of project implementation, support problems, land use planning, objectives, design and by-laws, land use, participation. potential problems, grants, local income level and management. Attention should particularly be given to cases where group and individual fencing coexists, where the distinction between arable and grazing enclosure is unclear, and to the impact of fences on livestock.

CHAPTER 11: FENCING FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF LIVESTOCK ON COMMUNAL GRAZING

THE SEARCH FOR REPLICABLE COMMUNAL GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

R11/1: It is recommended that DAFS assign responsibility for relevant sections of Chambers' and Feldman's report to be reproduced for distribution to field staff and that concepts be discussed in workshops of the appropriate support staff and at seminars and field staff meetings so that staff have a better understanding of what they are involved with.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

R11/2: It is recommended that preparatory institutional development be the first step in a land use planning exercise, before survey, draft plan preparation, plan review and amendment and project preparation.

TOTAL APPROACH - BAROLONG

R11/3: It is recommended that there be close investigation of membership of the Barolong grazing enclosure groups through micro level studies.

R11/4: It is recommended that the situation in the Barolong with regard to the status of unplanned land is investigated.

R11/5: It is recommended that in the immediate future attention is concentrated on the group development and the build up of representative rural institutions.

R11/6: It is recommended that the framework for a land use planning exercise devised from the Matsheng experience is adopted in the Barolong.

R11/7: It is recommended that opportunities be explored, within the Barolong area, for where a total approach could be piloted in a small geographical area. Areas where there has been wide involvement in other communal schemes may be most suitable.

R11/8: It is recommended that total enclosure units form the geographic basis for piloting the total approach in the Barolong and that efforts at group development be concentrated towards this objective.

TOTAL APPROACH - CONCLUSIONS

R11/9: It is recommended that efforts in identifying the extent of grazing areas be concentrated in areas where farmers have undertaken areawide projects and the users of shared grazing are known.

R11/10: It is recommended that in areas of severe land pressure and overstocking fencing between lands and grazing areas should be permitted only where lands are consolidated.

R11/11: It is recommended that full-scale grazing enclosures should not be encouraged outside a comprehensive land use plan.

R11/12: It is recommended that arable land be allowed to be fenced in smaller blocks until a land use plan is made.

R11/13: It is recommended that the effect of fencing off the grazing areas on the grazing itself and on livestock productivity should be investigated - in future range and Animal Production research.

R11/14: It is recommended that these studies (R11/13) be augmented with socio-economic studies on the attitudes and problems of farmers of different income levels.

R11/15: It is recommended that priority be given to water development.

R11/16: It is recommended that more effort is put into campaigns, training, farmer public education and group training in order to increase knowledge of range and livestock management and develop the planning and management capability at farmer and District level.

R11/17: It is recommended that farmers should be involved at the earliest stages in land use planning by means of representative farmer level institutions.

TYPE B RANCHES

BDA RANCH (see also R11/22, 23, 53)

R11/18: It is recommended that the history of the fattening operation at the BDA be investigated.

R11/19: It is recommended that every effort be made to discover as fully as possible the financial experience of the BDA ranch.

RLFA (see also R11/54)

R11/20: It is recommended that the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association be regarded in official quarters as a scheme which could effect a breakthrough in communal grazing management.

R11/21: It is recommended that all relevant departments be involved together with local extension staff and the authorities in South East District in supporting and monitoring progress at Rankoromane. A sensitive approach will be necessary free from the pressure for early achievement and which does not dwarf local participation or leadership.

BDA - APPROACH

R11/22: It is recommended that the authorities who make the decision on the future of the BDA ranch be advised fully on the possible alternatives.

R11/23: It is recommended that an open organisational system is adopted at BDA. A special effort should be made to develop FCs partly for the sake of consultation. FC members should be trained at MRTC. Public education should be conducted in the community. Action Research Unit should investigate the skills, knowledge and attitudes of farmers to communal livestock and grazing management in the area.

MABELEAPUDI (see also R11/52)

R11/24: It is recommended that the SBDT make it clear publicly that the capital development debt is written off.

R11/25: It is recommended that the share capital by-laws are reviewed.

R11/26: It is recommended that the Society is eventually liquidated and replaced by a locally based organisation, possibly an AMA.

R11/27: It is recommended that CODEC considers whether it is in a position to deal with the Mabeleapudi ranch as a ranching co-operative in the future.

R11/28: It is recommended that Mabeleapudi be developed as an open scheme. There should be more discussion of alternatives.

R11/29: If an open model is accepted, it is recommended that an active community and group development programme be embarked upon.

R11/30: It is recommended that it be realised that setting up a ranch before understanding the clientele was a mistake, and that more sensitivity is needed in the future.

R11/31: It is recommended that the local community be drawn into participatory management of the fattening ranch as part of the preparatory farmer training for future reorganisation.

THE ECONOMICS OF B RANCHES

R11/32: It is recommended that ranch extension staff make a thorough analysis of the economics of type B ranches in terms of their classification.

TYPE C RANCHES

THABALA

R11/33: It is recommended that as soon as is appropriate from the Thabala FC's point of view, APRU, ranch extension and group development staff consult with the FC to investigate the Thabala proposals thoroughly.

R11/34: It is recommended that a close study should be made of the possible dual purpose role of lands enclosures at Thabala.

GENERAL

R11/35: It is recommended that the way the dual purpose role of lands enclosures generally could be utilised for type C ranches is studied.

R11/36: It is recommended that the 50% grant, 50% loan funding under Livestock Project II communal credit schemes is not withdrawn.

APRU CELLS

R11/37: It is recommended that if access for the purposes of research and demonstration is required in the real problem parts of the communal areas, there must be dramatic forms of compensation.

R11/38: It is recommended that more negotiation be carried out in order to arrive at an acceptable type of project.

R11/39: It is recommended that farmer interests are accommodated and farmer acceptance of APRU cells gained by greater flexibility in the management of the cell, including fattening older animals and AI on heifers.

R11/40: It is recommended that more attention be paid to institutional development than 'kgotla' presentations.

R11/41: It is recommended that comprehensive public education campaigns be carried out where APRU cells are proposed.

R11/42: It is recommended that land use and management surveys be conducted in areas where APRU cells are proposed.

R11/43: It is recommended that a gradual group development approach be pursued.

TYPE D RANCHES

R11/44: It is recommended that a total, not a partial closed, system be adopted in communal areas.

R11/45: It is recommended that "grey" areas have partial open development schemes.

MORALE

R11/46: It is recommended that arable and communal grazing interests be integrated at Morale and that the Morale Associated Cattlemen pursue serious commercial ranching objectives in the commercial zone.

R11/47: It is recommended that consultation in the Morale area depends not just on 'kgotla' discussion but on visits to the area by Land Board and talks with the people.

R11/48: It is recommended that more emphasis be placed on institutional development in order to reach the majority of farmers.

R11/49: It is recommended that the Mahalapye Sub Land Board and senior Sub Tribal Authority be thoroughly briefed on the long term issues relevant at Morale.

R11/50: It is recommended that Land Boards be provided with and made aware of the use of resources from MLGL's "Implementation of Land Use Plans".

OVERALL CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS

R11/51: It is recommended that technical and organisational guidelines be developed on the basis of Chambers' and Feldman's classification system.

MABELEAPUDI - PARTICIPATION

R11/52: It is recommended that probable reluctance of part ofthe Mabeleapudi community to agree to the use of part of the communal area only by the poorer sector be investigated by Rural Sociology.

BDA - PARTICIPATION

R11/53: It is recommended that every effort be made to explore the possibilities of the BDA ranch as a community managed project.

RLFA - PARTICIPATION

R11/54: It is recommended that the membership of the RLFA and its relationship to the village and lands communities at Rankoromane be studied.

TYPES D and E

R11/55: It is recommended that the proposals for D and E ranches be changed to open schemes.

GENERAL

R11/56: It is recommended that far more attention be given to institutional development, consciously relating the organisational system of a (proposed) ranch, i.e. whether "A", "B" etc. to the land pressure situation.

R11/57: It is recommended that further research be done in order to answer questions about the actual management systems and perceptions of small farmers in communal areas.

R11/58: It is recommended that every group of farmers trained is entered into dialogue with about long term management issues.

R11/59: It is recommended that in areas where there is land pressure or where pressure is anticipated, a total type A system be implemented, involving comprehensive land use planning and institutional development.

R11/60: It is recommended that elsewhere in the communal areas type B and C schemes be implemented, still involving surveys and consultation.

R11/61: It is recommended that in developing guidelines to support Regional staff in investigating land use and management, the experience of the Matsheng exercise, the Morale investigation, the Action Research Unit's Kgatleng survey and Central Region's attempts for Thagasanong

and RLMP projects all be taken into account.

R11/62: It is recommended that a partnership between Rural Sociology and Action Research be discussed with the purpose of setting up a support capability for regional staff carrying out consultation exercises.

R11/64: It is recommended that a spatial land use plan for the development of livestock infrastructure in the communal areas be drawn up, perhaps including such points as small facilities in mixed lands areas, larger facilities in grazing areas, the build up of projects from small to large, and the relevance of anticipation of organisational as well as technical factors.

R11/65: It is recommended that a management plan for improved animal husbandry programmes should consider which practices are suitable for individuals and which for groups. The appropriate season for the practices and the effect on livestock of drift fences, water and herding.

R11/66: It is recommended that the type of institutional development in an area be linked as appropriate to the type of project and management which suits the area.

CHAPTER 12: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON DAIRY RANCHING IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

R12/1: It is recommended that improvements in milk production be limited to helping individual farmers, not groups.

R12/2: It is recommended that every possible effort should be made in the two cases where dairy ranches are already being developed (Mmadinare and Thamalakane) to facilitate the genuine build up of local management competence.

R12/3: It is recommended that future extension should emphasise group action by many small producers in the communal areas in transporting of milk to reception centres.

R12/4: It is recommended that the possibility of group (perhaps AMA) organisation of milk filtering facilities should be considered in the smaller population centres.

R12/5: It is recommended that, due to the limited distribution of Dairy ADs in the Extension Areas, much more effort should be made to improve communications between Dairy and Extension Areas ADs. Extension Area ADs should be more involved in Dairying extension activities.

CHAPTER 13 : GROUP RANCHING IN THE TGLP COMMERCIAL AREAS

PARTICIPATION

R13/1 : It is recommended that a study is made of the lessees of the Ncojane ranches, comparing those from nearby villages and those from more distant villages, looking in particular for any differences in herd ownership, commercial attitudes and management ability.

R13/2 : It is recommended that further research is carried out on participation in the Nata ranch syndicates focussing particularly on the locational aspects.

R13/3 : It is recommended that more detailed data are collected on the social background of members of the proposed Southern Region AMAs to enable comparison to be made with Selebalo experience.

MANAGEMENT

R13/4 : It is recommended that no amount of effort should be spared in the group development process to educate prospective ranch group members on the meaning and practice of management and the manager role.

SOCIAL FACTORS

R13/5 : It is recommended that comparative micro-level studies of the participants in smaller syndicates and in larger groups are made in order to improve knowledge of the influence of social factors.

PROXIMITY OF RANCHES TO COMMUNAL AREAS

R13/6 : It is recommended that the great distance of commercial ranches from communal areas receives consideration in future research, planning and development.

R13/7 : It is recommended that communal area problems and needs are considered much more carefully in the planning for the communal areas actually located within the commercial zone. Priority should be given to institutional development to enable the necessary consultation for this planning and subsequent development activities to take place.

R13/8 : It is recommended that closer study of participation in Southern Region's proposed AMA ranch groups should be a priority research area in order to discover more exactly what impact, if any, the group ranch pilot project has had on participation by the target group.

R13/9 : It is recommended that all Districts give maximum attention in TGLP zoning policy, ranch demarcation and communal area planning and development, to facilitating target group participation in commercial ranching.

R13/10 : It is recommended that not only must ranches be reserved for AMA groups but that they should be reserved as near as possible to the communal areas.

R13/11 : It is recommended that a major development project is required to make boreholes and commercial sites near the communal margins available to such groups.

R13/12 : It is recommended that special forms of compensation and incentive are needed to encourage individuals and smaller syndicates to operate in parts of the commercial zone less close to the communal margins.

THE TARGET GROUP

R13/13 : It is recommended that a clearer definition of target group is necessary in guidelines for group development in commercial ranching.

R13/14 : It is recommended that in guidelines the reasoning behind any criteria for subsidy scheme assistance be distinguished clearly from the quite independent roles about AMA membership.

R13/15 : It is recommended that what happened in the various pilot projects and why should be documented and distributed more widely to officials and extension workers in the field to enable a more balanced picture to be seen.

R13/16 : It is recommended that the question of a ranch member having to incorporate his whole herd into the ranch herd is looked into.

R13/17 : It is recommended that guidelines for group ranching should clearly distinguish two target froups (small owners from overstocked communal areas and owners of 40-50 cattle or more) and recognise the richer cattle owners as suitable for participation in the present commercial ranch development areas.

R13/18 : It is recommended that a more conscious and active policy facilitating small owner group participation is brought into action.

R13/19 : It is recommended that a short research consultancy focussing on experience with small herd owner participation in group ranching, aiming to separate out the different factors determining viability, is needed as a first step towards producing more dynamic guidelines.

STOCKING RATE

R13/20 : It is recommended that the issues of stocking rate, its relationship to commercial ranch viability and the organisational implications for groups are focussed upon in film/case study extension aid material recommended in R13/28.

GENERAL APPROACH

R13/21 : It is recommended that the approach to ranch group development continues to be gradualist but that its facilitation must receive higher priority and be related to a broader land use planning framework.

R12/22 : It is recommended that the classification based on Chambers and Feldman developed in section 11.3.4. is extended to cover different group ranching situations in the commercial areas and in the margins of the

communal zone.

LAND STRATEGY

R13/23 : It is recommended that much more time and attention should be devoted in District Development or special Land Board /LUPAG/specialist staff conferences to strategy areas.

R13/24 : It is recommended that further research along the lines of Cooper's report is carried out to improve understanding of the pattern of small owner management.

R13/25 : It is recommended that shorter term leases should be considered for groups allocated sites in the communal margin areas.

R13/26 : It is recommended that the possibilities for using the grazier scheme to help small owners build up their herds are studied.

R13/27 : It is recommended that forms of subsidy assistance are graduated according to type of group or individual and related to location.

SUPPORT

R13/28 : It is recommended that films are made about the processes of ranch group formation.

R13/29 : It is recommended that USAID consider providing the technical expertise and resources for the production of films through the Amended RLMP.

R13/30 : It is recommended that there is closer technical supervision of demonstration facilities and transfer of staff where necessary to help ensure a more effective support presence in each region.

R13/31 : It is recommended that there are clearer guidelines on the use of ranch extension and SLOCA demonstration programmes.

R13/32 : It is recommended that arrangements with Brigades for the use of their ranches as demonstration facilities are encouraged.

R13/33 : It is recommended that in inservice training field staff are encouraged to use demonstration facilities, once guidelines are produced for group ranching.

R13/34 : It is recommended that demonstration facilities are sited in the commercial group formation zone.

R13/35 : It is recommended that there is greater flexibility in the use of Government transport to allow prospective members of commercial ranching groups to travel to see the sites of their ranches or the general development areas.

CHAPTER 14: GROUP ACTIVITY IN WATER DEVELOPMENT

SITING AND DESIGN OF DAMS

R14/1: It is recommended that emphasis on alternative water sources is increased so that ADs do not just have th option of encouraging a dam group where alternatives would be more appropriate.

R14/2: It is recommended that the SDU, on completion of their survey, discuss with Regional staff the cases requiring attention because of poor siting or design and jointly devise a strategy and schedule for their improvement.

FENCING DAMS

R14/3: It is recommended that the Division of Land Utilisation issue clear guidelines on the question of fencing dams, clarifying in particular the responsibility of groups and the role of SDU support crews.

R14/4: It is recommended that groups are supplied with adequate fencing materials and that these should be delivered in good time as far as possible to neable the group to fence before the dam fills.

R14/5: It is recommended that groups are trained to construct fences (including the provision of a sketch plan showing the recommended fence line corresponding with the quantity of fence wire issued).

MAINTENANCE OF DAMS

R14/6: It is recommended that fencing and concrete work crews should be redeployed as additional technical support to assist regional, RTC and field staff in the training of dam group committees and members to take over increasing responsibility for the repair and maintenance of dams.

TECHNICAL GUIDELINES

R14/7: It is recommended that technical guidelines on dam maintenance are provided as an early step in introducing effective support.

MANAGING DAM GROUPS

R14/8: It is recommended that all dam groups should be encouraged to elect formal management committees.

R14/9: It is recommended that a serious enquiry is made into group fund raising through the collection of fees.

R14/10: It is recommended that record keeping, bookkeeping and committee functions should be properly covered in training programmes for dam groups and appropriate ledgers provided to each group to assist committee office bearers to put in practice the training.

R14/11: It is recommended that committee and group training should explore the broader issues and problems facing dam groups.

R14/12: It is recommended that Conservation Committees, the SDU and local politicians, as well as the relevant support staff, should attend field courses for dam groups.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

R14/13: It is recommended that the group development function is to facilitate the development of area-wide institutions which can assist the consultation and land use planning process in water development.

CONTROLLING THE USE OF DAMS

R14/14: It is recommended that the solution to the problem of controlling the use of dams must come from an all embracing water development and land use strategy, aimed at improving the distribution and availability of water and the control over where cattle graze and water.

R14/15: It is recommended that area-wide land use developments such as fencing be recognised as inter-related with water development.

BY-LAWS

R14/16: It is recommended that dam groups are guided and encouraged to draft by-laws appropriate to their situation.

CO-ORDINATION

R14/17: It is recommended that the management responsibility for the dam building programme is moved to the regions. It should be planned and monitored by the AO(LR) or LUO. SDU foremen should regularly attend district monthly meetings where they are operating so that progress and schedules can be followed more closely by regional staff.

R14/18: It is recommended that communications between SDU headquarters and the AO(LR)s are improved.

R14/19: It is recommended that a record keeping system is introduced in regional offices.

R14/20: It is recommended that regional land use staff should see water development as part of their land use planning work programme; a systematic mapping exercise, of dams initially, is needed in each region so that water distribution and problem areas can be identified more easily. It is hoped that the Water Points Survey will provide guidelines on priority planning.

R14/21: A planning/management flow diagram type procedure for the dam programme should be introduced in each region similar to the communal fencing procedure introduced by AO(LR) Central.

R14/22: It is recommended that regional staff, in co-operation with SDU, start by finding out where dams are, what condition they are in, what groups are called and what problems they have.

POLICY

R14/23: It is recommended that when the findings of the Water Points Survey are complete, District authorities should be closely involved in formulating future policy so that the confusion which has been a feature of the dam-building policy is not repeated.

PARTICIPATION

R14/24: It is recommended that there should be a workshop on the problems of dam group formation and management as a first step in facilitating community participation.

R14/25: It is recommended that more serious consideration is given to the use of labour intensive methods of construction as well as in subsequent repair and maintenance in order to encourage genuine group participation.

OLD DAMS

R14/26: It is recommended that any attempts to clarify ownership and then to support groups (whether UDCs or otherwise) managing old dams should be undertaken within the framework of a land use plan for the area seeking to assure adequate water distribution.

BOREHOLES - TOTENG

R14/27: It is recommended that a rational, professional investigation is made into the water situation at Toteng.

OLD BOREHOLES

R14/28: It is recommended that negotiation at a high level takes place on the issue of procedures for acquiring an old borehole in order to facilitate group initiatives.

AREAS UNDER PRESSURE

R14/29: It is recommended that the attention of Conservation Committees should be drawn by agricultural staff to areas under great pressures of over-grazing due to poor water distribution, and a greater sense of water development and land use strategy be introduced, and group action encouraged.

LARGE BOREHOLE GROUPS

R14/30: It is recommended that the opportunity for AMA registration for larger borehole development groups be explored further.

SUPPORT

R14/31: It is recommended that the issue of introducing proportional fees on cattle numbers in syndicate groups is recognized as within the compass of the group development programme as it concerns the target group.

R14/32: It is recommended that the CAMA office, with technical assistance from appropriate sources, develop materials to give syndicates more guidance on financial matters, budgeting to cover maintenance costs and including the training of syndicate committees in bookkeeping skills.

R14/33: It is recommended that guidelines are developed to assist field staff and local institutions in the processes involved in developing a borehole.

R14/34: It is recommended that the CAMA office liaise with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to clarify the differences between districts in policies and administration regarding syndicates.

R14/35: It is recommended that small scale catchment tanks should be encouraged wherever they are most appropriate.

R14/36: It is recommended that labour intensive methods in the development of group water sources (weirs, wells and dams) is encouraged to reduce the need for mechanised units.

CHAPTER 15: CATTLE HUSBANDRY GROUPS, MAINLY FOR TICK CONTROL

TICK CONTROL PROJECTS IN AREAS OF NATURAL DISASTER

R15/1: It is recommended that Government considers the problem of maintaining ongoing project activity during periods of natural disaster (drought, FMD) and reviews its policies on ways to assist groups in such circumstances.

MOTORISED SPRAY PUMPS

R15/2: It is recommended that in any demonstrations of motorised spray pump equipment there should be adequate explanation of the practical problems and expense of running the machine, and the need for proper handling facilities and transport.

PARTICIPATION AND FEES

R15/3: It is recommended that further research study the effect on participation of the operation of flat rate contribution systems and systems using high non member fees. The investigation should ensure that problems are not being created for the owners of smallest herds.

GUIDELINES

R15/4: It is recommended that fuller technical and practical guidelines are formulated for extension staff and groups, clearly explaining the advantages and problems of different methods in practical detail. Clear explanation of the way in which operating costs are calculated and guidelines on what fees to charge are needed.

R15/5: It is recommended that plans and specifications of alternative types of project are circulated more widely.

R15/6: It is recommended that a technical assessment is made on the IFPP design and if confirmed appropriate, that plans and visual aid materials be prepared and circulated to publicise it.

WATER SUPPLY

R15/7: It is recommended that in guidelines on the planning of livestock husbandry facilities, the relationship to water development should be clearer.

BY-LAWS

R15/8: It is recommended that the question of penalties and their possible alienating effect is emphasised in guidelines on by-laws for tick control.

GRANTS AND LOANS

R15/9: It is recommended that, when considering grant assistance for groups with a small membership, great care should be exercised in investigating the causes of the group's organisational difficulties.

R15/10: It is recommended that, with regard to SLOCA grants, groups should be encouraged to raise 50% of the actual costs.

R15/11: It is recommended that loans should be considered as an alternative form of finance in certain situations.

LAND USE PLANNING

R15/12: It is recommended that more attention is paid to the relation of tick control projects with the development of water and fencing. Large, central facilities may be most appropriate in permanent lands areas and in grazing areas while small scale facilities may be most appropriate in scattered or mixed settlement situations.

SUPPORT

R15/13: It is recommended that APOs in the regions are always involved in the preparation of training courses for project groups, and that a personal visit to the group by the APO is made so that training materials are prepared at the RTC appropriate to the group's situation.

R15/14: It is recommended that serious production of visual aids is carried out in order to get across a clear message about the different methods of tick control.

R15/15: It is recommended that major in-service training with a strong practical orientation is arranged for APOs, and appropriately concentrated training also for other regional and district field staff.

R15/16: It is recommended that guidelines on group tick control projects are developed as a component of guidelines on the broader package for group activity in cattle management.

R15/17: It is recommended that the administrators of SLOCA review the resources available to the Animal Production Division for developing extension materials and equipment and undertaking staff and farmer training. They should take any necessary steps to obtain additional funding or expertise to cover these needs.

CHAPTER 16: SMALLSTOCK MANAGEMENT GROUPS

GROUP SIZE AND AREAWIDE PARTICIPATION

R16/1: It is recommended that in research the experience of IFPP at Pelotshetlha (with 9 groups in one Extension Area) is compared to that of the rest of the country in respect of the appropriate size of a smallstock group's area.

GROUP FORMATION APPROACH

R16/2: It is recommended that in the second phase of SSU smallstock investigations extreme care is taken to encourage farmers to contribute as much as possible to treatments so that viable groups result.

GUIDELINES ON SMALLSTOCK MANAGEMENT

R16/3: It is recommended that guidelines are detailed on remedies for particular diseases, the need for specialists to identify diseases, frequency and regularity of treatment, hoof trimming, vaccination of kids and lambs, group action in other aspects of smallstock management (fencing, water troughs, improved distribution of water points) which aspects of management are the responsibility of individuals, ideal smallstock group size and progression of activities.

R16/4: It is recommended that visual aids specific to the guidelines on group projects and activities are produced. Use should be made by the SSU of AgInf expertise.

SUPPORT

R16/5: It is recommended that the guidelines developed in Central Region in October 1978 are used as the basis for discussion in the development of new guidelines on supporting the group formation process.

R16/6: It is recommended that the steps in group formation which could be considered include SSU-type demonstrations, with a series of 4 supervised demonstration treatments, AgInf campaigns either to create initial awareness or to encourage participation during the SSU demonstration period, field courses on organisation and field or RTC/SCC courses for group committees for discussion, training in record keeping and in committee duties.

R16/7: It is recommended that the SSU, with assistance from other involved Divisions in the Department of Agricultural Field Services (i.e. CAMA Office, AgInf, Animal Production) spare no effort in updating and training regional support staff.

R16/8: It is recommended that ADs are trained in the smallstock management package, with emphasis on practical work with smallstock and in group situations.

R16/9: It is recommended that smallstock handling pens, crush, footbath, dip etc. are built as demonstration facilities at RTCs and SCCs in all regions to assist in training.

R16/10: It is recommended that SALO (Farmer Training) is involved in the preparation of guidelines so that RTCs and SCCs are represented in the new smallstock management group approach.

R16/11: It is recommended that discussions are held between representatives of the Department of Agricultural Field Services and the Department of Animal Health about the role that Veterinary Assistants could play in assisting smallstock management groups in the identification of diseases and parasites so that correct treatment is advised.

R16/12: It is recommended that experience at IFPP should be researched further.

CHAPTER 17: CONSERVATION PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

RANGE CONSERVATION

R17/1: It is recommended that the policy for Government assistance in firebreak construction is clarified to reduce confusion in the field and encourage a better understanding of what a project should involve.

R17/2: It is recommended that in guidelines on firebreak activity preparatory demonstration, community education, field training and institutional development should be stressed.

R17/3: It is recommended that clear guidelines are issued on possible methods and costs of firebreak maintenance.

R17/4: It is recommended that the use of animal draft is experimented with on various soils at times of year when farmers are recommended to maintain firebreaks (this should take into account other seasonal preoccupations, availability of draft power and water supplies in communal areas), and that film strips are made for use in demonstrations.

R17/5: It is recommended that the issue of the correct width of firebreaks is clarified immediately.

R17/6: It is recommended that firebreak development is encouraged within the context of other developments, particularly water, fencing and livestock facilities.

R17/7: It is recommended that extension efforts are directed at piloting firebreaks as part of a rotational grazing system in suitable areas.

R17/8: It is recommended that Fire Ranger's job description and position in the Ministry's organisational structure is reviewed.

R17/9: It is recommended that measures to maximise collaboration on range management between the involved sections within DAFS are reviewed by the Ministry.

VILLAGE WOODLOT AMD DONGA RECLAMATION

R17/10: It is recommended that clearer organisational guidelines are produced to complement the planning and management guidelines in the "Handbook for Village Woodlot Planning and Management in Botswana".

R17/11: It is recommended that village woodlot projects are encouraged only where adequate specialist support can be assured and only where the guidelines provided in the handbook can be followed.

R17/12: It is recommended that AO(LR)s and Land Use Officers from the regions participate in a specially arranged training workshop at one of the forestry centres, the object of which should be to become thoroughly familiar with the handbook and to achieve a practical feel for forestry methods.

R17/13: It is recommended that the main focus of the Rural Afforestation project should initially be to assist in the development of more centres from which support can later be provided.

R17/14: It is recommended that funds are made available for small scale tree planting activities in villages as part of a long term campaign of public education.

SOIL CONSERVATION

R17/15: It is recommended that in future catchment area contouring demonstrations greater attention is paid in the early stages to training, demonstration and group organisation.

R17/16: It is recommended that there are AgInf campaigns to create awareness of the value of schemes during the stage when project sites are selected.

R17/17: It is recommended that there should be clear guidelines for grou activity and financial contributions.

R17/18: It is recommended that demonstration catchments should not be so large as to be beyond the capacity of the soil conservation unit to implement in a period of 6 months - 1 year.

R17/19: It is recommended that Government work should be minimised and group participation maximised.

R17/20: It is recommended that Brigades Development Trusts should be encouraged to set up and operate farm mechanisation services.

CHAPTER 18 : BUNDING OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS IN THE OKAVANGO AND BOTETI RIVER AREAS.

R18/1 : It is recommended that methods and effectiveness of traditional flood control are looked into before any new system of 'molapo' management is finalised.

R18/2 : It is recommended that Maun Region's Group Development Officer and District extension staff are involved with immediate effect in the planning and organising of all future work with 'molapo' bunding projects.

R18/3 : It is recommended that the AO(LR) and the Tawana Land Board are involved in future in the initial planning and consultation stages of the group development process in order to create awareness of land issues and later be in a position to control land allocation where possible through a land registration exercise.

R18/4 : It is recommended that the problems of organisation arising from people with lands in 'molapo' areas should be broached at the initial stages in project design and organisation.

R18/5 : It is recommended that more study is made of the water and soil management implications of the new schemes and that these questions are fully discussed with farmers during the planning stages of projects.

R18/6 : It is recommended that group development should aim to catch up with the situation in 'molapo' areas and facilitate the formation, election and training of 'molapo' management committees.

R18/7 : It is recommended that the Division of Land Utilisation should develop technical and managerial guidelines for the 'molapo' groups.

R18/8 : It is recommended that the reassessment of the BAMB crop pricing policy receives early attention.

CHAPTER 19 : GROUP ACTION IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

R19/1 : It is recommended that careful study of the viability of the Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society is made before spending United Nations funds on new Co-operative marketing facilities.

R19/2 : It is recommended that group development/extension staff approach the Mopipi fishermen with questions about management skills in order to facilitate group development.

R19/3 : It is recommended that the Fisheries Section produce some guidelines on the various tasks involved in fishing and processing, together with labour requirements.

R19/4 : It is recommended that there should be more involvement of group development staff from Maun in organisational aspects of fisheries groups.

R19/5 : It is recommended that marketing organisation is considered separately from production/processing in group development in fishing.

R19/6 : It is recommended that, for fisheries groups, assistance under AE10 is provided to a group of any size if that group is a viable production unit and will not need to hire labour.

CHAPTER 20 : GROUP ACTIVITY IN CROP STORAGE, MARKETING, PROCESSING AND INPUT SUPPLY

R20/1 : It is recommended that guidelines, and therefore objectives, in developing crop infrastructure are made clearer.

R20/2 : It is recommended that guidelines on methods, costs and organisation are prepared for group activity in grain storage of family subsistence requirements, or surpluses for later sale, at a central facility, if a community is reasonably compact : storerooms should be constructed to recommended specifications; there should be training in appropriate methods of treatment; the institution should be open to the whole community; financing of storage should be on a per bag basis. Grant assistance should only be given to area wide institutions.

R20/3 : It is recommended that the management of threshing equipment should be by a community institution, with grant assistance only to area wide institutions. Guidelines are needed on the operation of machinery, organisation, and charges per unit volume threshed.

R20/4 : It is recommended that a distinction is made between milling for subsistence needs and milling for retail to local consumers. In the former case, a system of charges per unit volume is suggested, in the latter there should be a registered organisation with trained, accountable management.

R20/5 : It is recommended, in collecting/bulking up crop produce for onward transport for sale, that there is a properly constructed loading slab at the central collecting point, that area institutions are provided with training and bookkeeping materials for management, that the project is recognised as within the scope of Farmers Committees, and that organisation is all done within the context of an acceptable crop pricing policy.

R20/6 : It is recommended that transport is discussed with Farmers Committees and at other levels (e.g. 'Kgotlas') before ALDEP policies on crop collection are finalised.

R20/7 : It is recommended that a storeroom, training, record keeping and advance publicity are all provided in organising the bulk purchases of seeds. This is all within the capacity of supported FCs.

R20/8 : It is recommended that FCs are encouraged not to engage in trade, but to assist farmers by placing orders for spare parts etc. from the nearest Co-operative/BAMB depot.

R20/9 : It is recommended, in small villages and lands areas, that efforts are directed at improving local storage and processing facilities and at training local management for such activity.

R20/10 : It is recommended that there should be a strategy for the development of crop infrastructure as depicted in the diagram, table 20(ii).

R20/11 : It is recommended that in remoter areas Government should assist communities with building a storeroom, installing a mill and a thresher, training local management, and collecting any surplus or delivering supplies in times of deficit, at first by supporting initiatives of FCs, but in the longer term by facilitating the formation of registered AMAs or Co-operatives.

CHAPTER 21 : A BRIEF LOOK AT TRACTOR GROUPS

R21/1 : It is recommended that discussions are held between the Ministry of Agriculture (Crops Division, CAMA, CODEC), the NDB, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and BRIDEC on ways to encourage and support the development of the Francistown Servicing Association and others like it.

R21/2 : It is recommended that the experience of the Sefhophe Tractor Association is studied by Farm Management experts in the Ministry of Agriculture in order to learn exactly what benefit members derived from this project and how the group was organised and financed in practice.

R21/3 : It is recommended that the exact operations of the Botsalano syndicate and the others at Tlokweng are investigated further by Farm Management experts with particular emphasis on economic aspects, and that they advise the group accordingly.

R21/4 : It is recommended that guidelines are developed by the CAMA office/Crops Division in co-operation with supply companies and the NDB, to encourage group activity in organising bulk fuel supplies.

R21/5 : It is recommended that

i) all groups hire a driver who can be held responsible for care and maintenance, and that training courses are arranged for drivers
ii) intensive training is arranged for committee officials
iii) the more equitable system of per acre fees is encouraged, particularly for larger groups, instead of flat rate fees which may penalise the smaller farmers
iv) the use of tractors should be encouraged in other income generating activities.

R21/6 : It is recommended that Brigades Development Trusts are assisted not only to establish mobile service and repair units, but also to operate mechanical units for hire.

CHAPTER 22 : POULTRY GROUPS

R22/1 : It is recommended that to try to overcome potential organisational problems attention is given to the careful organisation of work rotas in the preparation of group by-laws and that adequate training of all group members is carried out to ensure that duties are clearly understood.

R22/2 : It is recommended that the TWCA at Sheep Farm is advised to consider carefully, through formulating some by-laws, how the benefits from the project will be distributed among members and management carried out.

R22/3 : It is recommended that there should be a brief practical inservice course for ADs with poultry projects in their areas.

R22/4 : It is recommended that groups are provided with a record keeping system and are trained in using it to assist with project management.

R22/5 : It is recommended that inservice training is directed to achieving an attitudinal change in extension staff in favour of the low income target group.

CHAPTER 23 : GROUP HORTICULTURE PROJECTS

R23/1 : It is recommended that guidelines are developed on water requirements for gardening projects and that policy is clarified on the use of Council run water supplies for small scale horticulture.

R23/2 : It is recommended that guidelines for group projects include methods of surveying horticultural market demand.

R23/3 : It is recommended that priority in land allocation should be given to horticulture, particularly for group projects, where suitable soils are conveniently located in respect to water supplies, markets and people's homes.

R23/4 : It is recommended that, in future group development work where vegetable gardening projects are proposed, more attention is given to community education to increase awareness of and to deal with the petty thieving problems.

R23/5 : It is recommended that inservice training is carried out on a wider scale so that more ADs have the confidence and capability in horticulture to reach out and assist the people of the target group.

R23/6 : It is recommended that subsidisation for horticultural projects is kept to the minimum required to make a project viable.

R23/7 : It is recommended that extension staff should concentrate their attention on helping a group define its purpose clearly, design and plan a feasible project to achieve that purpose, work out a constitution which ensures the aims will be met, and develop organisational and management capacity to implement the project along those lines.

R23/8 : It is recommended that guidelines on financial assistance to small horticultural groups interpret the whole question of group size more flexibly so that groups of any size can receive assistance, provided their project is viable.

R23/9 : It is recommended that institutional development takes place as part of the group formation process in villages where institutions are poorly developed.

R23/10 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, all members of a group must be of a similar level of need and have similar aims.

R23/11 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, groups should be encouraged to start with projects they can cope with.

R23/12 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, the process of drafting the constitution must be closely, sensitively and patiently supported so that it becomes the act whereby the group develops a clear sense of self awareness and purpose.

R23/13 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, the social needs and dynamics of the underprivileged people or communities are understood thoroughly before introducing a project.

R23/14 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, popular adult education methods are used as a method of approach.

R23/15 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, support must be regular and highly dependable, as well as competent. The needs are particularly for literacy, leadership and management training.

R23/16 : It is recommended that all group horticulture schemes have individually managed plots.

R23/17 : It is recommended that group contributions towards the capital development costs should be as high as possible to encourage a greater degree of commitment and responsibility.

R23/18 : It is recommended that small horticultural projects are managed as independent unregistered groups.

R23/19 : It is recommended that horticultural projects are <u>not</u> under VDC management.

R23/20 : It is recommended that village clinics and healthposts are used as starting and focal points for horticultural activity.

R23/21 : It is recommended that the approach developed at the Mahalapye Development Trust - including its emphasis on adult education - is used as the model for the extension approach in horticulture.

CHAPTER 24: AGRICULTURAL GROUP WORK WITH WOMEN

R24/1: It is recommended that further research is undertaken in selecting areas where group and community activity has taken place to assess the impact of the group development programme on improving extension contact with women.

R24/2: It is recommended that extension staff facilitate more actively the participation of women in all types of group and communal activity, with the additional aim of enabling more women to hold leadership positions, especially on Farmers Committees.

R24/3: It is recommended that more specific attention is devoted to gearing training programmes to the particular needs and situations of rural women.

R24/4: It is recommended that women's problems and programmes should be discussed more fully in VDC conferences and meetings, and in special training sessions.

R24/5: It is recommended that more use of professional adult education methods is made at all levels, to increase the awareness of women's situations by both men and women, and to identify specific needs.

R24/6: It is recommended that methods should include Popular Theatre, campaigns and the production of films on the women's role in the rural society, on what needs doing and how activities can be implemented.

R24/7: It is recommended that action with groups should proceed with caution and careful attention be paid to achieving the needs of the target group through project design and the drafting of detailed constitutions.

R24/8: It is recommended that in guidelines for supporting women's groups the extension worker's role in assisting the group to develop a constitution which clearly secures the group's purpose should be emphasised.

R24/9: It is recommended that Village Extension Teams should be trained, using adult education methods, to collaborate together in a co-ordinated approach in reaching the women's target group. Workshops should be arranged which bring ADs together with women's organisations and other extension departments dealing primarily with women. The aim should be to increase AD awareness and confidence in working with women's groups. ACDOs and FWEs should be made more aware of how to involve ADs in supporting women's activities, and vice versa.

R24/10: It is recommended that more active discussion of women's activities should be encouraged as part of the Annual Planning and 3-month programming system, in agricultural staff meetings and in community institutions (co-ordinated by the VET) so that projects are planned which reflect the primary concerns of women in the community.

R24/11: It is recommended that ADs should be trained in the technical areas relevant to women's projects, such as poultry, horticulture, fruit tree growing, bee keeping, and the construction of catchment tanks for water, in order to be technically competent to support women's group projects.

R24/12: It is recommended that guidelines should be developed to assist village extension teams in providing support to women's groups. They should make clear how to support what sort of activities, especially whether to promote activities as group projects or through the medium of groups for demonstration and discussion but as individual activity thereafter.

R24/13: It is recommended that the specific problems involved in organising group activity in the lands areas should be the subject of further study and discussion in village meetings when women can be gathered together more easily.

CHAPTER 25: THE ROLE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

THE FUNCTIONS OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/1: It is recommended that ADs are required to obtain the written approval of the FC on all 3 month programmes and reports and on Annual plans and reports, in order to improve the AD-FC relationship.

R25/2: It is recommended that training workshops are organised as part of the process of FC formation to assist FCs in identifying area problems and in planning future activities.

R25/3: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture draws up guidelines for extension staff which clarify the various technologies and recommendations which are most appropriate for individual farmer action and show how extension staff can still make maximum use of group extension methods in introducing them.

R25/4: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture takes steps to publicise FC terms of reference both at a political level (Parliament and Councils) and at a community level.

R25/5: It is recommended that the idea of FCs setting an example to other farmers is dropped from the terms of reference and substituted by emphasis on their role in public education.

R25/6: It is recommended that greater use is made of professional adult education methods in bringing about the awareness necessary in communities to overcome social and leadership problems and develop more effective institutions.

R25/7: It is recommended that the role of the FC in stimulating, supporting and sanctioning activity amongst the target groups in the community is emphasised more strongly in the process of FC formation, election and training.

R25/8: It is recommended that Farmers Committees, together with the traditional leadership hierarchy, are recognised and promoted as the key local level institution in communal area planning and development.

THE OPERATION OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/9: It is recommended that there are seminars and workshops for VDCs traditional village leaders, Councillors and Community Development staff together with FCs and agricultural staff in order to improve awareness of the FC terms of reference and thereby improve relationships.

R25/10: It is recommended that policy should be to support action by FCs on any scale within the FC's management capacity and encourage full participation. Larger scale business enterprises should be restricted to registered organisations.

THE ORGANISATION OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/11: It is recommended that the GDO studies the effect of the Dinogeng system of electing membership on farmers representation in the extension area.

R25/12: It is recommended that group development staff in the regions study the area jurisdiction of FCs with care, in order to facilitate proper representation which FC organisation must be flexible enough to achieve.

R25/13: It is recommended that further research is initiated into the question of FCs and area coverage.

R25/14: It is recommended that a determined effort is made to introduce a systematic programme of FC election and training in the regions where this has not yet been done.

R25/15: It is recommended that the CAMA office takes steps to clarify to all concerned the difference between the constitutions of a Farmers Committee and a Farmers Association.

R25/16: It is recommended that all FCs should draft constitutions along the guidelines provided in FC terms of reference.

R25/17: It is recommended that guidelines for drafting constitutions should be developed in the form of questions and reminders.

R25/18: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture reconsiders the question of FC recognition in order to facilitate the development of properly constituted (not registered) FCs through the added incentive that recognition would provide.

R25/19: It is recommended that the constitutions of all FCs should provide a certain minimum number of women to be elected.

THE PURPOSE OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/20: It is recommended that high priority is given to an in depth research assignment on the impact of FCs, company areas with and without FCs.

R25/21: It is recommended that group development staff should seek to strengthen FCs as representative institutions even where Co-operative Societies have become locally powerful.

R25/22: It is recommended that there is further research into representative institutional development in connection with the definition of areas.

R25/23: It is recommended that further research is undertaken into the institutional arrangements in multi-project areas where there is no FC.

R25/24: It is recommended that DAFS clarifies policy in FC terms of reference in connection with the Department's management system.

R25/25: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture should formulate a national policy on FCs which emphasises clearly the area-wide roles defined in the already existing terms of reference.

DISTRICT FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

R25/26: It is recommended that DFA development work is based upon the broader and more difficult task of area level institutional development.

R25/27: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture develops clear policy on the relationships between FCs and DFAs.

PUBLIC EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR THE FC PROGRAMME

R25/28: It is recommended that careful recording is done of problems and issues raised and experiences in FC training and development, and that in public education and training programmes there is discussion of crucial areas, such as the leadership situation and mixed lands and cattlepost areas, and its connection with institutions in the villages, especially the major ones.

R25/29: It is recommended that Popular Theatre should be used when trying to form FCs in difficult social situations.

R25/30: It is recommended that initial FC training courses should aim to acquaint FCs with the broad aims of the terms of reference and at the same time assist each FC to identify the main problems and issues in its area, and select and as far as possible plan action on one feasible project.

R25/31: It is recommended that special technical training courses should be arranged to assist FCs in their capacity as "project management committees".

R25/32: It is recommended that formal training should include as many FC office-holders and members as possible.

R25/33: It is recommended that, in larger regions, the systematic procedure for training FCs District by District immediately after a specified period during which elections are held should be followed.

R25/34: It is recommended that training should still be related to FC elections, which should be regular, as the terms of reference suggest.

R25/35: It is recommended that professional adult education methods should be used in training in order to facilitate the discussion of the sensitive issues involved in leadership/area representation.

R25/36: It is recommended that films are produced to illustrate the problems in the rural areas which require institutional development for their solution, the problems of institutional development in different situations (e.g. the mixed lands/cattlepost areas), the process of FC formation, election and training, and the important functions and provisions of the terms of reference.

R25/37: It is recommended that FCs should be included in literacy training programmes.

R25/38: It is recommended that ADs are trained more thoroughly in book-keeping and record-keeping skills both at BAC and in in-service courses, in order to provide FCs and other groups with continuous advice.

R25/39: It is recommended that efforts should be concentrated on getting FCs to function effectively at area level before scarce support resources (manpower and transport) are employed in DFA development.

CHAPTER 26: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

IMPACT

R26/1: It is recommended that further study is done to assess the impact of group extension methods.

REACHING THE TARGET GROUP

R26/2: It is recommended that there is a more conscious effort to facilitate the representation of target group farmers on area-wide and District farmers organisations.

GRANTS

R26/3: It is recommended that a more uniform matching grant policy is facilitated by the CAMA office.

FACILITATION

R26/4: It is recommended that there is far more professional training in adult education methods for Batswana GDOs, ADs, Agricultural Supervisors and DAOs.

MANAGEMENT

R26/5: It is recommended that case studies are prepared which show clearly the relation between Extension Area, District and Support staff 3 MPs. In workshops staff at all levels should come together to discuss how their programming should tie up.

R26/6: It is recommended that, as project guidelines are developed, Annual Plan and 3 MP formats are redesigned as necessary so that specific support requirements for different projects can be more easily expressed.

R26/7: It is recommended that serious action is taken in the Department of Agricultural Field Services to raise the commitment to planning and management.

R26/8: It is recommended that the management implications of ALDEP are looked at closely in a consultancy.

R26/9: It is recommended that, to improve the planning of farmer training, farmer training staff participate fully in the regional 3 MP system.

R26/10: It is recommended that Annual Planning and 3 MP forms are modified so as to provide a better layout for more specific information on farmer training to be provided.

R26/11: It is recommended that more training is provided for staff at all levels in the regions in the identification of problems and needs of groups, so that training requirements can be more accurately predicted.

R26/12: It is recommended that guidelines on group formation processes and technical support requirements are provided, including clear guidance on training needs.

R26/13: It is recommended that the question of an overall management system for monitoring group development receives expert attention in the management training consultancy suggested at departmental level.

R26/14: It is recommended that monitoring aids similar to those devised by the AO(LR) in Central Region are developed for group activities and that technical support staff have responsibility for ensuring that their input is provided and recorded.

R26/15: It is recommended that files are kept separately on every group project, organised under Extension Areas and Districts.

R26/16: It is recommended that DAFS initiates the necessary training in the 3-month programming management system in a formal way, starting with HQ divisions and RAOs.

R26/17: It is recommended that the Rural Development Unit CAPAD office assists the Ministry of Agriculture in attending to the conditions of service of agricultural staff, from ADs upwards.

GUIDELINES

R26/18: It is recommended that the potential problem analysis technique should be used in the anticipation of support necessary.

R26/19: It is recommended that the production of guidelines for groups and extension staff be a team effort involving close collaboration between technical staff, group development staff, the Action Research Unit in AgInf, the Institute of Adult Education, and other AgInf sections.

R26/20: It is recommended that technical departments are made to take the initiative in setting out technical strategies and innovation; with clear policy on areas where group action is to be encouraged or group extension towards individual action.

R26/21: It is recommended that the CAMA/GDO role should be to coordinate the provision of technical input and case study experience from the field, and to provide guidelines on organisational aspects.

R26/22: It is recommended that the role of the Action Research Unit be strongly exphasised.

R26/23: It is recommended that the Action Research Unit is strengthened with the addition of more staff, and training programmes for them. This is an extremely urgent need which should be implemented during the remaining time that the RLMP Ammendment runs.

R26/24: It is recommended that the expertise in the Institute of Adult Education should be included in workshops and field exercises.

R26/25: It is recommended that when basic materials for guidelines are developed, AgInf should be responsible for putting together a final media package.

R26/26: It is recommended that the production of movie films should be very seriously considered.

R26/27: It is recommended that additional specialist consultancies should be considered to assist in the preparation of technical strategy in certain areas.

R26/28: It is recommended that care is exercised to ensure that all the needs outlined at the start of Section 26.13 are covered in guidelines: i.e. technical strategy, planning and programming support to groups, a consistent approach by different staff, designing farmer training schemes, procedures of group formation, drafting constitutions, clarifying the support role, monitoring progress, clarifying group and committee organisational and management functions, and staff training.

CONSTITUTIONS

R26/29: It is recommended that notes prepared by GDO Gaborone around 1979 (in the GDO files, Gaborone Regional Office) are used as a basis for discussion on by-laws.

TRAINING

R26/30: It is recommended that priority attention is given to the training and equipping of RTC staff in group development.

R26/31: It is recommended that a major repeat programme of senior staff training in the basic areas of group development and support management is arranged, with an emphasis on the application of the Enterprise Analysis technique.

R26/32: It is recommended that, for training in Annual Planning, case studies are prepared from real experience of planning.

R26/33: It is recommended that IDM and IAE are approached with the problem of training staff in adult education methods.

R26/34: It is recommended that the Department gives much more encouragement to the representation of field staff interests in the Botswana Civil Servants Association.

R26/35: It is recommended that DAFS approach the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to seek the help formally of DO(L)s in providing ADs with maps of their extension areas.

R26/36: It is recommended that closer research is conducted on the exciting trend in multiproject activity in some extension areas in order to understand better how to facilitate such strategic development.

GDO/CAMA ROLE

R26/37: It is recommended that great attention to publicity for the group development programme should continue and that the possibility of a weekly radio series should be explored.

R26/38: It is recommended that the CAMA office presses for a meeting, initially within the Department, to discuss the administration of grants.

CHAPTER 1: THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

CHAPTER 1: THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

1.1. INTRODUCTION

1.2. THE HISTORICAL PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: THE EVOLUTION OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

1.3. THE DESCRIPTIVE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: PROVIDING DATA AS A REFERENCE POINT EVERYONE CAN UNDERSTAND NOW

1.4. THE ANALYTICAL PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: DEVELOPING STRATEGY

1.5. PROVIDING A FRAMEWORK FOR MONITORING

1.6. TOWARDS ASSESSING THE MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK AND PROVIDING GUIDELINES

1.7. POINTING OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF RELATED ISSUES

Chapter 1: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AGINF	Agricultural Information
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The implementation of the group development programme has been a major aspect of the work of The Department of Agricultural Field Services Regional and District staff since 1977, when Group Development Officers were appointed to the regions. Since early 1979 the programme has been part of the responsibility of the new official in Government, the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations.

This report is an appraisal of the group development programme. Chapter 1 discusses the purposes of the appraisal.

1.2. THE HISTORICAL PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: THE EVOLUTION OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The initial purpose of this report is to explain how and why the groups programme evolved, what the original assumptions and expectations were, and what the goals are now.

The programme has taken a number of years to evolve, spurred on by and to some extent subsumed in several surges in Government rural development and agricultural extension policy, and as all too often happens the precise beginnings have been lost over a remarkably short period of time, buried under waves of newer initiatives which absorb the energies of Botswana's limited and constantly fluctuating manpower. But it is usually in the origins that the real spirit of an endeavour is to be found, even though its appearance and structure may be modified as planners and other officials come and go.

Yet it is not only to recapture the spirit of the programme that its history will be explored. More importantly, an understanding of the origins of the programme will help to create more awareness of why the programme exists and will reduce the confusion that there is at present.

Even the term "group" tends to mean something very different to each person involved with the subject. There is confusion still amongst field staff themselves over the definition of Farmers Association as distinct from Farmers Committee, or even whether a Farmers Committee is a group. There are also syndicates, with which the Batswana have been familiar since the 1920s, and the co-operative movement, with its record of steady growth for over a decade.

The co-operative Department is a department within the Ministry of Agriculture, and now there is also a new Division of Agricultural Management Associations. The work of the latter, however, perplexes politicians as well as others because it seems that the registration of and assistance to AMAs is at present occupying a very small amount of time: "How many AMAs have been registered now? Only three? Whatever are you doing every day?".

Moreover, since the 1978 AMA legislation and subsequently the establishment of the CAMA office arose in the wake of all the publicity over the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, it has become inextricably connected with TGLP. TGLP implementation has up until now concentrated on the commercial areas and so the AMA type of group, and the role of CAMA, has tended to be identified with commercial group ranching and inevitably therefore with the rich.

The most critical area in which these confusions need to be clarified is the area where the group development programme is being implemented. The groups process depends on the collaboration of extension workers, officials, authorities, leaders and people's representatives. There are, however, Councillors who do not know what a Farmers Committee is for, and Land Boards which do not have any concept of TGLP or ALDEP implementation

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in communal areas, or that group development is a critical element of the strategy. The status and role of Farmers Committees is being confused with that of VDCs. Councillors and Community Development staff tend to devote all their energies to supporting the latter. Farmers in a populated lands area are left wondering if they should form a VDC in order to attract Council for some of their problems or stay as a Farmers Committee in order to preserve contact with agricultural staff.

Such unnecessary misunderstandings become a local issue, often fuelling existing leadership rivalries. To cement farmers in an area together in a common endeavour can be fraught with difficulty when farmer leadership is undermined by local power struggles between a Councillor, VDC Chairman or village headman, or where traditional leaders from different villages cause people not to co-operate with one another out in lands areas, where no local political authority exists.

1.3. THE DESCRIPTIVE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: PROVIDING DATA AS A REFERENCE POINT EVERYONE CAN UNDERSTAND NOW

The second function of this report is to provide data - as complete an inventory of group activity as possible - which can serve as a solid benchmark for everyone to work from.

The May 1980 Evaluation observed that there were "currently no data indicating which groups (were) still active." One of its main recommendations was for further study in order to ascertain who is benefitting from the programme. The Evaluation recommended studies on a micro-scale to assess the impact of group formation and group activities.

This report provides the backcloth necessary before micro-studies can be made, by taking a broad look at the situation throughout Botswana. USAID's intention for this report was to compare experience and progress with group development in various regions, and to document the processes of group formation, the problems that groups experience and that Government faces in assisting them, and the constraints operating against group development, such as social attitudes, tradition, small farmer managerial inexperience, lack of certain skills, leadership or inadequate planning and support capability in Government.[1]

The report also acts as a benchmark by giving indications for further follow-up and research wherever possible.

The fact that so much work was involved in compiling this data resource is in no way an unfavourable reflection on the work of the group development staff. Maintenance of records is always a problem for staff already highly pressured with time-consuming administration and demanding schedules of activities.

1.4. THE ANALYTICAL PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT: DEVELOPING STRATEGY

There is an urgent need for a strategy to guide the group development programme. Does the array of activities which presently make up the programme represent what we actually want?

It is tempting to judge the programme on the basis of the number of groups which it produces, as though group formation was an end in itself.

(1) See Scope of Work for full details.

And ALDEP is mistakenly interpreted by some as a programme which compromises the objectives of group development since it provides a lot of assistance to farmers as individuals! Technicians, on the other hand, see group development along with rural sociology as too much centred on the "psycho-sociological" terminology of processes and institutions when developing agriculture is the real goal.

An important task of this report is therefore to provide a fresh analysis of the programme so that a rational approach to group development is possible. What matters is that as many farmers as possible adopt innovations and increase production, thereby raising their living standards. Government needs to be clear which of the many developments associated with the raising of living standards - developments in water supply, fencing, transport, marketing links, as well as the activities like raising poultry and selling eggs, selling better crops and animals - are most appropriately tackled by groups and which are most appropriately tackled by individual action. The facilitation of groups cannot be the strategy all by itself. There are circumstances when it is in the best interests even of a small farmer to keep as far away from the next man as he can and mind his own business.

1.5. PROVIDING A FRAMEWORK FOR MONITORING

Another purpose of this report is to suggest a suitable framework for monitoring . Monitoring is difficult until an attempt at analysis has been made. This is particularly the case with this programme as it covers such a broad field and the criteria to look for in one type of activity such as dip tank projects, may not apply for another, such as horticulture. Nonetheless monitoring is extremely important in order to check that Government is reaching, through the programme, the small farmers intended to benefit, and in order to continually steer the programme in that direction.

1.6. TOWARDS ASSESSING THE PROGRAMME'S MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK AND PROVIDING GUIDELINES

A fundamental objective of this report is to study closely the management framework for supporting group projects.

The goal of reaching and assisting such target groups as small cattle-owners, poor illiterate farmers, the jobless and women household heads is one which requires tremendous commitment and deliberate effort. It requires solidarity with their position and aspirations. In many parts of the world it is only the church missions or revolutionaries who can claim the achievement.

This commitment may overstep itself, however, and so much help be provided that the initiative of the individual and the community is destroyed. Beware of "the helping hand strikes again" image of Government interference. In practical terms, we must ask ourselves questions like how far group development staff should actually be concerned with the aims of a particular group? Should the farmers decide this for themselves and the staff's facilitating role be confined just to providing support as and when requested? The gradualist extension approach implies this to some extent and the term is probably in part responsible for leading some technicians to interpret the group development programme as aimless and ad hoc.

By looking at the management framework it is possible to arrive at some conclusions about whether Government is really doing everything in its power to ensure that small farmers are getting all the support they need. Are field staff and supporting Divisions clear where and when they should

each come into the picture?

An appraisal must be made of the workings of the support structure, the respective roles and relationships of, for example, Action Research and other sections in AGINF, the Institute of Adult Education and other specialist divisions, and the operation of the Annual Planning and 3-monthly programming system.

Most ADs will admit that group work is very time-consuming and that to try to attend to more than one or two projects in their Extension Area at any one time is very hard bearing in mind transport problems, the wide areas to cover and the many different priorities calling on their time. In this context the anxiety of many field staff over the additional individual farmer contact anticipated in ALDEP is understandable. There seems to be an ever-growing burden of commitments on the Districts and in particular on ADs with increasing implications for management and ever additional layers of programming and other management methods. 3-monthly programming has evolved primarily for managing support to groups, pushing aside certain features of the former monthly system. What new and possibly additional system will be found necessary for managing and monitoring ALDEP?

But it should be recalled that apart from collective action groups, methods of group extension exist with advantages to Government in administrative convenience, which could be applied to ALDEP implementation. In management therefore, bearing in mind all the goals, let us look more at the AD and the total picture of his priorities to see where group extension methods can come in to minimise the new ALDEP workload and along with support to project groups, result in optimal AD-farmer contact.

Besides investigating the actual support framework, this report aims to show that all possible guidance must be available to those involved in facilitating the process of group development.

Planning on paper a year in advance, is the AD aware that the participants in a proposed group project would benefit from training or a demonstration of some kind? Are Rural Training Centre staff equipped to perceive at exactly what stage a group of farmers coming for a course are at and precisely what lies ahead of them? Why did the AD not provide in advance a more helpful description himself of the group's situation, problems and training needs so that the RTC could prepare more appropriate material? A well disciplined programming management system is crucial.

There is already a feeling that the Ministry in Gaborone is interested in numbers. Unless the Annual Planning system is delicately operated, field staff end up talking of groups whether they exist in reality or not.

What should the AD advise a group to write in its constitution? Is a constitution necessary at all or is it in fact a critical step in the self-awareness of the group and in anticipating all that the project will involve? Is consultation likely to be necessary for a particular type of activity?

Every type of group activity has its particular pitfalls, planning and monitoring criteria, constraining factors to watch out for, design, technical and social features. This is why clear, practical guidelines for every type of group activity are needed. This report aims to be an initial step towards such guidelines.

1.7. POINTING OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF RELATED ISSUES

A final purpose of this report is to shed light on the impact on the group development programme of other factors, including social and political

ones. Such factors influence the progress of group projects and of institutional development.

The group development programme has very much been seen as an agricultural extension activity, but the fact is that much more is involved than just agricultural extension, and many more departments and officials are implicated than just the Ministry of Agriculture.

The issues of land and traditional leadership provide two examples of how far-reaching the implications of the programme are. These are difficult, political issues, but it is impossible to evaluate group development experience without discussing them. Therefore it becomes an important purpose of the report to bring about awareness of how crucial the issues are, and, vice versa, that the group development programme itself is a key activity in deciding how the issues are going to be solved.

Strategy is required to reserve ranch sites in the commercial areas for groups of small farmers. In the absence of a strategy the task of ensuring that the target group is reached and benefits becomes more difficult. The more aware and educated, and those with greater resources, can and do take advantage of every situation, leaving the target group behind, even though a programme purporting to assist the target group exists. This is simply because working with the less rich, the less literate, the less experienced and the less knowledgeable in groups is a process which takes time and cannot be hurried. The task cannot be left to one isolated programme in the Ministry of Agriculture. Total Government commitment is needed to ensure that other developments do not compromise its objectives.

In the communal areas there is also need for clearer strategy to define the situations and locations where priority goes to arable land use over grazing, and not only where but on what scale. Without a strategy, months go by and many wasted meetings are held between group development and field staff and farmers intent on an inappropriate project. Land use surveys and plans can be made but Land Boards are either powerless to alter the status quo or are simply not clear what should be done.

The pressures for having a strategy should increase now that the Ministry of Agriculture has an arable package (ALDEP) to extend if successful to farmers on a scale far wider than in the past times of the Pupil Farmers Scheme.

Given Government's commitment in NDP.V. to employment creation, the strategy, possibly in connection with the settlement policy currently under discussion, will have to accord priority to arable land use where land capability allows and where demand from those in need of employment or higher living standards dictates.

Since the whole object of the group development programme is to assist people to participate who were unable to before, the question is should more people be assisted into arable farming and livestock keeping at all when in many areas land is already in short supply or overgrazed? Should employment opportunities be created outside agricultural production instead? Alternatively, how can the strategy make enough land available for more small level farmers to engage in arable production together with keeping some related livestock, as well as having land for commercial producers also who want large arable sites conveniently accessible from the village and room to graze a large number of livestock? Is it more effective and practical to reorganise the situation in rural areas so that, for example, unutilised land is reallocated?

Ineffective leadership is a constraint to the successful implementation of group projects. This relates to the notion currently circulating about the need for a revival in the role of traditional authority

and the importance of the 'kgotla' as a development management institution. An effective local consultative or decision-making body is crucial at the place where farmers are faced with a common problem and need to undertake a communal project. Should headmen be recognised out at many lands areas in order to provide the needed leadership? What, on the other hand, is the role and what has been the impact of Farmers Committees which have often been encouraged and trained in order to fill this very gap with an elected group of more aware people?

Part of the 'kgotla' revival argument suggests that management of the communal resources could be performed by the 'kgotlas' through the system of authority and overseers which used to feature in the past. The 'badisa' had the chief's authority to allocate particular grazing areas. This report will show that throughout much of the country settlement in the communal areas is now so mixed up that it would be impractical to try to demarcate land in this way even though identification of users of specific areas of land is still a prerequisite for the introduction of better management.

The patchiness of land use and the mixture of origins of its users in lands and particularly grazing areas has implications for the design and organisation of development projects.

CHAPTER 2: HOW THIS STUDY WAS DONE

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2.1. BASIC APPROACH

2.2. METHODS USED IN OBTAINING INFORMATION

- 2.2.1. Historical background
- 2.2.2. Initial consultation with field staff
- 2.2.3. The district tours
- 2.2.4. Arrangements made to meet groups
- 2.2.5. Group interviews
- 2.2.6. Other officials contacted
- 2.2.7. Sources of further documentation

2.3. ORGANISATION OF DATA

2.4. COMMENT ON PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

2.5. LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

- 2.5.1. Lack of comparable data on projects
- 2.5.2. Lack of production data and population figures
- 2.5.3. Missing projects

2.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AO (LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
APO	Animal Production Officer
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
AS	Agricultural Supervisor
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
CAPAD	Communal Area Planning and Development
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DAS	District Agricultural Supervisor
DO (D)	District Officer (Development)
DO (L)	District Officer (Lands)
EA	Extension Area
GDO	Group Development Officer
LUO	Land Use Officer
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
NDB	National Development Bank
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
REO	Ranch Extension Officer
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SCC	Short Course Centre
VDC	Village Development Committee

2.1. BASIC APPROACH : IN DEPTH BROAD SURVEY, BUT NOT MICRO-LEVEL STUDIES

The terms of reference, together with their amendment [1], required the consultant to perform a broad scope survey and documentation of the experience with group development in the different agricultural regions of the country.

It should be noted that although this study is described as "in depth"[2], it is not in depth in the sense of including any micro-level, detailed socio-economic investigations. The May 1980 Evaluation expects of this report , rather, an in depth analysis of "The group process". Micro-level studies are certainly needed in order to provide information about the socio-economic level of group members, about benefits to members or non-members which result from groups and about key factors contributing to or constraining group activities, but this study concentrates on a wider regional and institutional analysis. The reasons for a broad survey were:

(i) The need, at this stage in programme implementation and evaluation, to see overall trends.

(ii) The lack of existing data comprehensive enough to allow a sensible selection of a small sample of groups of each type, e.g. dam groups or women's vegetable gardens, for micro-level study.

(iii) The limitation of time which precluded micro-level socio-economic studies.

(iv) To provide a broad basis for on going research, identifying the areas and subjects for further follow-up micro-level "zoom-in" research: This was particularly with the CUSO sponsored Research Assistant in mind, who was assigned in March 1980 to the CAMA/ Rural Sociology Offices.

2.2. METHODS USED IN OBTAINING INFORMATION

2.2.1. Historical background

Documentation of the historical background of the programme was achieved in a few days through library research mainly in the files compiled for the CAMA office by the Rural Sociology Unit. One problem with background, referred to in Chapter 1, is that so few personnel are still in Government who were closely involved with the origins of the programme. The opportunity for discussion is thus very limited.

2.2.2. Initial consultation with field staff

The commencement of the consultancy coincided, in the first week of February, with a DAOs and RAOs meeting. The opportunity was taken to circulate an introductory discussion paper summarising the issues to be investigated and with the kind permission of DAFs and CAMA to explain the purpose of the study and request the co-operation of the field staff. A similar opportunity to brief DO(L)s afforded itself the very next week. The discussion paper was circulated to over eighty recipients in central Government and in the Districts to provide a background for subsequent meetings and to encourage responses which might help guide the approach to be taken in the study. Only four written responses were in fact received, each of which proved to be very valuable, but the paper was widely read and did help stimulate discussion as the consultancy progressed from District to District.

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(1) refer to Terms of Reference

(2) Evaluation May 1980, page 3.

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2.2.3. The District Tours

At the initial RAOs meeting and after consultation with GDOs by phone a tentative schedule was drawn up for touring the five Regions.[3] A full account of the itinerary, together with groups contacted and other persons and officials met is provided in Appendix 22. Altogether in the tour which covered by road approximately 9,000 km, excluding the distance travelled by air between Gaborone, Maun and Gomare/Nokaneng, the following was achieved during the period between early February and early May:

64 places were visited where groups were actually met, at villages, lands or cattleposts,

140 groups or types of project were contacted on a person to person basis (this includes contact even though it may have been through just one or two representatives of the group or Committee).

Of these groups, the breakdown was as follows:

Type of group/activity	Number contacted
Farmers Committees	17
District Farmers Associations	2
Tick control/cattle husbandry	21
Small stock	12
Dam groups	13
Borehole Syndicates/Associations	6
Communal fencing (lands)	28
Fencing of communal grazing	8
Conservation - wood lots/fire breaks	4
Molapo bunding	1
Fisheries	1
Crop storage and marketing	4
Tractor syndicates/associations	3
Poultry	1
Horticulture	9
Women's groups	4
Communal ranching	6
APRU all projects/proposals -	3
Co-operative Societies	1

NOTE: one group - e.g. a Farmer's Committee - often undertook more than one activity; where this was the case the different activities are still counted in the above table as separate "contacts".

2.2.4. Arrangements made to meet groups

The personal visits to the above groups were conducted in various ways. In a few cases the author accompanied Group Development Officers, DAOs or DASs, other Regional Support staff, ADs or staff of the Agricultural Research Department on scheduled official trips to hold meetings with groups or in 'Kgotla' or to perform some other function related to the groups on-going progress. These always proved of interest even if only to observe

(3) Note the terms of reference specified 3 and compare the others. The sixth Western Region was unfortunately excluded as there was no GDO and it was very understaffed at the time, January 1980, when the terms of reference were formulated. As a result there was no indication of any group activity in the region and the Matsheng land use plan was thought to be the main subject of interest. Only later in 1980 after DAFS staffing had improved with the transfer of a DAO to Tsabong, did other areas of group activity become known.

methods of support. Usually much more was also gained as the opportunity was nearly always graciously provided by the group and the extension staff for the author to ask further questions.

Most of the visits were arranged in advance for the special purpose of the study as a result of the tremendous co-operation and interest shown by the RAOs, GDOs and District Agricultural staff. For these visits the consultant relied mainly on his own transport[4] and travelled for the most part alone from one area to the next meeting usually with the local AD. Most meetings were with members of group committees and were conducted with the AD present, although several took place between the farmers and the author alone.

2.2.5. The group interviews

At the meetings with groups no formal methods such as questionnaires were used to obtain data, but the interviews could be said to have been structured. The discussion generally started with the group explaining the history of their group and how and when their activities started. From there the discussion was guided into more detailed aspects of the processes of the project implementation, group dynamics, problems and constraints. The direction the discussion took depended a lot on the nature of the group, and what activities it was involved in. Where appropriate, questions were asked about management of communal area resources to see what awareness there was of the potential progression from current group or communal activities towards more difficult issues.

In discussing the group's experiences, the difficulties caused by local leadership or political problems and rivalries were often openly mentioned and analysed. Many comments and observations were recorded, therefore, on the potential role of and conversely on the common problems with the 'Kgotla', headmen, Councillor VDCs, Farmers Committees etc., and on local social hierarchy (who is who in the village community).

Discreetly, as meetings proceeded, the author recorded information in a hardcover notebook. During the course of the fieldwork nearly 900 pages of field notes were recorded. The note taking did not seem to cause any awkwardness or affect the freedom of talking. On the contrary on occasions farmers were clearly pleased that their experiences and views were being seriously recorded and would even ask whether a particular problem or point had been noted. Requests were also made for copies of the report, demonstrating their obvious interest and concern that Government should be aware of their problems and efforts.

The presence of ADs at interviews did not usually appear to constrain the farmers in talking of their experiences and problems and certainly relieved the author from attempting to maintain conversation in Setswana the whole day! Where the AD farmers relationship was clearly a good one, information flowed freely. Where it was less good, this was easy to tell and adjust the approach of enquiry accordingly. Something was learned of the processes at work in every situation even if by some standards the meeting might appear a failure. It was found that two visits to a group or a place were ideal, one to become known and one's purpose understood and then a revisit on what so easily becomes a friendly basis in Botswana.

In this connection it is perhaps of interest though to note some examples of the sort of real problems which do beset a lone consultant with

(4) see appendix 21 for travel involved - 8000 km. using consultant's vehicle.

very little time to waste. Conducting the field work in the ploughing season meant that getting more than a handful of members together to talk to at one time was a major exercise. Often it was necessary to be content with whoever could be found and even that sometimes involved a lengthy journey by car or on foot across ploughed fields, and along footpaths from one lands to another in order to track down the Committee Secretary who, upon arrival at his lands, might be found to have left earlier for the nearby hills to check his cows.

In contrast, afternoon meetings, as every extension worker knows, are risky as the one which started at 2.15 p.m. on the 27th February at Metsemaswaane. Members of the Committee having done some early work on the dam fence had been recuperating with the aid of local beer for several hours before the meeting began. The patience required to interpret correctly what was being said was therefore that much greater but by 7.30 p.m. in the evening some deep issues had been covered, and many ideas exchanged and everyone was happy.

Trying to discuss with drought relief paid Molapo bund builders in the Shorobe area in the afternoon heat and drunken scramble of pay day, however, was not so rewarding. Nonetheless impressions could be gained of attitudes and the processes at work. That there actually was one VDC Secretary and bund project leader who remained sober and was able to explain the difficulties of group organisation in such circumstances was appreciated that much more and just served to reinforce the importance of leadership.

The task of group management that Committee members have, and the scarcity of people willing and able to perform it is likewise brought home when one's meeting with some members of an AMA Committee is brought to a close rather early as the same gentlemen have further commitments at a meeting of the local group.

2.2.6. Other officials, authorities and institutions contacted in the Districts

During the three and a half month tour of the District, in addition to the meetings with groups, discussions were held with the following:

Officials and meetings	Number contacted
Group Development Officers	5
RAOs	4
Regional staff meetings	2
AD monthly management meetings	7
DAOs/DASs	13+
RTC/SCC staff	3
Regional Support staff (APOs, AOLR, REO, LUO, ADs for poultry, smallstock or dairying) ADs/ASs at EA level	in all regions
Land Boards/Sub Land Boards	6
DO(L)s	8
DO(D)s	3
LUPAG meetings	4
District commissioners	1
Council Secretaries	2
Community Development Staff	2
Development Trusts	3

Officials and meetings	Number contacted
Remote Area Development Officer	1
Tribal Chief	1
Headmen/Ward Headmen	5

Information and experience were thus drawn from a variety of sources. This had its problems, but was also part of the intention. Since the group development programme depends upon the collaboration of most District and village level institutions, it was crucial to seek their views. Views representing most of the concerned institutions and officials were obtained, with the unfortunate exception of Councillors. An attempt to make an appointment with two Councillors failed for unavoidable reasons and is much regretted.

2.2.7. Sources of further documentation

In addition to meetings, discussions and note-taking, a collection of all documents relevant to group activities was made. Documentation included copies of GDO group data sheets, project memoranda, maps, constitutions, GDO field or training notes, 3 month programmes or reports of GDOs, DAOs, ADs and other supporting staff, annual plans, District plans and other relevant correspondence.

2.3. ORGANIZATION OF DATA

The sorting of field notes and related documents into 34 subject matter categories took a full month. The 34 files covered 16 different types of groups as well as information on specific topics such as CAPAD, group development approach, group dynamics and the role of traditional authority.

A further two months was spent tabulating all available data. The end result is the tables reproduced in full in the Appendix volume of this report. The tabulated data is a synthesis of all that could be found on the groups including older material where this sheds light on background. It brings together information from all sources. It was impossible to quote each source of specific information as sources were so many and varied, so it has only been stated where up-to-date information is not available and therefore there is a greater chance of error. Unless otherwise stated, the tables are up to date as at mid 1980. Further comment on the tabulated data is given in the preface to Volume II of the report.

2.4. COMMENT ON PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The handwritten tables were photocopied towards the end of July and each GDO received a copy of the data for his Region. Each specialist Division in the Ministry of Agriculture was sent a copy of the data for the whole country on groups with which that Division was concerned - horticultural groups to the Horticulture Section, etc.

GDOs in the Regions very kindly provided a lot of valuable last-minute comments and corrections to the data by taking the time to check through and return the tables sent out in this way. Providing the technical specialists with the data to review before meetings were held to discuss their input into the programme also proved useful. The prompt and very thoughtful attention given to this assignment by the GDOs and

Headquarters specialists is gratefully acknowledged.

The last two weeks of the consultancy period spent in Botswana, i.e. the last two weeks of August, were mainly used to meet officials in the central Ministries. Details of who was consulted can be seen in Appendix 22. It is regretted that time did not permit seeing many others who could also have contributed. Their insights and experience are missed, but if this report succeeds in generating further debate on the groups programme their ideas will be heard next time round.

2.5. LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

There are a number of limitations the author is aware of in this report which are better admitted at the start than criticised later.

2.5.1. Lack of comparable data on projects

A glance at the tabulated data in the Appendices will reveal many gaps. Especially frustrating is that particular information available on one group is missing for the next. This situation stems from the fact that many different sources were consulted, the decision not to use a structured questionnaire, and the fact that while some groups were contacted directly, others were only contacted via extension staff and yet others only via written material. This makes comparison of processes and other criteria difficult. The data can, however, be regarded as a fund of case study material which may be built on in the future. They represent an initial step in the organisation of material for the production of guidelines and training materials, for planning further research, or for establishing a monitoring system.

2.5.2. Lack of production data and population figures

The most serious omission from the tables is the lack of any cost/return or population statistics. This creates obvious difficulties. The calculation of costs and benefits from which to assess the impact of a project on its participants must therefore be beyond the scope of this report. All that is attempted is a broader view of trends and processes. Figures on group membership were usually obtained but information on the total local population from which the membership is drawn was rarely available. The picture of community participation in groups is thus incomplete. Micro-level studies are needed to achieve this level of detail.

2.5.3. Missing projects

Inevitably some groups and projects have been overlooked. This was difficult to avoid for the following reasons:

- some Extension Areas are vacant
- some ADs are only recently posted
- there are recent postings at other levels, (a DAO or RAO and a GDO in southern region)
- some types of groups are hardly dealt with by the ADs and therefore by the programme. This particularly applies to borehole syndicates because they are often located in remoter parts of Extension Areas or even completely outside an ADs area in the sandveld, and because extension contact with syndicates has always been limited to assisting with the completion of their NDB loan applications and Land Board allocations. Records have not been systematically maintained in the absence of follow-up beyond these functions.

Some other types of group activity which might be expected in this report do not appear. Perhaps the most striking omission is the coverage of all the co-operatives. Although much could and should be learnt from their experience, co-operative societies, for reasons explained in Chapter 6, do not fall within the support function of the CAMA office and therefore of the Group Development programme, although there do exist obvious and necessary points of contact. Since this report is concerned with the Group Development programme, co-operatives have been omitted.

Other activities which were missed out which could have proved relevant were women's organisations like BCW, YWCA, Red Cross, the 4B Club programme, the school gardens programme of the Ministry of Education, The Clinic Gardens programme of the Ministry of Health, the Literacy groups of The Department of Non-Formal Education and the new Community Service Scheme under the offices of the President.

Nonetheless, wherever agricultural field staff were aware of, or were dealing with, any of the above types of organisation involved in an agricultural production type project, any availabl information has been included. There are thus some instances of VDCs, Red Cross groups, Co-operatives etc. to be found in the tables.

2.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 2

2.1. What was the approach of this study?

The author did not set out to make a detailed micro-level study, but to take a broad look at group development in Botswana. This broad approach was preferred because of the current need to assess overall trends in the country, the lack of comprehensive data on groups, the limitations of time, and the desire to provide a basis for future "zoom-in" research studies.

2.2. What methods were used to obtain information?

2.2.1. A few days of library research provided information on the historical background of the groups programme.

2.2.2. An introductory discussion paper was circulated at a DAOs and RAOs meeting at the beginning of the consultancy. A few written responses were received but the main benefit was from the awareness of the purpose of the consultancy which the paper effected. This helped the author as he moved from District to District.

2.2.3. 3½ months were spent making field visits throughout the whole of Botswana. 140 groups were contacted on a personal basis.

2.2.4. Some visits to groups were made in the company of local regional staff who were anyway going to 'Kgotla' or to a group meeting. Most visits were arranged for the special purpose of this study. The meetings were practically always with committee members, and were usually conducted with an AD present.

2.2.5. No formal methods were used to obtain data, however the interviews were loosely structured. Subjects covered in the discussions included the history of the group, project implementation, group dynamics, problems and constraints. Information was recorded in a notebook as the talks proceeded. This did not seem to affect the freedom of the discussion. Nor did the presence of the AD usually restrain the farmers. Two visits to one group were found to be best in order to establish a friendly relationship. Problems that did emerge were the difficulty of getting many group members together at once, or, when they were together, they were sometimes relaxed and rather drunk!

2.2.6. Discussions were held with regional agricultural staff, local government staff and chiefs and headmen.

2.2.7. A collection of documents about group development was made.

2.3. How were the data organized?

The field notes and the documents were sorted into subject matter categories and from these the tables that appear as Appendices were produced.

2.4. What comments were made on preliminary findings?

Regional and central government staff were sent copies of the tables and some of them provided up-to-date corrections and further helpful comments.

2.5. What are the limitations of this study?

2.5.1. The data on the various projects are not always comparable - there are many gaps in the information.

2.5.2. There are no production data or population figures.

2.5.3. Some group projects have been omitted. This is either because of the absence of ADs in some Extension Areas, or because of recent postings to Areas, or because some groups are outside the scope of ADs. Other groups have been excluded as they are not part of the CAMA programme.

CHAPTER 3: TRADITIONAL GROUP PRACTICES AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS, AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO THE CURRENT PROGRAMME.

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CHAPTER 3: GROUP PRACTICES AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND THEIR RELEVANCE TO THE CURRENT PROGRAMME

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3.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BPMS	Borehole Preventative Maintenance Scheme
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
GDO	Group Development Officer
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide a cultural context for the study of the more recent experience of group development. To provide a proper anthropological background on traditional group practices would be ideal, but is beyond the limitations of both space and the author's expertise. Only a sketchy outline will therefore be given of the areas of activity in which co-operation is customary. The account is supported by some field observations.

The emphasis will be on the linkages to the present. Many of the attitudes to group activity the programme is encountering now can be traced directly to experiences of the past. To be aware of these links should be seen to be important in order that methods of approach in group facilitation are sensitively planned and applied.

For the purposes of this discussion, two categories of traditional co-operation can be defined:

(i) Forms of mutual assistance and exchange
(ii) Communal action dictated or enforced by the traditional authorities, chiefs and headmen, including 'mophato' or regiment projects.

Later in the chapter we will include two other forms of group activity which are more recent but still preceded the group development programme; these are:

(iii) Undertaking of self help projects, and
(iv) Associations of farmers to arrange for matters of common interest.

3.2. FORMS OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND EXCHANGE

The main reason for drawing a distinction between this and the second category is the difference between voluntary and enforced 'co-operation'. All the forms of co-operation in this first category could be described as voluntary even though strong sanctions may exist within the kinship or wider community which could be used to enforce agreements made.

Rural life in Botswana has necessitated there being a complex and traditionally well understood system of ties and relationships to ensure everyone's welfare and survival. There are arrangements worked out to cover almost any problem or situation. Mutual support relationships occur within households, extend throughout the kinship system and reach as far as non-related neighbours at the lands or the cattleposts. The forms they take range from simple neighbourly exchanges of assistance, such as the kraaling of a neighbour's cow when it has strayed, and help with transport or sending messages when someone is sick, right to the complex 'mafisa' system. The 'mafisa' system can involve such long term relationships that they even pass on from one generation to the next.

Whilst a thorough analysis of the forms these relationships can take is beyond the scope of this study, it is worth pointing out that there exist extremely specific and complex codes, both legal and moral, within which the relationships operate. Thus certain forms of exchange are more likely to occur within specific relationships. Generally speaking, arrangements for mutual assistance in the management of cattle and water are usually within the kinship and family network, where there are strong guarantees of trust and obligation, whilst arrangements for ploughing and work parties more commonly extend to neighbours as well, where bonds are not so strong.

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The most important examples of mutual assistance in agriculture occur in:

(i) livestock and water management
(ii) ploughing arrangements
(iii) working parties

3.2.1. Livestock and water management

Many arrangements exist in cattle management. Co-operation can occur on a short term or long term basis. Two examples of short term relationships concerning herding are:

(i) A day by day rota in responsibility between neighbours. A group of four farmers is practising this in the Pelotshetlha area now. There are also two smaller groups in the area.
(ii) Neighbourly assistance requested when an owner is to be away for a few days - The clear understanding being that he will return the favour the next time his neighbour goes away, or assist him in any other equivalent need. Examples were observed at Dinogeng, Potsane, Thamaga, Metsemaswaane and Pelotshetlha.

Farmers mentioning these examples explained that such forms of mutual assistance seem to be restricted nowadays to neighbouring old men or very close relatives. They emphasised that it was based on a trust relationship, lamenting that most people now lack this trust and sense of co-operation. Interestingly, however, common membership of a dam group or dipping group was mentioned as a possible basis for building up a new form of trust.

In the longer term there are a multiplicity of arrangements and relationships in the 'mafisa' and 'moraka' systems.

The 'mafisa' system concerns on the one hand the needs of large livestock owners to disperse their cattle for better nutrition and breeding performance, and on the other hand the needs of smaller or non-livestock owners to have some livestock for such basic requirements as draft power and milk. An important part of the transaction is that in return for managing the owner's livestock, the 'mafisa' holder receives one or more female offspring as payment with which to build up his own herd.

Always the aims were mutual and multi-purpose. In the 'moraka' system a larger owner could, for example, engage a 'modisa' (herdsman) allowing the 'modisa' to keep and water his own smaller herd at his employer's cattlepost. Such arrangements helped younger men who could not afford to run a separate cattlepost to build up their herd.

In another arrangement, small herds are often kraaled together with a close neighbour or relative's cattle while the owner is away on contract at the South African mines.

Many arrangements also exist regarding water sources, dating back to times when all water sources were communal even if they were dug privately by the effort of one man and his family. What arrangements are made depend on the type of water source, the form of ownership and the relationship of the users.

At traditional hand-operated wells it is commonplace to find the users pooling labour resources in order to share the physical work of watering all their combined cattle.

On a neighbourly basis, it is expected that one water source owner helps out another in a time of crisis, as when a bush fire destroys a grazing area or when a well or dam runs dry or a borehole breaks down.

Co-operation in the management of engine-operated boreholes has of course the special problems of which Batswana have had experience since the

1920s. The syndicate form of organisation started in the Kgatleng after Chief Isang introduced private rights first to wells and then to the boreholes drilled with the aid of regiment labour. The membership of the borehole syndicate groups has tended to be an extension of the traditional cattle and water management relationships on more traditional water sources. The same family and kinship ties tend to come first, followed by relationships with hired labour and neighbours.

3.2.2. Ploughing arrangements

The reason for the various ploughing arrangements that exist is that people are, as Curtis[1] puts it, "unevenly equipped for ploughing". An old man may have cattle but no labour or plough; a younger family may possess a plough, perhaps, but lack draft power; a widow may have labour in the form of sons in her household, but she needs draft power.

Such are the situations where a mutual support arrangement can solve the problem.

Long and short term arrangements exist here as well as in cattle management. 'Mafisa' could be defined as one of the long term arrangements for ploughing as one of its objectives is to provide the holder with draft power. Most of the ploughing arrangements, however, are on a seasonal basis, although they are often repeated each year between the same people.

An example is where two neighbours join to form a span of oxen and then use the combined span to plough perhaps for a day on the one farmer's land, the next day on the other's, or in whatever way is fair and avoids taking unequal advantage of when rains fall. This system was observed in field work connected with this consultancy, from Barolong in the south to the Okavango, where heavy 'molapo' soils require teams of 8-10 oxen to pull a single row plough. In Mokatako in the Barolong non-cattle owners confine their donkeys to form a span. This happens in many other parts of Botwana.

Variations on this arrangement include the 'go lema mmogo' (plough together) system which unites someone with a plough but no draft with someone with draft power. The 'go tsenya ma bogo' (put in hands) way involves providing labour for someone whose draft animals you will use when his ploughing is over.

Curtis notes other ploughing arrangements - working for close relatives, borrowing and hiring - and observes that more than one of these can be practised in the same season by one household. As an indication of how widely practised some of these arrangements were in Manyana in 1971 out of a sample of 252 households which ploughed, 73 either provided labour or cattle in 'go tsenya ma bogo' arrangements, 24 "ploughed together" and 83 either received or provided cattle through family relationships.

3.2.3. Working parties

Most of the relationships so far described take place between just two people.

The working parties, variously known as 'letsema', 'motsheko' or 'mbezi' (kalanga), involve larger groups of up to ten or fifteen members. Both men and women participate, though usually in different tasks. Groups of this type can be found all over Africa and many other parts of the world, even persisting in parts of a "developed" country like the British Isles.

In 'letsema' the only contribution other than labour is food and/or drink, provided by the member whose field the group is working on. The activities for which 'letsema' parties can be arranged include ploughing,

(1) Curtis: The Social Organisation of Ploughing, reprint from Botswana Notes and Records, Vol.4, 1972.

weeding, harvesting, bush clearing, destumping and fencing. In the case of destumping the 'motsheko' arrangement still practised in Ngwaketse involves members joining together year after year and destumping fields in a rotation-one man's one year, another the next, and so-on. With women's 'letsema' or 'mbezi' groups for weeding and harvesting the rotation is of course from one member's field to the next, all within the same season.

'Letsema' practices are still very common in Botswana, especially in North East District. However, although examples were noted in almost all the Districts covered in this study, the comment was nearly always that 'letsema' is breaking down due to "the money attitude" of the present generation. It is also interesting to note that members of the "Boipelo" women's gardening group drew a sharp distinction between their group achievement and 'letsema' activities.

> "letsema" they noted "ke go kopa thuso fela, ga se ditiro tsa setlhopa" (meaning - it is just to ask for help, not a group undertaking).

3.3. COMMUNAL ACTION UNDER THE CHIEFS

3.3.1. A brief description of what was done

From mutual assistance and exchange where the motives were and still are definitely of a voluntary nature, we turn to different communal activities which fell under the authority of traditional leadership. It is not possible to discuss this subject in detail, but a few aspects will be highlighted before considering the implications of traditional activities for present day attitudes.

In the past chiefs and their representatives had much greater powers than nowadays. These powers and responsibilities included land allocation and adjudication, and water, grazing and arable lands were allocated in areas which corresponded to the wards of villages. The chief could declare a form of 'letsema' and order synchronised ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting. This practice still apparently goes on in a few areas (e.g. at Makeleng) and people who plough, weed or harvest before the chief's word can be brought to the customary court.

Other similarly enforced communal activities were the 'pacha', or communal ploughing of a piece of land for the chief, and the communal storage of grain reserves. The concrete silos that were used can still be seen behind many 'kgotlas'.

Hundreds of ambitious tribal projects were also achieved under the leadership of the chiefs, using the 'mophato' or regimental labour system. The projects included most of the early village schools, many dams; the roads from Kanye to Lobatsi, Sikwane to Mochudi and Lentsweletau to Kopong were cut through the bush and the first communal drift or lands enclosure fences were constructed. The Tlokweng fence, for example, was built in 1928 under Chief Gaborone in the context of his land use plan for the area (Section 9.2.2.)

The concept of communal endeavours is thus a deep-rooted one.

3.3.2. The experience of communal action under the chiefs, some implications

Looking back on the past many Botswana feel strongly that it would be an improvement if Government were to give more support and return more authority to the chiefs and their representatives, in recognition of the stabilising influence they had on the community. In a 'kgotla' meeting at

Mokatako in March 1980 some farmers, referring to problems with their drift fence, even remarked that "democracy is spoiling things" because in the past if there was an important project to be done the chief would simply issue instructions and people would get on with it.

Seated in the Tlokweng 'kgotla' in February it was difficult not to have the same feeling when quietly discussing with three tribal leaders the history of their drift fences. The steady deterioration of the fences seemed linked with the progressive erosion in tribal authority. Furthermore, some have the view that the 'mophato' system was fairer than what is now called self-help, because in the past all participated whereas now the rich can opt out. Self-help is seen to be for the poor - even doing things for the rich.

There is a startling contrast now between the spirit and achievement of a community where a discreet headman really plays a leadership role, and the situation in places where leadership is weak or where there simply is no effectively recognised local authority.

No matter how one might judge the quality of a particular chief or headman in a community today, Batswana still have a deep, instinctive respect for and allegiance to their traditional leaders. There is often a strong element of 'A kgosi waitse?' (Is the chief aware? Has he been informed of this?) before any new idea or plan, or even information, can be accepted by someone else. This has to do with the chief's leadership function of minimising any development which could be socially divisive. There is thus strong hesitation today on the part of headmen over projects which benefit only part of the community. This may have detrimental effects on groups. The headman at Bokaa, for example, was a strong influence in the organisation of the dip tank project as a community-wide project under a Farmers Association with an elected committee. But the committee performed a long period of extremely ineffectual service which might have been avoided had just those committed to the project organised it independently. Undoubtedly that oversimplifies the situation as there may have been a number of other factors involved. The headman's action could have been vindicated had he been dynamically supported with a technical and professional adult education input. It is not, however, necessarily possible for Government to organise such support on a country-wide scale.

The traditional favouring of whole community projects over ones which could divide or encourage any deviation from the norm has been observed in the Rural Sociology Unit's research[2] and is part of what we know as socially levelling mechanisms. These explain why in a Mmadinare bottle store one can be asked for a beer by a scruffily clothed old man in broken shoes dating from World War II only to be told later that he has 600 head of cattle at his cattlepost. It is also why, in studies at Tsamaya village, Carol Kerven[3] found that the "nouveau rich" move out to the edge of the village. There is deep suspicion and jealousy of conspicuous success. These same attitudes cause problems for even the most genuinely community-minded farmers who become involved in the leadership of Farmers Committees and even more limited projects affecting a smaller group with common interests. It also accounts for the ironic but not uncommon custom of the weakest and most ineffective members of the community being the first to be elected as office bearers in the new institutions the groups programme is encouraging. The custom ensures the least chance for the success both of the project and of any personality in the community, who might otherwise be placed in a competitive position with the established hierarchy.

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(2) personal communication from Odell

(3) Kerven: Tsamaya village, Rural Sociology Unit series.

Not all headmen and chiefs were thoroughly scrupulous or righteous. Powers were abused, and the degree of coercion used at times was resented and has not been forgotten. Such was the resentment that the late President, Sir Seretse Khama, reassured the aspiring nation before Independence from the BDP platform that there would be "no more forced labour".

Resentment of excessive coercion in the past finds its expression now in reluctance and "laziness". There can be distrust of those who push, no matter what their motives. Members of the Rolong Land Board felt that the experience of labour enforced under the chiefs has helped to destroy voluntary initiative. People in the past

> "knew nothing of coming together as individuals voluntarily... it is an alien idea... when you talk of it now people just want money before they will do something because in the past group work was sometimes enforced by thrashing or confiscation of property."

Another problem stems not so much from coercion as from corruption. The author found a number of examples of communities where a previous headman had ordered donations of money or cattle towards some project like drilling a borehole, constructing a village reservoir or holding ground. The contributions were received by an unelected committee or by a representative designated by the headman, and thereafter nothing happened. The resentment at such experiences is magnified when people, perhaps ordinarily resident in neighbouring sub areas have nothing to gain from developments in the main village anyway, or when there is an underlying feud in allegiance

Such attitudes of reluctance and diffidence towards co-operation must often underlie the frustrating unwillingness of members of groups to entrust money to their treasurers - particularly when many office bearers are not chosen for their ability.

Several committees perceptively observed that people think a project, when completed, would be "for the committee" rather than for their own benefit, despite collective effort.

These examples clearly illustrate how the past can be relevant to our approach today. In past experiences lie at least one explanation for the lack of co-operation from farmers so often bewailed by field staff.

3.4. THE MORE RECENT PHENOMENON OF SELF-HELP

The boundary is often indistinct between 'mophato' type projects and communal projects where the initiative and mobilization of effort was less from the chiefs and more voluntary in nature. Obviously many communal schemes encouraged by the chiefs greatly benefitted the community. It should also be borne in mind that many chief-directed projects really came from the suggestions of representatives and advisers who sought sanction and authority for solutions to local problems.

In Matsaudi in the Shorobe area of the Okavango the evidence was thus contradictory as to whether 'molapo' bunding in the past was a voluntary self-help initiative of farmers or an activity more enforced by the headman. This very uncertainty implies that really the distinction matters little, as the farmers perceive that it was a worthwhile activity wherever the impetus came from.

The same could probably be said of a number of early communal fencing projects. The Mmaphashalala community certainly appear to have been united in the work of fencing their lands as an enclosure. In this

example the explanation for their strong sense of community was bound up in their history. The village had been banned by Chief Tshekedi Khama and they deeply resented attempts to subjugate them under rule at Mookane.

More recent bush fences are the result partly of the initiative of certain people in the area and partly of the sanction or more direct encouragement of the local headman. Several of the drift fences being implemented now were bush fences built a number of years previously, for example at Sasakwe near Kopong, Mmamaereng in South East District, the Segakwana fence between Oodi and Matabele, and the Nsuzwane, Senete, Selolwane, Changate, Nkange and Maitengwe fences in Bokalaka.

The most dramatic record in self help lies in the achievement of hundreds of smaller communities in starting self-help schools and clinics. These involve the construction of a suitable building and, in the case of many private schools at the lands, can include the regular contribution of fees - e.g. P2-40 per child per term at Kanngwe in Ngawaketse District pay the salaries of the three teachers. The management of these self help initiatives comes usually from the local village Development Committee or Parent Teachers Association.

During times of drought, self help efforts have been rewarded with the issue of drought relief food, this incentive then substantially increasing the number of projects undertaken.

How one defines self-help starts to become difficult. The effect of food for work and the current P1.00 a day for drought relief and labour intensive works has inevitable consequences for extension workers anxious to secure a group's maximum commitment to a project.

3.5. FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

The traditional and historical background is not complete without a mention of Farmers Associations, the more so because there is currently much confusion about what Farmers Associations are. A little background may be of use.

The confusion springs from there being several levels at which Farmers Associations were formed.

3.5.1. The ADs' Pupil Farmers Scheme members

One level was at the Agricultural Demonstrator's extension area. A Farmers Association was often formed from members of the Pupil Farmers Scheme. It had various functions. In one way it could be described as having been a group extension method as the Association was used as a forum for disseminating information, co-ordinating arrangements for field and farmers' days and selecting topics and candidates for farmer training courses. Most of the planning and organisation was for the benefit of its membership. Recruitment for RTC courses and for tours, for example from the north of the country down to Lobatse to see the abattoir, was restricted to members.

Another important function also restricted to members involved the arrangements for borrowing the AD's sets of farm implements upon which the achievement of the Pupil Farmers Scheme is said by many to have depended. The committee of the Association would be responsible for organising the rota of use of the implements, often taking complete charge of their safe-keeping on a long term basis.

All this is not to say that the Ministry of Agriculture was only concerned with the progress of its Pupil Farmers. An underlying belief was that membership would steadily grow as demonstrations by the more progressive convinced others. Where there were specially effective ADs this

did of course happen, but membership in the country tended to level off at low figures, corresponding to those wealthy enough to participate.

Although the Pupil Farmers Scheme was thus officially disbanded by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1976, Farmers Associations still exist in many Extension Areas, their membership having hardly changed but their function now being rather obscure. Not surprisingly, most of them are totally inactive.

The fault lies not so much with their perplexed members but with the Ministry itself in not having provided ADs with a clear enough alternative to the Pupil Farmers Scheme. As a result there is now a confusing array of alternatives as different ADs, DAOs and RAOs moved in various directions. GDOs appeared on the scene after the different Regions had already established "their positions" and the programme has for the last three years been trying to make sense of this.

3.5.2. District level Farmers Associations

Another level of Farmers Association is at the District or tribal level. Best known is the Ngwaketse Farmers Association. Unfortunately information was not obtained on its history, but it has been active for quite a long time. As with the Farmers Associations at the AD level, it tends to represent the better off as its membership is believed to include many ex-Pupil Farmers Scheme farmers. The purpose of the Association is to try to take care of matters of common interest for its members.

3.5.3. Associations of farmers in the freehold farm blocks

Farmers Associations have also long existed in the northern and southern Tuli Block, Molopo, and Ghanzi blocks of freehold farms, and have always had the closest connection with the Botswana Agricultural Union. Their membership and that of the Union is still very "white" however - few "tribal Batswana" are involved.

3.5.4. The Kgatleng borehole syndicates Association

This Association first formed in 1953, administered from an office attached to Tribal Administration and by 1959 70 syndicates had joined. The purpose - "to help each other run their water pumps more efficiently"- was an insurance against borehole breakdown. It was really a central organising body which channelled maintenance costs from the Protectorate Government which could thereby save on all the administration of dealing with syndicates individually.

Although it had other functions like mediating in disputes and helping in various ways new syndicates to start, membership dropped in the late 1960's after the Borehole Preventative Maintenance Service (BPMS) started, and it became inactive as its main function was taken over by Government.

Interestingly, reports[4] now indicate it is reviving due to the syndicates deepening despair over the recently much raised cost of BPMS services, and increasing price of fuel and other inputs.

3.6. WHAT TRADITIONAL BASIS IS THERE FOR GROUPS?

The question frequently arises in discussions on groups of whether group work is traditional. The communal nature of African society has often

(4) P. Peters, personal communication.

been assumed to be naturally fertile soil for co-operatives and socialism. Does the evidence on traditions in Botswana lend us particular reason for confidence in the concepts of the group development programme?

3.6.1. A summary of the characteristics of traditional groups

The discussion so far on this chapter enables us to make the following summary of the characteristics of traditional groups:

(i) The longer term mutual assistance arrangements are restricted to close relationships within the family and generally only involve two households. They are based on trust and reinforced by strong, well understood social guarantees within the kinship or local community. It is clearly known who benefits and in what way.

(ii) Short term mutual assistance arrangements are more temporary forms of neighbourly exchange. They involve larger groups of people, often unrelated, and a lower degree of commitment. They are often on the level of asking for help rather than being real group projects.

(iii) Group projects under the chief involved and benefitted most of the community. They operated within the established hierarchy and activities were not socially divisive. The chief made sure that the entire community participated, though of course sometimes he abused his powers and coercion was excessive. The initiative for a project could come from lower down the village hierarchy but was always sanctioned in 'kgotla' discussions.

3.6.2. The modern legacy of traditional groups

The mutual assistance and chief-directed groups represent two very different types of experience upon which today's cultural attitudes are founded.

There is a natural caution of getting at all deeply involved in arrangements outside the familiar bounds of well understood family and kinship relationships. People can thus be seen to avoid being caught up in monetary transactions with people who are not familiar. Responsibility is shirked if it is for others' benefit. Within the traditional basis of mutual support there was little fear of being swindled because of all the guarantees of the nature of the relationship. Outside it there is suspicion and distrust.

Such suspicion and jealousy we have seen also derives from the social levelling mechanisms traditionally at work. It finds its expression especially in any situation where some people could interpret another person's initiative, motivation or progressiveness as an attempt to gain control of communal assets, or to gain prestige. The whole subject of leadership in group activities is thus a complex one.

Due to bad experiences of the reign of the chiefs, resentments are harboured in some people and in certain communities. Many of the abuses of trust in traditional leaders have been very recent and still persist. As was noted earlier in this chapter, "laziness" and "lack of co-operation" can be explained to some extent. It may reflect a well founded lack of confidence in leadership.

Even the earlier Farmers Associations more or less mirrored the traditional community hierarchy in their membership. In contrast, attempts at the transition from such a membership to Farmers Committees, with their quite different concept and objective of 'kgotla' election and representation of all members of the community, has been strongly resisted by the established elite in some cases.

It is interesting to note, however, that some active groups today have grown from what one may describe as traditional beginnings.

One 'letsema' womens' weeding group at Pelotshetlha was utilized by IFPP to build a threshing floor and subsequently developed a vegetable garden. The 'mbezi' working parties in the North East Bokalaka sometimes are a basis for successful women's clubs. 'Letsema' or 'mbezi' groups, based on sociable neighbourly ties between women, represent a basis for other group activities.

A remarkable group at Seribotsane in the Kweneng calling itself the Mogotswane Ikage Farmers Association raises funds each year by combining oxen into eight spans and undertaking contract ploughing. The group also operates as a burial society, a form of mutual assistance originally learned in the South African mines where Batswana miners were separated from their families. From these beginnings the Mogotswane Ikage group has moved on to building a crush, a haffir and purchasing a stirrup pump. It also shows interest in smallstock activities.[5]

This group is not the only one to have raised funds by bringing together spans of oxen for ploughing. The Segakwana Farmers Committee, at a lands area near Serowe, organised eighteen spans of oxen in communal efforts to plough lands, from which the harvest proceeds would go towards FC funds. This variation is akin to the old tradition of the chief's 'pacha'. At Moiyabana such a communal land was used in February 1980 as a site for a crop husbandry demonstration.

Some of the syndicates in the Kgatleng have formed the basis for livestock husbandry groups. At Pelotshetlha the borehole syndicate which started in 1968 went on to become the Farmers Committee which pioneered the Pelotshetlha drift fence, leading to the choice of the area for the integrated Farming Pilot Project.

3.6.3. Other factors relevant to modern groups

Individualism

Batswana often describe their society as being individualistic. "The Bangwaketse have little tradition of group work, they don't trust each other" some elderly Bangwaketse leaders proclaimed in a meeting at Mmathethe, talking of the Macha fence. They continued

> "people like working in isolation.... they don't come to meetings... it's laziness, not that people cannot afford; we have tried to call these people and ask their reasons (for not contributing)"

Apart from "laziness" one of the most common Setswana words heard in discussions with farmers about their projects was 'diganana', meaning "the refusing people".

Committees trying their best to encourage collective effort often seem to feel impotent in the face of such ingrained attitudes. At Malokanyane a woman committee secretary who was clearly motivated towards raising the standards of living of the poorer sector of her community sensitively expressed her despair with the words

> "Wa ba tshwenya fa o ba raya gore 'a re direng jaalo' "
> (You feel you are bothering them if you say let us do it like this').

The Hereros are also said to be individualistic. Authorities in Maun explained that there had not been a single group application for Hainaveld commercial ranch leases, but that if anything, the trend was

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(5) For details see under tick control in the Appendix table 4.11.

towards the splitting up of existing borehole syndicates. The Government was disappointed at this lack of interest. It must be acknowledged, however that the Herero cattle owners, well known for the importance which they attach to cattle in terms of family security and personal prestige, may not just be "individualistic" but may have perfectly rational reasons for not being interested in forming commercial groups.

In the Bokalaka people live in scattered settlements and "don't like staying close to one another."[6]

The economic environment

Social and economic trends have greatly altered the environment in which co-operation can take place.

All the arrangements described under mutual assistance and exchange can only be expected to persist so long as appropriate relationships continue in the community.

One of the main effects of the rapid change in Botswana's economic situation since Independence has been the reduced dependency on traditional relationships. There are now few rural families which have no contact with the modern sector in the form of some relative with schooling or employment in urban areas, the public service or the mines.

Widespread schooling has also drastically reduced the availability of children as family farming labour. At the same time the huge difference between public service - urban wage rates and the low income possible from farming has priced hired labour well out of the range for most rural families.

Such trends must be contributing to the decline of various forms of mutual assistance or to their modification.

Curtis[1] noted, for example, that the "go tsenya mabogo' relationship was becoming less common. This he attributed to the fact that the lands of those who "put in their hands" were being left too late before ploughing as a result of operations on the lands of the draft animal owners taking longer. These operations were traditionally done first, but are now taking too long for the system to be feasible because progressive draft power owners are adopting time-consuming improved practices and extending their acreages.

In a personal communication[7] Gulbrandsen explained that fewer 'go lema mmogo' and 'go tsenya mabogo' ploughing arrangements were being made nowadays because younger men - the potential source of labour in such arrangements - were not entering agriculture. They are staying away at the mines or elsewhere, remaining unmarried longer than in the past. They cannot make independent arrangements during this period of their lives because, while unmarried, they are obliged to work their father's land before their own, if they are around at the ploughing season, using their father's oxen. While unmarried, both sons and daughters support the parental household from cash incomes, thus removing the necessity for intensive effort in arable agriculture to provide for subsistence.

This economic reality may explain why 'letsema' weeding parties are so much less common. A farming family may decide not to bother to weed a poorly germinated crop. The marginal increase in harvest from weeding would not be worth the extra effort.

With children in school or older sons in the towns, a woman household head has no resources to contribute to a ploughing arrangement so she may hire a tractor from money sent from employed relations.

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(6) Personal communication from an extension worker of the Kalanga tribe.
(7) Author's interpretation of discussion

Hiring arrangements are also replacing some forms of co-operation in livestock management and the operation of water sources.

As costs of borehole maintenance escalate, the operation of syndicates is coming under scrutiny.[8] Traditionally the "round price" (flat rate) system was maintained for administrative convenience as it avoided continuous checks having to be made on members' cattle. The increasing difficulty of keeping up with costs is leading more and more syndicates reluctantly towards the more equitable idea of per beast fees. This trend towards hiring water rather than belonging to a syndicate may be connected with another tension, that between members outside and members within salaried employment. Those with salaries have a flow of cash and everything to gain from the proportional fees system. Farmers with no other form of income, on the other hand, are reluctant to turn their cattle into cash unless absolutely necessary. The educated tend to prefer independent forms of administration because otherwise they may be unequally depended on as they are known to have money.

Many other changes are in force which this report cannot go into. What effect, for example, is the loss of 'badisa' (herdboys) through primary schooling having on the way small farmers spend their time? Is it being compensated for by sources of income from relatives employed in the towns? Are 'mafisa' arrangements becoming more or less common now? One might speculate that with fewer 'badisa', other forms of mutual assistance might be on the increase. As we shall see below, however, one must remember that although the uses for relationships can adapt rapidly, the relationships themselves cannot. Possibly one reason for the explosion in fencing is that to build a fence with one's neighbours is less challenging than stretching tenuous neighbourly relationships too quickly towards a more demanding arrangement like 'mafisa.' Thus farmers in fencing projects frequently use the phrase

"terata ke modisa" (the fence is (now) the herdboy)

Farmers often add a further justification for the fence: it is "avoiding disputes" with each other, referring to cases of cattle damage in one another's fields. Evidence is there of the anxiety to preserve neighbourly relations, but not to push them too far.... yet?

The authority of traditional leaders has diminished both in its nature and in its geographical extent. At many lands areas today the community is of mixed origins with no recognised traditional leader. This seems to be partly a result of increased population pressure. It is only in some older lands areas that residents can still link themselves to village wards. The relationship can be taken advantage of, as in the case of the Potsane drift fence where organisation of the work and contributions correspond to different Ramotswa wards.

The "money attitude" and the increased dispersion of members of families between the towns and rural areas has eroded some traditional moral values and weakened the traditional relationships on which mutual assistance was based.

3.6.4. Conclusions

Ignoring for the moment ideas on the individualism of the Batswana and the effect of the changing economy, it can be concluded that the concept of a wide group, dependent for its success on long term bonds of trust and

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(8) P. Peters, personal communication.

confidence being established outside the family network, has little traditional basis. In contrast, an activity of a short term nature like organising spans of oxen or the hire of a tractor by four or five neighbours who pay independently for their separate lands, could definitely be described as traditional. The latter arrangement is not only similar in form to traditional arrangements but also extends to the traditional relationships.

Community-wide projects which do not involve too deep a level of commitment, like the building of drift fences and firebreaks, and the formation of borehole associations, do often have much in common with the times of chief-directed projects.

There can therefore be different elements of tradition in some of the group activities that Government is currently pursuing.

What is important, however, is not to try to categorise various groups according to how much tradition there is in them, but to be aware of the basis of present attitudes. The traditional legacy, a tendency to individualism and the current social changes affected by economic change must all be taken into account by those engaged in group development so that they are better equipped to be sensitive to people's inhibitions and able to seek solutions which are likely to be acceptable.

It is extension approach that matters.

3.7. EXTENSION APPROACH

It is surprising how much talk there is of farmers "attitudes" compared with the attention given to thinking about those of the extension worker. Endless discussion takes place in staff meetings about the lack of co-operation between councillors, headmen and other leaders. It is often assumed that the extension approach does not need discussing.

In the course of this study, one impression which came firmly home was that there is inadequate consideration in practice of social factors at work in communities when projects are being planned and monitored. Principles which extension workers are well aware of are constantly being overlooked.

From the whole argument of this chapter some of the principles which need constantly to be borne in mind in the approach to the extension worker can be summarised as follows:

3.7.1. Guidelines for wider community projects, headmen and the broad question of leadership

(i) Every effort should be made to work through the traditional leadership which still commands the greatest respect and authority in rural areas. This applies no matter how hopeless a particular headman may appear to be. Potentially awkward or weak leaders need special attention in order to avoid alienating them.

(ii) The possibility of local leadership rivalries should not be overlooked. In order to avoid the accidental undermining of one or other faction care has to be exercised.

(iii) The need for newer community institutions like Farmers Committees should be carefully evaluated. Extension workers should be absolutely clear of the circumstances requiring the creation of new institutions.

What is the role to be? How does it fit in with the established leadership? In cases where traditional leadership is achieiving nothing a new institution may be needed for that very reason. But whatever the justification, the fact that it is a disturbance, possibly a threatening alteration in leadership, should lead the extension worker to expect natural suspicion and jealousies and distrust of its purpose.
Creating new institutions,a very solid understanding of a commitment to their purposes is needed, otherwise nothing will be achieved.

(iv) Traditional administrative systems can be adopted where still appropriate. The links between communities in the lands and their village wards may be useful in the organisation and management of certain projects like the sections of communal fences. In other cases lands communities are too mixed, and such attempts could upset what balance of local leadership exists.

3.7.2. Guidelines for smaller groups

Problems are inevitable wherever new forms of relationship are an integral element of group activity. The many forms of expression of jealousy, suspicion, distrust, lack of confidence etc. noted earlier in this chapter should be expected. How can the fear of being swindled be removed? How can trust and confidence be built up?

(i) One alternative is to be "gradualist" and not push relationships too far too quickly. There is thus a secure logic from the social viewpoint in the "gradualist extension approach" on which the group development programme is founded.

(ii) Build on traditional relationships. There is good sense in suggestions for example, of Government founding certain of its policies on well understood principles such as those of the 'mafisa' system. Programmes could be devised to develop the system rather than letting current trends erode it.
The proposed "limited syndicates" legislation likewise represents a move which refines and improves upon a system rooted in traditional relationships and arrangements.
Traditions can, however, be outlived. It is the same as generalising that the'village Kgotla' could provide a "management system" for the communal areas, disregarding changes in settlement.

(iii) Where in the technical and economic interests of farmers group action is to be encouraged beyond the bounds of what is felt to be traditional and safe, extension staff must be prepared (in outlook and approach) and armed with effective methods to help overcome the causes of "lack of co-operation". To do this will involve help in the areas of

- adult education methods
- training in bookkeeping
- constitutions
- consultation
- convincing demonstration

3.7.3. Traditional or modern leadership?

Finally, a broader observation.

Leadership requires leaders, and good leaders do not just "happen". People have to be helped by training and the provision of opportunities to gain experience. Debate over whether traditional leadership should be given increasing support, or whether it should be substituted by modern institutions is in some ways a red herring. Either course of action, if it is to improve the capacity of the rural population to play a part in the implementation of rural development, must involve an adequate commitment and investment in the training and equipping of manpower.

What is the relevance of traditional group practices to the current groups programme? We should not think of that relevance in terms of whether groups are or are not traditional, but should aim for an understanding among the country's extension workers on how to build on the situation which traditional practices and other factors have given us.

3.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 3

3.1. What is the aim of this chapter?

This chapter outlines the areas of activity in which co-operation is customary in rural Botswana. Awareness of the influence of the past on present attitudes to groups is important if planning is to be carried out in a sensitive way.

3.2. What is known about forms of mutual assistance and exchange?

Mutual assistance and exchange involve voluntary co-operation, backed up by kin and community sanctions. Mutual relationships exist which cover almost any problem that may arise in rural life. The more complex forms of assistance usually involve family relationships while the less complex forms more often involve neighbourly relationships. Arrangements concerning cattle and water are usually within the kinship network, whereas those concerning ploughing and work parties extend to neighbours.

3.2.1. Short-term arrangements with cattle include daily rotas, or caring for each other's cattle when one owner is absent. This form of co-operation seems to be rare nowadays. Some farmers felt that dam groups or dipping groups could be a basis for building up the required degree of mutual trust.

The 'mafisa' and 'moraka' systems concern long-term cattle arrangements. Both work to benefit both the large-owner and the small-owner.

There are also many forms of mutual assistance which deal with water sources. These can entail pooling labour, or sharing water sources in times of crisis. The management of engine-operated boreholes has followed traditional lines.

3.2.2. Mutual assistance is important when ploughing because many people do not have all that is necessary to plough. The 'mafisa' system incorporates draft power provisions. Other arrangements are seasonal, though they may be repeated. Neighbours may share the use of one span of oxen or donkeys, or share a plough or labour ('go lema mmogo' and 'go tsenya ma bogo'). Such arrangements appear to be widely practised.

3.2.3. Working parties, known as 'letsema', 'motsheko' and 'mbezi', may involve up to fifteen people. Groups are formed for ploughing, weeding, harvesting, clearing the bush, destumping and fencing. Though working parties are still common, people pointed out that they are less common amongst the younger generation because of their "money attitude". Some women's groups also pointed out that 'letsema' parties are just a way of helping each other and should not be confused witha group project.

3.3. What is known about communal action under the chiefs?

3.3.1. Chiefs and their representatives were responsible for enforcing various types of communal endeavour. The chief could order synchronised work at the lands, communal ploughing of his own land, and communal storage of grain. Major projects were carried out under the 'mophato' or regimental labour system, including the building of schools, dams, roads and fences.

3.3.2. Many Batswana feel that activities were carried out more efficiently under traditional authority than they are under present democratic methods.

The 'mophato' system was fair because all members of the community had to take part. Group projects today do seem to be more effective where the local headman provides strong leadership.

Traditional leaders are respected for their role in minimizing socially divisive development. At Bokaa, however, the wide range of interests represented on a dip tank committee was probably contributary to the project's failure. Traditional mechanisms work towards social levelling. This can cause problems for Farmers Committees, and it also explains why weak members of a community are often elected into group committees.

Some chiefs and headmen abused their powers and this may account for distrust now of those who seem to "rush".The Rolong Land Board felt that enforced labour may also have destroyed voluntary initiative. Instances of misappropriation of funds has caused discouragement which can be magnified by other local circumstances. It is sometimes felt that a project is "for the committee" rather than for the community.

3.4. What is the nature of self-help projects?

The distinction between 'mophato' projects and voluntary projects can be unclear. It is unclear in the case of 'molapo' bunding projects in the Shorobe area, and in the case of some of the old bush fences, but whether enforced or voluntary, the projects were recognised by the community as worthwhile.

Hundreds of self-help schools and clinics have been built, usually under the auspices of Village Development Committees or Parent Teacher Associations. Drought relief food or payment have provided additional incentives though these rewards can undermine commitment to a project.

3.5. Where do Farmers Associations fit in?

3.5.1. Farmers Associations have various origins. In ADs' extension areas Farmers Associations, formed from members of Pupil Farmer Schemes. These had planning and organisational functions. The Pupil Farmer Scheme did not grow as much as the Ministry of Agriculture had hoped and so it was disbanded in 1976, but there remain many Farmers Associations based on the scheme. That most are inactive now is the result of the Ministry's having failed to provide a clear alternative to the Pupil Farmer Scheme.

3.5.2. The Ngwaketse Farmers Association formed at District level. It represents wealthier members of the community and has been active for a long time.

3.5.3. There are Farmers Associations in the freehold blocks. Their membership is mostly white.

3.5.4. The Kgatleng borehole syndicates Association was formed in 1953 as an insurance against borehole breakdown. It became inactive after its main function was taken over by Government in the 1960s, though it is now reported to be reforming as a result of increased costs.

3.6. What traditional basis is there for groups?

3.6.1. Traditionally, long term mutual assistance involved few parties, was family based and was backed by kinship sanctions. Short term arrangements included more people, usually neighbours. There were also community projects directed by the chief, though this power was sometimes abused.

3.6.2. Some of today's attitudes which are influenced by traditional acitivities are; caution in involvement which extends beyond family connections; suspicion of supposed attempts by one sector of the community to get ahead; laziness in co-operating in community projects; and resistance by the elite to change. Some active groups have succeeded, however, in building on traditional beginnings. These include a women's group at Pelotshetlha, The Mogotswane Ikage Farmers Association, The Segakwana Farmers Committee, and some Kgatleng syndicates.

3.6.3. Some Batswana point out that their society is very individualistic and that this should be taken into account when considering group work. It is also important to remember that the economic environment today is very different from the one in which traditional groups flourished. Most rural families have direct contact with the modern sector. Schooling, urban wages, improvements in farming techniques, a reduction in the number of young men entering agriculture - such factors are reducing the availability of labour and altering rural relationships. Perhaps the large number of fencing projects is accounted for because the co-operation involved is not too demanding. Chiefs have lost their authority. The young generation has a "money attitude" and a new set of moral values, which effect their ideas on mutual assistance.

3.6.4. There is little traditional basis for the concept of a wide group dependent on long term trust with neighbours. Less demanding joint activities between neighbours could be considered traditional. But it is not the degree to which an activity is traditional that is important. What matters is a real awareness of the basis of present attitudes and a good extension approach to deal with these attitudes.

3.7. What should the extension approach be?

Not enough attention is given to the extension approach and its relationship to the social environment.

3.7.1. When dealing with wide community projects, effort should always be made to work through traditional leaders, even if they are weak. Leadership rivalries should be looked out for. If new institutions are to be created, the extension worker should be very clear about its role and impact. Traditional administrative systems should be adopted when possible.

3.7.2. When dealing with smaller groups, the approach should be "gradualist". Traditional relationships, such as the 'mafisa' system, should be built on. Extension staff should be prepared for difficulties, by having suitable techniques.

3.7.3. Leaders need to be carefully trained if they are to be effective. The groups programme need not focus on how traditionally based it is, but on how to build on the legacy of traditional activities and the other factors which contribute to today's situation.

CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND TO THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME. THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT APPROACH.

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CHAPTER 4: BACKGROUND TO THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT APPROACH

4.1. EARLY STATEMENTS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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4.4. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 4

Chapter 4: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AI	Artificial Insemination
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
FA	Farmers Association
HQ	Headquarters
NDB	National Development Bank
NRTC	Natural Resources Technical Committee
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (United Kingdom)
ODM	Overseas Development Ministry (United Kingdom)
PFS	Pupil Farmer Scheme
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy

4.1. EARLY STATEMENTS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Botswana's rural development policy is based on the fundamental principles of development which have been adopted by the country.

The 4 national principles

In his introduction to the 1970/75 National Development Plan, Dr. Quett Masire, then Vice President, outlined Botswana's 4 national principles:

> "Firstly we wish to strive for social justice. Secondly we are concerned to provide wherever possible equality of opportunity. Thirdly, we intend to use persuasion rather than compulsion to achieve change in a democratic and constructive way. These three objectives are rooted in our 4 principles of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity."

Democracy

The late President Sir Seretse Khama, in his address to the Kanye Agricultural Show in June 1980, said:

> "Democracy is as important a national principle as development. Change must be based on consent and consultation. We must, by marrying the new institutions like District and Village Development Committees with the old traditional methods of government, achieve a system where the people themselves are involved in the discussion of the choices before them."

Self-reliance

And in his foreword to the 1970/75 National Development Plan, the Late Sir Seretse added a further element of strategy:

> "Botswana's policy of self-reliance has in many places already improved the standard of services available. Our people have built for themselves clinics, schools and latrines. Now these efforts must be expanded and diversified to include projects which help to increase production and raise rural incomes."

Social Justice

In Government Paper No.1, 1972, "Rural Development in Botswana, we read:

> "To achieve social justice and equality of opportunity.... Government policy is directed towards reducing the large differentials in income and wealth within the country. Social and economic change must not favour the rich or deprive the poor. Reforms will be achieved by participation, explanation and persuasion. Changes in such vital areas as land tenure can only be achieved by popular consent. But we shall take care not to confuse the vested interests of an articulate minority with the needs and wishes of the majority."

4.2. THE ORIGINS OF THE CURRENT GROUPS POLICY

The specific origins of groups development are to be found in two separate strands of policy. These were

(i) the desire, first defined around 1970, to replace the Pupil Farmers Scheme as the then Department of Agricultural Extension's system

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of farmer contact with a broader extension approach/outreach;

(ii) the need, first noted at least as far back as 1968/69, to discover and develop systems for the management of communal grazing land.

Other influencing factors can also be identified and these will be noted later, but first the evolution of these two will be traced, up to the moment in 1976 when they literally gelled, along with the other factors, into one concept - the "gradualist extension approach".

The changes in the Pupil Farmer Scheme are the subject of the present chapter. Groups and the management of communal grazing will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3. CHANGES IN AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION

4.3.1. The change in policy

The change in agricultural extension policy has been summarised in paragraph 22 of "Rural Development in Botswana".

> "The functions of the extension service are to make farmers aware of methods of increased productivity. To date Government has adopted an individual to individual extension approach which has had undoubted success. During the last cropping season (1971/72) an estimated 14% of farmers who planted and harvested were members of the Pupil Farmers Scheme and they produced an estimated 38% of the national grain crop.[1] But this approach is costly and, with our limited staff and finance, it is not possible to increase substantially the number of pupil farmers.
> Also the present Pupil Farmers Scheme is of greater assistance to the more affluent farmer - with the capital, skill and other resources needed to follow the advice.
> Therefore, in order to involve the rural majority in agricultural development, Government will undertake a mass extension effort through the media, the radio, Rural Training Centres and broad based publicity campaigns". [2]

4.3.2. The Pupil Farmers Scheme record

Over the period 1970-1973 three major consultancies provided Government with facts about the Pupil Farmers Scheme and suggestions for improving the effectiveness and social equity of agricultural extension.[3]

The first of these, researched by Lever in 1970, was the basic factual document. It showed that

- on a national level each AD worked with an average of 25 PFS members; up to 90% of the AD's time was devoted to these member farmers,
- a large proportion of AD's working time was spent travelling rather than communicating, resulting in high costs of extension advice per farmer.

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(1) Note: membership as % of total number of farmers was only 7% according to Lever (3)

(2) Rural Development in Botswana; Government Paper No.1 of 1972, p.22, Ministry of Finance & Development Planning.

(3) The three reports were:
Lever, B.G. Agricultural Extension in Botswana: Feb. 1970.
Lynn, C.W. Agricultural Extension Services in Botswana; an Evaluation Study, 1971 (mimeo)
Chambers & Feldman: Report of Rural Development; Feb. 1973.

- PFS members tended to be the better off and the more progressive in outlook. Put another way "the main achievement of the Scheme was the identification of those progressive farmers who already had access to resources to improve their farming system".[3]
- The main constraint to production (for all farmers) appeared to be the lack of basic equipment, that is, implements and draft power. Conditional upon PFS membership was both the loaning of ploughs implements and recommendation for NDB loans for their purchase.

4.3.3. Group approach to broaden coverage

All three reports recommended broadening extension coverage. Lever suggested this "by the use of group meetings and encouraging farmers to learn from each other". Lynn wrote that "Farmers Associations be encouraged". [3]

The formation of farmers' associations was "the first step in a new extension approach" according to Chambers & Feldman, who saw their primary purpose as providing "the basis of group extension and.... a pressure group on the agricultural extension service 'from below' to ensure that programmes are implemented". Membership, they suggested, should be open to any other farmer wishing to join in addition to PFS members.

The advantages of group extension contact had been noted by the Botswana Government's then Rural Sociologist, Fosbrooke, who in March 1971 suggested a strategy to a meeting of the NRTC. A distinction was drawn between the different problems of reaching the wealthier and the smaller farmers: Fosbrooke thought it pragmatic for the "big man" to be "drawn off and be advised, helped and controlled on an individual basis." The "little men" he continued, "cannot be approached individually", and should therefore be encouraged to form groups "to facilitate the provision of agricultural credit, extension advice, stock limitation and erosion control." Fosbrooke[4] also saw a number of socio-economic advantages of project type groups mainly to do with the benefits of scale, that is, on the crops side in

- conservation
- bulk purchases of improved seed and fertilizer
- organisation of transport to share produce
- bulk marketing
- short term credit with group security

On the livestock side he visualized

- joint ownership of bulls
- bulk purchase of bonemeal and salt, livestock remedies
- joint ownership of burdizzos, dehorning irons, syringes
- ranch economies - water development, fencing bulls etc.

In his 1971 NRTC paper he noted, however, that the group approach "involves concomitants in

(i) legislation
(ii) land planning

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(4) February 1972, Paper to a conference at the University of Natal.

(iii) the use of mass media
(iv) the co-ordination of the efforts of all concerned with rural development".

This was, as we shall see, a very significant piece of foresight.

4.3.4. Group methods within a wider agricultural extension strategy

This last point made by Fosbrooke was also strongly made, though in different ways, by the three consultancy reports. None of the reports suggests that a groups approach of itself was all that was required. The concern was the effectiveness of agricultural extension in reaching and assisting more than just the farmers who were already progressive.

With regard to other areas of action, Lever recommended the possible subsidisation and pricing of inputs, attention to improving the marketing system and water supply at the lands. His concern was not just with the extension method, but with the message. Other recommendations, therefore, were for farming systems research and attention in research to the links between the livestock and crops enterprises. In terms of approach he also suggested regional development programmes where appropriate, or the use of mobile extension teams and marketing and supply systems in order to overcome the dual problems of scattered population and poor infrastructure. Another possibility Lever considered was "land consolidation with group owned draft power and equipment."

Lynn, in his report, likewise considered a group extension approach as just one element of a broader strategy to soil and water conservation as an extension message. His report laid more emphasis, however, on the creation of a Regional administrative structure for agricultural extension with more attention to management and work planning and remedying the lack of data. It was these recommendations which led to the appointment by the British ODM of two Extension Advisers to Botswana in 1973, one of whom, Alan Kingshotte, stayed until 1978 and did most to help the Ministry with its structural reorganisation, Annual planning and management system.

Chambers and Feldman perhaps best summarised the wider strategy concept. Under section 3.2.12. Proposals for Agricultural Extension, they wrote:

> "Our proposals for changing the methods of agricultural extension are aimed at increasing both the distribution and the productivity of the extension service. We do not believe that this can be done merely by introducing group extension as an additional activity."[5]

The wider strategy for extension recommended by Chambers and Feldman included a number of policy and organisational areas. On the policy side a credit and subsidy programme was recommended to improve farmers' access to new inputs. Through what was effectively a restriction of loans to PFS membership they argued that, if anything, the PFS could be said to have been leading to a "more inequitable rural society". Credit and subsidisation was essential in their view to assist farmers to raise the capital required to make any progress above subsistence cropping. To do this required a team of oxen or a tractor, or timely access to either, together with a plough, planter, cultivator and skotch cart.

Perhaps their most salutary comment on the context for group methods in agricultural extension is contained in the following extract:

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(5) Report on Rural Development, 1973.

"A careful assessment should.... be made of current extension advice to see what parts are best provided on a group demonstration basis and what parts need individual farm visits. We do not believe that group and individual extension should be viewed as alternatives, but as complementary.
A total concentration on group extension would be ineffective because there are so many improvements that can best be demonstrated while the farmer is working on his own farm. As a rough guide, all those improvements which can be implemented outside the growing season, such as the construction of contour banks, the improvement of grain storage... should be demonstrated on a group basis through farmers associations."

They went on to note that since there would still remain certain practices ADs should extend to farmers on an individual basis, individual visits should continue, but should be limited to a maximum period of 3 years per farmer. This was based on Lever's findings that the benefits of extension were concentrated in the early stages of contact. Such a scheme would result in a steady turnover of farmers who had received individual attention, and could continue to receive advice thereafter through membership of the farmers association.

This recommendation became part of Government Policy for Rural Development:

"Extension will combine group extension through Farmers Associations and individual farm visits."[6]

A further major aspect of the Chambers and Feldman report was the attention given to the development of a management system or institutional procedures for implementing the approach.

In summary, the concept for groups that was emerging in the early '70s was in the context of improving agricultural extension, for group extension methods such as demonstrations. Although social justice in terms of reaching more farmers than just the progressive was the objective, group extension was recognised for what it is - one method of communicating. In addition to the method of communication, there was equal emphasis in all the recommendations at the time on

(i) the nature of the innovations being advised, feasibility, risks, costs and benefits from the point of view of the farmer,

and

(ii) the administrative and management systems and procedures to implement the programme.

What lay behind the Ministry of Agriculture's reorganisation were sheer "hard-headed" considerations about extension costs and effectiveness. As Lever wrote: "to reach those in particular need requires a specific form of community development project and one whose real costs in terms of other alternatives foregone, is known and considered socially justified."

4.3.5. The new structure and organisation of agricultural extension

The Ministerial reorganisation of 1974/75 involved major structural changes and developments in administration and management. The influence of some of the recommendations of Lever, Lynn and Chambers and Feldman can

(6) "National Policy for Rural Development" Government Paper No.2 of 1973, paragraph 33.

be clearly discerned. It was a reorganisation, the purpose of which was to revitalise the Ministry's extension impact in the farming community.

The key level for change was recognised on the point of farmer contact. Previously there had been increasing specialization in the Ministry which had resulted in the farmer having as many as ten or more field staff of different specialisations to cope with. All demanded the farmer's action. Little attention could be paid to which was the farmer's most pressing problem that particular week or year as there was no co-ordination between his many advisers who all responded directly to their separate technical bosses at headquarters.

The most crucial change, therefore was in the creation of a Regional structure for greater decentralisation of planning and management, particularly of support to the District and Extension Area level programmes.

The second problem was that Extension Area level ADs suffered many of the classic problems of agricultural extension in terms of motivation, conditions of service, promotion prospects, transfer, transport and housing and neglect.

The changes introduced concentrated on improving AD performance through some comprehensive measures including:

(i) rationalising AD distribution throughout the country by revising boundaries to create Extension Areas with more equal workload in terms of number of farming families, size of area, local conditions in sand, remoteness etc.
(ii) provision of 1:50,000 maps of the new areas
(iii) training in map reading and air photo interpretation
(iv) introduction of Farmer Record Cards as a data bank ADs should maintain on all farmers in the Extension Area
(v) training in enterprise analysis technique (problem identification and analysis and decision making on solutions)
(vi) improvement in conditions of service - housing, transport (e.g. motor cycles), schemes of service, promotion and training
(vii) ABOVE ALL a re-emphasis towards treatment of the AD as a specialist in his knowledge of his area and therefore

- responsible for management of agricultural development at that level, including planning
- a total change in the technical specialist function towards supporting the AD in his area level problem analysis and programme planning and management

(viii) to improve further the ADs Extension Area management function, a new management system was introduced which included

a) a Daily Activities planning and record system
b) a monthly reporting system
c) monthly management meetings at the District Agricultural Office
d) an Annual Planning exercise

To effect all these changes required equally radical changes further up the ladder in order to provide the necessary supervision and support. The boundaries of agricultural Districts were thus also rationalized and became the next management level.

Basic to the success of the new Regional structure with its emphasis on the AD level as the management unit to be supported was the restructuring of Ministry HQ itself and the creation of the new Department of Agriculture Field Services.

The structure of the new Department incorporating technical support-

ing Divisions and sections, and how it is paralleled at the Regional level, is illustrated in table 7(i), the present organisation chart of the Department of Agricultural Field Services.

It would take too long to explain how the reorganisation was done. Instead, readers are referred to an excellent paper by the former Extension Adviser, A.A. Kingshotte, published in 1979 by ODI.[7]

4.3.6. The jumbled extension strategy during the reorganisation

The reorganisation was one component of the recomended three-point strategy to revitalise agricultural extension, as referred to earlier. That is, the strategy consisted of

- message (technical strategy)
- method of communication (complementary group and individual approach)
- management framework (reorganisation)

Such a strategy for the transformation of agricultural extension is inevitably a long term process. Even now it is by no means completely implemented.

All three components are closely inter-dependent. The Management system has to be related to extension activities, which in turn depend on the technical strategy or content of the message. Likewise the organisation only really functions where its management system is alive with activity generated either from its strategy responding to real need, or from being put to work.

As can be expected, progress in all three components did not occur simultaneously to produce a magically transformed agricultural strategy complete with packages and extension methods for all target groups, planned and managed perfectly by the new organisation.

It is interesting to observe the sequence in which things did move. Firstly, apart from the exception of TGLP, to which we will shortly move on, no technical strategy of great significance emerged as the reorganisation occurred. The reorganised HQ and Regional structure allowed some improvements to be made at the time in the management of some existing support programmes like 4B, farmers training, campaigns, AI, inputs, dam building and approval of NDB loans. An impetus was also provided for further expansion of the new Department into new but, at that stage, minor programmes in horticulture, poultry development and smallstock. These, together with even more minor programmes like pig husbandry and womens' extension, began to make a marginal additional impact on the workload of ADs.

The above could hardly be described as a strategy. "Jumble" would be a more appropriate description, particularly as perceived by ADs themselves who felt they were being called on to undertake one additional programme after another. By inference, it can be seen that the Annual Planning and monthly management system on which an effective Ministry reorganisation depended, was not yet functioning ideally on all levels.

The full message, in other words, could not be perfected all at once, and with even ALDEP only now entering the picture there is still a long way to go before Government can say it has a complete technical strategy.

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(7) A.A. Kingshotte: "The organisation and management of agricultural extension and farmer-assistance in Botswana": Agricultural Administration Network Paper 1, November 1979.

4.3.7. A period of limbo for extension approach

With a Department busy with its reorganisation and the resulting jumble of programmes to be implemented, the third component - the method of approaching the farming community - was not surprisingly left to fate and common sense.

No model for a broader extension outreach was defined. Group extension was encouraged but left vague. Field staff often continued with the accustomed individual contact techniques but without the benefit of the PFS organisation. Different Regions and Districts took different approaches to groups in this limbo period.

Somewhat ironically, therefore, although a fundamental origin of the group approach was in the reorganisation of the Ministry of Agriculture's extension system in order to broaden extension coverage, during the actual process of reorganisation, this aspect of extension approach did not develop. This was mainly because the extension message was not clear.

A real move only came when TGLP rose to prominence. The emphasis in TGLP extension was on group and communal activities. Field staff were at last, in 1977, given specific direction and training in group formation and extension techniques. The new organisational structure of the DAFS proved to be basically the right one for supporting groups.

4.4. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 4

4.1. What were the Government's early statements on rural development policy?

Botswana's rural development policy is based on the four national principles: democracy, development, self-reliance and social justice.

4.2. Why did the groups development programme start?

The programme started because of the desire to replace the Pupil Farmers Scheme with a broader outreach and because of the need to manage the communal grazing land.

The change in the Pupil Farmers Scheme is discussed in this chapter and communal grazing management is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3. What is the history of the change in extension policy?

4.3.1. The Pupil Farmers Scheme was successful in increasing the output of members, but it mainly reached wealthier farmers. It would have been too costly to make the scheme available to the rural majority.

4.3.2. Lever's report (1970) provided the facts on the Pupil Farmers Scheme record. 90% of ADs time was devoted to c. 25 Pupil Farmers per AD; much AD time was spent travelling; PFS members were the more progressive farmers; lack of implements and draft power was a major constraint to agricultural production.

4.3.3. All three reports produced in the period 1970-1973 (Lynn, Lever, Chambers & Feldman) recommended groups as the basis of the new extension approach. Fosbrooke (1971) recommended that wealthier farmers should continue to be treated as individuals and that small farmers should be approached as groups. These groups would make it easier to reach small farmers and would make it possible for them to enjoy economies of scale in obtaining equipment, credit, marketing and ranching. He noted that the group approach must be backed by legislation, planning, mass media and departmental co-ordination.

4.3.4. Lynn, Lever and Chambers & Feldman all agreed with Fosbrooke that group methods should be set within a wider extension strategy. Lever recommended subsidisation and marketing policies, improving lands water supplies, research into farming systems, regional development programmes, mobile extension teams and land consolidation. Lever emphasised soil and water conservation and regional administration. Two extension advisers arrived in Botswana as a result. Chambers & Feldman wanted credit and subsidy programmes. They noted that both group <u>and</u> individual work should continue, the latter as a short term effort per individual. Chambers & Feldman also gave attention to institutional procedures necessary to a groups approach.

In the early '70s the groups approach was recognised as one method of reaching the rural poor. Equal emphasis was placed on the nature of innovations that could be introduced and management systems necessary to the programme.

4.3.5. The Ministry of Agriculture reorganised itself in 1974-75 in order to revlitalize its impact on the farming community. A Regional

structure was created in order to decentralize planning and avoid the problems which followed from there being too many specialist farmer adviser departments. Changes were also introduced to help the ADs themselves - their area boundaries were redrawn, map-reading and enterprise analysis programmes were introduced, Farmer Record cards were provided, conditions of service were improved, ADs were given new responsibilities and a new management system.

The Ministry was restructured at HQ level.

4.3.6. In practice, reorganisation occurred slowly. There was no overall technical strategy. Small improvements were made to some support programmes and a few minor programmes introduced. ADs felt these as extra burdens. Even now an extension message has not been fully developed.

4.3.7. Changes in extension approach also took time to occur. There was a limbo period in which group techniques were encouraged but no definite support given and in practice Regions went their own way. A real move to group extension methods did not occur until TGLP came onto the scene.

CHAPTER 5: BACKGROUND TO THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, GROUPS FOR MANAGEMENT OF COMMUNAL GRAZING.

CHAPTER 5: BACKGROUND TO THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, GROUPS FOR MANAGEMENT OF COMMUNAL GRAZING

5.1. THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

5.2. EARLY PROPOSALS FOR COMMUNAL GRAZING MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

- 5.2.1. The Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill
- 5.2.2. Intensive Development Associations and the need for adjudication
- 5.2.3. Kenyan experience in adjudicating boundaries of customary grazing
- 5.2.4. Tanzanian Ranch Associations
- 5.2.5. Botswana's situation around 1972
- 5.2.6. Was persuasion enough?
- 5.2.7. Land use and settlement strategies in 1971/72.

5.3. THE REPORT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT BY CHAMBERS & FELDMAN

- 5.3.1. Land use planning to safeguard all interests
- 5.3.2. The form of communal organisation
- 5.3.3. Communal area organisation proposed by Chambers & Feldman

5.4. GOVERNMENT'S 1973 POLICY CONCLUSIONS

5.5. A CLOSER LOOK AT EXPERIENCE IN EAST AFRICA

5.6. THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS

- 5.6.1. The Village Area Development Programme
- 5.6.2. The Range and Livestock Management Project

5.7. THE ENTRANCE OF THE TRIBAL GRAZING LAND POLICY

5.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5: List of Abbreviations

AMA	Agricultural Management Association
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
ARB	Agricultural Resources Board
ARDP	Accelerated Rural Development Programme
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
GDO	Group Development Officer
IDA	Intensive Development Association
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
NRTC	Natural Resources Technical Committee
RALOM	Reasonably Acceptable Levels of Management
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RLGC	Radio Learning Group Campaign
RLMP	Rural Livestock Management Project
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAA	Village Area Authority
VADP	Village Area Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee
WSL	Western State Lands

5.1. THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

Soon after Independence, as Government started to look seriously at the country's economic future, it was recognised that the increasing over-grazing problems on communal land could be solved only through group action and community level management.

Fosbrooke, The Rural Sociologist, observed that conservation was becoming an increasing problem because "no system of land use control (had) been evolved to substitute" for the controls which the chiefs used to exercise, and which the Protectorate Government legalized through the indirect rule of Tribal Administration.[1]

In an address to the BDP conference in Molepolole in 1970 the then Vice President, Dr. Masire, observed likewise that:

> "the stage has passed when the conservation of our basic natural resource - land - can be left to individual goodwill. There must be collective responsibility. Each village and each ward must be concerned actively with stock control and veld conservation."

In Government's 1972 paper on Rural Development these concerns were set out for the first time as policy:

> 15. Overstocking, especially in the communally grazed areas, occupied in particular by the small farmer who cannot afford individual cattleposts, demands an urgent solution..... Forms of land holding and land use will have to be evolved in order to maximise the returns from livestock on a sustained basis - and prevent any further deterioration of the environment.
>
> 16. People with small herds will now be actively encouraged to form themselves into viable groups.. It is proposed that these groups should be granted exclusive rights to grazing land which they should be allowed, encouraged and if necessary assisted to demarcate in an appropriate way. This would make it possible for the farmers to manage their livestock efficiently and, more importantly, would permit control to be exercised over land use to prevent overstocking and promote positive anti erosion methods".[2]

5.2. EARLY PROPOSALS FOR COMMUNAL GRAZING MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL

It is often not realised that the group development programme did not come from the TGLP but rather became a key element in the implementation of TGLP in communal areas. In order to understand this we have to look back earlier than TGLP and follow the stages through which experience was gained and ideas for the groups process developed.

5.2.1. The Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill

To prevent overstocking, controls were to be introduced through a proposed Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill which was to provide a framework for the reorganisation of traditional grazing practices. Under

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(1) Fosbrooke "Some thoughts on socio economic aspects of land planning"; FAO/GOB meeting at Mahalapye 14/2/70.

(2) "Rural Development in Botswana". Government paper No.1 of 1972, para. 17.

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this legislation, Tribal Land Boards were to be established as Conservation Committees, and conservation and stock limitation orders could have been issued.

The 1972 Government paper continued

> "The follow-up to this legislation will be an Agricultural Development Bill which will provide for the establishment of Farmers Associations within defined areas. The association will be empowered to impose such controls or initiate such developments within its own area as may be deemed necessary to prevent the degradation of land or increase production."[2]

That is, there were proposals here for an element of compulsion in order to ensure the conservation of natural resources linked through legislation to responsible area institutions. In the final Agricultural Resources Conservation Act, which was legislated, the control responsibility is vested in Conservation Committees independent of Land Boards in each District. Thus conservation legislation can in theory be applied to an area identified by a District Conservation Committee. However, the Agricultural Development Bill establishing area controlling Farmers Associations was not developed. The 1978 AMA legislation is the nearest follow-up. But as Chapter 11 will reveal, the early concept of a controllable area organisation is still far from being realised.

5.2.2. Intensive Development Associations and the need for adjudication

Around the time of the conservation legislation, IDAs were one possible form of organisation for area control which were being discussed.

In a paper entitled "Suggested addition to the Agricultural Resources Conservation Act to permit the establishment of Intensive Development Associations", Fosbrooke warned of the negative social effects the conservation legislation could have unless accompanied by some attempt to foster amongst farmers the idea of "we" in planning and in participating in decisions, rather than "they" (that is, Government) doing it "for us".

Fosbrooke's particular concern was with implications of fencing communal lands. Fencing had featured since the beginning in the discussion on improved management of the communal grazing area. At the 1970 BDP conference, Dr. Masire had stated, for example

> "... communal fencing should not only be permitted but encouraged. If the people who live in a particular area are willing to co-operate in the erection of fences leading to communally organised grazing control, much larger numbers of cattle may be safely accommodated within a given area. The fencing of demonstration ranches within tribal land is already a good start. It needs to be taken much further, using co-operative principles".

The sort of questions underlying Fosbrooke's concern included practical considerations such as

- to whom does the fence belong?
- who decides where the fence should run?
- who sues whom if fences are wilfully damaged or removed?
- if loans are given, to whom are they given, from whom are repayments collected?

The thinking was that "Intensive Development Associations" could resolve these practical problems if within a framework of a Conservation Planning Area a defined land rights from the Tribal Land Board.

Fosbrooke expressed in more ethical terms the fear that fencing could snowball, "if for no other reason than that everyone wants to secure his grazing rights before someone else grabs them." At the Serowe 'kgotla' in September 1971, 33 out of 36 speakers had apparently favoured the fencing of individual grazing. Fosbrooke saw "possibilities and risks of an enclosure movement."3

To combat such danger and injustice a process of adjudication would be necessary. Fosbrooke noted that such a process was "now possible under the Tribal Land Act" and that it would be essential to adjudicate group rights before investing in fencing.

5.2.3. Kenyan experience in adjudicating boundaries of customary grazing

Kenya had experience in adjudication, mainly in connection with securing individual tenure on arable land, a process which cost the Kenyan Government some £6 million between 1970-1974. Despite the expense, Kenya extended the principles to pastoral development, considering it essential to know who possessed land rights, and then to give corporate legal rights to the group with the land rights. Masai clans were given rights to certain grazing areas, adjudication having established the precise boundaries of land already in their possession under customary tenure.

Following the adjudication procedure, institutional arrangements were established, enabling these groups to control the land given to them. Government could then step in with development loans once it was known precisely to whom money was being loaned.

5.2.4. Tanzanian Ranch Associations

Similar developments were occurring in Tanzania under their Range Development and Management Act 1964. Here Ranch Associations were allocated defined areas of land with by-laws enacted whereby members of the association could control their own affairs both in financial matters and stock limitation.

The Tanzanian legislation was terribly elaborate, but both Tanzania and Kenya regarded the expense in money and manpower justifiable, if not immediately in increased production, then in terms of "the value to the Nation of reversing the process of range deterioration" which "cannot be measured in monetary terms". 4

Tribal Land Boards, Fosbrooke concluded, "must be prepared to allocate blocks of land to groups and leave it to them to sub allocate and control". This is effectively what Chiefs did in the past through the wards and thence to family heads. Fosbrooke suggested "the Management Committee of a land use scheme could be appointed as a sub land authority".

To decide which owner of stock has too many in a given group/area the "only answer is that the group must be clearly defined and the controlling authority." The Committee "must be capable of enforcing discipline amongst its members". This implied by-laws "and the power to punish infringements of those by-laws."

This power was given to the Ranching Associations in Tanzania.

Similarly with loan repayments, the group had "to decide who in the group should pay how much, and the controlling authority empowered to take action. There must be institutional provision for liquidation

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(3) Fosbrooke; "A note on the fencing of grazing; in amplification of CAPO's 'Notes on encouraging some fencing of Tribal Lands' ". 1971.

(4) Seager: "Study Tour of Rangeland Development in Kenya & Tanzania; Rural Sociology Unit; 1975.

if the group as a whole fails to meet its objectives.[5]

5.2.5. Botswana's situation around 1972

Thus it was recognised, around 1972, that Botswana's existing forms of group organisation and legislation were inadequate in comparison with what East African experience showed was required for introducing management and control of communal grazing.

The Tanzanian model was founded upon

i) groups being able to control their members
ii) a higher authority being able to control the groups

In Botswana there were three forms of existing group legislation: Companies, Syndicates and Co-operatives.

Companies had the disadvantage of their profits being taxed before distribution. Syndicates lacked the protection of limited liability and had been very unsuccessful in controlling the number of stock watering at boreholes. It was doubtful whether it was possible or proper for co-operatives to control ecological matters.

Furthermore, as Fosbrooke put it, the IDA modelled on the Tanzanian Ranching Association idea runs contrary to basic co-operative principles in two respects:

i) IDAs must be inclusive, that is, embrace the whole population, whereas co-operatives are selective, that is you volunteer to enter.

ii) Co-operatives could not enforce land use and conservation measures. Such measures as firing contravenors would be contrary to co-operative policy.

The existing civil law could only apply to syndicates or a group granted an exclusive block of grazing land - but "could not encompass whole ward areas". There would be just too many signataries - what would be done with the unco-operative minority?

Fosbrooke suggested that three processes should be simultaneous

i) the production of a conservation plan for an area
ii) adjudication of land rights and the preparation of a lease by Government
iii) the formation of IDAs under the guidance of District Conservation Committees

He even suggested a network analysis should be performed on the overall process.

5.2.6. Was persuasion enough?

The sort of legislation needed, Fosbrooke noted in 1971, should be "persuasive", to stimulate public interest. It should also be "permissive". By this he meant the setting up of a legal framework which would "permit the emergence of groups directly responsible for a particular piece of land empowered to control the use thereof on a sustained yield basis."

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(5) Fosbrooke; "An assessment of the importance of institutions and an institutional framework in development"; paper to conference at University of Natal, Institute for Social Research; Feb. 1972.
(6) Fosbrooke: "Suggested addition to the Agricultural Resources Board Act to permit the establishment of Intensive Development Associations; 1972.

From Tanzanian experience it was recognised though, that a system of group control must contain an element of compulsion. Just as lands regrouping attempts in Lesotho had been frustrated by one or two obstructive farmers, so "if the majority of cultivators or stock owners in an area wish to effect improvements by fencing, contouring etc., their efforts must not be frustrated by a few die-hards who refuse to co-operate".[7] Therefore legislation "must provide that if x% of a local population decide to form an association, that the Ministry....shall approve by-laws which shall apply to all the farmers in the area". The District level supervisory body could then discipline such groups if necessary.

5.2.7. Land use and settlement strategies in 1971/72

It should be of interest to note that the 1971/72 proposals for possible forms of organisation and legislation to empower local bodies to exercise control over the management of communal grazing were put forward in the context also of a comprehensive land use and settlement strategy.

Most of the essential elements of the "new" CAPAD concept were around in 1971. At the March 1971 NRTC meeting on the strategy for "rival development Agricultural legislation" the following points were made:

(i) that land planning was a necessary concomitant - a broad framework required to ensure that development of one holding does not deny access to water to others, or interfere with some other necessary development

(ii) the mass media must be employed to advertise - over and above normal extension

(iii) co-ordination essential if groups are presented with a "package deal" of carrots and controls; for example, if a group undertakes to control stock numbers, location of dwellings, time and type of ploughing, Government will ensure adequate schooling, roads etc. Confidence in the whole scheme will be lost if one promise is broken.

Perhaps the most imaginative strategy was Fosbrooke's "hamlet equation" which he described as a conceptual exercise in settlement. Present settlement strategies seem little further ahead now than the hamlet concept of 1972. The problem was to establish a settlement:

(i) large enough to permit a minimum level of social services; here Fosbrooke included

- a 'kgotla'
- a store, postal agency and phone
- clinic (visited weekly)
- standard IV school (older children could walk to the nearest village)
- a permanent water supply

(ii) small enough to permit daily travel to the lands and the keeping of plough oxen and milk cows adjacent to the lands

He proposed a hexagonal communal area around the hamlet. This is illustrated in table 5(i) below.

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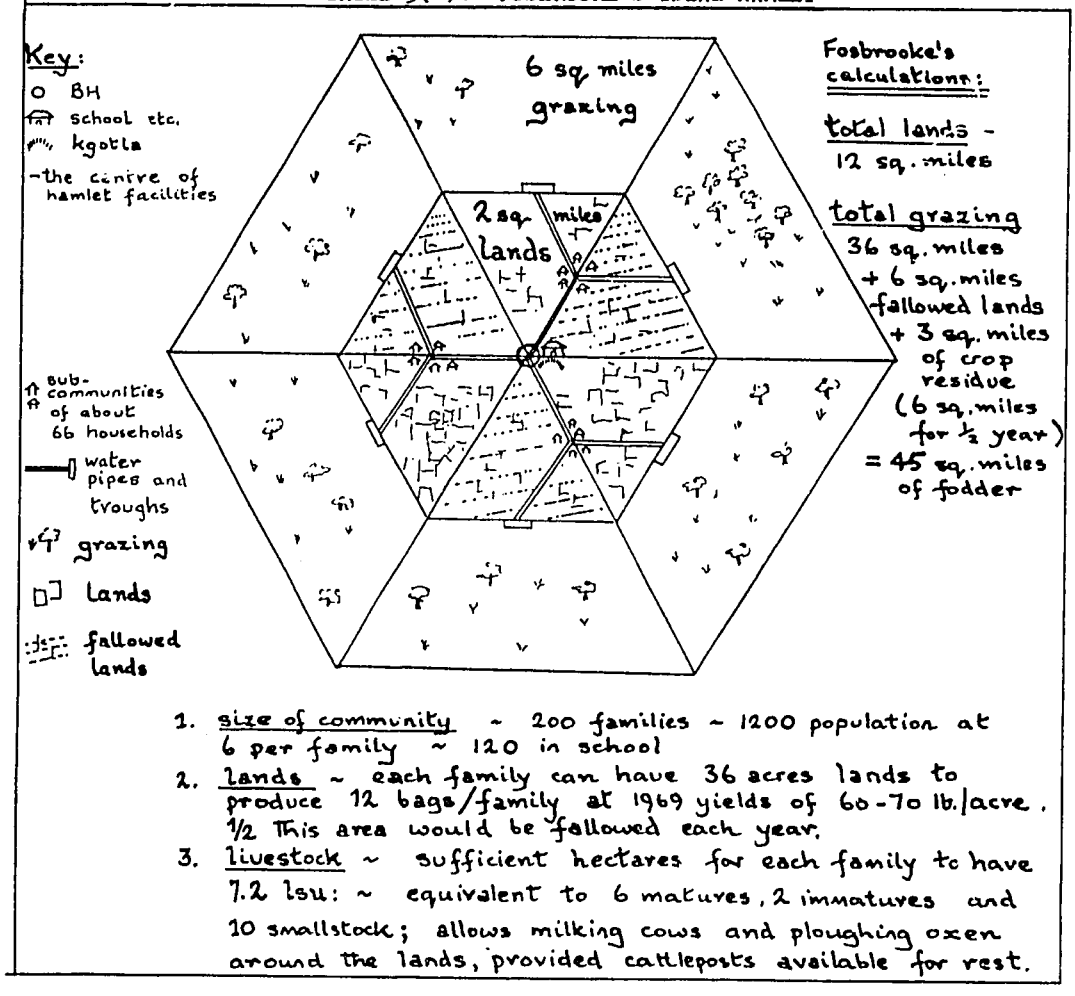
(7) Fosbrooke; "Strategy for Rural Development Agricultural legislation"; NRTC paper; March 1971.

TABLE 5(i): FOSBROOKE'S IDEAL HAMLET



Some of the basic data, yield levels, grazing carrying capacity and other assumptions could be modified now, nearly a decade later, but the basic principles of land use planning and of agricultural development strategy are just as applicable now as then.

The implicit connection between group development in communal areas and technical - land use - settlement strategy was thus keenly perceived around 1971/72.

The group approach was recognised to be the only way to stabilise the ecological position both in arable and pastoral situations. Fosbrooke, again, noted that in arable, "the unorganised patchwork of small holdings mitigates against the application of basic conservation measures such as contour ploughing, grass strips, catchwater drains etc." On the range "the cure of existing ills lies in the control of stock numbers and in improving grazing and other management practices. Such cannot be applied in existing free-for-all conditions. Groups must emerge of defined membership with exclusive rights over defined areas of land".5

Fosbrooke saw the development of hamlets and the management of the communal grazing by Associations as the only, the inevitable, path forward. He saw links between the hamlet concept and the traditional methods of

grazing control by ward heads or overseers ('badisa'). Could not such traditional methods be reinstated in a form suitable to modern conditions?

It has not happened so far, yet the talk now is virtually the same. Were the 1971/72 expectations too dramatic?

In a speech in Molepolole in 1970, the Vice President said

> "We are aiming at evolution,
> not revolution".

Were the hexagonal shapes too revolutionary, or the powers required to be invested in Associations controlling the management of communal grazing? Or were the administrative implications of implementation beyond all capacity?

We shall not reach any conclusions on this until the end of the report.

5.3. THE REPORT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT BY CHAMBERS AND FELDMAN

The next major influence was the report on Rural Development by Chambers & Feldman. A myriad of perceptive insights into and recommendations on rural development policy options were made in this report, almost all of which are as starkly relevant now as in 1973.

The sections on Land Development policy in the eastern tribal lands (41) and on organisation and management at the village level and below (71) still provide the best available overview of the issues in communal area development.

The policy choices relating to land tenure and use were, as the report put it, "the most difficult facing Government in the field of rural development."

5.3.1. Land use planning to safeguard all interests

Their deepest concern was the speed at which rural society was moving towards a "more marked and rigid stratification" with wealth increasingly concentrated in those already having it while those less well off "were losing chances of future prosperity and even perhaps of livelihood" (41.10). The trends towards commercialization, particularly in the livestock industry, could affect the 'mafisa' system and other traditional redistributive dependency relationships.

Their anxiety was for the future stability of Botswana. "The decisions immediately facing Government about land policy" they wrote, "are decisions about the future economic structure of rural society. "The accelerating rush on cattlepost land and the acquisition by individuals and syndicates of Council boreholes (mostly drilled in the 1960s for drought relef) would "prevent the future development of potential mixed farming which could support a much larger human population". (41.18).

Land use planning was therefore considered an imperative measure. The policy "should attempt to make provision.... for mixed farming (i.e. livestock and arable) for those households unlikely to find an adequate livelihood in other ways". (41.30) There was a clear recommendation of priority to mixed farming over cattleposts in land use policy. Another recommendation was to reserve ranching land for the upward mobility of those with aptitude who had not yet entered commercial livestock management.

Their recommendations formed the basis of Government's National Policy on Rural Development (Paper No.2 of 1973). The policies on land development later evolved into the TGLP. Many of these have direct bearing

on groups and communal area management, as it was in 1973 that a number of basic concepts became policy as opposed to mere discussion. For example, fencing was to be allowed for groups in communal areas and commercial farming areas, with subsidies to be considered (National Policy para.56).

In line with their concern for the development of a just rural society through what was to become TGLP, many warnings were given as to how Government should strive to guide and control the delicate land use planning adjudication and development process. Essentially it would require "political will and personal commitment.. at all levels of government" (41.31) to ensure that what would have to be a "slow, partial" process, due to Government's limited administrative resources, should not be "subverted by the richer, better informed...for their own benefit to the deeper impoverishment of the poorer, less well informed, less influential members of the community" (41.35).

The fear, in other words, was that if land was planned, adjudicated and allocated on a piecemeal basis, it could allow enclosure by those quicker off the mark.

Interestingly they forecast correctly that Government would concentrate initially on commercial areas, advising that this could allow the "slower building-up of administrative capacity to handle (the) operation... in the mixed farming and communal areas" (41.35). This would depend upon Land Boards being "able, within the framework of land use plans, to exercise responsible and effective control over allocations in the mixed farming and communal areas".

5.3.2. The form of communal organisation

Government considered that the protection of the interests of the majority rural population was not only a function of the land use planning exercise, but also of the form of subsequent communal organisation.

As we have seen, thought had already been given to this by Government. Intensive Development Associations were one proposal which by 1973 appeared to have been setswana-ised into "Makgotla a tlhabololo ya temo" presumably for more popular consumption outside Ministry conference rooms.

The UNDP research programmes at Shoshong had also come up with suggestions for settlement, rehabilitation of abandoned lands, co-operative finishing ranches and group or association ranches, the latter on the East African model.

Planning of what was to become the Village Area Development Programme was also underway in the Western State Lands. Chambers and Feldman expressed serious doubts over aspects of the proposals here for a "village Area Authority" set up under new legislation to control grazing practices and livestock numbers within the village area. In what was almost a microcosm of the future national level TGLP, the plan for the ten WSL villages was to encourage the removal of larger herds out to commercial ranches, leaving the VAAs responsible for village area development. Here fenced grazing and livestock management would be encouraged on a communal basis and also on parts of the village area demarcated to syndicates. One of the VAA's powers was to be control of stock numbers although as Chambers and Feldman observed "the crucial question of how (each holder's) rights would be assessed) - i.e. to a quota or livestock limit - had not been specified (42.6).

The extent to which the local population really understood the implications of all that was proposed was a big question mark. The proposals represented total transformation. Stock limitation, as Chambers and Feldman observed, was "not merely anathema to the people - but also incomprehensible since they see their problem, surrounded as they are by

vast areas of pasture, as lack of water and not lack of grazing". Far from there having been a long period of careful discussion between Government and the villagers and a joint preparation of proposals "the villagers are subject to a series of short visits by strange people from outside who make it clear that some big change in their way of life is in the wind but who do not stay long enough for the villagers to be able properly to grasp what is proposed and certainly not for them to be able to contribute their own ideas of what should be done". (42.13).

The changes were all the more radical in view of the socio-political context. VDCs in the areas were weak or non-existent; other modern organisations, such as the Kuli-Nojane Co-operative, were imperfectly understood and difficult to manage; the 'kgotla' functioned as the forum for discussion and sanction, but villagers had "a tradition of less deference to the headman than is usual in Eastern Botswana" (42.10).

Chambers and Feldman perceived that the removal of the herds, and thus the economic interests of the larger owners, could effect a withdrawal of their commitment and leadership and weaken the village's rather limited capacity for collective action.

Another possible form of communal organisation seriously considered at the time by Government were the VDCs. Their role could "include regulation of farming practices and in particular the control of grazing on communal land."[8]

Chambers and Feldman's conclusions here are of special interest. They noted a number of factors making VDCs unsuitable on the whole for this wider role:

- they were created for, and suitable for, handling affairs concerning the village as a gathered community
- their membership reflected the voluntary organisations in the village rather than the farming interests in the surrounding area
- the lands and cattlepost areas of different villages often intermingled
- VDCs were liable to represent more those favouring more permanent residence in lands and cattlepost areas
- VDCs did not function in all villages and where they did function were not always very effective

It was recognised, however, that in situations where VDCs were strong and representative of the village as a whole (not just the instrument of a faction within the village) and where the communal land of the village was clearly definable, then the VDC could be effective as a forum for discussion of land policy and even act as a provisional management committee for developments.

The national policy in Government Paper No.2 of 1973 thus stated in Section 109 that

> "VDCs will not as a general policy be given powers by legislation to include the regulation of farming practices and the control of grazing on communal land".

In section 78 the policy on forms of organisation at village level and below was expanded thus:

> "...at the lands areas where VDCs are not appropriate, new organisations will be created to cater for other interests, e.g. Farmers' Associations".

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(8) Terms of reference for Chambers and Feldman.

5.3.3. Communal area organisation proposed by Chambers and Feldman

It should be evident by now that Government in the early 1970s was casting about rather at random for suitable systems of communal area management.

The problem was that the objectives were in reality formidable considering the administrative capacity of Government and the managerial capacity of the rural population.

How and where should a start be made? Who would the participants be? Would the entire community have to be involved or could the progressive be allowed to go ahead in areas where they already had customary rights? As exclusive rights to the use of land was a prerequisite for its improved management, if the progressive were able to establish themselves first over parts of the communal land, how could the interests of the remaining majority be safeguarded?

In an effort to provide some sort of framework to substitute for their somewhat arbitrary groupings of Government, Chambers and Feldman in some useful guidelines showed that the selection of appropriate organisational institutes had to be intricately connected to the land use planned for an area.

Forms of organisation could then be fitted into a classification.

What organisation was appropriate depended upon whether the land development was to be:

- partial, i.e. on just part of the land area
- total, i.e. involving all of the land

Furthermore, organisational forms could be restricted to just some of the local people (closed membership), or it could involve all the community (open membership).

For political reasons it is obvious that any total system has also to be open. Thus there are in reality three options:

- closed partial
- open partial
- open total

The advantages and problems with examples of each are discussed fully by Chambers and Feldman in Sections 71.14 through to 71.22. Examples of closed partial systems are syndicates, dam committees and group ranches on the Kenyan model. Co-operative finishing ranches would be open partial. The 'Makgotla a tlhabololoya temo' (IDASs) would be open partial.

Chambers and Feldman recommended that Government pressed ahead "deliberately with a range of different approaches in order to gain experience and in the meantime, through the land use planning exercise, reserving land so that options are maintained for the future for implementing whatever forms of management are eventually preferred". (71.23)

As there existed a few initiatives to start from, Chambers and Feldman recommended seizing such opportunities to try to develop local organisations, specifically

- the UNDP follow-up in Shoshong
- the ranch proposed by The Serowe Farmers Brigade and the Mabeleapudi VDC (potentially a partial open community controlled grazing and livestock management project)
- dam committees
- co-operative ranches (e.g. Mokaleng)
- the VADP
- Rankoromane, the fenced grazing area for the Bamalete near Otse (a former freehold ranch)

5.4. GOVERNMENT'S 1973 POLICY CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of Chambers' and Feldman's recommendations in paper number 2, 1973, Government policy became as follows:

"109: A range of different forms of organisations and approaches at village level and below will be carefully explored in order to gain experience.

"110. Regarding organisations dealing with Land Use and Management, the following approaches will be adopted -

a) where land is relatively abundant a beginning will be made with a modern land tenure system involving only part of the communal land in a particular area and members of the community will be allowed to decide freely whether they wish to participate or not.

b) where there is a shortage of communal grazing and heavy pressure upon it, an approach involving the whole of the grazing land in that area will have to be adopted, but care will be taken to avoid one section of the population taking over all or part of the area for its exclusive use in the name of the community as a whole.

"111: It is intended to simultaneously pursue a variety of approaches to land use which will take different forms and involve a high degree of democratic local participation.

"112: It will be one of the duties of the Government Rural Sociologist to monitor the different experiments in land use and management."

5.5. A CLOSER LOOK AT EXPERIENCE IN EAST AFRICA

One might call 1973-1974 the design period for initial experimental attempts to implement the new policy ideals.

Fosbrooke's successor as Rural Sociologist - Andrew Seager - was sent to East Africa in 1974 to report on the Kenyan and Tanzanian experiences with group ranching. He visited company, co-operative and group ranches.

The initial thrust of two group ranches in Kenya was with the water development and building of dipping facilities, moving on to firebreaks and the introduction of grazing systems. One important difference from the Botswana situation was that as all cattle were closely herded in Masai custom, no fencing was needed. Seager noted that stock limitation was unsuccessful when it was left to members to devise means of adhering to area stocking rates. The authorities (Kenya's Range Management Division and Agricultural Finance Corporation) therefore exercised control through quotas set according to family size at an adequate subsistence level. Destocking by owners on a percentage basis was required if the carrying capacity was exceeded.

Seager noted that the group ranch management was in the hands of its committee and a foreman with a year's training, but was in practice dependent on the Range Management extension officer posted as advisor.

In Tanzania the ujamaa ranch associations had involved "villagization" - the relocation of Masai dwellings into new settlements with grazing next to the village reserved for milk cattle. But Seager observed

little progress in implementing grazing control:

> "It has apparently been much easier to organise ranch associations with the limited staff available than it has to ensure that they continue to function as institutions and as a result there has been little positive leadership from within them."[4]

Kenya was more organised and experienced than Tanzania in developing the management system to enable people unsophisticated in the ways of modern business management to succeed. Whereas in Tanzania record-keeping was poor and instances of misappropriation of group funds common, in Kenya an advanced, efficient accountancy, engineering and centralized buying service was provided to the groups by the Allied Service Company. Thus annual cash flow estimates were prepared a year in advance and facilities like water supplies and firebreaks could be introduced at minimum cost.

Seager concluded that the key to success was level of management.

The Kenyan ranches were managed by graduates in range management from Edgerton College for which 'A' level was the minimum entry standard. Assistant Managers had two years training beyond 'O' level. This level of management was required for ranches with 8% interest loans, but the ranches were big enough to be able to afford the cost of management. No fencing costs were involved, as they would be in Botswana.

5.6. THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS

By 1973-1974 Botswana had had the benefit of several years of policy formulation, input of consultancy guidance and the opportunity for direct observation of experience elsewhere in Africa.

The policy commitments made were of a very broad nature with an experimental approach built in.

The experience of two experimental projects, the Village Area Development Programme and the Range and Livestock Management Project, have most direct bearing on the evolution of the groups and communal area development approach. The various other opportunities to experiment suggested by Chambers and Feldman seemed to get missed.

This may have been due to the disproportionate amount of effort devoted to the planning and implementation of the VADP, RLMP and Livestock Project I, and to the early drafting of TGLP all of which were occurring simultaneously. Possibly more significant, the composition of policymakers at that time, particularly in the Ministry of Agriculture, was heavily biassed towards expatriate planners and technicians concerned with the achievement of technological objectives and less sensitive to socio-political issues. With 1974 an election year, the rest of Government, particularly MLGL, was heavily committed to the ARDP.

The time between Chambers' and Feldman's sensitive recommendations and the drafting of the TGLP was thus little over one year.

The policy of careful exploration in order to gain experience (paragraph 108 of the 1973 Government Paper) had thus scarcely been started when attention was diverted again mainly by the expatriate technicians to the details of livestock and grazing land development policy.

Thus, despite the emphasis in the Chambers and Feldman report, it was not until after the massive launch of TGLP in mid-1976 that, with the synthesis of the group development programme, there began to be appreciation of a concept which recognised the relevance of the until then

unrelated separate contributions of dam groups, co-operatives, Farmers Associations, VDCs and the like, and the broader complex sociological processes involved in the technological changes.

5.6.1. The Village Area Development Programme

What happened to the group ranching component of VADP amply justified the doubts expressed by Chambers and Feldman in the planning stages.

In her evaluation, five years later in 1978, Marcia Odell[9] describes the grand concept as having been "totally unrealistic given the absence of experience in Botswana in such a complex endeavour". (5.02).

VADP was designed around 1972 and finally launched in April 1975. The plan was for roughly four boreholes to be drilled near each of the ten villages. The implementation schedule, as Marcia Odell vividly puts it, was then

> "the monumental task...of co-ordinating and assisting in the establishment of not one, or two, but forty group ranches within a four-year span, throughout one of Botswana's most remote, inaccessible, isolated and underdeveloped areas".

Odell points out that the objective of developing 40 ranches was unrealistic, and that commitment from the Government Departments whose input we now recognise as absolutely crucial to the formation and management of group ranches was minimal or even non-existent.

The warnings of East African experience went unobserved. Botswana's manpower situation prevented the posting of any extension staff to support the group ranch programme whereas SIDA, the donor agency, had recommended the equally totally unrealistic figure of 20 ADs and Community Development type workers. Thus "the most critical ingredient of all - close and careful consultation with the villagers.... the heart of the group effort.... was left to little more than chance". (5.02, 5.10).

No-one knew how to proceed. All the institutions which should have been involved were ill equipped from the strategic point of view to mount a group effort. Roles were not clearly defined. Assumptions were made without any basis of experience to justify them - e.g. that existing institutions like VDCs, Land Board, Co-operatives etc. would propel the project forward (5.04). The slow and laborious efforts to develop co-operatives at Neujane and Tshane were apparently not seen as connected to what the group ranching process was likely to involve (5.12).

5.6.2. The Range and Livestock Management Project

The RLMP was launched in early 1974 with the arrival of a highly specialised team of six USAID technicians, to be based in Gaborone, supporting the Ministry of Agriculture, Divisions of Animal Production, Land Utilisation and Agricultural Research. They included a Senior Livestock and Range Management Specialist, a Range Management Extension Training Officer, a Livestock Production Specialist, a Surface Water Land Use Engineer, a Range Agronomist and a Data Processing Technician.

The purpose of the project was

> "to develop through systems research, replicable groups, small stockholder range and livestock management systems which are socially acceptable and economically viable".

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(9) Marcia Odell; "Village Area Development Programme. A Review and Evaluation of an Experiment in Integrated Rural Development". Oct. 1978.

Ultimately it was hoped that the feasible systems would be replicated "throughout small livestock holder areas" by the Botswana Government with further external assistance.

A fundamental assumption was the technological expectation of being able to achieve significantly higher livestock productivity from the range, on a sustainable basis, by the introduction of APRU's "reasonably acceptable levels of management" (known to extension staff as RALOM). However, the RLMP document recognized that

> "The technical knowledge for an enormous increase in livestock production exists, provided that the problems of social organisation can be solved." [10]

The RLMP proposed to test out various types of organisational approach to communal or group ranching, some of which USAID had been involved with in East Africa. The suggestions included a co-operative ranch, a group ranch, a communal co-operative ranch and communal grazing reserve.

It was hoped that the combination of the existing legislation of the Tribal Land Act, Agricultural Resources Conservation Act and Co-operative law would cover the group systems proposed.

A more modest target was set than VADP's 40 group ranches. RLMP was to concentrate on three areas during the first 4 years of the project, expanding to fifteen by the end of 7 years if the prototypes were successful. The initial pilot areas were to represent three different environmental/socio-economic situations found in Botswana - i.e.

1) Major land use crops, livestock production secondary
2) Livestock primary, crop production secondary
3) Livestock production the sole or major land use

The first situation was to be typical of the heavily populated eastern communal areas, where most herds are small and utilised for draft and milk supply. The second was to be on the fringe between such extreme communal situations and the more open cattlepost country. The third was more likely to be a western sandveld situation.

By the end of 1974, after looking at several possible sites, three had been selected. Two were in Central Region, at Thabala and Tsetsejwe. The third, near Sekhuma pan in Western Ngwaketse, was one of several sites reserved by the Ngwaketse Land Board for groups in a pilot demarcation exercise which was quietly going on for what was to become Southern District's future commercial zone under TGLP. This last group became the Selebalo ranch.

Further detail on the experience with these three pilot group/communal ranching projects will be provided in the later chapters on group ranching and communal grazing and livestock management (Chapters 11 and 13).

The RLMP was not a positive success. Selebalo, as is well known, has been a most disappointing experience, both in terms of the collapse of the ranch physically and of the disintegration of most of the group socially and organisationally.

Thabala and Tsetsejwe never ever progressed physically at all. In Tsetsejwe the RLMP technicians' approach of attempting, from Gaborone, to implant a total communal ranch co-operative ranch system into the community came drastically unstuck by early 1976, as factionalism based on tribal lines split the proposed group and exposed the membership's complete lack of comprehension of the technical, financial and organisational realities of the project.

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(10) RLMP PROP. page 28.

The RLMP's initial proposal for Thabala was to set up a group ranch to the west of the village's communal area for the benefit of the cattle owning section of the community. This was in complete contrast to advice from the Rural Sociologist:

> "Thabala would appear to be largely dependent on arable agriculture for its livelihood and for a majority of the population dependent upon livestock sharing systems to obtain its draft power. Any development of the area must take this into account if a large portion of the community is not to become impoverished with the commercialisation of cattle production for beef."[11]

In paragraph 10, the Rural Sociologist warned that

> "the larger number of families with no livestock also indicates that any scheme which does not take into account the arable needs of the community is likely to meet the opposition of the majority of the Thabala community. This may not occur in the discussion stages if the population does not fully understand the wider implications of any proposed project, but would be likely to occur in the implementation phase."

In paragraph 22, the Rural Sociologist concluded

> "...it is unlikely that a purely beef oriented project would gain the support of the majority.... It is therefore suggested that Thabala might be suitable for a partial development at the different lands areas".

The sequence of events up to mid 1976 is fully recorded in Ministry files mainly by reports by the then RAO in Serowe. In short, there was indeed opposition to the RLMP group ranch proposal. Both the Thabala Farmers Committee and local extension staff recognised by around September 1975 that, in the light of the TGLP which had just been released, RLMP should be directing its attention towards a more comprehensive strategy, to benefit more of the farming majority actually inside Thabala's true communal area. Alternative priorities were proposed locally which included enclosure fencing of lands areas and, in the communal grazing between, water and other limited basic livestock and range management developments.

For a number of reasons it proved beyond the Ministry of Agriculture to attempt the locally devised approach. The proposals were difficult to justify economically. What economic benefits would result from the fencing of the lands? Essentially, although the community wanted it, Ministry Headquarters was not geared for anything as imaginative and experimental. Even the co-ordination necessary to solicit expert opinion on the crops side, and produce a feasible plan proved more than the Ministry could manage, and was certainly more than the combined skills of the RLMP team could cope with.

The Thabala project was thus simply abandoned.

The failure of the original RLMP was not so much a failure in its design as in its execution. The project document written in 1973 incorporated almost all the features one could have hoped for. It was fully aware and up to date on national rural development policy. The concern was for Botwana's long term stability through ensuring livelihoods on a sustained basis for the rural population of small livestock owners. The roles of different local and higher institutions were noted, and the need for co-ordination recognised. The input of Government's Rural Sociologist on a

(11) Report on the Sociological Survey of the Thabala area. 5/75, para.9.

third to half-time basis was committed to the RLMP to ensure "that the systems developed reflect the wishes of the small stockholders." There was evidence of considerable vision, and of understanding of Botswana's rural situation on the schemes to be tried, areas to be selected and in the approach recommended:

> "The systems.... may take time to ascertain, but all concerned must realise that excess speed in formulating systems (perhaps due to pressure for achievement) might have high subsequent costs if stockholders do not fully understand what is happening or are not fully committed." [12]

Ironically, lack of commitment, lack of understanding and contradiction of local wishes were precisely the main factors behind the collapse of the project in the three areas. Essentially, the failures were the result of inadequate care in either consultation or land use planning.

The minutes of the Ministry of Agriculture Policy Committee meeting of 10.8.76 explain what was learned:

> "The team met serious problems in group formation in all project sites as there were not sufficient resources within the team to deal effectively with the complexities of group formation, and it was unrealistic to expect that the part-time participation of the Rural Sociologist could sort them out. In addition, there was a general problem with a top-down approach which offered package ranch-development rather than worked to develop suitable models within and from the concerned communities."

In view of these conclusions and the recommendations of the 1976 USAID Evaluation, which came out at the same time, it was decided to make a radical amendment of RLMP, not in terms of aims or objectives, but in approach and method of execution.

The RLMP amended purpose thus became

> "<u>to institutionalise the processes by which</u> replicable economically and socially viable smallholder community <u>groups</u> and communal operations <u>can be encouraged and supported</u> so as to ensure the use of land resources in manners intended to protect the resource base and improve rural income....(specifically of) .... smallholders". (underlining added).

In order to be able to facilitate group formation processes more effectively, Regionally based Group Development Officers were recommended. The exact institutional set up will be described in Chapter 7 below.

Perhaps the best summary of the value of RLMP to Botswana is a note from a senior Motswana in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, commenting on the Amendment in May 1977:

> "At last some lessons have been learnt about the society of Botswana and consequently we are now directing ourselves to the <u>root</u> of the problem which is 'how do we go about encouraging group formation?' ".

5.7. THE ENTRANCE OF THE TRIBAL GRAZING LAND POLICY

The experience of VADP and RLMP had now been added to the years of

(12) RLMP PROP. page 30.

discussion and the consultancy inputs on communal grazing management. The complexities involved had been vividly brought to light by VADP and RLMP.

As a result a new approach to the problems was being worked out in the Ministry of Agriculture. This came to be called the gradualist extension approach, and it is discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

TGLP then made an entrance, but it was drafted before the mechanisms of communal area management had been rigorously dealt with and so no details on this could be incorporated into the policy. The sections in TGLP on communal areas, the references to groups, added little to existing ideas although group and communal action was enshrined in the TGLP as the way by which small farmers would participate and benefit from it both in the commercial and in the communal areas. This theme is expanded on in chapters 11 and 13. In a sense, therefore, the publicity for TGLP in June/July 1976 came too early. The massive and dramatic Radio Learning Campaign exposed extension staff and farmers to rural development policy as never before, but the lack of detail resulted in the expression of a lot of public doubt with regard to the communal areas.

This situation is illustrated by the following quotations. The first quotation is Section 7 of the Popular Version of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, which contains the only details on syndicates that were provided:

> "One of the aims of setting up commercial farming areas is to encourage and help groups of small owners to start ranches.
>
> A role for the commercial areas is that <u>a way will be worked out for groups</u> or syndicates of farmers to get leases for commercial land.
>
> And in communal areas also, groups of small owners will be allowed to join together and fence the land that is given to them.
>
> <u>The Ministry of Agriculture is working out how best to form these groups</u> of small cattle owners. A few groups will be tried out in different parts of Botswana. People will be told how to copy the ones that work well.
>
> People often ask, "How will groups be formed?" or, "What kind of groups will be allowed?" <u>But Government cannot yet give simple answers</u> to these questions. We do not yet have any examples of groups in Botswana that have been tested and proved to work well. We will discover what kinds of groups are best, and what is the best way to form them from trial groups being started in 1975 and 1976.
>
> But there are two simple rules for all syndicates:
>
> All members must have a fair chance for their cattle to feed on the syndicate's land.
> The total number of cattle kept by the syndicate must not be more than the grazing land and water can support.
>
> Here are some more good rules for successful syndicates.
> All the syndicate's animals must be looked after in the same way, as one herd. This may be easiest if there is a management committee in the syndicate. They will decide what animals shall be sold, which are used as bulls, where they graze, when they are sprayed, and similar things. The costs should be shared fairly." (underlining added).

The second quotation is from the "Preliminary report on the public consultation on national policy on tribal grazing land" and focusses on the doubts of the small man with regard to groups:

> "How the small man can benefit from TGLP was a main theme of RLG questions. The study materials and the radio programmes proposed group formation in a very general sense as one means by which the smaller livestock owner could benefit from TGLP. It is not surprising that the RLGs seemed unsure of what specific mechanisms might be used to start and run livestock groups. There was some frank refusal to work in groups but considerable uncertainty as to what would happen in a group if
>
> a. participants don't get along;
>
> b. someone refuses to pay his dues or provide his labour;
>
> c. participants have different numbers and types of stock,
>
> d. a powerful member manipulates a group."

In summary, then, all the public gleaned from the RLG was that the Government proposed to give small farmers the opportunity for growth in the livestock industry: how this could happen was only vaguely presented.

Apart from the lack of clarity in strategy for group development, two other problem areas appeared as a result of the public consultation, viz. stock limitation and hired management. In the terminal report of the FAO TGLP co-ordinator, Jenesse, we read:

> "Government took note of these concerns. The TGLP White Paper had stated: 'Each Land Board will say how many livestock units may be kept by one person, family or group on various communal land areas. Those who exceed the maximum allowed should move to commercial farming areas'. (Para. 40(a)). Following the consultation, Government at central and district levels re-examined the stock limit assertion. No administratively feasible and democratically acceptable means could be found to create such limits in the commonage and the idea was dropped."

So, ironically, at this stage, TGLP had not furthered very significantly the process of introducing a solution to communal grazing management.

Rural sociology surveys of 1976-77 continued to emphasize the public reaction. Many doubts and misconceptions were expressed. Some of those were highlighted by the then RAO of Central District, Willett, in "Survey by Rural Sociology Unit: Attitudes to TGLP" in January 1978 and included:

- the fear of future land shortage because private commercial ranches could occupy too much land, while farmers unable to participate now might well be left with areas of reserved land which are in fact too small for them, as well as for future generations
- group ranching is not feasible because people are unable to co-operate at this level; repayment of loans when members have different numbers of cattle in a project was foreseen as a particular problem; the feeling was that the rich, on the other hand, will develop quickly because they are independent
- people feared developments in the sandveld because of lack of facilities, arable land and trees for fence poles, because of the expense of moving and living there, the danger from lions and noxious weeds and

the threat of drought, and not least because of the resulting separation from the arable land - how will draft power be supplied to this land when other family members are so far away?

- The livestock unit limits were unacceptable: cattle are traditionally kept for security not income, and selling must not be forced; it was feared Government might force the sale of cattle when communal areas are overstocked as all the land is taken up by ranches.

The Radio Learning Group Campaign may have been a phenomenal success in logistic terms, and as Jenesse said, was

> "probably unique in the history of pastoral development programmes anywhere in the world in terms of coverage and depth of genuine dialogue between Government and Citizen".

but many in the rural areas did not feel happy, positive or confident about the proposals.

Since the RLGC on TGLP,has a strategy emerged for the communal areas? Have people's doubts and anxieties been relieved? What further progress has been made? We will return to these questions in discussing the group effort in ranching and in the concluding part of this report. In the meantime, the next chapter tries to explain the gradualist extension approach more precisely and a synthesis of the GDO programme is provided.

5.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 5

5.1. Overgrazing in the communal areas

In the early 1970s various documents were published by the Botswana Government which recognised the need for community management of communal areas in order to cope with the problems caused by overgrazing.

5.2. What were the early proposals for communal grazing management and control?

5.2.1. A Bill in 1972 suggested legislation for Conservation Committees with power to limit stock, and Farmers Associations with power to impose controls to prevent overgrazing. The Act which followed set up Conservation Committees but not Farmers Associations. The concept of a controllable area organisation was not realised.

5.2.2. Intensive Development Associations were discussed as a possible organisation for area control. Fosbrooke warned of the need for farmer involvement in planning, and showed concern about fencing communal lands, raising questions of ownership, the fence line, fence damage and loans. IDAs could be used to solve these practical problems. Fosbrooke also feared that fencing could precipitate a land grab and pointed out the need for adjudication.

5.2.3. Kenyan experience was that adjudication was vital if new land rights were to be properly established, so that area development could go ahead.

5.2.4. Similarly, Tanzanian Ranch Associations legislated to give members control over their own affairs. Both Kenya and Tanzania found the cost of their programmes was justified by a halt in range deterioration.

Fosbrooke argued that Botswana must empower groups to have the same authority over their land.

5.2.5. Around 1972 it was recognised that existing group legislation in Botswana, which dealt with Companies, Syndicates and Co-operatives, was inadequate. None was suited to cope with the new objectives. Fosbrooke suggested that conservation plans, land rights adjudication and the formation of IDAs should take place simultaneously in individual areas.

5.2.6. Once a certain percentage of the local population agree to form an association, legislation must compel others to abide by the by-laws. Otherwise the majority's efforts could be frustrated by a few farmers.

5.2.7. Proposals for organisations to deal with the communal areas were put forward in the context of land use and settlement strategies. Water development, communications and social services were seen as necessary. Fosbrooke proposed an "ideal hamlet".

In both pastoral and arable areas the group approach was seen as the only way to effect conservation.

Perhaps the proposals were too dramatic, for no major changes have taken place and current talks are along the same lines.

5.3. What was the contribution of the Chambers and Feldman report?

This important report made many recommendations which are still relevant.

5.3.1. Chambers and Feldman were concerned that rural society was rapidly polarizing, with wealth concentrating in the hands of a few people and opportunities diminishing for the rural majority to maintain a reasonable livelihood. Land use planning was essential. Two important recommendations were priority to mixed farming and reserving ranching land. Many of the Chambers' and Feldman's concepts became Government policy in 1973.

The report warned that great care would be needed to prevent rapid enclosure by the "better informed" at the expense of the poorer members of the community. Starting in the commercial areas could allow the build up of administrative capacity sufficient to deal with communal areas.

5.3.2. Government also saw the form of communal organisation as important in safeguarding the interests of the rural majority. IDAs were under discussion. UNDP in Shoshong had some suggestions. Village Area Authorities were proposed from work in the Western State Lands. Large herds were to be moved to commercial areas and VAAs left in control of communal fenced grazing. Chambers and Feldman noted several difficulties. These concerned individual livestock limits, lack of real consultation with the villagers and hence confusion about the aims of the proposals, weak VDCs, a traditionally weak headman and the lack of involvement on the part of large cattle owners.

The role of VDCs was also considered. Chambers and Feldman noted several points against VDCs, though it was recognised that in certain cases they could act as effective places for discussion. National policy was against giving VDCs legislative powers.

5.3.3. Since there were no clear conclusions on a suitable form of communal area organisation, Chambers and Feldman proposed some guidelines. They related the organisation to the land use planned for an area. That is, if it was partial or total. According to membership type, organisations could then be closed partial, open partial or open total. It was recommended that different types or organisations were all pursued so that a choice could finally be made on the basis of real experience.

5.4. What were Government's policy conclusions in 1973?

Government policy conclusions were that different forms of communal area organisation would be explored; that with regard to Land Use and Management a start would be made with a modern land tenure system, but extent and participation would depend on the relative abundance of grazing land; that democratic local participation would be involved in approaches to land use, and that the Rural Sociologist would monitor the different experiments.

5.5. More learnt from East Africa

In a visit to East Africa, the Rural Sociologist noted that Kenyan ranch schemes depended in practice on Government extension divisions, rather than on group member control. Tanzanian ranch associations had been set up but were not functioning well. Management in Kenya was more successful than that in Tanzania. Seager concluded that level of management was the key to success.

5.6. What were the results of experiments in Botswana?

Only two experimental projects were useful in formulating a groups approach. The other opportunities to experiment cited by Chambers and Feldman were missed, perhaps due to preoccupation within the Ministry with other matters and the large number of expatriate planners concerned more with technological than with socio-political issues. The importance of the socio-political issues was not fully realised until 1976.

5.6.1. The experience of VADP was negative. The proposal to develop 40 ranches in a remote area was too large to tackle. There was not enough manpower and the Government Departments and institutions which should have backed the effort were not equipped to do so. There was no real consultation with villagers.

5.6.2. The second experimental project was the RLMP, supported by USAID personnel. The aim was to develop small stockholder ranches which could be replicated throughout Botswana. Three sites were selected, each representing a typical socio-economic environment. None of the ranches was a success. Selebalo collapsed completely; Thabala and Tsetsejwe never properly began. In Thabala the community could not accept the RLMP proposals, but the Ministry was not in a position to implement the community's proposals. On the whole however, the failure of RLMP was a result of poor execution rather than poor design. Consultation and land use planning were not adequate. Group formation proved too complex for the team to deal with. The RLMP was given an amended purpose, that is,to institutionalize the encouragement of groups. Group Development Officers were recommended.

5.7. Public reaction to the TGLP

The Tribal Grazing Land Policy was introduced and given massive publicity by a Radio Learning Campaign in mid 1976. It contained insufficient detail, however, particularly on groups, and this resulted in much public doubt. Small farmers were worried about how they would benefit from TGLP, and how groups would work in the face of uneven resources and personality clashes. The public was also concerned about stock limitation. Government was unable to provide a solution to this problem. Fears were expressed about possible land shortage for the small farmer if large farmers had private ranches, the difficulty for groups of small farmers getting ahead as quickly as the independent rich man and the problems of living in the sandveld. The RLGC was an example of successful dialogue between Government and people, but there was a conspicuous lack of confidence in the proposals.

CHAPTER 6: THE SYNTHESIS OF GOVERNMENT'S "GRADUALIST EXTENSION APPROACH" TO TGLP IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS EMERGENCE AS THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

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6.1. THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRADUALIST EXTENSION APPROACH: A SUMMARY

6.2. AWARENESS OF THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON GROUPS

6.3. THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT MEMORANDUM ON GROUP AND RANCH DEVELOPMENT

6.4. PROGRESS IN THABALA

6.5. REACTION TO THE THABALA STRATEGY

6.6. HOW THE STRATEGY WAS ADOPTED

6.6.1. Training of field staff

6.6.2. Group legislation; the unsuitability of Co-operatives

6.6.3. Provision of sources of funding for small projects

6.7. SOME OTHER RELEVANT EVENTS

6.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AP	Animal Production
CAPAD	Communal Area Planning and Development
CDCC	Central District Conservation Committee
CODEC	Co-operative Development Centre
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DDC	District Development Committee
FA	Farmers Association
FC	Farmers Committee
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RDU	Rural Development Unit
RECC	Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee
RLG	Radio Learning Group
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SCC	Short Course Centre
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VADP	Village Area Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee

6.1. THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRADUALIST EXTENSION APPROACH: A SUMMARY

1976 was a year of reappraisal followed by a radical change in approach to group development. It is not necessary to explore the background to this change in detail as it is already familiar. The account of how the group development programme emerged in its present form will therefore be brief.

It is easiest, perhaps, to start with a crude summary and then fill in the gaps. Essentially, what happened was the formulation of a "gradualist extension approach" to TGLP implementation in the communal areas. This approach conceived the process of the development of range and livestock management in communal areas as incremental - steps should be taken in the form of projects which the community or group could manage. Since most of the group activities were agricultural, virtually the whole responsibility for programme implementation naturally fell upon the agricultural field staff of The Department of Agricultural Field Services.

As noted in Chapter 4, the Department had had until then a rather weak agricultural extension strategy, the Pupil Farmers Scheme having been abandoned. But now its newly reorganised planning and management structure was primed for action and it approached the group extension strategy with energy.

Group activities in themselves were not new, but the concept of seeing them as part of a wider strategic process was new. The effect was to dramatically increase the attention given to group development as an extension approach and to encourage more forms of group activity than in the past.

6.2. AWARENESS OF THE LACK OF INFORMATION ON GROUPS

The entrance of TGLP to the rural development scene had created a new urgency in Government for solutions to management procedures in communal areas. The level of awareness of the deficiencies at this time was summarized in the Rural Sociologist's "Status Report on the Formation of Groups" (February 1976) which said:

> "Interest and attention is increasingly being drawn to the question of groups, how they are to be formed, what sort of organizational and legal structures are to be proposed, and how they will operate in both communal and commercial areas. Field staff of the Ministry of Agriculture have shown increasing concern that they are hearing about groups from the "top".... (but) no specific information... comes from the ministries concerned that will enable them to assist or stimulate the formation of groups. The reason, of course, why so little specific information is forthcoming is that little exists."

6.3. THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT MEMORANDUM ON GROUP AND RANCH DEVELOPMENT

Real progress in defining strategy was not made until June 1976, when experience in the field with RLMP and awareness at RDU came together. One of the most significant strategy documents was produced at this time, the Memorandum on Groups and Ranch Development[1].

(1) "Groups and Ranch Development"; RDU - 1st June 1976.

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The memorandum advocated the development of credible models pointing out that RLMP represented real work on models. Attention should not, however, be concentrated too rigidly on the three areas in RLMP, but other schemes should also be looked at. It was considered essential that communities should participate in the development of their own models:

> "A way ahead should be charted, and people should be invited to consider moving along that path, or be given a choice of taking one of several different paths, or of finding their own path."

It was recommended that the whole approach be more consciously flexible:

> "We must not be surprised at difficulties..... we must adjust and remember that these are the people's projects, and it is their land and livelihood that are at risk.... results will not come quickly...."

The last point, the speed of development, was particularly emphasised.

> "The pace which different people move along different paths is their business. That is why the land use planning and land allocation process is so important - if well managed, it will permit people to move at their own pace in their respective spheres."

A natural speed was felt to be important if effective groups, formed in response to real needs, were to grow up.

The RDU suggested several more lines of action.

The first, the development of service companies, which was felt to be well in hand as it was one of the objectives of Livestock Project II. The next three, the production of an extension message for group formation, the determination of how to organize extension to groups, and the training of extension workers, all must wait until further ideas had been generated by work on models, remembering of course that there will never be a final "tidy" model, and therefore that work can proceed here in the initial form of discussion points and news items. When the content of the extension programme took shape, there would have to be a "massive training" of the extension workers involved.

The final line of action mentioned by RDU was the development of legal arrangements and the memorandum heavily underlined the need to make these as they were required:

> "Legal arrangements should be made in response to stated needs and should not be formulated in advance of action, in the hopes that action will take place within a set framework."

The conclusion of the paper was that a body with particular responsibility for groups was required. This should be an interministerial committee which could guide the work and liaise between the various specialist committees. The committee came to be known as the Groups Group.

6.4. PROGRESS IN THABALA

Meanwhile, in Central Region an extension approach was being developed in reaction to the RLMP experience in Thabala and Tsetsejwe. The

then RAO in Serowe was concerned at the RDU's attitude of "There is no hurry" and while endorsing the need to "chart a strategy" emphasized the necessity of implementing an extension approach in Thabala, where the community was still patiently awaiting a response from the Ministry of Agriculture to their communal area development proposals. The RAO summarized the principle of the extension approach from the field point of view:

> "Before we can expect communities to have the maturity, experience, trust, unity and true confidence necessary to enter into a ranch development scheme involving a heavy investment, there must be 'spiritual' preparation. They need to develop these qualities through experience of planning and of working and investing together as a group, but through activities which do not initially demand such a total commitment." [2]

This extension approach was seen above all as the only replicable way to introduce developments in communal area management.

Thabala thus became the first extension area in which the group approach was introduced as a strategy for communal area development. Various group projects in which community awareness and interest had already been expressed were identified, including small stock dosing, contouring of a lands catchment, veld fire control, dam building, grain storage, an idea of the FC to purchase a trading store (this ended as a local branch of Serowe Market Co-operative), a community garden and a bulk input supply. The Ministry of Agriculture pledged "priority support" to the programme. Whilst the community gained experience with the management of such activities, it was thought that further planning, survey work, consultation and extension could be done towards introducing the wider communal goals over which the RLMP and Ministry of Agriculture had previously stalled.

6.5. REACTION TO THE THABALA STRATEGY

At a combined RAOs conference and meeting of the newly formed Groups Group on July 28th-29th 1976, the field approach proposals suggested by RAO Central, along with those of other RAOs, were discussed more fully.

Tables 6(i) and 6(ii), flow diagrams reproduced from "A Strategy for Group Formation - Central Region" were carefully considered.

The Rural Development Consultant in the Ministry of Agriculture, Gerhart, summarized the outcome of the conference as follows:

> "There was a convincing unanimity of view that we should follow a gradualist extension approach to group formation in communal areas. ....it was agreed that in most cases Farmers Committee and Farmers Associations should provide the focus for starting group activities at whatever level the local community was willing to accept. Full-blown ranches would have little chance of success unless more immediate needs were already met.... The most immediate need was for training of ADs and other field staff in working with FCs and FAs....."[3]

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(2) Willett, A.B.J.; "Where do we go from here at Thabala and Tsetsejwe" RAO Central Savingram; 17/6/76.

(3) J. Gerhart; "Seminar on Group Formation - Conclusions" Savingram to Groups Group, 30 July 1976.

TABLE 6(i)

The "Extension Approach" Model for Community or Group formation (leading to communal area development under TGLP)

TGLP thrust (from field staff RLG CDCC etc.)

C O M M U N I T Y
V D C
F C

Other initiatives (from AD, RTC/SCC FC itself etc.)

1. GENERAL PROBLEMS BROUGHT UP

2. FARMERS COMMITTEE

(identify proposals define priorities formulate draft activity plan)

A D assists

3. K G O T L A

(discuss, agree or modify nominate responsible person or group to execute plan see that responsibility accepted)

keep kgotla informed

4. MANAGEMENT GROUP

(may or may not be FC or VDC; could be special person or group)

4.1. prepares "Activity Plan"
- nature of project (who involved, land and other resources involved proposed development)
- order of events
- timetable and targets
- inputs required
- legislation needed
- assistance requested (technical or financial)
- approvals necessary

4.2. obtain kgotla agreement

A D assists a lot

4.3. forwards "Activity Plan" through AD to DAO and RAO if evaluation, approvals or assistance required beyond Extension Area level - cf. treatment of applications for NDB loans, dam unit, soil conservation assistance etc. at present).

DAO's approval given if A.P. involves less than P.1000 investment, or does not affect land use, and if assistance/inputs can be met at District level.

Otherwise must forward to RAO for
- evaluation of proposal (technical, economic feasibility etc.)
- assessment of implications for land development (A.P. taken to LUPAG, CDCC, Land Board where appropriate)
- decide need for land use planning input
- decide need for further public or private consultation
- co-ordinate inputs of specialist help, farmer training etc. on regional basis

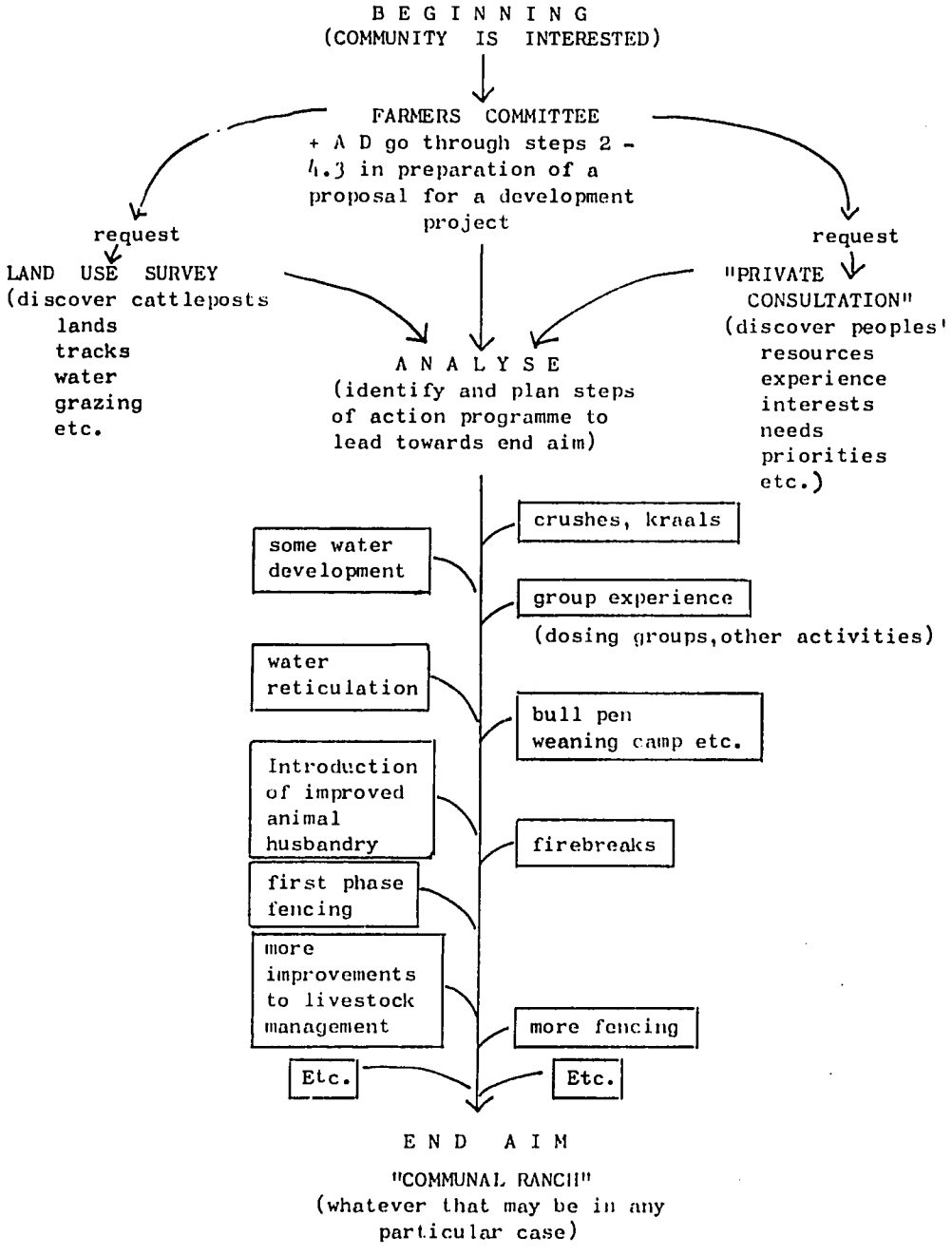
A D follow-up esp. stage 4.4.

4.4. executes work
- secures external inputs
- organises people & local resources
- monitors, manages, adjusts

A D follow-up and drive on grazing situation

5. OBJECTIVES achieved & maintained and appraised in terms of TGLP

TABLE 6(ii): AN EARLY CONCEPT OF THE GRADUALIST EXTENSION APPROACH



(the above simple model is not an attempt to suggest an actual pattern of communal area development, but an example only to be read in conjunction with the first model for group formation)

The lessons from VADP and the original RLMP were clear. Management, not fencing, was the key to improved range and livestock management. Financial viability was crucial. If these were true of commercial ranching, they were equally true of group efforts. The gradualist extension approach was seen to have four fundamental justifications:

1. Social: Very few people have more than a limited experience of working together, the experience should be built up slowly.
2. Communal :It would not be possible for any group of cattlepost owners to obtain the agreement of all their neighbours to fence off the area they want to develop - this is a problem requiring a lengthy solution.
3. Financial:The high capital and running costs of ranching require expert management unless farmers are to go bankrupt.
4. Technical:After expensive investment the now precious cattle have to be managed smoothly with a water supply, disease and parasite control, breeding, weaning, husbandry, nutrition and grazing control being tackled simultaneously. Present cattlepost owners in the communal areas lack this expertise.

On August 10th 1976 the Ministry of Agriculture Policy Committee went on to endorse these points as broad policy. Specifically:

1. Groups should be encouraged to deal with projects of local importance, with the long-term aim of the collective management of communal areas.
2. The greatest current need is for consultation with and the training of field staff.

In addition it was stated that

3. Co-operatives cannot be expected to do the job.
4. A post for a Registrar of Groups should be established as soon as possible, located within DAFS.

Acceptance in the Ministry of Agriculture was followed by acceptance at the RECC and national DDC conference in October-November 1976, and was finally confirmed by a Cabinet memorandum (2.12.76) and in January 1977 by the RD Council.

The RECC/DDC conference took the strategy a little further, touching on aspects of the current CAPAD concept, by suggesting that community projects should be assisted by the relevant sectoral ministries using, wherever possible, group extension techniques and providing systematic technical advice and training.

6.6. HOW THE STRATEGY WAS ADOPTED

Following the acceptance of the strategy as Ministry of Agriculture policy, there was a flurry of activity undertaken by the Groups Group. The activity was concentrated in 3 areas

- preparation for training of DAFS field staff
- necessary arrangements for the registration of groups
- provision of appropriate funding sources for small projects

6.6.1. Training of field staff

A data collection exercise was mounted by the Groups Group training sub committee in order to bring together all the experience that field staff had with any type of group project. Questionnaires were distributed to all agricultural extension field staff and the responses were analysed. The result was a training handbook which contained case studies of successful and unsuccessful groups, procedures, guidelines and handouts about particular activities.

A training workshop was held for senior agricultural officers at Denman RTC in November 1976 with the aim of assisting field staff to deal with existing and potential groups and of giving guidance on Farmers Committees. The course handbook, with its yellow "TGLP Group Formation" cover, was then widely distributed and the Regions were directed to conduct in-service programmes for their field staff using the November materials.

6.6.2. Group legislation; the unsuitability of Co-operatives

The Groups Group co-ordinated the drafting of what became the Agricultural Managemnt Associations Act (enacted by Parliament in April 1978), the purpose of which was to give groups a legal status.

This new legislation was necessary because nothing more suitable existed. It was considered at first that Co-operatives might have formed a suitable base, but the idea was rejected for several reasons. These were noted by the Registrar of Co-operatives in two papers[4].

- Many African governments in the '60s, eager to increase farmers' productivity, had encouraged the formation of Co-operatives to qualify for interest-free loans. With rash enthusiasm there had been a mushrooming in Co-operative registration, but a few years later funds had been embezzled and no Co-operatives were functioning. CODEC was against this panacea policy in Botswana as "members were not ready to run their own affairs". Much more training and experience are first necessary.
- Botswana's Co-operatives (120 at the time) had since 1964 had the most successful record in Africa because members "know what they are doing". It would be a mistake to try to attempt a rapid expansion and increase in the range of activities. Chambers & Feldman had suggested growth in the current types of activity, e.g. to expand to bulk purchase of inputs, but cautioned against new directions.
- The principle of open membership made co-operative legislation unsuitable for small project groups.
- Co-operatives are business enterprises, success depending on the understanding and loyalty of members, not on the enthusiasm of the civil servants promoting them.
- CODEC staff would be unable to cope with the problems that mass registration of groups are likely to create. An understanding of this caution displayed by CODEC in 1976 is the key to why there are now two different sections in the same Ministry concerned broadly with group development in agriculture.

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(4) G. Oteng, Registrar of Co-operatives. "Why I think the present co-operative legislation may not be suitable for groups", 20 October 1976, and "Co-operatives and Groups" 23 November 1976.

6.6.3. Provision of sources of funding for small projects

The third important component of the new extension approach was the provision of more flexible funding sources for grants and demonstrations to support small group projects.

The first of these in the Ministry of Agriculture was AE.10: The Small Projects Programme. In the project memorandum, drafted in July 1977, "a gap" was noted "in the area of resources allocated for small, low cost, labour intensive village developments which answer an immediate need felt by the community." It was, in fact, a grant parallel to LG.17, funded by the Norwegians for MLGL's Village Development Programme, and would be a relatively quickly available source of money. Paragraph 2.5 of the AE.10 project memorandum illustrates clearly how significant this new form of finance would be and how radically the Ministry of Agriculture's approach had developed.

> "It is extremely difficult to design development projects which benefit the poorest section of the rural community. Because of the socio-economic resource situation applying to the poorer income groups, e.g. low levels of education and lack of experience of management of resources which are aimed at the poor suffer in terms of conventional economic appraisal since they are by definition low return and high risk. However, it is hoped that by paying particular attention to target groups funds from this project will be channelled as far as possible to lower income groups such as female headed households and people with no or few cattle."

The second similar source of finance was AG.15: Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas. This was specifically intended to focus on the low income farmers of the communal areas within the framework of the implementation of TGLP. AG.15 was geared to the group development programme, providing grants on the same lines as AE.10, and additionally, providing demonstration facilities. Smaller grants (maximum P.1000) were to be available for individual farmer projects. AG.15 is linked to AMAs. A registered AMA is eligible for a grant of P.2500-P.5000 p.a., whereas non-registered groups can receive aid up to a maximum of P.2500 p.a.

6.7. SOME OTHER RELEVANT EVENTS

The above review summarises the main developments in strategy during 1976/77 through which the gradualist extension approach to TGLP implementation evolved, was accepted and subsequently supported as Government's policy approach. The whole process of institutionalization was accomplished only through hundreds of hours of meetings, drafting and redrafting of proposals, workshops, seminars, conferences and other consultation at many levels.

It should be remembered, however, that throughout all these developments in Agriculture many more were occurring in the rest of Government. Of particular relevance was the introduction of decentralized District Development Planning. Along with the strengthening of the role of VDCs in planning and consultation, developments in non-formal education and the RLG campaign, this served to strengthen the environment for the adoption of the sort of approach which has been discussed.

6.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 6

6.1. Introduction

1976 marked a change in group development approach. The gradualist extension approach was to involve a series of group activities, leading up to group management of communal areas. The newly reorganised Department of Agricultural Field Services was ready for the responsibility of this programme. More attention was given to group activity than ever before.

6.2. How much real information existed on groups?

Government was now keenly aware of the need for solutions to management problems in communal areas. It was recognised, however, that very little specific information on group formation existed.

6.3. What did the Rural Development Unit Memorandum recommend?

In June 1976 the RDU memorandum recommended that work should be done on credible models for group development, that the people themselves should be involved in developing models, that the approach should be flexible and that works should move at a natural pace. The RDU was satisfied that service companies were developing, and felt that the extension message, the organisation of extension and the training of extension workers should wait until more was known about models. Legal arrangements should be devised as required and not before. The final recommendation of the RDU resulted in the formation of the Groups Group.

6.4. What was happening in Thabala?

The RAO Central was convinced that the Thabala community should be encouraged to work on a number of small schemes in which it had already shown interest. The experience gained could later be put to use in ranch development. Meanwhile preparations could be made for this larger scheme.

6.5. Reaction to the Thabala strategy

An RAO and Groups Group conference in July 1976 agreed to support the Thabala-type extension strategy. Lessons had been learnt from VADP and RLMP and the gradualist extension approach was seen as justified from social, communal, financial and technical standpoints. In August it became Ministry of Agriculture policy to aim for communal area management by way of smaller projects. The policy was confirmed by Cabinet in January 1977. An RECC/DDC conference further recommended that group projects should be supported by the relevant ministries.

6.6. How was the strategy adopted?

6.6.1. The Groups Group organized the training of field staff. First a training handbook was compiled from existing experience with groups, then a workshop held for senior agricultural officers, who in turn were to conduct in-service training for their own field staff.

6.6.2. Work was done on an Act (Agricultural Management Associations Act) to give groups a legal status. Co-operatives were unsuitable because Co-operative members were not ready to manage their own affairs, rapid expansion of the movement would be detrimental, the open membership principle was unsuitable for small groups. There was no place for Ministry help as envisaged for groups and CODEC staff could not cope with mass registration.

6.6.3. Two new funding sources for small group projects were provided. AE.10 was directed to small projects, specifically for the use of poorer members of the community. AG.15 was for low income farmers in the communal areas and was linked to TGLP and AMAs.

6.7. What other relevant events were taking place?

Events taking place in other ministries, concerning planning and adult education, also made a positive contribution towards the acceptance of the gradualist extension approach in Botswana.

CHAPTER 7: THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR GROUP DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT.

CHAPTER 7: THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR GROUP DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT

7.1. THE POSITION OF THE DAMA IN THE DAFS

7.2. DAMA DOES NOT ONLY DEAL WITH AMAs

7.3. REGIONAL MANAGEMENT OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

7.3.1. Regional support staff team meetings

7.3.2. The role of the GDO

7.4. INTERDEPARTMENTAL COLLABORATION OF HQ LEVEL

7.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 7

Chapter 7: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations
DAFS	Director/Department of Agricultural Field Services
DAMA	Division of Agricultural Management Associations
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
GDO	Group Development Officer
HQ	Headquarters
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RSS	Regional Support Staff

7.1. THE POSITION OF THE DAMA IN THE DAFS

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have traced the historical background of the group development programme.

As a result of events and discussions described in Section 5.6.2. an amendment was made to The Range and Livestock Management Project committing the project

> "to support the Government of Botswana's efforts to increase agricultural productivity and income of rural smallholders on a sustainable basis."

This was to be tackled by institutionalising the processes by which replicable, viable smallholder community groups and communal projects could be encouraged. Thus, after the Agricultural Management Associations Act was passed in 1978, an office was set up in the Department of Agricultural Field Services. This was the office of the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations.

The position of the Commissioner of AMAs, his headquarter technical support and regional Group Development Officers in the overall DAFS structure is illustrated in the DAFS organisation chart, Table 7(i)

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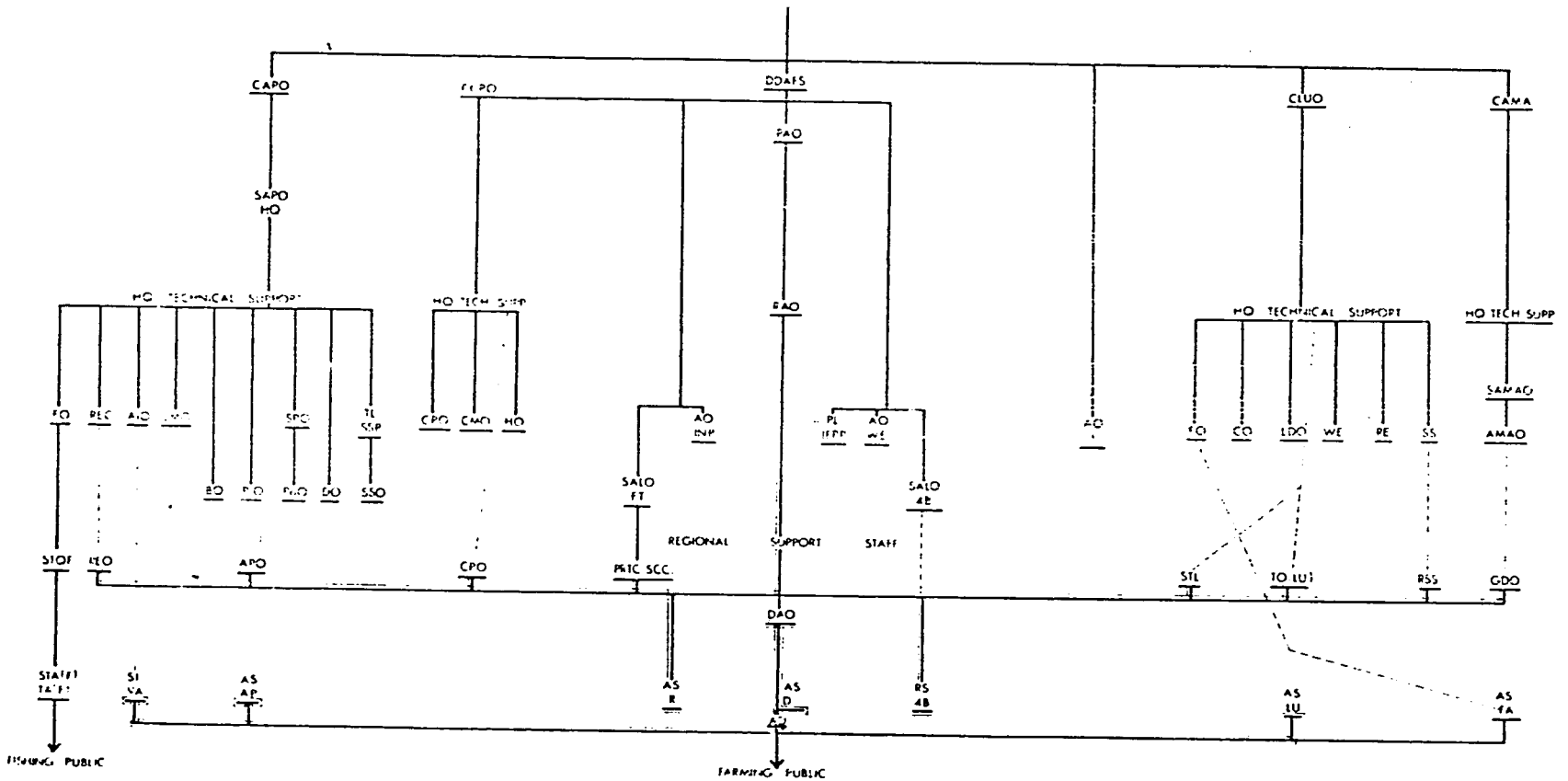
TABLE 7(i)

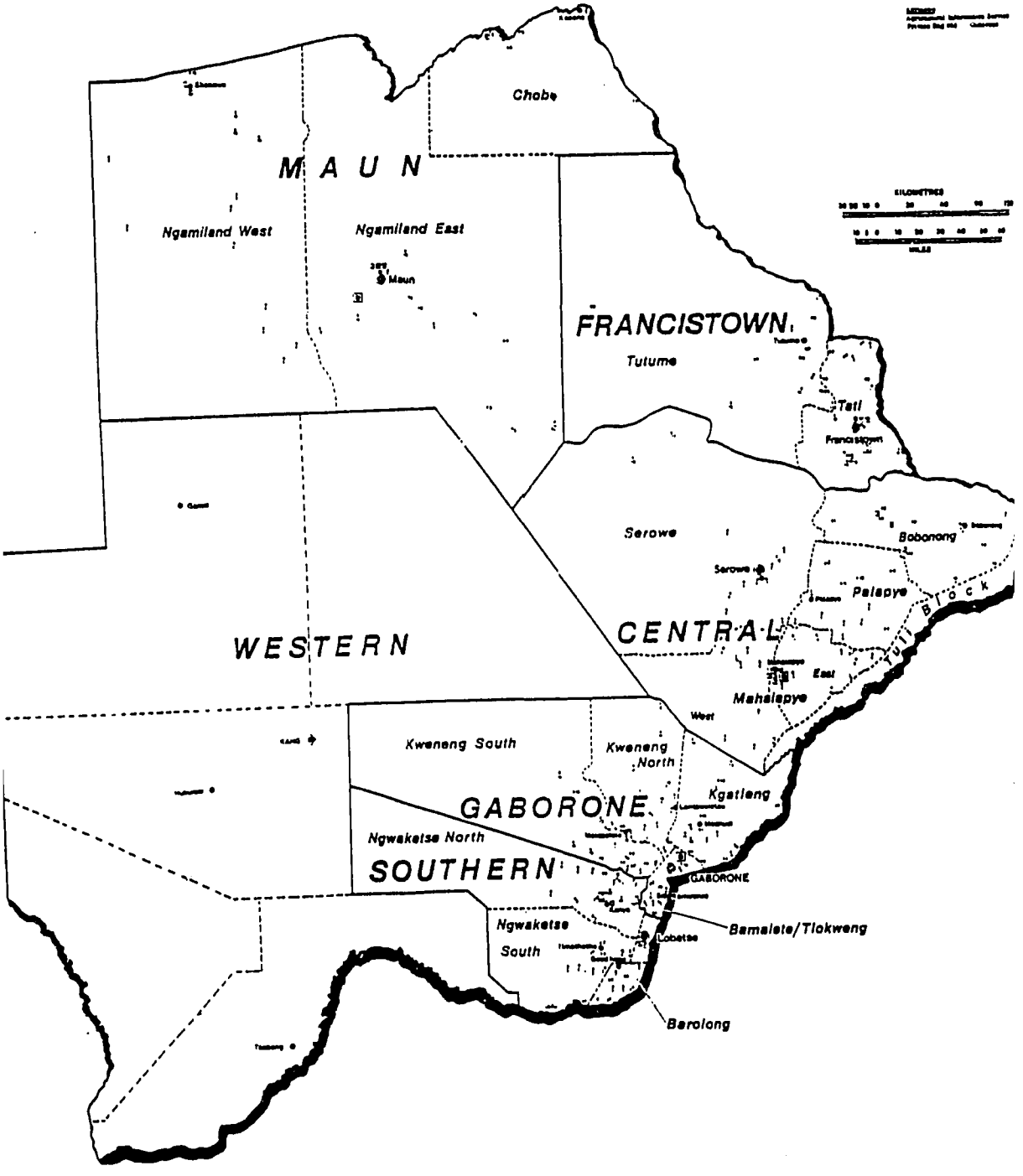
ORGANISATION CHART: DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL FIELD SERVICES



Key to Table 7(i)

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AIO	Artificial Insemination Officer
AMAO	Agricultural Management Associations Officer
AO INP	Agricultural Inputs Officer
AO WE	Agricultural Officer Womens Extension
AP	Animal production
APO	Animal Production Officer
AS AP	Agricultural Supervisor Animal Production
AS D	Agricultural Supervisor District
AS FA	" " Forestry
AS LU	" " Land Use
AS R	" " Region
BO	Beef Officer
CAMA	Commissioner of Agriculture Management Associations
CAPO	Chief Animal Production Officer
CCPO	Chief Crop Production Officer
CLUO	Chief Land Utilization Officer
CMO	Crop Marketing Officer
CPO	Crop Production Officer
DAFS	Director of Agricultural Field Services
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DDAFS	Deputy DAFS
DO	Dairy Officer
FO	Forestry
GDO	Group Development Officer
HO	Horticulture Officer
LDO	Land Development Officer
LMO	Livestock Marketing Officer
PAO	Principle Agricultural Officer
PiO	Pig Officer
PL IFPP	Project Leader Integrated Farming Pilot Project
PoO	Poultry Officer
PRTC SCC	Principal of the Rural Training Short course Centre
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RE	Range Ecology
REC	Ranch Extension Co-ordinator
REO	" " Officer
RS 4B	Regional Supervisor 4B
RSS	Regional Soil Surveyor
SAMAO	Senior Agricultural Management Associations Officer
SAPO	Senior Animal Production Officer
SI	Stock Inspector
SPO	Senior Poultry Officer
SS	Soil Survey
SSO	Small Stock Officer
STA(F)	Senior Technical Assistance (Fisheries)
STL	Survey Team Leader
STOF	Senior Technical Officer Fisheries
TA (F)	Technical Assistant (Fisheries)
TL SSP	Team Leader Small Stock Project
TO (LU)	Technical Officer (Land Use)
VA	Veterinary Assistant
WE	Women's Extension

Agricultural Extension Agents



LEGEND

Regional Agricultural Office (Maun; Lobatse; Gaborone; Serowe; Francistown)

District Agricultural Office (Good Hope; Mmathethe; Kanye; Ramotswa; Molepolole; Lentsweletau; Mochudi; Mahalapye; Palapye; Serowe; Bobonong; Francistown; Tutume; Shakawe; Maun; Kasane; Tsabong; Hukuntsi; Gantsi).

Proposed Regional Agricultural Office (Western Region).

NB: the proposed regional agricultural office will be in Kang.

Agricultural Demonstrator postings (Some occupied by Supervisors).

Rural Training Centres.

Proposed R.T.C. (near Francistown; near Kanye).

48 There is a 4-B Supervisor in each Regional Office except in Western Region.

SPECIALIST STAFF

F Fisheries (Maun; Shakawe; Mopipi; Satau).

S Small Stock (Serowe; Lobatse; Middlepits; Gaborone).

P Poultry (Lobatse; Mahalapye; Francistown; Maun; Gaborone).

Pig (Sebele; Gaborone).

D Dairy (Mahalapye; Francistown; Maun; Sefophe; Pikwe; Tsabong; Serowe Gaborone).

NB: Shown are the duty posts of staff according to the official list. However, a number of posts are not filled now by a resident A/D.

Maun

NGAMILAND WEST

1. Bodibeng
2. Sehitwa
3. Makukung
4. Tsau
5. Xangwa
6. Nokaneng
7. Gomare
8. Etsha
9. Xnau Xnau
10. Sepopa
11. Shakawe
12. East Mohembo
13. Nxamaseri
14. Seronga

NGAMILAND EAST

1. Mopipi
2. Xhumo
3. Rakops
4. Khumaga
5. Moreomaoto
6. Makalamabedi
7. Tatamoga
8. Chanoga
9. Boro
10. Shorobe
11. Komana
12. Toteng

CHOBE

1. Pandamatenga
2. Kazungula
3. Mabele
4. Kachikau
5. Satau

Francistown

TATI

1. Seviya
2. Tsamaya
3. Moroka
4. Mupoka
5. Musojane
6. Masunga
7. Kalakamati
8. Makal -g
9. Francistown
10. Tlhalogang
11. Shashe
12. Tonota West
13. Tonota East
14. Matsiloje

TUTUME

1. Mnitengwe
2. Nkange
3. Selolwane
4. Magapatona
5. Matobo
6. Mosetse
7. Nata
8. Gweta
9. Sebina
10. Marobela
11. Marapong
12. Matsitama
13. Mathangwane

Central

MAHALAPYE WEST

1. Modiane
2. Shoshong - South
3. Shoshong - East
4. Mosolotshane
5. Kalamare
6. Mmutlane
7. Palla Road
8. Poloka
9. Mookane
10. Mmaphashalala

MAHALAPYE EAST

1. Tokolo
2. Taupye
3. Kudumatse
4. Mukwate
5. Machaneng
6. Sefhare
7. Chadibe
8. Mokobeng
9. Mosopa
10. Pilikwe
11. Radisele

BOBONONG

1. Serule
2. Mmadinare - North
3. Mmadinare - South
4. Tobane
5. Bobonong - North
6. Bobonong South
7. Semotale
8. Molalatau
9. Mathathane
10. Tsetsejwe
11. Sefophe

SEROWE

1. Serowe - East
2. Serowe - West
3. Mogorosi
4. Thabala
5. Motjabana
6. Bikwe
7. Tshimoyapula
8. Mashoro
9. Letlhakane
10. Tautsuga
11. Paje

PALAPYE

1. Palapye
2. Lecheng
3. Makoro
4. Gootau
5. Ramokgonami
6. Ratholo
7. Lerala
8. Maunatlala
9. Mogapi
10. Kgagodi
11. Tamasane
12. Lechana
13. Seleka

Gaborone

KWENENG SOUTH

1. Seribotsane
2. Chaokeng
3. Gakgatla
4. Mmampaba
5. Kubung
6. Thamaga (W)
7. Thamaga (E)
8. Mmankgodi
9. Kumakwane
10. Gabane
11. Mmaothate
12. Monwane
13. Mmamosgi
14. Moshaweng
15. Letlhakeng
16. Khudumelapswe
17. Molepolole

KWENENG NORTH

1. Mmanoko
2. Minopane
3. Kopong
4. Ditshukudung
5. Mmamarobole
6. Suping
7. Mmetlwe
8. Kgolomadue
9. Lentsweletau
10. Digwagweng
11. Poaneng
12. Medie
13. Mmaphoroka
14. Boatlaname
15. Lephepbe

KGATLENG

1. Mochudi
2. Dinogeng
3. Sikwane
4. Mmathubudukwane
5. Malolwane
6. Oliphant's Drift
7. Matlhage
8. Modipane
9. Oodi
10. Morwa
11. Bokaa
12. Rasesa
13. Malotwane
14. Mosomane
15. Leshibitse
16. Kgomodiatshaba

BAMALETE/TLOKWENG

1. Mantsaereng
2. Mogobane
3. Taung
4. Ootse
5. Mokgosi
6. Ramotswa
7. Dikgatlhong
8. Hukung
9. Tlokweng (N)
10. Tlokweng (S)

Southern

NGWAKETSE NORTH

1. Moshaneng
2. Sesung
3. Tsonyane
4. Mmabadisa
5. Jwaneng/Pitseng
6. Ralekgetho
7. Mhuduhutswe
8. Lotlhakane
9. Moshupa - West
10. Moshupa - North
11. Moshupa - South
12. Manyana
13. Kgomokasitwa
14. Ntlhantlhe - North
15. Ntlhantlhe - South
16. Ranaka

NGWAKETSE SOUTH

1. Phitshane Molopo
2. Magoriapitse
3. Matore
4. Kangwe
5. Metlobo
6. Mmathethe - South
7. Mmathethe - North
8. Gathwane
9. Tshidilamolomo
10. Mogojogojo

BAROLONG

1. Mokatako
2. Morojane
3. Borobadilepe
4. Ramatlabama
5. Logagune
6. Matlojane
7. Gamokoto
8. Sheep Farm
9. Pitsane

7.2. DAMA DOES NOT ONLY DEAL WITH AMAs

Understandable confusion results from the group development programme's operating out of the Division of AMAs. There is a widely mistaken inference that this either means that the programme only deals with AMAs, or that all "real" groups are AMAs.

The Ministry of Agriculture has in fact given a far wider role to the CAMA office and its regional GDOs than just dealing with AMAs. This wider role is necessary because, before any group can be considered by the CAMA office for AMA registration, the CAMA office has to be confident in the viability of its management plan and in the provisions of its constitution. Yet a group is unlikely to present a viable programme without previous experience or training in organisation and in at least some of the technicalities of its project. The DAMA must therefore work from the earliest stages of group development in order to foster successful AMAs. The concern of the DAMA is thus the group development programme in its widest sense.

7.3. REGIONAL MANAGEMENT OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

7.3.1. Regional Support Staff team meetings

At regional level the group development programme depends upon the whole of the Regional Support Staff team (Table 7(i)). A group undertaking the building and operation of a diptank, for example, needs the specialist support of the ADO and GPO. ADs and DAOs have a particularly important function in providing local political, social and geographical knowledge.

During its re-organisation, the DAFS developed a management system to ease the performance of the RSS's support function to the Extension Area level ADs within the region. ADs meet on a monthly basis at their DAO's office. These meetings provide the opportunity for the GDO and other RSS, under the overall direction of the RAO, to keep up to date with the progress of their programmes and to carry out informal training. The GDO, during the course of each month, can then undertake direct field visits to support AD activities where appropriate.

Over and above the monthly management system originally introduced as part of the DAFS re-organisation, a 3-monthly programming system has also evolved. This was adopted by the Department due to its particular advantages in the planning and scheduling of support to group projects and extension activities.

7.3.2. The role of the GDO

At regional level the support function of the DAMA is put into effect by the GDO.

The GDO's role is one of facilitation at a number of levels. Most obviously the GDO must increase competence at the AD level in the skills and knowledge which ADs require to encourage group development in their Extension Areas. Awareness of, and,to a lesser extent, skill in group facilitation also have to be fostered by the GDO at the higher levels within the Regional Staff team. This includes DAOs, as their approach critically affects the performance of ADs under them. It includes other specialists on the RSS team and, in an advisory sense it includes the RAO, without whose overall direction and commitment the GDO efforts would not get far. The GDO also needs to collaborate closely with other village and district level bodies.

The GDO comes into direct contact with group or prospective group

members themselves. His specialist expertise is required to support the AD or DAO in various critical stages of group formation and growth, particularly in advising on suitable by-laws and on forms of support and finance available.

The GDO job description is given in Appendix 23.

7.4. INTER DEPARTMENTAL COLLABORATION AT HQ LEVEL

It is an important function of the CAMA office to effect links between specialist divisions and sections in the Ministry of Agriculture. This facilitates the work of the various field staff. The CAMA office also works, through DAFS and the Ministry of Agriculture's Permanent Secretary, to procure collaboration at top levels of other Ministries.

Creating these active working organisational links is part of what "institutionalising the processes" is all about, and is therefore essential for the success of the group development programme.

7.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 7

7.1. What is the position of the DAMA in the DAFS?

The DAMA office has been set up in the DAFS as an integral part of its structure.

7.2. The role of DAMA

The DAMA is concerned with the whole of the group development programme, not just with AMAs, for groups need a lot of support before they are in a position to register as AMAs.

7.3. How is the group development programme managed in the regions?

7.3.1. At a regional level the programme depends on the Regional Support Staff team. Team members are able to meet with ADs at monthly meetings and carry out training. Overall planning of the programme is co-ordinated at 3-monthly meetings.

7.3.2. The GDO works in a facilitating role at the regional level. He must help ADs, members of the RSS team, the RAO and group members themselves in the process of forming and running groups.

7.4. Inter-departmental collaboration

The CAMA office works to procure collaboration both within the Ministry of Agriculture and between other ministries for the benefit of the group development programme.

CHAPTER 8: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONTEXT - THE SITUATION AND PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

CHAPTER 8: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONTEXT - THE SITUATION AND PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

8.1. THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION AND PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

8.2. GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN COMMERCIAL AREAS

8.3. THE POPULAR PICTURE OF TRADITIONAL RURAL LIFE

8.4. THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

8.5. THE "POOR" AND "MIDDLE" PEASANTRY AND THOSE WITH NO CATTLE

8.6. MOST RURAL TSWANA DO NOT HAVE THREE HOMES

8.7. THE PATTERN ON THE GROUND

8.8. LOSS OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

8.9. LOSS OF HERDBOYS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF WATER AVAILABILITY IN THE GRAZING AREAS

8.10. THE EFFECT OF NATURAL DISASTER

8.11. THE UNREALISTIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE TARGET GROUP

8.12. CONCLUSIONS

8.13. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 8

Chapter 8: List of abbreviations

ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
HH	Households
RIDS	Rural Income Distribution Survey
RLG	Radio Learning Group
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy

8.1. THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION AND PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

The "target group" of the group development programme is the low income, rural smallholders. The great majority of rural smallholders live and subsist in the communal areas, that is the lands and the communal grazing areas, as defined under TGLP zoning. The programme aims to assist these small farmers to build a more secure sustained livelihood in agriculture, and secondly, it aims, through facilitating group and communal agricultural development activities, to progressively increase their awareness, experience, managerial expertise and institutional capacity so that there is improved control of the resources - land, water, grazing - on which their livelihoods depend. Clearly, if the approach and details of such a programme are to be worked out in a realistic way so that the aims are achieved, the dynamic social and geographical environment of the target group must be grasped and appreciated.

8.2. GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN COMMERCIAL AREAS

Before attempting an account of the communal areas, however, it must be pointed out that although the communal areas are the primary target, the programme is still concerned with the development in the commercial areas zoned under TGLP for demarcation and allocation as ranches. This is because, as TGLP describes it,

> "these areas are not meant only for the individual cattle owners. First priority will be to help groups of smaller owners to run commercial ranches. Preference will be given to such groups in making allocations."[1]

The group development programme, concerned as it is primarily with the interests of smaller farmers, therefore has to be involved in the development strategy of the commercial areas and represent these interests.

We will return later to the subject of commercial ranching.

8.3. THE POPULAR PICTURE OF TRADITIONAL RURAL LIFE

There is a popular generalised picture of traditional rural life which is now out of date, but which is sometimes assumed to be the framework within which rural development must operate because it is not recognised as outmoded. Let us first, then, be clear what the situation of the target group in the communal areas is not.

On the social side, statistics have for some time broadcast the idea that many of Botswana's farmers own no cattle. It was stated in the RIDS (1976)[2], for example, that 45% of rural householders own no cattle. Closer studies of rural life, however, such as those by Cooper[3], have taken a more detailed look at the situation and shown this to be a misleading conception.

On the geographical side, a distinction is commonly drawn between the village home, the arable lands and the cattlepost. These three homes are typically described as being geographically quite separate. The cattlepost is many miles from either the village or the lands, and cattle are

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(1) Govt. Paper No.2, 1975; "National Policy on Tribal Grazing Land", para.24.
(2) Rural Income Distribution Survey, 1976
(3) David Cooper; "How Urban Workers in Botswana Manage their Cattle and Lands: Selibe-Pikwe case studies": Working Paper No.4. NATIONAL MIGRATION STUDY. June 1980.

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kept out there except when draft oxen have to be trekked to the lands for ploughing after the onset of rains, perhaps involving several days' journey. Arable and grazing lands, having been allocated according to village wards, are in well defined areas and problems there can be tackled under the leadership of the appropriate headman. Examples of such cases can indeed be found in Botswana. The richer Batswana, such as chiefs, may maintain three homes. At Nkange the lands areas for five wards, Mabua, Ndzonga, Changate, Ipunge and Lesokwane are still separately identifiable in the main arable area to the north of the village, and the lands of a sixth ward, Senete, are distinct to the south of the village. But on the whole, this picture belongs to an earlier period of history. It is suggested by Cooper[4], who draws on work by Hitchcock, Fosbrooke and Kooiman, that the three homes pattern was common before the 1920s and 30s. Since then various factors - such as the acceptance of the iron plough and subsequent change in field size and hence in labour patterns, the drilling of boreholes in the sandveld and the employment of whole families to herd cattle there, and an increase in population pressure - have contributed to a different situation.

8.4. THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

If the popular picture is out-dated, what has it been replaced with? The remaining sections of this chapter present some observations on the current picture, partly drawn from Cooper's studies, but largely based on what was found in the course of the field visits carried out for this consultancy. Although it cannot do justice to such a complex subject, the aim is to emphasise some major trends and to underline the fact that the rural situation is now, and always has been, essentially dynamic and this should be borne in mind when considering rural development.

8.5. THE "POOR" AND "MIDDLE" PEASANTRY, AND THOSE WITH NO CATTLE

The R.I.D.S. survey's findings that 45% of rural households own no cattle was confirmed by the Constraints Study[5] of 1974, but Cooper draws on further statistics and work by himself, Syson and Solway, to sketch a fuller and more helpful picture of the situation. Most of the non cattle owning families are female-headed, the male-headed cattleless families tend to be those of old men "who through illness, drought etc. have failed to get (or have lost) all their cattle", or of younger men below 45 years who have not yet had time to build up a herd or whose cattle are still considered as belonging to their own fathers. He is also able to suggest a geographical pattern of cattle ownership, with more cattleless people living in the smaller villages and fewer in the larger ones. In addition to those characteristics of the cattleless group, Cooper cites evidence that the group is in fact smaller than reported, due to the tendency of householders to conceal their cattle numbers and suggests that only 25-30% own no cattle. He further suggests that 50-60% of rural householders own 1-40 cattle, with more than $\frac{2}{3}$ falling into the 1-20 end of the spectrum. These are interesting figures in the light of Cooper's classification of the peasantry into "poor", "middle" and "rich".

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(4) Cooper; NMS working paper No.4, para. 2.1.2.

(5) Report on a study of constraints on Agricultural Development in the Republic of Botswana. Botswana Govt. 1974.

The "poor peasant" owns less than 20 cattle. Although the position is less difficult when 15-20 are owned, it is still tenuous in the face of unexpected disasters like drought or disease, and the poor peasant is not really in a position to sell, and only just finds it possible to plough and gain a little milk. The "middle peasant" has upwards of 20 cattle, to about 40 or 50. As cattle numbers rise above 20, the farmer is moving into a position of having a full team of oxen for ploughing, and of being able to sell or exchange cattle when necessary without risking the breeding capacity of his herd. The farmer is also now able to fulfil some of the traditional social obligations like helping a sister's son, or slaughtering for marriages, which give the farmer status and act as a long term investment for his own family and against old age. Ownership of 40-50 cattle spells self-sufficiency. This is the "solid middle peasantry". Over 70 cattle shifts the owner into a new class again, and he is now rich and able to act more independently, e.g. to join borehole syndicates.

This consultancy was not a detailed research study, but it did enable the author to obtain an overall view of the country. The overall view of cattle ownersnip certainly confirmed the picture sketched by Cooper. Farmers were asked on every possible occasion to describe the general pattern of cattle ownership in their area. There is no reason to believe that answers were misleading, as directly personal questions were not asked. Table 8(i) below presents some of the many responses received:

TABLE 8(i) *

DISTRICT	AREA	"most common"	"less common"	"biggest herds"	"none"	Further comment
Palapye	Lerala				none	c. 10 farmers without, but have mafisa
Serowe	Segakwana					Only 15 farmers have herds large enough to maintain cattleposts
Mahalapye	Mmapha-shalala	<40			quite a few	Only 6 big herds in area
Kgatleng	Dinogeng	5-6		26		
Kweneng	Seribot-sane	4-30		40		
Kweneng S.	Mmankgodi	10-40				
South East	Segakwana Otse Mmalore	5-10 10 10-30	 50-70	40 40-50 few > 100	none none	
Ngwaketse	Pelotshet-lha Manyana Moshaneng W. Polokwe Morale	 10-30 20-30 10-20	3-4 min. size small herd 5-10 20-40	 64.98 > 50 50-60	none none none none	All have cattle
Barolong	Barolong Mokatako	5-10 2-6		750	some 7 about 30 HH in survey	Total pop. 93 HH with 1285 cattle

*See also table 15(i)

Another aspect of cattle ownership that was brought to the fore throughout the country was that it is common for a senior member of an extended family to hold cattle for a number of relatives. At Diloro village near Kgagodi, for example, members of a tick control group pointed out that some of the group were bringing forward cattle for as many as 5 other people in their families, because they looked after those people's cattle. The impression was gained that there must be few extended families which cannot put together a span for ploughing.

8.6. MOST RURAL TSWANA DO NOT HAVE 3 HOMES

The R.I.D.S. survey found that 90% of households in Botswana have 2 or less dwelling places. Most people keep their few livestock kraaled at or near their lands home. This pattern becomes strikingly obvious when travelling through virtually any lands area where kraals can be seen near almost every lands household settlement. Syson, quoted by Cooper, found that "only 14% of the Molepolole household heads had a separate cattlepost dwelling, 4% in the smaller village of Manyana; yet 91% and 80% of these village households respectively had a lands area, with 67% and 75% keeping cattle there."

8.7. THE PATTERN ON THE GROUND

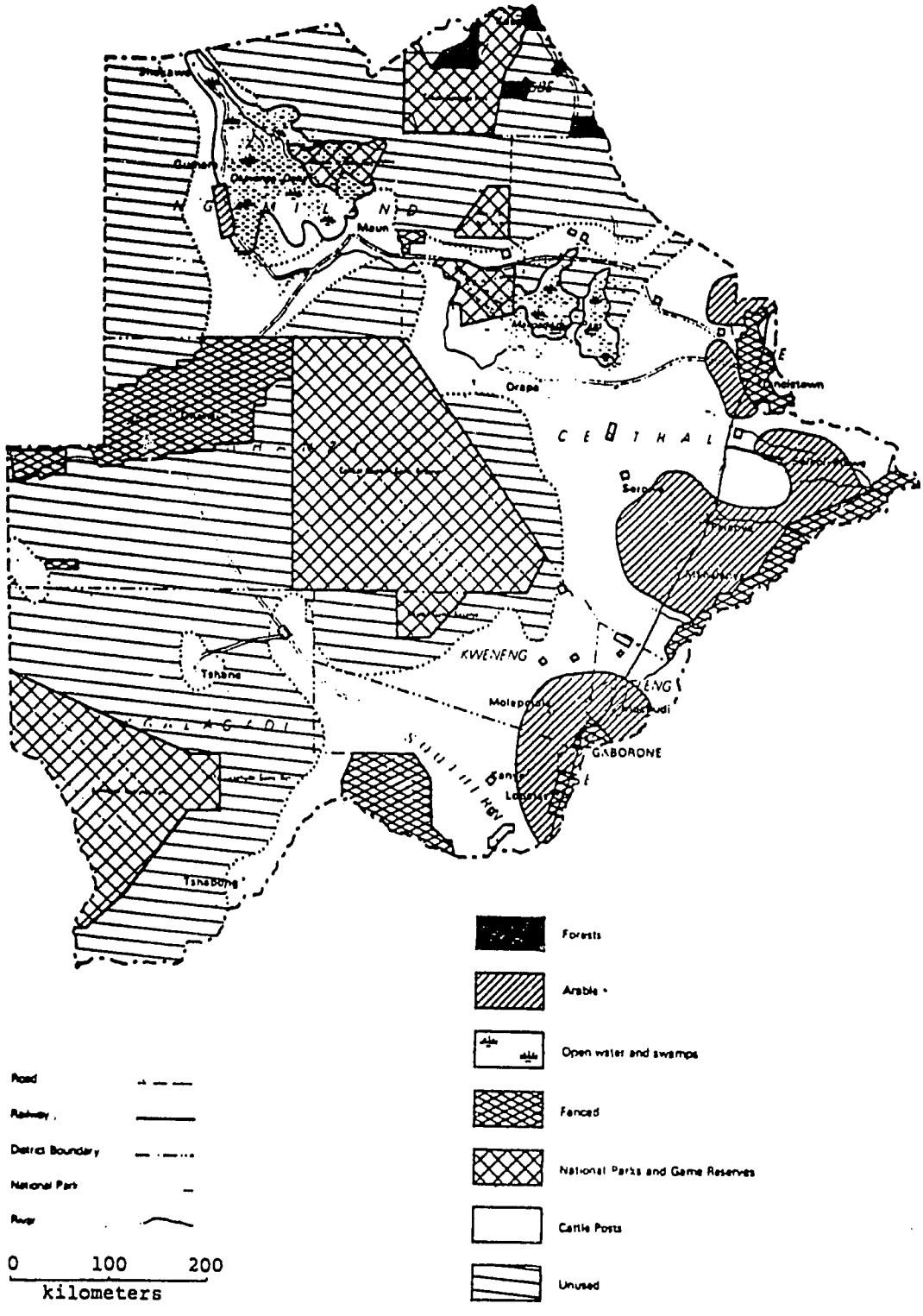
In reality then, the lands areas are a mixture of patches of lands and grazing areas. The pattern in any one area depends very much on local relief, soils and distribution of water resources. Different combinations of these result in quite different local problems and development priorities.

Much of southern Botswana is characterised by quite big ranges of low hills, between which lie wide flat valleys. Going west the hills come to an end and relatively flat land stretches away from them. The soils of the valleys vary in type, some being quite well suited to arable use, but further west stretches of absolutely sandy soil become more predominant. The hills in this part of the country are kept exclusively as grazing areas. The flat land is a mixture of patches of arable lands, of varying sizes, intermixed with areas of grazing. Even within the arable lands areas fields are often separated by quite sizeable grazing areas, usually representing unused or fallowed allocated arable lands.

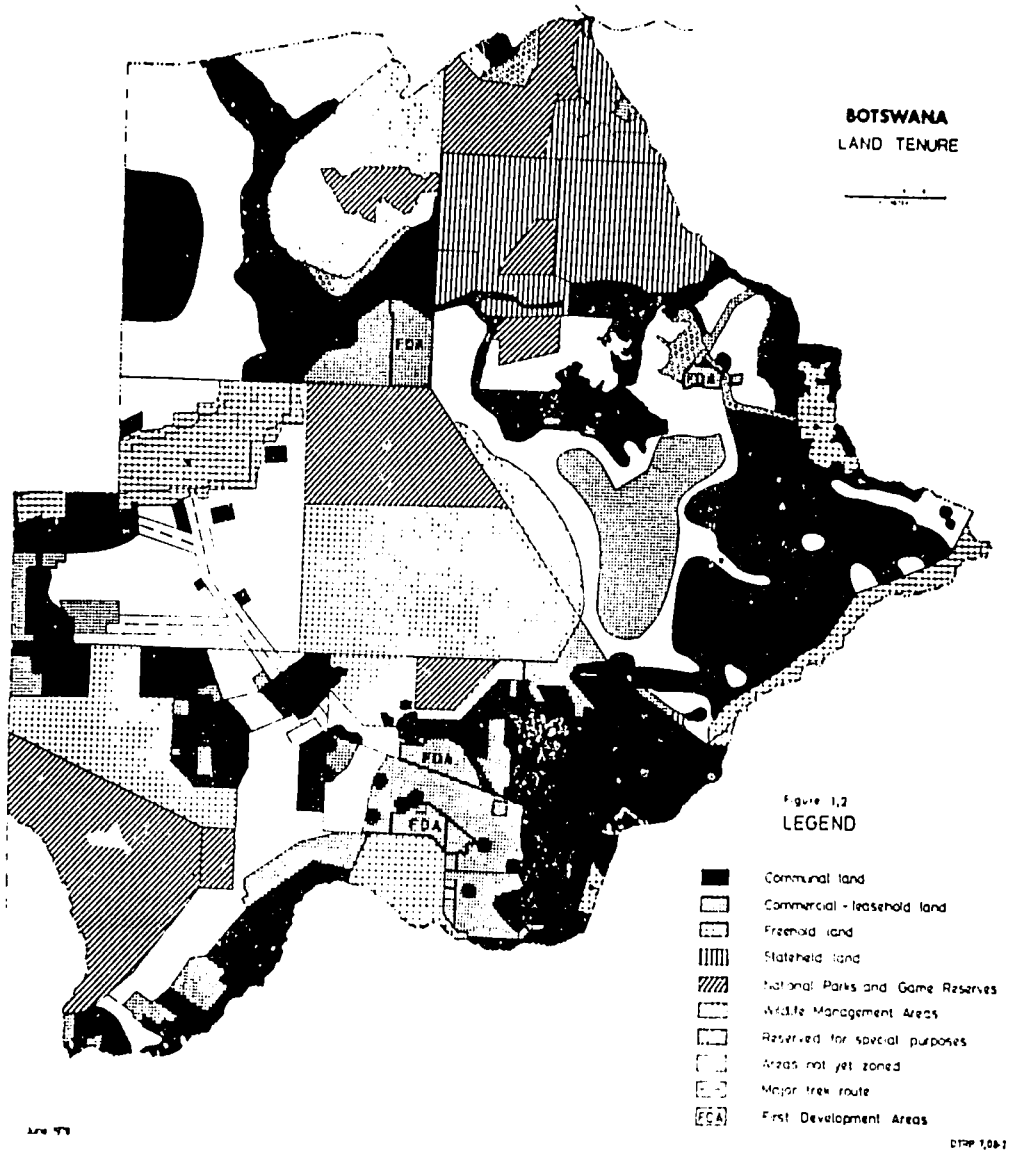
In the areas in the south where population pressure is relatively high, the acreage of arable land in the valley areas increases at the expense of grazing, and only the hills remain exclusively as grazing ground. In much of Bamalete area, the whole of Barolong, parts of N.E. Ngwaketse, S. Kweneng and in Kgatleng around Moshupa, Thamaga, Mmankgodi, Manyana, Kopong and Mochudi, the lands to grazing ratio approximates 50:50. not only is competition for grazing or crops so tight, but inevitably too, farmers in any one lands area do not have any grazing "to themselves". All the grazing is shared, often under considerable pressure, and often between farmers from several different villages or even Districts.

Travelling north into Central Region, the same fundamental problems are discernible though generally under far less pressure. The hills to the north of Shoshong are a shared grazing for Shoshong, Kalamare, Mmutlane and Mosolotshane. The Tswapong hills are shared by the Tswapong villages. The lower population means that there is far less patchiness of arable and grazing on the flat land. Most land areas are still quite distinct from the surrounding grazing, although even in this flatter country the latter is still shared and boundaries are hard to define.

PRESENT LAND USE IN BOTSWANA



Reproduced from Republic of Botswana National Development Plan (1976-81), p. 14


BOTSWANA
LAND TENURE
FDA
FDA
FDA
FDA
Figure 1.2
LEGEND
Communal land
Commercial - leasehold land
Freehold land
Stateheld land
National Parks and Game Reserves
Wildlife Management Areas
Reserved for special purposes
Areas not yet zoned
Major trek route
FDA First Development Areas

Further away from the communal village (lands) grazing areas, particularly in Central Region, are "grey" areas of grazing, i.e. something between true communal and commercial areas. These are areas where individuals first managed to sink wells and (most commonly) hand equip them, or more recently boreholes. Due to the 5 mile LB rule for spacing between cattlepost water sources which has been more or less observed, these areas have tended to remain less densely populated. The herd sizes are mostly in the range of 70 to 100; few owners would have under 40 head of cattle. A few (six, at Kgophathate for example) even have over 200 head. The origins of the cattle owners in these areas have always been mixed in the sense that they come from various localities. Kgophathate is a good example - an area primarily of cattleposts between Mogapi and Maunatlala. Cattlepost owners in the area come from as far and wide as Mogapi, Mauntatlala, Lesenepole, Kgagodi, Mogapinyana and Serowe. The Morale cattlepost area just 10-15 miles SW of Mahalapye is a mixture of people originating from Bokaa ward; Shoshong, Pilikwe, and Nkwana and Sosome wards in Serowe, as well as people more recently settled in Mahalapye.

It is interesting to note that most of group initiative for communal ranching is coming from these areas: the cattle numbers are right, the land is suitable and the people ("rich peasants" by Cooper's definition) are well able to take advantage of the opportunity. Taking Eastern Botswana as a whole, however, these "grey" areas are atypical.

Continuing north, the Bokalaka area is essentially flat compared with the south and so soils and water availability are key factors in land use patterns. However, pressure of population combined with the Kalunga scattered homestead (villages, fields and livestock all at one site) settlement pattern make the Tati District a unique case.

Tutume District and the Makaleng villages follow the Tswana settlement pattern of distinct blocks of arable lands separate from the village. Livestock tend however to be kraaled in or near villages rather than at the lands as is the case elsewhere.

North West District is another very special situation. The abundance of natural water in the Boteti river, Okavango delta, and down to Lake Ngami has resulted in a settlement pattern based on proximity to water. The villages and clusters of scattered lands fringe the Boteti and the Okavango margins. This scatter of population can make coming together for meetings a problem. The clusters of lands on the other hand are perfectly technical cases for communal fencing enclosures. Bush fencing of lands is universal due to their proximity to the rivers where cattle and wildlife wander down through the land areas to water.

8.8. LOSS OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

It is no longer easy to find examples of land areas farmed by people from one particular village ward. Since the early 1960s the Kapye lands area started to have farmers allocated there from other wards. The Manatsane lands area north of Mmadinare used to be for Mathabi ward but for the last 40 years has become steadily mixed with farmers from other wards. The huge Manoko lands area west of Kopong is a mixture of people from Thamaga, Molepolole, Mmankgodi, Gabane and Kumakware; i.e. a mixture even of different tribes - the Bakgatla, Bakmena and Bafhurutshe. The Seqakwana lands area 20 miles S.E. of Serowe contain farmers from 8 Serowe wards - Mapoka, Masilo, Matsho, Sebina, Chicana, Ditima Modimo, Morokwenaand Mmaloswane. The picture is the same over the whole country.

The implications are important for group development. The organisation of group activities in the lands has now increasingly become a function of new institutions formed at the lands on the basis of neighbour relationships. Organisation can rarely be a function of the village leadership operating through the headman, ward headman and 'kgotlas'. Village leadership and the role of the 'kgotla' of course remains important for such purposes as consultation, encouragement, solidarity and sanction of farmer activities.

Sharing of grazing has similar implications for group development activities. It requires co-operation between the separate communities involved; no one headman can succeed in enforcing what should be done in an area where some farmers originate from other communities. This problem proved to be one major reason for the collapse of the RLMP in Tsetsejwe. Developments can be achieved by cooperation as between the Mookare and Mmaphashala FCs in planning a firebreak in their combined grazing.

One of the most poignant examples is perhaps the attempt to form a communal "ranching" group at Thagasanong near Kgagodi in Central District where internal social division and mutual suspicion between the two most influential families made co-operation absolutely impossible. The case is detailed in Chapter 11.

This disagreement was in a more or less homogeneous area in terms of farmers' village origins. The added difficulties in areas where no traditional leadership exists and people are from widely different places can be imagined.

8.9. THE LOSS OF HERDBOYS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF WATER AVAILABILITY IN THE GRAZING AREAS

In the past every herd of cattle had a herdboy who could accompany the cattle up onto the hills or out to wherever the nearby grazing was, and return with them in the evening to be kraaled. During the cropping season it used to be common for many of the smaller owner families to maintain a separate cattlepost in the nearby grazing while water was available from the rains, leaving the herdboys with the cattle and the owner going out to check things every few days from the lands home.

Since the advent of widespread primary and secondary education, the herdboy labour force has almost disappeared. To hire someone to herd is becoming expensive - from 2-4 beasts each year as payment in the communal areas. The labour situation in the sandveld is rather different.

Nowadays a small owner has to find ways of herding his cattle himself, and it is in this connection that the distribution of water sources in the communal areas becomes critical.

"Water supply at the lands" is a commonly noted problem, appearing in many AD's annual plans through Eastern Botswana. Typically, in any given area there are several types of water supply of varying permanence, reliability and proximity to the lands homestead.

In the hilly areas, like the Tswapong, cattle can go up into the hills to graze during the rains and stay there without being kraaled or herded. However, the water sources may dry up two weeks after rain and, as at Polokwe in Moshupa South, cattle start straying and returning down the hill to the water sources in the lands, causing crop damage, particularly at night.

8.10. THE EFFECT OF NATURAL DISASTER

Overlaid onto these various aspects of the contemporary environment in the communal areas we may find the effect of disaster.

In the North West both drought and foot and mouth disease have had a drastic impact. This is a district where income is derived mainly from wildlife and cattle. 75% of arable holdings are under 7 acres in size, and cropping takes a definite second place as a way of life for it is too expensive and risky an activity compared with cattle raising. The lack of rain has caused the band of communal grazing along the Boteti, around Lake Ngami and along the south and south east of the Okavango delta to become severely overgrazed, and cattle have died in some areas.

The urgent priority for farmers is to develop water sources away from the overcrowded river margins. But foot and mouth disease has removed both the opportunity to market cattle - thus aggravating overstocking - and the source of income to pay for such developments. People have therefore moved their cattle further north and west from where they were before, converging on the sandveld tongue and around the previously less densely stocked Okavango delta margins. This in turn is creating increased land pressures and crop damage in areas which, under the Bayei, were mainly arable and fishing.

Natural disasters, in other words, deeply influence and upset the often already precarious balance of life in the communal areas. Due to foot and mouth disease, drought and lack of income, farmers have scattered to look for work. This in turn retards progress on communal projects that could have been developed, and alters people's short and long term priorities, making it very difficult to know what types of development projects to encourage. Will the men of Sehitwa, working in May 1980 for P.1.00 a day on the Tsau road, remain committed to the fisheries project they were forming with heavy AE.10 grant assistance, once cattle can again be sold?

8.11. THE UNREALISTIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE TARGET GROUP AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF EXTENSION WORKERS

A final important aspect of the environment of the target group of the group development programme, though it is one that is less tangible than the others outlined above, concerns the aspirations of the target group and the contribution that extension workers are making to these aspirations.

Batswana are still cattleowners at heart. Almost every Motswana, even the urbanised, aspire to own cattle. Whether they aspire to farm as well is a matter more of alternative economic opportunities, but the economics of cattle are so attractive and the management so easy relative to other occupations, that cattle rearing comes out number one, that is, after the most lucrative of urban salaried forms of employment.

The chances for everyone to pursue the objective of cattle ownership, however, are limited and are becoming increasingly so. The trends alluded to by Fosbrooke and by Chambers and Feldman and many others have happened fast: by the time land use plans were drawn up for TGLP there was little land available for the reserved areas for future ranch development by the upward mobility of today's poorer peasantry. The trend indeed is towards less mobility in any direction. All Batswana cannot aim to build up viable economic herds of 60-70 plus in the communal areas and then ship them to TGLP ranches in the commercial areas because there is not adequate grazing in either.

Current extension philosophy, however, tends to encourage the idea that it is possible for everyone to become a "big" cattle owner.

There is also a tendency for the rural smallholder not to be aware of the important role of the group development programme. He sees the initial thrust of TGLP being concentrated on the commercial areas and feels that nothing is happening in the communal areas. The message that needs to be extended to him is that group development aims at a growth of administrative capacity in the communal areas which is necessary if people are to be able to cope with the problems of rural development in a constructive and democratic way.

Extension workers also need to be able to communicate a greater awareness of the overall situation in the country to the small farmer, so that he may get his aspirations in better perspective. Fortunately it is being increasingly recognised that TGLP must be just one component in wider rural development strategy. The low-income rural smallholder secures a livelihood in a precarious way from several sources, including arable activities, livestock, traditional and newer forms of dependancy relationship, periodic urban employment or links with the urban employed, collecting and selling firewood, brewing beer, and hunting and gathering. Much more attention is therefore being directed towards the introduction of programmes that can strengthen more diverse types of employment. ALDEP is the only one of these alternative opportunity programmes yet to appear on the same scale as TGLP.

8.12. CONCLUSIONS

The situation and problems of the communal areas are complex. It is important to grasp the situation as well as possible so that those involved may be made aware of the issues and opportunities. In this way the rural smallholder may avoid being left behind as development proceeds. Government policy is that decisions must be made increasingly at community level: realistic decisions can only be made by the low income peasant when he is both well-informed and has a real capacity to act. Hence the importance of the group development programme, both as a means for building up capacity and as a channel through which issues may be communicated.

The complexity of the situation calls for proceeding with caution. This is the aim of the"gradualist" approach of building up groups.

There is also a need for the objectives of extension strategy to be clarified in the light of the situation in the communal areas. It should be possible, as definitions of the problems of the poor and middle peasantry are improved, for strategy to be presented in the form of actual possible group projects.

8.13 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 8

8.1. The importance of understanding the environment

If the group development programme is to be of real help to the low income rural smallholders, the dynamic social and geographical environment in which they live must be clearly understood.

8.2. Interest in communal and commercial areas

The main concern of the programme is with the communal areas, but it is realised that the commercial areas may also be important to the smallholder for TGLP encourages groups of smallholders to form ranches here.

8.3. Some misconceptions

Some misconceptions of rural life must be abandonned. It is not true that nearly half the population own no cattle. It is not true that most Batswana have three distinct homes, or that lands and grazing areas neatly correspond to village wards, each with its own headman.

8.4. This chapter

This chapter briefly outlines what the author, drawing on work by Cooper and on field observations, considers to be the actual dynamic pattern of rural life in Botswana, but does not claim to be a complete picture.

8.5. A clearer picture of cattle ownership

Only a quarter to a third of families own no cattle, and are mostly households headed by females, old men or unmarried sons, concentrated in the smaller villages. Over half the peasantry own 1-40 cattle. Cooper provides a classification into "poor", "middle" and "rich" peasantry based on the number of cattle owned. The first group is least secure and members own less than 20 cattle. About 1/3 of the population are "poor" peasants. Ownership of a few cattle may be concealed by their being in the custody of a senior person in the family.

8.6. How many homes do people have?

90% of rural households have only one or two homes. Livestock are kept at the lands homes of these households.

8.7. What is the pattern of lands and grazing?

Lands areas are a mixture of lands and grazing areas. In the south of Botswana the hills are grazing areas and the valleys between are a mixture of lands and grazing, except when population density is high resulting in a higher percentage of lands areas. This puts pressure on the remaining grazing. In Central Region hills are shared as grazing but competition on the wider extent of flat land is lower than in the south. Beyond the communal areas are "grey areas" sparsely populated by middle or rich peasantry from various places. Much initiative for communal ranching comes from these people. In the Bokalaka is a unique settlement pattern of scattered homes over a fairly flat area. Tutume District resembles Central Region but cattle are kraaled near villages. In the North West lands settlements cluster along the rivers.

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Agricultural Group Development in Botswana

Volume II
Chapters 9 - 16

A. B. J. Willett

Agricultural Management Associations
Ministry of Agriculture
October, 1981

AGRICULTURAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

A preliminary survey of the experience of the Group Development Programme of the Division of Agricultural Management Associations within the Department of Agricultural Field Services, Ministry of Agriculture, Botswana.

For USAID/Botswana

By
A. B. J. Willett

October, 1981

Volume II: Chapters 9 - 16

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SOURCES

* Author's sket .

3 Key applies to maps adapted from sources

4 Provided by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs

5 Reproduced from CAPAD booklet, originally produced by DO(L), Serowe

6 Kindly drawn specially by DO(L), Tutume: G. Dyce

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9 Adapted from originals by DO(L), Bamalete/Flokweng: D. Luijt

10 Adapted from originals by DO(L), Serowe: F. Yaxley

11 Reproduced from the Matsheng Land Use Plan memorandum, 1979

12 Reproduced from "The Structure of Agricultural Transformation in Barolong: towards an integrated development plan" by J. L. Comaroff, January 1977

13 Adapted from maps originally produced by DO(L), Barolong: K. Traynor; kindly provided by the Rolong Land Board

14 Reproduced from Sheep and Goat Development Project (Phase 1), April 1977; Smallstock Unit, Ministry of Agriculture

15 Reproduced from "Settlement Strategy, Kgatleng District" draft report, July 1980, Department of Town and Regional Planning; kindly provided by A. Lapointe

RECOMMENDATIONS: Volume II

Recommendations from Chapters 10-16 of this study are summarized by chapter and presented in the following section. Recommendations from Chapters 17-26 are presented in Volume III. A complete summary of all recommendattons appears in Volume I.

Supporting arguments and contextual references of each recommendation are found in the respective chapters.

CHAPTER 10: COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS HOW IT IS PROCEEDING AND HOW IT CAN BE HELPED

BY-LAWS

R10/1: It is recommended that much more attention is paid to the drafting of by-laws in the initial planning stages when projects are designed and objectives agreed.

CONSULTATION

R10/2: It is recommended that internal consultation is stressed as part of the formal planning and approval procedure for communal fencing projects.

R10/3: It is recommended that intensive adult education campaigns, demonstrations and training courses are held where projects are proposed in order to make the whole community aware of the issues involved in fencing and thus make consultation truly effective.

R10/4: It is recommended that local extension workers (ADs) receive special training in internal consultation, so that they are fully aware of what is involved and of the need for a patient, long-term approach.

R10/5: It is recommended that special emphasis is placed on competence in consultation in management committee training.

FENCE OBJECTIVES AND DESIGN

R10/6: It is recommended that the fencing of an individual's lands is encouraged if it is really impossible in that individual's situation to otherwise ensure the movement of other farmers' cattle out of the lands and thus permit the individual to plough early, or if the individual desires to reserve winter fodder for specific categories of stock, or possibly for dairying.

R10/7: It is recommended that individual fencing is encouraged if there is in the area adequate water, arable soil and grazing space to support a prosperous community operating from individual homesteads.

R10/8: It is recommended that individual fencing is encouraged if social and political factors definitely make it difficult in the short-term for the individual to join a group enclosure.

R10/9: It is recommended that the trend towards large arable enclaves and enclosures is halted.

R10/10: It is recommended that, in cases where large lands enclosures are proposed in order to include room for arable expansion within the fence on unallocated areas presently used for grazing, more attention should instead be given to land consolidation through registration.

R10/11. It is recommended that small and medium sized blocks of arable lands are aimed at as the most ideal for the target group farmer.

R10/12: It is recommended that in very densely populated areas studies are made of the possibility of tractor ownership or hiring, of substituting donkeys for oxen as draft power, of discouraging big arable users from swallowing up land, of registering land to consolidate scattered fields, and of intensifying husbandry techniques.

R10/13: It is recommended that in more remote areas, where tractor farming is less feasible, attention should be paid to the objectives of reserving fodder for draft power, and ensuring adequate access to grazing during the ploughing season.

R10/14: It is recommended that priority is given to working out a long term land use strategy for Botswana.

R10/15: It is recommended that land use staff make it an immediate priority to scrutinize existing and upcoming projects in the light of the issues which have been discussed.

FUNDING POLICY

R10/16: It is recommended that provision for labour grants is completely removed.

R10/17: It is recommended that the level of the individual grant is reduced, e.g. to 25%.

R10/18: It is recommended that the cost of fencing is reduced either through the use of the cheapest effective specifications or Government subsidised prices. Fence specifications should be standardised to eliminate unfairness in grant awards.

R10/19: It is recommended that up to 4 individuals should be allowed to take advantage of ALDEP loan subsidy packages, e.g. at a rate of 25% each without a labour grant and in a cumulative way, in order to fence their lands jointly.

R10/20: It is recommended that a 50% grant should be the maximum for groups of around 5-10 people.

R10/21: It is recommended that grants for over about 10 people should continue to be given for any sized area and at a rate of 50%, but applied with discretion.

R10/22: It is recommended that every effort should be made to erase the "10%" interpretation which has become mistakenly regarded as a target in AEIO.

R10/23. It is recommended that the loan/subsidy concept should be extended across the board.

(N.B. While the figures in these recommendations (R10/16-R10/23) should be regarded as tenative pending further calculation and discussion, the principles behind them are firmly advocated).

R10/24: It is recommended that funding policies are used with discretion at all levels, in order to allow for the variations in local conditions.

R10/25: It is recommended that more work is done on costs and benefits, and more micro-level research is carried out before any final funding policy is adopted.

R10/26: It is recommended that Districts are given opportunities to comment and encouraged and assisted to develop strategies and policies appropriate to their own local situations.

SUPPORT

R10/27: It is recommended that the basic support function is to help farmers become aware of project alternatives that are desirable in the long-term, not just to help them pursue their defined objectives.

R10/28: It is recommended that proposed project areas are mapped. Maps should give information about present land use and the distribution of water sources. Ideally, information on soils and land capability should also be shown.

R10/29: It is recommended that SLOCA fencing demonstrations should be used not just to show what different types of fencing are available, but as a training resource to teach groups the skills needed to put up different fences and about the relative costs of different fence specifications. ADs should be provided with clear, practical, technical guidelines on specifications to pass on to fence committees.

R10/30: It is recommended that a priority group development role should be to facilitate the election of a representative and competent committee to manage a project.

R10/31: It is recommended that group development personnel help groups with consultation and by-laws.

R10/32: It is recommended that management committees receive specific training in planning concepts, potential problem analysis, relationships with Land Boards, internal and external consultation, by-law preparation, organisational skills, funds and record keeping. This training should help with short-term management problems and with understanding long-term communal area development.

R10/33: It is recommended that special guidelines should be prepared for regional staff on how to deal with the specialist support functions needed for a fencing project. That is, what the support functions are, whose responsibility they are and at what stage in implementation they are required.

R10/34: It is recommended that man-power resources in land use planning and mapping in all the Districts are inventoried, and that skills are more evenly distributed by reassignment, recruitment and training.

R10/35: It is recommended that a workshop is convened, representing different regions, specialists with different support functions and HQ representatives, to share ideas on monitoring support and work out procedures.

RESEARCH

R10/36: It is recommended that further research is undertaken by a joint collaboration of The Rural Sociology Unit, The Action Research Unit of Ag. Inf., The Institute of Adult Education, The ELGL Research Unit, technical divisions of MOA and regional and district staff.

R10/37: It is recommended that research is carried out on projects in the various stages of completion and including all the different types of design. Topics researched should be the length of time of project implementation, support problems, land use planning, objectives, design and by-laws, land use, participation, potential problems, grants, local income level and management. Attention should particularly be given to cases where group and individual fencing coexists, where the distinction between arable and grazing enclosure is unclear, and to the impact of fences on livestock.

CHAPTER 11: FENCING FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF LIVESTOCK ON COMMUNAL GRAZING

THE SEARCH FOR REPLICABLE COMMUNAL GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

R11/1: It is recommended that DAFS assign responsibility for relevant sections of Chambers' and Feldman's report to be reproduced for distribution to field staff and that concepts be discussed in workshops of the appropriate support staff and at seminars and field staff meetings so that staff have a better understanding of what they are involved with.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

R11/2: It is recommended that preparatory institutional development be the first step in a land use planning exercise, before survey, draft plan preparation, plan review and amendment and project preparation.

TOTAL APPROACH - BAROLONG

R11/3: It is recommended that there be close investigation of membership of the Barolong grazing enclosure groups through micro level studies.

R11/4: It is recommended that the situation in the Barolong with regard to the status of unplanned land is investigated.

R11/5: It is recommended that in the immediate future attention is concentrated on the group development and the build up of representative rural institutions.

R11/6: It is recommended that the framework for a land use planning exercise devised from the Matsheng experience is adopted in the Barolong.

R11/7: It is recommended that opportunities be explored, within the Barolong area, for where a total approach could be piloted in a small geographical area. Areas where there has been wide involvement in other communal schemes may be most suitable.

R11/8: It is recommended that total enclosure units form the geographic basis for piloting the total approach in the Barolong and that efforts at group development be concentrated towards this objective.

TOTAL APPROACH - CONCLUSIONS

R11/9: It is recommended that efforts in identifying the extent of grazing areas be concentrated in areas where farmers have undertaken areawide projects and the users of shared grazing are known.

R11/10: It is recommended that in areas of severe land pressure and overstocking fencing between lands and grazing areas should be permitted only where lands are consolidated.

R11/11: It is recommended that full-scale grazing enclosures should not be encouraged outside a comprehensive land use plan.

R11/12: It is recommended that arable land be allowed to be fenced in smaller blocks until a land use plan is made.

R11/13: It is recommended that the effect of fencing off the grazing areas on the grazing itself and on livestock productivity should be investigated - in future range and Animal Production research.

R11/14: It is recommended that these studies (R11/13) be augmented with socio-economic studies on the attitudes and problems of farmers of different income levels.

R11/15: It is recommended that priority be given to water development.

R11/16: It is recommended that more effort is put into campaigns, training, farmer public education and group training in order to increase knowledge of range and livestock management and develop the planning and management capability at farmer and District level.

R11/17: It is recommended that farmers should be involved at the earliest stages in land use planning by means of representative farmer level institutions.

TYPE B RANCHES

BDA RANCH (see also R11/22, 23, 53)

R11/18: It is recommended that the history of the fattening operation at the BDA be investigated.

R11/19: It is recommended that every effort be made to discover as fully as possible the financial experience of the BDA ranch.

RLFA (see also R11/54)

R11/20: It is recommended that the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association be regarded in official quarters as a scheme which could effect a breakthrough in communal grazing management.

R11/21: It is recommended that all relevant departments be involved together with local extension staff and the authorities in South East District in supporting and monitoring progress at Rankoromane. A sensitive approach will be necessary free from the pressure for early achievement and which does not dwarf local participation or leadership.

BDA - APPROACH

R11/22: It is recommended that the authorities who make the decision on the future of the BDA ranch be advised fully on the possible alternatives.

R11/23: It is recommended that an open organisational system is adopted at BDA. A special effort should be made to develop FCs partly for the sake of consultation. FC members should be trained at MRTC. Public education should be conducted in the community. Action Research Unit should investigate the skills, knowledge and attitudes of farmers to communal livestock and grazing management in the area.

MABELEAPUDI (see also R11/52)

R11/24: It is recommended that the SBDT make it clear publicly that the capital development debt is written off.

R11/25: It is recommended that the share capital by-laws are reviewed.

R11/26: It is recommended that the Society is eventually liquidated and replaced by a locally based organisation, possibly an AMA.

R11/27: It is recommended that CODEC considers whether it is in a position to deal with the Mabeleapudi ranch as a ranching co-operative in the future.

R11/28: It is recommended that Mabeleapudi be developed as an open scheme. There should be more discussion of alternatives.

R11/29: If an open model is accepted, it is recommended that an active community and group development programme be embarked upon.

R11/30: It is recommended that it be realised that setting up a ranch before understanding the clientele was a mistake, and that more sensitivity is needed in the future.

R11/31: It is recommended that the local community be drawn into participatory management of the fattening ranch as part of the preparatory farmer training for future reorganisation.

THE ECONOMICS OF B RANCHES

R11/32: It is recommended that ranch extension staff make a thorough analysis of the economics of type B ranches in terms of their classification.

TYPE C RANCHES

THABALA

R11/33: It is recommended that as soon as is appropriate from the Thabala FC's point of view, APRU, ranch extension and group development staff consult with the FC to investigate the Thabala proposals thoroughly.

R11/34: It is recommended that a close study should be made of the possible dual purpose role of lands enclosures at Thabala.

GENERAL

R11/35: It is recommended that the way the dual purpose role of lands enclosures generally could be utilised for type C ranches is studied.

R11/36: It is recommended that the 50% grant, 50% loan funding under Livestock Project II communal credit schemes is not withdrawn.

APRU CELLS

R11/37: It is recommended that if access for the purposes of research and demonstration is required in the real problem parts of the communal areas, there must be dramatic forms of compensation.

R11/38: It is recommended that more negotiation be carried out in order to arrive at an acceptable type of project.

R11/39: It is recommended that farmer interests are accommodated and farmer acceptance of APRU cells gained by greater flexibility in the management of the cell, including fattening older animals and AI on heifers.

R11/40: It is recommended that more attention be paid to institutional development than 'kgotla' presentations.

R11/41: It is recommended that comprehensive public education campaigns be carried out where APRU cells are proposed.

R11/42: It is recommended that land use and management surveys be conducted in areas where APRU cells are proposed.

R11/43: It is recommended that a gradual group development approach be pursued.

TYPE D RANCHES

R11/44: It is recommended that a total, not a partial closed, system be adopted in communal areas.

R11/45: It is recommended that "grey" areas have partial open development schemes.

MORALE

R11/46: It is recommended that arable and communal grazing interests be integrated at Morale and that the Morale Associated Cattlemen pursue serious commercial ranching objectives in the commercial zone.

R11/47: It is recommended that consultation in the Morale area depends not just on 'kgotla' discussion but on visits to the area by Land Board and talks with the people.

R11/48: It is recommended that more emphasis be placed on institutional development in order to reach the majority of farmers.

R11/49: It is recommended that the Mahalapye Sub Land Board and senior Sub Tribal Authority be thoroughly briefed on the long term issues relevant at Morale.

R11/50: It is recommended that Land Boards be provided with and made aware of the use of resources from MLGL's "Implementation of Land Use Plans".

OVERALL CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS

R11/51: It is recommended that technical and organisational guidelines be developed on the basis of Chambers' and Feldman's classification system.

MABELEAPUDI - PARTICIPATION

R11/52: It is recommended that probable reluctance of part ofthe Mabeleapudi community to agree to the use of part of the communal area only by the poorer sector be investigated by Rural Sociology.

BDA - PARTICIPATION

R11/53: It is recommended that every effort be made to explore the possibilities of the BDA ranch as a community managed project.

RLFA - PARTICIPATION

R11/54: It is recommended that the membership of the RLFA and its relationship to the village and lands communities at Rankoromane be studied.

TYPES D and E

R11/55: It is recommended that the proposals for D and E ranches be changed to open schemes.

GENERAL

R11/56: It is recommended that far more attention be given to institutional development, consciously relating the organisational system of a (proposed) ranch, i.e. whether "A", "B" etc. to the land pressure situation.

R11/57: It is recommended that further research be done in order to answer questions about the actual management systems and perceptions of small farmers in communal areas.

R11/58: It is recommended that every group of farmers trained is entered into dialogue with about long term management issues.

R11/59: It is recommended that in areas where there is land pressure or where pressure is anticipated, a total type A system be implemented, involving comprehensive land use planning and institutional development.

R11/60: It is recommended that elsewhere in the communal areas type B and C schemes be implemented, still involving surveys and consultation.

R11/61: It is recommended that in developing guidelines to support Regional staff in investigating land use and management, the experience of the Matsheng exercise, the Morale investigation, the Action Research Unit's Kgatleng survey and Central Region's attempts for Thagasanong

and RLMP projects all be taken into account.

R11/62: It is recommended that a partnership between Rural Sociology and Action Research be discussed with the purpose of setting up a support capability for regional staff carrying out consultation exercises.

R11/64: It is recommended that a spatial land use plan for the development of livestock infrastructure in the communal areas be drawn up, perhaps including such points as small facilities in mixed lands areas, larger facilities in grazing areas, the build up of projects from small to large, and the relevance of anticipation of organisational as well as technical factors.

R11/65: It is recommended that a management plan for improved animal husbandry programmes should consider which practices are suitable for individuals and which for groups. The appropriate season for the practices and the effect on livestock of drift fences, water and herding.

R11/66: It is recommended that the type of institutional development in an area be linked as appropriate to the type of project and management which suits the area.

CHAPTER 12: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON DAIRY RANCHING IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

R12/1: It is recommended that improvements in milk production be limited to helping individual farmers, not groups.

R12/2: It is recommended that every possible effort should be made in the two cases where dairy ranches are already being developed (Mmadinare and Thamalakane) to facilitate the genuine build up of local management competence.

R12/3: It is recommended that future extension should emphasise group action by many small producers in the communal areas in transporting of milk to reception centres.

R12/4: It is recommended that the possibility of group (perhaps AMA) organisation of milk filtering facilities should be considered in the smaller population centres.

R12/5: It is recommended that, due to the limited distribution of Dairy ADs in the Extension Areas, much more effort should be made to improve communications between Dairy and Extension Areas ADs. Extension Area ADs should be more involved in Dairying extension activities.

CHAPTER 13 : GROUP RANCHING IN THE TGLP COMMERCIAL AREAS

PARTICIPATION

R13/1 : It is recommended that a study is made of the lessees of the Ncojane ranches, comparing those from nearby villages and those from more distant villages, looking in particular for any differences in herd ownership, commercial attitudes and management ability.

R13/2 : It is recommended that further research is carried out on participation in the Nata ranch syndicates focussing particularly on the locational aspects.

R13/3 : It is recommended that more detailed data are collected on the social background of members of the proposed Southern Region AMAs to enable comparison to be made with Selebalo experience.

MANAGEMENT

R13/4 : It is recommended that no amount of effort should be spared in the group development process to educate prospective ranch group members on the meaning and practice of management and the manager role.

SOCIAL FACTORS

R13/5 : It is recommended that comparative micro-level studies of the participants in smaller syndicates and in larger groups are made in order to improve knowledge of the influence of social factors.

PROXIMITY OF RANCHES TO COMMUNAL AREAS

R13/6 : It is recommended that the great distance of commercial ranches from communal areas receives consideration in future research, planning and development.

R13/7 : It is recommended that communal area problems and needs are considered much more carefully in the planning for the communal areas actually located within the commercial zone. Priority should be given to institutional development to enable the necessary consultation for this planning and subsequent development activities to take place.

R13/8 : It is recommended that closer study of participation in Southern Region's proposed AMA ranch groups should be a priority research area in order to discover more exactly what impact, if any, the group ranch pilot project has had on participation by the target group.

R13/9 : It is recommended that all Districts give maximum attention in TGLP zoning policy, ranch demarcation and communal area planning and development, to facilitating target group participation in commercial ranching.

R13/10 : It is recommended that not only must ranches be reserved for AMA groups but that they should be reserved as near as possible to the communal areas.

communal zone.

LAND STRATEGY

R13/23 : It is recommended that much more time and attention should be devoted in District Development or special Land Board /LUPAG/specialist staff conferences to strategy areas.

R13/24 : It is recommended that further research along the lines of Cooper's report is carried out to improve understanding of the pattern of small owner management.

R13/25 : It is recommended that shorter term leases should be considered for groups allocated sites in the communal margin areas.

R13/26 : It is recommended that the possibilities for using the grazier scheme to help small owners build up their herds are studied.

R13/27 : It is recommended that forms of subsidy assistance are graduated according to type of group or individual and related to location.

SUPPORT

R13/28 : It is recommended that films are made about the processes of ranch group formation.

R13/29 : It is recommended that USAID consider providing the technical expertise and resources for the production of films through the Amended RLMP.

R13/30 : It is recommended that there is closer technical supervision of demonstration facilities and transfer of staff where necessary to help ensure a more effective support presence in each region.

R13/31 : It is recommended that there are clearer guidelines on the use of ranch extension and SLOCA demonstration programmes.

R13/32 : It is recommended that arrangements with Brigades for the use of their ranches as demonstration facilities are encouraged.

R13/33 : It is recommended that in inservice training field staff are encouraged to use demonstration facilities, once guidelines are produced for group ranching.

R13/34 : It is recommended that demonstration facilities are sited in the commercial group formation zone.

R13/35 : It is recommended that there is greater flexibility in the use of Government transport to allow prospective members of commercial ranching groups to travel to see the sites of their ranches or the general development areas.

CHAPTER 14: GROUP ACTIVITY IN WATER DEVELOPMENT

SITING AND DESIGN OF DAMS

R14/1: It is recommended that emphasis on alternative water sources is increased so that ADs do not just have th option of encouraging a dam group where alternatives would be more appropriate.

R14/2: It is recommended that the SDU, on completion of their survey, discuss with Regional staff the cases requiring attention because of poor siting or design and jointly devise a strategy and schedule for their improvement.

FENCING DAMS

R14/3: It is recommended that the Division of Land Utilisation issue clear guidelines on the question of fencing dams, clarifying in particular the responsibility of groups and the role of SDU support crews.

R14/4: It is recommended that groups are supplied with adequate fencing materials and that these should be delivered in good time as far as possible to neable the group to fence before the dam fills.

R14/5: It is recommended that groups are trained to construct fences (including the provision of a sketch plan showing the recommended fence line corresponding with the quantity of fence wire issued).

MAINTENANCE OF DAMS

R14/6: It is recommended that fencing and concrete work crews should be redeployed as additional technical support to assist regional, RTC and field staff in the training of dam group committees and members to take over increasing responsibility for the repair and maintenance of dams.

TECHNICAL GUIDELINES

R14/7: It is recommended that technical guidelines on dam maintenance are provided as an early step in introducing effective support.

MANAGING DAM GROUPS

R14/8: It is recommended that all dam groups should be encouraged to elect formal management committees.

R14/9: It is recommended that a serious enquiry is made into group fund raising through the collection of fees.

R14/10: It is recommended that record keeping, bookkeeping and committee functions should be properly covered in training programmes for dam groups and appropriate ledgers provided to each group to assist committee office bearers to put in practice the training.

R14/11: It is recommended that committee and group training should explore the broader issues and problems facing dam groups.

R14/12: It is recommended that Conservation Committees, the SDU and local politicians, as well as the relevant support staff, should attend field courses for dam groups.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

R14/13: It is recommended that the group development function is to facilitate the development of area-wide institutions which can assist the consultation and land use planning process in water development.

CONTROLLING THE USE OF DAMS

R14/14: It is recommended that the solution to the problem of controlling the use of dams must come from an all embracing water development and land use strategy, aimed at improving the distribution and availability of water and the control over where cattle graze and water.

R14/15: It is recommended that area-wide land use developments such as fencing be recognised as inter-related with water development.

BY-LAWS

R14/16: It is recommended that dam groups are guided and encouraged to draft by-laws appropriate to their situation.

CO-ORDINATION

R14/17: It is recommended that the management responsibility for the dam building programme is moved to the regions. It should be planned and monitored by the AO(LR) or LUO. SDU foremen should regularly attend district monthly meetings where they are operating so that progress and schedules can be followed more closely by regional staff.

R14/18: It is recommended that communications between SDU headquarters and the AO(LR)s are improved.

R14/19: It is recommended that a record keeping system is introduced in regional offices.

R14/20: It is recommended that regional land use staff should see water development as part of their land use planning work programme; a systematic mapping exercise, of dams initially, is needed in each region so that water distribution and problem areas can be identified more easily. It is hoped that the Water Points Survey will provide guidelines on priority planning.

R14/21: A planning/management flow diagram type procedure for the dam programme should be introduced in each region similar to the communal fencing procedure introduced by AO(LR) Central.

R14/22: It is recommended that regional staff, in co-operation with SDU, start by finding out where dams are, what condition they are in, what groups are called and what problems they have.

POLICY

R14/23: It is recommended that when the findings of the Water Points Survey are complete, District authorities should be closely involved in formulating future policy so that the confusion which has been a feature of the dam-building policy is not repeated.

PARTICIPATION

R14/24: It is recommended that there should be a workshop on the problems of dam group formation and management as a first step in facilitating community participation.

R14/25: It is recommended that more serious consideration is given to the use of labour intensive methods of construction as well as in subsequent repair and maintenance in order to encourage genuine group participation.

OLD DAMS

R14/26: It is recommended that any attempts to clarify ownership and then to support groups (whether UDCs or otherwise) managing old dams should be undertaken within the framework of a land use plan for the area seeking to assure adequate water distribution.

BOREHOLES - TOTENG

R14/27: It is recommended that a rational, professional investigation is made into the water situation at Toteng.

OLD BOREHOLES

R14/28: It is recommended that negotiation at a high level takes place on the issue of procedures for acquiring an old borehole in order to facilitate group initiatives.

AREAS UNDER PRESSURE

R14/29: It is recommended that the attention of Conservation Committees should be drawn by agricultural staff to areas under great pressures of over-grazing due to poor water distribution, and a greater sense of water development and land use strategy be introduced, and group action encouraged.

LARGE BOREHOLE GROUPS

R14/30: It is recommended that the opportunity for AMA registration for larger borehole development groups be explored further.

SUPPORT

R14/31: It is recommended that the issue of introducing proportional fees on cattle numbers in syndicate groups is recognized as within the compass of the group development programme as it concerns the target group.

R14/32: It is recommended that the CAMA office, with technical assistance from appropriate sources, develop materials to give syndicates more guidance on financial matters, budgeting to cover maintenance costs and including the training of syndicate committees in bookkeeping skills.

R14/33: It is recommended that guidelines are developed to assist field staff and local institutions in the processes involved in developing a borehole.

R14/34: It is recommended that the CAMA office liaise with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to clarify the differences between districts in policies and administration regarding syndicates.

R14/35: It is recommended that small scale catchment tanks should be encouraged wherever they are most appropriate.

R14/36: It is recommended that labour intensive methods in the development of group water sources (weirs, wells and dams) is encouraged to reduce the need for mechanised units.

CHAPTER 15: CATTLE HUSBANDRY GROUPS, MAINLY FOR TICK CONTROL

TICK CONTROL PROJECTS IN AREAS OF NATURAL DISASTER

R15/1: It is recommended that Government considers the problem of maintaining ongoing project activity during periods of natural disaster (drought, FMD) and reviews its policies on ways to assist groups in such circumstances.

MOTORISED SPRAY PUMPS

R15/2: It is recommended that in any demonstrations of motorised spray pump equipment there should be adequate explanation of the practical problems and expense of running the machine, and the need for proper handling facilities and transport.

PARTICIPATION AND FEES

R15/3: It is recommended that further research study the effect on participation of the operation of flat rate contribution systems and systems using high non member fees. The investigation should ensure that problems are not being created for the owners of smallest herds.

GUIDELINES

R15/4: It is recommended that fuller technical and practical guidelines are formulated for extension staff and groups, clearly explaining the advantages and problems of different methods in practical detail. Clear explanation of the way in which operating costs are calculated and guidelines on what fees to charge are needed.

R15/5: It is recommended that plans and specifications of alternative types of project are circulated more widely.

R15/6: It is recommended that a technical assessment is made on the IFPP design and if confirmed appropriate, that plans and visual aid materials be prepared and circulated to publicise it.

WATER SUPPLY

R15/7: It is recommended that in guidelines on the planning of livestock husbandry facilities, the relationship to water development should be clearer.

BY-LAWS

R15/8: It is recommended that the question of penalties and their possible alienating effect is emphasised in guidelines on by-laws for tick control.

GRANTS AND LOANS

R15/9: It is recommended that, when considering grant assistance for groups with a small membership, great care should be exercised in investigating the causes of the group's organisational difficulties.

R15/10: It is recommended that, with regard to SLOCA grants, groups should be encouraged to raise 50% of the actual costs.

R15/11: It is recommended that loans should be considered as an alternative form of finance in certain situations.

LAND USE PLANNING

R15/12: It is recommended that more attention is paid to the relation of tick control projects with the development of water and fencing. Large, central facilities may be most appropriate in permanent lands areas and in grazing areas while small scale facilities may be most appropriate in scattered or mixed settlement situations.

SUPPORT

R15/13: It is recommended that APOs in the regions are always involved in the preparation of training courses for project groups, and that a personal visit to the group by the APO is made so that training materials are prepared at the RTC appropriate to the group's situation.

R15/14: It is recommended that serious production of visual aids is carried out in order to get across a clear message about the different methods of tick control.

R15/15: It is recommended that major in-service training with a strong practical orientation is arranged for APOs, and appropriately concentrated training also for other regional and district field staff.

R15/16: It is recommended that guidelines on group tick control projects are developed as a component of guidelines on the broader package for group activity in cattle management.

R15/17: It is recommended that the administrators of SLOCA review the resources available to the Animal Production Division for developing extension materials and equipment and undertaking staff and farmer training. They should take any necessary steps to obtain additional funding or expertise to cover these needs.

CHAPTER 16: SMALLSTOCK MANAGEMENT GROUPS

GROUP SIZE AND AREAWIDE PARTICIPATION

R16/1: It is recommended that in research the experience of IFPP at Pelotshetlha (with 9 groups in one Extension Area) is compared to that of the rest of the country in respect of the appropriate size of a smallstock group's area.

GROUP FORMATION APPROACH

R16/2: It is recommended that in the second phase of SSU smallstock investigations extreme care is taken to encourage farmers to contribute as much as possible to treatments so that viable groups result.

GUIDELINES ON SMALLSTOCK MANAGEMENT

R16/3: It is recommended that guidelines are detailed on remedies for particular diseases, the need for specialists to identify diseases, frequency and regularity of treatment, hoof trimming, vaccination of kids and lambs, group action in other aspects of smallstock management (fencing, water troughs, improved distribution of water points) which aspects of management are the responsibility of individuals, ideal smallstock group size and progression of activities.

R16/4: It is recommended that visual aids specific to the guidelines on group projects and activities are produced. Use should be made by the SSU of AgInf expertise.

SUPPORT

R16/5: It is recommended that the guidelines developed in Central Region in October 1978 are used as the basis for discussion in the development of new guidelines on supporting the group formation process.

R16/6: It is recommended that the steps in group formation which could be considered include SSU-type demonstrations, with a series of 4 supervised demonstration treatments, AgInf campaigns either to create initial awareness or to encourage participation during the SSU demonstration period, field courses on organisation and field or RTC/SCC courses for group committees for discussion, training in record keeping and in committee duties.

R16/7: It is recommended that the SSU, with assistance from other involved Divisions in the Department of Agricultural Field Services (i.e. CAMA Office, AgInf, Animal Production) spare no effort in updating and training regional support staff.

R16/8: It is recommended that ADs are trained in the smallstock management package, with emphasis on practical work with smallstock and in group situations.

R16/9: It is recommended that smallstock handling pens, crush, footbath, dip etc. are built as demonstration facilities at RTCs and SCCs in all regions to assist in training.

R16/10: It is recommended that SALO (Farmer Training) is involved in the preparation of guidelines so that RTCs and SCCs are represented in the new smallstock management group approach.

R16/11: It is recommended that discussions are held between representatives of the Department of Agricultural Field Services and the Department of Animal Health about the role that Veterinary Assistants could play in assisting smallstock management groups in the identification of diseases and parasites so that correct treatment is advised.

R16/12: It is recommended that experience at IFPP should be researched further.

R13/11 : It is recommended that a major development project is required to make boreholes and commercial sites near the communal margins available to such groups.

R13/12 : It is recommended that special forms of compensation and incentive are needed to encourage individuals and smaller syndicates to operate in parts of the commercial zone less close to the communal margins.

THE TARGET GROUP

R13/13 : It is recommended that a clearer definition of target group is necessary in guidelines for group development in commercial ranching.

R13/14 : It is recommended that in guidelines the reasoning behind any criteria for subsidy scheme assistance be distinguished clearly from the quite independent roles about AMA membership.

R13/15 : It is recommended that what happened in the various pilot projects and why should be documented and distributed more widely to officials and extension workers in the field to enable a more balanced picture to be seen.

R13/16 : It is recommended that the question of a ranch member having to incorporate his whole herd into the ranch herd is looked into.

R13/17 : It is recommended that guidelines for group ranching should clearly distinguish two target froups (small owners from overstocked communal areas and owners of 40-50 cattle or more) and recognise the richer cattle owners as suitable for participation in the present commercial ranch development areas.

R13/18 : It is recommended that a more conscious and active policy facilitating small owner group participation is brought into action.

R13/19 : It is recommended that a short research consultancy focussing on experience with small herd owner participation in group ranching, aiming to separate out the different factors determining viability, is needed as a first step towards producing more dynamic guidelines.

STOCKING RATE

R13/20 : It is recommended that the issues of stocking rate, its relationship to commercial ranch viability and the organisational implications for groups are focussed upon in film/case study extension aid material recommended in R13/28.

GENERAL APPROACH

R13/21 : It is recommended that the approach to ranch group development continues to be gradualist but that its facilitation must receive higher priority and be related to a broader land use planning framework.

R12/22 : It is recommended that the classification based on Chambers and Feldman developed in section 11.3.4. is extended to cover different group ranching situations in the commercial areas and in the margins of the

CHAPTER 9 : COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS, WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHY.

CHAPTER 9: COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS, WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHY

9.1. INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS 9 and 10

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9.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9: List of Abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
APO	Animal Production Officer
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DO (L)	District Officer (Lands)
FC	Farmers Committee
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
SLB	Sub Land Boards
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VDC	Village Development Committee

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1. Key applies to maps adapted from sources

2. Author's sketch

3. Provided by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs

4. Reproduced from CAPAD booklet, originally produced by DO(L), Serowe

5. Kindly drawn specially by DO(L), Tutume: G. Dyce

6. Photo-reduced from original by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs

KEY TO MAPS

	project fence line
	other fences
	approximate boundary of fields
	village
	road
	track or path
4000'	contour lines, vertical interval 100'
	watercourse
	dam wall
	dam
	pan
	district boundary

9.1. INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS 9 AND 10

The communal fencing of lands is perhaps the most fascinating and controversial of the group development activities. A considerable amount of activity and physical development is happening at the initiative and expense of farmers themselves, and this is taking place in the context of a dynamic situation in the communal areas that will increasingly involve difficult land use issues which Government has not until recently had to face squarely.

Chapter 9 gives some factual information about the growth of fence projects throughout Botswana, and how they are organised and funded, and then goes into the reasons farmers give for developing group fences. Chapter 10 delves more deeply into the subject. It discusses the problems that the schemes are running into, and attempts to explain why this is happening and to develop an overall strategy, including funding proposals, that could deal with these problems.

The emphasis throughout is on the poor and middle peasantry, for it is with optimising their position that group development is concerned.

9.2. ON THE GROUND ACHIEVEMENT

9.2.1. A summary of the facts

The Arable Lands Survey (1980) found that about 40% of fields in Botswana are fenced in some way from surrounding land, which is usually grazing land. This includes bush fences. The data do not distinguish between group or communal fenced lands and individual fenced fields. Indeed, very little is known about this, or about group fences as a whole.

This section fills in a little more detail about group fences throughout the country. Appendix 8 gives some information about all the communal fencing projects in Botswana. For convenience, a list of the projects is also presented in table 9(i) below, together with dates of project commencement and the state of completion of the fences.

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TABLE 9(i) COMMENCEMENT AND STATUS OF COMMUNAL FENCES, BY REGION

STARTING YEAR	MAUN REGION	FRANCISTOWN REGION	CENTRAL REGION	GABORONE REGION	SOUTHERN REGION
1928				Sefoke-Ratsebe(Tlokweng) (C) - 7 subgroups Mabowane-Matotwane (C) (Tlokweng)- 3 subgroups	
1940			Mmaphashalala (bush) (C)		
1950s					? Hanaka (derelict)
1969			? Kudumatse (bush) (C) Mmaphashalala new lands (C) (bush and wire)		? Pelotshetlha (C)
early 1970s			Mookane (bush & wire)(C)	Segakwana (Oodi) (bush) (C)	
1975					Tlanepe (P) Sesung (P) Molapowabasadi (U) Lothakane (bush)(C) - not in appendix
1976	Mohembo (Khaupwe) (C)	Nwaswane (bush) (C)	Thuni (Bobonong) (C) - 2 subgroups	Mmamereng (bush) (P) Mogobane (P)	Ntlhantlhe (P) Magotlhwane (P) Mokatako (U) Matha (Mmathethe-Magoriapitse) (P) Mmabadipe-Diponyane(P) Gathwane (U) Maunyele (P) Malau (U)
1977		Changate (bush) (C) Nkange (bush) (C) Senete (bush) (C) Maitengwe (bush) (C) Selolwane (bush) (C)	Sefhare (P) Masoko (Thabala) (P) Segakwana (Bikwe) (P) Lerala - 6 subgroups(P) Mmapheshalala" (P)	Rankepe (Mmankgodi) (P) ? Sasakwe (Kopong) (C) (bush)	Manyana (U) - 8 subgroups
1978	Rakops (U)		Poloka (U) Palla Road (U) Morale (P) Mmashoro (U) Letlhakane (U) Serule (U) Manatsane (Mmadinare N.) (P) Dikebeyana (Palapye)(C) Tamasane-Malaka (P) Seolwane (C) Chalsole (Maunatlala)(P) Mopipi (P)	Sasakwe (Kopong)"(U) Ditshukhudu (U) Dinogeng: 4 small syndicate enclosures (C) 2 small syndicate enclosures (U)	Lekgolobotlho (Ntlhantlhe) (C) Kgomokazitwa (P) Mmalore (C) Kanngwe (C) Lokabi (U) Kutotole (U) - 3 subgroups ? Digawana (C)
1979	Khumaga (U) Botloko (Khumaga)(P) Machana (Mopipi) (P) Boema (Madikola) (U) Toromoja (U)	Nkange" (P) Maitengwe" (U)	Taupye - 2 subgroups (P) ? Moshopha (U) ? Lecheng (U) Kudumatse" (P) Mookane (U) Kapye (Shoshong) (C) Chadibe (U) Tshimoyapula (U) Lesie (Thabala) (U) Sajwe (P) Botepetepe (U) Mmatshumo (P) Majwaneng (P) Setlatse E. (U) Setlatse W. (U) Sefhophe (U) Mmadinare S. (U)	Segakwana Potsane (Ramotswa N.) (U) - 3 subgroups Ditshegwane (U) Mrtsemaswane (C) ? Sakutswane (Otse) (U) Diseko (Thamaga) (U) Marotse (Thamaga) (U)	Kgotla-Polokwe-Sobe (Moshupa S.) (U)
1980			Lesenepole (U) Mokokwane-Moswau (P) Mototswane (P) (Maunatlala) Kobale Mabake (P) (Maunatlala)	Tlwaneng (Mmankgodi) (U) Phirabokwete (Mmankgodi) (U) Papelwe (Mmankgodi) (U) Sebisanare (Mmamoapi) (U) Maswabasadi (Mmamoapi) (U)	Hebron (U) ? Ramatlabama (U)
No. of projects	7	8	43	26	25
Length of fences (no. of projects with data)	59 km (4)	106.5 km (3)	507 km (22)	105 km (8)	263 km (18)

KEY TO TABLE 9(i)

(1) Each project listed is counted as one unit, i.e. one application to Land Board for permission to fence or, prior to the commencement of The Tribal Land Act in 1970, one unit is one continuous fence.

(2) Names outside brackets are area or locality names, or, rarely, fence names; names inside brackets are area names.

(3) ? before a name indicates that the starting date of the project is uncertain.

(4) " after a name indicates that a project comprises new work on an old, existing fence, e.g. wiring a bush fence.

(5) The project status is indicated by

(U) - upcoming

(P) - in progress

(C) - complete

(6) Bush or bush and wire fences are mentioned; all other fences are wire fences.

(7) The starting year of a project is the year in which a group formulated an intention to fence by establishing a management committee and/or by Democratisation.

In the whole of Botswana, there are to date (August 1980) a total of 109 communal fencing projects either complete, in progress or at an early stage of formulation. Figures for the existing or planned lengths of these fences are available for 55 of the projects: they total 1040 km.

30 of the projects are complete, though the 4 fences which date from before Independence, are all in a state of disrepair and the Digawana fence is also reported to be partly broken. But the rest are all intact and total at least 206 km of fencing. The fences in progress include ones which are partly built or ones for which the line has been cleared. There are 32 projects in this category. Length data are not available for 6 of these, but the remainder represent 148 km. of actual constructed fencing. This means that altogether at least 354 km. of communal lands fencing exists in Botswana. 47 fencing projects remain upcoming, that is in early stages of implementation. It should be noted that 6 of the in progress or upcoming projects are in fact improvements of fences built earlier but now in an unsatisfactory state.

Figures for membership of fencing projects are available for 67 of the 109 groups.

TABLE 9 (ii): MEMBERSHIP OF FENCING GROUPS

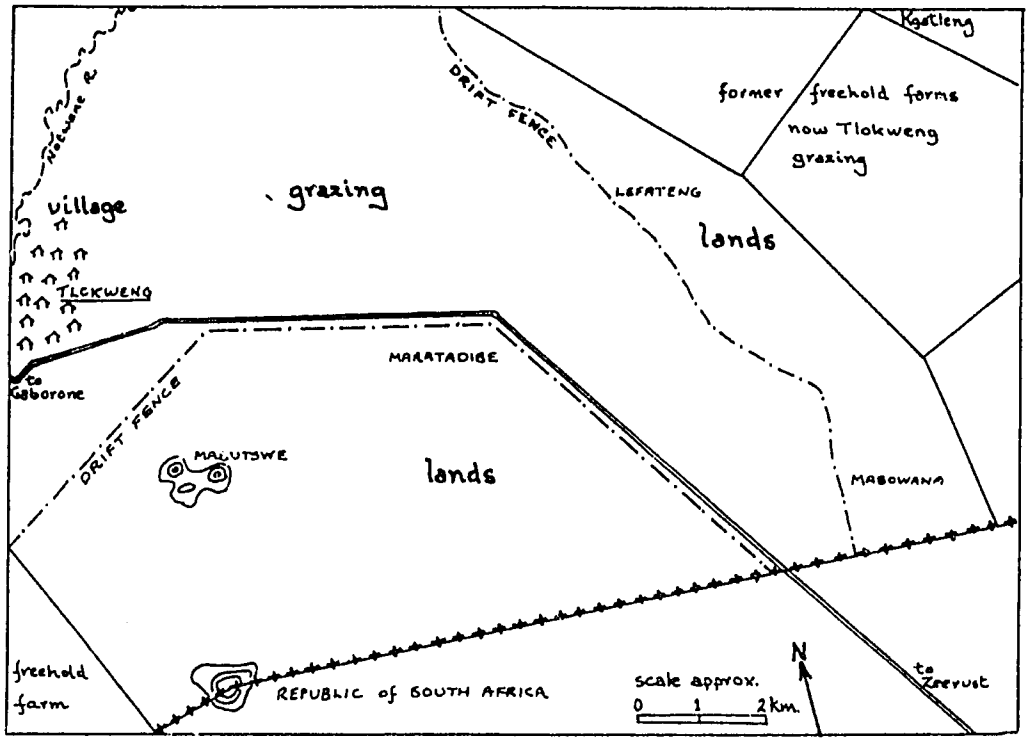
REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH	TOTAL
No.of projects with membership data	5	4	24	15	19	67
No. of members	102	140	1362	600	1749	3953
Additional membership data	+1 community	+2 communities + 5 wards	+6 wards + 173*	+2 communities	-	5 communities, 11 wards 173 people

* calculated from fees and money raised (Mmadinare S., Setlatse W., Mogapi, Moshupa).

Some of the project groups are divided into subgroups, either for purposes of organisation or simply for labour. The number of members in groups or in subgroups varies widely, between 2 and 201.

9.2.2. The earliest fences in Botswana

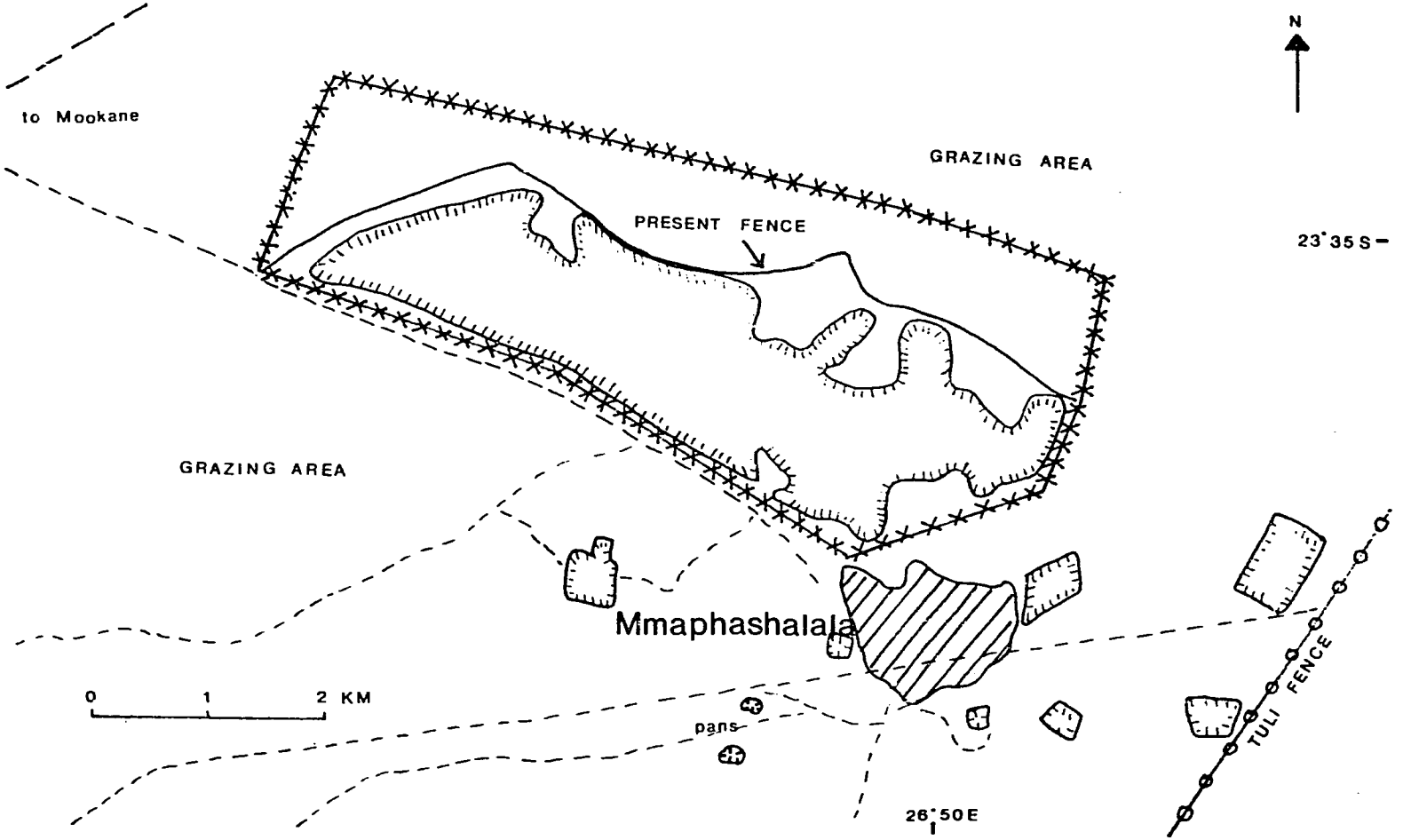
As can be seen from table 9(i), the first fences in the country appear to have been at Tlokweng. The Batlokwa lands area used to surround Tlokweng village, but in 1928 Chief Gaborone obtained the agreement of his people to implement a new land use plan, establishing two lands areas some miles southeast and northeast of the village where better soils -'Seloka' (black) and 'Mokatha' (red)- were prevalent, leaving the sandier soils around the village for grazing. The sketch map below illustrates the new land use:



Chief Gaborone financed the wire fence from the sale of 'matimela' cattle and fined cattle which had become tribal property after 'kgotla' court cases. The two fences were organised in a total of 12 sub-sections each under the charge of 'dikgosana' (ward headmen) according to the proximity of particular ward lands areas.

The early Mmaphashalala fence had a similar beginning though more troubled history. The original village was about 2 km. south of its present site and cattle were kraaled in and around the village. The lands area was established close by and was bush fenced in 1940 as a communal enclosure through the influence of the headman. However, the then Mookane sub chief, Bakwena Tshipane, supported by Chief Tshekedi Khama in 1957, ordered the destruction of Mmaphashalala village so that the area should be grazing for Mookane and Serowe cattleposts, and so that the Mookane population would be swelled with settlers from Mmaphashalala. The people instead scattered to live at cattleposts until after Independence when Chief Rasebolai permitted Mmaphashalala to be re-established. The second 1800 hectares lands area was bush fenced 1969-70 in a similar total community effort under Kgosi Khumokoontse, but due to the proximity of the kraals at the village which was again sited close by, cattle continued to break into the fields and in 1970/71 work on the now existing wire fence began, organised this time by the VDC with close co-operation and support from the headman and AD. By 1971 the fence was half wire, half bush. Whether bush or wire, maintenance was the responsibility of the nearest landowner, a system which worked well, except that gradually the fence posts used in 1970/71 deteriorated. The current re-building effort was initiated by the FC in 1977. It is now nearly complete and a further c. 12 sq.km. extension of lands area northwards is being applied for, with the intention of fencing. Similar enclosures were built around the same period at Mookane and Kudumatse - both of which are also

MMAPHASHALALA FENCE ENCLOSURE



currently being renovated by FCs. Details on the history of the Ranaka fence, unfortunately were unavailable. It was built apparently by the Colonial administration and is now in total disrepair.

9.2.3. The first growth areas of the present fencing period

It is interesting to focus attention next mainly on 3 Districts - Ngwaketse, Tutume and Palapye.

Ngwaketse area.

The idea for the Pelotshetlha (Ramonnedi) fence, was initiated around 1969 by the Chairman of the Pelotsheltha BH syndicate who got together some other respected elders, leading farmers and headmen, and formed a Farmers Committee to organise the project and apply as a syndicate for a P2500 loan for fencing wire from NDB. The 27 km. fence was built in 7 sub sections. Fuller details can be seen in the appendix tables.

What is particularly interesting about the Pelotshetlha fence is how its completion much later in 1975 became the focus growth point and encouragement for a whole series of similar projects in the neighbourhood as can be seen in Table 9(i). Commenting in 1976 on these further extensions of the Pelotshetlha fence the then RAO South noted that "the net effect..... would be to establish a fenced arable enclave based on Pelotshetlha with communal grazing developments around the outside."(1) Unfortunately no maps appear to be available to illustrate the total fencing picture in the Ngwaketse Districts apart from the IFPP map of the original Pelotshetlha fence,but clearly a significant trend and pattern of physical development has emanated in Southern Region, beginning from Pelotshetlha.

Tutume District

In Tutume District things started east of Tutume with the Nsuzwane - Magapatona bush fence. The background to this is described by the then D.O. (L) in a report to MLGL in 1976.(2) The initiative came in 1974 from a few community minded farmers in Nsuzwane, one being the headman's brother who persuaded the entire village of the value of a drift fence. Consultation with Magapatona and the Sebima SLB was not so straightforward, but approval came eventually in 1976. Nsuzwane subdivided into 3 groups and appointed treasurers to collect money for wire for fencing, but the simultaneous advent of TGLP led to uncertainties about developments in communal areas and so 10 km. of temporary bush fence was erected instead. The construction took only a fortnight.

In a like fashion to the effect of the Pelotshetlha fence in Ngwaketse, the completion of the Nsuzwane bush fence in 1976 sparked off further bush drift fences by Changate, Nkange, Senete, Maitengwe and Selolwane in 1977. The current Nkange and Maitengwe 96 km. drift fences forming an enclosure around the combined lands area roughly follows and greatly expands upon the earlier Changate, Nkange and Maitengwe bush fences. There is a possibility that the North-South Selolwane and Senete bush fences which enclose an arable area between them may also follow suit.

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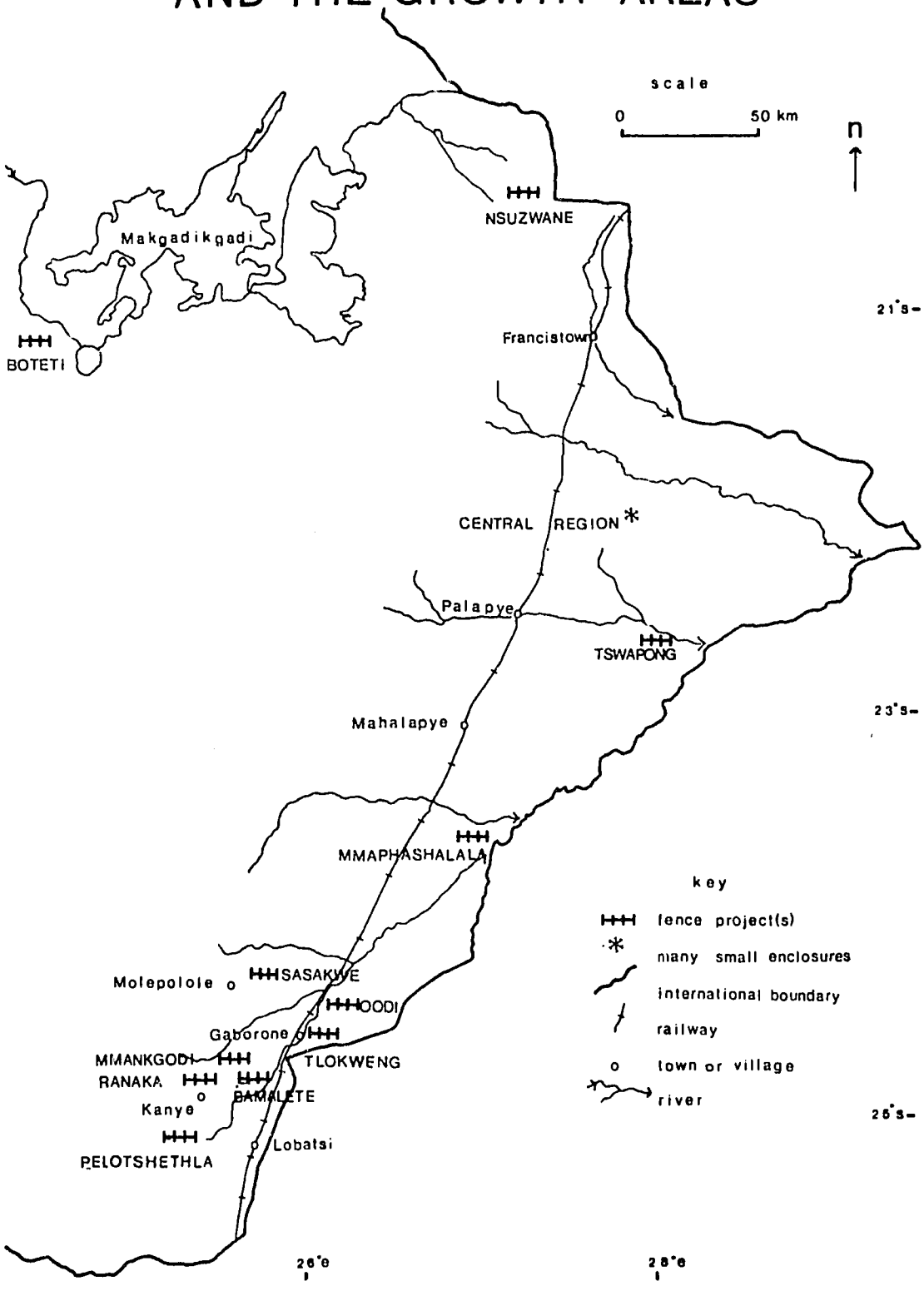
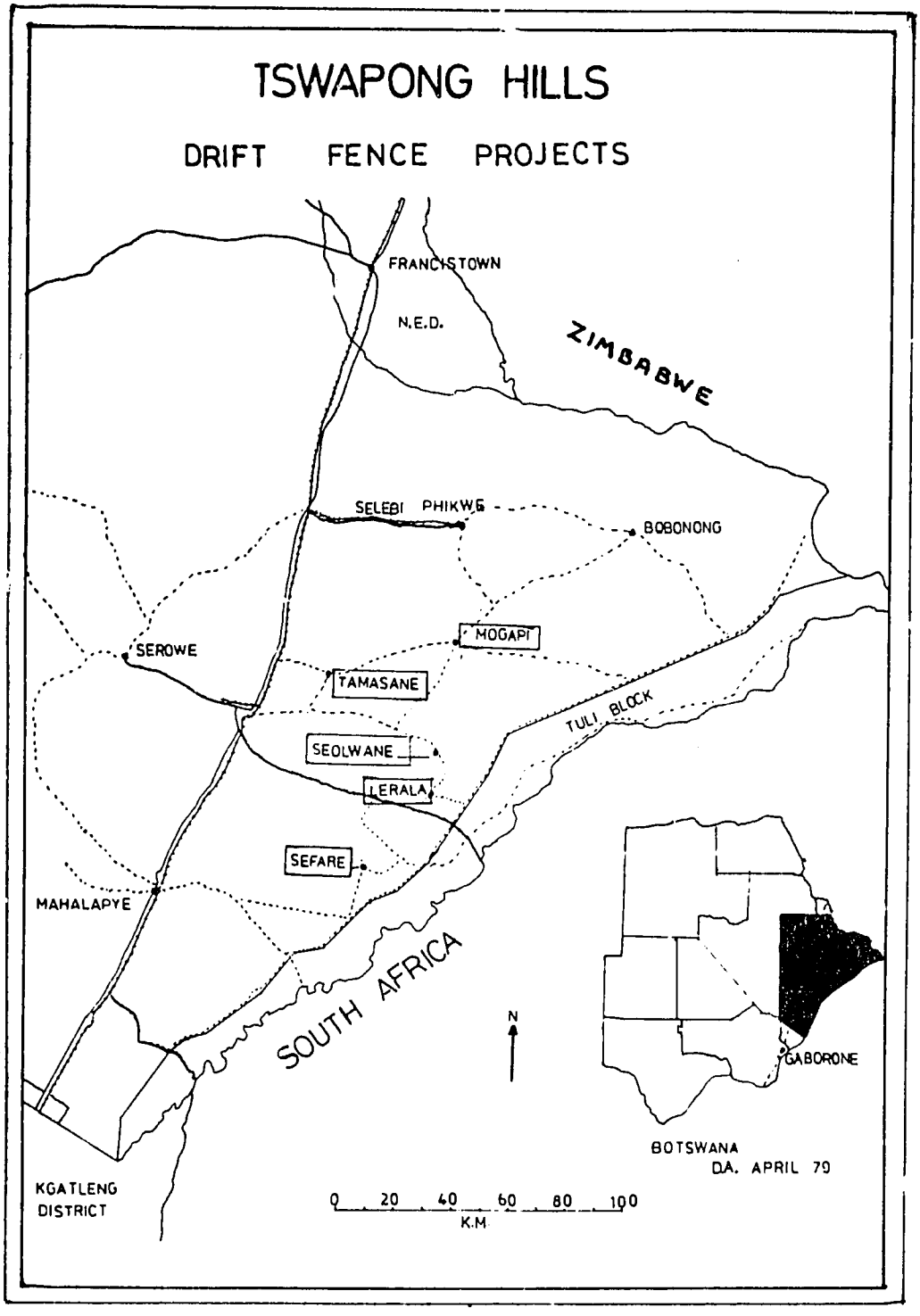
(1) "Group Development, Southern Region," R.A.O. South 1976.
(2) "The Nsuzwane Drift Fence," DO(L) Tutume 1976.

COMMUNAL FENCING: THE EARLY FENCES AND THE GROWTH AREAS




TSWAPONG HILLS
DRIFT FENCE PROJECTS
FRANCISTOWN
N.E.D.
ZIMBABWE
SELEBI PHIKWE
BOBONONG
MOGAPI
SEROWE
TAMASANE
TULI BLOCK
SEOLWANE
LERALA
SEFARE
MAHALAPYE
SOUTH AFRICA
N
GABORONE
BOTSWANA
DA. APRIL 79
KGATLENG
DISTRICT
0 20 40 60 80 100
K.M

Old bush fences in the Southern Kgatleng, Kweneng and Malete

Other older bush fences have also formed the basis for wire fencing projects currently underway at Mmamaereng in S.E. and Sasakwe near Kopong in N. Kweneng. The only drift fence in Kgatleng separating the Qodi-Matabele-Modipane, Dikwididi, Mabalane lands from the Segakwana grazing area to the south, is also a bush fence with discussion now going on at some levels on the possibility of its development as a wire fence.

The Tswapong drift fences - Palapye District

In Central Region a similar phenomenon occurred in the Tswapong hills area which has been described as a series of case studies in Part III of the CAPAD resource booklet published in late 1979. This phenomenon is now being widely repeated elsewhere.

It started with the Makgabo communal enclosure proposal at Lerala in 1977. Due to the influence of the Lerala FC this project was discouraged in favour of an area-wide double drift fence scheme which included other lands areas as well as Makgabo. This got underway in 1978 and the full 47 km. involved are now almost complete. As with Ngwaketse and Tutume, the Lerala project sparked off projects by neighbouring communities extending the fence around the southern side of the Tswapong (proposed by Majwaneng) and around the northern side - Selowane, Chalaole and 3 other sub-groups of Maunatlala and continuing now in 1980 as far as Lesenepole. It may not be long before the entire strip of lands areas around the Tswapong hills is enclosed between two fences, one at the base of the hills, the other further out from the hills wherever the lands areas give way to grazing beyond.

9.2.4. Other growth areas

A glance at table 9(i) reveals that besides the three "growth points" for communal area fencing in southern Ngwaketse, Tutume-Nkange area and around the Tswapong hills, many other projects have sprung up elsewhere. In Gaborone Region there are three recognisable focal areas of activity; one is Bamalete where the entire western side of the narrow north-south shaped District is being fenced in sections by neighbouring communities to separate the lands areas in the flat valley land in the eastern part from the Manyelanong range of hills in the west.

Another focal point appears to be around Kopong-Sasakwe where, although for social reasons progress has been very slow, the potential exists for fencing all the way along the base of the Makantshe hills from Bokaa area in the east over to the Manoko lands areas in the west - a distance of some 40 kilometres.

The third is around Mmankgodi,a village with lands areas tightly surrounded by hills where its own cattle graze as well as many from neighbouring areas. The Kodise hills range is the starting point though difficulty is being experienced in soliciting the co-operation of sub-groups on the western Thamaga side.

The Mmankgodi area borders Ngwaketse North District to the south where further interrelated and connecting fencing schemes are planned or underway - again separating grazing on the hills from lands in the valleys around Manyana, Ntlhantlhe and Moshupha.

Most of the projects described are long drift or doubt drift fence projects but there has also been a widespread growth of scattered enclosure fences, particularly in the north and central part of the country. Major projects are now a feature of all Districts in Central Region, for example,

with a total of 43 schemes, 16 of which are underway with 17 in earlier planning stages.

In Ngamiland, since 1978 the potential of communally enclosing the clusters of lands along the Boteti river seems to have caught on, with 10 schemes proposed at Rakops, Khumaga, Machana, Boema and Toromoja.

An important trend is clearly underway in the country, spreading and gathering momentum wherever conditions permit.

9.3. ORGANISATION OF FENCE PROJECTS

9.3.1. The subdivision of the fence projects

Most fences which are less than 15 km. long are organised by only one group, but longer fences, particularly where they are more than 20 km. are dealt with by 2 or more sub-groups. About one third of the projects are of such a size that they have been divided into sections undertaken by sub-groups. Regional data are provided in the following table:

Table 9(iii): SUBDIVIDED PROJECTS, NUMBER OF SUB-GROUPS AND AVERAGE FENCE LENGTH PER SUB-GROUP AND GROUP (3)

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH	TOTAL
No.of projects divided into sub-groups	1	3	8	7	9	28
No. of subgroups	5	8	25	25	32	95
No. of groups and subgroups	11	9	60	40	47	167
Average length of fence, km. per group or subgroup (Sample size in brackets)	5.30 (11)	6.70 (8)	12.40 (25)	5.25 (20)	5.00 (46)	6.93

(3) In Table 9 (iii) where a sum of "groups and subgroups" is made, a group without sub-division into sub-group sections is treated as a unit equivalent to a sub-group where groups are sub-divided. Average length of fence is therefore the average of these minimum units (i.e. per group where group is not sub-divided, or per sub-group.)

Data are not adequate to go into details of the length of fence dealt with by groups or sub-groups but Table 9(iii) illustrates that throughout most of the country, one group or sub-group is concerned with c. 5-7 km. of fence, except in Central Region where roughly twice as much fence is dealt with.

This reflects the high proportion of enclosure or semi-enclosure (double drift) fences in Central Region. The distinction between an enclosure fence, a double drift fence and a drift fence is illustrated in maps in this and the next chapter, and is further discussed in Section 10.5.1. The salient point here is that a community building an enclosure round about it has good access to all portions of the fence and is thus able to deal with a greater length than if the fence is a long drift fence line. Similarly, there is likely to be better access to a double drift fence, if the community is settled between the two lines.

Table 9(iv) below shows that there is a pattern in the country with regard to drift and double drift or enclosure fences, the former being most common in the south, while the latter types are predominant in the north.

TABLE 9(iv): TYPES OF FENCE, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No. of drift fences	1	0	8	12	16
No. of double drift fences	0	0	6	0	0
No. of enclosure fences	6	4	18	7	1

The pattern is a result of the geography of the country, for in the north many lands and communities are surrounded by wide areas of continuing flat land used for communal grazing and cattle posts, thus easier to enclose, whereas in the south almost all fencing schemes run along the boundary between grazing on the hills and congested lands areas in the valleys.

9.3.2. The main forms of managerial groups and sub-groups

The most important distinction in the fence projects is between organisation with an organisation without managerial sub-division. A group may function as an independent Committee (which may or may not have sub-groups for the purpose of labour) or there may be a co-ordinating committee with a number of managerial sub-committees under it. Table 9(v) summarises the available data:

TABLE 9(v)): TYPES OF COMMITTEES, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No.of projects with data available	6	2	34	15	11
1. Single Committee					
Independent local committee	1	-	7	8	1
Single village-based committee	-	-	7	-	5
F.C. with no sub-groups	2	-	13	3	-
V.D.C. with no sub-groups	1	-	-	-	-
Total and %	4 (66%)	0 (0%)	27 (79%)	11 (73%)	6 (54%)
2. With labour sub-groups					
F.C. with sub-groups	1	1	4	1	1
Fence committee with sub-groups	1	1	1	1	1
Total and %	2 (33%)	2 (100%)	5 (14%)	2 (13%)	2 (18 %)
3. With management sub-groups					
F.C. with sub-committee	-	-	2	2	-
Umbrella fence committee with sub-committees	-	-	-	-	3
Total and %	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	2 (13%)	3 (27%)

The table shows that full managerial subdivision occurs more in Southern region than elsewhere in the country. There is in fact a tendency for managerial sub-division to increase from north to south, and this probably reflects the trend already noted for the type of fencing to be

mainly enclosures in the north and mainly drift fences in the south. There is far greater necessity in the south for joint ventures between adjacent communities, and organisation has responded to this. The most striking example is the Macha drift fence which stretches from Mmathethe to Lokabi and beyond, spanning 4 Extension Areas. There are 10 independent management committees working under the umbrella committee at Mmathethe, on which they are represented. The Manyana fence, although in one Extension Area, has 8 management committees. Further north there is a predominance of more independent organisational units controlling the fences, though perhaps with labour sub-groups. In Central Region, joint action of committee organisation occurs in the Tswapong drift fences. That is, where the fence is of the same type as most of those in the south.

Another striking observation from Table 9(v) is the more important role of Farmers Committees in the management of fencing projects in Central Region than in Gaborone and Southern Regions in particular. This is a reflection of the longer commitment to Farmers Committee development in Central Region. Farmers Committees in Central Region have been democratically elected and then trained in most villages and in some distinct lands sub areas, where a village based F.C. would serve farmer interests less effectively as around the major villages of Serowe, Palapye and Mahalapye. F.Cs have been put to use in at least 56% of the projects, and most of the remainder are anyway in sublands areas (partial enclosure schemes) as at Tamasane - Malaka, Masoko, Lesie, Sajwe, Botepetepe, Palla Road, and Thuni. The other cases are double drift fences - Lesenepole, Mokokwane - Mosweu, Chalaole and Seolwane - and the organising committees do have an Extension Area or village FC to report to.

Of course all properly constitued FCs do theoretically include representation from the VDC, the headman and other village bodies. Management "by FC" therefore implies such an alliance where local socio-political factors make it feasible.

There are a number of examples of participation organised through village wards, either in direct connection with fence sub sections or at least for fundraising. Examples include Tlokweng, Maitengwe, Nkange, Manyana, Sefhare, Segakwana and Bikwe (Serowe wards), Segakwana, Potsane and Bwatlhe (Ramotswa wards) Moshopa and Senete and Selolwane, the last two being old bush fences.

In the cases of Maitengwe, Manyana, the Serowe wards, Segakwane (Ramotswa) and Moshopa, the involvement of wards has so far entailed only fundraising, and this will be mentioned again in Section 9.4.1. below.

At Nkange the ward function was initially fundraising (P100 per ward), but since the arrangement of the lands areas corresponds very closely to village wards, the groups responsible for the implementation of fence subsections are also closely ward-based. There are several similar cases, e.g. Lerala, Maunatlala and Mmadinare North, where subsections follow lands locality names and can be expected to be linked to village wards.

It has already been noted (Chapter 8) that ward-lands links are usually much weaker nowadays and therefore less effective for organisational purposes than in the past. However tenuous, they can still be useful, though, at least for consultative purposes, the initial stages of consultation for the large Mmadinare North lands enclosure started in the Mathabi ward'Kgotla' where most farmers with lands at Manatsane originated, and then moved on up to the main Mmadinare'Kgotla'and VDC in order to bring in farmers ploughing in the adjacent Nkwanapedi, Mmatau and Mhatane lands areas.

Elsewhere, and much more commonly, the lands area population is so mixed that the jurisdiction of village headmen and wards cannot operate in an organisational sense and management has to spring from amongst the farmers themselves, in situ at the lands, with co-operation based on neighbourly relationships.

9.4. FUNDING OF FENCE PROJECTS

9.4.1. Methods of raising funds and material contributions

The most common method of raising the necessary contributions of finance and materials is through membership fees, although a variety of other arrangements do occur and will be mentioned below. Membership fees are usually specified in the bylaws and in many cases are practically all that the bylaws provide for. Table 9(vi) summarises the available data on fees specified.

TABLE 9(vi): MEMBERSHIP FEES, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
Number of projects with data available	2	1	24	7	19
Average stated fees per member	P3-75	P4-00	P12-00	P7-90	P10-00
Range in fees per member	P2.50-P5	-	P3-P50	P4-P20	P4-P24

Information in appendix 8 shows that out of the 52 projects with information available on methods of fundraising, 43 have specified per farmer or per household fees, ranging from P2.50 to P50. (The high figure of P50 is for the proposed Morale drift fence, but should really be seen as a cattleman's grazing enclosure and is thus atypical). In at least 3 cases the fee is the cash equivalent of a roll of wire, or the donation of one roll is accepted as the contribution. In 2 cases the alternative of a certain number of poles (20 in one case, 30 in the other) is an accepted contribution. In 2 cases an annual subscription is required.

In at least one case fundraising is done not through fees but through fundraising parties by the group, and in 3 cases the contribution is set not per individual farmer but by village ward. Within the ward the amount may be raised either through parties or individual fees. In Segakwana each lands area ward raised between P300 - P400 by parties. In Nkange, P100 was raised from individual or household contributions within the wards.

Particular local arrangements can be diverse. At Dikabeyana the understanding is that a contribution of 1 roll of wire is payable if the line of the fence "touches your field" (i.e. effectively forms your field boundary); elsewhere the sections have to be built from the general contributions of everyone else, whose fields are not directly adjacent to the

fence. In Lerala the area FC established 13 rolls of wire as the standard contribution to be raised by each subsection group, regardless of the length of fence on their own subsection. The argument was that this would reduce jealousy between groups, as the assistance to be received from AEIO was also to be equalised. In practice contributions were highly unequal, but assistance kept fairly uniform, varying from 11-15 rolls provided through AEIO. In contrast, in Moshupa South, the 3 KPS groups applied for assistance as one project, but as the lengths of the subsections differed the subgroups each had different fees - P4, P5 and P10.

9.4.2. Actual member contributions

It is interesting to compare the average level of fees set by group management committees with the actual amounts raised, expressed in terms of per member contribution.

TABLE 9(vii): AVERAGE ACTUAL CONTRIBUTION PER MEMBER, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No. of projects with data	0	1	17	4	19
Average actual contribution per member	-	P4.00	P14-44	P5-20	P9-23

Comparing these figures with the average stated fees per member, there is close correspondence. The overall record for payment of fees in fencing projects is good, better in fact than for many other types of group activity. But this does not necessarily mean that each member is paying the specified amount. The trend is rather for the shortfall of some members to be compensated by generous donations (e.g. a beast, or a roll of wire) made by local community magnates or by the initiators of the project. The tendency is especially common in Central Region where actual contributions often even exceed the stated membership fees. The inference that the poor members of the community are being helped by the richer was occasionally confirmed. At Mokatako, for instance, the committee had set the very high figure of P24 as the fee for their drift fence project and it was stated that all villages were expected to contribute, yet it was conceded privately that pressure would not be applied on those known to be genuinely too poor to contribute such an amount. A similar line was taken at Nkange, although here individual contributions were concealed within ward donations.

9.4.3. Total cash contributions, from members and grants

Over P34,000 has been contributed by groups towards fencing costs, matched by almost P40,000 of Government grants, and these figures are only for the more recent projects for which data are available. Table 9(viii) sets out the regional figures:

TABLE 9(viii): TOTAL CASH COSTS OF FENCING PROJECTS AT ALL STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION AS AT 8/80, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
Group contributions	P300	P793	P16067	P1670	P15767
Grant contributions	P4692*	P8107	P12956	P7520	P6333

* includes estimated P642 arrears to NDB of Xhaugwe fence, which is recommended to be waived by government and treated as a grant (P1032 minus value of 13 rolls of wire returnable to NDB).

These figures account for the cost of wire and some accessories, such as gates, in a few cases. That is, they are hardware but not labour costs.

Further aspects of the grants awarded to projects will be discussed in section 10.6, on funding policy.

9.5. FARMERS' REASONS FOR FENCING

9.5.1. The Situation

In Chapter 8 it was observed that nowadays the communal areas are characterized by considerable intermixing of lands and grazing. How distinct one is from the other depends on whether the countryside is hilly, in which case the ranges of hills form quite distinct grazing areas; on the distribution of water sources which govern where cattle can move away to from the lands to graze; on distribution of different soil types particularly in flat landscapes, and on the pressure of population - the higher the pressure the more mixed up the patches of lands and spaces of grazing become.

It was also noted that it seems that the majority of rural households have at least a few cattle at their disposal (whether owned or "mafisa'd") and that this same majority of what could be termed "small farmers" keep all these cattle around or actually in the lands areas most of the year round. Exactly where they graze at different times of the year is a function of permanence, reliability and distribution of water sources coupled with availability of family labour to herd them, and with distribution of grazing and arable land - i.e. the proximity and extent of each in relation to the other.

9.5.2. Reasons as given by the farmers

Communal fencing of lands areas is basically a solution to the problem of cattle damage in the lands. However, it is not always so straightforward. During discussions with fencing committees and groups a number of "reasons" for fencing were explained. Analysis of these reveals that more than one problem and aim can be involved. In the case of the crop damage problem, there can be a number of causes depending on the local

situation, and hence different objectives which project designs and by-laws etc. need to be taken into account. In some cases the measures required for different objectives and aims conflict.

Below follows a summary of "reasons for fencing" as given by groups, wherever definite information was available. The table is set out according to the way farmers themselves talked about their reasons for fencing. Likewise the comments are all farmer comments, in expansion of their reasons.

TABLE 9(ix): REASONS FOR FENCING

REASON	AREAS
A. to protect crops from cattle damage	Mmamaereng, Tsorogwane, Polokwe (KPS), Barolong grazing enclosures, Khumaga, Mokatako, Xhaugwe, Maiswe, Sefhophe, Mmadinare N. Nkange, Dikabeyana, Nsuzwane bush fence.
A.1. fence needed to keep out cattle from other neighbouring areas	Mmamaereng[1], Nkange[1,2], Tsorogwane[3].

Comment:

1. The number of cattle actually in the lands is low and is not so much of a problem because they are herded.
2. The objective is to keep bulk of unherded cattle out while some remain herded inside.
3. To stop damage as cattle are driven through the lands area.

A.2. local cattle straying back into the lands from adjacent grazing	Polokwe[1], Manyana[1], Lerala[1], Xhaugwe[2], Barolong[3].

Comment:

1. down from the hills.
2. because water is close to the lands
3. because farmers fields are often very scattered so it is necessary to fence to prevent cattle damage at one site when the owner is not there. This is the consequence of the way in which the different Barolong "farms" became developed for arable use at different times, individual farmers thus having to seek allocations in other farms, as arable farming was permitted, in order to extend their acreage.

A.3. due to a change in land use - opening up and expanding lands in what was formerly a grazing area. — Masoko (Thabala)

Comment: Fields at Motshegaletau were small with no room for expansion, so there was movement to the Thabala cattlepost area with wells in the Masoko river.

A.4. due to distribution of water sources - cattle watering being too near the lands and the fences to stop cattle straying in. — Segakwana[1], Chadibe[2], Sefhophe[3], Maiswe/Thuni[4], Nkange[5].

Comment:

1. to stop other cattle straying or being led to water at the Segakwana group dams.
2. the fence will incidentally do away with the need to fence the dam separately as it will be in the lands.
3. all the wells and dams are right next to the lands but there is a lack of water in the grazing area.
4. Maiswe cattle have to travel through or past Thuni lands to water in the Thuni river due to water shortage in Maiswe lands area.

A.5. because lands areas are expanding, resulting in shorter distances between lands and grazing - smaller spaces are left for cattle to graze. — Ntlhantlhe[1], Mmathethe-Macha, Magotlhwane-Lekgolobotlho.

Comment: 1. that grazing is becoming limited is now recognised as a problem.

A.6. in order to provide an "opportunity for farmers to improve their farming", cattle in the lands prevent this, e.g. if there are uneven rains a farmer wishing to plough early needs to be sure there are no cattle roaming elsewhere on the lands area. — Maunyele[1], Dinogeng, Mmadinare N.

Comment: 1. particularly younger men wish this.

A.7. to reduce 'Kgotla' disputes and customary court cases over cattle damage, avoiding making enemies and paying damages.	Xhaugwe, Palapye, Masoko, Morale, Mmathethe, Makgabo (Lerala)
A.8. The fence will become the "modisa" or herdboy, since children are now at school	Tlokweng[1], Mmankgodi, Maunyele,[2] Ntlhantlhe, Manyana, Barolong, Gamokoto, Khumaga, Masoko,[3] Metsemaswaane, Lerala,[4] Nsuzwane

Comment:

1. without the fence children would be deprived of school,
2. a particularly important reason in the minds of old men,
3. herding is easier, but labour is short,
4. herdboys being "hijacked" by Boer farmers to work on the freehold farms for the 3 month harvesting period at the very time they are needed to herd to prevent crop damage in the lands.

B. to stop arable expansion into grazing	Barolong,[1] Morale,[2] Mmathethe

Comment:

1. initiative for fence came from cattlepost owners adjacent to major Mahalapye lands areas,
2. Macha fence along Malore-Lokabi-Kanngwe; problems resulting from expansion of vast but unused arable allocations of tractor farmers in communal grazing.

C. to prevent cattle from straying into grazing areas at times of year when "mogau" (poisonous plant) is dangerous, i.e. August-September early rains.	Kodise hills, Manyana, Lesenepole Polokwe

D. <u>to reserve grazing in the lands area for winter use</u>	Mmamaereng, Tsorogwane, Pelotshetlha, Maunyele, Ntlhantlhe, Macha-Mmathethe, Malore, Masoko, Lokabi-Kanngwe, Mohembo-Xhaugwe, Lerala, Manatsane, Nsuzwane bush fence.
D.1. <u>reserved for draft animals and milking cows, and only in winter</u>; draft oxen can then be strong when the rains come and ready to plough.	Manatsane, Masoko
D.2. <u>reserved for any/all cattle of an area</u>	Lerala[1], Maunyele[2], Ntlhantle[3], Macha-Mmathethe[4], Malore[5]. Polokwe .

Comment:

1. if the whole area were reserved, it would last as winter grazing right up to the next rains.
2. it would be unfair and inconsistent if some owners continue to herd their cattle inside.
3. it would be the responsibility of owners who left their cattle inside the fence during the growing season to avoid crop damage.
4. all cattle should be kept out of the lands in the cropping season .
5. all cattle were out - a successful demonstration at Malore.

9.5.3. <u>Cattle damage</u>

Cattle damage to crops is the fundamental reason for most of the lands fencing projects. Its severity varies but in some areas has been reported by farmers to be as high as 30-50 %. This clearly motivates fencing whether on an individual or communal basis. Who happens to be most concerned to see the fence built depends to some extent on the existence and authority of any local headman or customary court; because where local authority strongly enforces fines on cattle owners from crop damage caused, it becomes in <u>their</u> interest also to participate, or even initiate the fencing. In the Morale cattlepost area for example, owners lamented that each of them found themselves paying P20, P40 or even a beast as often as 2 or 3 or 4 times annually.

Where authority is weaker or non-existent, cattle causing crop damage are sometimes butchered on the spot or just taken.

It is significant that throughout the country cattle damage 'kgotla' cases and disputes are steadily becoming more of an issue, and that the traditional leaders - the chiefs andheadmen - are finding it in their interest also to encourage fencing schemes to reduce the headache.

The problem stems from the presence intentionally or otherwise of cattle in or around the lands. This situation was partly explained in Chapter 8 (see table 8(i)) but needs slight elaboration here.

As can be seen from reasons articulated by farmers, the problem can be in a number of forms. Commonly the damage is not so much caused by what tends to be the fewer small herds actually kraaled and herded in the spaces of grazing within the lands, but rather by unherded cattle which are sent outside into nearby grazing, but which come back. Besides the worry of cattle straying back to the lands, many small owners are spending an immense amount of time and energy taking cattle from the homestead kraal in the lands out to adjacent grazing and back every day because they cannot afford to hire labour or keep the animals permanently in the grazing area.

In most cases it is intended that cattle kept inside the lands areas should be excluded by a fence. This is proposed at the Manatsane lands, at Mmadinare North, for example, where there were reported to be 5 cattle posts within the lands, each with less than 30 head of cattle.

In other areas so many cattle are kept within the lands that this solution is considered impractical, but the number of unherded animals in adjacent grazing areas is nonetheless so great that fencing is still thought to be essential. The Tutume DO(L) kindly provided bar charts on cattle herd sizes for the Nkange & Maitengwe areas (see below) showing very clearly the huge numbers of small herds: 215 herds and 290 herds of 20 head or less for Nkange & Maitengwe respectively. At Nkange most cattle are kraaled in the village or in the grazing areas near the lands, and significant numbers are also kept inside the lands according to the FC treasurer, Tutume DAO and the Francistown APO.

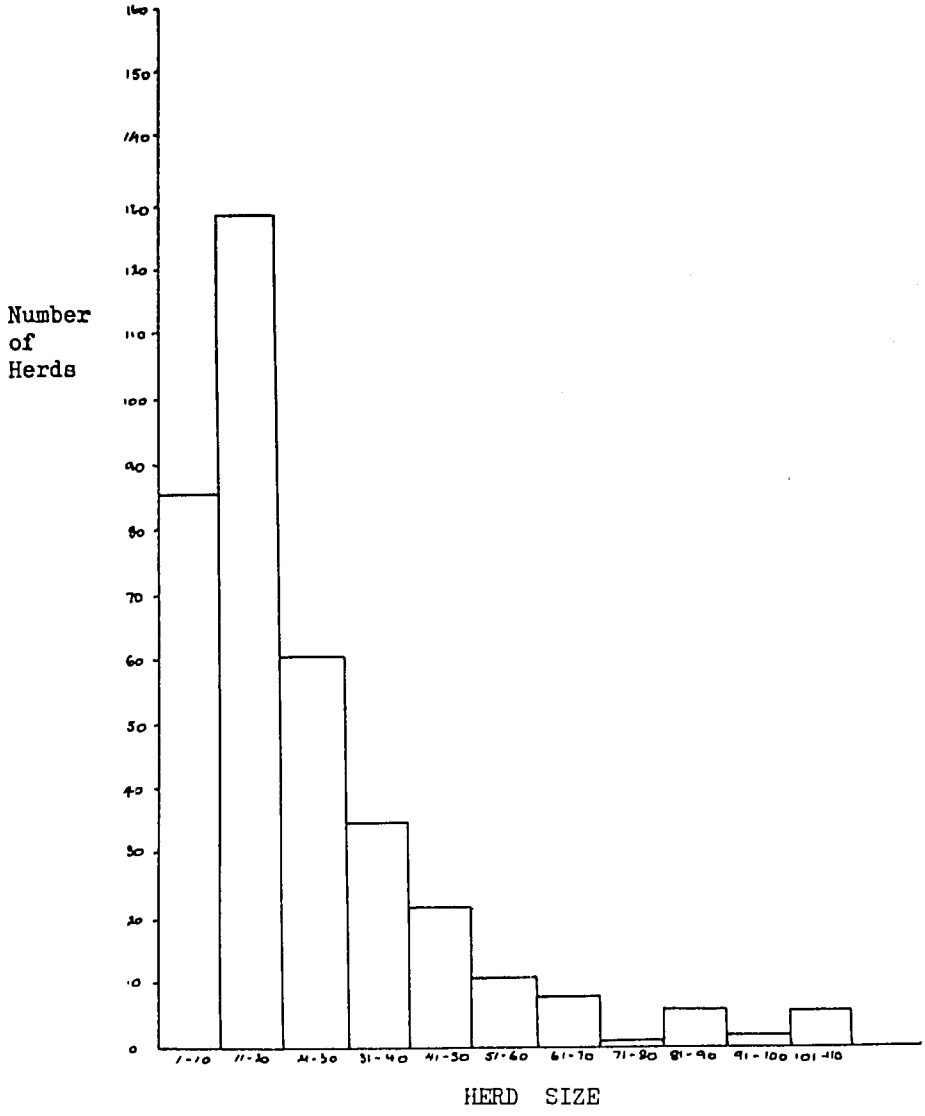
Elsewhere as at Dikabeyana lands near Palapye, or Thuni lands near Bobonong, the lands homes and kraals are situated outside the lands themselves so that there are literally no cattle kept in the lands. This is made possible by the lands being situated as is represented in this diagram:

The necessity these and many other similarly situated communities have felt for fencing, stems from the damage resulting from intrusions of other cattle most commonly passing through or nearby the lands to communal water sources due to unavailability of alternative water in nearby grazing areas - where they are frequently left unherded due to labour shortage.

The specific problem of water and the connection with fencing projects of water development will be mentioned again below.

CATTLE DISTRIBUTION BY EXTENSION AREA

AREA: NKANGE



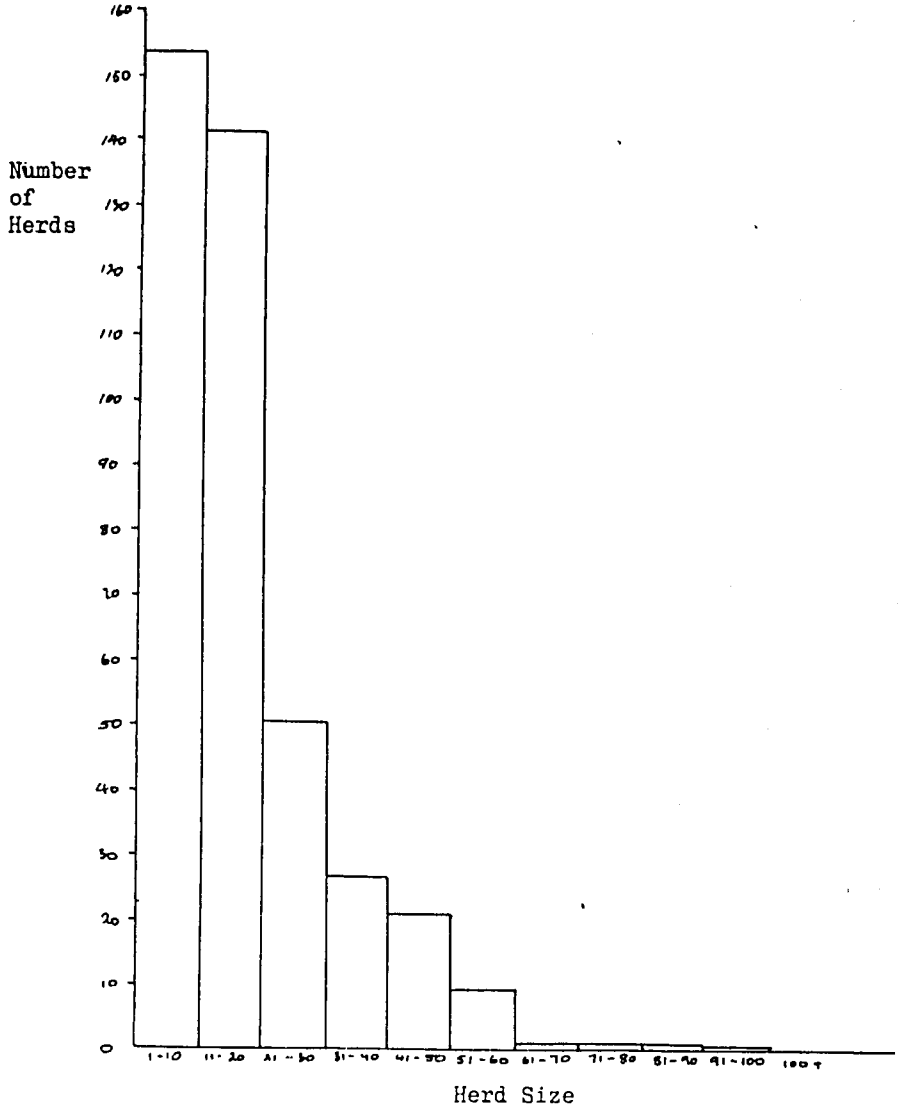
Total number of cattle: 8,882

Source: Department of Animal Health, Francistown
January 1977 - April 1978

Chart drawn by : D O (L) Tutume

CATTLE DISTRIBUTION BY EXTENSION AREA

AREA: MAITENGWE



Total number of cattle: 7,352

Source: Animal Health Department, Francistown

Chart drawn by: D O (L) Tutume, May 1980

9.5.4. The herdboy problem

Problem number one, then, is the damage caused by cattle in the lands. Why is this becoming so much more of a problem at the present time? Farmers' responses indicate overwhelmingly that problem number two to them is the actual shortage of herdboys now that children are in school, and the expense of hiring anyone to do the job instead. A common farmer response in explanation of the fencing project is "terata ke/etla nna modisa" or "The fence is/will be the herdboy".

As will be seen below this can be particularly important for small farmers - though many still prefer to keep their herds close by in the lands. It appears, however, that the fence is most commonly seen to allow cattle to be left untended on the grazing side of the fence, freeing the owner for other activities - depending of course on water supplies in the grazing.

9.5.5. Changes in land use

Another reason for the increasing cattle damage problem is the steady expansion in the size of lands areas reducing the distances to the places where the cattle are grazed. In the south this is particularly the problem. Even in Central Region this situation can be observed and is indeed the cause of some current land use issues facing Ngwato Land Board.

Thus we find the cattle owners in the Morale area anxious to be permitted to fence what they see as their boundary, primarily as a direct attempt to halt the expansion of the Mahalapye lands into their grazing and incidentally to reduce the penalties they are paying for crop damage.

It is sometimes very necessary to be aware of historical origins of present land use situations. Palla Road, for example, is a village some 40 km. south of Mahalapye on the rail line. It was established in 1933 by people from Mokubung and Mangope wards in Serowe and Gaarengwe's ward in Shoshong who wanted to live near their cattleposts. With a current village population of about 1000 people, the Mogolori lands originally allocated in the Serorome Valley not far away has become totally inadequate for the community's ploughing needs. Thus in 1978, 63 farmers registered their names with the DAO in Mahalapye requesting a block allocation of arable land 15 miles to the north next to the Bonwapitse river on the southern Morale cattlepost area boundary. If allocated, these farmers are also intent on fencing their lands area en bloc as it is surrounded by cattleposts, as have the residents of the Masoko lands who are developing a rapidly expanding new lands area some 12 miles SE of Thabala in what was a cattle grazing area. The Palla Road request is however the subject of strong opposition from already historically established cattlepost owners in the Morale area who see it as an intrusion into their grazing.

It is in circumstances like this that land use planning is important and that Government policy is clear and consistent in practice on the priority between arable and grazing in a communal situation.

Cattlepost owners may be under the impression that "TGLP" means they can fence and develop their grazing exclusively just because they form a group - as is the case with Morale and to some extent with all the Barolong grazing enclosures (see Chapter 11).

Arable farmers seeking more lands can now be encouraged by the ALDEP policies. The group development programme can get caught in between

supporting one group against another unless policy is clear on what is the priority land use. With ALDEP aiming to facilitate more particularly small farmers to get into arable farming, the trend towards expansion of lands into grazing should actually intensify. Land use issues may soon become the constraint, and land use planning the bottleneck in communal fencing development.

9.5.6. Referred grazing - various systems

The basic two-way "rotation"

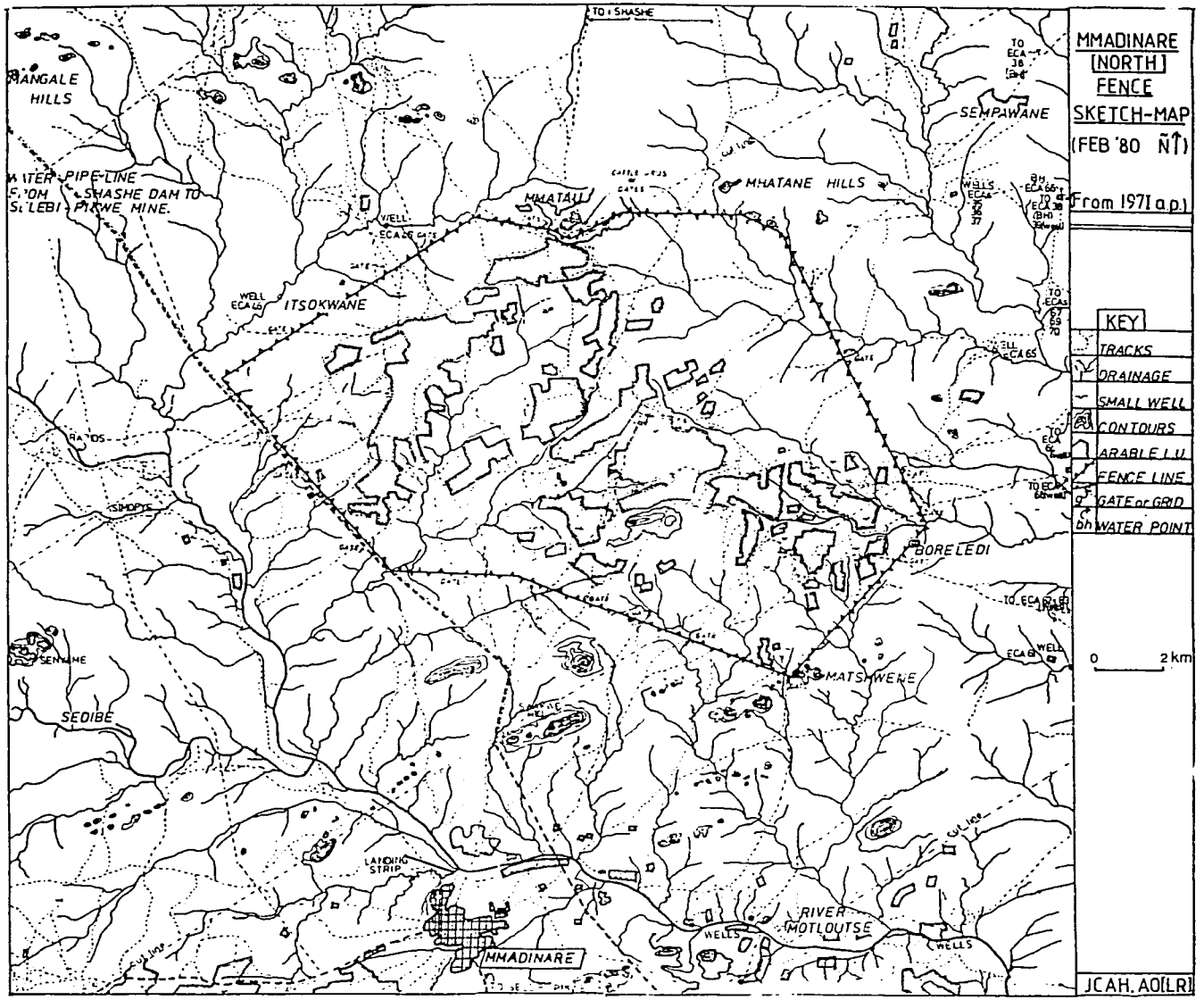
Another important underlying rationale for communal fencing articulated by farmers is to establish what they describe as a basic rotational grazing system by physically dividing the communal land into two parts - grazing and lands. This is more strictly a "referred grazing" system, the consequences of which for the livestock will be discussed in Chapter 11. The length of time that cattle remain one side of the fence or the other can be controlled (depending also on water) usually allowing about 8 months on the grazing side and 4 months in the lands. An added benefit is that where the grazing happens to be the range of nearby hills, "mogau"the poisonous plant is a common hazard becoming palatable and poisonous around August/September with first rains at the very time grazing becomes scarcest down on the lands. Without a fence, cattle that have been spending the winter on the lands, usually for reasons of water availability, climb the hills after first rains assure puddles of water and fresh herbage, and large numbers can be lost from'mogau' poisoning.

Fodder reserve for specific stock categories

The precise objective of this referred grazing system is not always the same. In most cases the intention is that the lands area be reserved for winter grazing for all cattle to move to. In other cases noted at Masoko (Thabala) and Manatsane (Mmadinare N.)only draft oxen and milking cows were allowed to graze in the lands even in winter - the stated objective being to strengthen draft oxen to enable earlier ploughing when the rains came. The Mmadinare North FC explained that if all cattle were allowed into the fenced lands enclosure, overgrazing, erosion and damage to the fences would result. Clearly this objective is only feasible where water supplies remain non-limiting in the grazing outside the lands as well as inside. It would also be very difficult to manage and enforce unless the lands are enclosed (as is the case in both the above examples) with relatively large areas of grazing accessible outside.

Effect of grazing pressure

In the majority of schemes the objective is more a question of trying to keep all cattle out of the lands for at least 6-8 months of the cropping season after ploughing in order that there would actually be some grazing reserved in the lands for cattle to move to after harvest. Here, sheer pressure on the land, water availability and the pattern of grazing and arable land distribution become the factors influencing what fence design is appropriate and viable. Severe grazing pressure can result in some farmers being unwilling to send their cattle out to the impoverished grazing; as at Ntlhantlhe, some through self-interest preferred to herd


MMADINARE
[NORTH]
FENCE
SKETCH-MAP
(FEB '80 N↑)
From 1971 a.p.)
KEY
TRACKS
DRAINAGE
SMALL WELL
CONTOURS
ARABLE L.U.
FENCE LINE
GATE or GRID
WATER POINT
0 2 km
JCAH. A0(LR)
TO SHASHE
MANGALE HILLS
WATER PIPE-LINE FROM SHASHE DAM TO ST. LEBI PRWE MINE.
MMATAU
MMATANE HILLS
SEMPAWANE
ITSOKWANE
SEMOPE
SEMAME
SEDIBE
BORELEDI
MATSWEWE
LANDING STRIP
MMADINARE
RIVER MOTLOUTSE
WELLS

their cattle down on the lands throughout the cropping season taking what the committee viewed as unfair advantage of the management system of the fence to enjoy better grazing during this period: unfair because their action also reduced the grazing reserved in the lands for the entire communal herd to move to after harvest.

Availability of water

Clearly the feasibility of a rotational grazing system with the objective of keeping cattle out or in at certain times of year is dependent on water sources being available in the appropriate areas at those times.

Where the only permanent water supplies are right in or around the lands, it is impossible to get cattle away at any time, and in many instances this situation has in fact been the prime motive for fencing rather than developing a water source further away. For example, at Sefhophe and Nkange water sources are next to or within the lands, and this has been one of the factors which have made building a fence necessary.

9.6. A NOTE ON WATER DEVELOPMENT AND FENCING

A close look at the Appendix tables on fencing and water development reveal that in 34 cases around the country, water development directly related to fencing schemes is either definitely planned, in process of implementation, or has been done.

TABLE 9 (x): NUMBER OF SCHEMES WITH WATER DEVELOPMENT, BY REGION

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No. of fencing schemes with related water development	1	2	18	6	7

At the Kodise hills in Mmankgodi area, the Rankepe lands group propose upon completion of the fence either to develop a borehole in the grazing or to obtain an engine, pump, pipes, trough and reservoir to reticulate water 2 to 3 km. up into the grazing on the hills. P6-8000 has been estimated for the proposal. At Kanngwe, members of the Lokabi fence group have agreed that to move cattle out of the lands will require them to hire water from private borehole owners in the grazing area. At Metsemaswaane (Bamelete) the development in 1979 of a new group dam bringing more reliable water right to the vicinity of the lands, immediately followed by planning and fund-raising for a drift fence, was no coincidence but expression of a locally conceived land use plan.

In some areas the membership of fencing and water development projects significantly overlap, or management committees are actually or virtually one and the same.

The topic of fencing and water development is further pursued in Chapter 10, Section 10.1.8.

9.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 9

9.1. A lot of activity with regard to the communal fencing of the lands is going ahead on the initiative of the farmers themselves. Chapter 9 gives information about the growth and organisation of the fence projects and discusses the reasons which farmers give for fencing.

9.2.1. What has been achieved?

There are at present (August 1980) 109 communal fencing projects of lands in Botswana, representing an actual or planned 1040 km. or more of fence. 26 of these projects are complete with intact fences, 32 are in progress and another 47 are at early stages of planning. Well over 4000 people are involved in fences that are currently being constructed or planned.

9.2.2. Where were the earliest fences?

The earliest of Botswana's lands fences was built in Tlokweng in the late 1920s. The other pre-Independence fences were at Mmaphashalala in Central Region, and Ranaka in Southern Region.

9.2.3. and 9.2.4. Where are the present growth areas?

The most noticeable growth areas have been those of drift fences in the Pelotshetlha area of S. Ngwaketse where there is a large arable enclave surrounded by grazing; the Tutume District where there is a series of bush fences; the Tswapong hills in Palapye District where double drift fences extend along the southern side and much of the northern side of the hills.

Other drift fences are planned and growing in the Manyelanong hills in Gaborone Region, separating hills from valley areas; the Makantshe hills in Gaborone Region, from Bokaa to Manoko; Mmankgodi in Gaborone Region, and the valleys round Manyana, Ntlhantlhe and Moshupa in N. Ngwaketse.

Clusters of lands are being fenced along the Boteti river in Ngamiland. There is also a widespread development of scattered enclosures, particularly in the northern and central parts of the country.

9.3. How are the fencing projects being organised?

The organisation of projects is being undertaken by groups and subgroups with organising committees. Enclosure fences are usually managed by undivided groups, but long drift fences which stretch between different communities (particularly the case in the south) are organised by a series of managerial subgroups under a co-ordinating committee. Sometimes, however, long fences are managed by just one committee with labour subgroups.

Trained, democratically elected Farmers' Committees are frequently responsible for managing fencing projects. Farmers' Committees are most active in this role in Central Region. Independent village committees and VDCs are also found as organising bodies.

Where it is appropriate, participation in the projects is organised by village wards.

9.4. How are projects being funded?

Most funds are raised through membership fees, either as cash or as fencing materials. Specified fees are usually between P2.50 and P24.00 per household.

Sometimes fees are organised on a ward basis, and in a few cases money has been raised by holding parties.

In many cases the fees are being paid. Underpayment by some members tends to be compensated by large donations from wealthier members.

9.5. What reasons are there for undertaking fencing projects?

The reasons that farmers themselves give for undertaking fencing projects are:

1. To protect crops from cattle damage
   - by unherded cattle straying back from nearby grazing, or wandering into lands from nearby water sources;
   - by cattle kraaled within large lands areas.
2. To solve the herdboy problem.
3. To make possible a planned grazing rotation
   - the "two-way rotation" or "referred grazing" system - either for all stock or just for milk and draft beasts.
4. To give farmers the opportunity to improve their farming by early ploughing.
5. To enable judicious use to be made of available water sources.
6. To stop arable expansion into grazing.
7. To prevent cattle from straying into grazing areas when "mogau" is poisonous.

9.6. Are there any other developments directly related to fencing projects?

In 34 cases water development is being undertaken or planned in conjunction with fencing projects.

CHAPTER 10: COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS, HOW IT IS PROCEEDING AND HOW IT CAN BE HELPED.

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CHAPTER 10: COMMUNAL FENCING IN THE LANDS AREAS, HOW IT IS PROCEEDING AND HOW IT CAN BE HELPED

10.1. POTENTIAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE COMMUNAL LANDS FENCING PROJECTS

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10.1.2. Other local or neighbouring commitments

10.1.3. The more general problem of neighbouring community collaboration

10.1.4. The problem of shared grazing

10.1.5. Land use conflicts

10.1.6. Cost of fencing

10.1.7. Settlement pattern and income level

10.1.8. The particular problem of water

10.1.9. Leadership and social factors

10.1.10. Potential problems - summary and solutions; the importance of consultation

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10.2.3. Reasons for participation problems committees are having - their views

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10.2.5. The need

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10.3.5. Conclusion: by-laws, the consultative role of the management committee, implications for organisation

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10.6.2. The ALDEP loan subsidy scheme programme

10.6.3. Some implications of continuing to run the matching grant and ALDEP programmes

10.6.4. Towards a strategy more consistent with objectives

10.6.5. Achieving the right strategy

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10.7.2. Technical support

10.7.3. Organisation support

10.7.4. Management of support

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10.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 10

Chapter 10: List of Abbreviations

AAO (LR)	Assistant Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
Ag.Inf.	Agricultural Information Section
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO (LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
AS	Agricultural Supervisor
CAPAD	Communal Area Planning and Development
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DDC	District Development Committee
DO (L)	District Officer (Lands)
FGPC	Finance and General Purposes Committee
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
GDO	Group Development Officer
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
LAC	Livestock Advisory Centre
LUP	Land Use Planning
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MRTC	Mahalapye Rural Training Centre
OSSCA	One Stop Service for Agriculture
SLB	Sub Land Board
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
VDC	Village Development Committee

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1. Author's sketch
2. Adapted from originals by DO(L), Bamalete/Tlokweng: D. Luijt
3. Adapted from originals by DO(L), Serowe: E. Yaxley
4. Photo-reduced from original by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs

KEY TO MAPS

project fence line

other fences

approximate boundary of fields

village

road

track or path

contour lines, vertical interval 100'

watercourse

dam wall

dam

pan

district boundary

10.1. POTENTIAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN COMMUNAL LANDS FENCING PROJECTS

For a fence project to be successful depends not only on a sound grasp of the causes of the immediate problems in a particular area, but also on a realistic anticipation of other local factors liable to influence the achievement of the objectives. That is, it is necessary to recognise potential problems.

As a project is being organised, consultation taking place, and training and support requirements worked out, awareness of potential problems is crucial. It will then be possible to allow for potential problems in project design and by-laws.

The sections to follow take a look at the sort of potential problems which have been influencing projects to date, and suggest what can sometimes be done to solve them.

10.1.1. Traditional attitudes

Most fencing schemes are "area-wide" rather than the effort of a smaller locality group, so implementation tends to be affected most significantly by attitudes built up from past experience with community schemes referred to in Chapter 3.

In Polokwe (Moshupha South) the problem with participation - of reluctance of people to join and commit themselves - was thus explained:

> "Many believe only by seeing; when the fence is built and the rules are clear they will join because they know their money will be used properly."[1]

As it is, it was alleged that people spread rumours that money will be "eaten". Such rumours are spread "by natural politicians who are not interested in contributing and who want support from others."[1]

The Polokwe Committee, conscious of the conservative attitudes of people, and the presence of elements in the community against having to contribute and prepared to fan the flames of distrust latent in the caution of others, had to do everything possible to command confidence. Receipt books were used to record contributions. Funds raised were accounted for in the 'Kgotla'. The local Councillor had come on request to give a supportive speech. But contributions were still slow in coming. As the committee member at Polokwe put it - people bring along P2.00 towards the P10.00 fee and say "Kee tlaa" meaning "I am still coming" (with more), but do not return.

It is important at this stage to realise that these attitudes are reinforced by other influences. Delays caused by the land allocation procedure, lack of clear explanation of what the project will cost and what it will involve in other respects, and above all any confusion or disagreement in certain sections of the community as to the objectives of the fence, the management system, by-laws etc. - will all only serve to increase the suspicion and conservatism people may already feel.

It should be appreciated that "traditional attitudes" are not a "nuisance". They should be seen for what they most often are - i.e. expressions of valid fears of people faced with new and possibly disturbing if not damaging changes to their previous accustomed way of life. Great care has to be exercised to ensure that a local situation is fully understood so that the trends in force and the changes being facilitated by Government are as far as possible wholly beneficial. It may often be difficult to isolate genuine difficulties from opposition arising from,

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(1) Polokwe committee member - interview 12th March 1980.

or fuelled by local politics. This is all the more reason for thorough problem and potential problem analysis to be done.

The vital antidotes to traditional conservatism are therefore:

(i) genuine open dynamic consultation within the community, at all levels.

(ii) objectives, design (i.e. land use plan) and by-laws which really do take into account the different problems and needs of all sectors of the community.

(iii) timely, responsive, competent support at every stage, sensitive to the local situation.

10.1.2. Other local or neighbouring commitments

In several instances of fencing schemes progress was held up by other obligations competing for local resources of labour, funds and management. This, of course, is a potential problem which can influence the implementation of any project.

At Metsemaswaane the energies of the Farmers' Committee and the rest of the community were, in April 1980, still tied up with fencing the new Tlebegwane dam. As soon as delay was over, attention was turned to the drift fence which was completed by August 1980 (GDO report 8/80).

This is an obvious potential problem and is simply a reality of the "gradualist approach". A community cannot tackle more at a given time than its capacity to manage allows.

Of more concern is the situation where the readiness of one community to embark on a fencing scheme is held up by the lack of capacity of an adjacent community to undertake the continuation of the fence through their area.

There are many examples of this problem. Effectiveness of the upcoming Kopong (Sasakwe) drift fence will be dependent on an extension by people in the huge Manoko lands areas to the west, so that the fence continues westward along the base of the Makantshe range of hills. Without a continuation in this direction cattle could simply walk round where the fence ends and re-enter not only the Sasakwe lands but also those in the Manoko area. Although the project has been discussed in Manoko, no action can be taken as attention in that area is currently focussed on spray race projects.

At Ntlhantlhe the drift fence is complete and is able to keep cattle on the hills to the east. Cattle can, however, still enter the lands freely from the Ranaka lands on the west side. Ranaka is also said to be pre-occupied with a dip-tank project. Whether or not this is the problem preventing Ranaka people fencing on their side of Ntlhantlhe lands is not fully confirmed.

Many cases of delays caused by other commitments can only be solved by waiting until those other commitments are finished and the community is free to turn its attention to the next task, but it must also be remembered that through co-ordinated institutional development, communities may be assisted to define priorities.

10.1.3. The more general problem of neighbouring community collaboration

Depending on the local geography, the achievement of the fence objectives may hinge upon the collaboration of several separate but adjacent lands communities or even villages in a total area design lay-

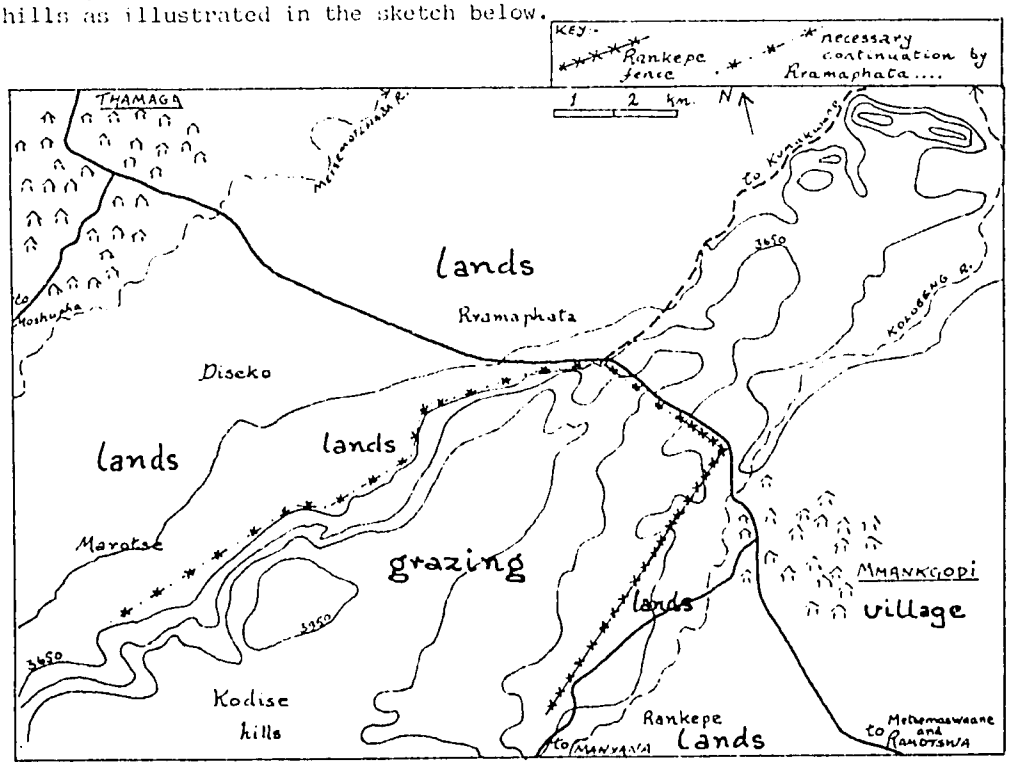
out or land use plan.

The relationship between adjacent communities is obviously a factor influencing the likelihood of their collaboration. The longest fences are almost all implemented through the collaboration of sub area groups, each working on a sub section, as is more fully described in Section 9.3. The old Tlokweng fences were built in this way, for example under the leadership of the Batlokwa chief. The more recent Lerala fences were also built by sub area groups working under the direction of the Lerala Farmers' Committee.

The problems of neighbourly co-operation become more difficult, as the need stretches to less closely related communities. At Sasakwe/Kopong success depends not only on an extension west to Manoko, but also east to Bokaa. Bokaa people, though right next door, are Bakgatla, falling under the Kgatleng District. Kopong is in the Kweneng. In Bokaa, on questioning, the head man denied having been informed of the Kopong project. The Bokaa Farmers' Association was in any case preoccupied with a dip tank. There was supposed to be a separate Farmers' Committee in Bokaa but it was non-functioning by all standards at the time of this enquiry. The prospects for an eastward extension of the Kopong fence are therefore for the time being discouraging.

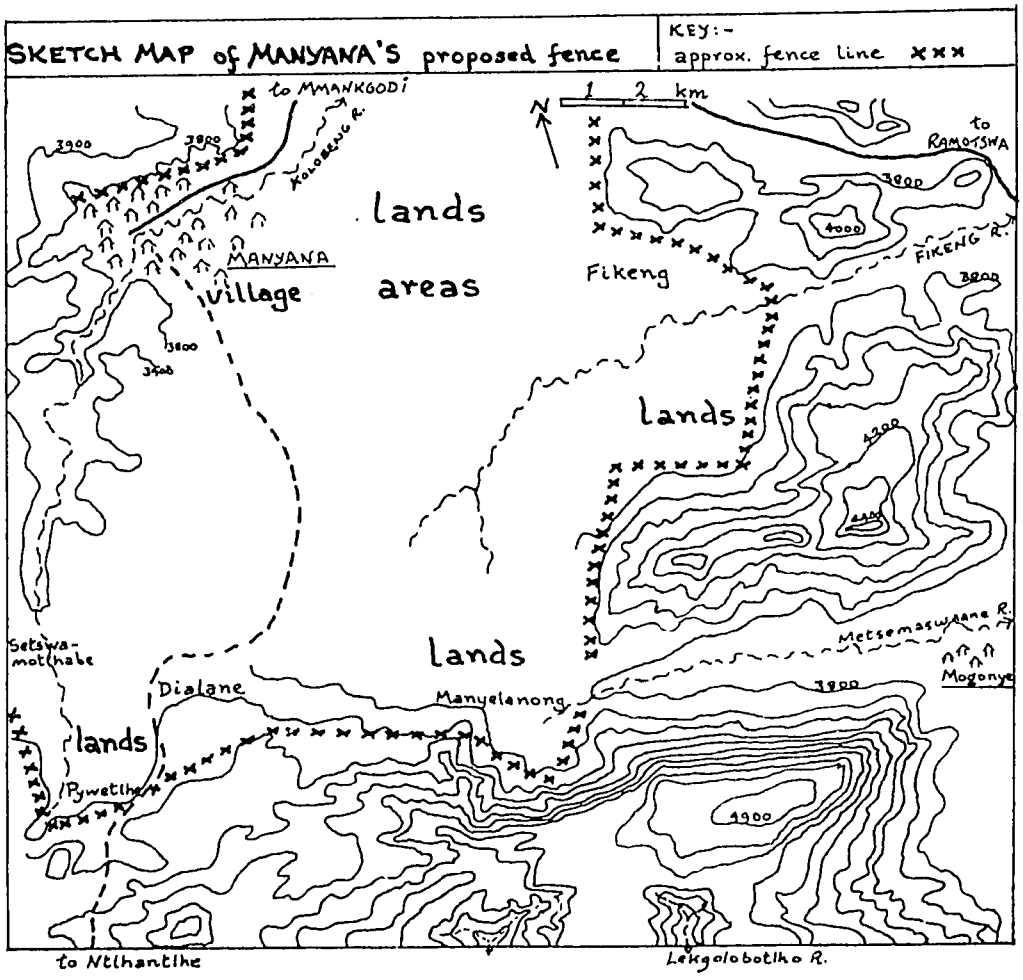
A particularly difficult area is the hilly heavily populated locality where the Southern, Kweneng and South East Districts all join and are inhabited by people of five different tribes - Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bakgatla, Bamalete and Bafurutshe. The hills are communal grazing areas shared across these administrative and tribal boundaries. Villages have their much more distinct lands areas in the valleys although even these intermingle.

The Kodise hills fence as far as the Rankepe lands community (Mmankgodi-Bafurutshe people) is concerned, should be an enclosure of the hills as illustrated in the sketch below.



By building their section on the eastern side of the hills the Rankepe group prevent both their cattle and those from the Thamaga side straying into their fields. Their fence does not, however, do anything to prevent their cattle straying over into the Rramaphata lands on the western side. At the time of the enquiry there was distinct lack of co-operation from the Rramaphata community, a Mmankgodi sub area, on the Thamaga side of the hills. Appeals made in Thamaga for co-operation met eventually some promise of response in the Diseko and Marotse sub areas of Thamaga further south on the western side. The problem at Rramaphata seemed to stem from the antagonistic influence of the local councillor, resident in Rramaphata lands, who was out of favour in Mmankgodi due apparently to a breach of the Farmers' Association dip tank by-laws.

The objectives of the very long Manyana fence encircling almost the entire village/lands area in 8 sub-groups face similar hazards.



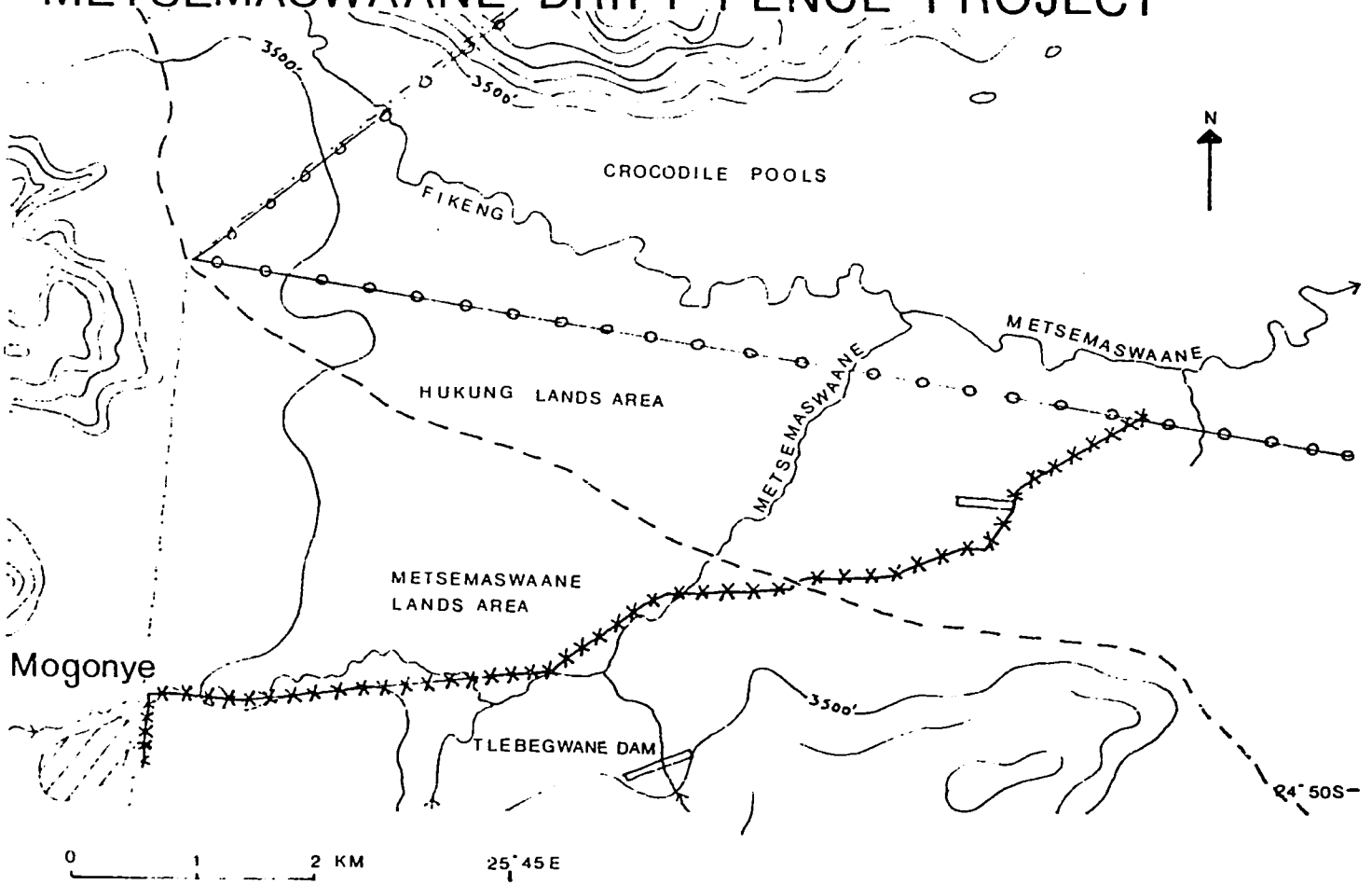
Cattle fenced off in the hills to the west could still stray west into Mmankgodi lands areas. To the south the way is open to the Moshupha lands. To the east the hills give way to Metsemaswaane lands in Bamalete District where members of the Farmers' Committee complained of damage caused by cattle from Manyana.

The Morule lands area in Moshupha West suffers considerable crop damage from cattle grazing unherded in a shared strip of sandveld separating Morule from Molapowabasadi to the west. Morule people from Moshupha could fence this strip but only with co-operation from the Molapowabasadi community. The latter is a mixed community of Thamaga, Moshupha and Kanye people (three tribes) who have apparent local notoriety for failure to co-operate in projects. Their syndicate borehole is reported to be frequently broken down resulting in cattle straying east and over populating the Moshupha West dams. Co-operation in a fencing project with the Morule sub area is thus highly problematic.

There are many additional examples of problems, but there are also some success stories. The two lands communities of Metsemaswaane and Potsane/Segakwana separated by a hilly grazing area 10 miles or so west of Ramotswa have achieved a mutually beneficial arrangement whereby the display of a receipt proving membership of one project is accepted as qualification to that of the other.

At Lokabi in Ngwaketse South, two adjacent sub area groups agreed to work under one committee in order to achieve the "rotational grazing" objective and co-operate in building and maintaining a firebreak along the fence.

METSEMASWAANE DRIFT FENCE PROJECT



The collaboration involved in the Manyelanong hills fence in South East District definitely reflects the natural tribal and kinship affinities between the neighbouring communities, although the co-ordination and drive provided by the DAO's office and area ADs was a vital part of the process.

10.1.4. The problem of shared grazing

"Whose fence is it?" (Kopong fence group).

A real fear of some communities is that if they fence off the grazing from their lands it will encourage more cattle to be left unherded on the grazing side over which area any one community is powerless to exercise control. This fear was expressed by Kopong/Sasakwe farmers who saw their stretch of the Makantshe hills as a potential grazing camp for cattle from Gabane and Metsemotlhaba. The hills to the east of Ntlhantlhe are a desperately over-stocked grazing area shared with Mogobane, Ramotswa and Mogonnye. Mmamaereng farmers saw the threat of Mokgosi lands cattle causing overstocking of the grazing "camp" created by their fence, and Mmankgodi farmers feared the same possibility in the Kodise hills from Thamaga cattle, the owners knowing that in future cattle are safeguarded from straying down into Rankepe lands. If indeed the Kodise hills were just the preserve of Rankepe people their proposal for water reticulation up into the grazing would be that much easier. The problem will be other users of the shared grazing.

Rankoromane "ranch" is an example of the potential problem - an area stuffed with cattle from most parts of Bamalete in the knowledge of their safety from straying.

The potential problem is most acute in the most densely populated parts of the country - i.e. in the south east where the ratio between land in arable as opposed to grazing use becomes near equal. It is not only in the Barolong that the distinction becomes less clear as to whether the fence is in effect a grazing enclosure or a lands enclosure.

In the face of non-co-operation from a neighbouring area one community cannot change a drift fence to a grazing enclosure by altering the fence line to encircle part of the shared grazing. It would in any case be unacceptable under the present grazing management system as it would reduce the mobility of the cattle to utilise the entire grazing available as and when rains have fallen and take advantage of locally improved water supplies and range condition.

This subject is straying into that of the next chapter. It is nonetheless a potential problem for drift fences which several southern groups expressed concern about and which sometimes finds expression in by-laws.

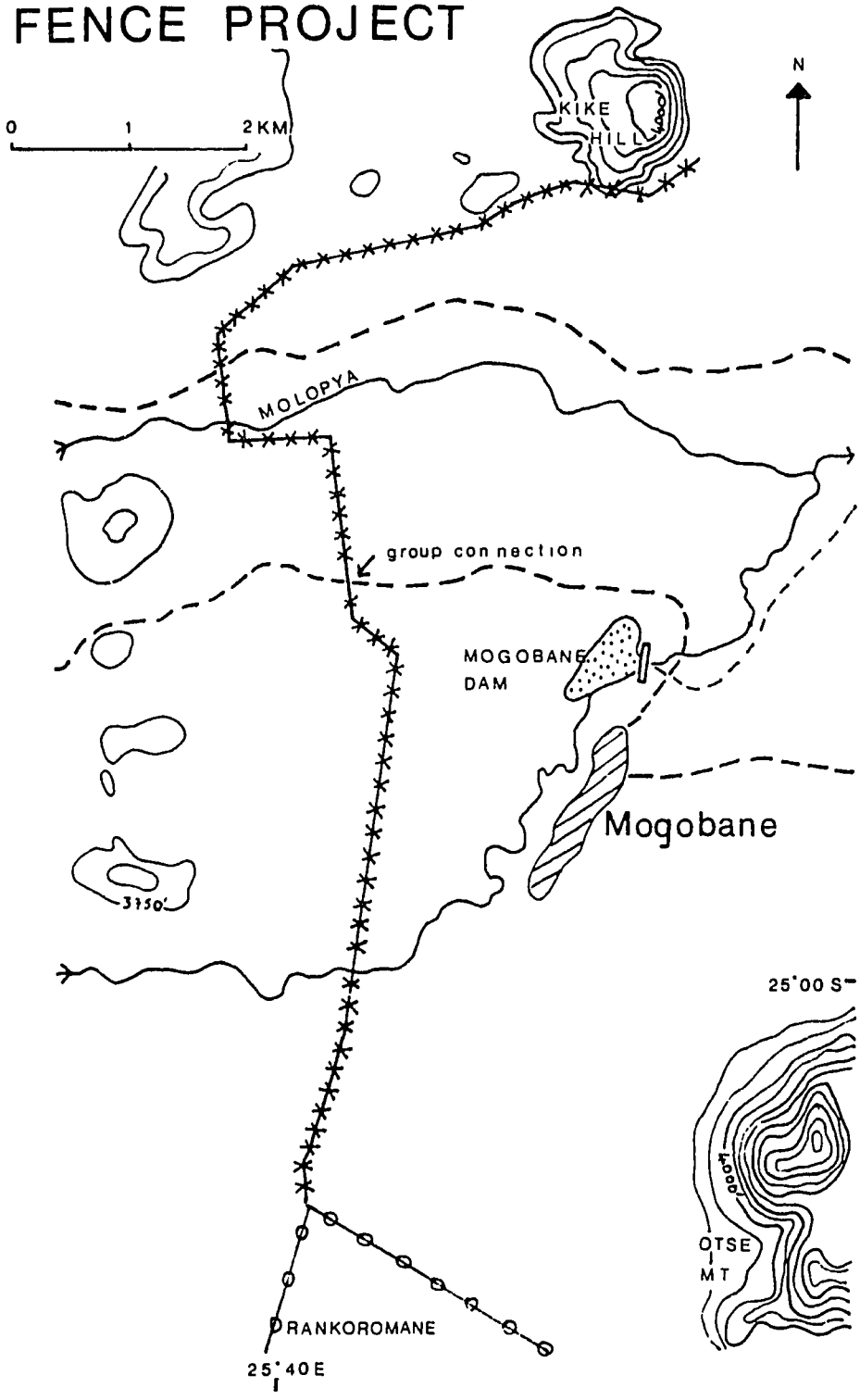
The Polokwe group apparently intend to prevent non-members' cattle from grazing on the hills above their fence. The Mmamaereng and Mogobane by-laws provide for a P12.00 fine and enforced payment of the P5.00 joining fee for non-members grazing cattle in "their" area. Any farmer owning lands or livestock in the area is bound to join the grazing association and obey the rules made by the Farmers' Committee. Membership, conversely, is "open to all" in Bamalete.

A potential problem of fencing cattle out of the lands can thus be a greater management problem of the grazing on the other side.

10.1.5. Land use conflicts

Following on from the problems of shared grazing and the potential difficulties of inter-neighbourhood collaboration one is led naturally to discuss potential areas of conflict.

MOGOBANE-MMAMAERENG DRIFT FENCE PROJECT



A reason for fencing - i.e. the cause of the need for fencing - is described by farmers in some localities as change in land use. The examples at Morale and Masoko were given in the section 9.5.5. The problem is one which this study can only touch on; it requires thorough further investigation and solutions can only be developed within a framework of clear land use policy.

The problem hinges on whose type of land use is to be encouraged. The expansion of lands into communal grazing takes different forms. At Morale the need is for arable land for a large majority of farmers from Mahalapye (and Palla Road to the South). In the minority are the cattle post owners. This can be contrasted with the situation at the Malore section of the Macha fence where the fence committee was currently (April 1980) at issue with the Ngwaketse Lane Board over a large field allocation on the grazing side of the fence. Local farmers in Mmathethe complained that over-sized lands several kilometres wide were being allocated in the communal area for big Kanye tractor farmers most of whom had no need for local grazing as their cattle were at cattleposts elsewhere. (2)

A simple "priority to arable" policy could in other words jeopardise the livelihoods of small farmers in some parts of the country, even though in cases like Morale it would serve their interest.

Nowhere is the equation balanced more delicately than in the Barolong. In discussions with the Rolong Land Board it was even difficult to agree on the distinction between fences as "grazing enclosures" or "arable enclosures" as the ratio of land in use as grazing as compared to arable must be almost equal.

Fencing schemes in most parts of the Barolong are thus particularly liable to be affected by the potential problems outlined above. Firstly, direct land use conflicts are almost inevitable. Secondly, as space is so limited any fence is liable to aggravate the problem of overstocking if cattle are forcibly confined to a grazing enclosure. Thirdly, the need for inter-neighbourhood collaboration cannot be avoided as the pockets of grazing are almost all the communal property of several neighbouring communities.

It is significant that the implementation of the proposed post TGLP grazing enclosures stalled basically due to problem number two above - i.e. interest of those who had the opportunity for exclusive use of the enclosures dropped when the Rolong Land Board raised the condition of stocking according to carrying capacity.

As has already been noted the equation now is further complicated by the added alternatives available in ALDEP.

The Barolong cases and the Morale issue are that much easier to discuss because detailed land use maps have been produced which starkly show up the situation. It is impossible to discuss other cases sensibly without such information. Mapping of land use, and wherever possible, land capability should be an absolute priority in the process of planning. This is not recommended merely as an added burden of "approval procedure" but because in the absence of land use maps issues cannot be clearly seen and Land Boards and communities themselves are liable to take steps which may in practice be difficult to rectify should there have been mistakes.

As an example, there is no map (to the author's knowledge) of the

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(2) The nature of such "allocations" is unconfirmed: "developed" might be a better term.

Macha fence other than a sketch in Ornulf Gulbrandsen's draft report (3). Yet sections of this fence are the subject of land use controversy and members of the committee were clearly anxious about land issues in the area.

Potential land use problems and those of inter-neighbourhood collaboration and shared grazing have no easy solution which can be glibly recommended here. The first step is awareness. The remaining steps involve the whole process of group development which this report is about. It is hoped that some conclusions can be drawn on this in the final chapters based on the experiences of these fences, those dealt with in Chapter 11 and other group activities.

10.1.6. The cost of fencing and factors influencing cost and capacity of groups to raise finance

It may seem that an obvious potential problem is raising the finance for a fence.

In the old days, as in Tlokweng in the 1920s, the Chief's word in 'Kgotla' could precipitate the raising of necessary finance through the sale of matimela and other tribally owned cattle. Nowadays, however, financing has to be through voluntary community contributions with, recently, assistance from Government grants. Although the data are incomplete and the financing situation is of course continually changing as time passes, it appears in general that under normal circumstances self-finance can be achieved. The Pelotshetlha fence was built through 100% community contribution by means of an NDB loan which took some 5 years to repay. The community managed it through the backing of the Farmers' Committee by Chief Bathoen in Kanye.

Also financed through NDB were - (i) The small enclosure syndicates around Dinogeng in the Kgatleng, (ii) The earlier wire fencing of sections of the 20 km. Mmaphashalala lands enclosure. Here individual farmers obtained NDB loans to contribute their 2 rolls of wire each to the VDC. The small enclosure at Kapye (Shoshong) and the bulk of the contribution to the Thuni fence near Bobonong were through local financing (possibly some of the members of these obtained NDB loans - no data available on this). All these projects have been completed.

The effect of income problems in an area

Difficulties do arise, however, when an area is experiencing general income problems. In addition to the complete projects listed above is the Xhaugwe enclosure at Mohembo in Ngamiland West, which has also been funded by an NDB loan, but in this case the loan has not been repaid. The reasons there are straightforward - the Xhaugwe fence cannot earn income because the inaccessibility of the area prevents any marketing of crops. Secondly, the outbreak of foot and mouth disease has prevented sale also of cattle which might otherwise have been used to offset the cost.

Financial difficulties were the main reason given for the lack of progress in at least 14 groups. Particularly affected were proposed projects in the Boteti area. Foot and Mouth disease marketing restrictions affecting cattle sales was also cited as the problem at Dikabeyana, Sefhophe, Mmadinare, Kudumatse, Mmaphashalala and Lerala. At Mmaphashalala the Foot and Mouth disease situation prevented the 1980 subscriptions being collected.

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(3) O.Gulbrandsen, "A Preliminary Report on some Socioeconomic Aspects of Land-Use in the Communal Areas of the Bangwaketse". 1978

At Lerala the 1980 Foot and Mouth disease situation compounded the effect of previous delay at the Namane and Pakame sub sections caused by leadership/social issues. The other sub groups which had not become involved in those issues started contributions much earlier and therefore avoided the Foot and Mouth disease problem.

Government's approach makes all the difference as to whether genuine financial difficulties are the critical factor or not.

Delay in approval of project

The Morale group are also being affected by particular circumstances which frustrate raising the necessary finance. The Morale fence group is really a cattle owners' group intent on fencing the entire perimeter of their grazing area for future exclusive use and development. Their high membership fee of P50.00 reflects their income level, the ultimate purpose, and also their small number in relation to the size of the project, i.e. the fencing costs initially of the proposed 12 km. northern "drift fence" to be borne between only 17 members. The small amount raised (P272 at April 1980) reflects the uncertainty of their project being approved rather than problems in raising finance.

Fence specifications

A more frequent problem arises due to a general lack of knowledge about fence specifications. A group may have difficulties raising the necessary finance because of the expensive fence specifications. This is aptly illustrated by the extreme example of Mokatako, where the group was advised of a total cost of P7362 (4) for a 13 km. fence (i.e. a cost of P566 per km.) with 5 strand high-strain wire plus unspecified accessories. The total membership of the group is about 130, including some 41 potential fence group members from neighbouring Molethe. In view of the apparently high cost of the project the committee had, on advice, set a membership fee of P24.00 and the inevitable problems of everyone raising anything near this amount were causing discouragement.

There is, moreover, a wide variation in specifications both from project to project and even within projects, where different sections may use different specifications depending on the types of wire donated by farmers, or the ways decisions were made concerning materials. At Mogapi, in 1979, a 5 strand high-strain fence was approved, totalling P3572 or P105 per km. At Mogobane a fence with 3 lines of barbed wire and 2 of plain high-strain wire was approved, at a cost of P2680 or P285 per km. Meanwhile, next door to Mogobane at Mmamaereng, the fence is to consist of 5 lines of barbed wire, at a cost of P350 per km. The number of posts and droppers used also varies considerably.

In Mogapi farmers placed huge, stout "mophane" standards six to ten metres apart; some 5000 posts were reported to have been cut. At Mogobane, posts were to be placed 20 metres apart. The number of droppers cut and fitted per km. was 600 at Mogapi compared to 440 planned for Mogobane (5).

Yet there do exist official estimates of per km. rates for different fence specifications, as well as recommendations for the number of standards to be used, etc. According to the Animal Production Division a high-strain

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(4) This figure is admittedly suspiciously high. Its source is the APO. Alternative quotations in 'Kgotla' were also high, however: for 3 strands of high-strain plus 2 of barbed wire and accessories - P8129 or P625 per km; for veldspan and accessories - P5780 or P445 per km.

(5) AD report and AE 10 project memorandum.

5 line suspension fence requires only 30 standards per km. and about 200 clips. Table 10(i) below sets out some cost estimates, though it must be remembered that costs are continually rising.

The cost of fencing materials

The local material costs vary enormously in different parts of the country. If poles can only be cut a considerable distance from the site their cost is high in terms of labour and transport as at Khumaga, Madikola and Toromoja, in the latter case 25 km. away.

Fencing under these conditions becomes highly expensive. At Toromoja where there are no trees Government was being expected (in the AE 10 application proposals) either to supply poles as well as wire as the grant component, or to provide transport for the cutting of poles in a different area. Parts of the Barolong are equally devoid of trees and would require the purchase of fence posts.

As a rough guide the costs of the main fencing materials as at August 1980 are given in the table below. It should be noted that the cost of wire is by far the greatest single variable. Even if all droppers and posts were purchased, it would only raise the total by around P65 - P70 per km.

TABLE 10(i) FENCING MATERIAL COSTS

		Price (approx.)	
Standards, wooden, creosoted		P1.00 each	
" metal		P2.00 each	
Droppers, wooden		- 18 t each	
" metal		- 22 t each	
Wire Clips		- 17 t each	
Binding Wire	2015 m. roll	P28-84	(LAC)
		P30-83	(Mahalapye Co-op)
		P28-65	(OSSCA)
High-strain (HS) wire	1650 m.roll	P28-11	(LAC)
	1600 m.roll	P37-33	(Mahalapye Co-op)*
	1650 m.roll	P30.00	(Haskins, Francistown)
High-strain wire	1650 m.roll	P38.10	(IFPP? source)
Barbed wire	c.540 m.roll	P32.21	(OSSCA)
Barbed wire (single strand)			
	845 m.roll	P38.00	(IFPP? source)
" " (thicker)	540 m.roll	P38.00	(" ")
Gates	8 ft.	P25.00	
"	12 ft.	P34.00	
"	14 ft.	P39.00	
Veldspan 12"/0536 (cattle)	100 m.	P24-25	(IFPP? source)

* this must presumably be thicker than 2.24 mm. (veld 1650) gauge.

The issue of disparity of costs needs looking into more thoroughly both from the point of view of the community's being able to raise the amount and for its implications for Government assistance.

What is more important, however, is the clear need for group guidance and training in reducing costs of projects and thereby increasing feasibility. The use of 5 strands of high-strain wire is unpopular in some areas due apparently to the greater work and skill involved in straining it properly to make a firm fence. Barbed wire is preferred by many fa mers but only, it seems, for convenience. For a single strand it is, however, 2.5 times more expensive than high strain (p45 per km. as compared with P18 per km.)

In order to reduce costs and lessen the difficulty of raising local contributions, it would appear sensible to provide clear, practical, technical guidelines on specifications to all ADs to pass on to fence committees. Following up this recommendation will be a considerable task, for the various divisions within the Department of Agricultural Field Services at present advocate different specifications. ALDEP are recommending the use of 5 strand barbed wire at P310 per km. for individual fencing. The Department of Agricultural Field Services may be said to implicitly approve high-strain wire for groups, for most fence projects funded under AE 10 have been 5 line high-strain wire, except, as we have seen, in Gaborone Region. The Animal Production Division do not include barbed wire in any of their recommended specifications, but only quote types of high-strain wire or veldspan. More recently, however, APOs are building demonstration fences nearly 1 km. long incorporating all the various alternative types of fencing. This is being done through the SLOCA programme at the sites of group projects (e.g. Mmankgodi, Nkange drift fences). The decision about which type of fence to use is left to the local people.

The question of fence specifications is therefore a muddled one both from the groups' point of view and from Government's point of view. If, however, the above recommendation were pursued, the situation would be clearer for everybody. Solutions to potential cost problems for groups could be incorporated in the initial stage of design of the fence project.

Practical field training and demonstration in fencing techniques and materials should also be an early form of support provided to every prospective fence group. Data available show that up to the present only 9 groups have received any specific training of this kind in the country. Of these, 6 were at Lerala, Mogapi, Masoko and Lesie (Thabala), Mmaphashala and Sefhare, all in Central Region. SLOCA demonstration facilities have recently been erected at Nkange and Mmankgodi.

TABLE 10(ii). FENCE SPECIFICATIONS: PER KILOMETRE COST

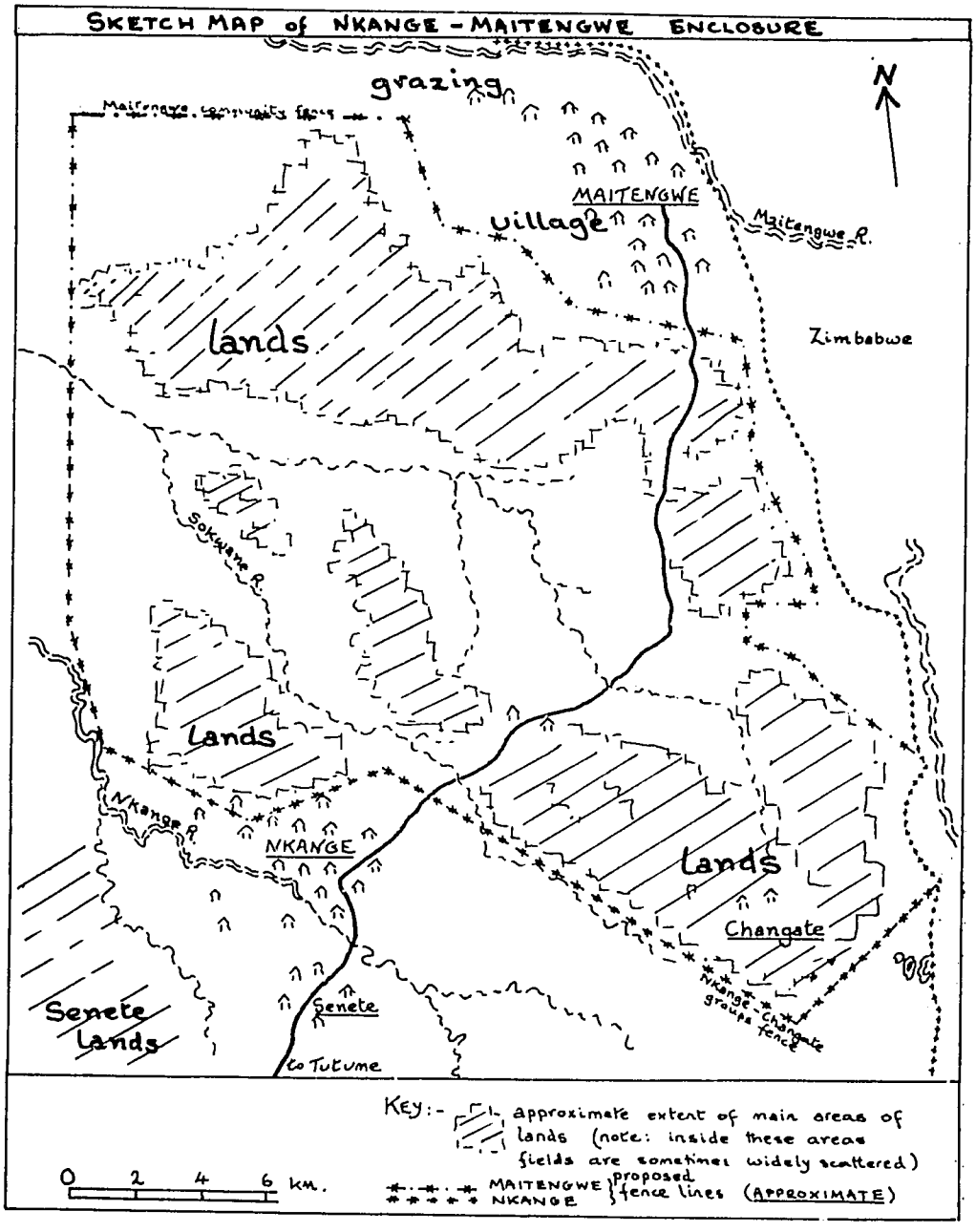
Type of fence	Cost/km.	Source
1. 5 strand HS wire, local poles	P115.00	Central ALDEP paper
2. 5 line HS wire suspension fence, bought wooden strainers 400 m. apart, standards at 33.3 m., clips at 5.5 m.	P164.76	Ranch Extension Office (H.Q. August 1980)
3. Veldspan suspension fence, wooden strainers and standards as for fence (2)	P253.57	" " "
4. 5 strand, single strand barbed (wire only)	P228.00	IFPP
5. 5 strand thicker barbed (wire only)	P342.00	"

(The above are the cheapest fencing specifications available)

10.1.7. Settlement pattern

There are two types of problem which can arise from settlement pattern. The first is a straightforward effect of settlement location and the length of the fencing project.

At Nkange, following technical advice, a 43.5 km. drift fence was designed, stretching around the southern perimeters of the lands areas north of Nkange village and meeting to the north-west the end of a similar 53 km fence to be built by Maitengwe villages, thus forming one large enclosure:



The logistics of clearing the fence line because of the distance to the extreme NW was proving a real difficulty around April/May 1980 to the extent that farmers were relying on daily Government transport and the presence of the Regional Land Use Office (AAOLR) to get out there to work. At the Maitengwe end action was nil in anticipation of similar support once the Nkange sections were cleared.

The primary aim of the design of this large enclosure was to enclose sufficient area for future arable expansion. Doubtless a saving was anticipated in total fence costs by the joining of the two communities instead of the development of two (or more) separate smaller enclosures. The design was based on a land use plan grounded on a soil survey of the area.

A second and more fundamental problem, however, arises from the situation that in most communal areas farming households are very diverse in character. The big farmer is next to the small. Where such mixed-up areas occur, the potential problem is one of making the design and objectives of one fence suit the situations of the different farmers in terms both of their diverse resource/income levels and their geographical position within the area. In other words, whose interests are being served?

In the descriptive discussion above on the reasons for fencing, a number of potential problems were noted in relation particularly to the achievement of a "rotational" (referred)grazing system. These will not be repeated here other than to make a special note of the potential problems particular to small owners, and to highlight the implications for the processes of planned project design and objectives.

The drift fences at Pelotshetlha, Macha and Ntlhantlhe in the south, and more recently Lerala in the Tswapong, have all experienced difficulties with the operation of by-laws to do with the objective of keeping all cattle out of the lands areas in the cropping season.

The most common difficulty is the fact of farmers deeper inside the lands continuing to keep small herds of cattle there all the year round. In the case of the Macha fence, along most of its length the lands are close to the fence allowing cattle to be kept easily on the grazing side. But around the northern Kutokole-Moselebe section, milking and other cattle are still found in the lands side, apparently because of the lands extending a greater distance away from the fence, bounded eventually as it happens by the terminal Digawana section of the Pelotshetlha fence.

At Pelotshetlha the same problem of herds continuing to be kept inside the lands even prompted a few IFPP farmers to take out individual loans to fence their fields separately, the experience causing IFPP technicians to come out strongly in favour of individual area communal fencing.

At Ntlhantlhe and Lerala the farmers deepest inside lands areas found their normal access to grazing cut off by other developments. At Ntlhantlhe the new Lobatse-Kanye road fence made access to the Lothakane grazing area south of the road more difficult for farmers further from the drift fence. At Lerala the new veterinary cordon fence to Sherwood cut off farmers around Motobetso from access south to grazing towards Ngwapa. Members of the Lerala FC admitted that even at the beginning some farmers were refusing to participate in the Motobetso fence section because access to grazing east of the Motobetso drift fence would be much further than grazing they used to have towards Ngwapa (see map on page 63).

The fences do help the small farmer, in so far as they keep stray cattle out of their lands - a real nuisance at weeding time when women may find themselves wasting valuable hours chasing beasts away from their small fields. But on the whole small families with small herds find it very inconvenient to comply with the by-laws regarding removal of cattle from the lands. The problem is one of labour shortage - the herdboy now being at school. Due to the need to devote time to activities at the lands, and the need to have the milking cows accessible for milk, such small farm families find it easier to herd their entire small herd around the lands than remove either all, or just non-milkers, out to the grazing where additional expense or effort would be involved in regular visits by the owner to check the herd or to journey twice daily to fetch the cows for milking. Milk supply is more important to the poorer households than to the rich, who buy tins of condensed milk anyway and leave the natural milk to satisfy the herdboys. At Lerala, Macha and Pelotshetlha it was milking cattle that were being kept inside the enclosure.

At Nkange such an objective of removal of all stock would clearly be impossible when the numbers of small herds presently (i.e. pre-fence) being managed in the lands areas are considered. It is anticipated that there will be similar problems for some owners of small herds in the Bamalete to remove these herds west of the fence to the Manyelanong hills. At Manoko also it was observed that poor people who cannot afford herdboys to take their cattle up into the hills, keep their cattle down on the lands.

At Maunyele a fence is going ahead, but again is possibly meeting the same problem. Here the fence is reliant on the efforts of a small proportion of lands residents, tending to be those whose fields are nearest to the boundary of the grazing area to the north-west. Further "inside" the lands many people are apparently unconcerned. Do they feel further

away from the cattle damage problem? Or do they in any case not intend to send their cattle out into the grazing since what appeared to be adequate grazing is being included in the lands side of the fence?

These large area situations can be contrasted with the smaller enclosure designs. At Mogapi (map p60)as the fence encircles the lands areas, most fields are within 2 km. of the fence and certainly few are more than 4 km. distant from the grazing. The old Mmaphashalala enclosure (map p.11)is far more compact still. At Masoko (Thabala)an original plan for one large enclosure was re-designed into three smaller enclosures after farmers had discussed some potential problems of the first plan which would have enclosed too much grazing; also a small river and roads within the lands enclosure. Unfortunately, a detailed map of the changed plan was not yet available, as it would have provided a useful example of possible alternatives to the large drift/double-drift/enclosure designs for which the sort of potential problems being discussed are inevitable.

Fence design, objectives and by-laws - the need for careful integrated planning

Particular care is thus needed in the design of fencing schemes not to disrupt the way of life of the smallest owners. The combination of physical project design objectives and organisational by-laws is what matters. If at Lerala, for example, the lands were less scattered through such a wide area, smaller fenced enclosures might have been more feasible - as was the original intention of the Makgabo sub-group.

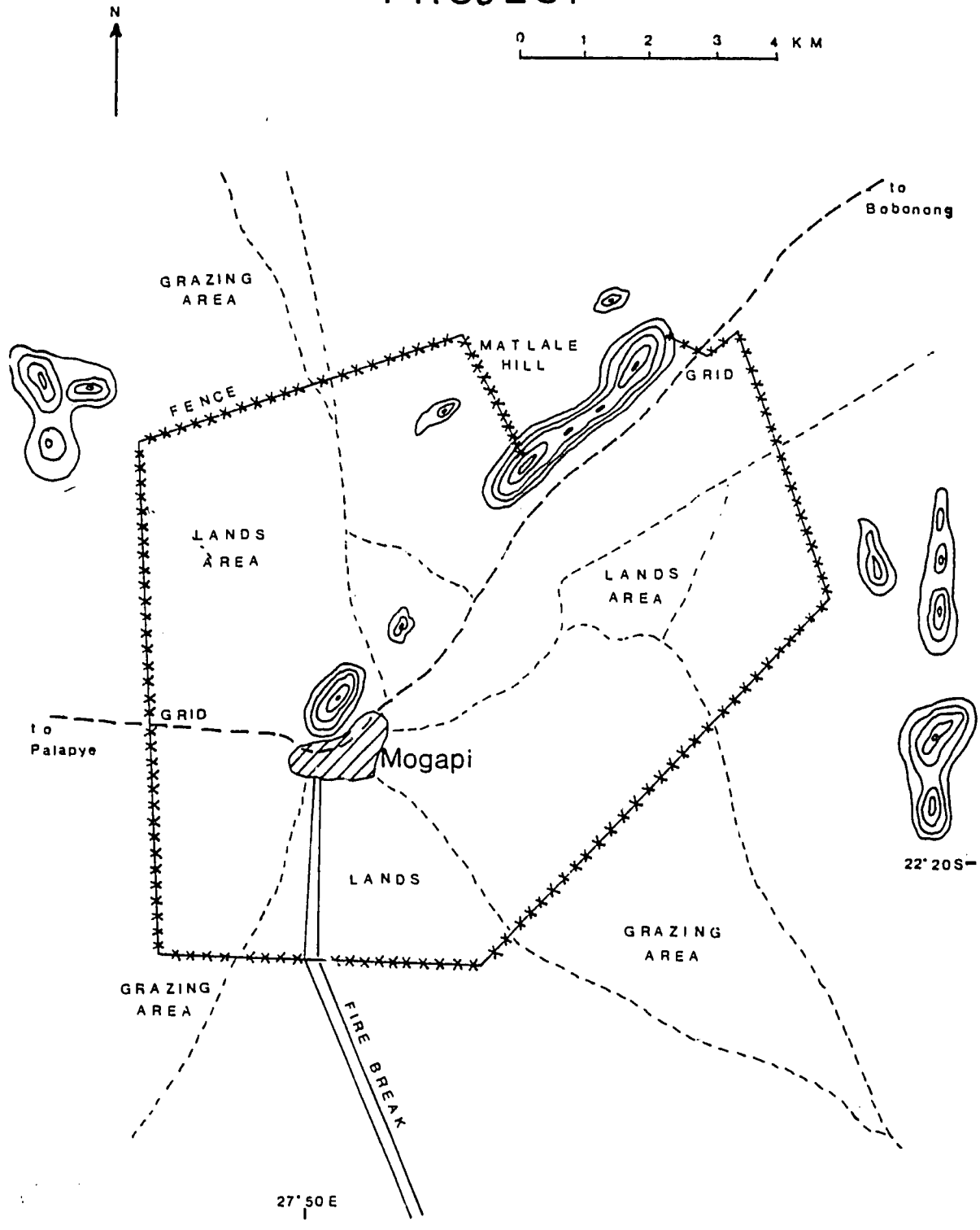
With most sections of the Macha (Mmathethe) fence, the lands are situated so close to the grazing on the other side of the fence that small farmers can remove cattle and check them daily. Similarly at Masoko, (Thabala) the enclosures are small enough so that owners can allow cattle to graze outside by day, and track them down in the afternoon for kraaling by night.

The design of the project can clearly conflict with organisation by-laws reflecting such objectives as removal of all cattle if the sort of realities above are not looked into and discussed at the planning and consultation stages. If there is conflict the poor may actually get penalised, and severely if crop damage is involved.

By-laws and their enforcement, the nature of the objectives and the land use plan should thus be closely inter-connected. Land use planning problems are often the reason why some projects, due to the recognised difficulty of by-law enforcement, have "diluted" objectives. For example, at Nkange the committee objectives allow continued presence of cattle within the lands to take place even during the cropping season provided they are herded to avoid crop damage. This is probably due to a combination of the size problem - i.e. the distance small owners would have to remove their herds, and the water problem - i.e. the lands cannot be grazed anyway in winter so the reserving of grazing does not apply, whereas during the rains water and grazing are more available than they are in the grazing zone. A similar situation prevails at Maunyele in the south.

Where on the other hand the three fit together and in addition grazing pressure is not too high and water is available, the fence can work - as for example at Malore in Ngwaketse S. where no cattle were on the lands side in the cropping season and the classic effect of fencing was demonstrated with knee high grass on the lands side reserved for after harvest, and visibly heavier grazing on the other side.

MOGAPI ENCLOSURE PROJECT



10.1.8. The particular problem of water

Some aspects of the relationship between water sources and lands fencing projects have been mentioned in section 9.5. Rationalizing water sources is one of the reasons farmers give for fencing, and the 34 cases where water development is proceeding side by side with fencing projects indicate that it is already realised to be a potential problem.

Nonetheless it is worth reiterating that any fencing plans need to take water availability carefully into account.

At Machana (Boteti) and Masoko (Thabala), the lack of water in new lands areas prevented farmers from living there for some time, delaying progress on fence implementation. The intention of using the fenced lands at Nkange for winter grazing is frustrated because water sources dry up in winter, so cattle have to be removed and concentrated on the heavily overgrazed pastures round the Nkange river. Water is available during the cropping season, however, and so smaller owners in particular take advantage of this and herd their few cattle in the lands, thus using some of the potential winter feed.

There is a need for greater awareness at both governmental and local level of the links between fencing and water. In some cases fences have been built but the number of dam groups allowed in the area are strictly rationed by the Ministry of Agriculture, so that only some of the population inside the lands come to be members of any group, and their dams get utilized beyond their capacity. The result can be the same when people are not sufficiently aware at the time of registration of proposed groups. In the Bamalete a problem could result after the completion of the Manyelanong hills fence, for the small owners having to establish cattle-posts in the grazing are not members of any existing dam group outside their lands area.

Planning of the fencing projects needs to be more comprehensive. Land use planning should be seen as an important component of the communal area fencing projects, incorporating, for example, related water development and design features which enable easy movement of cattle to water sources. Careful planning of water is all the more important when it is considered that the physical development of a fence confines people and their livestock more specifically to certain areas at certain times. It is also possible that in a number of situations provision of adequate grazing area water supplies could actually remove one of the major causes of fencing (i.e. the congregating of cattle at the water sources available around the lands) and such possibilities need to be taken into account in an overall look at the situation in any one area.

Solving water problems may also be fitted into the rationale of the gradualist extension approach. Where fencing groups have demonstrated their ability to manage a project, and water development is still needed, locating a water development group in the area can be done with the confidence that its management and maintenance is more likely to be reliable.

10.1.9. Leadership and social factors

Since communal fencing depends to such a great extent on community-wide collaboration, and in many instances that also of neighbouring communities, leadership and social factors are liable to pose a particular potential problem.

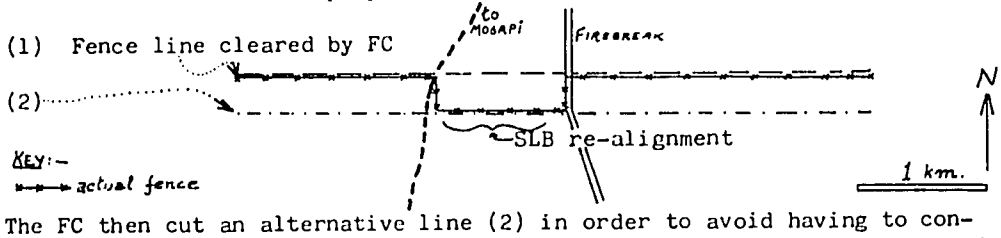
The weak uncommitted leadership at Kopong, for example, posed problems for the necessary co-operation between Kopong people and the

initiators of the fence project at the Sasakwe lands, who in any case originate from Molepolole.

Progress with fund raising by wards in Moshopha village was likewise frustrated by the character of leadership of the headman there.

At Majwaneng no progress was possible at all on a continuation of the Lerala fence until the village leadership problems were solved by the election of one headman following a special Popular Theatre campaign.

At Mogapi a one-year delay was caused by a land allocation issue between the Farmers' Committee and the Maunatlala Sub Land Board which played an obstructive role. At the time the issue was papered over by the Sub Land Board as one of inadequate consultation of neighbouring communities. The attitude really stemmed from representation on the Sub Land Board at the time of the then Mogapi VDC Chairman who, it is alleged, saw development only in the terms of building teachers' quarters and classrooms in the village and, supported by the ex councillor, was jealous of the progress of the Farmers' Committee. The Sub Land Board made a mess of the allocation of the southern fence line by not consulting the Farmers Committee and aligning the fence around a new field allocated since the farmers had cleared the proposed fence line. The result was:



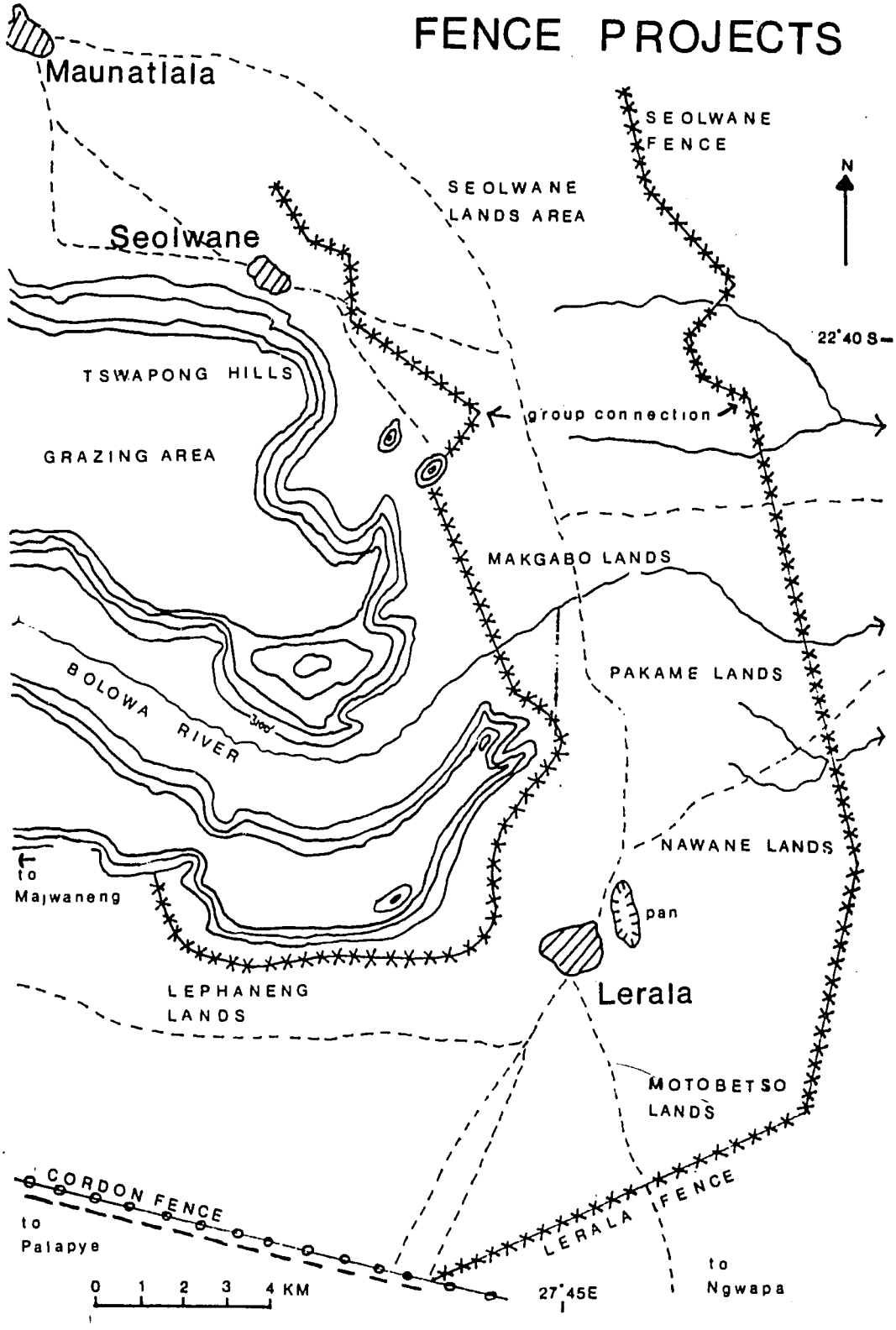
The FC then cut an alternative line (2) in order to avoid having to construct corners in the fence, but the SLB refused to allow their allocated line to be altered. As a result of all this a year's delay was caused, some 10 km of clearing (to firebreak width) was wasted, and a lot of extra work, and extra cost of wire, posts and other materials was involved in building the fence with the extra corners.

Both the councillor and VDC Chairman/Sub Land Board member are since the last elections no longer in office.

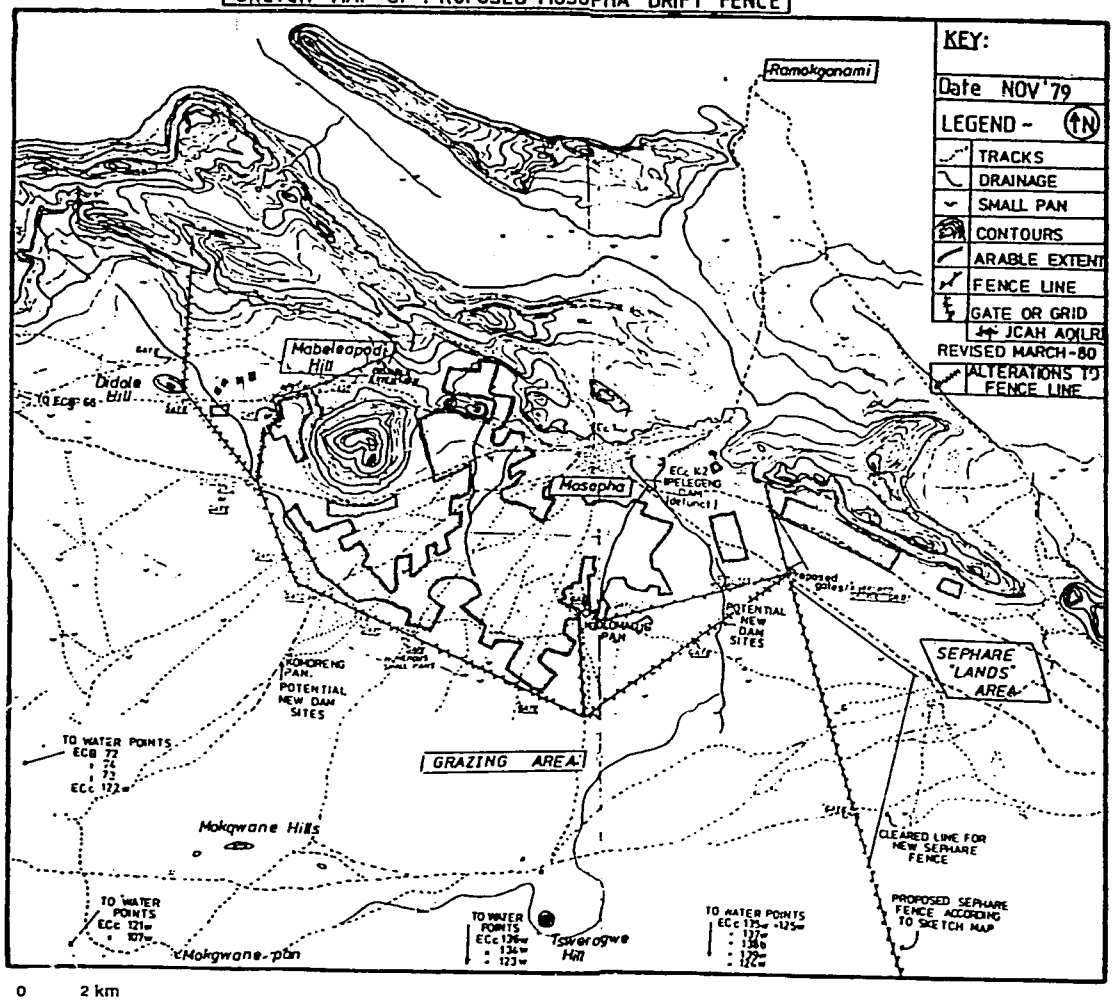
At Lerala a full year's delay was caused not during, but after, the land allocation process by village leadership rivalries splitting the community. The Lerala project grew out of an initiative in 1977 of residents of the Makgabo area who wanted to build an enclosure around their lands only. The Makgabo headman was the previous headman of all Lerala but was replaced due to poor performance.

The motive behind the separate Makgabo enclosure was therefore the building of a separate village across the river from Lerala. The Lerala FC proposal for an area wide scheme was supported in 'Kgotla' by the Lerala headman, and the Sub Land Board at the time of allocation. Thereafter progress was undermined by the Makgabo headman who, along with brothers in leadership positions in other localities (Pakame, Nawane and Lewalemaake) still exerted considerable influence over his relative, the new Lerala headman. A strong undercurrent built up against the area wide project in all these sub areas through little more than rumour at 'Shebeen' level that the 'dikgosana' (headmen) were against it. These problems were not brought out into the open until the Ngwato Tribal Authority and Land Board (Mokgacha, Mokgadi) were informed by the then Councillor on advice from the DAO. In the meeting in 'Kgotla' at Lerala the Farmers' Committee spoke openly on the secretive 'bokgosi' (leadership) problems, and thereafter co-ordination of the area wide scheme was possible.

LERALA AND SEOLWANE DRIFT FENCE PROJECTS



SKETCH-MAP OF PROPOSED MOSOPHA DRIFT FENCE



What happened at Lerala and Majwaneng lends clues to the sort of steps which need to be taken to solve potential problems of this nature. In the most difficult situations the solutions are necessarily long term. To rural people traditional leadership is more to be accepted than questioned. It is part of culture and part of a long inheritance which has long been the basis and security of the livelihoods of all members of the community.

In view of the pace of economic and social change in the country, traditional leaders either have to move with the times or be cast aside, as members of their communities, through adult education and other influences, become more aware of their changing environment and confident in their capability to be involved in directing or adapting to the changes.

At Mogapi the Farmers Committee chairman became the popularly voted new headman of the village after the former headman was gaoled for 'matimela' cattle theft, and doubtless in recognition of the FC's achievements with the planning and implementation of the enclosed fence, firebreaks and other projects.

Where political/social rivalries hinder co-operation and progress the only democratic solution is the long term process of building up the awareness and confidence of the local population to enable them to see that their development is being frustrated, and to act. This is the adult education part of the group development process.

10.1.10 Potential problems - summary and solutions; the importance of consultation

Wherever a series of factors have to be documented in some detail, drawing on a large sample of evidence, there is the danger and tendency for the story produced to be somehow less convincing than a short case study.

The examples above of potential problems derive from observations and information on dozens of fencing projects and though reduced to categories and in some cases statistics, are nonetheless real and live. Every situation is, as is every locality, different.

Furthermore the factors and difficulties noted can appear in any combination, and can influence one another. Internal, local, social or political problems can affect "external" collaboration with neighbours. Land Boards are not concerned just with land but with arbitration between people using it. Social and leadership issues, the diverse interests of different farmers, the settlement pattern in a given area, shared grazing problems, land use conflicts, commitments, attitudes, collaboration - i.e the range of potential problems - are liable to be connected, and therefore the process of group development should treat them as such. It is necessary to produce feasible objectives, a viable design and land use plan, and acceptable by-laws capable of implementation. Discussing potential problems and incorporating acceptable solutions to them in the final project design, objectives and by-laws should be more clearly understood to be the process of "internal" consultation.

Consultation has to be carried out in such a way that all who could possibly be affected are made clearly aware of what is being proposed and are then genuinely able to participate in discussing the potential problems. If that month they are too busy out at the lands or in the forest collecting phane for sale to supplement their income and fail to attend a 'Kgotla meeting, consultation obviously failed. Equally, consultation is liable to be ineffective if the process is frustrated by social or leadership

problems in the community preventing the sort of free dialogue essential to bring the potential problems we have been discussing sufficiently into the open for solutions to be discovered and incorporated in plans.

Apart from the nature of local leadership, the effectiveness of consultation depends very much on the managerial competence of the organising group or committee and on how representative it is of the diverse interests in the community.

In the final sections of this chapter an attempt will be made to draw together the components of objectives, design, by-laws and the processes of consultation and organisation. It will be seen that for a design to work, objectives to be achieved and for by-laws to be followed, or better still not to be needed, consultation on potential problems is an essential early step in the organising process.

Before drawing any conclusions, one further area of evidence will be looked at - the record of participation.

10.2. PARTICIPATION

The only mention of participation made so far has been the overall figure given in the country-wide view (Section 9.4). Although the total figures for membership are an indication of participation, they tell us little of what is really important - i.e. the proportion of the local population participating in a particular project, and what influences it. The aim of this section is to shed a little light on this subject, even though detailed information is lacking. As to the influences on participation, micro-level studies are required if we are to be able to do more than speculate - but some comment is still possible.

10.2.1. The aim - everyone to participate

The most consistent aim of fencing groups throughout the country is that everyone with lands or keeping cattle in the area of the fence should participate and contribute. Thus at Mmamaereng all farmers with a field in the lands area or cattle grazing on the hills to the west of the lands must be members. Exceptionally participation is expected just by the cattle owners (as with Morale group) or just by those whose lands are affected as is apparently the case with the Kodise hills sub groups at Mmankgodi - e.g. one group being those with lands at Rankepe, another at Rramaphata etc. Participation can even, as at Seolwane, be expected of non cattle owners and non lands owners in anticipation of the future needs either of themselves or their children.

10.2.2. The reality

If the aim generally is for all with lands or livestock in the area of a project to participate, what is the on-the-ground reality?

To answer this properly, information is needed on the precise boundaries of the lands and grazing areas concerned and on who utilises these particular areas during each year. Comparison can then be made between actual participation, in the form of registered membership or those who have contributed money or labour or both, and the size of "the local population/community". Unfortunately such figures are not readily available without a lot of work trying to correlate population census data with whatever figures are available on group membership; a detailed task which was beyond the scope of this broader study.

Information, such as it is, is given in Table 10 (iii) above. Where percentage figures are given for the proportion of the local community to have contributed, these are very rough estimates based on data from varying sources - from the AD reports, Farmer Record Cards, or estimates made by farmers themselves during conversation.

In summary of Table 10 (iii) a few comments can be made:

(i) whole community participation is alleged to have been common for the labour involved in the older projects built under traditional leadership, and for bush fences.

(ii) participation in terms also of contribution is highest (100%) for the small fence enclosure syndicates.

(iii) measurement of participation in terms of "% community to contribute" to a project is complicated by a number of factors such as:

- in the Boteti and other areas stricken by drought/FMD marketing restrictions, the communities are virtually bankrupt anyway and comparison with other parts of the country is thus not valid.
- the size of contribution (level of fees) varies widely; a high proportion of a community in one place may contribute - but their average contribution may be relatively low (e.g. P4 at Nkange, P6 at Ntlhantlhe). It is difficult to compare with the situation say at Dikabeyana (Palapye) where 34 farmers (? the % of the local total) raised P1080 - an average of P32 each,
- the amount the group had to raise compared with assistance received from Government also varies from group to group. Depending on the cost of the project this again has implications for the size of contribution required of participants,
- the length of time implementation has been in progress

(iv) participation often has a sort of nested pattern. Masoko (Thabala) is a good example. Of 127 allocated lands in the new area, 70 have ploughed and can, therefore, reasonably be described as the total community. Of this, 49 were members of the fence group. 23 rolls of wire had been purchased from contributions totalling P690. In addition, 14 members had raised P165 - i.e. P12 per member. The total of P165 and P690 divided by the fees of P20, is equivalent to 43 member contributions.
Thus "membership" in the area is about 70% of current land users and participation in the area - i.e. again of the total land users is 61% in terms of contribution of fees.
Manyele in the south is another example - i.e. out of 81 members only 14 had contributed the specified membership contribution of a roll of wire and a further 18 had contributed another P207.

(v) It is possible to assess participation in terms of <u>target contribution</u> i.e. assuming the target to be the product of membership fees x population. By this definition at Mokatako for example, participation is 46% in terms of membership but only 38% in terms of contribution of P24 fee equivalents.

(vi) At Masoko participation in terms of labour on the job was considerably higher than the 61% in terms of payment. Organisation into 3 sub groups and re-design of the project into 3 separate enclosures meant that people were within easy reach of the work site for clearing, digging of holes and cutting of fence posts. Straining of the wire was organised in shift work under the guidence of the Thabala FC fencing specialist.

TABLE 10 (iii): PARTICIPATION - WHAT PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES PARTICIPATE?

PROJECT/AREA	DISTRICT	PROPORTION TO CONTRIBUTE	%	PARTICIPATION OTHERWISE	MANAGEMENT	OTHER FACTORS
Mohembo/ Xhaugwe	Ngamiland W.	uncertain	?	whole community?	Farmers Committee	ADB loan repayment difficulties
Senete	Tutume	-	?	whole community	tradition of leadership	bush fence
Nauswane	"	- Those away in urban employment sent cash	?	whole community 108/140 members	" "	bush fence
Selolwane	"	-	?	whole community	" "	" "
Nkange	Tutume	"almost all" community - through wards	? high	Uncertain; for sections of fence beyond reach of sub groups	Fence Committee/ VDC/wards	Difficult project design. Low contributions (average P3-P5/household depending on ward size
Boteti projects	Ngamiland E.	nil	0	Most still in initial stages	Various	Effect of FMD/drought
Serule	Bobonong	?	-	15 members out of 40 local lands residents = 37%	Local committee	
Mogapi	Palapye	Average contribution P13/family if value of 43 rolls P1290 or P20/family if included ? extra P839 cash raised.	?	Whole community c. 100 families	Farmers Committee 2 sub groups	Enclosure design. Strong leadership, by-laws Training and support.
Lephaneng (Lurala)	Palapye	50 - less than ½ the sub area population	<50% contrib.	Same	Farmers Committee sub committee	If P968 raised by 50 members - average contributes P20 not P10 fee.
Seolwane	"	P1080 total divided by P10 fees = >100 contributors.		?	Local Committee 2 sub groups	
Masoko (Thabala)	Serowe	49 members out of 70 ploughing and 127 allocated = the area: 14 contributes P165; 23 rolls wire bought = P690.	70% membership 61% contrib. of fees.	Participation very high	Farmers Committee + 3 working sub group.	1. Take 70 to be the local population. 2. Project redesigned to 3 smaller sub enclosures. 3. Strong support from Farmers committee: training received.
Sajwe	Serowe	45 so far "many more to contribute."	?	-	Local committee	Same committee as dam group. Enclosure.
Mmaphashaisa	Mahalapye	40 out of 98 farming families.	41% contrib.	High	Farmers Committee	Enclosure.
Sefhare	"	148 out of 267 village population (P650 + value of 3 rolls raised divided by P5-00 per family).	55% contrib.	-	Farmers Committee VDC/ward sub groups	Large drift fence.
Moshopha	Mahalapye	P383 contribution of P5-00 fees from 200 FF population.	38% contrib.	-	-	-
Kapye	Mahalapye	All 5 members	100	All 5 members	-	Small enclosure group.
Dinogeng	Kgatleng		100		-	Small fence syndicate.
Tlokweng	SE	N/A	-	Whole community	Traditional leadership.	Financed through matimela sales.
Ntlhantlhe	Ngwaketse	120 members; some contributed all fees some parts. Average P6-00 contribution.	Most	?	Local committee	Fence built except for section subject to land allocation issue.
Magotlhwane	"	Most not yet contrib. Is contributed average of P5-15.	50% contrib.	?	" "	Built.
Lekgolobotlho	Ngwaketse	201 members raised average of 6-40.	very high.	?	Local committee.	Built.
Kgotla-Sobe-Polokwe Moshupha S	Ngwaketse	78 out of 371 farming families = 21% membership. But contribution only averaging (total P370).	21% membership. 16% contrib. of P6 fees.	-	3 Local committees.	Only Polokwe committee strong; their contribution P209 out of P370 total.
Poletshetha	Ngwaketse S.	Whole community of 300 households.	? near 100%	High.	Farmers Committe	Annual P5-00 repayment fee.
Kanngwe	"	45 members out of 132 farming families.	34% members.	-	Local committee.	Under Macha fence.
Gathwane	"	146 out of 400.	37% members.	-		
Maunyele	"	14 contributed roll wire 18 contrib. P207 out of 81 members.		Low 7 out of 20 families in residence (4/80).	Local committee.	Serious problems of participation.
Mokatako	Barolong	60 members out of 130 local population. 40 contributed roll wire-20 contributed P230 (i.e. c P12 each)	46% membership. 38% contribution of P2½ fees.	-	Local committee.	Problem with high cost of fence design.

At Maunyele participation was causing deep concern to the committee. Those at work on the fence average half a dozen faithfuls out of at least twenty locally in residence.

"Participation" is thus more than "membership" as membership rarely even corresponds to the full payment of fees. "Active participation" in terms of labour on the job can be another thing too.

The Regional picture

Working on the few figures available it can be seen that in the south those contributing towards the Ntlhantlhe fences accounted for well over 50% of the population, but that the fees were low - around P6.00. At the Moshupha South fences membership was around 21% and percentage contribution only 16% - if P6.00 fees are taken as the basis. Membership at Kanngwe and Gathwane was 34 and 37% respectively. The high figure of perhaps near 100% at Pelotshetlha is due to the unusual leadership and organisation of that project over nearly ten years under a Farmers Committee, with Chief Bathoen's backing, and the collection of annual household subscriptions of P5.00 to repay the NDB loan. Adding Mokatako's figures of 46% membership and 38% contributions, the level of participation in Southern Region's drift fences can be seen to vary widely.

Before drawing any conclusions a brief comparison with the rest of the country is useful. Reference to Table 10(ii) shows that % contribution at Nkange has been very high, but at a very low level per member. In Central Region the size of contributions are generally high and % figures for contribution range from 38%, 41% through 50%, 55% to 61% in five examples.

In other regions, precise figures were unavailable although those for Bamalete projects could be most easily estimated from village population data. Although membership appears high in numbers, again it seems linked with the lower level of fees - around P5.00.

In summary then, participation is a difficult area to analyse without recourse to more detailed micro-level study. There is a wide variation from one part of the country to another in the level of participation certainly in terms of financial contribution. For many projects, even outside drought/FMD stricken areas, it is under 50%. Measured in cash terms an important influence appears to be the proportion of total project cost the group has to meet. Where Government pays a larger share of the cash burden, the community as a whole has much less to raise and membership fees are far low. There is wide divergence around the country in matching grant policy. The full implications of this are again difficult to analyse in the absence of micro-level data on income levels. These questions will be returned to under the separate issue of funding policy.

10.2.3. Reasons for participation problems committees are having - their own views

Before drawing some conclusions on participation, the views and experiences of group committees themselves need to be mentioned. It will be seen that the factors which appear to "explain" the problems are reminiscent of the potential problems covered in the previous section. The examples illustrate the importance of incorporating solutions to potential problems, or at least allowing for them, in the project design, objectives and by-laws.

Since the reasons are largely repetitive of the potential problem section examples are only briefly summarised here.

Non-contribution

Attitudes

Polokwe	- lack of confidence/trust - waiting to see project completed.
Mmathethe/Macha	- richer people working in isolation blamed worst non contributors by Macha committee.

Leadership/Social

Moshopha	- corrupt leadership (alleged mishandling of monies collected both for fence and previous VDC project)
Lerala	- split in community support caused for a period by secessionist influence of Makgabo leadership and "dikgosana" lack of support.
Majwaneng	- leadership rivalry prohibited any co-operative action in the village.
Kopong	- Progress hindered by lack of any support from headman.
Mmankgodi	- divisive influence of councillor on Kodise hills fencing.

Financial Difficulties

Boteti and other areas hit by FMD/drought.

Mmaphashalala	- effect of FMD on raising 1980 annual subscriptions

Settlement Pattern

Maunyele	- non contribution and participation in labour by field owners further "inside" the lands. - drought year scattered sone of the population, only 20 families in residence at the lands.

In some cases committees blamed their problems on the lack of by-laws, or on the failure of some of the community to follow by-laws.

As members of the Maunyele committee said:

"we do not know what to do with non-participants. Rules were made but there is no Act of legislation to deal with the problem. Even if fines are stipulated, no legal action can be taken. With these big groups cases cannot be taken (to ward headman) ... the only chief is Seepapitso... but he is not aware of our problems, only the Land Board is."

We shall turn to by-laws below and study what by-laws tend to cover and why they sometimes fail to be observed.

10.2.4 Other factors for consideration

By-laws are clearly only a part answer to the problem. Participation is a complex subject. Further study is recommended at the micro-level,

taking a sample of cases like the ones in Table 10(ii) and making more thorough correlations than can be attempted here. It can be expected that the following influences may affect participation

- when the project started,
- project design, i.e. drift, enclosure fence; land use plan,
- settlement pattern in relation to design,
- leadership and social problems in the community,
- diversity in resource/income levels in the community,
- management/organisational type including sub division,
- level of fees/overall contribution to cash costs by group,
- fence specifications and costs,
- other commitments, previous experience,
- all the other potential problems listed earlier
- support and training,
- Government's subsidisation policy

As has been observed, the factors are inter-related, making analysis that much more difficult. Sometime it is straightforward to prove that a particular factor caused delay - e.g. several cases in Southern District of delays amounted to a year or more in Land Board approval. This would be expected to cause discouragement and further weaken the confidence of a community in its management capacity to implement a project. Affected groups did indeed confirm this. Such delays do undoubtedly affect participation. The role here of support is critical.

But elsewhere the precise influences are often much more difficult to prove. Are people reluctant just because of some local socio-political factors? Why is it in some communities groups overcome leadership problems, whilst in others, progress languishes amidst bitter feuds? Leadership is void without followers: is reluctance to participate in a fence project a statement by certain people of their interests, their state of awareness, or just their loyalty? Is it lack of enforcement of by-laws, or more the nature of the by-laws themselves and who and what they provide for?

Here it depends which objective is being considered and in whose interest it is. Are small owners around Ntlhantlhe, Lerala, Pelotshetlha or Mmathethe any different from those at Nkange? In Ntlhantlhe or Lerala they are failing to observe project by-laws by continuing to herd their few cattle in the grazing around the lands. This is not because they are (or ever were) the major cause of cattle damage to crops, but because their action violates a new principle of referred grazing. At Nkange the referred grazing idea was unworkable so the small owners are all right.

These potential problems which surfaced at Ntlhantlhe, Lerala and elsewhere were never discussed as the projects were planned, and have yet to be solved. As we shall see below, elsewhere many more groups have projects in progress and no by-laws formulated in anticipation of such difficulties. Basically it is suggested that the processes of consultation are inadequate where this is happening. Furthermore it must be asked whose interests are represented on organising committees?

10.2.5. The need

In conclusion it is suggested that most problems of participation are potential problems which can be anticipated. Solutions can be worked out through consultation and provided for in the planning of the project in appropriate design, feasible objectives, and by-laws. The formulation of

by-laws should be seen to be a critical part of this consultative process and an exercise in itself of training and adult education through which increased awareness is created. The plan has to aim to connect all the diverse interests in the community.

• An organisation with a representative, elected, trained management body, well supported and facilitated, is most likely to be able to carry through the processes involved. Training and adult education in the community is needed to create the awareness necessary for solutions to potential problems to be anticipated.

The final sections of this chapter look, therefore, at these areas, i.e. by-laws, consultation and organisation; re-assessment of design and objectives, and there is a concluding section on support and overall strategy and including funding policy.

10.3. FENCING BY-LAWS

Some example by-laws are given in Appendix 26. Here a summary will be given of the provisions of various groups' by-laws together with some comment on problems not covered and discussion of implementation difficulties.

10.3.1. By-law provisions

Below are examples from around the country.

(i) failure to pay membership fees

Lerala - to be dealt with in Kgotla
Mogapi - P60.00 fine
Sefhare - 50t increase if annual subscription delayed.
Mmaphashalala - P3.00 fine additional to P5.00 fee.

(ii) non-participation in labour

Masoko - no penalties specified; by-laws mention the system of shift work for fencing and organisation into 3 sub groups for holes and poles.
Mogobane - P4.00 fine
Lerala - P40.00 fine
Macha - P20.00 fine
Mogapi - P10.00 fine
Sefhare - P5.00 fine
Mmamaereng - P4.00 fine plus 2 strokes
Mmadinare N. - P20.00 additional fee above membership for farmers employed at Selibe Pikwe.
" - P1.00 per day "loafing fine"
Nkange - P60.00 fee for urban workers
- 50t/day loafing fine

NOTE: in addition to fines, most by-laws specify the accused will be asked to go and work, except at Nkange and Mmadinare North where the additional urban/employed fee is specified to compensate for non labour participation. This was a feature of the Nsuzwane bush fence also.

iii) membership fees - see section 9.4.1. on this,

(iv) contribution of poles

Manatsane (Mmadinare N.) - 50 poles
Nkange - by sub groups as needed
(many other examples)

v) membership contributions inheritable

Mogobane
Mmamaereng
Macha

viA) no compensation if leave the area

Mogobane
Mmamaereng

viB) latecomers/new area residents to pay joining fee

Mogobane - P5.00 fee for anyone leaving father's compound

vii) for stealing wire

Macha - P150.00 fine

viii) for cutting fence

Macha - P50.00 fine
Lerala - P40.00 fine
Mogobane - P12.00 fine
Mogapi - P100.00 fine
Lothakane - P2.00 plus 2 strokes for breaking bush fence

ix) for walking over/damaging fence

Lerala - P10.00 fine

x) for leaving gates open

Macha, Lerala, Mogapi - P.10.00 fine
Mogobane - P12.00 fine
Mmamaereng - P50.00 fine or roll of wire, 6 strokes and pay for damages
Mmadinare N. - P100.00 fine

xi) damaging gates (e.g. by careless driving)

Macha - P150.00 fine

xii) disturbing progress

Mmadinare N. - P20.00
Sefhare - one beast
Mogobane - membership revoked without compensation.

xiii) on-going maintenance/repair

Sefhare - P1.00/year subscription
Mmaphashalala - P3.00/year subscription (responsibility of nearest field owner to do maintenance of old fence)
Masoko - responsibility of nearest field owner to inform committee
Mogapi - responsibility of sub groups
Sefhare - firebreaks to be maintained

xiv) by-laws on fenced area/cattle management

Mmadinare N.	-	P100.00 fine for bringing cattle inside the lands enclosure
Lerala	-	P30.00 fine for refusing to remove cattle from the lands
Masoko	-	no cattle inside lands enclosures without consent of whole group
Mmadinare N.	-	only draft and milking cattle allowed even in winter
Sefhare	-	cattle to be out at ploughing time
Mogobane/ Mmamaereng	-	cattle to be removed from the lands in December and returned in August (or when committee says)
Mmamaereng	-	non members (contributors) found grazing cattle in grazing area to be fined P12.00 or 6 strokes and to pay P5.00 joining fee.
Mogobane	-	same, but no strokes

Membership of the Mogobane/Mmamaereng fences was "open to all in Malete" and anyone owning lands or livestock in the sub areas concerned "is bound to join the grazing association and obey the Farmers Committee." At Mmathethe, Polokwe (Moshupha South) and elsewhere, committees had the same attitude - i.e. that users of the area would be followed-up after fence completion and forced to contribute what the initiators had.

xv) apart from the areas above, various group by-laws had nicely written sections on

- conduct and frequency of meetings,
- term of office of committee
- duties of office bearers
- the procedures for banking of funds,
- fund raising methods
- decisions in meetings made by majority rule.

At Nkange the by-laws specified that the 50t per day "loafing"fines were to be used to build up a hospitalisation fund for injured fence workers - a nice humanitarian touch.

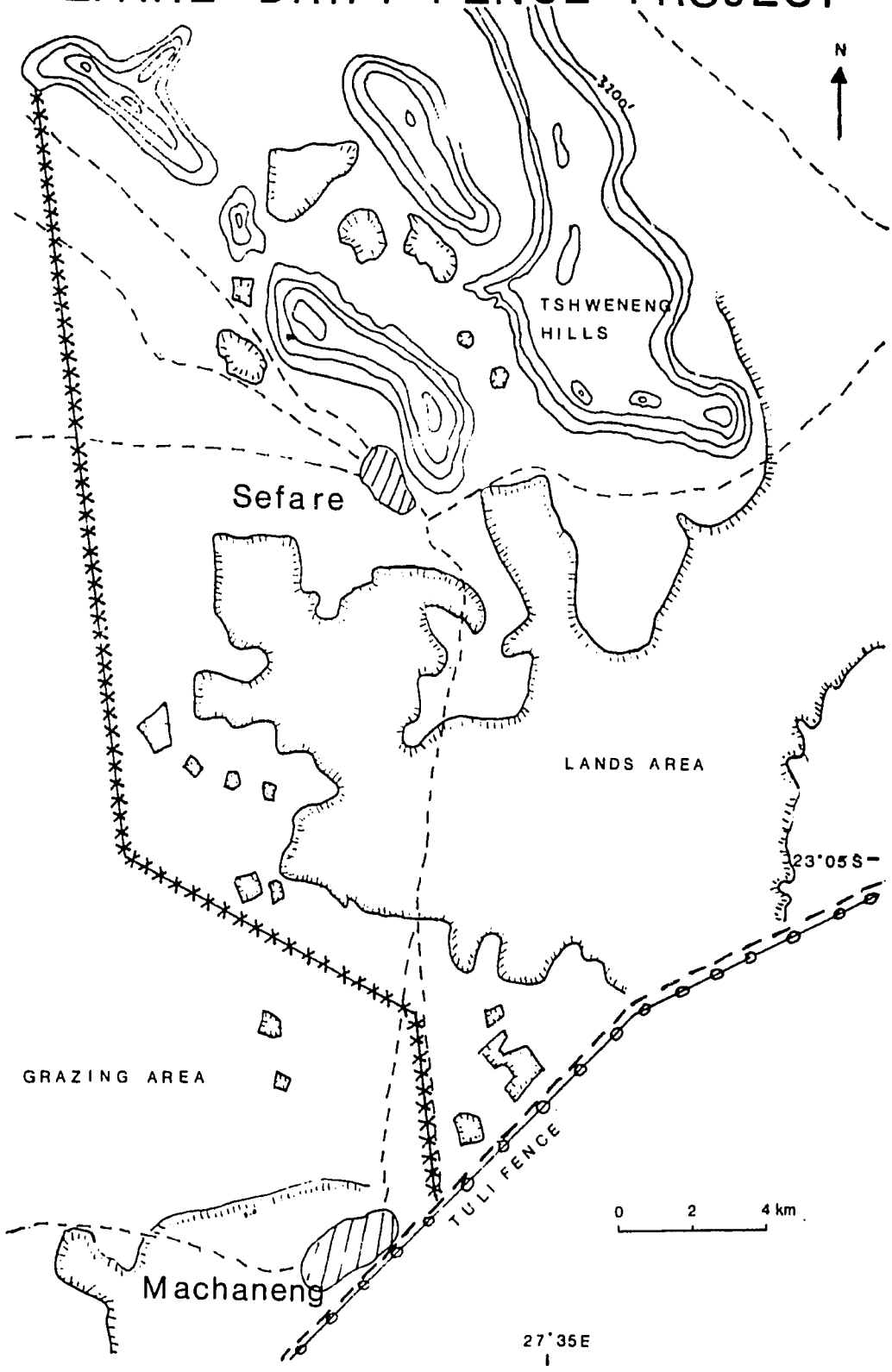
10.3.2. By-laws ignored

The record here has been highly varied. It is essentially a repetition of problems of participation described (10.2.) above. The important by-laws to assess are those on payment of fees and membership, participation in labour and observation of management rules and objectives.

We have seen that many committees have great difficulty raising full contributions from their local communities. Setting aside the exceptional problems of the projects affected by Foot and Mouth disease/drought, a very rough estimate would indicate that probably on average only ¼ to ⅓ of the community pay full fees (in some cases much higher donations), another ¼ to ⅓ contribute part of the fees, and another ¼ to ⅓ are not contributing at all. Request or orders for labour participation are also often ignored.

Where such problems are encountered, committees tend to lament that their rules are not being followed or enforced. In Kopong the headman is blamed for irresponsibility in not bothering to call people to 'Kgotla' and implicitly for his total lack of support. In some other areas the Maunyele lands, for example, there is no local 'Kgotla'of sufficient authority to deal with such problems, and Chief Seepapitso seems far away

SEFARE DRIFT FENCE PROJECT



in Kanye.

This contrasts strongly with cases where village leadership is strong. There was no trouble building the Tlokweng fences in the 1920s, so the elders in the'Kgotla' said.

The same was, and is, true of Mmaphashalala. Many other examples support the link between strong leadership and by-law observation if not enforcement when it comes to fee payment and labour participation. Pelotshetlha's probably near 100% observation of such by-laws was doubtless a reflection on the attitude of Chief Bathoen to their efforts. At Nkange the close involvement of ward headmen represented on the committee and raising funds through wards ensured an almost 100% rate of contribution of, admittedly, low amounts. There also was the only example observed of the actual imposition of "loafing" fines of .50t per day on people failing to turn up to work.

The need for strong traditional leadership was thus the widely held solution to problems with enforcing by-law observation.

10.3.3. By-laws on area and livestock management

The argument becomes a little less straightforward as we move from membership, fees and labour participation by-laws to those on area management. By area management is meant the referred grazing objectives and those simply on removal of cattle to prevent crop damage.

By-laws of this nature are being widely ignored. The problem of non-removal of stock from the lands at Lerala, Ntlhantlhe, sections of the Macha fence and at Pelotshetlha have already been described. In addition at Pelotshetlha it was said gates were not being closed.

We have already seen (under potential problems) that there are causes for these "violations" of by-laws or in other words that by-laws were made in these cases, and in the context of specific fence design and objectives, apparently without anticipation of the potential problems to certain owners in certain parts of the area involved. That these owners did not themselves speak up about their potential problems should be seen as more likely a separate problem of their lack of awareness and, possibly by virtue of their position in society, of lack of confidence and inability to participate. In some situations it is therefore suggested that the problem has less to do with enforcement of by-laws than with attention to design and objectives. The solution lies in more effective consultation and in method of organisation both of which are of course influenced by leadership.

In summary here, it is misleading and possibly dangerous to assume that "strong traditional leadership is what is required to get all the cattle removed" (6) An improved project design or land use plan might achieve the same objective, and avoid the enforcement of, possibly, inappropriate by-laws by strong chiefs who are in any case in short supply in most lands areas. Thus Masoko (Thabala) redesigned their enclosure into three units. As fewer roads pass through, gates will not be left open. As grazing and water sources are left outside, so can the cattle be. If the problem is with gates, and their being left open or damaged, then an alternative solution to heavy penalties is the construction, where necessary of road grids instead.

The larger design, objectives and strategy alternatives will be discussed later.

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(6) quotation from one agricultural R.S.M.

10.3.4. By-laws not (yet) made

The summarised list of by-law provisions is a good illustration of the stage groups have reached in thinking about the objectives of their fences.

First of all most groups do not yet have written by-laws at all as is indicated in the table below:

Table 10(iv) GROUPS WITH WRITTEN BY-LAWS, BY REGION

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
Number of groups	?	1	10	3	9

(Available data as at 5/80)

Secondly, even of those with by-laws drafted, the aspects receiving emphasis are things like how often to hold meetings, or what are the duties of office bearers. They only reach as far as membership fees and fines, and what measures are needed to encourage payment of fees and participation in labour activities, or how people should be stopped from running off with wire or cutting or damaging the property after it is built.

Attention, in other words, is concentrated on things which are becoming familiar (duties of a chairman, the importance of keeping records and issuing of receipts for money) and the most immediate potential problems anticipated - like wire being stolen or cut, again familiar when one thinks of dam groups. Rules tend to be created when needed in a spontaneous fashion, rather than agreement being obtained on overall strategy well in advance with potential problems anticipated.

Thus at Polokwe (Moshupha South) it is intended - by the committee - that all cattle should be kept up on the hill after the fence is complete and that anyone who has not contributed will be prevented from grazing there. After discussion, a representative conceded that perhaps some cattle could stray down on the lands provided crops are not damaged. At Segakwana (Bamalete) farmers were in March 1980 striding through the bush with the Malete Land Board having the line allocated, and contributing money by wards in Ramotswa. Talking to them it was evident that although opinions existed on when cattle should all be ordered to be out, or allowed in the lands areas, no official thought had been given to this crucial aspect at all.

This is illustrated by the following excerpts of the discussion with three old farmers as we walked along at the tail of the crowd following the Land Board:

> "Most Malete have 5-10 cattle.... the problem is 'badisa' (herd boys ..... everyone has agreed in 'Kgotla' (Ramotswa) to the fence.... people with few cattle even right near Ramotswa will have to move their cattle and establish a 'moraka' (Kraal) in the grazing area and come out and visit for 2-3 days every week or so, bring provisions etc..... the grazing is very far from the lands so that anyone wanting to plough early will have to fence separately; people have not yet discussed this question or made rules but they should....."

The particular old man gave his ideas on the necessity to remove cattle to the grazing by weeding time because that was when people were too busy

to herd. If one man wanted to plough very early he would have to tell his neighbours to look after their cattle when his crop started growing. Basically cattle should leave for the grazing around December assuming ploughing starts October/September, and then return after June. Only those used for ploughing should be in the lands during the ploughing time. Others, even if only two, should be outside.

In the case of this old man, he was already a member of the Metsemaswaane dam and spray race group and of the Potsane/Segakwana fence and dam groups. His cattle grazed on the Metsemaswaane side of the hill due to his membership of the water source, and for the same reason he had not joined the Segakwana spray race group.

Other farmers he admitted kept their small herds at the lands all the year round. Their future position may not be so easily resolved. They are not likely to be members of present water source groups on the grazing side to the west. These future details had not been discussed. Similarly at Nkange the by-laws covered immediate concerns and despite the enormous size of the combined Nkange-Maitengwe enclosure, no thought appeared to have been given to future management implications.

At one of the few projects (Lerala) where a by-law did exist, stipulating a P30.00 fine for failure to remove cattle from the lands, the only copy of the by-laws had for the previous 2 years been at the DAO's office for typing. The Farmers Committee laid the blame squarely on this situation to explain why none of the by-laws had ever been implemented. This had affected contributions and participation also.

10.3.5. Conclusion: By-laws: the consultative role of the management committee; implications for organisation

As with the more general question of participation the subject is complicated by many factors. Some of the causes of by-law failure and non-existence are the same as that for participation - i.e. potential problems with solutions not thought out in advance. In such cases by-laws are either impotent or unfair, as the cause may really be to do with inappropriate project design and objectives.

R10/1: MUCH MORE ATTENTION TO THE DRAFTING OF BY-LAWS IS NECESSARY IN THE INITIAL PLANNING STAGES WHEN PROJECTS ARE DESIGNED AND OBJECTIVES AGREED. A thorough grasp of the existing land use and management system is needed before recommending sudden change.

The formulation of by-laws as an integral aspect of the project design and objectives depends upon consultation which in turn is influenced by local leadership and managerial organisation. Consultation should aim to reach potential "violators" who are likely to be unaware of the full implications of initial objectives. Leadership, and particularly management organisation (the committee) must anticipate potential problems on behalf of the community as a whole.

This leads us to the importance of its being clear whom the project committee represents. In cases such as Mogapi and Mmaphashalala the by-laws state clearly that the organisation responsible is the Farmers Committee. Since the community has for a period of years been exposed to the role and representative nature of the Farmers Committee, with regular elections and training carried out every two years, it should have become proven whom the management represents. The number of projects organised under FCs in the Central Region may be an indication of the understanding of their role as well as of their relative competence through training and sometimes through further experience of other projects.

The role of support must therefore be to facilitate the full consultation required and the full analysis of potential problems.

10.4. CONSULTATION

An important theme of the foregoing sections of this chapter has been consultation. Many references have been made and the intention of this section is not to repeat but emphasise them.

10.4.1. The importance of consultation, especially of internal consultation

Consultation is basically the process of reaching all concerned in order to anticipate and discuss potential problems which may arise if alternative project designs are implemented based on certain objectives. Poor consultation may result in poorly thought out objectives, hence a poor plan, and later difficulties in participation and management.

Most references to consultation which has been carried out refer to forms of external consultation between the management committee and outside bodies like Land Board, the neighbouring villages or collaborating communities. This may deal with such topics as shared grazing or inter-village land use conflicts.

Internal issues, however, such as questions of leadership, social influences, the heterogeneous nature of the community and its settlement patterns, and traditional attitudes, are rarely properly discussed. At Ntlhantlhe it was only after a long session pressing the group of fence committee members as to the reasons for the behaviour of those who had up until then been referred to as by-law breakers, that one farmer admitted and described his personal poverty and that of other farmers and had the courage to explain how the small farmer viewed the project. Never before had such issues been openly discussed. This happened time and time again during the course of this consultancy.

The critical level of consultation must be where the project is to take place, that is, involving the local people. Intensive discussion is necessary at this level for people to become fully aware of the whole process that is being embarked upon.

At Nkange 'Kgotla' it was said that "everyone agreed", but the question still remains - exactly to what? Who or what is really pushing that project ahead? Is it the Land Use Officer, without whose daily presence and transport progress on clearing the line stops? Is it the AD, whose announcement in 1979 about availability of AE 10 funds helped to decide the farmers on building the fence? Why is the Nkange FC not involved in the management, its only role being to attend MRTC training courses and report back to 'Kgotla'? Whose interests in the community are behind the obvious commitment of the fence committee and the village leaders to the project? There are some 450 herds of under 20 head managed in the area at present - whose are they, where are they kept? What was the experience of the older, shorter bush fences - will there be any fundamental difference between the objectives and management system of the new fence compared to the old ones? Does it matter that the Sebina Sub Land Board allocated the new fence without ever touring the site?

10.4.2. Achieving effective consultation

R10/2: INTERNAL CONSULTATION SHOULD BE STRESSED AS PART OF THE FORMAL PLANNING AND APPROVAL PROCEDURE FOR COMMUNAL FENCING PROJECTS. Only in Central Region has an attempt been made to include internal consultation as part of the planning procedure. This is illustrated in the procedure outline given as Table 10(v). The Central Region procedure assumes the presence of an elected, trained, local Farmers Committee for consultation, even if this committee does not undertake management of the project.

Elsewhere internal consultation is not necessarily left to chance, but approval procedures required for funding are really the only guideline being followed. A project must have gone through VDC, DDC and Finance and General Purposes Committee of Council (FGPC) before the RAO can submit it for consideration by DAFS. In many areas there is no local VDC. Often the DDC/FGPC is simply a rubber stamp and there is a tendency for the approval procedure to be treated in a ritual bureaucratic way. This misses the heart of what consultation is about.

R10/3: INTENSIVE ADULT EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS, DEMONSTRATIONS AND TRAINING COURSES NEED TO BE HELD WHERE PROJECTS ARE PROPOSED IN ORDER TO MAKE THE WHOLE COMMUNITY AWARE OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN FENCING. Consultation can then be truly effective, for all involved at each stage can have a clear understanding of the issues which must be anticipated and discussed and of the procedures that must be gone through. This achievement may take long time, but fencing projects have long-term consequences and should not be rushed. Unnecessary delay should be distinguished from necessary thoroughness. Farmers are not stupid - they know the difference between a two-year delay in Land Board allocation when it is due to the absence of technical guidance, and the time and effort involved in making themselves and their leaders better able to deal with a fencing project.

R10/4: THE LOCAL EXTENSION WORKER ALSO NEEDS SPECIAL TRAINING IN INTERNAL CONSULTATION. The extension worker needs to be fully aware of what is involved in internal consultation and he also needs to be competent in his role of helping to carry it out. Knowing what needs discussion and having the tact and persistence to facilitate the discussion to take place are two different things. The latter requires real extension or adult education skills. The capacity to follow the process through is another necessary skill. The patience required may appear too much, and time inadequate in the face, probably, of many other demands on the extension worker. This can certainly be true in the short-term, but it must be put into longer-term perspective.

It has been observed that institutional organisation, particularly in terms of local leadership and the structure and competence of the management committee, can deeply influence the consultation process.

R10/5: AGAIN, SPECIAL EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PUT ON COMPETENCE IN CONSULTATION WHEN MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES ARE BEING TRAINED.

TABLE 10(v)

CENTRAL DISTRICT

Communal Fence Planning/Approval Procedure

Group of interested residents decide to construct fence

Agriculture Demonstrator (A/D)
- advises group on procedures involved
- inspects area to be fenced
- reviews area maps

Local Farmers Committee consulted

VDC (consulted and informed of group's project proposal)

Kgotla Meeting (general meeting to consult community and discuss project)

DAO
- advises of project
- inspects site
- reviews group's organisation by-laws
- financial viability of project

RAO
- informed of project
- map prepared
- support from Land use staff, GDO and Soil Surveyor

Group with assistance of local Headman organise Kgotla meetings with neighbouring villages to consult about proposed fence

Sub land Board
- invited to witness consultation
- observe comments from area residents

Group applies to Sub land Board (in writing with sketch map attached)

If Sub Land Board denies project then Group may apply directly to Ngwato Land Board (with letter copied to Sub Land Board)

If Sub Land Board approves, project reviewed by LUPAG and if no problems, Ngwato Land Board gives final approval

Group notified of Ngwato Land Board Decision

Work on fence carried out by group members with support/supervision by Agriculture extension staff and area Headman

Group applies for financial assistance if necessary (AE-10 and SLOCA funds administered by Ministry of Agriculture)

10.5. FENCE OBJECTIVES AND DESIGN: ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES

Having discussed the potential problems of fence schemes and observed their effects on participation and violation of by-laws (and hence of certain objectives) we are now in a position to attempt to draw together all that has been discussed so far into some alternative strategies.

10.5.1. Possible fence designs

It is useful first of all to be reminded of the range of possible fence designs or land use plans. The idea of long "drift fences" has become stuck in many people's minds when communal fencing of lands is discussed, but in fact there are 7 possible fence designs.

1. Individual fence

   - to enclose one person's field or group of adjacent fields

2. Small lands enclosures

   - to enclose adjacent lands on a neighbourly level (i.e. of small groups of neighbouring farmers); this can be within an overall lands area, or where lands are widely scattered or occur in small clusters.

   Examples: Kapye, Dinogeng, Boteti river projects.

3. Medium lands enclosures

   - to enclose single lands areas, e.g. those belonging to a single village; in a few cases more than one (ward) lands area may be enclosed.

   Examples: Mogapi, Mmaphashalala, Thuni, Dikabeyana, Sajwe, Botepetepe, Masoko, Lesie, Setlatse E. and W., Tamasane-Malaka, Kgagodi. (see maps)

4. Large lands enclosures

   - to enclose very large areas of lands which are often an amalgamation of several distinct lands areas, each with separate names most probably derived from wards; tracts of unallocated - i.e. "grazing" - land may separate lands areas from one another within the overall enclosure.

   Examples: Nkange-Maitengwe, Mmadinare N.

5. Single drift fence

   - to separate one boundary of a lands area or chain of lands areas from adjacent grazing.

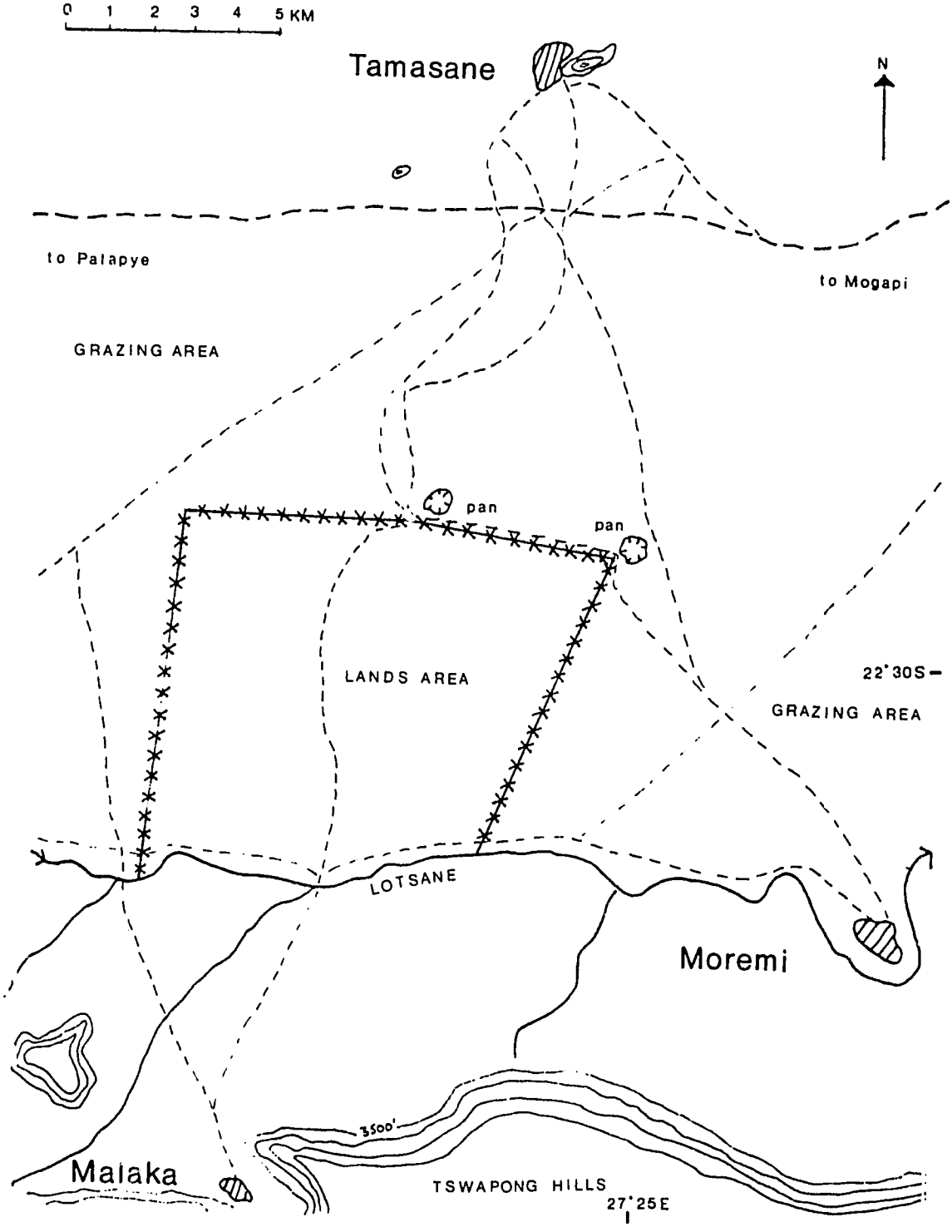
   Examples: Pelotshetlha, Macha and most other fences in the South and Gaborone Regions.

6. Double drift fence

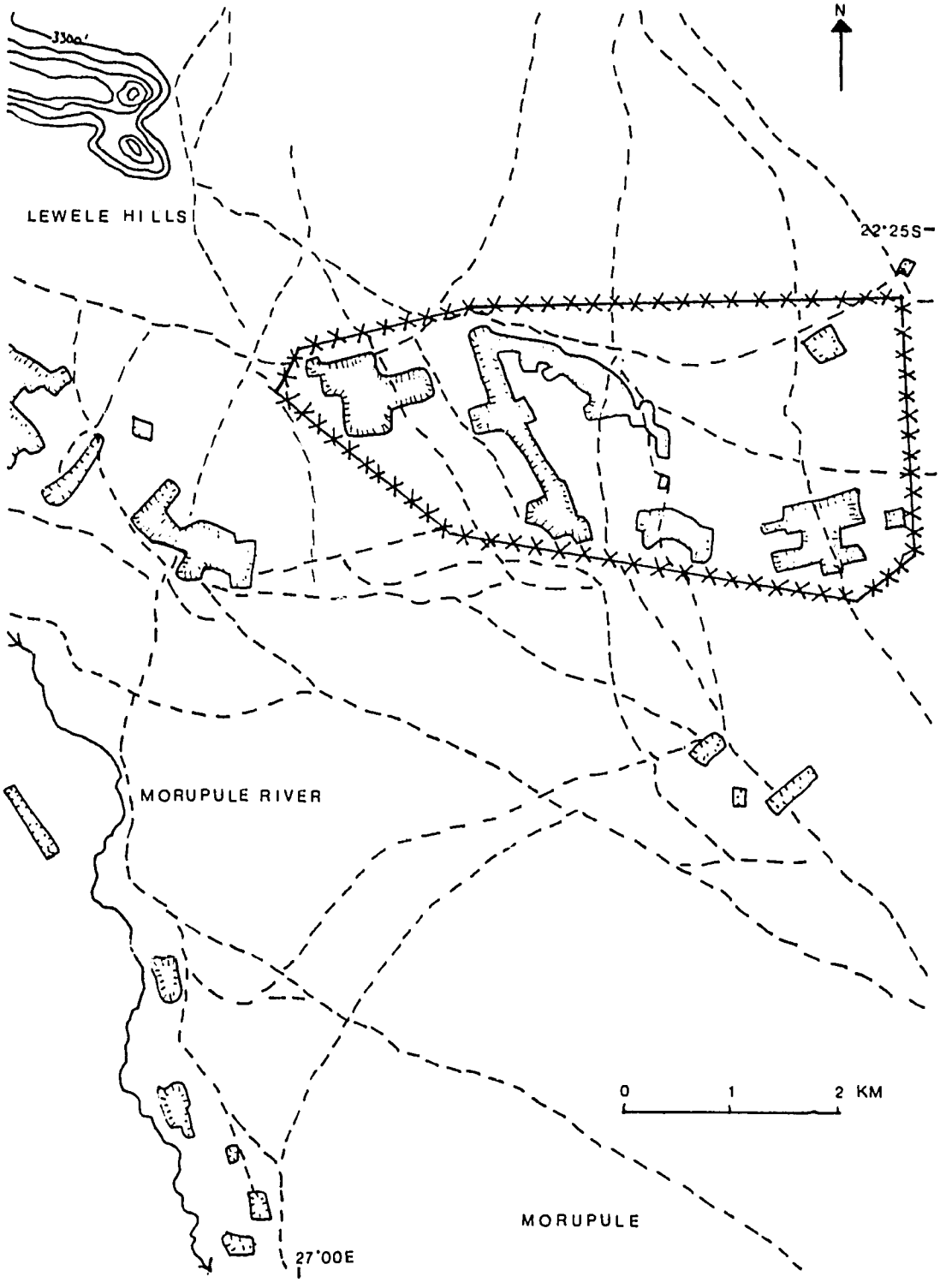
   - to separate both boundaries of a belt of lands areas from grazing on either side.

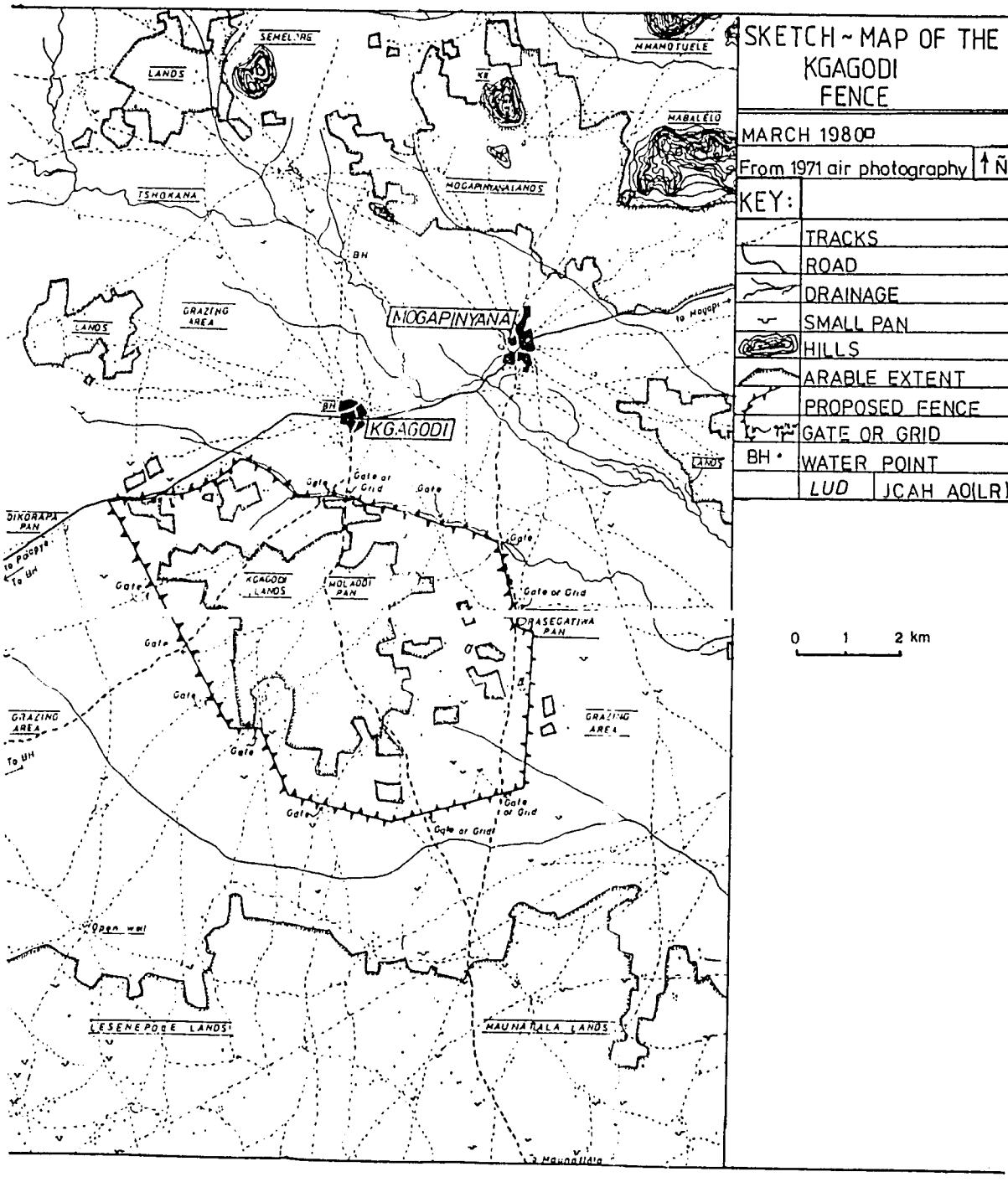
   Examples: Tswapong fences - Lerala, Seolwane, Lesenepole, Maunatlala lands.

TAMASANE ENCLOSURE PROJECT



SABJWE FENCE ENCLOSURE




SKETCH ~ MAP OF THE KGAGODI FENCE
MARCH 1980
From 1971 air photography
N
KEY:
TRACKS
ROAD
DRAINAGE
SMALL PAN
HILLS
ARABLE EXTENT
PROPOSED FENCE
GATE OR GRID
BH • WATER POINT
LUD
JCAH AO(LR)
0 1 2 km
SEMELORE
LANDS
MMAMOTUELE
MABALELO
TSHOKANA
MOGAPINYANA LANDS
BH
GRAZING AREA
LANDS
MOGAPINYANA
to Mogapi
KGAGODI
LANDS
Gate or Grid
Gate
DIKORAPA PAN
to Pogopo
To Uh
KGAGODI LANDS
MOLADDI PAN
Gate or Grid
RASEGATIWA PAN
GRAZING AREA
To UH
GRAZING AREA
Gate or Grid
Open well
LESENEPOGE LANDS
MAUNATALA LANDS
Maunatlala

7. Grazing enclosures

- to enclose grazing rather than arable land by means of a fence.

Examples: Malau-Seokanngwe, Barolong grazing enclosures (see Chapter 12).

10.5.2. Individual or group fencing?

All the fencing schemes described so far in Chapters 9 and 10 have been group fences, and we have seen the reasons given by farmers for building such fences. What, however, are the specific advantages and disadvantages of group as opposed to individual fences?

INDIVIDUAL FENCES

Advantages

i) protects farmer's own field, important, particularly early in the season, allowing freedom to make own decisions - early planting.

ii) possible to reserve fodder for specific categories of own stock (or plant fodder - possible IFPP future recommendation),

iii) avoids disputes with owners of livestock which might otherwise damage "your" crops.

Disadvantages

i) Cost - especially to small owners (though as we shall see ALDEP may remove this argument for the farmer), plus the cost to the nation in grants,

ii) individual fencing does nothing to stop "your" cattle damaging other peoples' unfenced fields.

GROUP/COMMUNAL FENCING

Advantages

i) protects the fields of the majority (at present) who have not fenced individually - especially those who could not otherwise afford to fence individual boundaries.

ii) allows,under certain conditions, the reserving of significant areas of grazing for winter season use; not just fodder/crop residues/ grazing within fields but the spaces and passages between fields.

iii) stops "your" cattle damaging other farmers' unfenced fields even if "you" have fenced "yours". It is not uncommon for an individual farmer who has already fenced his field to give a large donation also to a group scheme in the same area for this reason.

iv)(connected to iii above) due to the shortage of herdboys and expense of hiring labour; the communal fence allows owners, under certain conditions, to "dump" their herds on the grazing side where the cattle may just roam, sometimes without being kraaled. The owners become freer to attend to the fields or other activities by day and go out to kraal the cattle at night, or check them periodically.

The fence thus saves herding.

v) less expensive than fencing fields individually,

vi) where, as is quite common, farmers may individually have several separate fields quite scattered, fencing each one again becomes expensive. Farmers can be less anxious about damage to their fields in their absence when the whole area is fenced.

Disadvantages

i) the total removal of other farmers' cattle in the case of the big drift fences/enclosures may only be assured in mid-season. Early in the ploughing season there may be no control. A farmer wanting to plant early may try to explain his intention to his later neighbours but there is no guarantee that cattle belonging to someone else may not stray towards his field. Late winter is the traditional season for weddings etc, and farmers from many lands areas still move wholesale to their village residence during this period, returning to the lands as late as December. If water is available in the lands, cattle may be left there unsupervised or in the charge of herdboys and present a danger to progressive farmers' early planted fields.

ii) not possible, unless with total agreement, to limit access to reserved fodder in winter to specific categories of stock; no independent fodder reserves without additional special precautions.

There are thus two areas where individual fencing has the advantage and group fencing the disadvantage:

- the social problem in group fencing schemes of ensuring cattle are removed from the lands at the early part of the season to enable progressive farmers to plant early,
- the difficulty in group fencing schemes of reserving adequate fodder for use by specific categories of stock for winter grazing.

Solutions to the first problem

Solutions to the first problem could be achieved through at least three alternative management systems:

a) all farmers within the lands concerned synchronise the time when they plough, plant and remove unherded cattle;

b) in order for some farmers to plant earlier, others must ensure that their cattle are closely herded if within the lands;

c) other farmers must remove their cattle to the grazing area whether or not they themselves have ploughed; this is possible where

- there are water sources in the grazing area
- cattle are kraaled outside the lands anyway (e.g. Dikabeyana, Thuni, Mmaphashalala).

As alternative (a) cannot be expected to happen in the forseeable future (though in very small enclosures even this could be possible), it is only through solutions (b) and (c) that this disadvantage can be avoided. Situations do exist where (b) and (c) could be feasible. Project design and the availability of water sources are the main determinants.

Solutions to the second problem

In order to reserve winter grazing (whether or not for particular categories of stock), cattle must not be allowed to graze in the lands areas

except in the intended winter season. This is possible where

a) cattle are not kraaled in the lands at any time of year anyway (e.g. at Dikabeyana, Thuni, Mmaphashalala),

b) owners who used to kraal and herd cattle in the lands areas throughout the year are able to establish a 'moraka' (kraal or cattlepost) outside in the grazing for the cropping season

   - water must be available
   - the distance to grazing must not be far

c) owners, whether or not they used to keep cattle in the lands before, can manage with their cattle roaming unherded in slightly more distant neighbouring grazing (i.e. they don't need the cattle - for milk etc. and the nature of the grazing area and water sources prevent cattle straying so that periodic checking is all that is required).

Only the Masoko and Mmadinare North (Manatsane) fencing groups have gone so far as to attempt in by-laws to specify categories of livestock for which the grazing and crop residue fodder in the lands areas will be reserved. With other projects there is either no stated objective on reserved grazing at all, or the objective is more general - i.e. to reserve grazing for the herd as a whole. An example of where there is no objective on reserved grazing is Nkange. Here the objective was to keep the "bulk of the non-herded cattle out" of the lands. Small herds could continue to be herded inside at the owner's risk, as always.

From experience it is quite clear that even to achieve the general objective of reserving grazing for the whole herd becomes increasingly difficult as the size of the enclosed, or otherwise separated, lands area increases. Proximity between lands homes and the communal grazing outside the fence is the key (see Section 10.5.3).

Conclusions on individual or group fencing

In practically all respects, group fencing has the advantage over individual fencing. It caters for a larger number of people, who might otherwise not fence at all; it provides economies of scale; it is cheaper for the individual and for the nation, and in addition it allows for a growth in awareness and ability in land management. The various potential problems which do arise can almost always be solved by design or land use planning

R10/6: INDIVIDUAL FENCING IS RECOMMENDED, HOWEVER, IF EITHER OF THE TWO OBJECTIVES WHERE GROUP FENCING IS POTENTIALLY DISADVANTAGEOUS ARE IMPORTANT That is, if it is desired that early ploughing take place within the lands enclosure, but it is not possible to ensure movement of all cattle out of the enclosure soon enough, or if it is desired to reserve winter fodder for specific categories of stock (7).

It should be noted that a combination of design and management by-laws may make even these objectives possible within a group fence, so this option should be explored. Furthermore, fodder conservation features little in individual fencing as a "reason". Farmers do not see it as a possibility because there are no fodder crops to grow as technology stands at present.

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(7) Note; in Chapter 12 it is shown that possibly the only method of producing fodder for dairy cattle may be on individually fenced arable lands, but investigations into this are only now being planned.

Until there is real reason to be optimistic about the cultivation of fodder crops, this potential advantage of individual fencing has little relevance. Current optimism is limited to IFPP where some initial experiments have been conducted on a small scale over a couple of seasons.

Other situations where individual fencing may be recommended

R10/7 and 8: DESPITE THE GENERAL SUPERIORITY OF GROUP FENCING, THERE EXIST TWO OTHER SITUATIONS IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL FENCING IS RECOMMENDED. The one is where water, arable soil and grazing space are all present in the same area, and a farmer's home, field and grazing land can all be together, adequately separated from the next farmer's settlement. Such an area must be able to support sufficient prosperity for each family to have transport of some kind to the nearest service centre, but where this exists, individual fencing is viable and should be encouraged.

The other is where conditions make it extremely difficult in the short term for an individual to join a group enclosure. This might be the case where grazing and lands are very mixed, or local social or political factors hinder any group formation process, or the individuals concerned are remote area dwellers, e.g. labour at cattleposts.

10.5.3. What sort of group fencing?

The need is to optimize the possibility of mixed farming for the maximum number of farmers, and in particular for the benefit of the target group.

Halt the trend towards large arable enclaves

R10/9: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE TREND TOWARDS LARGE ARABLE ENCLAVES AND ENCLOSURES IS HALTED. Many very large arable lands areas have developed in Botswana, often the amalgamation of several ward lands areas. The interests of the target group are not served by the external and internal expansion of these large arable enclaves. Grazing space between lands areas is being drastically reduced in size by continued arable expansion and is now often too small to support even the small draft and milk herds of the poorer lands residents. In some areas it is mechanized arable farmers who are swallowing up large tracts of arable land; they do not require local grazing for draft and milk animals and can afford to maintain separate cattleposts. In particular, it is the physical fixation of these large arable blocks by boundary fencing that causes management problems. This has been amply illustrated by the experiences of projects in these situations (Section 10.1.7).

A purpose of a large lands enclosure design may be to include room within the fence for arable expansion on the unallocated areas presently used for grazing(8), while surplus areas of allocated lands lie unused.

R10/10: MORE ATTENTION SHOULD INSTEAD BE GIVEN TO LAND CONSOLIDATION THROUGH REGISTRATION.

Encourage small and medium sized blocks

R10/11: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE BLOCKS OF ARABLE LANDS ARE ENCLOSED. The evidence of this consultancy points at small and medium sized arable enclosures being the most beneficial for the target group.

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(8) This was a stated planned objective according to technical support staff dealing with the Nkange-Maitengwe enclosure.

There are three main lines of argument:

1. The first is the same as why it is recommended to halt the growth of huge arable enclosures, that is, there is a danger that as more and more land within the large arable block is progressively swallowed up for arable use and the grazing space becomes too small, the distance to alternative grazing outside the enclosure becomes a problem for small farmers. If the enclosure is smaller, this problem does not arise.

2. The smaller the size of the enclosure, the more possible it becomes to achieve the objectives that are said to be the realm only of individual fencing. These can be achieved by groups, plus the benefits of economies of scale compared to individual fencing.

3. The medium enclosure also equates with the objectives of current settlement policy.

Indeed, the ideal group situation for the low to middle income peasants in communal areas could be to live in a rural settlement something like a "Fosbrooke hamlet". The settlement of roughly 1000 people, or 200 families, consists of farming family households. Each is a management unit for arable and livestock mixed farming - and possibly a few other enterprises and is situated near a water supply, close to or at arable fields and within easy reach of grazing sufficient for medium, basic income-earning sized herds, which can supply milk needs and draft power in good condition ready for ploughing time; the whole settlement is of optimal size for the provision of basic rural services.

Many village and lands communities do exist in Botswana which are at the ideal hamlet level. The medium-sized lands enclosures listed in the design types (Section 10.5.1) most nearly correspond to these "ideal" settlements.

Even more of Botswana's settlements are smaller than the suggested ideal, but do have the potential for growth as Government capacity to provide services expands.

The consolidation of scattered fields into small or medium-sized blocks suitable for fenced enclosures, and the development of serviceable settlements should be encouraged wherever possible. If a "Fosbrooke hamlet" does not seem to be a possible goal in a particular area, the viability of creating small or medium lands enclosures - perhaps out of a large arable area - with direct access or passages to defined grazing, should still be carefully explored.

What about the very densely populated areas?

In some parts of the country there is sheer land shortage in relation to the population density and the needs for both arable and grazing.

R10/12. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES BE FURTHER STUDIED:

i) encouragement of tractor ownership and hiring whether individually or through syndicates (to discourage animal draft and thereby release land for more productive grazing uses - milk or beef - or for arable use) (9)

ii) substitution of donkeys for oxen for animal draft, for a herd of 25-30 cattle is needed to support a team of 8 oxen.

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(9) N.B. Tractor syndication or even plain tractor use is not possible to introduce overnight. Problems of expense, maintenance and organisation of syndicates are involved. See section on tractor groups.

iii) discouragement of the swallowing up of what land there is by big arable users, in order to increase the available grazing or arable land for more smaller farmers (the target group); possible policies exist which could encourage larger scale arable farming elsewhere, where land is less of a constraint, e.g. via rents and limiting the size of arable lands in the pressure areas; current attention to settlement policy could look into questions of resettlement and policies to encourage this.

iv) land registration to consolidate the scattered pattern of field ownership, or at least to clarify the use of allocated land where owners cling to their scattered estates for other reasons (e.g. the scattered pattern of rainfall in some years), and release unutilized land.

v) intensification of agricultural and livestock husbandry techniques; individual fencing or holdings becomes more viable and possibly more necessary under a more intensive arable regime, unless, that is, a broader mixed farming concept can be encouraged on a group basis incorporating grazing enclosures.

The remote areas

R10/13: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN MORE REMOTE AREAS, WHERE TRACTOR FARMING IS LESS FEASIBLE, ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO THE OBJECTIVES OF RESERVING FODDER FOR DRAFT POWER, AND ENSURING ADEQUATE ACCESS TO GRAZING DURING THE PLOUGHING SEASON.

Grazing rather than arable enclosures?

A final possible fence design, which still achieves the aim of keeping cattle separate from the arable areas, is to make grazing rather than arable enclosures. In most situations the investment of enclosing grazing areas is not worthwhile for they are less compact than lands, and farmers do not intend any management within the area - it is sufficient if the cattle have grazing and water. The solution is possibly only relevant either where farmers are in fact concerned to manage grazing for livestock as an end in itself, or where arable and grazing land take up roughly the same amount of space so it does not matter which is fenced. In areas where grazing enclosures are viable alternatives, a total solution for the area should be sought, based on a comprehensive land use plan and allowing for the diverse needs of the whole population. The whole issue is explored in more detail in Chapter 11.

10.5.4. The need for a long term strategy

R10/14: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT PRIORITY IS GIVEN TO WORKING OUT A LONG-TERM LAND USE STRATEGY FOR BOTSWANA. The land-use planning strategy above is obviously very long term. It may appear presumptuous, but the argument has been developed to such an extent because present-day extension efforts may often be wasted without a long-term context. Otherwise fencing is likely to develop in a random and unco-ordinated way, and probably without accounting for the diverse needs of all farmers.

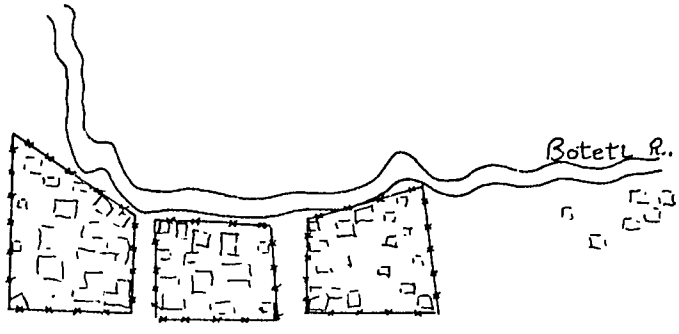
Moreover, having sat long hours in Farmers Committee, Land Board, LUPAG, AD and Regional agricultural staff meetings, hearing widely divergent views on the merits and demerits of individual and group fencing and on the semantics of whether enclosures should be grazing or arable, it is felt that some statement of the issues may at least serve as a point of departure for more fruitful argument.

Fencing means enclosure and exclusive land use. It is a fixture. It is a fixing of how land is used, by whom, in what proportion and on what scale. It may in theory be temporary, but psychologically it tends to be irreversible. It is therefore extremely important to try to steer the trends in the right long-term direction from the beginning.

10.5.5. An immediate priority

R10/13: THE IMMEDIATE CONCERN OF LAND USE STAFF SHOULD BE TO SCRUTINIZE EXISTING AND UPCOMING PROJECTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED. In some cases re-design has been done following closer examination of a proposal.

An early proposal for a drift fence between Thabala and Motshegaletau shutting off the sandveld to the west, was abandoned when it was recognised that areas of grazing would still remain to the east of the fence - in particular a stretch of sandveld between Motsegaletau and Masoko lands area. Enclosures of lands areas separately were decided upon. At Masoko, 3 separate enclosures was the design agreed on eventually, to replace a former single enclosure. At Toromoja and Khumaga similar adaptations were made to allow cattle access through corridors of grazing between lands enclosures to water at the Boteti.



10.6. FUNDING POLICY

Section 9.4 introduced the topic of raising finance for lands fencing projects. The intention of the present section is to take a broader look at the question of government contributions and to make some policy recommendations.

10.6.1. The present subsidisation policy in practice

It is Government policy to use a "matching grant" system in funding projects - AE.10 and AG.15. This provides a subsidy not exceeding 90% of the capital (hardware) costs of group fencing projects, the group providing a minimum of 10% of the hardware, plus their labour. Whether the group contributes more than 10% is left to the discretion of the regional staff.

What proportion of the project costs are being contributed by the groups in practice? A close look at the available figures highlights some important points. Table 10(vi) details the data on which the following discussion is based:

TABLE 10 (vi) : FUNDING OF FENCING PROJECTS

Region	Project *	Date Started	If Complete	KM	Cash value contribution by group	Grant contribution	Group contrib. per KM	Total contrib. per KM	Cash Value contribution as % of amount raised
MAUN	Xhaugwe-Mohembo	76	✓	7	P300	P642	-	-	31%
"	Khumaga Botoko	79	X	9	P0	P970	0	P107	0%
"	Khumaga	79	X	8	P0	P880	0	P110	0%
"	Machanga	79	X	20	P0	P2200	0	P110	0%
F'TOWN	Nkange Changate	6/79	X	43.5	P500	P3350	11.5	89	13%
"	Maitengwe	8/79	X	53	P293	P4757	5.5	95	6%
CENTRAL	Serule	78	X	6	P467	-	78	-	-
"	Thuni	76	✓	17	P600	P810	35	81	43%
"	Dikabeyana	78-79	X	20	P1080	P347	54	71	76%
"	Setlatse West	79	X	18	P367	-	20	-	-
"	Malaka	78	X	27	P300	P1693	11	74	15%
"	Maunatlala	late78	X	22	P1080	P1368	49	111	44%
"	Chalaole	"	X	20	P880	-	44	-	-
"	Mogapi	78	X	34	P2387	P2450	70	142	49%
"	Lerala	77-78	X	47	P2622	P2640	56	112	50%
"	Masoko	79	X	34	P885	P2108	26	38	30%
"	Lesie	79	X	-	P1000	-	-	-	-
"	Segakwana	78	X	14	P1000	-	71	-	-
"	Sajwe	79	X	20	P1440	P966	72	120	60%
"	Mmaphashalala (phase IV)	79	X	7	P603	P400	86	143	60%
"	Morhopha	-	X	24	P383	-	16	-	-
"	Sefhare	77	X	42	P746	P1625	18	56	31%
GABORONE	Mmankgodi	77	X	8.6	P580	P3268	67	447	15%
"	Mmamaereng	76	X	7.5	P455	P2173	61	350	17%
"	Metsemasweane	79	✓	9.8	P350	P3122	36	345	10%
"	Otse	78	X	15	P35	-	2	-	-
"	Matlakana	79-80	✓	9	P395	P5410	44	645	7%
"	Mogobane	76	X	9.4	P500	P2180	53	285	19%
SOUTH	N'lhantlhe	76	X	7	P734	P179	105	130	80%
"	Magotlhwane	77	X	5	P464	P210	93	135	69%
"	Lekgolobotlho	78	✓	11	P1287	P429	117	156	75%
"	Kgomokasitwa	78	X	15	P650	P1178	43	122	35%
"	Moshaneng Sesung	75	X	7	P105	-	15	-	-
SOUTH	Palotshetlha	72	✓	27	P3100	0	115	115	100%
"	Digawana	-	✓	9	P1500	P148	167	183	91%
"	Mogoriapitse	76	X	27	P1490	P2000	55	129	43%
"	Malore	78	✓	5	P300	P335	60	127	47%
"	Kanigwe	78	✓	5	P450	P574	90	205	44%
"	Mmabadisa-Diponyane	76	X	22	P450	P502	20	43	47%
"	Gathwane	79	X	20	P800	-	40	-	-
"	Maunyele	76	X	12	P487	P758	41	104	39%
"	Mokatako	76	X	13	P1430	-	110	-	-

* Attention is restricted to wire fencing projects undertaken since 1970. 'Projects undertaken before the 1970's are of historical interest and have to illustrate the self reliance communities are capable of, but confuse this discussion as both social and economic conditions were so different from those today.

Examination of the last column of the above table shows that there is a definite regional variation in the proportion of the project amount raised by groups. The figures tend to cluster in each region, so the average per region gives a fair picture.

TABLE 10(vii): AVERAGE CASH VALUE OF GROUP CONTRIBUTION AS % OF TOTAL RAISED

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No. of projects with data	4	2	10	5	11
Average cash value of group contribution as % of total raised	7.8%	9.5%	45.8%	13.6%	60.9%

This study has been able to distinguish four major influences which go towards explaining these regional differences.

A. Regional differences in the interpretation of matching grant policy

CENTRAL REGION

In Central Region group development philosophy was expressly followed in interpreting the matching grant policy. This philosophy emphasises the importance of groups contributing as much as possible towards project costs in order to strengthen their commitment by decreasing dependence on Government or other assistance, and reducing the tendency to take the attitude that "it is Government's project". Therefore it was clearly stipulated in Central Region that groups should aim to raise 50% of the hardware costs of a fencing project. An estimate of the labour cost to the group was excluded as part of the contribution because labour was assumed to have an equal value, wherever the project was located. That it was on the whole possible to adhere to the policy is illustrated by the average group contribution figure of 45.8%.

SOUTHERN REGION

Southern Region has had a similar policy to Central Region, though it appears not to have been expressed so clearly on paper. In Mokatako, for example, an application for AG.15 funding was rejected early in 1980 as the group was told by regional support staff that it had to raise P3000 in order to raise an adequate percentage contribution towards the total of more than P8000 estimated for the project.

MAUN AND FRANCISTOWN

In the northern part of the country labour costs have been deliberately included as part of the group's contribution. This policy has been adopted because income levels in the area are effectively low due to at least two years of foot and mouth disease. At Khumaga, Botloko, the labour estimate in a project memorandum draft (i.e. not necessarily the memorandum finally submitted) was P750, broken down as

Cutting 900 poles at 30t	=	P270
Digging 900 holes at 20t	=	P180
Clearing fence line	=	P100
Constructing fence	=	P200
		P750

P750, if it were a cash contribution, works out as 43.6% of the total amount contributed to the project, and as a group contribution per km at P83/km

GABORONE REGION

In Gaborone Region also project memoranda show that an assessment of labour costs is allowed in the group contribution. The assessments vary greatly from one project to another. In Mogobane, for example, labour was valued at P372/km, whereas in adjacent Mmamaereng it was valued at P924/km. The low group contribution figures as a percentage of the total amount should not, however, be attributed to these allowances for labour: per km figures are comparable to Central and Southern Region. The problem is rather one of fence specifications.

B. Fence specifications

Gaborone Region is using much more expensive fence specifications than an other region. The examples of Mogobane and Mmamaereng have been quoted in Section 10.1.6. The regional distinction is illustrated by comparing group plus grant contributions per km of fence. The Central ALDEP paper showed the hardware cost of a 5 strand high-strain wire fence to be P115/km (see Table 10(i)). In Gaborone Region the average group plus grant contribution is P414 per km, whereas in the other regions the figures correspond much more closely to P115: P109/km in Maun, P92/km in Francistown, P100/km in Central and P132/km in Southern.

C. The starting date of the project

Groups which started before the introduction of AE.10 in 1978 were obliged to raise a much higher percentage of their costs than later groups. Secondly, if the critical fund-raising process of a group occurred during the 1978-1979-1980 period in an area effected by drought and/or foot and mouth marketing restrictions, contributions were inevitably very low. Again, a regional pattern emerges.

Referring back to table 9(i) it is striking that in Southern Region Over half the wire fence projects were started before 1978. The projects thus set out from the first to raise sufficient funds, have avoided the effects of the recent drought and have not of course been in a foot and mouth area. It is therefore not surprising to find a high group contribution to the projects. Pelotshetlha, Digawana, Ntlhantle and Lekgolobotlho all raised over 75% of the costs. In the north, on the other hand, in the Boteti area, Francistown Region, and parts of Central Region, nearly all the projects started in or after 1978 and had fundraising activities halted by the problems of FMD and drought. In some cases, like Boteti, these difficulties have totally prevented the raising of funds locally.

D. The length of the fence and population density

A fourth factor influencing the regional differences in the amount raised towards hardware costs by the group itself appears to be the length of the fence projects. The main contrast here is between Central and Southern Regions. The north can be discounted due to the overriding influence of drought and FMD and Gaborone due to the influence of fence specifications.

In Southern Region the fence length per project is generally short, averaging 13.2 km. Coupled with the dense population in the project

localities, and the high total participation. This means a low per member contribution. The average group contribution per km is therefore high - P76.50/km. In Central Region the average fence length is nearly twice that in Southern Region, at 24 km. The lower population density puts a greater burden on each member. This is reflected in the lower average group contribution per km, P48/km.

It is instructive to pick out the shorter projects in Central Region and see that the contribution per km in these cases does in fact equate with Southern Region:

Serule	-	6 km	-	P68/km
Mmaphashalala (phase iv)		7 km	-	P86/km
Segakwana	-	14 km	-	P71/km

Conversely, the record in Southern Region for longer projects have a per km contribution which is equivalent to the longer Central Region fences:

Gathwane	-	20 km	-	P40/km
Mmathethe	-	27 km	-	P55/km

This regional examination has revealed several important points about the present subsidisation policy:

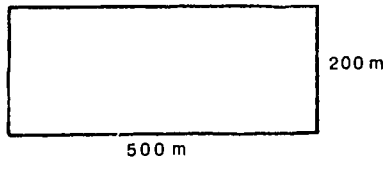
1. it is well adapted to difficult circumstances in FMD and drought-affected areas,
2. there are some unjustifiable inconsistencies in the amounts paid to groups in different parts of the country, due to lack of attention to fence specifications, allowance of too much local variation in costing labour, and lack of a consistent funding philosophy,
3. it is possible also that some sort of allowance should be made for project variations in length of fence versus population density.

The inconsistencies in the matching grant programme need to be dealt with. But the problem is not as straightforward as simply ironing out inconsistencies. The whole funding question needs to be considered in relation to the overall fencing strategy.

Now, too, there is another subsidy scheme in evidence, the ALDEP programme, which is still in its pilot stage.

10.6.2. ALDEP loan subsidy scheme programme

The ALDEP programme, still in its pilot stage, is currently paying an individual farmer P50 for his labour and P225 representing 50% of the hardware, for fencing 10 hectares. In this, ALDEP assumes 5 strand barbed wire fence specifications costing over P310 per km. The assumption is based on a rectangular shaped holding:



with a fence perimeter of 1.4 km.

Labour for an individual enclosure fence is thus at the rate of P35 per km. The farmer, just as members of small fencing syndicates sometimes do, can then obtain assistance towards his 50% share of the costs (in the region of P200) through an NDB loan - hence the name loan/subsidy scheme.

The ALDEP programme is advertised also as being open to groups. The Assistant Minister of Agriculture made a big point of this in his address to the Kgatleng Farmers Association on 15th March 1980. The exact formula for ALDEP's approach to group assistance is not published but official sources indicate the intention of applying a graduated scheme of assistance as follows:

Individuals	-	50% grant
Groups of 3-5	-	60% "
" 5-8	-	70% grant
" 8-10	-	80% "
Over 10	-	90% "

(Information obtained in personal communication with ALDEP team leader)

Some difficulties in the ALDEP Scheme

The matching grant programme has some difficulties which have been brought out in practice. There are also some problems implicit in the ALDEP scheme.

First it is not clear why such expensive fence specifications have to be standard for ALDEP fences. If cheaper specifications were acceptable to ALDEP for individual fencing, grants as high as 50% would no longer be as necessary to help a low income farmer pay. Or should one ask, has an individual ALDEP fence to be that much fiercer to resist the combined onslaught of cattle numbers from surrounding unfenced land?

Secondly, it is not clear whether the present P50 labour incentive offered to an individual small farmer would be payable also to groups of up to 10, or in what way this also might be graduated. Nor is it clear how the figure relates to what a group of more than 10 should receive.

Such matters need careful consideration, as the following example indicates. If 9 farmers were each to receive P50 for their efforts, their deal of this (P450) plus 80% grant on fence materials (P1488 of the P1860 to fence a 6 km perimeter for 90 hectares) would be much better than a group of 11 farmers getting 90% grant but no payment for their labour. P1488 + P450 in fact exceeds P1860 in the cost of materials at P310 per km so that in effect the group of 9 receive over 100%.

10.6.3. Some implications of continuing to run the matching grant and ALDEP programmes

If the matching grant and ALDEP schemes are allowed to continue to run simultaneously, as they have been described, some results could be as follows:

1) A graduated ALDEP scale of % grant increasing from as high a level as 50% for individual fencing will cement AE.10 rigidly not to a "minimum" but a fixed 10% group contribution and 90% Government grant. This move would seriously undermine efforts to encourage groups to contribute as much as possible.

2) the 50% level of capital grant to individuals, with P50.00 labour grant in addition (increasing it effectively to over 60%) does not discourage farmers enough from fencing individually when they could

instead just as easily form small groups based on neighbour relationships. There must be very few farmers in the communal areas whose fields are not near or adjacent to those of other close relatives. Fencing in small groups has immediate economies both to the farmers concerned and to the nation. Also it is just as easy for such a small group (particularly of relatives) as for an individual to control their cattle co-operatively and ensure in particular their removal from the small lands enclosure to allow early planting.

3) the graduations from 50-60-70-80-90% grant, based on small increases in group size as proposed by ALDEP, are unnecessarily and unrealistically rigid, unless they are treated with much discretion as a guideline. What is more important, though, is that since an individual obtains such a high level of grant in the first place, the incentive to group into 3 or 4 is insufficient (a difference of 50-60%).

10.6.4. Towards a strategy more consistent with objectives

The following suggestions are for consideration in policy-making. They aim to achieve the objectives described in Section 10.5, and to reduce the existing and potential inconsistencies of the two programmes in operation now. As more experience is gained from ALDEP's pilot phase, and knowledge increased by micro-level research, the proposals here can be refined. They are intended as tentative guidelines.

Recommendations

1. R10/16: REMOVE PROVISION FOR LABOUR GRANTS ALTOGETHER

- to date Government has not introduced the labour-intensive works programme into this area of rural project. Groups are not therefore paid for their labour, although wild variations occur from project to project in labour pricing. However, in no case (except the FMD/drought-stricken areas) have group contributions to hardware been less than 10%, so labour valuation is really an irrelevant issue. In fact, the value of labour should be practically the same throughout the country; since the number of man-days required per kilometre of fence should not have to vary widely, assuming that fence specifications are roughly similar and that other variables balance out (e.g. distance to site of work, local availability of cut posts),
- failing this, labour pricing should be standardised as an agreed universal grant per km. The ALDEP grant of P50 to an individual fencing perimeter of 1.4 km is equivalent to P35 per km. If some such rule were applied to all projects it would be in accordance with group development philosophy. It would provide a small additional incentive to all groups, but would not endanger group initiative and commitment in big projects, as, being a fixed amount per km, it would represent a smaller and smaller labour payment as group membership increased. The system would, however, favour the individual low-income farmer most and reduce the incentive for small farmers to join together in small groups.

2. R10/17: REDUCE THE LEVEL OF THE INDIVIDUAL GRANT, e.g. TO 25%

3. R10/18 REDUCE THE COST OF FENCING

- this could be done by recommending the use of the cheaper specifications which are already in use in places. It is recommended that their effect-

iveness be investigated. Various factors should naturally enter into what is recommended, e.g. the comparative amount of labour involved (man days per km) and the different requirements for number and spacing of droppers and fence posts. The point is that there should be a standardised specification to eliminate present unfairness in grant awards. Under the present system some groups are contributing far more than others but receiving less assistance due only to their more modest demands. Only under certain circumstances need specifications be different, e.g. along the Boteti where wildlife is a hazard, or where concentrations of cattle round a waterpoint are close to lands and thus a problem.
An alternative approach is to subsidise wire prices as suggested in Central Region's ALDEP response paper - the suggestion was P20-P25 per roll of high-strain wire, through the LACs.

- As has already been pointed out, if fencing costs were reduced from P310 per km (the current ALDEP proposal) to P115 per km (the cost of present widely used specifications (10) there would no longer be a need for a 50% grant to individual farmers. In fact, even at a 25% rate of grant the small farmer is better off than under ALDEP's 50% grant on fencing materials three times as expensive:

i.e.	PRESENT ALDEP	PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE
a)	1.4 km. perimeter	(a) 1.4 km perimeter
b)	P450 total cost at P310/km	(b) P161 total cost at P115/km
c)	P225 grant at 50%	(c) P40.25 grant at 25%
d)	P50 labour grant	(d) Nil labour grant
Therefore:	farmer must find P450-P275 = P175	Therefore: farmer must find P161-P40.25 = P120.75

4. R10/19 ALLOW UP TO 4 INDIVIDUALS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ALDEP LOAN SUBSIDY PACKAGES, AT A RATE OF 25% EACH AND WITHOUT A LABOUR GRANT, IN A CUMULATIVE WAY, IN ORDER TO FENCE THEIR LANDS JOINTLY

- groups of this size need relatively less incentive to form as they are neighbours anyway. A number of syndicates of this type are already fencing without the help of any subsidy (e.g. Dinogeng, Kapye) purely because of the economics of combining adjacent fields, reducing dramatically the total fence perimeter compared with several fields fenced separately.
- The cut-off point of 4 is chosen because the cumulative effect of 4 individual 25% grants is equivalent to one 50% grant, and it is not recommended that more than 50% grants will be awarded to larger groups. This is explained more fully below.
- The following table illustrates the out-worings of recommendation 4:

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(10) P115/km is used as an example. Although it is used as a basis for further calculations, it is not intended to be interpreted as the final recommendation.

Table 10(viii): THE EFFECT OF A CUMULATIVE 25% GRANT FOR 1-5 INDIVIDUALS

No. of people	Size of land	Perimeter km	Cost at P115/ km	Grant %	Grant Pula	Effective Grant %
1	500 m 10 ha. 200 m	1.4	P161	25%	P40-25	25%
2	500 m 20 ha. 400 m	1.8	P207	25%	P40-25 40-25 P80-50	39%
3	750 m 30 ha 400 m	2.3	P264	25%	P40-25 x3 =P120-75	45.6%
4	1000 m 40 ha. 400 m	2.8	P322	25%	P40-25 x4 =P161-00	50%
5	1200 m 50 ha 417 m	3.2	P368	50%	P184-00	
10	1333 m 100 ha. 750 m	4.16	P478	50%	P239-00	

NOTES

(i) The exact shape of the land of the 2,3 or 4 people joining together, and thus the exact perimeter length and hence cost of their fence, has no effect on the amount of grant as they are each eligible for a grant of 25% of the cost of one 500 m x 200 m = 10 hectares enclosure, viz. P40.25.

(ii) If the four individuals collectively have less than 40 hectares (or less than 30 hectares for 3 etc.) they gain, as the amount of grant is kept standard - i.e. P40.25 per individual. The rate of grant is thus effectively increased for farmers with smallest acreages. In a group of 4 the rate can in this way increase well beyond 50% assuming fields are close together and a regular but small block of land is enclosed.

(iii) If the group of 4 collectively have more than 40 hectares, they are encouraged to increase the size of their group to 5 or more as this will secure them a higher total grant (see recommendation 5).

(iv) If the fields of 3 or 4 farmers trying to take joint advantage of the ALDEP in this way, are highly irregular in shape or far apart, then extension staff in collaboration with Land Board have to decide between:

(a) consolidating lands to a more even block

(b) treating the group as a group of 5 or more (see 5 below)

(v) Although in theory it is recommended that only up to 4 individuals should be allowed to take advantage of separate 25% grant ALDEP loan/subsidy packages, because at 4 the level of grant reaches 50%, in practice occasions would very likely occur where 5 or 6 individuals might succeed in obtaining individual 25% grants but subsequently undertake joint fencing. This could happen

(a) if the local AD and Land Board were not in control of the situation (in which case - good for the group!)

(b) if under local conditions extension staff decided a particular group of such a size should be encouraged.

In most cases it is unlikely to be necessary as policy suggested in 5 below would provide additional privileges to groups of 5-10 anyway.

5. R10/20: ALLOW THE RATE OF GRANT TO BE A 50% MAXIMUM FOR GROUPS OF AROUND 5-10 PEOPLE

- not to be cumulative as the 25% for individuals
- to be effective for fencing any sized area (i.e. not 10 hectares per individual) just as AE.10 works now
- this provision would necessitate formalising the group more than a "syndicate" of 3 or 4, in order to measure the enclosure perimeter, for purposes of calculating grant and Land Board allocation as at present.
- the number "10" has nothing to do with AE.10 or with AMAs. It is, however, a convenient but rough threshold over which group organisation and management changes from the more intimate nature of small groups less liable to be disturbed by village eccentrics (or 'diganana') and where the real opinions of each member are heard because of closer contacts, to the more difficult and less personal level of larger groups. It is thus a meaningful organisational threshold over which level greater facilitation is required.

6. R10/21: FOR GROUPS OF OVER ABOUT 10 PEOPLE THE GRANT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE FOR ANY AREA SIZE, AND AT THE RATE OF 50% BUT WITH INCREASED DISCRETION AS IS APPLIED NOW UNDER AE.10 AND AG.15.

- that is, where groups are faced with particular local problems in raising as much as 50% (e.g. due to organisational difficulties resulting from local politics, or due to low income levels) then the rate of grant can be increased, as at present, to a maximum of 90%.

- the evidence throughout the country is that unless crisis conditions (drought, FMD) affect local income levels, communities can, and do, have no difficulty in raising 50 %, or even more than this level, towards capital costs (11). It is, therefore, recommended that official policy should reinforce this 50% target. It is from this premise that the level of grant to individuals must be reduced.

7. R10/22. IT IS ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO ERASE THE "10%" INTERPRETATION which has, through careless use of the "minimum" loophole stipulated in AE.10, come to be widely but mistakenly regarded as a target - a mistake which would be aggravated by the ALDEP pilot project proposals were they to be adopted.

8. R10/23. ANOTHER POSSIBLE POLICY ALTERNATIVE COULD BE TO ENCOURAGE THE EXTENSION OF THE LOAN/SUBSIDY CONCEPT ACROSS THE BOARD.

- if even large groups receiving a 50% grant were to obtain part of their remaining 50% capital contribution with loan assistance, this would be a means to help overcome the participation problems some groups have with people who avoid contributing until the project is complete. The use of loan finance would reduce the initial contribution required enabling faster project implementation, later loan repayments being largely financed from late paid fees.

The need for discretion

It is impossible with any one formula, to allow for every eventuality. Variations in local conditions can only be met with flexibility and discretion in following any guidelines.

9. R10/24. THIS DISCRETION IS RECOMMENDED AT ALL LEVELS, WHETHER AN INDIVIDUAL OR A COMMUNITY IS INVOLVED.
Grants may need to be increased to 100%, as they have been in the FMD and drought stricken Boteti and other areas. Existing local geography may diverge so much from the "ideal" it becomes inappropriate to follow the guideline or if one or two poor farmers are adjacent to a big farmer, for example, the neat mathematics of allowing the addition of the 25% grants of P40.25 are possibly changed.

The time to practise discretion is during the consultation process because it is through such discussions about local conditions with everyone affected that fence objectives and design (i.e. what is most locally feasible though not necessarily ideal) should be planned, costs estimated and methods of fund raising targetted.

The importance of using other controls to achieve the end

It must be emphasised that it is not through the manipulation of fence subsidisation policy alone that the land use-settlement aims can be achieved. Discrimination in favour of small to medium-sized enclosures must come from land use planning, and other forms of assistance such as grants to encourage de-stumping and water development grants. To try to achieve the objectives by making arbitrary thresholds in subsidies to discourage large enclaves would clearly be unworkable.

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(11) cf Table 10 (vi) and subsequent points on percentage group contributions; even in Gaborone Region, c.50% of costs have been raised if a cheaper specification were to be used.

10.6.5. Achieving the right strategy

The formula suggested here may not be the right one. It is based on the observations of this broad-scale look at group fencing development.

R10/25. MICRO-LEVEL RESEARCH IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY BEFORE ANY FINAL POLICY IS ADOPTED, AS WELL AS MUCH MORE CALCULATION OF COSTS AND BENEFITS ETC. THAN IS ATTEMPTED HERE.

The particular formula above with 10 hectares as its unit, 25% as the individual rate, 50% as the small group rate for about 5-10 people etc. is just one alternative. Many alternatives could be considered. There is nothing magic in 10 hectares except that it is a size ALDEP calculate sufficient for a reasonable small farmer livelihood, 25% and 50% grant levels are chosen partly for ease/convenience arithmetically, and partly because they represent clear and significantly different thresholds and hence incentives towards the objectives of fencing strategy suggested here. With more consideration, more effective thresholds could perhaps be calculated.

Other factors come in, in terms of the economics of fencing in the first place, which can only be answered by further investigation and technical/economic calculations. For example, what are the economics of fencing the sandy soils in the Kgalagadi, along the Boteti or the remoter reaches of the Okavango delta where as at Xhaugwe crop production cannot be marketed towards a loan repayment and the fence is therefore not income earning. Will areas be fenced only to be abandoned a few years later due to falling fertility, or should enclosures be made large enough to allow for fallowing within the enclosure? Should this be the subject of wider investigation - i.e. not just on sandy soils, possibly incorporating the side benefits of such fallowed areas for reserved winter grazing?

Programmes are coming into conflict. Discussion has not been deep enough. Only one Region (Central) made any suggestion as to what Government subsidy policy should be, and the suggestion has so far been ignored. The M. of A's ALDEP Consultative Committee selected 50% as the level of individual grant, together with high cost fencing specifications, on the basis very much of the input of IFPP staff opinions which favour individual fencing for reasons which may not prove relevant to the country as a whole - (the failure of the management of the exceptional Pelotshetlha drift fence in keeping cattle out of the lands early in the season to allow for easy planting; and IFPP's optimistic and as yet still premature ideas on fodder crop technology).

Whilst it is accepted that IFPP represents a concentration of technical expertise and experience, experience elsewhere should not be disregarded. Districts in their ALDEP responses made a number of suggestions including:

- the continued encouragement of group fencing (6 out of 8 responses)
- the need for policy to encourage both group and individual fencing in their Districts (4 out of 8)
- the promotion of drift fencing in an integrated plan to accomplish a more sophisticated grazing system (3 Districts)
- the advantage of encouraging group formation,
- even in North East District, group fencing was found to be feasible - "if farmers combined their lands areas".

Districts could not offer much in the way of a formula for achieving these difficult objectives. It was variously stated that AE.10 should continue and that individuals should have access to subsidies. Only Central Region proposed a system which aimed "to reach more families and not complete with communal area development by groups". Not only the Ministry of Finance but a number of Districts, saw the economic problems of fencing, i.e. that it could be viable if and when productivity increases or prices were raised.

R10/26: IT IS RECOMMENDED HERE THAT DISTRICTS SHOULD NOT ONLY BE GIVEN FURTHER OPPORTUNITIES TO COMMENT (HELPED IF POSSIBLE BY INVESTIGATIONS IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS OF A RESEARCH NATURE AND BY FARM MANAGEMENT STUDIES) BUT BE ENCOURAGED AND ASSISTED TO DEVELOP STRATEGIES AND POLICIES OF THEIR OWN WHICH MOST EFFECTIVELY ACCOMMODATE THEIR PARTICULAR PROBLEMS, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OVERALL STRATEGY GUIDELINES.

10.7. SUPPORT

10.7.1. The context of support

In fencing, as in some other group activities, Government is not necessarily the initiator of action. Farmers themselves are defining certain problems and are aware of the causes. They are taking the responsibility for tackling what they can see they can solve. They are therefore setting certain objectives and in many cases resolutely setting out to achieve them. However, as this chapter shows, there are widespread and complex potential problems involved in fencing development, which frequently limit not only what farmers can achieve, but also their awareness of what can be done.

The support role in fencing development is therefore a particularly complex one.

R10/27: FACILITATION DOES NOT MEAN ASSISTING EVERY GROUP OF FARMERS TO PURSUE JUST THEIR DEFINED OBJECTIVES, BUT MAY INVOLVE DEMONSTRATION, GUIDANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO PURSUE ALTERNATIVES OF WHICH FARMERS ARE INITIALLY UNAWARE, BUT WHICH MAY REPRESENT A MORE DESIRABLE IDEAL IN THE LONGER TERM.

Government approach has a duty principally to ensure that what groups embark upon has been thoroughly and carefully designed, right down to the most appropriate specifications, that the objectives are as near as possible to what can be ideal under the circumstances, and that consultation and preparation of by-laws are organised in such a way that potential problems are not overlooked.

The support functions can be divided into two - technical and organisation. Both are equally important, though as every situation has its particular problems, the approach in providing support in the necessary order, quantity and form has to be sensitively tailored each time. Organisational or social problems may, in other words, be more or less critical than technical ones in different projects.

Both have largely already been covered in various parts of this chapter. The outline will therefore be brief.

10.7.2. Technical support

A major theme in this chapter has been that it is project design which influences group participation and the achievement in practice of fencing objectives. Organisation, management, leadership, social factors, by-laws etc. all have their direct bearing and in themselves can affect the planning and consultation process - i.e. the design phase. But fundamentally the effectiveness of a fence is in its design and thus in the most ideal land use plan for the area.

Technical support, then, is every bit as important to fence group success as organisational support. Included under technical support is land use planning and mapping, advice on fence specifications, materials and cost estimation, and co-ordination of other forms of technical assistance.

Land use planning and mapping

Much elaboration has already been given in section 10.5 on alternative designs, the connection between design and achieving fencing objectives, what is suggested as the ideal land use plan to aim for, and the challenge and strategic role of land use planning.

Ideally, therefore, land use planning has the duty in every situation, as well as in an overall sense, to introduce awareness of longer term objectives and present feasible designs to achieve them. This may or may not correspond with what farmers originally had in mind, but should always represent what is closest to the ideal.

R10/28: IN PRACTICAL TERMS THIS MEANS FIRSTLY THE PROVISION OF AN ACCURATE MAP ILLUSTRATING AT THE MINIMUM PRESENT LAND USE, AND IF POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON SOILS, WATER SOURCE DISTRIBUTION, LAND CAPABILITY AND PERHAPS COMMUNICATIONS.

Such a map has three essential and practical uses:

i) a visual aid for project planning, design and consultation, to enable extension workers, group management, village leaders and the community at large (i.e. all sectors of it) to discuss the causes of local problems more analytically, to discuss alternative designs and in particular to anticipate and discuss solutions to potential problems and finally to agree on an optimal land use plan and fence design, which as noted above, may need to involve water and other features in an integrated plan.

ii) once the design is agreed, the map provides an accurate drawing of fence layout, position of necessary gates, road grids etc. to enable the group to calculate accurately the materials required and make cost estimates upon which decisions on contributions required, fees and grant applications should be based.

iii) to assist Land Board in the allocation process.

Fence specifications

Besides the map and land use plan, more attention should be given to technical advice on fence specifications. It has been recommended (Section 10.6.4) tht the Ministry should have a standard basic recommendation, but that inevitably this will need to be varied in certain situations.

R10/29: SLOCA DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD BE USED AS A TRAINING RESOURCE.

This should not mean construction of a SLOCA fence, demonstrating as many as four alternative specifications and leaving the group to decide between them. It is important rather to see specifications in terms of their cost. If subsidisation policy is to have any consistency in practice, it should be founded at least on some standard fencing cost. Technical advice on specifications needs, in other words, to be more professionally carried out and group committees trained if necessary so that they appreciate more clearly the economics involved. Training may also be what is needed if, as has been reported in some instances, groups are opting for expensive barbed wire for the reason that the use of the much cheaper high-strain wire involves extra skill in wire straining.

Co-ordination of further technical assistance

If the land use plan and fence design incorporates other developments - dam building, borchole development, conservation measures, road grids etc. - further inputs of technical assistance may need co-ordination.

Inadequate technical support - its effects

If the technical support functions above seem obvious, it is striking how many projects are delayed or are poorly designed through lack of it.

Firstly, in terms of technical planning and designing, if the findings of this analysis of group fencing are at all correct, it is clear that potential problems are often not anticipated in the design phase: many groups are implementing projects which have never even been mapped. The extent of arable soils has not been surveyed. The location of water sources has not been studied or adequately connected as a problem likely to affect the project.

The single most common support failure is technical advice to Land Boards. In Southern Region the situation is most serious. The following projects have been affected:

Manyana - no survey or map done; Land Board delay of 2 years.

Gathwane - survey incomplete; Land Board delay since November 1978.

Moshupa S. - Land Board approval took 15 months (KPS)

Ntlhantlhe - Land Board approval took 3 years and construction of one section of fence held up for 3 months in April 1980 because of field allocation dispute on the grazing side.

Magotlhwane - delay as at Ntlhantlhe

Kgomokasitwa - no map; Land Board delay of whole year 1979.

Kutokole - held up? over 1 year by Land Board (Macha fence)

Malore - dispute over large arable allocation on grazing side halted progress on construction

Mmathethe - awaiting PWD plan for road grid.

Digawana - road grid.

Agricultural staff tend to blame the Ngwaketse Land Board. The Land Board responds that it cannot do the job without even a map. Apart from the

IFPP map which includes the Pelotshetlha fence, not a single project in Southern Region appeared to have been mapped. Where Land Board allocations had been done, they had been done without maps.

Over the country as a whole, the mapping situation appeared to be as follows:

TABLE 10(ix): NUMBER OF FENCING PROJECTS MAPPED, BY REGION, AS IN MID 1980

REGION	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GABORONE	SOUTH
No. of projects mapped	3	2	16	5	1

It is obvious and perfectly recognised that delays, disputes and inadequacies in technical planning and co-ordination discourage group momentum, make it difficult to recruit members or maintain interest and therefore slow down participation and implementation.

10.7.3. Organisational support - the group development role

The group development role is to facilitate the group in the overall processes of project planning and management. There are several key areas of support.

One key area of support is leadership and social problems. Solutions to many of these problems can only be long term.

R10/30: IT IS IMPORTANT TO ENSURE A REPRESENTATIVE AND COMPETENT COMMITTEE IS ELECTED TO MANAGE A PROJECT, because smooth implementation of a fence (or any) project cannot really be assured before the organisation is created and the committee elected and helped along its way. But in practice it is unrealistic to wait for all leadership problems to be solved before going ahead and so very often especially in areas where there has been no consistent policy of group development (e.g. in the form of electing and training Farmers Committees), some less prepared management committee may have to be helped with each step of the project.

R10/31: THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT FUNCTION IS ALSO TO HELP GROUPS WITH CONSULTATION AND BY-LAWS - two vital parts of the planning process, during which technical assistance is also needed. Sections 10.3.5 and 10.4.2. above deal with the way in which consultation and by-laws need to be approached.

R10/32: MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES OF FENCING GROUPS NEED TRAINING IN PARTICULAR AREAS IN ORDER TO BE EFFECTIVE:

- understanding planning concepts
- anticipating potential problems and discussing solutions to them
- conducting external relationships with Land Board
- consulting neighbouring communities
- consulting internally

- preparing by-laws acceptable and intelligible to all interests in the community.
- organisation
- handling funds and record-keeping
- maintaining community confidence

It is recommended especially that the potential problem approach receive emphasis in training, especially of fence committees, who, like Farmers' Committees, have by the nature of the project a wider interest in the communal area.

Field training, community level adult education, RTC courses for management committees, and joint seminars with local Land Boards may all be required, as well as the technical training outlined above, culminating in practical training and demonstration for group members as a whole. Group leaders and members need to be made alive to the interplay between various objectives and problems of fencing in project group situations, and imaginative in the provision of solutions as well as becoming competent in practical skills.

It is emphasised again that this more comprehensive interpretation of training is suggested not just to assist fencing groups with smooth progress in the short term, but to help in the long term. It must be recognised that what fencing groups are doing represents a major step, difficult to reverse in practice, in communal area development. Approach should reflect this.

The development of management and organisation skills is of course a long term process in itself, but although mistakes are being made across the country, here and there signs are that that expertise is developing. Every situation is not comparable. The effectiveness of a Farmers' Committee managing a distinct lands area enclosure cannot be compared directly with the experience of a Farmers Committee tackling a wider inter-neighbourhood drift fence, or with such a project implemented by local group committees. Farmers Committees, with their explicit terms of reference, method of election and training, would be expected to perform better at some of these functions. Their record in this respect will be studied in the later chapter on Farmers Committees.

10.7.4. Management of support

Another major part of the problem in supporting the fence group development process concerns the expertise required in several fields. Land use planning, mapping, water development, range ecology and management, livestock production and crop production, not to mention fence construction expertise may all be needed. Land allocation is involved on a big scale. The work involved in these spheres is particularly complex.

It is hard, if not impossible, for the Extension Area AD or even the DAO and RAO to comprehend fully how all this should be properly guided and supported. The planning and programming of support is therefore more important with fencing projects than possibly any others.

R10/33: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN THE PREPARATION OF GUIDELINES FOR FENCING DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORT MANAGEMENT RECEIVE PARTICULAR EMPHASIS. The aim should be to clarify:

- what the support functions are,
- whose responsibility
- at what stage in the process of implementation they are required.

The basic monthly management and 3MP systems are at present in use to a greater or lesser extent around the country, partly coping with the support problem, but in addition to these virtually every region or district has its own approach. This is often a reflection of staff availability. Central Region, for example, with an AO(LR) and AAO(LR) as well as a (DO(L) in post is just about keeping up with the land use planning and mapping demands. Examples of maps produced are given.
In Gaborone Region, although a Land Use Officer was present in the Regional Office, mapping of projects was being achieved through the co-operation of the DO(L)s. In the south it appears that virtually no mapping or land use planning has been done at all in relation to the fencing projects. In Maun the DO(L) and AO(LR) from Serowe were helping in the Boteti, though from 8/80 the Region will have its own capacity, with an AO(LR). In Francistown the land use planning and mapping was being undertaken by LUO.

R10/34: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A MORE CO-ORDINATED STOCK-TAKE OF MAN-POWER RESOURCES IN LAND USE PLANNING AND MAPPING BE TAKEN AT DISTRICT LEVEL, and if necessary, through the influence of RDU (CAPAD) the MLGL/MOA ensure that responsibility is clearly assigned. A shortage of skills can be reduced through redistribution, reassignment, recruitment and/or training. In order to reduce the bottleneck as much as possible in the way of extension staff (ADs and DAOs) training in mapping and LUP skills is necessary.

Skills are never effectively learnt until people see what use they must make of them. Past experience of mapping training at A/D and A/S level has not been very good. Possibly with clearer guidelines on what LUP issues are to be looked out for, what needs mapping and why - i.e. fencing development - extension staff may take to it better.

Support procedure and monitoring

Plenty of ideas exist on this in the different regions. The most progress has been achieved by the technical support team in Central Region where thorough land use appraisal reports, land use plans and maps are made by the land use staff at appropriate stages in supporting project implementation, and progress of these technical inputs is recorded on bar charts, as well as of other indicators of progress - training, Land Board approval, by-laws etc.

What is distressing is that ideas are not shared and replicated from one region to another. It is beyond the already enormous scope of this chapter to develop detailed guidelines. The knowledge already exists.

R10/35: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A WORKSHOP BE CONVENED REPRESENTING DIFFERENT REGIONS, SPECIALISTS WITH DIFFERENT SUPPORT FUNCTIONS, TOGETHER WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM THEIR HQ DIVISIONS IN ORDER TO SHARE IDEAS AND HAMMER OUT PROCEDURES.
It is recommended too that the Central Region fencing procedure be used as a basis for discussion. The bar chart system developed by AO(LR) Central should be another input for consideration as a monitoring device.

10.8. FURTHER RESEARCH

Whilst it is recommended that the framework of approach and policy contained in this chapter be used as an immediate basis for the development of policy and practical guidelines on fencing, a considerable amount of further research is required to steadily improve knowledge of the complex processes and issues in fencing and monitor development.

This can be approached in a number of ways.

R10/36: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A JOINT COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH BE TAKEN due to the comprehensive nature of the subject, the wide policy issues and the practical technical and organisational aspects. This should involve:

the Rural Sociology Unit
the Action Research Unit of Ag.Inf.
the Institute of Adult Education
the MLGL Research Unit (if functioning)

in close co-operation with the appropriate technical divisions of the Ministry of Agriculture, and Regional and District staff.

R10/37: SUGGESTED LINES OF RESEARCH ARE:

1. A study of examples of completed, in progress and upcoming projects, including examples of all the group arable enclosure and drift fence design types (see 10.5.1) with regard to
   - time taken to implement, plus reasons
   - support problems and results of problems
   - land use planning or its lack/definition of fence objectives/design/type of by-laws
   - local land use factors (water, distance to grazing, etc.)
   - participation
   - potential problems
   - level of grant
   - local income level
   - group management and organisation

   Particular focus should be on the following areas:

2. Study the experience of the dual existence of group and individual fencing to see more exactly where the group fence fails and why individuals do fence. Look for alternative designs which could avoid this.

3. Study the cases where the distinction between grazing and arable enclosure is unclear - as in the Barolong.

4. Study more closely the impact of fences on livestock, in particular on implications for mobility in relation to grazing and water, especially in times of drought; and study also livestock management and productivity under the new fenced system compared with unfenced conditions.

Central and Southern Regions are the most fertile ground for such micro-level studies. The Central GDO has already proposed that impact studies be made in the Region.

10.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 10

Chapter 10 deals with some of the problems that communal fencing of the lands is encountering as it proceeds, and suggests ways of tackling these problems.

10.1. What "potential problems" have been met in fencing projects and how are they being solved?

10.1.1. Some parts of the community may feel suspicious of the fencing project - that it is wasting money, will not really benefit them etc. - and these feelings can be reinforced by lack of clear explanation of objectives, or delays at various stages of implementation. Competent management, consultation, clearly thought-out objectives and fence design, and timely support from outside bodies, are all needed to allay fears.

10.1.2. Local management, funding and labour resources may not be available because they are already committed to another project. Similarly, a neighbouring community whose co-operation is needed for fencing, may be committed elsewhere. The inevitable solution is to wait until other commitments are dealt with. Co-ordinated institutional development may help communities to define priorities.

10.1.3. It may be difficult for rather distantly related communities to collaborate on long drift fences. The role of the DAOs and ADs in helping such cases is very important.

10.1.4. Fencing off the lands from grazing can encourage the overstocking of the grazing area by cattle owners in other communities. Under present management systems it is not possible to enclose the grazing areas. Further study and consultation are needed to seek an answer. Some groups have by-laws enforcing payment from people who graze cattle in "their" area.

10.1.5. Land use conflicts can arise - whose interests are being encouraged by a fencing scheme? Land use and land capability plans are necessary for aware and sensible decisions to be taken. The whole process of group development is needed to implement such decisions.

10.1.6. Financing a fencing project is not always a problem. Though it may be when an area is so remote that crops cannot be marketed in order to repay a loan, or when income levels are low due to FMD or drought, or if some delay causes a lack of confidence in the scheme. Similarly, fence specifications may be so high that the community is unable to raise funds for it, or local conditions boost fence costs (e.g. via transport). Groups need practical guidelines on specifications and training in fencing techniques.

10.1.7. Large enclosures may meet problems in construction. If the fence-line extends far from the settlement of those people who are building help with transport is necessary.

A more difficult problem for large enclosures occurs when rich and poor farmers are close neighbours; it is difficult for the project to meet everyone's needs. The small farmer is at the greatest disadvantage. Those who live well inside the fence may be reluctant to keep their small herds outside the fence, due to labour shortage and a desire for easy access to

milk cattle. Where the explicit aim of a project is to remove all cattle from the lands during the cropping season, the poor farmer may be penalised by by-laws. The difficulty of his cattle having access to grazing may be compounded by some other obstruction, such as a road fence. More careful thinking through of how a fence scheme affects all interests, and better land use planning is necessary. The answer may lie in more but smaller enclosures.

10.1.8. Lack of water in appropriate places and at appropriate seasons may frustrate a fencing project. There is a need for a greater awareness of this at local and government level and for more comprehensive planning of enclosure schemes, incorporating water development when necessary. In some cases water development could even remove the need to fence. Group planning and management skills acquired in fencing could be built on by entrusting the groups with water development.

10.1.9. Poor leadership may hinder fence projects by causing co-operation problems, slowing fund-raising or hindering land allocation. Leadership rivalries can undermine a project. Solutions are long-term. Leaders need to move with the times, or their communities need to become more aware of the type of leadership necessary in the changing environment.

10.1.10. All the problems that have been noted can occur in any combination and can influence each other. Discussion of problems and incorporating solutions to them in the project design, needs to be understood as a process of consultation. This needs to be carried on very thoroughly with all involved. Its effectiveness depends heavily on local leadership and the managerial competence of the group committee.

10.2. <u>What proportion of the local population is participating in the fencing project, what factors are influencing participation, and how can it be improved?</u>

10.2.1. Most projects aim that everyone with lands or cattle in the fence area should participate. Sometimes even non-lands owners are included. Exceptionally only particular groups are involved.

10.2.2. In the absence of detailed information, an accurate picture of the reality cannot be given, but such data as are available indicate that participation (in terms of contribution) is highest in small enclosure projects; that membership of other projects is often nested - a certain proportion of the community belong as members, a proportion of these again are active contributors -; the actual proportion active varies a lot, ranging, in non-drought and FMD-hit areas, from c. 15% to 70%
Regionally, Central Region has the highest overall level of participation.

10.2.3. Committees account for participation problems by referring to the sorts of difficulties already outlined in the discussion of potential problems: lack of confidence in the project, poor leadership, financial difficulties and settlement pattern. Some committees bewail the lack of enforced by-laws for solving participation problems.

10.2.4. Other factors for consideration which influence participation may be:

when the project started, project design, income levels, management and organisational sub-division, level of fees, fence specifications, other commitments, previous experience, support and training, and Government subsidisation policy. These are interrelated and are sometimes difficult to prove.

10.2.5. Most participation problems are problems that can be anticipated. They may be solved by consultation and provided for in the project design and by-laws. This very exercise can be the means of creating awareness of the problems. Training and adult education are needed plus competent, representative and well-supported management.

10.3. How successful are by-laws?

10.3.1. Fencing by-laws provide for failure to pay membership fees, non-participation in labour, actual membership fees, inheritable membership contributions, members who leave the area and newcomers to the area, stealing wire, cutting or otherwise damaging the fence, leaving gates open or damaging gates, disturbing progress, maintenance, area management, and committee procedures.

10.3.2. The record on how well by-laws are kept is very varied. Where they are ignored, it is often put down to poor leadership.

10.3.3. Area management by-laws, i.e. those which relate to the removal o cattle from fenced areas are widely ignored. The reasons for this have been brought out in the discussion on potential problems. Clearly, better leadership is not the solution, it is a question of a more appropriate project design or land use plan.

10.3.4. Most groups do not yet have written by-laws and those that are drafted concentrate more on familiar duties and immediate problems than on long-term strategy. In many cases little thought had been given to the overall implications of the schemes.

10.3.5. More attention should be paid to the drafting of by-laws in the planning stage of the project. It should be related to the consultation process. The local committee should be responsible for seeing this is done and it is therefore important that committee members are truly representative of the community. Established Farmers Committees in Central Region have been successful in this sort of role.

10.4. What is involved in consultation and how can it be achieved?

10.4.1. Consultation involves discussing project objectives with the whole community. Poor consultation may result in many difficulties. Most consultation that has occurred has been external consultation with outside bodies, but the need is for deeper consultation over internal issues. This is rarely achieved.

10.4.2. Internal consultation should be part of formal planning procedure. This is only the case in Central Region. Elsewhere, procedural guidelines tend to be instructions for obtaining the right rubber stamps on the project.

The local community needs to be prepared for consultation by adult education making them aware of the issues. Extension workers and management committees also need special training in order to handle internal consultation.

10.5. What about the overall fencing strategy?

10.5.1. There are 7 possible fence designs for fencing lands areas: the individual fence, the small lands enclosure, the medium lands enclosure, the large lands enclosure, the single drift fence, the double drift fence and the grazing enclosure.

10.5.2. Individual fencing has the advantages of allowing independent decisions, allowing the reserve of winter fodder, and avoiding disputes with neighbouring cattle owners, but the disadvantages of greater cost to the individual and the nation, and of providing no control over the individual's cattle. Group fencing protects the fields of the majority, may allow significant areas to be reserved for winter fodder, controls cattle generally, saves herding, and is less expensive, but if enclosures are large, cattle control can only be assured in mid-season - if then - and it is not possible to reserve fodder for specific categories of stock. The first area in which group fencing has the disadvantage, i.e. in the matter of cattle control, could be tackled by ensuring the herding of whatever cattle are left inside the fence. It need not be a problem also if there are adequate water sources in the grazing area so that farmers who have not ploughed early can easily move their cattle to the grazing area. The second area in which group fencing has the disadvantage, with regard to reserving fodder, can be best tackled when the enclosed area is not too large, so that it is not far from the lands homes to the grazing areas.

In most respects group fencing is better than individual fencing. Individual fencing should only be recommended when it is possible in no other way to ensure early ploughing or reserve of fodder.

There are two other situations where individual fencing can be considered better than group fencing: where there is plenty of water, arable soil and grazing in close juxtaposition, so that individual homesteads can be supported; and where social or political factors make it very difficult for group formation in the short-term.

10.5.3. In order to optimise the possibility of mixed farming for the target group farmers, it is recommended that the trend towards large arable enclaves be halted and that small and medium-sized arable blocks be encouraged. "Fosbrooke hamlets" may be ideal and are attainable in some parts of the country. In densely populated areas where there is a land shortage, other avenues need to be explored - encouraging tractor ownership, use of donkeys for draft, discouraging large farmers from taking land, land registration and the intensification of agricultural techniques. In remote areas it is important to reserve fodder for draft power and ensure access to grazing during ploughing. It may be relevant to fence off grazing rather than lands where farmers wish to manage grazing properly or where there is an almost equal amount of grazing and arable land.

10.5.4. The above strategy may not be the best one. What is important is that a long-term strategy is worked out in order to prevent random growth of fencing which does not take the overall situation into account.

10.5.5. An immediate priority for land use staff should be to scrutinize carefully existing and upcoming projects in the light of the issues that have been raised.

10.6. How does present subsidisation policy work, and how could it be altered to accord with objectives?

10.6.1. A matching grant system (AE.10 and AG.15) is used to subsidise fencing projects, whereby the group provides at least 10% of hardware costs and the remainder is met by Government. There are marked regional differences in the proportion actually contributed by groups. These are influenced by the various ways regions have interpreted the matching grant policy, fence specifications used, the starting-date of projects and the length of the fence. The policy is being operated judiciously in drought/FMD areas, but there are several inconsistencies which need to be dealt with.

10.6.2. A second scheme is the ALDEP loan subsidy programmes, still in its pilot stage. The individual farmer is paid P50 for labour, plus 50% of the hardware costs of fencing 1.4 km with 5 strand barbed-wire. ALDEP is to be open to groups. An (unpublished) proposal is to have a graduated scheme: 60% grant for 3-5 farmers, 70% for 5-8, 80% for 8-10, 90% for over 10. It is not clear why such expensive fence specifications are used, or how the labour grant would be awarded to groups.

10.6.3. If the two subsidisation schemes are run simultaneously it is possible that group contributions will become fixed at only 10%, undermining group development philosophy, and that individual farmers will be encouraged over small groups.

10.6.4. In order to achieve a strategy more consistent with objectives, viz. to encourage groups over individuals, and particularly to encourage small groups, it is recommended:

1. to remove labour grants, or failing this, to at least standardise rates on a per km. basis.
2. to reduce individual grants, e.g. to 25%,
3. to reduce the cost of fencing, either by recommending cheaper specifications or by subsidising prices,
4. to allow up to 4 individuals to use an ALDEP-type package, in a cumulative way,
5. to allow a 50% maximum grant for groups of c. 5-10.
6. to allow a 50% maximum grant for groups of over 10 but applied with increased discretion,
7. to erase the idea that groups need only pay 10% of costs.

Also in order to facilitate faster project implementation.

8. The loan concept could be encouraged.

The policy should be applied with discretion in order to accommodate local conditions. It should not be thought that subsidisation policy is the only way to achieve objectives; a much wider strategy is needed.

10.6.5. It is not suggested that the above policy is necessarily the right one. Further investigation is required, particularly at the micro-level. Deeper discussion is also called for. More attention should be paid to regional ideas, not just to IFPP experience, though regions too need to study the issues more carefully.

10.7. What support should be provided?

10.7.1. It is not always Government that initiates fencing: farmers themselves are trying to tackle the problems which they see. But the issues involved in fencing are so complex that support must aim to help farmers be aware of, and pursue the most desirable long term ideals, not necessarily just their perceived objectives. The details of the design must be worked out very carefully at all levels.

10.7.2. The fundamental effectiveness of a fence is in its design and therefore technical support is crucial. This comprises land use planning and mapping, advice on fence specifications, and co-ordination of further technical assistance such as dam building and borehole development. To date, technical support has often been sadly lacking.

10.7.3. The group development role is to provide organisational assistance to groups. This involves the key areas of leadership, organisation and management, consultation, planning, preparation of by-laws, and overall co-ordination. The development of competent leadership can take a long time, and it may not be realistic to wait for this before proceeding with other aspects of the scheme. Management committees need intensive training in many skills to achieve both short and long-term aims. Mistakes are being made in the country but expertise is also developing. Every situation is not comparable.

10.7.4. Many different specialisms are needed to support the fence group development process, such as land use planning, water development and crop production. It is hard for regional workers to grasp how all these can be guided, so planning of support is very important and the topic needs special attention. Different approaches are taken in different Districts or Regions, in addition to the monthly plans and 3-monthly plans. This reflects the varied availability of regional staff. Manpower resources need to be inventoried, and then extended by reassignment, recruitment and training of extension staff.

Support procedure and monitoring also need pulling together and sharing between Regions. Central Region has some ideas worth consideration.

10.8. What further research is recommended?

It is recommended that the Rural Sociology Unit, the Action Research Unit of Ag.Inf., the Institute of Adult Education and the MLGL Research Unit collaborate along with appropriate technical Divisions and Regional and District staff in further research. Suggested lines of research are to make detailed studies of various types of fence at different stages of development, and also to look into the particular experiences of individual fences within group fences and the case where the distinction between arable and grazing enclosures is unclear, as well as to look closely at the impact of fences on livestock. Central and Southern Regions would be best for studies.

CHAPTER 11: FENCING FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF LIVESTOCK ON COMMUNAL GRAZING.

CHAPTER 11: FENCING FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF LIVESTOCK ON COMMUNAL GRAZING

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11.12. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 11

Chapter 11: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AgInf	Agricultural Information
AI	Artificial Insemination
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO(LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
APO	Animal Production Officer
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
BDA	Bamangwato Development Association
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
BMC	Botswana Meat Commission
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
CAPAD	Communal Area Planning and Development
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CODEC	Co-operative Development Committee
Cttee	Committee
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
DO(L)	District Officer (Lands)
FC	Farmers Committee
GDO	Group Development Officer
HQ	Headquarters
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
ILCA	International Livestock Centre for Africa
KBDT	Kanye Brigades Development Trust
LDP	Livestock Development Project
LPCU	Livestock Project Co-ordinating Unit
LSU	Livestock Unit
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NMS	National Migration Study
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RLB	Rolong Land Board
RLFA	Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
SBDT	Serowe Brigades Development Trust
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VADF	Village Area Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee

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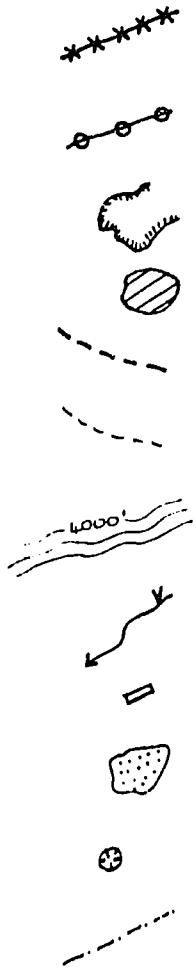
1. Reproduced from the Matsheng Land Use Plan memorandum, 1979
2. Adapted from maps originally produced by DO(L), Barolong: K. Traynor; kindly provided by the Rolong Land Board
3. Author's sketch
4. Photo-reduced from original by AO(LR), Serowe: J. C. A. Hobbs

KEY TO MAPS



project fence line

other fences

approximate boundary of fields

village

road

track or path

contour lines, vertical interval 100'

watercourse

dam wall

dam

pan

district boundary

11.1. INTRODUCTION

"Fencing is difficult and one must plan for it.
I am poor. The Planners should try to exclude my lands".

(Comment at a meeting to discuss proposals for Mogwalae grazing enclosure 18.5.76)

The development of an institutional framework for an improved management system on communal grazing has been the long quest of the Botswana Government and a series of aid efforts. The background history of this was covered in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 the emergence of the group development programme and its gradualist extension approach to this quest was described. The task now is to assess - are we any nearer?

This chapter will take a closer look at the situation, the problems, the experience of various approaches in different situations and then assess what progress has been made.

Firstly it is necessary to elaborate a little on the situation in the communal areas in the context of livestock and grazing management. For a more general background, see Chapter 8.

11.2. COMMUNAL GRAZING - THE SITUATION, ATTITUDES, PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES OF ITS USERS

11.2.1. The situation

The communal grazing areas are sometimes described as a warehouse where stocks of livestock, primarily cattle, are built up and then, when the numbers get uncomfortably large, are shipped out to remoter pastures around privately developed water sources - predominantly the commercial areas since the TGLP.

Since the sandveld started to be conquered through the sinking of boreholes, livestock owners have come to regard moving out of the communal land to this open frontier as a solution to their increasing discomfort as their herds reach a certain threshold number in "the multiplying zone".

Thus we find farmers from along the overcrowded, overgrazed Boteti bravely trekking their cattle up through the vast wastes of the Makgadikgadi a few finding or developing water sources along the way, others reaching the State Land around Phuduhudu and Bushman pits and forming groups as those from Khumaga have at Nxangu where old CDC developed wells can be exploited in areas of plentiful grazing.

We shall see more examples of such adventures in Chapter 13 on commercial area ranch groups.

Groups of small owners, however, represent a very small proportion of those utilizing the private water sources in what are or may become the commercial areas. As was noted in Chapter 8, the point at which the farmers felt it to be worth moving was when they had 70-80 head of cattle. Below that it was not worth the expense of moving a long distance. Thus the real small owners, unless they already live on the margin of the commercial zone, or in the commercial zone, are not easily persuaded to move. A proposed commercial group in the Barolong quickly lost interest when the talk became serious and meetings stopped being attended.

The warehouse attitude nonetheless persists. At Ntlhantlhe, a heavily overstocked locality, farmers thought that groups would form as

owners began "to feel hurt" when their cattle numbers increased. The same outlook was encountered amongst farmers in the Barolong, Malete and southern Kgatleng.

But this warehouse attitude to the communal areas cannot be tenable for many people much longer. In Central District, for example, recent LUPAG proceedings noted with concern that far from being a wide frontier, only two small open areas remained in the western sandveld. One would have to be left free for continued borehole development, there still being considerable pressure from individuals for a last chance to obtain a private allocation. The other area was large enough for only 8 ranch sites to be demarcated and the GDO's concern to reserve even two of these for future AMA groups was considered with reluctance.

In the Bamalete area, farmers look for solutions at the blocks of freehold land on their doorstep. In times of drought, fences are cut and cattle allowed to stray in to these exclusive pastures - a clear demonstration of the problem and of people's attitudes to solving it. At Metsemaswaane and Otse, farmers felt the only solution lay in the purchase of these ranches for tribal use. They considered the requirements of many justified the compensation of a few for what are their individual rights. Interestingly, with the misused example of the Rankoromane tribal ranch beside them, the farmers expressing this solution added the qualification that the use of such purchased commonage should be exclusive. Perhaps experience is bearing some fruit.

Small farmers need communal grazing at their doorstep. For farmers at Metsemaswaane, even Rankoromane, 15 miles away, was too far. They looked towards Kgale.

Even an APRU cell within the communal area may not be of interest to the really small farmer. If he has less than about 40 cattle, a farmer is definitely not keen to rear cattle to sell. The present low input, low cost management system which generally results in a gradual increase in herd size is the rational choice for the individual low income farmer.

The APRU cell, a higher input/cost and more productive system, is for the business-minded. That means, in the opinion of most farmers encountered, for people with between 40 cattle and the higher threshold at which farmers move out to commercial areas.

This corresponds roughly to Cooper's findings about the emergent capitalist transition point.[1] These people have just enough cattle to make a new system worthwhile, but not quite enough to make them want to move away. Owners of this size are not in the majority in the most overstocked areas like the south-east, or even in the Kgatleng. Interest in such schemes starts further west, e.g. Kubung, Monwane, or further north, e.g. Sefhophe, Ntimbale.

Other farmers in the communal areas, broadly defined, who do not find it worth moving to the commercial areas, are the cattlepost owners in the "grey areas". The Tlhagasanong ranching syndicate of 28 members formed in 1975 at the first mention in the TGLP of the possibility of larger stockholders in the communal areas having to move to the commercial western sandveld. They smartly put in their claim to the Ngwato Land Board to stay just where they were keeping their average 50 livestock units with them.

The intention of the Morale group of 17 is the same even though

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(1) David Cooper: How urban workers in Botswana manage their cattle and lands: Selike Pikwe Case Studies: NMS Paper No.4, June 1980, pp.45-46.

their average ownership may be well over 100 lsu. Only one of their members is reported to have further cattleposts elsewhere. They can, where they are and few as they are, maintain, and even aim to further increase their herds in the more conveniently located area they have available.

Much of Central District is like this - except in the vicinity of villages and lands settlements.

Faced with this diversity, the concept of "communal ranching" is perplexing. We are dealing sometimes with owners of 60-100 or more cattle enjoying the virtual exclusive use of the areas of their cattleposts. Not far away, average herd sizes may be down to 15 or 20 with perhaps 100 or more of such herds crammed into a grazing area theoretically capable of carrying a quarter of the stocking rate on it. The approach necessary in these widely different situations has to be different, as will be described below.

11.2.2. Attitudes

A fundamental premise of livestock owners in the communal areas is that grass should not be paid for, and if possible neither should water. Management fees are anathema to the holder of this attitude. If cattle appear to grow and multiply satisfactorily by being allowed to graze free communal pastures and by being watered, all at the minimal cost, relatively speaking that is, of herding, what is the possible attraction of paying management fees let alone the P18-P20 annual cost per beast of being a member of a commercial area group?[2] Where - some Barolong farmers queried - would the small man get such an amount? The cost of developing water, or hiring it in some seasons, is one thing, but calculated costs beyond that of water are still unthinkable to most, even though they may be spending increasing amounts every year, but in a less noticeable way, on tick control and other remedies. These costs are met when cattle condition becomes intolerable to the owner and expenditure imperative. With no understanding of "cash flow" - even where farmers are members of borehole syndicates or have contributed towards dip tanks - these outgoings are a totally different concept from the notion of regular comprehensive fees. Thus many borehold syndicates stagger on from one expensive crisis to the next, every difficulty having to be met afresh and the unpalatable necessity of raising funds discussed.

This rational attitude in a communal situation helps to explain why interest in BLDC's fattening ranches has been so low, and as we shall see below, why there is reluctance to pay the 10t/day fees at Ramatia ranch or the even lower management fees at Mabeleapudi. Grass is there. Only when it is not, as when in drought either the grazing gets finished or water sources dry up first, does there tend to be any interest in fattening camps.

The reason for this minimum input minimum cost approach is of course that cattle are seen as a capital investment rather than as a source of turnover or profit. To the majority of non-business minded owners in the communal areas, they are a source of milk, home consumed meat and draft power. Oxen are retained long beyond their prime slaughter condition, as the draft power input into arable farming which produces the livelihood instead. Cattle are the financial security, the account which can be drawn on if secondary school fees have to be paid, for example.

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(2) This is an example of a rate which farmers in the Barolong objected to, not a figure calculated to represent the actual cost of commercial ranching.

Few of the "target group" low-income rural families have yet had reason to see or think otherwise. Even most of the large owners of Central District, for example, are the same though at a different level.

Attitudes seem to be less traditional where farmers have either seen demonstrated and felt influenced by the management system and economy of the freehold farms, or have begun to really feel "hurt" by the conditions in their part of the communal area from which there is no escape. The hopeful pioneers at Tsetsejwe in 1973-74 were examples of the former, as probably are many of the members of ranch groups now in the south, and in Francistown, whilst farmers in areas like Metsemaswaane, Mmamaereng, Mmankgodi and the Barolong are those feeling the pinch.

In Metsemaswaane farmers spoke of reducing the chronic overstocking, of selling rather than allowing grazing to get finished, and of building better houses and educating their children. There was awareness here, at Mmamaereng, at Otse, at Mmankgodi and in the Barolong, of the potential advantages of having grazing areas specific to particular people and their lands.

It is possible that the recent drought conditions may have freshly sharpened people's awareness.

But, for all the spoken opinions, as we have noted, nowhere in the most overcrowded south-eastern part of the country has there been interest shown in the "bait" offered by APRU of being able to grow fat cattle for sale in 2-3 years - for a management fee - even though there is no doubt that it is economically profitable. And in the Barolong, farmers with the opportunity to develop grazing enclosures decided not to, as soon as talk of stock control was heard.

Before such proposals are likely to be acceptable, farmers have to be convinced that they will be better off cutting their herd sizes by a factor of 3 or 4 in some areas in order to manage the remainder, by a more expensive system, and to have to sell the products of that system in order to pay for its cost and not overcrowd the grazing again. Instead, farmers have to feel convinced that there is a better alternative way to invest the balance.

Basically, there is as yet no extension message or financial investment advice convincing enough to persuade farmers of the wisdom of this course of action, particularly when each farmer can see next to him another with more cattle than he has.

APRU is well aware of this. The problem is to understand in what terms livestock productivity is perceived and measured by the farmer. In terms of beef production there is no doubt that productivity can be doubled if stocking rates are reduced to acceptable levels and managed well (which allows stocking rates higher than carrying capacities of grazing under unmanaged conditions). The biggest single factor is reproductive performance - a calf every second year being the average possible under present communal conditions. Productivity in these terms is on a downward trend in the overstocked areas. But farmers are not aware of overstocking - even if they are aware of lack of grazing. This leads to the question as to whether, from the farmer's viewpoint, in his terms, the situation is in fact quite stable, even though it is at a low input/output level in terms of beef.

APRU are aware that a few litres of milk and access to draft power in order to plough are part of the contribution to a small farming household's income. It is possible that the communal grazing can carry on at its present precarious level, supporting a certain overall production per hectare, not just of beef but of milk, and of what is produced

indirectly through arable and at the same time support everyone's savings with interest.

Research which has in the past concentrated on beef production may not convince the communal area farmer until it can report on the effect for example of grazing condition, different supplementary feeds, or other management and husbandry practices on the different outputs which farmers are interested in. And at the same time, some more attractive form of investment or income earning opportunity has to be demonstrated as an alternative.

Finally, if changed attitudes are to be translated into actions, an organisational solution is required.

APRU livestock and grazing researchers and IFPP technicians are working together in an increasing awareness that in the communal areas the farmer's combination of enterprises and alternatives needs to be approached as a whole management system delicately balanced within the resources of the communal environment. A project or package of improved methods recommended to increase productivity in one enterprise may cause problems elsewhere in the system.

Thus, in the context of an overcrowded situation where the motley classes of livestock represent real value of one kind or another to their owners, and somehow continue to survive from year to year at very little direct expense, the idea of introducing a fenced APRU cell for fattening weaners in two years is not popular. It is not just because of the management fee which covers pumping water, supplementary feed, medications, vaccines, labour and repairs and maintenance of fences and the engine - even though these fees would be more than covered by increased productivity within the cell.

It is because increased beef productivity within the cell worsens the situation outside the cell, and is not an objective anyway at present as farmers find they can secure what seems to them to be a steady livelihood by a combination of the way they always have together with easier alternative options (like earning a wage in town or depending on a relative who is).

It is very necessary, as we look in more detail at the little experience of the last few years in fenced management of livestock on communal grazing, to be aware of this background.

The attitude or perception of the farmer is reflected in the authorities and in the extension worker himself. Thus the Tawana Land Board - in its attitude one of the most progressive in the country, was still in 1980 under the impression, until advised to the contrary, that fencing was only for the commercial areas. The Ngwato Land Board has been known to take it a stage further - that commercial ranching is essentially an individual prerogative. Ranching is business for the business-minded for which a certain level of operation is required. Only the big owners are assumed to fall in that category. The communal areas conversely are full of small owners who are not business minded (in beef ranching).

The APRU communal cell is the first attempt at research in the communal areas to begin to look more closely at the balance or level of the present communal grazing system and how its productivity, measured in beef (still) can be raised. In the course of doing this, with people's cattle in real communal conditions, more is hoped to be learned about people's attitudes and about organisational problems.

11.2.3. Farmer defined problems and objectives

In this investigation two sorts of problems of communal grazing

were defined by farmers. These were:

(i) overstocking - almost always of mixed shared grazing areas

(ii) lack of water (usually in relation to being able to escape the overstocked areas).

Awareness of overstocking

When farmers complain of shortage of grazing and use the verb 'phitlhaganya' to describe how crowded or congested cattle are, particularly if within a small area, it can be concluded that the connection between overstocking and overgrazing is seen.

The farmers spoken with in this study were mainly members of groups doing something. The awareness they displayed cannot therefore be taken necessarily as a guide to that of farmers in general. In the Kgatleng for example, Aglnf's Action Research study commissioned in order to discover what lay behind farmer attitudes in the river villages to the APRU cell, found that although 85% of the farmers interviewed were aware that overgrazing was a problem in the area only 16% gave the cause as overstocking.

In this study it was found that the concern of members of groups at Metsemaswaane, Mmamaereng, Ntlhantlhe, Kopong, Mmankgodi, and Gomokoto was that their grazing areas were shared and their cattle crowded in with those of other communities. They saw the danger of fencing the grazing (from the lands) leading to more overcrowding. The Rolong Land Board explained that farmers feared the grazing enclosures would turn into an uncontrolled "dumping ground".

Objective - establishing boundaries for more exclusive grazing use

In reaction to the overstocking problems in these shared grazing situations, farmers' objectives were for more exclusive use of a grazing area. We have noted in 11.2.1. that farmers groups in parts of Malete adjacent to freehold farms saw their deliverance only in the purchase of the farms with Government assistance for their exclusive use. This was only seen as a solution by farmers for whom the freehold was literally next door. Even a little more distance from the freehold - like at Mmamaereng, and certainly in the overcrowded mixed areas further afield, farmers could not be so interested in the opening up of more tribal land if it was not on their doorstep since proximity to communal grazing is the small farmer's need. Their concern was more to try to clarify the extent of their adjacent grazing and who they shared it with and achieve thereby a measure of exclusiveness. Several of the drift fence groups (see Chapter 9) saw a way towards this through the membership system. Only those who had paid up fully would be allowed access for their cattle to the grazing.

The Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association, as we shall see below, has it in mind to control the use of the grazing in the free-for-all Rankoromane ranch (a purchased freehold extension to the Malete communal grazing) by preventing non participants in the repair of the dip tank, first, and possibly water sources and fences later from the use of these facilities. In this the RLFA has the support of both the Otse and Ramotswa (i.e. whole Bamalete) chiefs who are both members. Mmamaereng farmers could give a fairly clear picture of which grazing areas in Malete were used by which lands communities. Ntlhantlhe fence group members, whilst complaining of the sharing of their grazing hills with Mogobane, Mogonnye and Ramohwa people, feared that to subdivide the grazing would reduce their freedom of grazing or mobility - a fear which prompts one to think of having one's cake and eating it. In the Barolong, reference to appendix table 9.11

shows that at least 8 of the 15 grazing enclosure groups recorded by the Rolong Land Board have come to terms with the reality of sharing the patches of grazing available. Reference to map (page 153) illustrates why. At Mogwalale one farmer commented in 1976:

> "I understand and accept the plan but I am poor and may not be able to pay for the fence. I like the idea of grouping the Barolong and Bangwaketse".

It seems only through coming to terms with reality in this way that the shared grazing problems may eventually be solved. This is not to make light of the potential problems involved. They are complex and many. At Metsemaswaane, as in many other similar sized and located communities, there is no recognised headman. Cases of every kind have to be resolved in 'kgotla' at Ramotswa if farmers on a neighbourly basis cannot agree locally.

We shall return to this subject in discussing "total" area systems below with a more thorough analysis of the problems of these and other situations.

Water Development to open access to understocked grazing

A number of proposed and actual communal grazing "management" projects are really to do with little more than water development. Examples to be discussed below in more detail include Tlhagasanong, Nxangu and other groups from Motopi and Moreomaoto who have moved to wells near Bushman pits and most of the groups or areas where any interest has been shown in APRU cells - Mogwalale, Manwane, Kubung, Sefhophe and even Ntimbale where an important effect of the cell as at Sefhophe will be to open up grazing which was formerly only accessible seasonally.

Many of the proposed Barolong grazing enclosure projects mention water development as a main initial goal. Farmers at Mmathethe also stressed that although they were interested in many developments in livestock management and husbandry, water would have to come first.

> "After water, other needs follow - looking after cattle. At present we can only even work together on the fence in the rainy season; when water dries up people scatter and there is no progress." 3

This is a fundamental fact across most of the country which will be more fully appreciable as water development is studied (see Chapter 14). Water development in most areas is the key to successfully embarking on anything else under present conditions. The reason is that whilst many grazing areas are locally devastated, not far away under-utilised grazing exists. Farmers are very aware that the development of more permanent reliable water sources provides access to such areas presently restricted to seasonal use and often, as we saw in Chapter 9, further from the lands where cattle are presently causing crop damage.

11.2.4. Farmer interest in improved livestock management and husbandry

Whilst the main expressed concern of most farmers in the communal areas is for adequate grazing and water for their livestock, to what extent is there interest in other aspects of improved management? On the assumption that members of groups, having built fences, dams or sprayraces etc. would be likely to be more aware of wider longer term objectives, they

(3) Mmathethe meeting 13.3.80.

were asked where appropriate what these might be. The following are some examples of the sort of plans or ideas different groups had in mind.

Metsemaswaane (Malete)

- better bulls
- AI or train an inseminator
- castrate poor bulls

Gamokoto (Barolong)

- 4 paddocks: cattle to graze first, donkeys to follow,
- good management like on freehold farms

Nxangu (Makgadikgadi)

(- water number one)
(- to stop other cattle using the grazing)
(- to protect cattle from wildlife)
- to be able to rotate grazing in drought years

Tlhagasanong

- importing bulls for stock improvement
- water reticulation and additional development to rationalise its distribution
- fencing of paddocks

Sefhophe (uses of APRU cell)

- to fatten follies for sale
- to fatten heifers and keep them free from bulls, and stop them straying so that they could be sent to AI (problem - very far)
- expansion into an AI camp or fattening ranch

Macha fence

- tick control and dosing (but problem is that water supplies are private - has to be solved first)
- camps for bulls and weaners
- important to keep bulls in a camp as they are very expensive and just roam the bush at present.

Barolong grazing enclosure project planned developments
(Answers to question in Rolong Land Board application form.
Qu.9. "What developments does the group propose to make to the area - fencing, water, equipment etc.?")

These are given in detail for each project in Appendix table 9.11. Here is a summary of the types of development proposed:

- borehole, dams,
- water reticulation to paddocks
- fenced paddocks
- bulls, breed selection
- rotational grazing - from grazing (8 months) to lands (4 months)
- rotational grazing within camps
- supplementary feeding
- tick control

- dip tank
- kraals
- disease control
- 24 hour grazing to avoid need for herdboys
- access gates/passages between lands and grazing and water points
- removal (reallocation) of lands within grazing or their fencing off.

We shall see in the remainder of this chapter how far farmers in different parts of the communal areas have got with their ideas on improved management.

In all parts of the country farmers already have some resources. A glance at the data on the Barolong enclosures (Appendix 9.11) illustrates this - there is usually a borehole, a dam or two, a haffir, some pans, possibly a veterinary crush or even a stretch of fencing along a border with a freehold camp for example. At Tlhagasanong the farmers collectively had the opportunity to rationalise water distribution and develop more for their overall benefit. They have so far failed. Groups all over the country as we shall see in later chapters, are succeeding in developing various facilities and infrastructure - from dams and firebreaks to dip tanks.

Does this represent some meaningful sequence? Some of the Barolong grazing groups remain ideas on paper. Others, though wary of fencing and the idea of stock controls, are taking advantage of their grazing area allocation by taking some initial steps - firstly a smallstock dip and foot path, then a spray race, or firstly a water reservoir.

At Thabala in the wake of the collapse of the first Range and Livestock Management Project through which Government failed to implement, as we shall see below, either a partial or a total approach to development of their communal area, the farmers through strong leadership and support have tackled one problem after another themselves. But even there, with a strong Farmers Committee and headman, a co-operative Councillor and much group experience behind them, the community is as yet unready to move on to partial open grazing developments (bull and weaner camps, fattening camp). These developments are objectives, but are still a long way off. The community has not the management capacity in terms of manpower to tackle too much at once, and they know it.

This then is what to be aware of as we study the experience in more depth below. As Government prepares possibly to rush into Sefhophe and build an APRU communal cell, let us recall the perceptions of a group of old men there.

Sefhophe 'kgotla'; group of old men - 22nd April 1980.

"We are not refusing. The people have agreed it should be done. We have accepted the idea of sending our young stock straight to the BMC to get the best price. We hope we will learn from it and practise the management practices outside, though we need a larger enclosure for that...

"Our problem here is water. We have lands and we need to stop cattle getting in. We need a fencing project but our efforts are hampered by drought and foot and mouth. We want help to fence our lands.

"We need dams or other water in the cattlepost areas to stop cattle straying towards the lands and the village where our only

wells and dams are. The dam is right on the edge of the lands. We will leave it outside the fence.

"Water is the worst problem. In the APRU cell there will be water, there should be a dam and a borehole so that in the rainy time the borehole is not needed.

"Ticks are a bad problem. Ten of us in the cattlepost area are at the beginning stage on a dip tank.

"We cannot do more than one project at a time. Now that this project has come from Gaborone we are just looking to this ("re lebile yone fela") When will it be done? We are not thinking of anything else".

One of the farmers emphatically ended with stressing that water was their main need. He said

"Ke eme gone foo", meaning "I stop there",and he did.

11.3. THE CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNAL GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS*

11.3.1. Introduction

To review progress towards communal area range and livestock management it is important to be aware that the search for solutions has been continuing for some time. The historical analysis of Chapter 5 provides the background to this chapter and is essential reading for the events of the past five or so years to be put in perspective. In particular, reference is made to paragraph 5.11 which summarises Government's 1973 policy conclusions on the recommendations of the Chambers and Feldman "Report on Rural Development".

In order to understand what has happened since then, the meaning of the experiences Botswana has had in this field and draw some lessons from them there is no better starting point than to take a closer look at what Chambers and Feldman saw as the possibilities and dangers ahead, but in particular at how they classified different situations and alternative approaches.

The remainder of this chapter will be structured largely on their 1973 classification, partly because it is so logical and partly in the hope that doing so may encourage further reading of that report.

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* It is regretted that in the Appendix 9 tables, projects are not listed under the classification developed in section 11.3.4. (see table 11(i)). However, examples of the projects classified by this system are provided in 11.3.4.

R11/1: A RECOMMENDATION OF THIS REPORT IS IN FACT THAT DAFS ASSIGN RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELEVANT SECTIONS OF CHAMBERS' AND FEIDMAN'S REPORT TO BE REPRODUCED FOR DISTRIBUTION TO FIELD STAFF AND THAT THE CONCEPTS BE DISCUSSED IN WORKSHOPS OF THE APPROPRIATE SUPPORT STAFF AND AT SEMINARS AND FIELD STAFF MEETINGS SO THAT STAFF (NOT ONLY IN DAFS) HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THEY ARE INVOLVED WITH.
More use should be made of major reports on which rural development strategy and policy are based. There is a lack of reference to these works as resource material in training - formal or informal.

11.3.2. Chambers' and Feldman's classification of organisation for the control of communal grazing

The following is a resume of what Chambers and Feldman wrote in section 71 of their 1973 Report.

71.14. "In discussing existing and proposed organisations, two distinctions can be made: first, according to whether they (the organisations) involve part or all of the communal land to which members of the community reasonably have access; and second, whether all or only some members of the community have access to the lands".

Systems of organisation can thus be partial or total, and open or closed

- a partial system is one involving only part of the communal land to which members of a community reasonably have access.
- a total system is one involving all the communal land to which members of a community reasonably have access.
- an open system is one which continues to allow any member of the community to participate.
- a closed system is one which allows participation only to those members of the community who were involved at an early stage

Total systems must by definition be open to all members of the community and closed to outsiders.

We are left therefore with three categories:

- partial open
- partial closed
- total

These three classifications can be studied more closely in terms of their advantages and disadvantages, and where they are appropriate or otherwise.

PARTIAL OPEN systems
- part of the communal area
- open to anyone from that area

Advantages
- there is the sanction of exclusion from membership so legislation is less essential,
- no limitation on a person's total stock holding is necessarily implied (only numbers entered are counted) - politically palatable
- democratic and persuasive procedures appropriate for voluntary organisations can be followed.

Disadvantages
- smaller geographical area - holds fewer livestock
- poorer people may be those preferring not to participate, so do not benefit in the short run
- it can displace stock formerly using the area and therefore increase pressure outside
- access to the area may tend to become exclusive to those participating at the start unless carefully controlled

PARTIAL CLOSED systems
- part of the communal area
- closed to anyone other than those involved at the start.

Advantages (unlikely in practice)
- may draw off larger owners and relieve pressure on the rest of the communal area

Disadvantages
- limit future choices for land use
- limit future upward mobility
- squeeze the smaller owners in the heavily populated areas

TOTAL SYSTEMS

- the whole communal area to which members of the community reasonably have access - total, and therefore by definition open.

Advantages
- larger area, larger stock numbers, larger communities and hence economies of scale likely
- a stable comprehensive solution if successful from the stocking rate/carrying capacity aspect
- allows concentration of administrative attention on one relatively large geographical area

Disadvantages are serious
- requires great care in ensuring (supervising) democratic procedures to enable all members of the community to exercise control, agree to the system and organise management - since their whole resources are involved.
- legislation is required since the sanction of expulsion cannot be applied to someone in his own community who breaks the rules
- the very difficult problem of setting stock quotas for individuals may have to be confronted at an early stage.
- smallstock have to be incorporated into any grazing system (especially for the poor)
- it is easy for management to slip into an authoritarian approach leading to
  - evasion
  - lack of co-operation
  - resentment

  which themselves may result in
  - apathy
  - dependency
  - political expression
  - failure
- high administrative costs

11.3.3. Situations appropriate for total, partial, open or closed approaches

Chambers and Feldman recommended different approaches for different circumstances as follows:

Land relatively abundant

(i) - a sequential approach
(ii) - partial open systems of organisation

If the systems work well demand will be generated for more and through a demonstration effect, if public opinion is favourable, a total system could ultimately result.

Advantages - gradual permissive approach
- slow learning from experience

Danger - exploitation by the better off of the partial open system could reduce access to resources for the rest of the community.

In areas of land scarcity and pressure

- there will be resistance to partial systems (even if open) because they sharply reduce land remaining for communal grazing
- therefore a total approach is the only possible.

(i) there has to be a land use plan
(ii) guard against total system really becoming a partial closed system if one section in the name of the community as a whole obtains exclusive rights to pasture.

11.3.4. The use of the total, partial, open, closed classification system, with examples

For the purpose of the analysis of experience with communal grazing and livestock management systems, the three alternatives - total, partial open, partial closed will be modified slightly into five categories - A, B, C, D and E, according additionally to the stated purpose or objectives of the systems.

Sometimes the real immediate objective is not the same as the stated purpose. We have already seen examples of this earlier in this chapter. It may just be water development initially, or to protect cattle from wild animals or prevent them straying or damaging crops. We shall see later that in many cases prospective ranching groups baulked at what had been their original stated purpose when what was involved in ranching became apparent. In the case of the Barolong grazing enclosures, for example, members were not prepared to accept the consequences of adhering to a correct stocking rate. They did not anticipate what was an inevitable concomitant of fencing under the TGLP. A matter of unrealistic objectives, lack of awareness or a "potential problem" if correct stocking rates can be termed that way.

With this in mind the five purpose-related systems are as follows:

TABLE 11(i): A CLASSIFICATION OF SYSTEMS OF ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNAL AREA MANAGEMENT

DESCRIPTION			PURPOSE	TYPE
1. TOTAL (area wide grazing enclosures)	OPEN (anyone from area eligible for membership)		Introduction of a complete area manag~~ement~~ system	= A
2. PARTIAL (part of area enclosed)	(a) OPEN		(i) FULL SCALE DEVELOPMENT (of multi-purpose ranch management system)	= B
			(ii) LIMITED DEVELOPMENT (incremental approach of specific purpose camps)	= C
	(b) CLOSED (only those involved from the start are members)	(i)	FULL-SCALE DEVELOPMENT	= D
		(ii)	LIMITED DEVELOPMENT	= E

When classifying particular projects the distinction between total and partial situations is sometimes ambiguous. Is Tlhagasanong, a cattlepost area 20 km. north east of Kgagodi, a whole communal grazing area in itself, or part of a communal area based on Kgagodi? Many cattlepost areas are in this situation. Many, as noted in Chapter 8, are part of the communal area of several different communities if they are not defined as communities and areas in themselves. The Kgophathate area consists of cattleposts of people from seven different villages (see 15.7.1. and Appendix 4.6.)

This is part of the land use planning zoning problem which certain districts (Central particularly) have not yet been able to clarify. Much more land use and demographic information is needed for a land use plan to be able to decide on such zoning questions. In other words, who "reasonably has access" to these areas, and more importantly - who should in the future?

This is basically the issue at Morale. If it is a partial development, then should it be open or closed bearing in mind that the area is on the doorstep not only of large and expanding lands areas, but also, as Central Region's AO(LR) points out in his report on the area[4], is surrounded by further overcrowded communal grazing. The future needs of what he describes as these "peripheral" cattle owners must not be forgotten. The Morale group clearly intend their system for the area to be closed.

(4) "Morale Land Use Conflict"; report to LUPAG by AO(LR) Serowe; May 1980.

With these distinctions in mind, some examples can be given of each type:

A
Examples
- Barolong grazing enclosures
- the late 1975 comprehensive proposal for the RLMP at Thabala
- 1979 range ecology proposals for Western Malete (South East District)
- the Matsheng land use plan

B
Examples
- BDA ranch, Radrisele
- Masama ranch, Kgatleng
- Serowe & District Small Producers Livestock Co-op (Mabeleapudi ranch)
- Ramatia ranch, Kanye
- Rankaromane ranch, Malete (if developed as RLFA proposes)

C
Examples
- proposed bull, weaner, fattening camps at Thabala
- proposed similar development at Lerala (very tentative)
- APRU cells if AMA constitution keeps membership open

D
Examples
- proposed camps at Nxangu (very tentative)
- Marapong)
- Tutume) all defunct groups from 1976
- unnamed)
- Tlhagasanong
- Morale

NOTE: Commercial ranch groups and these groups are similar and mobility occurs between the two. Commercial ranch groups often originate as and from neighbour based communal situations. Some syndicates move to the commercial zone; others become zoned commercial. The Nxangu area group might almost better be described as a commercial zone group except that it is currently on State land.

E
Examples
- Chibangabiya'Mogau'fence group
- APRU cells if the AMA organisation in practice allows membership to become closed

The above and other examples of experience with these different organisational systems will be studied in the remainder of this chapter. It should be noted that whereas Chambers and Feldman included Government demonstration ranches, and BLDC fattening ranches also fall, for example, in the partial open category. These examples are not included in this analysis. We are concerned only with group managed projects.

Dairy projects are all partial schemes. Some are closed, e.g. Thamalakane, and others like the Mmadinare Co-op dairy ranch are open. These will be studied separately in the next chapter on dairying, although they provide lessons for types B and D.

11.4. STATUS OF PROJECTS TO DATE

Before reviewing the experience of the different types of project as classified above according to their purpose or objectives, land use and membership, the current status of projects across the country is a useful way to describe initially what is happening. The projects, full details for which are reproduced in Appendix 9 can be categorised as

- built and in operation
- under construction
- planned or proposed
- never made it

TABLE 11 (ii): STATUS OF COMMUNAL FENCED GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT PROJECTS

1. BUILT AND IN OPERATION

Project	Region	Type	Management
Mabeleapudi	Central	B	SBDT (in practice)
BDA/Radisele	Central	B	Caretaker Committee/? MoA takeover imminent
Masama	Gaborone	B	APRU/Tribal Committee
Rankaromane	Gaborone	B	Tribe/RLFA
Ramatia	Southern	B	KBDT

2. UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Thamalakane	Maun	Dairy D	AMA Committee (next chapter)
Ntimbale	F'town	C	APRU/AMA committee
Mmadinare	Central	Dairy B	Co-op (next chapter)

3. PLANNED OR PROPOSED

Project	Region	Type	Notes
Nxangu	Maun	D	
Chibangabiya	F'town	E	
Sefhophe	Central	C	APRU cell
Tlhagasanong	Central	D	
Thabala	Central	C	
Morale	Central	D	
Lerala	Central	C	Very tentative
Barolong grazing enclosures	Southern	A	
The Matsheng Land use plan		A	
W. Malete proposals		A	Very tentative

TABLE 11 (ii) continued

4. NEVER MADE IT

Project	Region	Type	Notes
Kachican enclave	Maun	? A	? what happened to this early TGLP initiative
Marapong	F'town	probably D	
Tutume	"	"	
unnamed	"	"	
Tsetsejwe	Central	A	(RLMP)
Thabala	Central	A	"
Morupule	Central	Dairy D	(next chapter)
Molapowadipitse	"	"	" "

Table 11(ii) immediately puts the discussion of fenced communal grazing projects into a perspective. There is still precious little experience to learn from, of implemented communal schemes. Even of the few that are physically there, two effectively are managed by Brigades Development Trusts, one by APRU, and the management of another currently reported to be bankrupt may imminently be taken over by Government. There are other ranches not mentioned in the above table now run by Government though originally developed by the tribes, e.g. Leupane and Goodhope.

Conversely the only "ranches" communally owned by tribes and not currently managed by Government or another development agency are the former freehold ranches purchased for communal use of the Bamalete and Batlokwa. None of them is managed. Only the Rankoromane ranch has been mentioned, as a group called the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association (RLFA) have formed with the long term aim of trying to restore this presently devastated extension to the Bamalete communal grazing to a properly managed state.

Apart from these examples, we are discussing in this chapter developments which did not happen, or developments proposed or planned, or in just one case (Ntimbale) a development which is about to happen.

11.5. THE EXPERIENCE WITH TYPE "A" - TOTAL SCHEMES

11.5.1. The goal

Chambers and Feldman defined this system of organisation as involving the whole communal grazing area to which members of the community reasonably have access, and by implication being open and through democratic management procedures involving everybody.

Ultimately this is the goal for the entire communal area zone everywhere. In parts of the country with relatively abundant land, Chambers and Feldman saw this goal being most effectively approached through a sequence of partial open developments (types B and C) until gradually and as a result of experience learned the entire communal area was managed under such systems with everybody involved.

In areas of land pressure total schemes were seen as the only possible approach because of partial approach, although bringing part of the total area under an improved management system would tend to aggravate the situation in the remaining land outside.

In 11.4 above we saw that nowhere in the country has a total system been successfully implemented. In this section we must take a look at the various plans and attempts that have been made. These include:

(i) the RLMP approach at Thabala and Tsetsejwe
(ii) the Matsheng Land Use Plan
(iii) the Barolong grazing enclosures
(iv) proposals for Western Malete (South East District)

After seeing how close each of the above approached a total solution, we shall then turn to some drift fences and assess their potential despite the absence so far of comprehensive land use planning. Finally, we shall observe the link between those efforts and the experience of partial schemes like the Rankoromane ranch - is this an example of what a grazing enclosure could become?

11.5.2. The Range and Livestock Management Project (1973)

An account of what happened with the first RLMP was given in Chapter 5. Here we shall look a little more closely at this experience in terms of the classification and approach recommended by Chambers and Feldman. At the outset it is important to state that at no point during the planning or consultation were Chambers' and Feldman's guidelines referred to. It is probable even that the RLMP team were unaware of the Chambers and Feldman report. It is certainly true that in late 1974 the RLMP team were unaware of the preparation of the TGLP.[5] Probably only the then Rural Sociologist was fully conversant with the Chambers and Feldman recommendations. Extension staff (including the author as the then RAO in Serowe) were not.

The most comprehensive account of the progress of RLMP at Thabala and Tsetsejwe is documented in a 32 page report "Strategy for Group Formation - Central Region" by RAO Central dated 24 October 1976.

As so much detail of value to this analysis is contained in the October 1976 report, the full text is copied for reference in Appendix 25.

The RLMP at Thabala

Thabala, according to the Rural Sociologist's special survey in 1975 for RLMP, had a total population of 1400 people, or 201 households in the village and nine main lands areas. Of these 201 households, 100 did not own any cattle, and only 12 households owned over 60 head. In terms of the original RLMP memorandum, the area ideally suited the third category pilot ranch site - i.e. a communal area where arable farming was a more important activity than the keeping of livestock.

In grappling with this situation, as reference to the case study in Appendix 25 shows, a series of approaches and proposals were made between March 1975 and the following year. It is useful to classify them.

(i) the Rural Sociologist's total approach

The then Rural Sociologist (Seager) saw the Thabala project more in a "total" approach although in his conclusion he suggested "that Thabala might be suitable for a partial development at the different lands areas".

(5) a personal recollection

He saw the need for a more comprehensive system than "a purely beef-oriented project". This was because the community was "largely dependent upon arable agriculture for its livelihood" (para. 9). "Any scheme", he continued in para. 10 "which does not take into account the arable needs of the community is likely to meet the opposition of the majority". He observed that this may not occur in the discussion stages if the population does not fully understand the wider implications of any proposed project, but "would be likely to occur in the implementation phase". He also had in mind the possible effects of commercialisation of cattle production for beef on the majority of the population dependent on livestock sharing systems for their draft power needs.

(ii) the RLMP initial approach - a partial open beef ranch

The RLMP team after six months of survey trips proposed to set up a beef ranch in the Sandveld west of the Thabala communal area. It was to be a full scale ranch - breeding as well as fattening.

Interest in this proposal initially came from 25 cattle owners. The number interested grew to 45 after further explanation that the ranch was to be open even to small owners.

(iii) Open even to non livestock owners

The next proposal was that the same ranch should be open to membership to the entire community whether or not they had cattle. Everyone would have shares in the ranch and non stock holders would be compensated by those who did put stock onto the ranch for the use of their shares. This was an interpretation of the "communal co-operative" organisation which was, incidentally, disowned by CODEC, but was popular with the people and the entire village "applied" in a hurriedly arranged exercise in the 'kgotla' giving details of their stock ownership. Of the total applications 71 people proposed to enter some stock onto the ranch.

(iv) the "total" scheme

Despite the large interest worked up towards the partial open ranch, local extension staff and the Rural Sociologist sensed that it did not represent a comprehensive enough solution for Thabala. A further consultation tour was undertaken after noticing that interest in the ranch appeared to be concentrated around a few particular parts of the communal area. Why not have development there in the communal area rather than outside it?

At this point it should be noted that from the start there had occasionally been discussion of a "wider" scheme. It had been seen as an alternative to a fully developed and organised co-operative type ranch which could only be started in a part of the total area. At the very beginning in March 1975 the concerns expressed by the community had been

(i) the cost of a full scale ranching scheme
(ii) that grazing land should remain truly communal and that care was needed in planning "the interrelationship between lands and grazing areas, the need for draft oxen, milking cows etc."

Talk at an early stage was of fencing lands, reticulating water to improve its distribution in the grazing, improving livestock management and controlling livestock numbers.

The fourth proposed scheme incorporated the peoples' ideas. Lands areas would be enclosure fenced. In the communal grazing water development was planned. The RLMP livestock production specialist attempted to

cost the more comprehensive scheme concluding that each family would be required to pay P46 per year for 20 years for the comprehensive scheme. The sandveld ranch in addition would have cost the 71 members P13,000 per year for 20 years if recurrent costs of P9600 were included as well as capital repayment - a "management fee" of P7 per lsu per annum for the 1800 lsu involved.

Comments

1. In terms of organisational system, RLMP at Thabala proposed schemes which ranged from initially what might have been partial closed (D), to partial open (B) and ultimately a combination of B and developments based on a more comprehensive approach to the area which nearly represented an A or total scheme.

2. Resistance to the partial development came from local extension staff and the Rural Sociologist who in view of the nature of the Thabala community and their interpretation of TGLP and the role of RLMP in developing solutions for the communal areas, considered a partial approach inadequate.

3. The community were prepared to accept the partial beef ranch development. Their concerns as a community were wider however. On the 7th November 1975 in 'kgotla', after a discussion on the comprehensive scheme, they said

> "yes, that is the sort of scheme we want, together with the sandveld ranch for those interested in beef production - go away and work out exactly how it can be done and then come back to us."

4. The RLMP team certainly wanted both to be done and did their best to calculate what it would involve. However, their expertise was limited to the specialist areas of range and livestock management. At this time IFPP was still being developed, there was no Crops Division and the Department of Agricultural Field Services had not yet come into existence. Essentially what this meant was that the Ministry was ill equipped to plan and implement a total approach.

Conclusion

There are numerous lessons to be gained from the Thabala case study. The most significant from the point of view of this analysis is that the RLMP team were prepared to attempt a type "B" approach at Thabala - aprtial open development. This was the approach recommended by Chambers and Feldman for areas where land is relatively abundant (see earlier 11.3.3.)

Whether or not RLMP would have been able to implement a "B" approach at Thabala is another question. We shall see below that experience with "B" schemes elsewhere is not heartening. Also RLMP failed with a "D" approach at Selebalo - an approach and a situation very much less complicated than could have been expected at Thabala. However, at Selebalo there was much less in the way of locally based extension support. Thabala had an active FC, strong leadership and plenty of local support.

One thing is very clear, however, and that is that the Chambers and Feldman guidelines were at no point brought out for reference, or used to vindicate the pursuit of the "B", partial open approach. Inexperience at the local extension level met with what was felt to be a preconceived beef ranching orientation in the RLMP team and at no level in Government did there appear to be any clearer strategy or guideline.

Seen in this light the lack of further progress is readily understandable. If readers refer back to section 11.3.2. above, the advantages, but also the potential problems inherent in pursuing type A or B systems, were foreseen by Chambers and Feldman, and in 11.3.3. conclusions were drawn on the type of situation where different approaches are appropriate.

The RLMP at Tsetsejwe

The situation and experience at Tsetwejwe is also described in the separate case study report in Appendix 25.

The facts most pertinent to our analysis here are summarised as follows:

(i) the original small kinship related group wanted a type D partial closed ranch. This was before TGLP. Their initiative was discouraged - the reason given being that such exclusive grazing rights could not be permitted in communal areas.

(ii) the Tsetsejwe people were told, in effect, that any development in the communal areas had to be total. The whole community was encouraged to develop a communal ranch and this total approach was launched as part of the political TGLP campaign in August 1975.

(iii) 300 applications were received for the RLMP covering the entire communal area of Tsetsejwe - a large area. It was decided the total approach would have to be phased. The selection board therefore, on RLMP team advice, narrowed it down to taking the whole north western segment of the communal area - about a quarter to a third of the total. It was 32,000 hectares in size. It included the cattlepost area of the original small interested group. Altogether 84 of the applications were accepted for membership. Present occupancy of land was recognised - the project area was "simply the area in which the 84 suitable applicants already had their cattleposts and lands". (Page 16 of report in Appendix 25).

It is difficult to classify this approach. It could be said to have been partial in that Phase I of the project covered part of the total area. However, if it was partial, it was not open but closed to membership other than the 84 in situ residents of the project area. Alternatively it could be described as the first geographical phase of a total scheme.,

In this respect it is interesting to recall the Chambers and Feldman guidelines. In areas of relative land abundance (definitely, in the Tsetsejwe case) they advocated a sequence of partial open developments. This was not the approach taken at Tsetsejwe. In total approaches, they warned, above all, against a total approach being allowed in practice to turn into a partial closed one. Conversely a prerequisite of a total approach, they advised, was a land use plan and great care in ensuring democratic procedures in agreeing to the system - i.e. in consultation.

If the case study (see Appendix 25) is analysed virtually all the predictions made by Chambers and Feldman were encountered.

- there was trouble over the idea of stock control quotas (this was one reason why Metsebotlhoko people refused to sign applications for Co-operative registration).

- there were objections about the likely effects of the ranch on non-beef production activities like darying, cutting trees or thatching grass in the area, and arable cultivation. The ranch development plan implied that in future arable allocations would have to be made outside the project area. The Metsebotlhoko people complained that full scale ranch development would prevent them driving their cattle to pans which held water after rain as they normally did.

  All these land use planning problems to be expected in a total approach, and which should have been broached during thorough consultation.

- no land use plan was ever drawn up

- consultation above all was a disaster as the case study story describes.

- the total area was certainly large and required concentrated administrative attention. The co-ordination of support input for land use planning and consultation proved beyond Central Region's capacity in terms of manpower and expertise even after the initial mistakes became apparent.

Conclusion on Tsetsejwe

1. it was a mistake to attempt even a first phase of a total approach in an area where land was abundant,

2. the situation became strikingly similar to D type projects proposed now - e.g. at Morale and Tlhagasanong,

3. A smaller partial open approach may have stood a better chance. Page 19, point 3 of the case study notes that understanding and real interest in ranch development was probably limited to about 10 or 15 of the 84 members. The rest saw the project "vaguely as an easy fencing scheme which will relieve the difficulty of finding people to herd cattle". But any approach designed on a smaller group of this nature would have inevitably tended towards a type D partial closed system, unless through compensation an open area could have been created for an open partial project.

4. The last point is of very wide relevance. By definition there are few areas in the communal zone where open grazing land exists unutilised for partial open development. This means that for experience from this approach to be gained, open areas will often have to be created through compensation of present users. Unless this is done, or open areas exist, any partial development - e.g. that proposed by Morale and Tlhagasanong groups will inevitably be closed with membership based on present occupancy. This can only be justified where it can be shown through the land use plan and Land Board supervised consultation/adjudication procedures that the area proposed for closed exclusive development is not part of a wider communal area for which only partial open or total approaches should be considered.

Lessons learned from RLMP

Restricting attention to the communal area projects (the third project at Selebalo was an attempt at a commercial group ranch), it can be seen that in both cases experience was gained of trying to introduce a total approach. This had its problems, particularly considering both sites were large communal areas where land was relatively abundant.

In particular

- the implications were too wide to grasp
- there was inadequate capacity to undertake the comprehensive land use planning necessary
- there was no expertise or procedure to supervise the consultation required

As is observed in paragraph 8.1.3. (page 25) of the fuller report in Appendix 25, even if the ranches had been developed, would they have been replicable bearing in mind the general level of expertise available in the regions?

An interesting aspect of the experience is described in para. 8.2. of the report in Appendix 25.

In consultation and planning - how effective is the 'kgotla' meeting? The Thabala sandveld ranch (type B) was announced in 'kgotla' and "agreed" although it was to benefit only 25 people, alternatives had never been discussed with others and "probably many present did not really follow what was being discussed at all, and assumed that any "Government" project must be good".

The same turned out to be true at Tsersejwe after a Minister had officially given the project its launch. Much preparation is needed before a 'kgotla' meeting can be expected to play an adequate consultative role.

The area FC could perhaps fill this gap. The RLMP team wanted a small committee to work with in determining the details of each ranch. One report[6] indicated that in Thabala the people did not want to choose their own committee. It went on

> "since it is a Government programme, the Government must choose their own committee"

Awareness that the FC could have performed this function did not come in time. In this respect the experience is very like that of APRU now with the communal cells. We shall see below the problems APRU has experienced through 'kgotla' meetings in the absence of any representative reference group like a FC.

Another lesson learned from RLMP was, however, that intensive training of the management group or FC reference group is essential before useful planning can be achieved through their involvement. Unless they as representatives of the community understand planning procedures, and are enabled to participate genuinely in the design of objectives, their role is makebelieve. Equally, extension staff through land use survey and consultation, must become closely acquainted with the present system before planning to introduce changes. An example at Tsetsejwe was the RLMP team response to a question about the continued keeping of dairy cows for selling milk,

> "this is a beef ranch; if you want to have more than the agreed allowance of 2 cows, you had better find somewhere else. Besides, beef production is much more profitable than milk".

The issue was left there.

The reaction to the RLMP experience was, as described in chapters 5 and 6, to move towards a more gradual extension approach. At Thabala and Tsetsejwe "interim activities" (see case study report Appendix 26 Section 7.2.18) were proposed in order "to restore confidence" after the confusion that had resulted in attempting these total and other approaches. The purpose of interim activities was "that the people will have some experience of group action before committing themselves to a far reaching project".

We shall return at the end of this chapter to judge whether this reaction was wise. In the meantime further examples not only of other "type A" approaches, but of experience with actual type B and other partial systems will be described - possible forms which the RLMP might have taken at Thabala and Tsetsejwe.

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(6) "Thabala Field Trip 23-26 Feb.1976" by E. Van Voorthuizen (RLMP team), 1 March 1976.

11.5.3. The Matsheng Land Use Plan

Whereas the RLMP at Thabala and Tsetsejwe tried and failed to implement total grazing development systems without any land use plan, at Matsheng a comprehensive land use plan has been drawn up for a total system approach.

It is the first attempt to prepare such a plan, and as such forms the basis of guidelines for land use planning in the communal areas in the CAPAD document.

Again we shall take a brief look at the Matsheng Land Use Plan in terms of the Chambers and Feldman guidelines for the total approach.

Firstly there is no doubt that the Matsheng area with 25,000 livestock units grazing at a stocking rate of 4 ha/lsu is an area under pressure. Within 10 km of water points is described as devastated. This was the type of situation for which a total approach based on comprehensive land use planning was prescribed by Chambers and Feldman.

In their analysis (see 11.3.2.) Chambers and Feldman noted a number of potential problem areas for total approaches, including administrative cost, management procedures and the problem of stock control in obtaining a stable comprehensive solution for an area.

Administrative concentration on an area

The Matsheng exercise has certainly involved a concentration of administrative attention on one geographical area. The land use plan itself entailed the full time input of a land use planning consultant for about a year and a half. The CAPAD document gives a very useful description of what a total approach on this scale implies - maps, air photos, logistics, funds and co-ordination of specialist expertise. For the social and land use survey a planning team surveyed intensively for a month, followed by two months for analysis. This provided some training for 12 local school leavers. A large input from other departments had to be co-ordinated by Rural Sociology.

This was the sort of survey attempted by Central Region staff for Thabala and Tsetsejwe in the late stages of RLMP. It proved beyond their capacity.

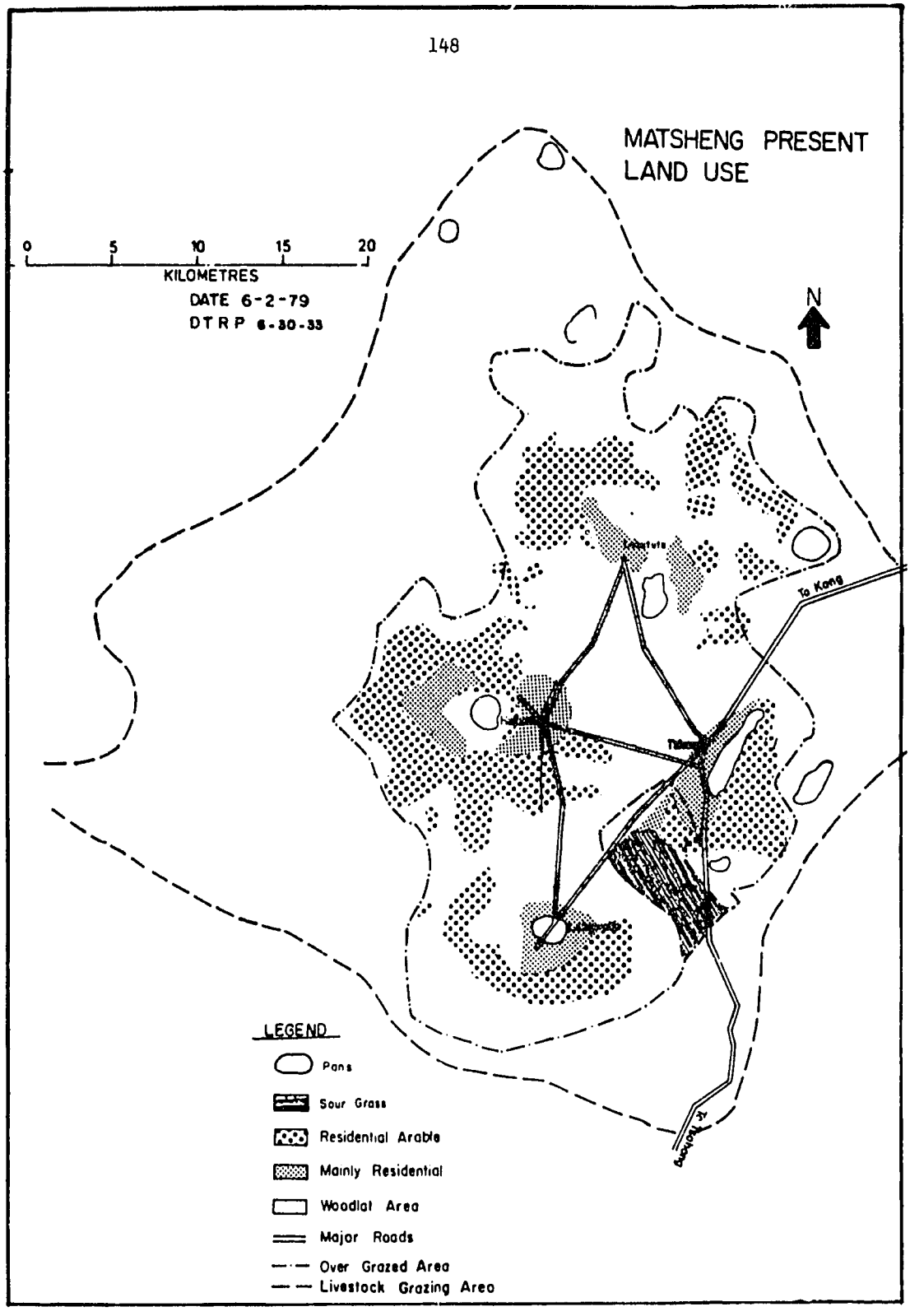
A total approach thus involves a concentration of expertise which is not available in most districts. The expertise that is available, such as that of the DO(L), the Adult Educator and Community Development, would have to be focussed totally on a planning exercise of this scale for a considerable period. Other inputs would have to come from the centre, as work schedules allowed, or from outside.

Democratic management - what basis is there?

A primary goal of the Matsheng plan is the development of an institutional framework for the management of communal resources. The plan specifies that existing institutions do have the administrative capability to deal with a total approach, if their roles are clarified and strengthened. It sees the 'kgotla' as the basic institution. Consultation on the plan was achieved through at least four rounds of 'kgotla' meetings and discussions with existing village leaders and institutions. It recognises that

> "too often plans glide through village or official meetings without a full appreciation of their provisions or consequences".

(page 28 of CAPAD)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Major Roads
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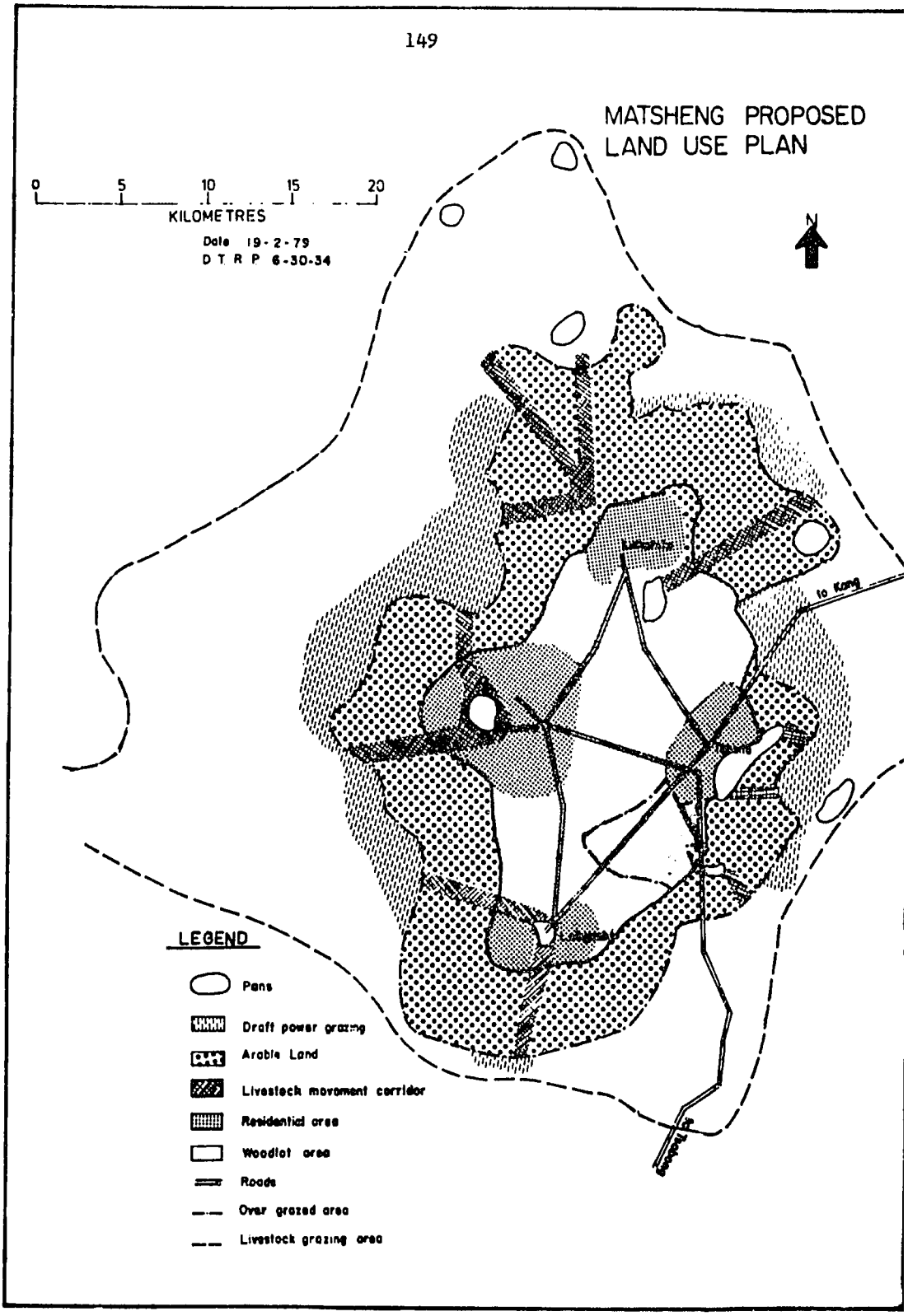
Livestock Grazing Area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Residential area
Woodlot area
Roads
Over grazed area
Livestock grazing area

nical capacity of a less remote area like Pelotshetlha as IFPP has done. It still remains to be seen whether Matsheng will actually receive the necessary commitment. It is in effect a missionary area for the Batswana, a "hardship posting", not the easiest circumstances for ensuring staff continuity. Besides this are the sheer logistic problems of co-ordinating support. This in no way implies that the effort is not justified.

Stock Control

The other key potential problem area is stock control. Here the plan recognises that awareness of the overgrazing problem and its causes is still limited. There has been a lack of ideas and consensus on this issue. This is to be expected at such an early stage. As Marcia Odell found in the VADP Evaluation, people surrounded by vast areas of nutritious grazing feel the principal problem is water.

The Matsheng plan does not propose to broach this issue in its early phases. Attempts to introduce grazing cells, for example, are left to a later stage of development. Initially physical grazing area development is restricted to such projects as equipping wells with handpumps, modest water reticulation, drift and corridor fencing and firebreaks, to be implemented in a phased staggered programme. Only after experience is gained in communal activities does the plan suggest the development of communal grazing subdivided fairly between stock owners with rights defined to specific areas.

The plan recognises the importance of arable agriculture and other alternatives to investment in livestock. A number of related legal and fiscal measures are seen as concomitants, for example progressive taxation on communal cattle holdings.

A misconception, however, is that higher cattle prices promote higher offtake. Experience elsewhere, for example in Swaziland[8], shows that small farmer selling responds perversely to price changes.

Conclusions on Matsheng

The comments above have necessarily had to be brief. As potential problems have been the focus the overall impression may appear discouraging. It is not meant that way. The Matsheng land use plan is an extremely useful well prepared document and it is important to make development inroads into Western Botswana. The emphasis here is on what Matsheng adds to our analysis of experience with total systems.

Although it has yet to be implemented it is a considerable advance in thinking about what a comprehensive total approach must involve in terms of preparation, planning and the likely implementation requirements.

In summary the following points could be emphasised:

1. The Matsheng land use plan provides an idea of what a total approach must involve, and hence of the sort of situations where it has to be contemplated. It represents the approach for areas where land pressure is severe.

2. Conversely it cannot, and should not, be replicated everywhere. A comprehensive approach on this scale is not feasible throughout the country. Districts should identify areas where the land situation is most severe. Elsewhere the approach can be more gradual and partial.

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(8) A Low, et.al; Swaziland.

Time only will reveal how fully people have comprehended things so far. The RLMP experience at Thabala and Tsetsejwe of this form of consultation, together with current APRU experience of 'kgotla' meetings is not encouraging. The GDO posted to the Matsheng area in 1979 found little evidence of comprehension.[7]

What is more significant, in other words, than 'kgotla' agreement is that "development should be done" is a commitment to what people are actually prepared to do. There is no better basis, for security as it were, than past experience. If in 'kgotla' at Thabala now, five years since RLMP, the community endorses a Farmers Committee project plan with the sanction of the headman and VDC, there is reason to have confidence. At Matsheng there is apparently no such past experience. The VDC has achieved nothing so far in the way of communal project organisation, yet the VDC is seen in the Matsheng plan as a basic local organising group for enlisting self help labour contributions for drift fencing, land demarcation, well improvement, firebreak construction and even for woodlot management.

Marcia Odell's findings (see Chapter 5) on VADP bear this out. The Matsheng area is remote, isolated, and therefore highly traditional. There are the usual social and leadership problems to be found in rural areas although some reports indicate that these too are more extreme. Rivalries are reported to exist between villages which would frustrate attempts to establish the broad based institutions necessary for collaboration in the shared communal area. One VDC chairman is reported[7] to have dismissed the possibility of such co-operation with the plain pronouncement that "we don't like each other".

Of course, rivalries and factions are found everywhere. The point being made here is that the process of institutional development is very long term, particularly when the starting point is an area long neglected due to its inaccessibility, where there is little past experience to work from, where expectations of Government are therefore in a subtle way very different from the rest of the country and where it will be that much more difficult all through the process to provide anything like the consistency of support possible in the east of the country.

Although the stage has long passed in the case of Matsheng itself, in connection with the guidelines in the CAPAD document.

R.11/2: A RECOMMENDATION FROM THE ABOVE IS TO ADD ONE STEP TO THE FIVE STEPS OF THE LAND USE PLANNING EXERCISE AND TO MAKE IT THE FIRST. THIS SHOULD BE PREPARATORY INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. IT SHOULD COME BEFORE ANY OF THE FIVE STEPS OF CONSULTATION, SURVEY, DRAFT PLAN PREPARATION, PLAN REVIEW AND AMENDMENT AND PROJECT PREPARATION. What this should involve is popular education, the election of representative groups like Farmers Committees, their training, and most important, some experience. This will take time in itself - a matter of years. It is a crucial factor overlooked in the preparation of the Matsheng plan, and in the resulting guidelines. It is suggested, in other words, that before tremendous inputs are made into the planning for a total development approach, this first step should have been taken.

Support

The Matsheng plan also recognises how crucial the support commitment is. A problem with taking Matsheng as a pilot project in this respect is its location. It is far easier to strengthen the administrative and tech-

(7) Personal communication

3. The thinking of the Matsheng plan that its implementation is planned over at least 15 years is thoroughly endorsed. It is a very long term process.

4. The institutional development process planned for in the Matsheng document is not overestimated. To achieve the comprehensive aims will require a major gearing up, strengthening and reorientation of existing institutions together with intensive outside support. If anything the Matsheng plans underemphasise the plan of operation for how to develop and strengthen institutional capacity.

5. A total approach, particularly in a remote area such as Matsheng requires total commitment. Whilst the commitment in terms of the reliability of Government support must be without question, it also goes without saying that to avoid creating dependency in such an area the approach, though total in the long term, must be gradualist in the extreme. The proposals in the Matsheng project memorandum for carefully controlled phasing of development support inputs with community contribution are strongly supported though with the proviso in 4 above.

11.5.4. The Barolong grazing enclosure groups

Appendix table 9.11 summarises data available on fifteen of the Barolong groups. As their name implies, their purpose is to enclose grazing areas through fencing. The incentive for this came from TGLP and much of the initiative came from the Rolong Land Board.

The total area of grazing involved is over 20,000 hectares. Data for 14 of the enclosures totals 19,915 ha. Altogether, according to the Rolong Land Board, eighteen grazing enclosures have been proposed.

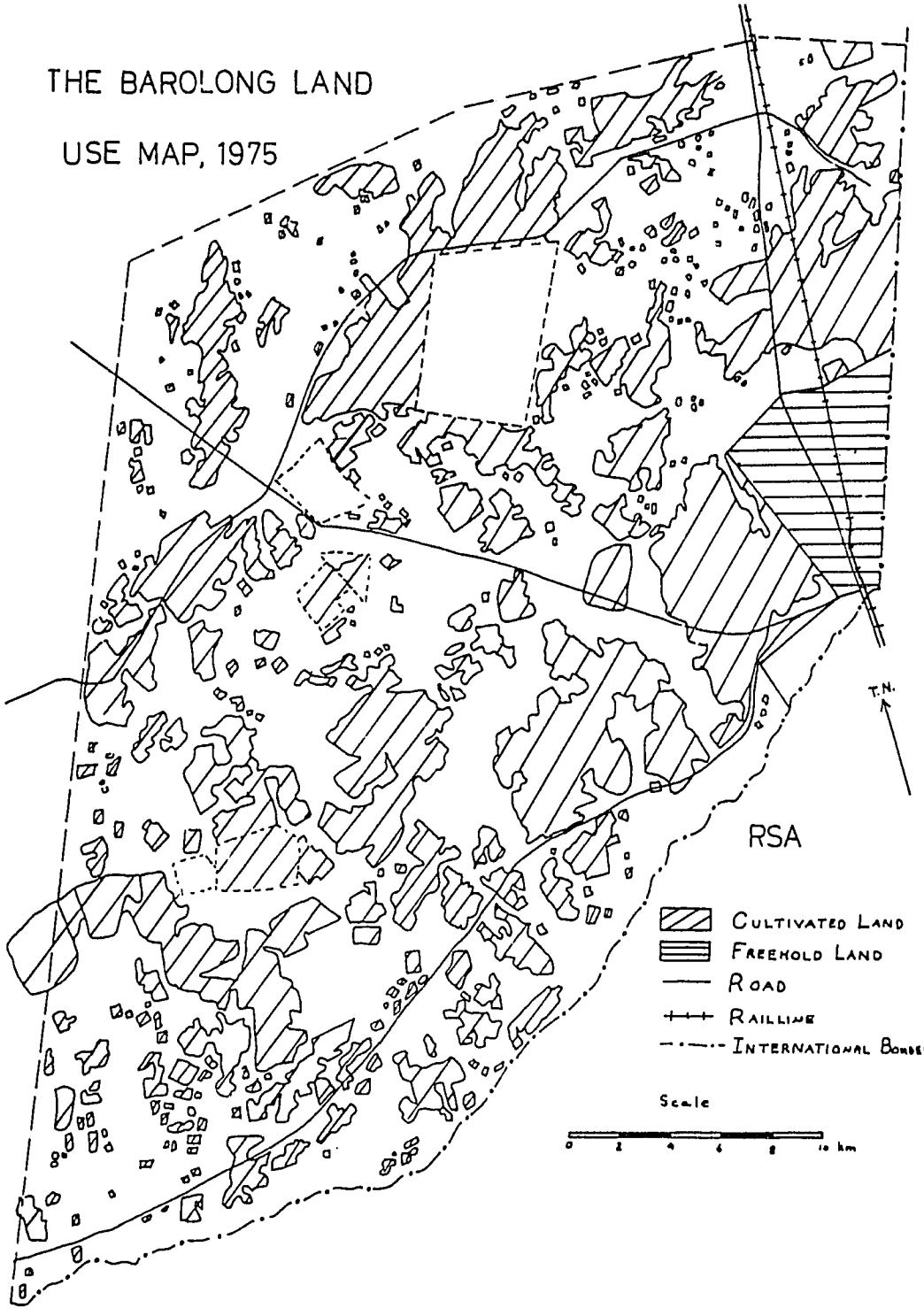
Size of enclosures

The enclosures are very small, averaging just over 1400 hectares in size - that is only 22% of the area of a 6400 ha. commercial ranch. The size ranges from around 1000 hectares up to the largest at Mogwalale - 2765 hectares. Their small size lends a clue to the land pressures in the Barolong - best illustrated by reference to the Barolong Land Use map 1975 - see map (page 153).

Mixed lands and grazing

The map provides the best illustration also of the dense mix of lands areas and grazing in the Barolong. This makes the shape of many of the enclosures extremely awkward. Most of them cannot avoid including what are presently fields within the proposed grazing enclosure boundary - in some cases occupying significant areas ofpotential grazing as at Phietswane where the group recognised in its Land Board application that reallocation of such lands areas would be essential. At Papatlo, Makokwe, Gamokoto and Mogwalale, the groups in their responses to the Rolong Land Board's application questionnaire, proposed that such fields within the grazing enclosure should be fenced. The problem seems, however, not to have been recognised by all groups.

The shape of some of the enclosures is again best illustrated in maps (see pages 154, 155, 156) for Phietswane, Marojane and Mogwalale. It can be clearly seen that the boundaries of the enclosures were drawn to follow


THE BAROLONG LAND
USE MAP, 1975
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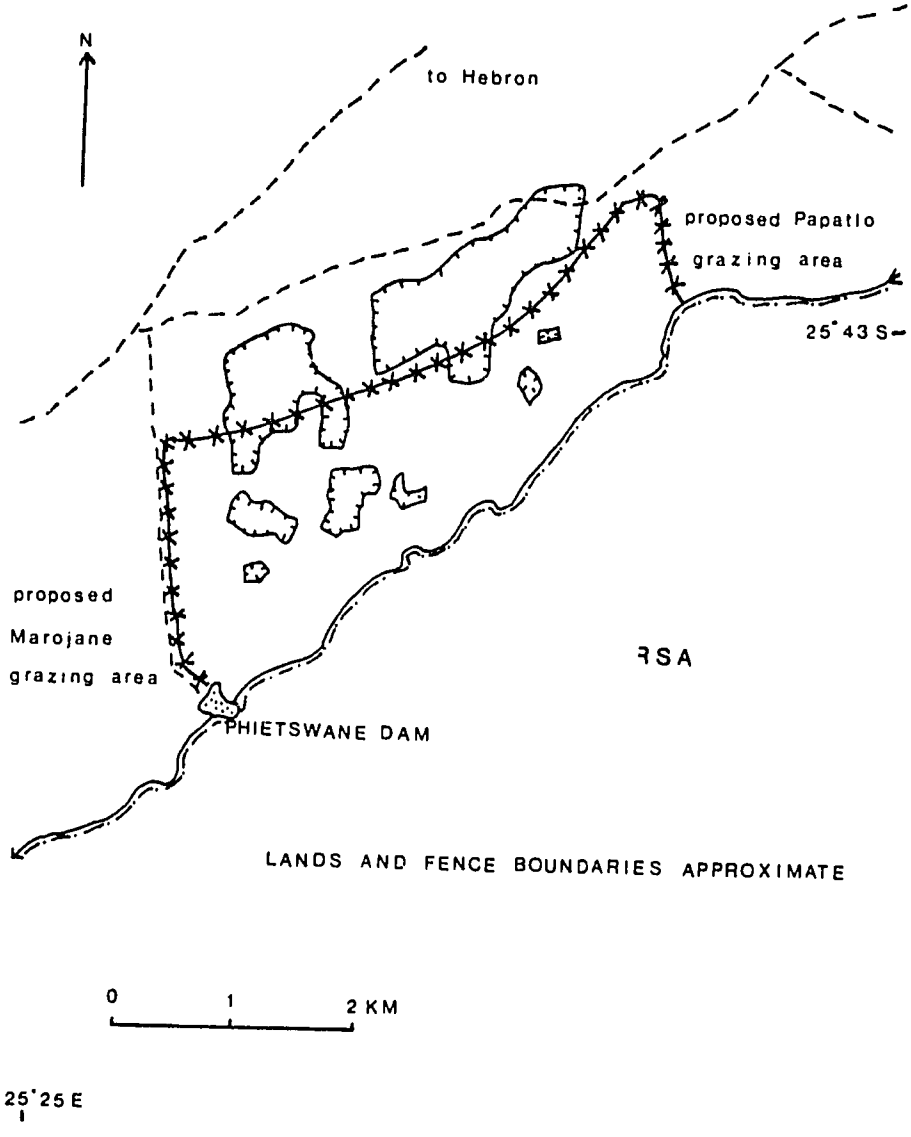
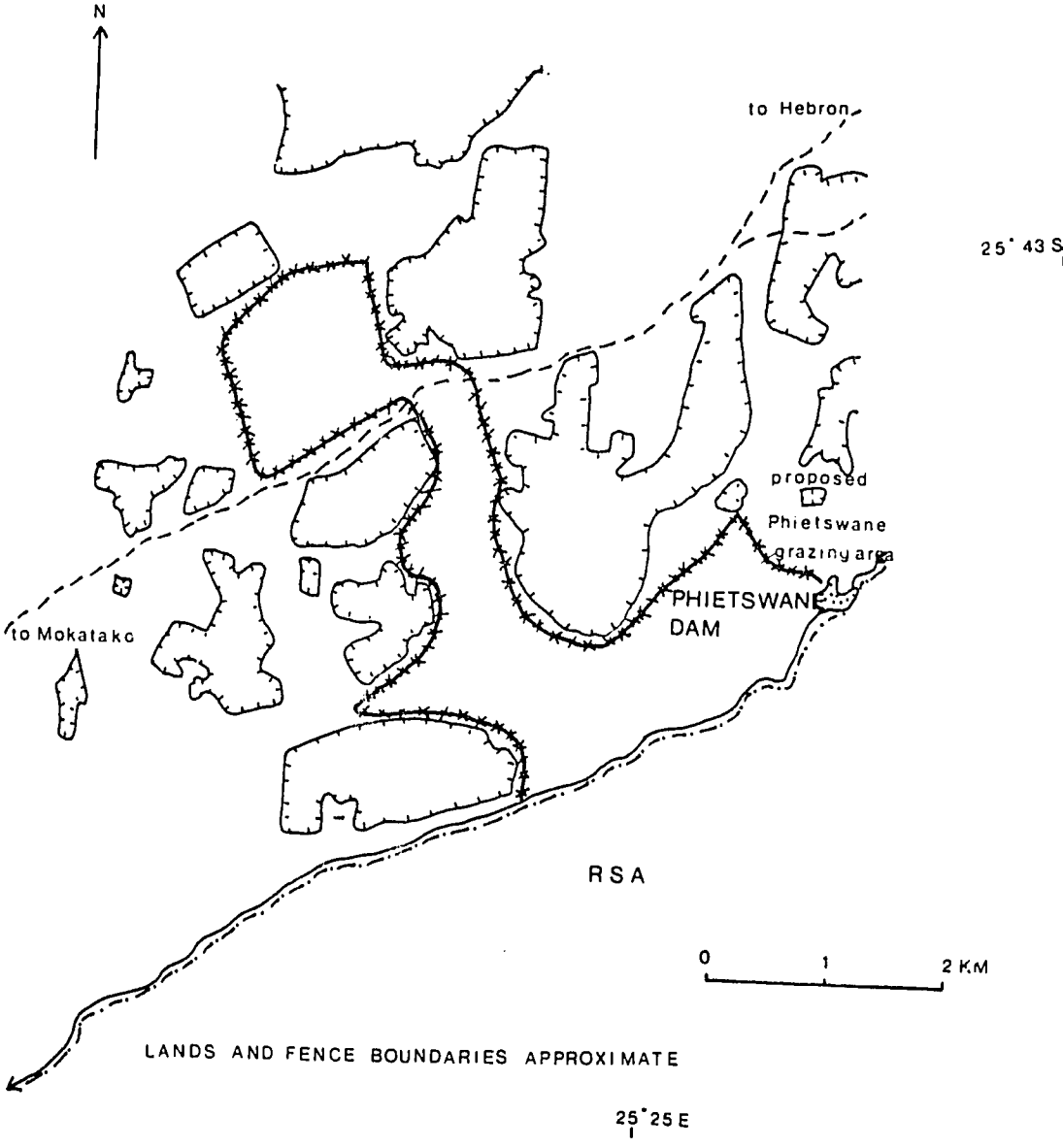
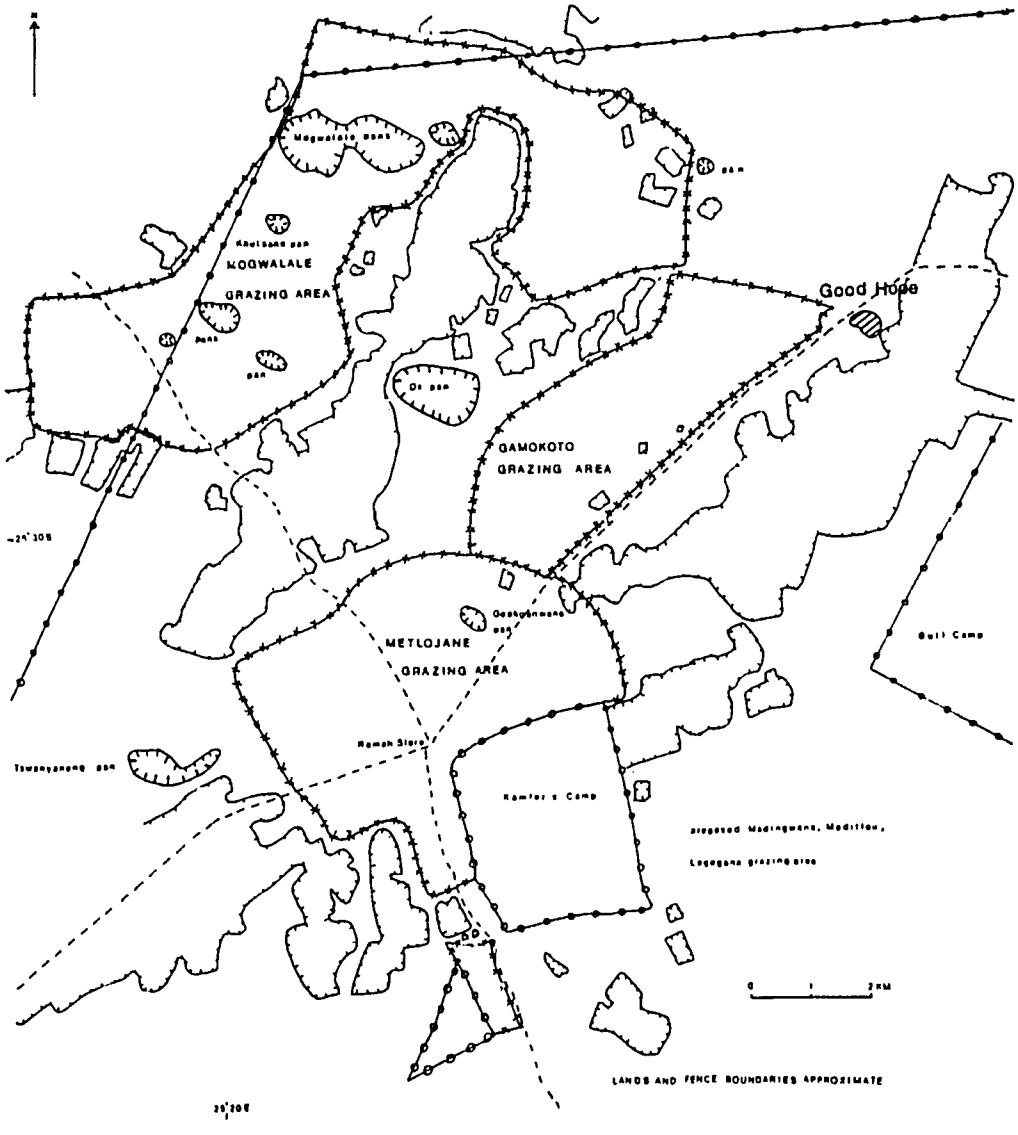
PHIETSWANE GRAZING AREA



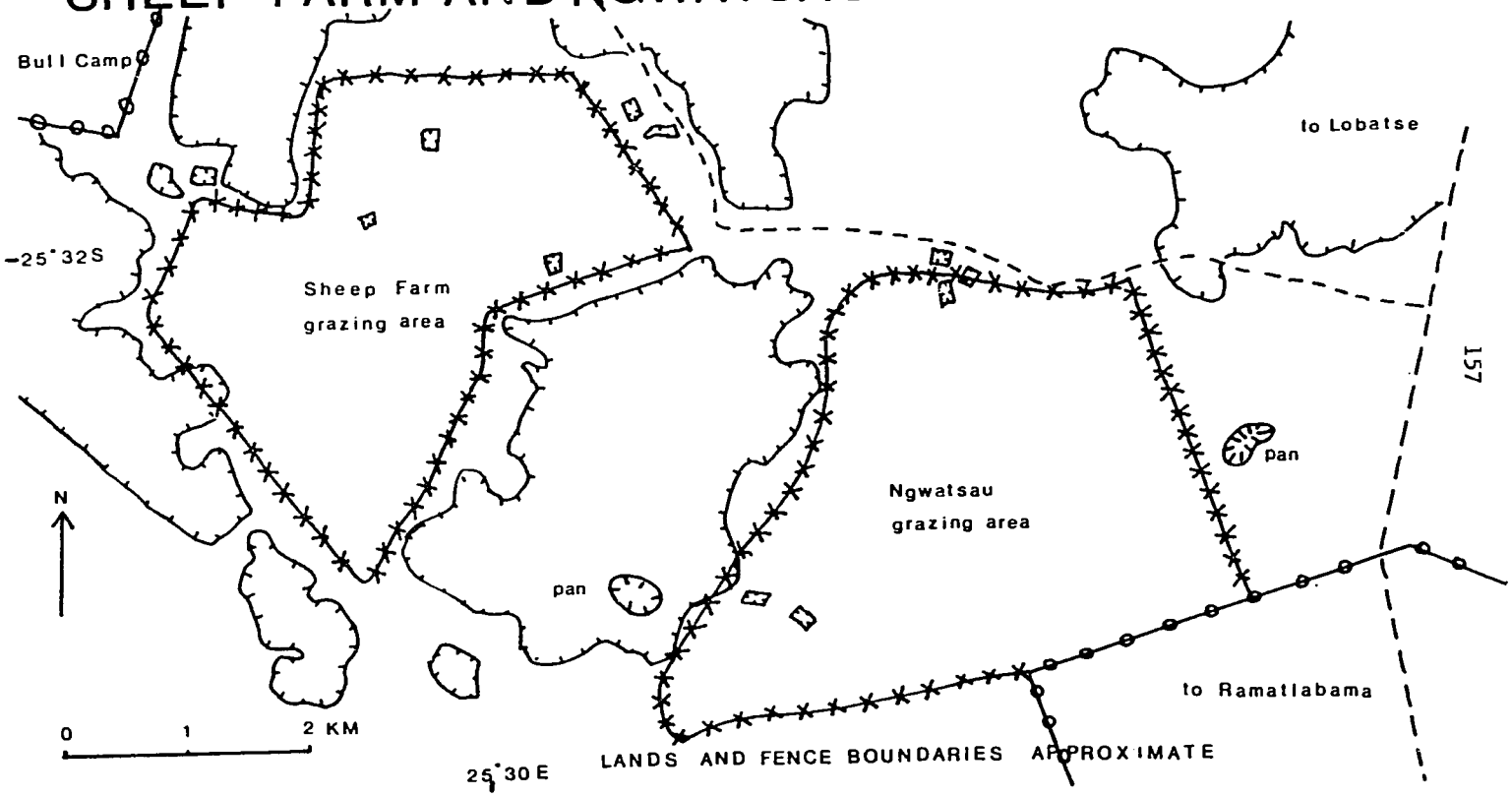
MAROJANE GRAZING AREA



MOGWALALE, GAMOKOTO, AND METLOJANE FENCE AREAS



SHEEP FARM AND NGWATSAU GRAZING AREAS



the present outline of the grazing areas which in many cases are little more than passages between lands. The cost of fencing such narrow awkward shapes would be considerable.

Fencing development - sharing costs

The designs of the enclosure schemes naturally reflect the awkward boundary shapes illustrated in the maps. For fouteen projects for which data are available, the total length of fencing development involved is 283 km - i.e. an average of 20 km per project. This excludes the couple of fortunate incidences where stretches of existing fence already forms part of the boundaries proposed as at Mabete, Phietswane and Papatalo.

The potentially high cost of this fencing in terms of area enclosed is offset in a few cases by the opportunity for adjacent communities to share costs of sections of common boundary. The Phietswane group proposed this form of economy and their idea was shared by neighbouring Paptlo. The neighbouring Marojane group did not comment on this possibility in their application. At Gamokoto the group declared their preference not to share costs in this way.

Membership and contributions

Membership figures are available for 12 of the projects. The total membership of 626 means an average of 52 members per group. The range is from 17 members in groups where a single community uses the grazing area up to 88 where 3 communities shared the use of a common grazing area - e.g. at Borobadilepe and Palatlo.

Methods of contribution are similar to those for drift fencing and enclosure schemes for lands. At Papatlo the membership "fee" was to be a roll of wire plus a certain number of poles cut. Fees in two cases were P20.00, in one case only P4.00 and in one case, Gamokoto, the original fee of P65.00 had been raised recently to P100.00 per household. In two cases groups had proposed funding through the assistance of NDB loans.

As would tend to be expected in grazing enclosures some groups proposed to share the costs in proportion to cattle numbers. This was in response to a Rolong Land Board application form question - "how will the group members share the cost of the fence."

When considering methods of financing and the amounts contributed so far it is important to realise that in most cases no further progress on fencing has been made by the groups since the time of their application for reasons to be explained below. Thus contributions have been made towards fencing in only three cases. At Borobadilepe P.1000 had been raised, at Lohahu (an adjacent group at Borobadilepe) P.400 and at Gamokoto P.400 was reported to be the total at an interview in March 1980. Here 13 households had contributed some amount to date.

Development proposed

A summary of developments proposed by the groups was given in section 11.2.4. above, and what each group proposed can be seen in Appendix table 9.11. The development or management plans are those proposed merely at the initial application stages. In most respects it is premature to study them closely. They represent simply the state of awareness of the groups mostly around 1976 when the application forms were completed. Also, as we shall see, in few cases has much progress on the ground been achieved. However, the types of development proposed are informative in terms of indicating the problems and needs of the areas.

Water development, for example, was mentioned in nine out of eleven cases. This reflects the unreliability of present supplies - mostly pans, dams, haffirs and wells. Only four syndicate boreholes exist in the entire Barolong area not all of which are functioning.

The development of corridors, passages and gates was most often associated with allowing access to water sources, often inappropriately located with respect to the proposed grazing enclosure. The extremely awkward shapes of some enclosures noted above also necessitated proposals for this type of development and the fencing also of fields caught within the grazing enclosure. The overall impression is of considerable expense and complication in design in winding around the present scattered patchy pattern of land use.

Proposals for paddock development and rotational grazing were made specifically in only six applications.

In one case, development proposed was two paddocks. In some other cases just "paddocks" or just "rotational grazing". At Mogwalale and Sekokwane it can be seen that at the time these proposals were made the idea of rotational grazing was for the two-way system of rotation between the grazing area during the cropping season and the lands for the 4 months of winter, more correctly termed referred grazing. At Gamokoto farmers in an interview in March 1980 had a four paddock rotational grazing system within the enclosure in mind. They proposed to separate the total herd into stock categories and let cattle enter the paddocks first followed by donkeys and smallstock. They had noticed the good management in freehold farms, they said.

It is here particularly that further comment becomes premature. The proposals really are little more than a feedback from the TGLP and an indication of community awareness of improved grazing and livestock management which was not a major feature. All indications are that the major objectives members had in mind for the grazing enclosures were water development and the saving of herding problems. This was stated quite plainly at Makokwe where the paddock proposal was for "24 hour grazing to avoid the need for herdboys."

Progress made

As implied above under membership and contributions, few of the grazing enclosure groups have proceeded with fencing. Several were allocated the grazing area as defined in the land use plan drawn up in 1977. Where the grazing area is thus allocated as at Kgoro for example, the group needs no further approval for proceeding with any livestock related project in the area. Thus at Kgoro 28 members of a livestock group have gone ahead with a smallstock dip project and have already raised over P.350 towards a cattle spray race. In other areas groups have progressed to a varying extent with various projects including

Borehold development/repair/equipment	-	Malokaganyane Sheep Farm Borobadilepe Bethel Metlojane
Cattle dip/spray race projects	-	Kgoro Marojane

Smallstock-projects - Kgoro
Sheep Farm
Gamokoto
Metlojane (uncertain)

The only fencing projects making apparent progress are drift fencing schemes at Mokatako and Hebron, where cattle dip, smallstock projects or water development is also planned.

Participation

Whilst progress is such a non-feature with the fencing enclosures, any study of participation may also appear premature. Comparisons of the membership figures with those for other groups are of interest however. The following table illustrates this.

TABLE 11 (iii) Membership of Barolong grazing enclosure groups and of other projects

Area	Fence enclosure group	Other project
Malokaganyane	12	72 (reservoir)
Borobadilepe	38	50 (borehole)
Kgoro	50	28 (smallstock)
Gamokoto	13 (22)	28 (smallstock)
Sheep Farm	26	50 (borehole)
Morokolwane	9	20 (smallstock)
Marojane	35	40 (dip)

These figures tend to indicate that the membership of the grazing enclosure groups is well below the local area population. At Gamokoto only 13 members had contributed compared with 22 registered with the Land Board, 28 members of the local smallstock group (which was reported to include all smallstock in the area) and an estimated total of 50 local households.[9] The membership of the Malokaganyane reservoir group includes people from Bethel but even if all the 46 members from Bethel of the shared Malokaganyane/Bethel grazing enclosure are included the total of 58 members is still short of the 72 for the reservoir even allowing for a few members from Kgoro. The only exception to this membership trend is in fact at Kgoro where membership of the livestock group is currently less than those registered as members of the grazing enclosure.

At a meeting at Mogwalale in 1976 one man is recorded as having stated that he had been excluded from membership in the grazing enclosure though he grazed his animals in the area. After the meeting the names of 7 persons were added to the 35 members already listed.[10]

It is likely that this situation applies to most of the groups, few of which have ever had follow-up meetings of the kind held at Mogwalale. Further comment on who the membership comprises of would be speculation, but members of the Rolong Land Board at a meeting specially arranged for this consultancy, observed that the membership of the grazing enclosures primarily represented cattle herd owners. It is quite probable that some

(9) Estimate by the headman
(10) Minutes of meeting 18.5.76 Rolong LB records.

cattle owners and certainly owners only of smallstock may not have joined grazing enclosure groups if they anticipated continuing to herd their livestock around the small spaces of grazing within the lands areas. Other members of the community may not have registered due to poverty.

The Chambers and Feldman cautionary notes on total schemes are relevant here. The land use plan and system of organisation has to ensure that what must, in a total situation, be an open approach does not in reality become closed to all but its initial membership.

The problem of stocking rate

The other warning offered by Chambers and Feldman for total systems was the necessity to confront the issue of stock control at an early stage. This is the fundamental factor which has discouraged all the enclosure groups so far. The Rolong Land Board confronted this issue in July 1978. No groups were authorised to fence "before the carrying capacity of the area has been justified". The DO(L) was requested to assist with the necessary investigation before "the final word from the Land Board" could be passed to the groups.[11]

The data for the groups in Appendix table 9.11 reveal the nature of the problem. In a total grazing system - utilising the entire grazing area to which members of the community have access, all classes of livestock have to be included. Assuming that the intention of the groups is to remove all livestock to the grazing enclosures except during the winter when reserved grazing in the lands areas can be utilised, this means that a total of well over 10,000 livestock units would have to be accommodated in an area of just under 20,000 hectares - being the total of all the grazing enclosures. The average stocking rate for projects with data available is 1.7 hectares per livestock unit. The figures range from 0.8 hectares/lsu up to 3.5 ha/lsu at Mogwalale. The highest pressure (0.8 figures) correspond with the areas like Papatlo and Borobadilepe where the grazing area to be enclosed is shared by as many as three neighbouring lands communities. At Mogwalale the DO(L) calculated the effect for the proposed group. A rough count of members livestock in the area totalled 783 lsu, which at carrying capacity of 12 ha/lsu would require 9396 ha. The proposed grazing area measured 2765 hectares "and is therefore capable of carrying 230 lsu's which will limit each of the 42 members to a maximum quota of 5½ lsu each". [12]

If the implications seem severe at Mogwalale, they are worse in other areas where livestock numbers are even higher in relation to the size of the enclosure. Mogwalale has the largest area of grazing available for enclosure of any of the groups. It was for this reason, incidentally, that this area was proposed for an APRU cell as nowhere else was there adequate space, although as we shall see below (section 11.8.4.) the idea was rejected.

In this light the proposals, where suggested, for paddocks and rotational grazing can be seen for what they are - highly unreal. The impossibility of the Gamokoto proposal under present conditions typifies the problem for all the Barolong enclosure groups. As map (page 156) shows, the Gamokoto enclosure is 1176 hectares in size, a small quite rectangular shaped area of grazing along the northern side of the Goodhope road. What is proposed is to manage well over 500 livestock units in this small area surrounded by lands or the proposed enclosures of other neighbouring groups - Mogwalale to the north and Metlojane to the south west.

(11) Letter RLB to DO(L) 17.7.78.
(12) Minutes Mogwalale meeting 18.7.78.

The fear most expressed by the Rolong Land Board was the devastation that could occur if the small grazing areas were to be enclosed and livestock "dumped" into them unmanaged. The situation at Rankoromane ranch in the Malete area is a portent for what it could be like.

That the grazing areas are not already a total dustbowl indicates that presently at least some of the livestock are herded also in the small spaces of unallocated or unutilised land within the arable lands areas. In some areas even this is not possible. Farmers at Gamokoto emphasised that in their lands areas there were no such spaces. Comaroff's figures for the Barolong as a whole seem to indicate however that there does exist a significant amount of land which he classifies as "remainder for arable allocation."

TABLE 11 (iv) Present land use in Barolong[13]

	Hectares
Government	3,772
Freehold	2,218
Cultivated	40,506
"Potential communal grazing area"	30,000 - 34,000
"Remainder for arable allocation"	27,500 - 31,000
Total	c.108,000

If the present grazing area with potential for enclosure is what is meant by "potential communal grazing area" then the 20,000 hectares of the fifteen groups for which data are available represents nearly two-thirds of the present total communal grazing. The "remainder", almost another 30,000 hectares is available either for use as grazing or for arable allocation. Presumably most of it is currently used for grazing seasonally or when water availability allows.

This would indicate that the present actual stocking rate is somewhat less than the grazing enclosure figures make it appear. On the other hand the livestock numbers of the members of the grazing enclosure groups are not all the livestock kept in the Barolong. For example, they account for around 7000 head of cattle, only a quarter of the total of 28,000 estimated for the Barolong area as a whole.

Yet over half the 42 Barolong Farm localities are accounted for in the fifteen of the total of 18 grazing enclosures. This argument cannot be pursued further without access to more precise information but it appears that:

- the 18 grazing enclosure groups occupy at least 2/3-3/4 of the present communal grazing area.
- their membership does not account for all members of the lands communities sharing the grazing areas concerned.
- the members livestock alone if kept within the grazing enclosures would result in an average stocking rate of

(13) from Comaroff, p.73.

just under 2 hectares/livestock unit - six times the recommended carrying capacity.[14]

- many other livestock in the Barolong are not accounted for in the grazing enclosure groups. Presumably most of these and some of those belonging to members of the proposed enclosures are presently herded outside the main communal grazing areas, in areas Comaroff describes as what "remains" between the main grazing areas and the utilised allocated arable areas.

Livestock overnship in the Barolong

If the Barolong is under severe pressure, it is not in the main caused by large herds of cattle. The Rolong Land Board records reveal that around 90% of the members who applied to join the grazing groups had herds of under 20 head. In some of the areas the most common herd size was under 10.

Conversely there are few really large herds. At Sheep Farm there was only one herd of over 80; elsewhere there were, for example, two over 60, one over 50, three over 30 and in one area one herd of over 120. Only eleven applicants for grazing enclosures had no cattle, but may have had smallstock or donkeys. The members of the fifteen groups had at least 10,000 smallstock and 1,000 donkeys judging between the application records and present numbers of smallstock in areas where smallstock projects exist.

Conclusions on the Barolong grazing enclosure groups

The Barolong area is a complex area for which a total system incorporating a comprehensive land use plan is required. It is a microcosm of the communal area situation and its problems. There is poverty with many very low income farmers with very small livestock numbers. There is intense land pressure, overstocking and competition for land uses. At Gamokoto farmers indicated that there was no land available for expansion of lands, and negligible spaces between fields for grazing. A problem there and elsewhere is that large areas are allocated for arable but are under utilised. Share cropping systems help temporarily to ease this problem but people presently working the land under these systems if required by the owner to move would have nowhere to apply for arable allocations of their own but what is presently used as grazing. In some areas grazing is itself so tight that resistance could be expected to further arable encroachments.

The grazing enclosures appear to be planned on the main areas currently utilised as grazing. The present land use boundaries become the fence perimeters. In many cases sizeable fields exist within these proposed grazing enclosures and would either have to be fenced if they remained inside, or reallocated elsewhere.

The group objectives for development of the enclosures are by and large very unrealistic given the rate of overstocking. Their most rational objective is to improve water distribution. There is evidence that only a two way "rotation" of livestock between the grazing enclosure and the lands outside is anticipated by some groups, representing a management system no more sophisticated than that being attempted by some drift fence groups.

In terms of participation there is reason to suspect that the membership of the groups excludes some of the population of the lands

(14) According to D. Field "A Handbook of Basic Ecology for Range Management in Botswana". Land Utilisation Division.

communities adjacent to the grazing areas concerned. Some of those excluded must keep livestock in the lands areas.

R11/3: CLOSER INVESTIGATION OF MEMBERSHIP THROUGH FURTHER MICRO-LEVEL STUDIES IS RECOMMENDED. Because of the problem of overstocking, the Rolong Land Board has wisely discouraged all the proposed groups from proceeding with fencing. In view of this no extension work or organisational follow-up has been done towards these projects. Some of the groups have been allocated the grazing areas concerned but there has been support and progress only with various smaller group projects - notably smallstock, tick control and water development.

Although the main reason for lack of action has been the stock control problem which Chambers and Feldman warned has to be confronted at an early stage with total approaches in areas of land pressure, the other reason is that for the nature of this and other problems to be clearer, a comprehensive land use plan is required. The plans for the grazing enclosures do not in any way approach this requirement of a total approach. The designs and shapes are far from ideal and if Comaroff's figures are an accurate indication, around 30% of the land area in the 1975 land use map was not planned for - i.e. was still left over as "the remainder" presumably mostly utilised presently as grazing though available for allocation as arable.

R11/4: THE SITUATION HERE NEEDS INVESTIGATION AS PART OF THE FURTHER STUDY RECOMMENDED ON MEMBERSHIP OF THE GRAZING ENCLOSURE GROUPS. The diverse needs of the whole population have to be considered in a comprehensive land use plan. However, all members of the lands communities are certainly not involved in the grazing enclosure groups and there is reason to doubt whether the consultation exercise reached them. Experience elsewhere with consultation is that the needs of some people are always overlooked. In the development of a total system where fencing is involved and the future extent of grazing and arable is being defined, the consultation of a few 'kgotla' meetings is not adequate. The same conclusions drawn from the RLMP experience at Thabala and Tsetsejwe and applied to the Matsheng land use plan apply here. In the planning and consultation for the introduction of a total grazing system, there must be preparatory institutional development.

Comaroff's comments on the community infrastructure in the Barolong support this conclusion. He notes that VDCs, Farmers Associations, Co-operatives and other voluntary associations in the Barolong have all had a history of failure. Although made in a different context, his observation that "a ready forum for....local consultation (on land allocation) is absent at the moment"[15] is evidence in itself that an inadequate institutional structure specifically for this kind of consultation existed at the time when the grazing enclosure groups were formed and in some cases areas allocated.

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this report to make any recommendations on the land use plan for the Barolong, a main conclusion to be drawn from the experience with the grazing enclosures proposed in the wake of TGLP is that all further progress towards their implementation depends upon land use planning decisions. The LUPAG, the Rolong Land Board and the Southern District Council, have yet to grapple with the complexities of a comprehensive land use plan for the Barolong. Comaroff's plan suggests that "an accommodation must be made for pasturalist activities in the context of a predominantly arable economy".[16] In this context

(15) Comaroff, pg.99.
(16) Comaroff, pg.60.

he wrote that "little requires to be recommended beyond the accelerated implementation of TGLP" which he noted was accepted in principle" by most Barolong, who see it as a means of concentrating and segregating cattle in order to facilitate crop production."[17]

The Rolong Land Board are, since the inception of ALDEP, even more aware of the need for comprehensive land use planning in order to accommodate the diverse needs of the population.

The only recommendations that can be added here would be

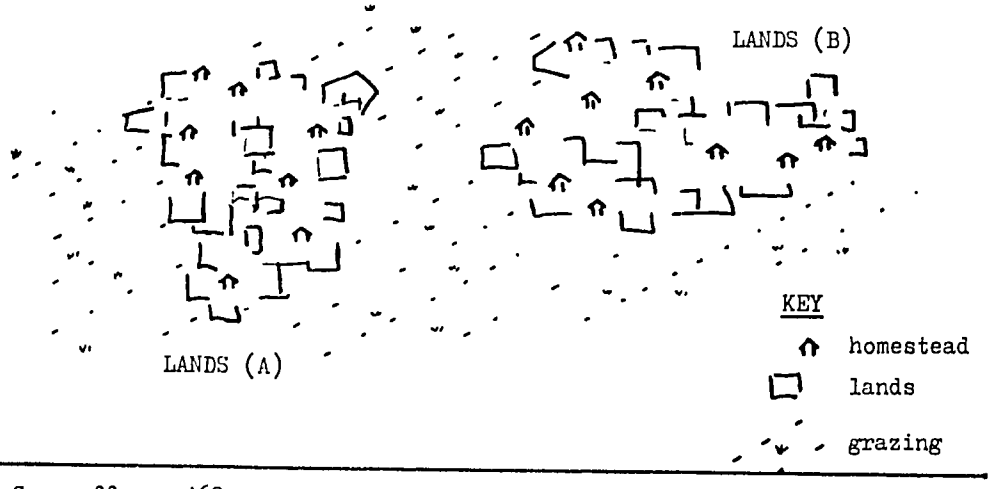
1. R11/5: TO CONCENTRATE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE ON CONTINUED GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND THE BUILD UP THEREBY OF MORE REPRESENTATIVE RURAL LEVEL INSTITUTIONS which the authorities can subsequently consult with in later planning and development.

2. R11/6: THAT THE BASIC FRAMEWORK FOR A COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE PLANNING EXERCISE DEVISED FROM THE MATSHENG LAND USE PLAN EXPERIENCE BE ADOPTED ULTIMATELY IN THE BAROLONG situation which also demands a total approach.

3. R11/7: THAT OPPORTUNITIES BE EXPLORED FOR WITHIN THE BAROLONG AREA WHERE A TOTAL APPROACH COULD BE PILOTED IN A SMALLER GEOGRAPHICAL AREA PROVIDED THAT A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT COULD BE IDENTIFIED AS AN ORGANISATIONAL BASIS. The areas where adjacent grazing enclosure groups expressed their preparadness to co-operate on the sharing of expenses may provide this basis. THE MOST PROMISING BASIS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE AREAS WHERE WIDE INVOLVEMENT HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE IN OTHER COMMUNAL SCHEMES. The difference between the organisational system proposed here and that of the former existing grazing enclosure groups is that a total area comprehensive land use plan must plan for lands areas as well as grazing areas, and for the relationship between the use of the two. Planning for this cannot be with "members of the grazing" only, but with the total local population. This underlines the importance of making more progress first with developing area wide representative institutions.

4. In conceptual terms what this returns to is the total enclosure - an integrated concept for lands and grazing which was touched on in Chapter 10. Reference to the Barolong land use map and the maps of the respective grazing enclosure group schemes has already illustrated the mix of lands and grazing. Diagrammatically the integrated concept for communal areas like the Barolong is like this.

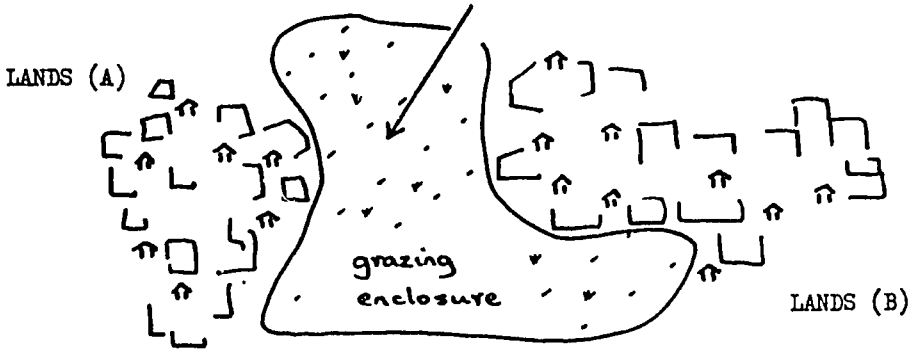
PRESENT PATTERN OF LAND USE



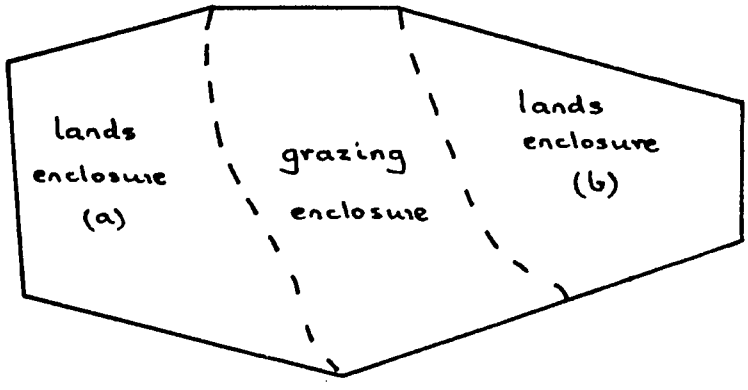
(17) Comaroff pg. 468.

If in practice an integrated management system is going on based on the lands homes and kraals and reaching out into the surrounding grazing where the cattle mix with those of the next lands community, then as Chapter 10 concluded, fencing of both lands and grazing is required in a dual process.

Instead of looking here (a grazing enclosure) .....



.... we should see a total enclosure



Since every lands area borders on a grazing area, and that borders on another lands area and so-on, there is potential for sharing the cost of fencing common boundaries, as several grazing groups have already indicated.

In the diagram above, the lands communities (a) and (b) share common grazing. In the Barolong enclosures, eight out of the fifteen applications on file with the Rolong Land Board were shared grazing situations of this kind.

R11/8: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SUCH "TOTAL ENCLOSURE" UNITS FORM THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS FOR PILOTING THE TOTAL APPROACH IN THE BAROLONG, AND THAT EFFORTS AT GROUP DEVELOPMENT BE CONCENTRATED TOWARDS THIS OBJECTIVE.

11.5.5. Range proposals for Western Malete

The Proposals

Due to the severe overgrazing situation in the Malete area (South East District) the range ecology section investigated and reported on the area in 1979. The proposals for "Ramotswa ranch" recommended the introduction of a total management system for the grazing on the chain of hills running down the western border of the District.

The proposals included the subdivision of the grazing area into about four camps. Existing resources (water etc.) were inventorised and suggestions made for water and other development.

The current basic movement of cattle between the grazing area and the lands areas in the eastern valley was recognised as a component of the overall management system. For the 6-8 months of the cropping season it was calculated that the grazing on the hills could carry around 2,000 head - based on an annual carrying capacity of 1,100 lsu.

The reaction - problems anticipated

So far the proposals briefly outlined above have gone no further than official discussion. In LUPAG at Ramotswa in October 1979 several problems were anticipated. The main one was that the stocking rate is already far in excess of the recommended carrying capacity.

The second problem was with the system of rotational grazing suggested for the four camps. It was doubted whether such a system could be worked out with local stock owners "because proposed boundaries may not be the same as traditional ones".[18]

The LUPAG concluded that any grazing system should be socially acceptable and that "the report should be seen as a starting point for future long-term development."[18]

We shall return to comment on this in drawing overall conclusions on the experience with the total approach below. Before doing this one last area will be looked at - the drift fences, and an emerging pattern observed together with its relation to total development.

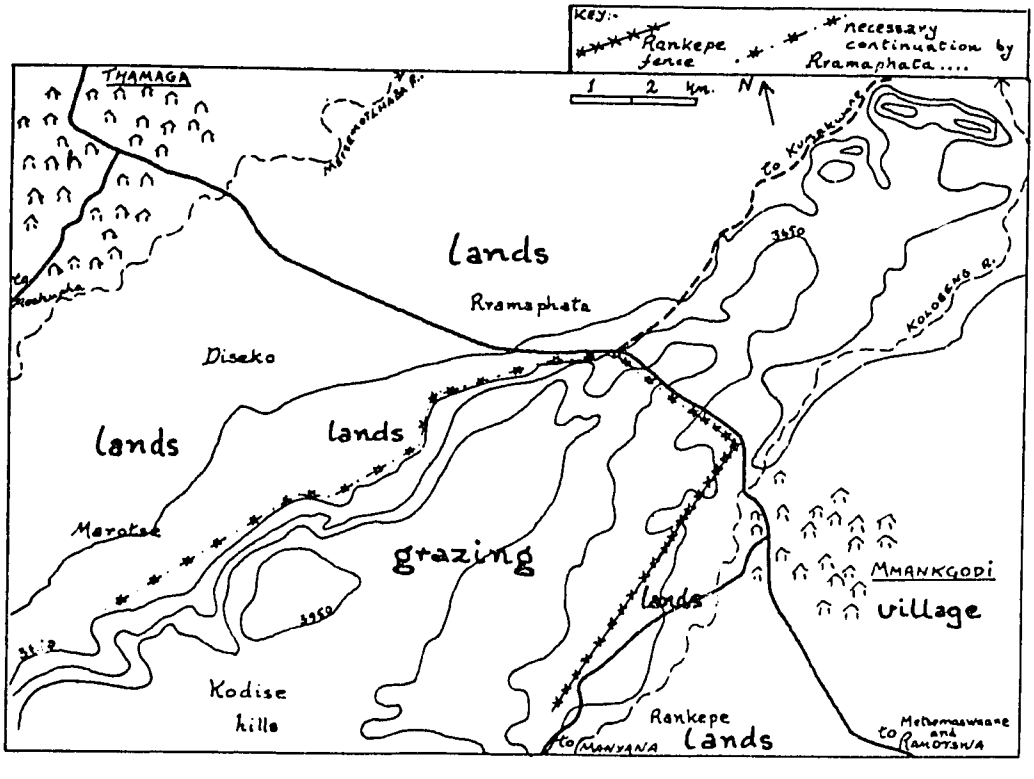
11.5.6. Drift fences - an emerging total pattern

A virtually consistent theme through all the proposals, plans or attempts to introduce a total grazing management system is that although the land use plan should be comprehensive and the system total, in practice on the ground progress is piecemeal. In this connection it is inter-

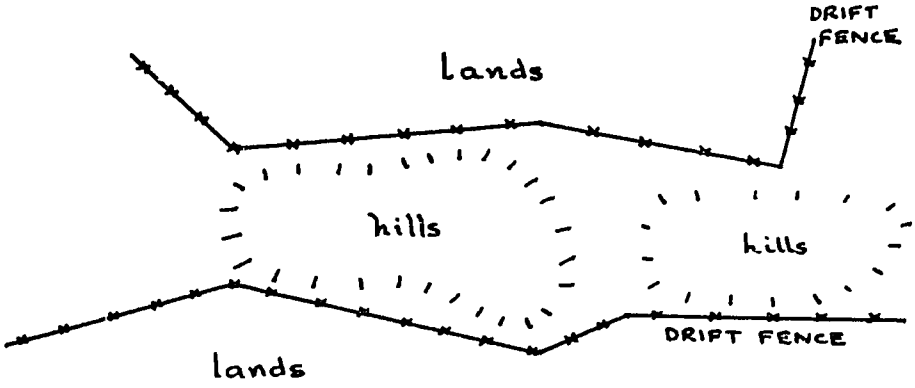
(18) LUPAG Minutes 10/79.

esting to look briefly at the drift fencing phenomenon. In the last chapter it was noted that drift fencing is associated with arable protection, not with grazing management. Although this is the case, there is no doubt that from this piecemeal development, bit by bit, of drift fences a definite broader pattern and structure is building up year by year through a difficult organisational process. The end is still very far ahead and the designs are not ideal (see Chapter 10), but farmers perceive the need for an integrated management system for their lands and grazing, and are pressing ahead despite the difficulties involved - like inadequate water distribution - which are beyond their resources to remedy and thus reduce the effectiveness of their system.

The "grazing enclosures" proposed in the Barolong and at Malau (Pelotshetlha/Mmathethe) are therefore not the only areas representing potential for total grazing and livestock management systems. Other what are effectively enclosures of grazing have already been or are being developed mainly in the densely populated area of valleys and ranges of hills where northern Ngwaketse meets the South East and Kweneng Districts. The hills are being ringed progressively by lengths of drift fence. The Rankepe lands fence group of Mmankgodi is fencing the east side of the Kodise hills. The western side may be fenced by possibly three lands groups - Rramaphata, Diseko and Marotse from Mmankgodi and Thamaga. This is illustrated in the sketch map below:



The diagram below could be used to illustrate the type of situation at Metsemaswaane and Potsane/Segakwana - with one community fencing one side and another the other side of the same range of hills.



The Malau hills fence would be a similar joint project. The ranges of hills around Ntlhantlhe, Manyana and Kogannye are being similarly fenced.

What these projects represent is part of the structural backbone of a comprehensive total development. The intention is to move cattle up on to the hills or out to the grazing for about 8 months and back to graze around the lands for the 4 months of winter. That of course is a gross simplification. The many potential problems noted in Chapter 10 testify to how farmers themselves having conceived the structure, failed to recognise just how integrated and comprehensive the design has to be, as different management systems are simultaneously being pursued.

In terms of organisation the systems are as yet in their infancy. The grazing is shared. Down in the valleys one lands area merges into another. Awareness of the situation and its problems is growing however. In Chapter 10, note was made of the agreement between the Potsane and Metsemaswaane fence groups. Membership on one side is accepted as membership of the other. Several other communities and groups have an increasingly exclusive outlook on the grazing they are fencing - e.g. Sasakwe, Mmamereng, Polokwe, Mogabane. This is reflected in by-laws intended to restrict access to paid up members.

In no case, however, is there yet an example of a range of hills or grazing area which has been completely physically enclosed where such by-laws have been implemented. The developments are simply too recent.

One other trend worth observing is that in a number of cases the membership of these fence groups is actively engaged in related livestock projects, notably water development and tick control. The Metsemaswaane Farmers Committee is a good example with its fenced dam, a spray race and a drift fence all complete. Their projects are mirrored on the other side of the hills by the Segakwana group. At Mmankgodi if sufficient co-operation could be achieved between the different lands based groups sharing the Kodise hills grazing, a proposed water reticulation scheme would result in the same combination of developments.

In conclusion, although the drift fencing and related project groups did not set out to develop a total grazing and livestock management system and the system is not as yet anything more than referred grazing, they represent the nearest thing physically on the ground in Botswana to it.

Furthermore they illustrate, though in an imperfect way, the importance of seeing not just the grazing but the lands as well as part of the communal area.

11.5.7. Total approach - conclusions

From the RLMP efforts at Thabala and Tsetsejwe to Matsheng, to the Barolong and the Malete we have studied proposals, plans and attempts to introduce total grazing management systems. In every case problems have prevented immediate progress. Nowhere is a total system yet operating and there is therefore no experience of ongoing management.

A glimpse of the likely administrative implication of a total approach is possible in the project memorandum for the implementation of the Matsheng land use plan. The overwhelming emphasis of the Matsheng plan is what a long term process a total approach involves and how much it depends upon institutional development. Experience elsewhere simply reinforces this.

From the limited experience with, in various areas, different aspects of the total system, four major issues or problems emerge.

(i) definition of an area and its users
(ii) difficulties in comprehensive land use planning
(iii) the prerequisite of institutional development
(iv) problems of overstocking in introducing an improved grazing management system.

(i) Definition of an area and its users

A total system of organisation was defined by Chambers & Feldman as involving the whole communal grazing area to which members of the community reasonably have access, and by implication being open and, through democratic management procedures, involving everybody. An obvious prerequisite for such a system must be the definition of the grazing area and the users of that area.

The mixed pattern of settlement and the sharing of grazing areas between several lands and village communities, and even between Districts and tribes in some cases, has been consistently emphasised in this report. There are, however, instances where through interest in development, some advance has occurred in definition of boundaries - e.g. the Barolong grazing enclosure groups and the drift fencing and other project groups, particularly in the Malete area and towards Mmankgodi and Manyana. In some cases boundary definition is being attempted blatantly in favour of an established minority. Morale is an example of this. As we shall see below in studying Type D experience, partial development should not be permitted in such an area. The approach must be total since the livelihood of a much larger community depends upon sub areas like Morale as part of the total communal area. Even with the Barolong groups there may be more users of the areas defined as grazing to be enclosed than those registered initially. In such circumstances there is a danger that instead of a total grazing management system a closed partial development happens.

Progress in introducing total systems is restricted to areas where grazing boundaries can be defined and agreement reached on the user community. In section 11.5.4. potential for this was noted in certain

Barolong groups. There is also potential particularly in the Malete area notably Metsemaswaane/Potsane, Mmamaereng, and Rankoromane where the RLFA represents a potential institution though its limitations like those of the Barolong groups must be recognised. These Malete groups, with their tick control projects, dams and fences could be - it is believed - an initial step in clarifying the extent of grazing areas as well as in institutional development.

R11/9: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EFFORTS IN IDENTIFYING THE EXTENT OF GRAZING AREAS BE CONCENTRATED IN AREAS WHERE FARMERS HAVE UNDERTAKEN AREA WIDE PROJECTS AND THE USERS OF SHARED GRAZING ARE KNOWN.

(ii) Difficulties in comprehensive land use planning

In a total situation grazing cannot, however, be planned for separately. In the Barolong a comprehensive land use plan is necessary before the longer term portioning of land between arable and grazing use can be decided. Adopting today's haphazard grazing boundaries for enclosure fencing would therefore be a very short term step. This is all the more so in view of the relationship of the grazing to the lands. As the lands areas are the reserve area for grazing and crop residue in winter, the development of both is necessary in an integrated way. Not only in the Barolong, but in all areas of land pressure this relationship should be emphasised. It is illustrated in the diagrams at the end of section 11.5.4.

Comprehensive land use planning is, however, an extremely complicated task if all interests are to be served. Often it will result in compromise. The development of the Morale area as a partial closed ranching system would be ideal for beef production. A total system would severely compromise productivity in beef in order to increase productivity for more farmers through arable land use.

The Matsheng land use plan, the nearest so far to a comprehensive approach in a communal area, illustrates what is involved in planning for a total system. Elsewhere plans have tended to treat either grazing or lands areas separately.

(iii) Institutional development

Progress has in most respects been too limited for lessons to be extracted on organisation. The main lesson learned has been that effective land use planning depends on genuine consultation. In turn, to consult all whose interests must be served may require prior work in the development of representative local institutions with the capability to plan and subsequently organise and manage for the whole community. It is emphasised that progress with all issues ultimately rests on progress in this area. Definition and agreement on area boundaries, land use planning and, as we shall see below, stock control are all such decision making areas.

Despite this, institutional development has been the area of least emphasis so far. This should be adjusted in future approaches. In the case of Matsheng this kind of groundwork should be the main current preoccupation.

In other Districts where areas for a total approach are defined, groups and institutional development should be the key District effort.

(iv) The overstock problem in introducing a total grazing management system

Chambers and Feldman pinpointed stock control as the most difficult problem to be confronted in the early stages of introducing a total

approach. It proved to be an aspect of the break up of the RLMP even at Tsetsejwe - an area of relative land abundance. In the Barolong it is the main factor discouraging progress with the grazing enclosures. In Malete the practicability of the range proposals was "doubted because of high stocking at present" by the LUPAG.[18] At Matsheng also there was "a lack of ideas and consensus" in this area. It is uniformly an issue wherever serious attempts or plans have been made for a total grazing management system.

There is nowhere to be found an example of a grazing management system covering a whole communal area. The drift fence groups, although potentially a breakthrough in a few instances, in defining use and responsibility for specific areas of grazing, have not as yet made any progress towards managing the grazing area. The only system involved is referred grazing - the reserve of grazing in the lands areas. This practice does nothing to allow grazing area grass to recover or to enhance growth of improved species because by the time cattle are removed winter has long arrived, the dead grass is grazed to the ground and with the onset of the following rains, cattle return from the lands area.

Instead of improved grazing management, it appears that more commonly the effect of drift fences in overstocked areas may be even more detrimental both to the grazing and the livestock than the old system. Whereas before, with both the grazing and lands areas open for use, the whole year, at least during the growing season, there was more space for movement; now on the grazing side of drift fences cattle are confined to a limited area at very much higher stocking rates.

No measure or estimate has yet been made of the cost, in terms of probable losses in livestock productivity, of the reduction in crop losses through cattle damage. As crop productivity is protected in the lands,in the "grazing enclosures" created by the drift fences if severe overstocking is caused, losses are inevitable initially through more calves dying, and as conditions deteriorate through reduced reproductive performance (i.e. fewer calves born) and ultimately in terms of mortality of matures.

These eventualities are the reason behind the Rolong Land Board's reservations about grazing enclosures. The openly expressed fear was that they would be treated as dumping areas for unherded livestock. The present state of Rankoromane ranch (see later under Type B projects) is perhaps a scenario of what the Barolong grazing enclosures could look like if allowed to develop uncontrolled and unmanaged.

Improved grazing and livestock management <u>in the grazing area</u> is the only way to increase productivity there. But this kind of management system has not been a serious feature even of the Barolong groups. Their plans are unrealistic. The groups have assumed that present stock numbers could be managed in the enclosed grazing areas, although in some cases it seems that at the time of application the assumption was that large herds would be removed to the commercial areas.

<u>Recommendations</u>

The introduction of a total grazing management system is no easy exercise. This section has surveyed the experience and the results of the last few years have added little more than confirmation of the warnings given by Chambers and Feldman (see 11.3.2.)

The practicalities of the total approach are almost a catch-22 situation. Without trained, experienced representative groups to consult, effective land use planning is not possible. Without a comprehensive land use plan groups cannot implement effective projects. But neither of these

statements necessarily apply to all situations. Progress often on a piecemeal basis can be made without compromising long term objectives. This is essentially the gradualist group development approach.

As the total system is the ultimate long term objective throughout the communal areas, final comment on progress towards this goal must await the findings in the rest of this report on experience with partial schemes and other group projects.

Several specific recommendations can, however, be made from the evidence just of this section.

1. R11/10: IN AREAS OF SEVERE LAND PRESSURE AND OVERSTOCKING, FENCING BETWEEN LANDS AND GRAZING AREAS SHOULD BE PERMITTED ONLY WHERE LANDS ARE CONSOLIDATED. The aim of arable consolidation is to create the maximum grazing area in which improved range and livestock management can be practised for the major part of the year. At present even in the most overstocked areas, significant amounts of grazing occur within and around the lands outside the main grazing area. The aim should be to minimise this and to maximise instead the proportion of recognised grazing area.

2. R11/11: ONE IMPLICATION OF THIS IS THAT FULL-SCALE GRAZING ENCLOSURES SHOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED OUTSIDE A COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE PLAN.

3. R11/12: The encouragement of small to medium arable enclosures, however, is not compromised. THE GUIDELINE SHOULD BE TO FENCE ARABLE LAND IN SMALLER CONSOLIDATED BLOCKS UNTIL A MORE COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE PLAN IS PREPARED AFTER FULL CONSULTATION IN WHICH THE OVERALL BALANCE BETWEEN ARABLE AND GRAZING IS AGREED.

4. R11/13: IN THE MEANTIME, THE EFFECT OF THE FENCING OFF OF GRAZING AREAS ON THE GRAZING ITSELF AND ON LIVESTOCK PRODUCTIVITY SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS IN RANGE AND ANIMAL PRODUCTION RESEARCH.

5. R11/14: THESE GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK INVESTIGATIONS NEED TO BE AUGMENTED WITH SIMULTANEOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDIES IN THE SAME AREAS, FOCUSSING ON THE ATTITUDES AND PROBLEMS OF FARMERS OF DIFFERENT INCOME LEVELS.

6. R11/15: PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO WATER DEVELOPMENT in these areas in order to improve distribution and even out grazing pressures.

7. R11/16: EFFORTS NEED TO BE STEPPED UP IN CAMPAIGNS, TRAINING, FARMER PUBLIC EDUCATION AND GROUP TRAINING IN ORDER TO INCREASE AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE OF RANGE AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOP PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY AT FARMER AS WELL AS DISTRICT LEVEL.

8. R11/17: FARMERS SHOULD BE INVOLVED AT THE EARLIEST STAGES IN LAND USE PLANNING: 'kgotla' discussions are valuable forums for certain levels of information but EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED IMMEDIATELY ON THE BUILDING UP OF REPRESENTATIVE FARMER LEVEL INSTITUTIONS with which workshops and seminars with Land Board and other authorities can be held.

11.6. EXPERIENCE WITH PARTIAL OPEN SCHEMES - "TYPE B" FULL RANCH DEVELOPMENT

11.6.1. Introduction

As we saw in section 11.4, the type B projects are the only type to have actually been built so far in the communal areas. They fall naturally into three categories:

(i) ranches built by the tribes before Independence,

(ii) freehold ranches purchased by the tribes, with Government assistance, to extend tribal communal grazing,

(iii) ranches developed more recently as replicable models for ranching in communal areas.

11.6.2. Origins and original objectives

The Tribal built ranches

The majority of ranches in the type B category were built by the tribes before Independence. Masama ranch was built in 1940 originally stocked with cattle won from wars with the Bakwena. It was a ranch run by Bakgatla for Bakgatla.

Its purpose from the beginning was to rear bulls for sale cheaply to Bakgatla. Africanders were the popular breed reared. They were sold for as little as P60.00 up to 1970.

The Bamangwato Development Association (BDA) ranch between Radisele and Pilikwe was developed rather later in 1964 out of an earlier initiative of Chief Tshekedi Khama. The purpose of this ranch was rather broader in scope. Cattle were taken in for fattening at extremely cheap rates (75t per month). This continued up to 1972. At the same time a herd was built up from stock purchased with overseas development grant money. Arable activities were started as well as a village store at Radisele. The whole project was supposed to be a training centre open to young Bangwato farmers. As such it was a forerunner to Farmers Brigades. In practice the main involvement and contribution came from the Pilikwe, Radisele, Shoshong, Mogome and Makaro communities, but particularly Pilikwe.

The origins of Ramatia ranch in Ngwaketse and other tribal ranches like Goodhope in the Barolong and Leupane in Ngwato were unfortunately not traced in detail. It would appear that the Goodhope ranch - known as "Bull camp" - was built for a similar purpose to the Makgatla Masama ranch. The original objectives behind Ramatia and Leupane may have been part demonstration and part fattening.

The Tribally purchased freehold

A number of former freehold farms have been purchased to extend the communal tribal areas for the Bamalete and the Batlokwa in South East District. The names and origins of all the ranches concerned were not traced. Batlokwa grazing has been extended northwards in this way towards Oodi. For the Bamalete two farms, one at Kgale (Forest Hill) and the other at Rankoromane were purchased. Only Rankoromane was visited by the author. The ranch was purchased in 1965 by means of a £13 household levy. It is reported that under half the Malete contributed and Government assisted the tribe with roughly half the P40,000 total. The ranch was originally

fully developed. After its purchase it became an open extension to the Malete communal grazing and has to date never had any other purpose.

Recently developed pilot ranches

In this category there is only one existing example - the Serowe and District Small Producers Livestock Co-op Society ranch situated near Mabeleapudi. It is usually known by its shorter name - Mabeleapudi ranch. This ranch was set up through the initiative of the Serowe Brigades Development Trust (SBDT) and registered as a Co-op in 1974.

The by-laws make the objectives of the Serowe and District SPL Co-op very clear. Under "objects" we read

> "(a) to establish, own, control and manage ranches for the raising and breeding of livestock of members; and to buy, own and maintain bulls for breeding purposes."[19]

Mabeleapudi ranch was to be the first of many others. The intention was that it should have been a replicable model ranch. Its development costs of some P30,000 were funded from an overseas grant to SBDT originally planned as a revolving fund. When the loan to Mabeleapudi had been repaid, the plan was to fund a second ranch and so-on. This project is therefore of particular interest as, unlike all the other ranches, it was established with the precise aim in mind that Chambers and Feldman recommended for areas of relative land abundance - a sequential approach of partial open development.

Membership of the Serowe and District SPL Co-op is, according to the by-laws, open to small owners within a radius of 25 miles of Serowe. The intended catchment area for the first ranch at Mabeleapudi was, however, aside from Serowe itself, the communities primarily of Paje, and Mabeleapudi to the north of Serowe, extending as far as to Mashoro and Tshimoyapula. Its purpose has in practice primarily been fattening. Seven bulls have been purchased (3 Brahman plus Africanders and Tswana) and kept for breeding purposes and a small breeding herd established.

It should be mentioned in passing that, as we saw in 11.5.2., at Thabala the RLMP initial proposal was to develop a partial open type B ranch situated in the sandveld west of the village very similarly to the situation of the Mabeleapudi ranch. RLMP, like the SBDT, was attempting to set up a replicable model. In many respects it is unfortunate that this opportunity was missed. As a result we have little to compare the Mabeleapudi experience with. Instead, Thabala has provided many other different insights and lessons in communal area development. In any case who knows - it may not be long before a more appropriate moment arrives for Thabala to embark on such a project.

11.6.3. Present use and management

All the ranches in this category are small. Mabeleapudi is only 1500 hectares, Ramatia 2000 ha, the BDA ranch 2911 ha. and Masama the largest at 4283 hectares. The size of the tribally purchased freehold farms was not discovered. Rankoromane certainly appeared to be no larger than Masama.

Full details on their development can be seen in Appendix 9.[20]

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(19) The by-laws of the Serowe and District SPL Co-op Soc.Ltd.

(20) In the appendix tables type B ranches do not appear together. Projects of every type are listed simply in order by Region.

All have at some stage been in a fully developed state with paddocks, water reticulation etc. Currently only Masama, Ramatia and Mabeleapudi are in a full state of development - a reflection on management as we shall see below. The BDA ranch fences were still reported to be in good condition in mid 1980, but firebreaks and water reticulation were reported to be in disrepair. Rankoromane and other tribally purchased ranches are in complete disrepair.

The actual current use of the ranches varies and is often different from the original purpose. The BDA ranch has built up a breeding herd of 143 cows and heifers. The total herd (of 306 head in August 1980) is run as a breeding and rearing operation and at present the ranch is under-stocked. The ranch was started three years after the other project activities. It appears as though its main actual purpose was revenue earning to support the other development programmes. It was entirely funded including stock purchase, by the African Development Trust (ADT). The BDA purchased around 100 cattle at a time for fattening on the ranch. The breeding herd grew from the offspring of heifers bought for fattening and crossed with bulls also purchased for breeding purposes by BDA. The local Marketing Co-op also used to buy and fatten cattle on the BDA ranch, and still uses the ranch as its holding ground now. For farmers the ranch offered fattening for 75 cents per month.

In order to understand the present situation of the ranch it is necessary to know what happened to the rest of the BDA project. As was noted in 11.6.2. above, the project started not as a ranch but as a broader idealistic agricultural training venture, together with a trading and supply store, arable farm, welfare and literacy programme, school and clinic. It depended on support at high levels. As its title implies it was seen as a tribal project and was keenly supported even after Tshekedi Khama's death by his descendants. The ranch in fact was started at Leapetswe Khama's initiative on advice from the ADT expatriate co-ordinater of the project. The Governing Council responsible for the management of the BDA was heavy with authority and expertise, consisting of the Tribal Authority, Secretary of the Central District Council, the DC, the MP, the chief of Pilikwe, the local councillor, two other Pilikwe representatives, the Agricultural Officer, a trader from Shoshong, the ADT co-ordinator and the managers.

Blow by blow this splendid beginning became dismantled. The Governing Council found it difficult to meet regularly. Various members died or became too ill or preoccupied. Chief Tshekedi, the founder, died only shortly after the whole scheme began with the recruitment of the first ADT co-ordinator. The greatest blows were the leaving without replacement of the second ADT co-ordinator and the death in 1972 of the general manager who also was not replaced. The Governing Council was replaced by a caretaker committee of four - the DC, the Tribal Authority, the Council Secretary and the MP. For some reason representation from the Ministry of Agriculture was dropped and along with it advisory support.

With all these drastic cuts in management and leadership, the youth training and welfare programmes folded up. They had never been particularly successful. The arable farm staggered on until 1976. It had been run with hired labour since 1962 and by 1976 the BDA could no longer afford the bills. In 1977 the caretaker committee failed in any case to meet in time to discuss ploughing. Reports indicate BDA had been continually losing money on the crops; machinery had deteriorated beyond repair and fences were constantly being broken by cattle.

The management was left with the store and the ranch. The precise situation is presently unclear. It is known that ranch profits have been

reinvested in improvements to the BDA store/shop. Over the last couple of years it appears that the management of the BDA, in the hands of the caretaker committee and the former store manager, has failed to cope with the combined ranch and trading operation and the BDA was reported in August 1980 to have gone bankrupt. At any rate, since 1972 the ranch has taken in no purchased stock or fattened cattle for other farmers.

In terms of cash flow, the ranch, totally grant financed, has succeeded in earning profit from the fattening of purchased stock and invested this (and lo: some of it) in the other farm enterprises and the store. In terms of capital assets the BDA has succeeded in building up over the years, from the offspring of purchased initial stock, a breeding herd.

Although part of the original objective of the ranch appears to have been to build up a BDA herd, the achievement is now under the more general cloud of controversy over the ownership of the BDA - a matter we shall return to below.

Unlike the BDA, the management of Masama, Ramatia, Leupane and Goodhope ranches has continued to be strongly supported by Government and in the case of Ramatia by the Kanye Brigades Development Trust. Leupane which now belongs to CDC and Goodhope are in fact now run totally as part of the APRU network of demonstration and research ranches. Masama is also managed on behalf of the Bakgatla by APRU although management is officially vested in an Advisory Committee in Mochudi consisting of the Bakgatla chief, the DC, 3 members of the tribe and an APRU representative. The Committee takes great interest in day to day management but it is not known to what extent it reports back to the tribe as a whole. Masama ranch still supplies bulls to the Bakgatla. Ramatia ranch is currently set up to fatten cattle for farmers. Although managed now by the KBDT, like Masama the Ministry of Agriculture is represented on the management committee and it follows a management plan recommended by the Ministry. Its facilities are currently being radically improved through grant aid from the ranch extension programme so that in co-operation with the Ministry it can serve as a demonstration facility for the area.

Mabeleapudi ranch has also been managed essentially from the outside. The head office of the Society (i.e. the Serowe and District SPL Co-operative Society) was established at the Swaneng Consumers Co-op Society in Serowe. Rather like the BDA ranch, the origin of the Mabeleapudi ranch was tied up with other ventures including a gardening project, a textile production unit and a consumers co-operative. The village of Mabeleapudi was originally conceived as a brigade and development sub-centre in a satellite relationship to the SBDT. For a number of reasons these dreams proved difficult in reality. The Swaneng Consumers Co-op Society took over the Mabeleapudi shop as a branch and the ranch came to be closely connected with this last vestige of the broader scheme. As the by-laws permitted registered co-operative societies to be admitted as members, the Swaneng Consumers Co-op became by far the largest holder of cattle on the ranch and the biggest contributor to share capital.

In practice development and management of the ranch has been undertaken on behalf of the Society by the SBDT. Progress and problems with Mabeleapudi ranch are a regular item on the agenda of Trust and Farmers Brigade meetings. The ranch manager is a Farmers Brigade graduate recruited by SBDT, and the expertise of previous expatriate SBDT Agricultural co-ordinators has been instrumental in the planning and construction of the ranch, its radial paddock layout modelled from the "Savory system" at the SFB ranch literally a stone's throw away at Serwe pan, and the installation of what must be the largest windmill in the country and all the other facilities. This expertise has also

been continually called upon to keep the ranch facilities in a state of repair. The standard of day to day management is fairly high. The hired manager is competent and dedicated. The effect of all this has, however, totally removed not only the burden but all awareness of management from the communities whose ranch it is supposed to be. As the Society was based in Serowe and the ranch developed and managed essentially from Serowe, the four or five members of its management committee from Mabeleapudi and Paje were never involved in management. Meetings of the Society were held in 'kgotla' either in Paje or Mabeleapudi. As SBDT was so instrumental in the establishment of the ranch and other projects in Mabeleapudi, Patrick van Rensburg himself as Secretary of SBDT was elected President of the Society and therefore Chairman of the Committee. Society membership and attendance at 'kgotla', however, were not always one and the same thing. It was alleged in 1978 that an AGM of members as such had never been held, and it was a fact that no meeting of the full committee (i.e. including the members from Mabeleapudi and Paje) had ever been held by the end of 1978. The Chairman was by this time unsure who the other committee members were, and in a late 1978 report from the Secretary and Branch Manager, the only office bearers on the Committee were the Chairman and Secretary. No Vice Chairman, Vice Secretary or Treasurer is listed, and of the remaining four committee members, one was the SFB manager, and the name of another from Paje was unknown. That left two members from Mabeleapudi.[21] The complete control exercised by SBDT on the management can be clearly seen.

The use of the Mabeleapudi ranch has been variable. Recent figures unfortunately could not be obtained for this report. The last figures available, i.e. for 1977/78, showed that at least 236 head of cattle were recorded on the ranch. Of these, 113 belonged to the Swaneng Consumers Co-op, about another 50 to other members from Serowe, 8 to two Paje members, and 65 to members from Mabeleapudi. Earlier in 1977, 72 cattle were on the ranch belonging to Boiteko, a women's co-operative organisation in Serowe - another satellite of SBDT. None from Boiteko were recorded in 1978. At various times cattle from other main SBDT units like ALDEC (Agricultural and Livestock Development Centre) and the Farmers Brigade ranch at Serwe, were also kept at Mabeleapudi when SBDT facilities broke down. Serwe and Mabeleapudi ranches, being right next door to each other, were used almost interchangeably. It can be seen that although Mabeleapudi is classified under type B in recognition of its multi purpose ranching by laws, in practice its use has been limited so far mainly to fattening.

Rankoromane is presently altogether unmanaged. It is merely an extension of communal grazing. However an interesting development is taking place in the emergence of a quasi-management group called the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association. This group with a membership of fifty is setting out to renovate the ranch facilities beginning with the old dip tank. Currently its by-laws and organisation are tailored to this initial project. If this is successful, the intention is to progress on to the renovation of dams, borehole fences and to instal a windmill.

11.6.4. Economic viability

For different reasons it is extremely difficult to make an economic assessment of the experience of any of the ranches in this category. The tribally purchased freehold ranches like Rankoromane are nothing but

(21) report from Ranch Manager dated end of 1978.

communal grazing. Ironically, though, they and some of the tribally built ranches are the only examples of significant community contributions towards development costs. At Rankoromane the RLFA is now attempting to raise further finance towards renovation. Over P300 has been raised towards the dip tank repair, to be matched by a SLOCA grant approaching P3000.

The APRU managed ranches are not planned as a strict commercial enterprise. They have research and demonstration functions. Costing of Government technical and management expertise, labour, transport etc. would have little meaning. At Masama the Advisory Committee makes management decisions which are non commercial in character. Bulls are still sold cheaply - only recently did the Committee agree that at least BMC prices (i.e. slaughter value) should become a reserve price for the auctioning of the bulls. Labour is paid generously but provides local employment. The Committee is in other words continuing to run the ranch in the spirit in which it was established, and to the advantage of the same level beneficiaries as at the beginning. After all, no development cost repayments face the Committee. Only a balance of recurrent costs and income has to be achieved.

The history of the BDA ranch has been explained, and the economic problems should be apparent. All the development costs were grant aided at the start. If records are still available they may be of interest as this ranch did run an entire breeding and rearing herd.

R11/18: THE FATTENING OPERATION WOULD ALSO BE WORTH INVESTIGATING as in the early days it appears that this was carried out on a strict commercial basis under intensive methods. Silage and baled fodder was used as supplementary feed as well as bonemeal and salt. There are still staff at the BDA who were working there at that time. It is understood that MoA is to be called in to consider the BDA's current financial crisis.

R11/19: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EVERY EFFORT BE MADE TO DISCOVER AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS RANCH. By all appearances the fees charged to farmers for fattening stock were low, at 75 cents per month - even though this was over ten years ago. It is not known whether the development costs were ever to be repaid. If not, this would help to explain the low fees charged.

Fattening of farmers' stock has been attempted on Ramatia ranch and Mabeleapudi. It is reported that at Ramatia there has been reluctance on the part of farmers to pay as much as 10t management fees per day - amounting to around P3.00 per month. At Mabeleapudi management fees have been considerably cheaper still. In 1977 fees were raised from P1.10 to P1.50 per beast per month. By the end of 1978 fees were up to P1.95/month. Recent figures were not available. The financial situation at Mabeleapudi is, however, more complicated.

The Mabeleapudi ranch development costs of some P30,000 were to be repaid to the Society's revolving ranch development fund. The Society's by-laws explain that finances were to be raised through the payment of share capital and monthly (or quarterly) management fees by members. The share capital was to be raised as follows:

(i) shares were to have a value of P1.00[22]

(ii) every member in order to join had to pay a minimum of the value of four shares; in practice the joining fee is P5.00.

(22) Note in original by-laws, the currency was stated as RAND.

(iii) by the end of the first year of membership every member was supposed to have contributed the value of 10 shares - i.e. P10.00.

(iv) each year thereafter a minimum of P5.00 was to be contributed until at the end of 5 years of membership every member had contributed a minimum of P30.00;

(v) in order to hold cattle on the ranch, in addition to the above membership share capital contributions, a member was supposed to pay in advance 20% of the value of cattle to be held - this is best explained by quoting the by-law - number 7 under section 19 "terms of trade" viz:

"Any member may.... hold up to 50 cattle on the Society's ranches, providing that the cattle shall be valued by agreement between the Management Committee and the owner, and that the member shall have purchased and fully paid for shares to the value of one-fifth of the value of the cattle....."

(vi) the by-laws also stipulate that "no member shall hold more than one fifth of the total subscribed share capital of the Society" (Section 17; 8).

By the end of 1978, four years after the Society's registration, the membership and share capital situation was as follows:

- 36 members had paid the P5.00 joining fee
- 1 member - the Swaneng Consumers Co-op - had contributed P1000.00 share capital on joining in 1975.

None of the 36 members had contributed more than P5.00 - even the Chairman. Of the 36 members, 16 were from Serowe, 16 from Mabeleapudi and 4 from Paje. One of the Serowe members was Boiteko - the women's self help organisation.

Thus the holding of cattle on the ranch for fattening was entirely unconnected with the amount of share capital contributed.

The 1978 Ranch Manager's report shows that cattle held on the ranch by members ranged from one beast in the case of two members up to 34 head in the case of one member. Figures appeared to be incomplete however - for 22 of the members the number of cattle held was recorded as a question mark. The Swaneng Consumers Co-op was by far the biggest holder of cattle with 113 head on the ranch, but even its contribution of P1000 in 1975 was less than a third of the share capital it should have contributed at the rate of 20% of the value of the stock. Furthermore, the Swaneng Consumer's Co-op was holding more than the maximum of 50 head provided for in the by-laws, and also accounted for 85% of the total subscribed share capital of P1180.

Thus in terms of economic viability the Mabeleapudi ranch has failed to recoup any of its development costs. The management fees charged are reported to have been at a barely sufficient level to cover the running costs of management, labour, supplementary feed, maintenance and repairs etc. provided the ranch remains fully stocked. Only the Swaneng Consumers Co-op and the SBDT itself have kept the stock numbers on the ranch at a sufficient level. Otherwise, certainly up until the end of 1978, ordinary members were reluctant to enter their cattle on to the ranch even if they had paid the P5.00 joining fee. Reports from that time indicate that members of the communities of Paje and Mabeleapudi were (a) reluctant to join and (b) reluctant to enter

cattle even if they had joined mainly because of the by-law requiring the 20% of cattle value advance payment of share capital. This by-law was never straightforwardly explained, or even discussed. Even at the end of 1978 at an abortive general meeting in 'kgotla' in Mabeleapudi the Chairman avoided any mention in public of the Society's capital debt to the original revolving fund. In an acrobatically evasive and rhetoric speach to those assembled in 'kgotla' the Chairman instead proposed further expansion of the ranch by 3500 hectares to carry 500 lsu, explained in terms of the original aims of the Society to replicate the co-operative model ranch. There was not even any attempt to enquire into the reasons for the difficulty in persuading people to join and enter cattle on to the existing ranch.

As an economically replicable model the Mabeleapudi ranch has clearly not succeeded. Further reasons for this will be explained below.

11.6.5. Community participation

The various ranches which have been assembled here under the classification of partial, open, multi purpose ranches started with a variety of objectives. To assess how "open" they are to participation from the community is not always meaningful. Some of the tribally built ranches aimed, on behalf of the tribe, to produce bulls for sale. Participation in this context can only be measured in terms of who, over the years, has benefitted by being able to purchase the bulls. No information was collected on this. Clearly, however, the bulls, even at P60 ten years ago, were likely to have been purchased by those with more means. The Action Research Unit 1980 study in the Kgatleng river villages, of knowledge, attitudes and practices in connection with proposals for an APRU cell in the area, noted (conclusion 10) that farmers favoured the idea of turning Masama ranch into a fattening camp in which case it would be "an ideal place for the cell". From this can be inferred that not all farmers in the Kgatleng find Masama ranch very useful to them in its present function.

No information was collected on Ramatia ranch to indicate anything about participation. At Rankoromane the situation is interesting. The ranch belongs to the tribe as a whole. Although it is reported that less than half of the households actually contributed the levy in 1965, it would be out of the question to attempt to establish membership on this basis. The ranch is thus "open" in every respect. In practice it is used mainly by cattle owners from neighbouring Otse and by farmers from Mokgosi and certain Ramotswa lands areas all of whom are distant from any alternative area of communal grazing. Farmers around Mogobane, Mmamaereng, Metsemaswaane, Potsane and areas in "Ramotswa north" extension area all have communal grazing areas on the hills surrounding them. It is not known how many cattle are kept at Rankoromane or to whom they belong. The Committee of the RLFA expressly wants to encourage all who use the ranch to join this Association. The Chiefs at Ramotswa and Otse apparently support this idea in public as well as by their own joining. This is an encouraging development and at present virtually a unique potential opportunity in Botswana to identify the users of a specific area of communal grazing. The converse of RLFA's long term intentions is that the use of the facilities in the grazing area will, once they have been repaired, be restricted to members. As these facilities will include dams and the borehole - i.e. all water sources - this would thus restrict access to the grazing area itself to members, if RLFA's eventual by-laws are enforced. This would change the organisation of the area from an "open"

to a "closed" system.

In future work with the RLFA this needs to be borne in mind. The RLFA, looking on the positive side, could potentially be a breakthrough in communal grazing management.

R11/20: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN OFFICIAL QUARTERS THE RLFA BE SEEN IN THESE TERMS. Every effort should be made, through sensitive and thorough support and planning, to facilitate the RLFA to develop the management skill required to stimulate and mobilize all the rightful users of Rankoromane to participate in improvement projects on the ranch. Considerable back-up will be required as time goes on to educate members of the communities using the ranch and to and through consultation to collect planning information.

R11/21: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ALL RELEVANT DEPARTMENTS including particularly the APRU, range ecology, ranch extension, rural sociology and action research unit BE INVOLVED TOGETHER WITH LOCAL EXTENSION STAFF AND THE AUTHORITIES IN SOUTH EAST DISTRICT IN SUPPORTING AND MONITORING PROGRESS AT RANKOROMANE. A SENSITIVE APPROACH WILL BE NECESSARY FREE FROM PRESSURE FOR EARLY ACHIEVEMENT. Although a large input of support, including finance and expertise is required to help guide developments at Rankoromane, THIS AMOUNT OF INTEREST AND INVOLVEMENT SHOULD NOT DWARF LOCAL PARTICIPATION OR LEADERSHIP. The RLFA and the other leaders and members of the communities involved should get the glory. It is an opportunity to stick strictly to group development philosophy, to emphasise facilitation rather than to push preconceived notions and projects, to support rather than to swamp local efforts with Government capital input. The local community have already said no to an APRU cell. Those dealing with the RLFA are exhorted to proceed with caution and imagination.

The situation at the BDA ranch is particularly complicated, due to the controversy over its ownership. The current financial crisis can be viewed both as a result of the confusion surrounding ownership and therefore the objectives, now, of the project, as well as an opportunity to set the ranch up on a new and more meaningful footing for the future. Whatever its original purpose was it is clearly difficult for the ranch to continue to be "open" theoretically to the whole tribe. Other APRU managed research and demonstration ranches already exist within 50 kilometres of Radisele on either side - Leupane to the north and Morale to the south. Aspects of the history of the ranch must of course be clarified. In this study it was unfortunately not possible to investigate this fully. Previous reports revealed that the Pilikwe community in particular contributed in the initial stages to aspects of BDA's development, bringing spans of oxen to plough the arable area for example. In the main however, the ranch was developed from donor finance. The Committee or Governing Council of the BDA managed the projects without accountability to Pilikwe. Although in the Pilikwe area, the projects were tribal - hence "Bamangwato" as the title. The only link with Pilikwe was through the representation on the Governing Council of the chief and one or two other members of the village, It is reported that elections and meetings were never held in Pilikwe.[23] Thus, in terms of participation there is little to be learned, unfortunately, from the BDA experience. As it is now it is not "open" to anybody. The BDA herd runs on the ranch but it is not even clear whose these cattle are. It is the only ranch in the country to have been genuinely managed

(23) Report from discussions with BDA staff in 1977.

wholly by representatives of the tribe since the original Governing Committee, expatriate co-ordinator and other support were disbanded or withdrawn. But its management together with the other legacies of the past - the shop and the farm - proved unworkable on this basis.

Now that its financial collapse has caused its management to seek a solution, the potential should not be wasted. The ranch, situated in the communal area, is an opportunity for gaining more useful experience than in the past. Although a political decision is involved

R11/22: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE AUTHORITIES TO MAKE THE DECISION BE ADVISED FULLY ON POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES. The options are not many in practice. Development could be open or closed. The ranch could be leased to an AMA in the same way as Gunther's farm in the Kweneng - a closed group system. Or it could be open in which case the community to which membership is open has to be defined. In practice, in a communal area this has to be the immediately neighbouring communities. If in principle it is decided to make the ranch into an open scheme in this way, the next step is to consult fully and genuinely all members of the communities concerned. This cannot be achieved through 'kgotla' meetings alone. The Farmers Committees in both Radisele and Pilikwe are reported to be weak (see Appendix 1). Neither have undertaken any projects before. The cause appears to be to do with the leadership on the committees, lack of community support and interest and possibly difficulties with extension area coverage out to Mogome and Tewane.

R11/23: IF IT WERE DECIDED TO ENCOURAGE AN OPEN ORGANISATIONAL SYSTEM FOR THE BDA RANCH WHICH IS RECOMMENDED HERE AS THIS REPRESENTS THE GREATEST CHALLENGE AND THE GREATEST AREA OF NEED FOR FURTHER EXPERIENCE THEN AS PREPARATION AND PART OF THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION A SPECIAL EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DEVELOP THE FCs. THEIR ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE TRAINED AT MRTC WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE SUBJECT AT HAND - I.E. THE ISSUES AT STAKE IN BDA RANCH. SIMULTANEOUSLY AN EXERCISE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE. ACTION RESEARCH UNIT SHOULD BE CALLED IN, OR THEIR METHODS EMPLOYED BY REGIONAL AND DISTRICT EXTENSION STAFF (INCLUDING CD) TO CONSULT PEOPLE BY MEANS OF RANDOM SAMPLE TO FIND OUT ABOUT KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS AND ATTITUDES ON COMMUNAL LIVESTOCK AND GRAZING MANAGEMENT. Village leadership and social problems should be discussed in these consultations. It is important to find out whether people perceive the FC and VDC to be representative since more detailed consultation and planning should be held with these bodies. Using techniques like Popular Theatre, these bodies should be challenged with any allegations. This is the sort of approach by which it can be hoped genuine consultation can be achieved on how the BDA ranch could be developed as an open system.

These are the recommendations of this report for the group development approach.

The Mabeleapudi ranch was set up through the initiative of SBDT to be a model ranch under a Co-operative Society, aiming to replicate the model. Where the RIMP failed to introduce a similar pilot scheme by being forced to consult the Thabala community too much, the SBDT pushed ahead. As a result the ranch at Mabeleapudi was built by the SBDT, employing locals as labour, and is the only ranch in the country to have been built to date explicitly as a replicable model for partial open ranch development. Astonishingly it has attracted negligible interest and has received little support from Government other than from Central

Region's agricultural staff. This is due in the main to the mutually suspicious relationship between Government and the SBDT. It has suited the SBDT fine. They have carried on in their own way. The Society running Mabeleapudi ranch must be one of the few Co-operatives in the country to have had literally no contact with CODEC during the entire first four years of its life. Ever since then, the involvement of the Co-operative Officer was at the initiative of the Central Regional Agricultural Office. The involvement of Regional agricultural staff began after a discussion in a meeting in Serowe Farmers Brigade in 1977 at which the SBDT representatives of the Society complained about problems with participation at Mabeleapudi ranch and proposed to apply to Land Board to extend the ranch by 3500 hectares - more than trebling its size as though this would somehow solve the problem.

In meetings which followed called jointly by SBDT and Agriculture staff some factors emerged which SBDT had been unaware of before. Firstly there were community leadership problems in Mabeleapudi with a tribally based split which made it extremely difficult ever to hold a meeting successfully in 'kgotla'. Meetings had to be held in "freedom square" conditions. They usually failed as there was no support or interest from the rival headmen. Furthermore, it became evident that the more influential in the community did not support the ranch and as a result the rest of the community were discouraged from taking interest. There was total confusion and even enmity over the purpose of the ranch. Not only in these meetings, but even independently in "attitudes to TGLP" surveys conducted in the area by the Rural Sociology Unit, members of the communities expressed their feeling that the Society's and the other ranches adjacent to it had stolen their communal grazing. Mabeleapudi people resented the ranch being known under the correct name of the Society (i.e. Serowe and District). People openly expressed their total confusion between the Society ranch, the Serowe Farmers Brigade ranch next door and the vast BLDC ranch next door again. As we have seen, the way in which cattle from Serowe, the Swaneng Consumers Co-op, and even apparently SBDT itself were entered on the ranch in large numbers, and the way the use of the Society and other SBDT ranches was at times interchanged did not help reduce this confusion.

Furthermore the way the ranch from the beginning was initiated by the SBDT Secretary and developed and managed by Serowe Farmers Brigade expertise led members of the local communities to believe it did not belong to them. As the Ranch Manager reported in 1978

> "Although we explained to the people that this ranch belongs to them, still they are confused and think that it belongs to Mr. Patrick van Rensburg. People should co-operate and dismiss this feeling of saying the ranch belongs to Mr. P. van Rensburg".[24]

Three members of the Society's committee, elderly local farmers from Mabeleapudi and Paje, who had never before met or discussed matters pertaining to the ranch with the Chairman, revealed these and other problems in a small meeting encouraged by Regional Agricultural staff after one abortive attempt in 1978 to hold a members' meeting in 'kgotla' at Paje to elect a new committee. There were questions about wild dogs and about people gathering wild fruits not shutting gates. Other people from nearby lands were apparently breaking the fence in order to have access to water from a pan.

(24) P. van Rensburg was the founder and Secretary of SBDT, and the Chairman elected for the Society running the Mabeleapudi ranch.

A number of facts were confirmed. The by-laws - fifteen close typed pages of legal English language - were not understood by anyone in the area. The local members of the Committee had never read or seen them and so were in no position to explain them to others. The fear of having to pay the share capital of 20% value of cattle entered, though vaguely understood, was enough to discourage participation. The Committee never came clean on this issue, however. Confusion and misunderstanding was just allowed to continue. The by-laws governing the contribution of shares, as the records show, were in practice ignored by all members other than the Swaneng Consumers Co-op. It seems that serious attempts to discuss financial matters were not made.

Finally, as can be inferred, although the third object of the Society was stated as -

> "to promote the education of members.... particularly in co-operative principles and practices"

- no attempt was made to train or educate the membership or the management of the Society. The first training course the Management Committee ever received was organised and arranged by Regional Agricultural staff in December 1978.

Recommendations for Mabeleapudi ranch

The GDO indicates that since the December 1978 course, little progress or change has been achieved at Mabeleapudi. This is very disheartening, and there is really little point in SBDT continuing to manage the ranch along present lines unless some radical changes are attempted. What is being gained at present? The Swaneng Consumers Co-op is getting cheap management for its presumably profitable cattle rearing enterprise. A few other farmers also are availed the opportunity to fatten cattle at a much cheaper rate than BLDC offers over the fence. The effectiveness of a windmill is being tested. Otherwise the Mabeleapudi ranch is teaching Botswana nothing about a partial open co-operative grazing management system in the communal areas. If anything is to be gained remotely approaching SBDT's original aims of a replicable model then some action is necessary in group development. Mabeleapudi - and SBDT - must catch up with what Botswana now knows about communal area development. The Government may not have all the answers, but the potential cannot possibly be worse than the record so far. In saying this, SBDT is not to be condemned outright. Government has not been able to facilitate a communal area ranching scheme yet either.

Government has, unlike SBDT, been more cautious in attempting it. There is now, as at the BDA ranch, a potential opportunity to apply all the knowledge and skill there is in the country on group development and on ranching, and all in good time to monitor the progress. After six years of confusion it cannot be expected to generate understanding and fresh attitudes in the community all at once. The mistakes of the past are a legacy for the future.

The following recommendations are suggested for consideration

1. R11/24: IT SHOULD BE MADE PUBLICLY CLEAR BY THE SBDT THAT THE CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT DEBT IS WRITTEN OFF.

2. R11/25: IN VIEW OF THIS THE BY LAWS ON SHARE CAPITAL WILL HAVE TO BE TOTALLY REVIEWED. The old by-law on 20% of cattle value entered was in

any case too complicated for farmers readily to understand. The details of, and experience with, these should be documented for future reference.

3. At the same time as reviewing the share capital requirements, serious discussion should be held between SBDT, the Ministry and CODEC on the future of the Society.
R11/26: IT IS RECOMMENDED HERE THAT THE SOCIETY EVENTUALLY BE LIQUIDATED AND REPLACED WITH A MORE LOCALLY BASED ORGANISATION POSSIBLY USING THE MORE FLEXIBLE AMA ORGANISATION. Sufficient grounds exist for liquidation as by-laws have not been followed and as the Swaneng Consumers Co-op appears to hold 85% of the subscribed share capital and to have exceeded its stock quotas.

4. Whether or not SBDT's handling of the Society's affairs has been the primary influence on organisational development at Mabeleapudi, the lack of more effective guidance and support from CODEC is a matter which should be of concern and be discussed.
R11/27: IF CODEC FEELS IT DOES NOT HAVE THE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE AT ITS FINGERTIPS FOR DEALING WITH RANCHING CO-OPERATIVES, THIS IS ALL THE MORE REASON FOR LIQUIDATING THE SOCIETY AS A CO-OPERATIVE and considering an AMA as the new form of organisation even for an open system. The new AMA would then have available Group Development, ranch extension, farmer training and all the other forms of support that can be offered by the DAFS Regional structure.

5. Similar alternatives for future organisation of Mabeleapudi ranch exist as for BDA. It could be handed over to a closed AMA ranch group if the area were to be zoned commercial.
R11/28: MORE LIKELY AND MORE TO BE RECOMMENDED, IT SHOULD BE DEVELOPED AS AN OPEN ORGANISATIONAL SCHEME. The possibility of withdrawal of the land could be employed by Land Board as an incentive to the community to participate harder in planning the future of the ranch.

6. R11/29: IF, AS IS RECOMMENDED, ORGANISATION ON AN OPEN MODEL IS ACCEPTED, THEN AN ACTIVE COMMUNITY AND GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME MUST BE EMBARKED UPON IN THE CONCERNED VILLAGES as recommended for BDA. Farmers should be taken out to see the ranch (many have never seen it to know what management means or to have any concept of cost). The leadership and social problems in the villages should be brought sensitively into the open as has been done similarly elsewhere through Popular Theatre. The FC situation at Paje and Mabeleapudi is, in an uncanny way, similarly weak as in the villages around the BDA ranch. Although there are deep differences in the social fabric of Pilikwe/Radisele and Mabeleapudi/Paje, it is not unlikely that there is some connection between present institutional problems and the sort of experiences that the villages have had with the somewhat similar way the two ranches have developed in the past.

7. R11/30: IT MUST BE RECOGNISED IN FUTURE APPROACHES THAT THE ERROR WAS MADE IN THE PAST OF SETTING UP THE RANCH BEFORE UNDERSTANDING FIRST ANYTHING ABOUT THE RESOURCES OR REAL INTERESTS OF THE PROPOSED CLIENTELE and by this action destroying local commitment. Only through a dynamic and patient facilitation process of genuine institutional development can much success be expected in consultation with the communities on the future use of the ranch.

8. A complete changeover towards local management will take time to effect.

R11/31: INITIALLY IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EFFORTS BE MADE TO DRAW THE LOCAL COMMUNITY MORE AND GENUINELY INTO WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED PARTICIPATORY MANAGEMENT IN THE FATTENING RANCH. This could officially, as it were, be seen as part of the necessary farmer training in preparation for future reorganisation.

11.6.6. Conclusions on experience with type B partial open ranches

Partial open systems of ranch organisation were seen by Chambers and Feldman as the logical method, in a sequential approach, of introducing improved range and livestock management in the communal areas except in parts of the country where there was severe land pressure. The limited experience so far with ranches that could be classified as partial and open has been far from encouraging.

Of the tribally built ranches, all but one - the BDA ranch - have been managed essentially either by Government or a Development Trust for some time. The BDA ranch was set up completely with donor agency funding and was managed initially under expatriate co-ordination. Although for the last decade its affairs have been managed by Central District and tribal officials, it is now reported to be a bankrupt organisation. In any case it has not been an experience of a community ranch. Neither have any of the other tribally built ranches. It is not certain whether any of the earlier tribal ranches were initiated as replicable models.

The tribally purchased freehold ranches are nothing more than extensions of communal grazing. At Rankoromane however, a unique opportunity for introducing management by the users of a specific areas of communal grazing may be presenting itself in the form of the RLFA. Recommendations for encouraging and supporting the RLFA and the communities it should represent are provided. Working with this group will be a difficult test in group development approach. Whilst thinking and planning for the long term, support should not smother local action and initiative.

The only ranch development which set out to be a replicable model has been Mabeleapudi. Even here, however, the management has from the very beginning been practised for the people - in this case by SBDT, the sponsoring agency for the Co-operative Society established to run this and other ranches. Unlike Government which in the RLMP was prepared at Thabala to be cautious and postpone action on the ground, the SBDT has acted almost as though it was afraid of "failure". It is very much more difficult to exercise the patience and skill in preparing and training others to manage a project for themselves, than to rush ahead and do everything. As a result, negligible experience has been gained at Mabeleapudi in terms of group development even though a ranch can be seen on the ground.

What is tragic is that ranches like BDA and Mabeleapudi have existed and been allowed to stagger on receiving so little guidance or support. The RLMP, for example, had no involvement with the organisers of Mabeleapudi ranch - yet it was the very type of organisation RLMP was setting out also to develop. SBDT sought no support from Government. CODEC was not involved in the facilitation of a fledgling co-operative ranching Society. The management of the BDA also kept the Ministry of Agriculture out of BDA affairs until the time of crisis.

Type B projects are almost a practical impossibility if each point of classification is to be observed - i.e. partial,open and full

multi-purpose ranch development. In practice the ranches which have been classified as B types have tended not to fulfil all three criteria. BDA which was partial and multi-purpose, was not open in the participatory sense. Neither is Masama. Ramatia now, it is believed, concentrates on fattening. Mabeleapudi though open, also concentrates on fattening and if exclusively so, should more rightfully be classified under type C to which we are about to turn.

R11/32: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT RANCH EXTENSION STAFF MAKE THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMICS OF THESE RANCHES IN TERMS OF THEIR CLASSIFICATION. It is important to understand more clearly in this way what type of experience is being gained from different projects.

11.7. EXPERIENCE WITH PARTIAL OPEN SCHEMES - TYPE C, LIMITED DEVELOPMENT SINGLE PURPOSE CAMPS

11.7.1. A possible entry point

RLMP set out to develop complete ranching systems either on a partial or total basis and open to all the community. The task proved highly complex both technically and in an organisational sense, and this was one reason for the gradualist group development approach being adopted. The analysis in the previous section of all other experience with complete ranching operations in the communal areas is discouraging. It is logical therefore to look at systems with more limited purposes as a possible entry point.

11.7.2. A summary of what there is

As yet there are no schemes operating on the ground in this category. All there is to look at are proposals. The category includes proposals for

- weaning camps
- bull camps
- fattening ranches
- APRU "communal cells"

In this section we shall limit our attention to the few examples of proposals for camps which have arisen from community initiatives. The experience with the APRU communal cell programme will be the subject of the next section.

Apart, then, from the possible APRU cells, the only examples of proposals for these types of camp were found at Thabala, Malore/Kanngwe and Lerala.

11.7.3. Farmer objectives

None of the proposals have received much follow-up as yet in terms of further detailed planning. The farmer expressed objectives can be summarised as follows:

(i) Thabala

The proposals (see Appendix 9 for details) were made by the Farmers Committee in 1979. They included a bull camp, weaner camp and fattening camps. The Farmers Committee applied to the Ngwato Land Board and were allocated an area 8 km by 10 km in size in the sandveld to the west of the village where the RLMP proposed to develop a complete ranching system in 1975. Farmers explained the objectives as follows:

(a) to shut away bulls from the communal grazing until the breeding season,
(b) to remove calves for the 2-3 month weaning period and then return them to the communal grazing by which time they will have forgotten their mothers,
(c) to have a reserved grazing area where oxen can be fattened before sale.

No further progress has been made during the past year since these objectives were defined by the FC. This has been due to the FC's existing commitments - the management of a woodlot project and lands enclosure fencing projects.

(ii) Malore/Kanngwe

Here, as an almost direct spin off from the Macha fence, farmers have similar objectives in mind to those of the Thabala FC for weaning and bull camps. Fattening was not mentioned. Farmers explained that bulls should be kept in a camp "as they are very expensive and just roam the bush at present". Water development, however, was the farmers' first priority. The ideas for camps have not been seriously discussed in terms of their possible implementation by the farmers themselves or by extension staff.

(iii) Lerala

The proposal here is for a bull camp, again as a spin off from the drift fencing activity. As at Malore Kanngwe, its implementation has yet to be seriously discussed.

11.7.4. Economic viability - funding policy

Discussion has only reached as far as this at Thabala. It was agreed with members of the FC that matching grant finance would be the most appropriate form of assistance for the bull and weaner camps. Farmers readily took to this idea from their previous experience with lands enclosure fencing assisted in the same way.

For the fattening camp, although matching grant assistance could also be considered, calculation of the direct economic benefit (i.e. profit) is more possible and farmers had in mind possibly financing their contribution through a loan to be repaid from collection of grazing fees.

Much more analysis of the Thabala FC proposals is required by ranch extension staff. As they stand, they are the most advanced proposals to have been made by farmers for development under this category. They represent a significant step beyond all the other communal area group projects.

R11/33: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AS SOON AS IS APPROPRIATE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE THABALA FC, APRU, RANCH EXTENSION AND GROUP DEVELOPMENT STAFF PURSUE JOINT CONSULTATION WITH THE FARMERS COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE PROPOSALS IN MORE DETAIL. The viability of fattening camps is notoriously uncertain in a country where farmers are surrounded by open communal

grazing. This has been proved only 50 km away at Mabeleapudi ranch. APRU believes, as the next section on APRU cells shows, that the most economic project to start with is the fattening over a two year period of weaners. Before farmers at Thabala are encouraged to build and then manage camps as they propose, these aspects should be looked into.

R11/34: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT CLOSER STUDY SHOULD ALSO BE MADE OF A POSSIBLE DUAL PURPOSE ROLE OF LANDS ENCLOSURES. In initial discussions with the Thabala FC it appeared that fenced lands enclosures would become free after harvest for entry of cattle only a month later than the ideal time when weaning camps were required.

11.7.5. Conclusion

Although the evidence so far is scanty and preliminary, there could be potential for type C schemes as an entry point into fenced communal grazing and livestock management. It is interesting that proposals for such schemes have emerged only in areas where significant group development experience has already been gained, particularly in fencing.

Although the group development approach must continue to respect the pace of the community and its institutions in encouraging these projects, planning particularly of communal lands fencing should allow room for this type of development.

R11/35: FURTHER STUDY OF THE POTENTIAL DUAL PURPOSE OF LANDS ENCLOSURES, OR AT LEAST OF THE WAY PARTS OF SUCH ENCLOSURES COULD BE UTILISED FOR TYPE C CAMPS IS RECOMMENDED. APRU, ranch extension, the Crops Division and Action Research should work together on this.

The Thabala fattening camp and similar projects would appear to be ideal for financing under Livestock Project II communal credit schemes.

R11/36: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS 50% GRANT 50% LOAN SCHEME SHOULD NOT BE ENTIRELY WITHDRAWN FROM THE BOOKS AS ILCA/LPCU AUGUST 79 REPORT INDICATED MIGHT HAPPEN. ("re-evaluation" was the term used in para. 2.5.)

11.8. THE APRU COMMUNAL GRAZING CELLS PROGRAMME

The APRU communal grazing cell programme is discussed separately in this section for two reasons. One is to enable an assessment of the programme to be made in a distinct section. The other is that classification between type C and E is not always straightforward. This analysis will reveal that in certain localities proposed APRU cells have been rejected due to the interpretation of AMA organisation for the cell as being closed to all but a certain membership. This issue will be discussed later.

11.8.1. Description and purpose of APRU cells

The difficult aim

It is important to realise that the intention of establishing communal grazing cells was foremost a research exercise and secondarily to demonstrate to cattle owners that overgrazing can be tackled. The basic aim is to investigate what management systems will lead to the restoration of overgrazed communal grazing and hence increase livestock productivity and give an economic return to small cattle owners. The cells are to be established in communal grazing areas belonging to particular communities, the cattle likewise to their owners, and AMA organisation of the participatory farmers is stipulated. The APRU cell programme is therefore clearly a group development exercise. Expectations are high that these cells should prove to be the first meaningful demonstration of group management in range and livestock improvement in the communal grazing areas. The aim is not for farmers to perceive the cells as they do Government "demonstration ranches", i.e. as a demonstration with fat cattle managed by Government staff and resources which farmers in practice feel they cannot copy.

As we shall see, however, the various aims are not always mutually consistent. It is difficult to disguise the fact that APRU cells are Government projects. This top-down approach stands to compromise the care, flexibility and gradualism implicit in group development. Conflicts of approach have already arisen along with signs of inadequate consultation which bear striking resemblance to the RLMP experience and do not bode well for future group commitment.

Description of the grazing cells

Twelve communal grazing cells are to be established. The funding comes from the second Livestock Development Project and includes provision also for two control cells - one in the sandveld and one on the hardveld for comparison with the group managed cells. The aim was to establish nine communal cells in the first year of the project.

(i) Size and design: each cell is to be just over 2000 hectares in size and hexagonal in shape. In each of the three main ecological zones in the country (sandveld, hardveld, mophane forest) cells are to be developed with two, six or sixteen paddocks to allow for continuous or different rotational grazing systems to be practised.

(ii) APRU build the cells hiring contractors to do all construction. Fencing is provided as 100% grant together with handling facilities, water reservoirs, housing for a manager and drilling and equipping of a borehole if necessary.

(iii) APRU provides a suitably trained AD to manage the cattle in the grazing cell for a period of 5-6 years.

(iv) Weaner calves at 7-10 months of age are admitted to the cells, and the size of the cell allows about 300 cattle to be grazed. This means an annual intake of 150 cattle. The calves, heifers or castrated males, are to remain in the cell for 2 years after which males should have reached slaughter weight and heifers can be served and returned to the owner's herd.

Group organisation and contribution

Communities interested in having a communal cell project have first through local or Regional extension staff to have their area inspected by APRU and Animal Production Division staff. Tentative Land Board approval for allocation of the area has to be sought before interested members of the community apply to register as an AMA. The APRU cell can only be developed after the registered AMA is then allocated the area by Land Board.

After construction of the cell, the AMA has to:

(i) Identify a manager for the project for training at the ranch management training centre at Ramatlabama to take over ultimately from the APRU AD.

(ii) Engage sufficient labour for the herding and supervision of members' cattle and pay a locally acceptable wage.

(iii) Contribute all running expenses through an annual management fee, that is, repairs and maintenance of fencing pump and engine, diesel, oil etc. for pumping water, labour, supplementary feed medications and vaccines.

(iv) Determine how many cattle are to be admitted to the cell (but within the carrying capacity specified in APRU's management plan) and the maximum number for each member.

(v) Agree to stock and manage the grazing within the cell according to carrying capacity and other provisions specified in APRU's management plan; members are expected to agree to retain cattle in the grazing cell for two years, but are at liberty to remove their cattle if they wish to.

(vi) Market cattle members wish to sell direct to BMC to reduce unnecessary costs, and ensure individual members receive full payment after deducting appropriate expenses.

Individual members thus retain ownership of cattle entered on to the cell, but have to be prepared to absolve the Association or Government for any losses due to death, disease, predators etc.

11.8.2. The economic objectives

The communal grazing cells are weaner cattle fattening units. Weaners were selected as the ideal stock category because in terms of live weight gain they respond most directly and profitably to improved management input. This was judged to be important from a demonstration point of view as well as in research where it was necessary for responses in animal productivity to be easily measurable as different grazing management practices were tried. Measurement of a number of productivity indices for an entire breeding and rearing herd would be far more complex.

APRU is confident that the improved management facilities being offered will improve the performance and increase the value of the weaner cattle for members. The early weaning of calves should also improve the condition and reproductive performance of cows outside in the communal grazing - as farmers proposing weaning camps are aware. The Ntimbale AMA communal cell constitution notes, in its aims, that as cattle are

enclosed in the cell, crops in the lands are protected. This would appear, however, to reflect the persisting belief there that whole herds, not just weaners, are to be entered - a factor to be discussed below.

The increased weaner productivity is to be achieved, however, at a cost. APRU calculated that, assuming the cell is fully stocked with around 300 cattle, the likely annual cost per head of cattle will be in the region of P12.00.

This is derived roughly as follows:

Item	Annual cost - Pula
- 2 labourers at P30/month	720
- Manager trainee at P50/month	600
- Repairs and maintenance of fence, engine, kraals etc. at 5% capital cost p.a.	600
- Veterinary requisites, diesel etc. at 30 thebe per animal per month	1018
- Committee expenses, sundries	600
TOTAL	P3600.00
Divided by 300 =	P12.00 per annum

This figure, if accepted by the AMA Management Committee, becomes the annual management fee to be charged to members per head of cattle entered. Items like Committee expenses, labour and management costs could theoretically be reduced if the AMA membership were to agree on rotas of voluntary work. These are internal questions. What is inescapable is that improved management has a cost, whether it is paid in the form of wages to employees or whether members themselves sacrifice their time and skills voluntarily incurring opportunity costs on their labour and management expertise.

The P12.00 management cost is still cheap compared with P36.00 at BLDC fattening ranches or at Ramatia ranch in Kanye at 10 thebe per day or P3.00 per month.

Part of the problem, in the face of traditional attitudes is therefore educational. Annual costs are for improved management. The suggested P12.00 fee is not a "grazing fee". The grazing and the fence are free - they belong to the AMA members; the grass was there before and the fence is 100% grant. To be interested in a grazing cell, farmers first have to be interested in fattening for profit. To grow fat cattle in 2 years, even for a fee, is profitable - there is no doubt. The review to follow of progress with introducing the APRU cells will show clearly that non-commercial attitudes are the foremost "problem" to overcome. However, there may be an element of "who has to educate whom". Not enough is understood about the sustained viability overall of the small farmers' low cost minimum input management system.

11.8.3. Progress - status of proposed project sites and groups

Appendix 9 includes mention of two proposed APRU cell groups only - the Ntimbale AMA and the as yet unformed group at Sefhophe. This is because to date groups are even less identified at other proposed sites. The full list of sites proposed and a brief status summary

follows here; the District is given in brackets.

(i) Ngamiland: no site has yet been agreed. Initial proposals were for the Samidupi area on the Boteti 15 km. east of Maun. The ILCA/LPCU August 79 report indicates that "the community is interested in the scheme." This is not true. The project has never been explained there. The NW District Council and Tawana Land Board were so impressed with the idea of an APRU cell that overgrazed areas could recover under good management that they decided the grazing cell project should be tried in the most overgrazed area of Ngamiland, viz. the Makukung area, 25 km. west of Sehitwa/Lake Ngami. The decision was partly political in that eastern Ngamiland, with Makalamabedi BLDC ranch, already has more development than the west. Demonstration is needed more in these western areas.

Currently (mid 1980) the statu of APRU cells in Ngamiland was therefore in the hands of planners.

(ii) Ntimbale AMA (Tati). The Ntimbale group of 25 were registered as an AMA in 1980, have their site allocated, and in August 1980 APRU was in the process of tendering for construction. The LPCU/ILCA report (August 79) expected construction to be completed by November 1979. The process of AMA registration took much longer than anticipated mainly due to excessive haste and insufficient attention to helping group members to understand the management plan. For further details, see Appendix table 9.3.

(iii) Sefhophe (Bobonong). Details on progress here can be seen in Appendix table 9.4. A site west of the village in an area of grazing under utilised due to inadequate water supply has been identified. Two 'kgotla' meetings have been held to explain the project and one visit made to the site by APRU technicians. 30 farmers have registered interest. Their interest and the extent of their understanding of the project purpose is uncertain.

(iv) Kgatleng. The LPCU/ILCA report indicates members of the Segakwana borehole syndicate agreed to relinquish their borehole in exchange for a new one to be drilled by APRU in a vacant area, so that the overgrazed area around their old borehole could be developed as a grazing cell. These early official hopes proved not to be fulfilled. Opposition to the cell emerged in some of the 'kgotla' meetings held in Malolwane, Mmathubudukwane, Mabalane and Sikwane - the river villages in whose communal grazing the area just North West of Malolwane was the proposed site. A subsequent investigation by the Action Research Unit revealed many interesting factors behind the rejection.

(v) Monwane (Kweneng). A suitable site was identified in 1979. Negotiations are still underway. It appears possible that a group bearing direct relationship to the Monwane Farmers Association currently engaged on a borehole project, may be interested. As at August 1980 little progress had been made with local consultation and discussion.

(vi) Kubung (Kweneng South) A series of 'kgotla' discussions have been held in Kubung about the possibility of a communal cell in the grazing area of Mokalana, north west of Kubung and towards Moshaweng village. No agreement has yet been reached. Interest fluctuates from one meeting to the next. The possible site has yet to be surveyed.

(vii) Rankoromane ranch (Malete). This site was identified early in 1978. Although interest from some groups was reported at one stage, the proposal was firmly rejected during a 'kgotla' meeting at Otse, as local grazing pressure made release of a sufficient area for the cell impossible. The site was therefore dropped.

(viii) Mogwalale (Barolong). "A potentially valuable demonstration site"[25] was identified here but no progress was made in interesting the local community at Goodhope.

11.8.4. The potential problems of implementing grazing cells

The experience Government has had over the last two years in attempting to popularise and introduce the communal grazing cells has been highly instructive even if the status report above appears discouraging. The status description of each proposed site was deliberately left brief in order instead to draw together in more detail the problems and reasons hindering progress in the more general discussion sections to follow. These problems are, as it were, the potential problems in implementing grazing cells. After reviewing them some recommendations for approach will be made.

11.8.5. Fitting a communal cell in to an area of land pressure

The aim of APRU is to investigate and demonstrate the way that an overgrazed area can recover under good management and result in higher livestock productivity. In seeking overgrazed situations the prime target areas of the Project are implicitly and purposefully the areas under greatest pressure where land is scarce and therefore most overstocked.

It is no unfortunate coincidence, however, that these target areas have been precisely where opposition to the scheme has been most pronounced. "Lack of space" was the reason for rejecting the APRU cell at Mogwalale in the Barolong and Rankoromane in the Malete area.

Ironically, as has been noted in the earlier discussion on Barolong grazing enclosure (see 11.5.4.), Mogwalale with 2765 hectares of grazing available, of which 570 hectares was in fact over the boundary into Ngwaketse, was the only grazing area in the Barolong anywhere big enough even to contain the area required for a cell. But if some 2000 hectares of grazing cell were developed - where would the remainder of the herd and other livestock, totalling an estimated 1000 lsu at present, all graze?

In the proposed site in the Kgatleng the cell would have occupied a quarter to one third the total available communal grazing in the area. Some 5000 cattle are reported to use the area reared locally all the year round by the majority of local small farmers. The Action Research Unit report's conclusion No.8 was that "the respondents will not be happy to see their pastures fenced, because they will have no place to graze their remaining cattle." [26] Instead area farmers suggested it be built elsewhere - along the rail line or in Masama ranch. The LPCU/ILCA August 79 report recognised the problem of "getting land released by the communities in the hardveld.... due to pressures for land."

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(25) Quoted from LPCU/ILCA report August 1979
(26) The Communal Grazing Cells AR report.

In this light the Tawana Land Board/North West District Council's ambitious attitude in encouraging the grazing cell to be developed in the area of worst overgrazing, though commendable for its idealism, may prove unworkable.

Chambers and Feldman warned (see 11.3.3.) that resistance to partial development, even if it is open, is inevitable in areas of land shortage or pressure. They foresaw that such partial schemes would sharply reduce the remainder for communal grazing, and this was the underlying rationale for a total approach. The experience now is simply confirming this prediction and is problematic for the APRU programme as it tends to rule out automatically the aim of testing improved management systems, certainly through this method in the most acutely overgrazed communal situations.

11.8.6. AMA organisation - open or closed?

"Some respondents were totally against the idea, saying it was monopoly of land by the rich." [27]

There is another element to the problem of attempting to introduce APRU cells in areas especially of land pressure and this is to do with keeping the membership of the communal cell genuinely open to the whole community utilising the grazing area. The danger of perception of membership becoming closed is a further factor explaining resistance to this type of partial development. Are APRU cells in fact type "E" projects or "C" projects? (see 11.3.4. for definition).

Chambers and Feldman again warned against one section in the name of the community as a whole obtaining exclusive rights to an area of pasture. This was definitely a factor underlying the rejection of the APRU cell in discussions at Otse for the Rankoromane site. At Kubung even - an area of significantly less pressure - fears were expressed that the project would be used by the rich, and the poor, those not attending the 'kgotla' meetings seeing no advantage or how it could help, would get left behind. [28] Those not attending meetings in Kubung 'kgotla' were the inhabitants of more outlying areas. Although the problem of consulting the others was discussed in 'kgotla', there were elements present who were of the view for going ahead; the people from outlying areas were invited but didn't attend the meeting therefore those who were present should organise themselves and proceed with their own decisions. One farmer did ask openly "is the project for Kubung, or just for some members since it holds only 300 cattle but is in the communal area." [29]

At Ntimbale, the AMA registered has 25 members out of a population of well over 100 households in Mambo and Masingwaneng villages. The constitution provides for membership to be "open to all cattle owners.... presently grazing their cattle in the proposed grazing cell area" and at the discretion of the Management Committee, allows for residents in the Masingwaneng, Mambo, Sechele, Gulubane and Makaleng area to be considered for membership.

Great care must be exercised in controlling the use of this discretion. It is almost certain that the official interpretation of an AMA constitution, such as that of the Ntimbale group, would be that it was

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(27) Finding No.11 Action Research on Kgatleng survey

(28) Verbatim translation of views heard in Kubung after a 'kgotla' meeting

(29) Question at Kubung 'kgotla'.

an open organisational system. Yet in the Malete not only the farmers, but LUPAG officials did not have this impression at all. AMA organisation was seen as exclusive. LUPAG Minutes for 10/79 noted, after a discussion, that

> "grazing cell projects may be redesigned to wipe out the possibility of giving exclusive grazing rights to a few people only" (Meeting 8 Oct. 79).

An AMA organisation in practice is a closed group comprising its members, It may in theory be open to increased membership. That it comprises a particular membership initially reflects some kind of motivation and interest amongst this group. If the project is a success the initial membership may use their discretion to limit expansion of the group because this would reduce the benefit per member. This is natural and in some respects fair. What is important is that all members of the community are given an equal opportunity to understand what the project is all about in order to make their decision about joining.

The evidence to be detailed further below suggests that through the approach taken at present, mainly in 'kgotla' meetings, confusion and lack of understanding is rife. Where there is such confusion about the nature of AMA organisation and about the purpose of the project, interest in joining is inevitably going to be affected. These are the very conditions in which the danger exists of the AMA grazing cell project becoming a closed partial development.

11.8.7. Shared grazing areas

An inevitable difficulty particularly in the more overcrowded south of the country is the problem of shared grazing between a number of communities. The problem is getting all the concerned communities to agree. The consultation process involved is not a one-'kgotla' meeting job.

For the Kubung project, the site proposed in the Mokalana area was midway between Kubung and Moshaweng villages and situated more immediately between Motope, Dikutlana and Motale lands areas and Tshimane grazing areas to the west. People from Mmamaogi and Basarwa lands areas all graze their livestock around Mokalana and drive their cattle through the area to water at the Kubung dam. The area is also used on occasion by people from Motale lands far to the south west and from Gopoketsone. Many of the residents of these areas are people originating from Thamaga and Molepolole villages. Farmers at Kubung on the day of a 'kgotla' meeting reported that the headman at Moshaweng had disliked the idea of the project, when informed about it, and that farmers in some of the lands areas originating from Thamaga might not co-operate.

The problem in these situations is how to ensure all interests in all areas are properly consulted. In the third 'kgotla' meeting to be held in Kubung to explain the APRU cell proposal, disagreement arose as to how the proposed site had been decided. One farmer whose first time it was to attend a 'kgotla' discussion on the issue disagreed that the site "had been agreed". Another stressed the area was for everyone, for cutting thatching grass and supported the query about whether all had agreed. Other farmers defending the agreement reached in Kubung said that people from other areas knew of the decision even if they did not attend 'kgotla'. One man said he "always informs Basarwa lands area people" about matters. It was the general consensus that people in all surrounding

areas "had been told" but some questions asked indicated that understanding and agreement was limited. The extent of peoples' understanding about the project is discussed below, and the implications for consultation particularly in conditions where a grazing area is shared are dealt with under conclusions for approach.

11.8.8. Farmers' understanding of communal grazing cells

This is really the heart of the problems with APRU cells so far, along with the inevitable difficulty to be expected of acceptance of a partial scheme of this type in overcrowded areas.

Overgrazing is severe, according to the Kgatleng LUPAG, within 2 km of the Marico river. The Action Research report confirmed the problem of overgrazing and found that 85% of respondents interviewed in the river villages were aware of the problem though not always of its seriousness. Only 16% knew that overgrazing was caused by "many cattle in a small area". Other findings by Action Research on knowledge and understanding of the communal cell project were stunning to say the least

- 70% had not heard about the cell proposal,
- those who had heard were not sure if they understood clearly or had enough knowledge about the cell,
- the majority did not know the purpose of a cell; only 9% said it was for management purposes,
- no-one knew what to contribute to the running of the cells; only 9% mentioned money, but not a specific amount,
- 79% did not know if it was advisable to manage the cell independently; 17% thought it was; 3% said it must be managed dependent on Government in order to get help with inputs,
- on category of stock, only 12% were aware that APRU cells were for weaners; 3% mentioned old animals; the rest did not know,
- 95% did not know how long animals should be kept in the cell; only 3% said for 2 years.

The Action Research survey concluded that as "respondents are ignorant about the cells, except for just a few who heard about them but did not understand them thoroughly... it is difficult to tell whether they have interest or not". Some were totally against the idea, saying "it was monopoly of the land by the rich". This harks back to attitudes to TGLP in the Kgatleng. The LUPAG reported that there had been voiced in 'kgotla' opposition to any kind of fencing under the TGLP in the Kgatleng. It was partly out of awareness of these declared attitudes that, after opposition to the APRU cell proposal had been encountered, it was thought wise to invite the Action Research Unit to explore attitudes, knowledge and practices more thoroughly. The findings reveal starkly that attitudes are based on almost complete ignorance, or at least that what officials and Government technicians are planning and what farmers are aware of are poles apart.

The findings of the Action Research survey were very much confirmed in other areas by this consultancy. Even at Ntimbale, where an APRU cell is about to be constructed for the AMA registered for the purpose, the Chairman of the AMA explained that most of the members were

still hoping and believing that once the cell is built, Government will "accept the idea of taking all stock inside". At first many were interested.... "they all started counting all their cattle".... but when it was revealed that the project was to be for weaners only.... "that was when the problem started, most decided that was no good; this is the very reason why most have dropped out". Opposition to the purpose of the APRU cell being limited to fattening weaners was part of the reason for disenchantment with the scheme at Mogwalale in the Barolong and at Rankoromane where farmers explained that most farmers are not interested in offtake or income but that cattle are kept for draft, milk and ceremonies. At Sefhophe farmers were just not sure whether farmers generally would like the idea of selling young stock.

Back at Ntimbale the AMA Chairman explained that farmers had wanted most of all for their cows to be in the ranch breeding until they grew old and could be sold, and for oxen to be reared for sale. Their main concern was to improve their breeds. The APRU cell, it was felt, would not do this. The problem with young stock only being entered into the cell would be that they would quickly lose condition as soon as they had to be returned to the communal grazing outside the cell after becoming used to good management.

In terms of management, farmers at Ntimbale had felt that spending time or money on managing the grazing cell, drawing their attention away from their fields, would be a waste if farmers benefitted only through entering a few weaners. They clearly doubted the economics of the cell. How could fattening a few weaners provide a livelihood for the family compared with the lands which would be neglected?

The Ntimbale AMA Chairman's own words were that

> "We have not yet understood how this project will go. Many people have still not understood where it will end - whether it will remain theirs or be taken by Government".

At Sefhophe also, farmers had been led to believe that it was to be a Government ranch for which the group would have to pay expenses by subscription. They were aware that management costs could be P15.00 per head per year. This seemed very high to them but they recognised that improved practices were expensive, that management had to be very good to avoid wasting money but that management itself was costly. This they compared with traditional management -just grazing, water and herdboys. At Ntimbale the question of cost was an issue. The APRU suggestion of P12.00 had been interpreted as being "dictated to" by Government. From this injured position the group had succeeded in negotiating a reduction to P8.00. APRU were prepared to allow the AMA to try covering costs over a half year period at this annual rate and to review the management fee in the light of experience. However, at the interview conducted for this report, the AMA were requesting Government to reduce the fee still further to P6.00 per annum. This request was made in the spirit of trying to encourage more people to join, because the group was "just starting, still small and still being taught". Money was "the main problem. Batswana are not used to spending money on cattle. Most people were afraid of joining because they could not manage the money. If money was not involved, many would have joined." [30]

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(30) The AMA chairman, Ntimbale.

11.8.9. Farmer concerns and expressed interests

The Action Research Unit concluded that it was difficult to tell whether farmers were interested in APRU cells or not. According to LUPAG farmers from the river villages showed more interest in the building of an AI camp. This was also mentioned by farmers at Sefhophe. The area proposed for the APRU cell at Sefhophe had in fact long been reserved for an AI centre. Farmers there are very distant from Morupule - the nearest AI service and part of their interest in the APRU cell was in order that heifers could be kept away from bulls in the cell before being sent to AI. They complained that AI officials did not visit their area. Asked about their perceptions of problems in their area, Sefhophe farmers emphatically listed water supplies in the grazing, fencing of the lands and tick control. Another key component in their interest in the APRU cell was its potential for improving water supply and thereby opening up an area of underutilised grazing. There was speculation that in the APRU cell there would be a dam and a borehole so that throughout the rainy season the area could be used without expense running the borehole. Water sources were the most critical problem in the area being concentrated around the village and the lands area, causing the crop damage problems as we saw in Chapter 9. At Ntimbale also, the APRU cell through water development was expected to open up pastures previously only available seasonally. At Kubung farmers explained that the water problem was a major cause of suffering. It was asked whether it would be allowed to pipe water from the APRU cell to the grazing outside. The situation in the drought year during which discussions on the APRU cell were taking place was so severe that farmers had been considering sending their cattle far away to a (? BLDC) Government fattening ranch at Mantshwabitse purely for water. At Monwane the discussion on APRU cells had been initiated at the time when the community's Farmers Association was desperately planning a borehole development. At Mogwalale in the Barolong what interest there had been had also revolved around the chance of developing water in the grazing area.

Extension staff associated with proposed communal grazing cell sites consistently held the view that wherever interest had been shown it reflected the hope that the project would solve problems of water unavailability. When actually consulted on their needs, farmers suggested other projects - AI, breeding ranches, improved bulls etc. (the Kgatleng), or water sources or fencing in the lands areas (Ntimbale). One Ranch Extension Officer warned that farmers could appear to agree with Government's proposal with the aim of accepting the physical developments only to rebel later on if the use of the grazing cell were to be restricted.

11.8.10. Hopeful signs

But despite the lack of general understanding and the divergence in interests and attitudes there were some hopeful signs encountered. The main one was the apparent willingness to learn shown by farmers. The three farmers interviewed together at Sefhophe hoped that other farmers would see the management practices and adopt some of them at their cattleposts. Asked what the purpose of the cell was, although at first responding that it would only be when it was there that they could think of its uses, they recognised that it was to fatten follies for sale and to fatten heifers and by preventing their straying, keep them for breeding. Although unsure about what it would all involve and the cost of manage-

ment, they were anxious for the project to be implemented to the extent that they were not thinking of much else.

At Ntimbale there was a similar attitude. The Chairman was pleased that one of their number would be trained as a manager who could show the rest "how things would go". The project would "teach them something new that they did not have before - developing livestock, so they were interested and would co-operate under Government to receive help". It appears that there may be some slight foundation for APRU's desperate hope that if only a start can be made somewhere there will at least be something to demonstrate.

It is significant that the hopeful signs exist only in areas of least grazing pressure, where areas lie underutilised due to water unavailability, and where farmers therefore have less reason to be concerned that part of their communal grazing is being taken up. However, partial open development was the approach recommended by Chambers and Feldman for areas of relative land abundance, so possibly a start is being made even though not in the areas targetted.

11.8.11. Technical purpose versus group development approach - conclusions and guidelines

Farmer: "We feel we have been continuously lectured at and told things... but Government people keep coming and taking reports on their wishes so those still in the group have a belief that something better than just weaners may be done in the end".

A GDO: "We are working our best to facilitate the development of this group rather than to organise around them."

Achieving the technical purpose

The experience so far has confirmed that in aiming to test systems in the areas of worst overgrazing, the communal grazing cell project is inviting difficulty. Once again in this fickle area of development, official objectives have proved to be way off the mark. Livestock Development Project II anticipated completing nine of the communal cells in the first year of the project. The LPCU/ILCA August 1979 report modified this objective to 4 per year after the first year's progress was reviewed. To date only one project is on the borderline of implementation - after nearly three years. Interest has been confined to areas where grazing pressure is normally not a problem.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these results:

(i) Continuing to pursue an inflexible model of this type in areas of land pressure is a waste of effort since it is by now well recognised that partial schemes are the wrong approach in such situations. Not only is this the case, but introducing non-feasible schemes in this way causes confusion, reduces confidence in Government and hinders the effort being made to encourage development through a more gradual learning process, with more acceptable projects towards what must ultimately be a total approach.

R11/37: WITHOUT DRAMATIC FORMS OF COMPENSATION ACCESS TO THE REAL PROBLEM PARTS OF THE COMMUNAL AREAS FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION IN THIS WAY WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE. The purchase of additional adjacent freehold land in areas like Bamalete is the sort of scale of intervention necessary. This should be considered seriously if any hope of gaining ground, metaphorically as well as physically, in these areas is entertained. Otherwise the testing of management systems will have to be restricted to small localities of local overgrazing - e.g. around locally overstocked water sources surrounded by underutilised pastures.

(ii) In areas where partial development is feasible - i.e. where land pressures are less severe
R11/38 MORE EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATION WILL HAVE TO BE CARRIED OUT IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE TYPE OF PROJECT. Either farmer interests must be more accommodated, or more attention must be given, and time and effort involved, in publicising, demonstrating to and educating farmers on the need for and the precise purpose of the present cell proposal.

(iii) R11/39: GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CELL MAY BE ONE WAY TO ACCOMMODATE FARMER INTEREST AND GAIN ACCEPTABILITY. APRU AGREE THAT ALTHOUGH FATTENING YOUNG STOCK ACHIEVES THE FASTEST LIVEWEIGHT GAIN AND THEREFORE PROFIT, OLDER CATTLE OR DRAFT OXEN COULD FEASIBLY BE INCLUDED though the economic viability would be reduced. IT WOULD ALSO BE STRAIGHTFORWARD TO CARRY OUT AI IN THE GRAZING CELLS ON HEIFERS. THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES NEED NOT BE SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED. THE MAIN RANGE RESEARCH NEED IS TO MAINTAIN THE STOCKING OF THE CELL AT FULL CAPACITY.

(iv) The alternative - greater emphasis on education and farmer training - requires a radical change in approach from the present one.

It is through more attention to method of approach where this report sees the greatest potential for achieving more progress.

Group development approach

This report supports the communal grazing cell programme in its effort to "break the ice" - to get something on the ground, hopefully a meaningful demonstration, a first step after which others should follow in the sequential approach Chambers and Feldman recommended, though limited to areas of relative land abundance. The sequential concept is understood by farmers. At both Ntimbale and Kubung, for example, there was discussion of the possibility of future expansion. At Kubung, it seemed understood that the first grazing cell was a demonstration for which farmers had to pay running expenses only. Future expansion would have to be financed more by the community.

What this report wishes to emphasise is that only confusion results if ideas are introduced without proper regard to farmers' present situations and attitudes. This is, in general, what is happening so far. Technical proposals are being rushed in and AMA organisation pushed without any preparatory groundwork. The registration ceremony for the

Ntimbale AMA was being planned, and high publicity with it, while members of the group, farmers in the area and even the Chairman of the AMA still had deep doubts about the viability of the project they had accepted, disagreements over management fees and were still holding to the belief that the cell could be used for breeding purposes rather than for fattening weaners. At Kubung AMA organisation was encouraged before consultation had been carried out in any of the surrounding areas and while many technical questions had still to be discussed. Regional staff, REOs included, admit to feeling under a certain pressure to push ahead. APRU is sometimes held accountable for pressurising to get projects on the ground as LDP II funds are lying unspent. This particular allegation is felt not to be the case - certainly now. It is believed that APRU is as aware as field staff that the odds of farmer attitudes are against this programme's rapid achievement. What is missing is an understood and agreed strategy for how to approach farmers with the proposal. Officials at different levels hold widely varying views on this, and farmers are the first to notice official inconsistency or uncertainty. At least two REOs have serious doubts about APRU cells. The feeling is that instead of jumping straight into an advanced management system (even though on a limited scale), technicians should be working more gradually towards it. Some DAOs and certainly GDOs were also of this view. One GDO, anxious to avoid getting into a "top-down" approach was deliberately holding off from publicising the scheme at all, believing that signs of genuine community interest should be awaited.

In the light of experience and evidence so far, the following guidelines for approach are recommended:

1. R11/40: MORE ATTENTION TO INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT THAN RELIANCE ON 'KGOTLA' PRESENTATION. The primary method of approach so far has been to address 'kgotla' meetings. Action Research found that "those who had little understanding had heard from 'kgotla' meetings or from an AD" and that 70% of farmers had not heard at all. The ineffectiveness of this method alone was equally apparent at Kubung. From one meeting to the next different farmers attended. Those from outlying lands and cattlepost areas in the vicinity of the proposed project area never heard any official explanation. Some opposed the idea but from hearsay only. Others were not interested though could be expected to cause trouble in the future possibly by claiming rights to the area and that they were never consulted. In 'kgotla' the tradition is that those present may speak their own mind but not anyone else's. Although some attending 'kgotla' may, depending on the community and its quality of leadership, give an official presentation serious attention, the audience often consists of whoever happened to be doing nothing else that morning. Little progress in understanding is measured from one meeting to the next. The reaction at 'kgotla' can be easily swayed by forceful speakers. At one 'kgotla' in Goodhope, political elements won support for the APRU cell on the basis that if Mogwalale area did not get the project it would be lost to another area. The majority of local small farmers let the motion pass without speaking, although opposed to it in reality.

After a quiet two hours discussion for this consultancy with the Chairman of Ntimbale AMA, at his lands, the GDO remarked that never before (and there had been many meetings) "had there been a really good discussion". For one thing it was the first time a discussion had been held with the Chairman alone. Previously in public situations he had tended to speak "what was expected". The Chairman's own views, which began section 11.8.11., confirm this.

Although it may mean a drastic slowing down of time schedules, it is recommended here that in order to ensure more effective consultation, institutional development must occur preferably beforehand but certainly as part of the process. If a potential suitable site is identified, the necessary consultation, surveying and planning process can itself become the handle for leadership development, farmer and management training and public education.

Action research found that 73% of farmers did not belong to any group concerned with development. The contention here is that this, and the extent of ignorance about a project proposed for their area after 'kgotla' meetings had been held to explain it, are no coincidence. In this area of the Kgatleng there is a marked absence of representative farmer level institutions or groups for consultation or planning. For such a technically sophisticated and innovative project as a communal grazing cell, reliance on hearsay, an old man returning to a lands area to pass on to others his perplexed version of the proposal from a 'kgotla' meeting, is just unrealistic. Not everyone can be reached all over a community's area - this is accepted. But steps can be taken to ensure that those passing on the message to others more thoroughly understand what it is all about. Tours to Government or other ranches can be organised. Films, workshops and training courses can be arranged. Days rather than hours of discussion of area problems, of the present management system, of development needs (water, lands fencing etc.) and of acceptable and feasible means to implement a viable grazing cell project, can be held with a trained representative local planning group, its responsibility recognised as such by the community that elected it.

Opportunities should be dynamically explored for fostering such institutions. At Kubung, for example, after the third inconclusive 'kgotla' meeting, some farmers and the headman confirmed that the dam committee, which had previously mobilised community action, could be utilised as such a foundation. It had an area wide basis of membership. It could be proposed in 'kgotla' that it act as Farmers Committee for the area. At Sefhophe after a Popular Theatre campaign, farmers were critical of the members of the Farmers Committee, a recent institution in the village, for their inactivity. Those initially elected were said to lack understanding and had failed to achieve anything. Popular Theatre reinforced by the possibility now of a project for which planning and management was necessary, had awakened the community's awareness of the need for more effective representative institutions to lead them. Included in institutional development should be the local Land Board. At Kubung farmers agreed that for adequate consultation the Kubung headman and Land Board should be involved in a tour of outlying areas. For this the Land Board as well as the village leadership needs thorough training on the technicalities and issues.

Consideration also needs to be given to logistics. The Kubung AD had no transport to undertake such area wide tours or even housing to enable him to live in Kubung.

2. R11/41: COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS MUST BE CARRIED OUT. In the more land-scarce situations, communal grazing cells have been rejected by communities for predictable reasons. Gaining acceptance in these areas to the introduction of advanced grazing and livestock management systems is a process which will inevitably take a very long time. In less pressured areas, negotiating acceptance can be expected to become more possible. The process of institutional development described above

is basically one of education at two levels - the community and the farmer organisation management and leadership. In the Kgatleng the Action Research study seemed to indicate that it was ignorance amongst farmers which caused rejection of the APRU cell. The feeling of planners - in the LUPAG, for example - was that the project should basically have been acceptable and feasible.

Rather than relying on 'kgotla' presentations only, farmers should perhaps have been invited to send representatives together with community leaders to a specially organised course at Masama or another demonstration ranch. At Ntimbale, the same is true. Farmers are accepting something they have never seen the like of before. Their antagonism to the P12.00 suggested management fees would have much less likely occurred had leaders and as many interested as possible been invited for several days of farmer training and discussion at Impala SCC for example. The calculation of the costs could then have been explained.

3. R11/42: LAND USE AND MANAGEMENT SURVEYS MUST BE CONDUCTED. An aspect of negotiation may have to be to compromise on aspects of the APRU cell management system. This was mentioned under "achieving the technical purpose" above. Although communal grazing cells have to maintain acceptable standards of management in order to achieve the research objectives, as a group development exercise - which they are also - the lessons learned in the past from RLMP etc. about sensitivity to existing management situations apply just as much. Yet at Kubung, for example, acceptance of the cell and AMA organisation was being encouraged without any prior land use and management survey having been done. Farmers at Sefhophe had completely different and urgent priorities of their own before "the Government project" was proposed. The same applied to Rankoromane and Mogwalale - farmers were concentrating on their own solutions to certain problems, the process only to be disturbed by something else introduced from outside.

The greater tact and more enquiring approach implied here will, like community and farmer education, take more time and effort initially. It also implies the presence of capable community leadership and organisation with which to negotiate.

4. R11/43: A MORE GRADUAL APPROACH MUST BE PURSUED. A strong implication of the above recommendations is that a more gradual group development approach should be pursued. Most regional staff held this view. The APRU cells concept is in a number of respects quite contrary to the group development approach. Instead of dropping in a totally new project, the Rankoromane farmers should be encouraged first to get on with their dip tank repairs, Sefhophe with its water development, lands fencing and tick control needs and so on. This is fundamentally the view of this report. There are definite limits to one community's management capacity and therefore the absorption of most of it into one project like the APRU cell has to be carefully considered in the context of overall community needs.

However, experience and knowledge on communal grazing management systems does need to be gained. Progress everywhere cannot therefore be too gradual, and the approach suggested in (i) - (ii) above should be taken wherever possible.

11.9. EXPERIENCE WITH PARTIAL CLOSED SCHEMES IN TYPE D PROPOSED FULL SCALE COMMUNAL RANCHES

11.9.1. Status of projects

Information is available on six proposed projects in this category. None has gone ahead as sections 11.3.4. and 11.4 showed. Fuller details on each group are provided in Appendix 9. Of the six groups, little is known any more about the three proposed at Marapong and Tutume around 1976. It appears that in-situ fencing was under consideration, in communal situations, thereby classifying the groups under type D. One proposed to be a co-operative. All were groups of less than 10 members at that time. It is possible that one of them may have consisted of the same people to have been allocated a commercial Nata ranch. Commercial ranching groups are partial closed organisational schemes of the D type but are described in Chapter 13 under commercial ranching. In this context the Nxangu group proposal could be said to be on the borderline between a communal D situation and a commercial ranching proposition.

A type D project is in fact only possible where the situation is not zoned truly communal. A major reason why no proposals have gone ahead under this category has been that no areas have been zoned in this "grey" category between communal and commercial.

Two proposals are really of most interest to this discussion - Morale and Tlhagasanong, both in Central Region. The RLMP proposal for the first phase development of the Tsetsejwe communal area was similar to these situations. Membership of the project would have been closed to those outside that particular northern third of the communal area. The analysis here will show that these partial closed schemes cannot be feasible unless they are really total and therefore open, if the area in question is communal.

11.9.2. Farmer objectives

The 1976 post-TGLP era was when many proposals were made for "communal ranching". The Barolong grazing enclosures, total or type A schemes, were proposed during this period. Some of the objectives farmers had in mind there were similar to ideas further north. The now defunct Tutume area groups planned the fencing of their areas into paddocks, the sharing of a borehole or development of new water sources.

The Nxangu group escaping the drought conditions along the Boteti also talk of fencing and rotational grazing. Their prime motive, however, is clearly to obtain water and grazing. Even fencing is planned more to protect cattle from wildlife or from straying. Although the Tutume groups may have had more commercial instincts, the impression with these smaller groups is that, like all communal area groups, exclusive access to better grazing through water development is the primary objective.

Much more is known about the Tlhagasanong and Morale groups. Both are bigger groups. The Tlhagasanong ranching syndicate had 28 members when it formed in December 1975. The Morale membership is 17.

At Tlhagasanong the expressed purpose of the group was to pool common resources, wells and boreholes etc., and fence the entire cattle-post area to a ranch. The group was motivated by the TGLP Radio Learning Group Campaign. The leading members wanted at all costs to avoid being moved to the sandveld - their interpretation of the possible

consequences of the TGLP. Perimeter fencing of the area would assure their continued exclusive use of this cattlepost area. Paddocks were proposed although plans never anywhere near approached incorporating a management system. Common to farmers generally in the communal areas, the syndicate proposed stock improvement by introducing improved breed bulls. Weaning of calves is mentioned as one aim of the constitution proposed by one member. This constitution also suggests that the syndicate would adopt a uniform management policy, market cattle collectively, and be responsible for fire breaks, but that Government should run dip tanks and crushes. The member proposing this constitution suggested a membership fee of 12 head of cattle plus an annual subscription of 3 head. Apart from these proposed developments, the most fundamental objective was to rationalise water distribution. No water development in the area without the mandate of the syndicate as a whole was to be permitted. As Land Board regulations prescribed 5 miles distance between stock watering boreholes, individual farmers in the area were aware that improved water distribution could be possible only through group action in reticulating water from existing sources. Original proposals also included the development of two new group dam sites within the area.

The necessity to collaborate together in order to solve the water problem is better illustrated with information on members' existing water sources.

TABLE 11 (v): WATER RESOURCES - MEMBERS OF TLHAGASANONG RANCH SYNDICATE

Household/farming family		Water sources		
		Dams	Wells	Boreholes
1.*) 2.*)	brothers sharing	1	-	1 (poor yield) 1 (blank, drilled '77)
3.*	nephew to 1.	-	-	Applied (note 4)
4.) 5.)	brothers sharing	-	1 (equipped)	-
6.		1	1 (equipped)	2
7.*		1	-	-
8.*		1	-	-
Others* related to families 1-3, 4.			Yes (note 3)	

NOTES

(1) Families 1-5 all related, extended family first settled in the area around 1910.
(2) Family 6 arrived in the area in 1954.
(3) These families water livestock at wells or nearby Maokatuma stream
(4) This man pays a beast per year to water at his uncle's dam/borehole with poor yield.

(5) All marked " water cattle at the Setote river 10 miles away after other sources dry up; the Makgwape dam near Tlhagasanong is also used.

From Table 11 (v), it can be seen that the initial extended family to settle in the area have real water problems. One of the two brothers watering together at a dam tried to drill a second borehole in 1977 since their earlier borehole had a very low yield. They, together with most other residents in the area, have considerable seasonal problems, having to move cattle 10-12 miles to the Setote river when local sources are dried up. One family, the most recent immigrant to the locality, is conspicuously more successful than the others, having been blessed with two successful boreholes as well as having a dam and an equipped well.

If the Tlhagasanong syndicate had succeeded in its aims, holders of existing water rights would have been compensated for some of their expenses by other members.

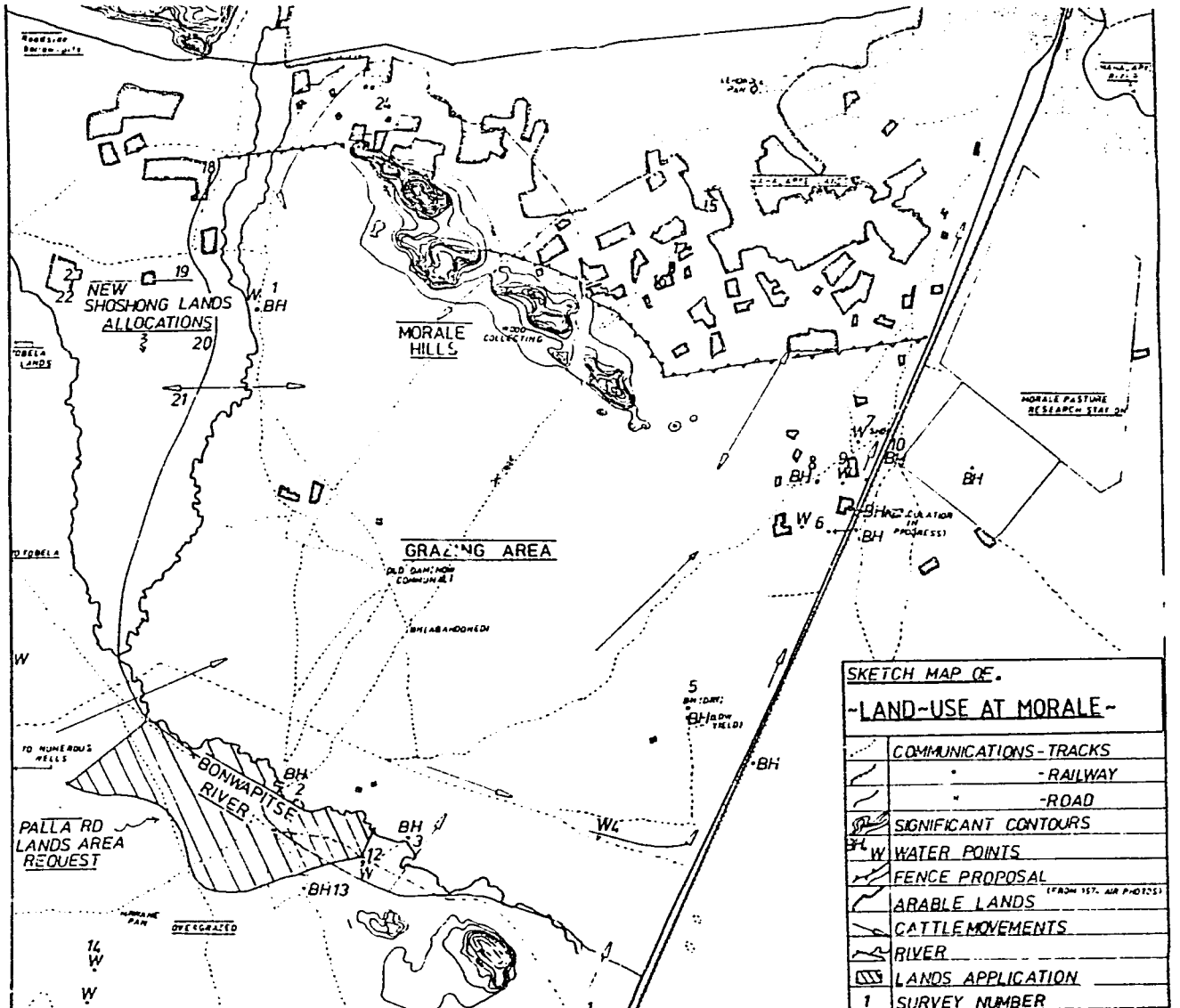
At Morale the existing water resources, privately owned by members consisted of 7 functioning boreholes and 5 wells. In addition, one small old communal dam exists. The developments proposed by this group include fencing the perimeter, building camps for bulls, weaners and for AI cows and reticulating water. A handling crush has already been built with help from the Veterinary Department.

The motive behind this proposed communal ranch is very different from Tlhagasanong. Morale is a several generations old cattlepost area for people from certain wards in Pilikwe, Shoshong and Serowe. Water sources are not a basic problem. The group formed with the main purpose of perimeter fencing the entire area to halt the expansion of neighbouring lands areas and prevent their cattle from straying and damaging crops. Morale cattleowners were each paying as much as P20 to P40 or even a beast twice or even 3-4 times per year in crop damage penalties. So anxious were members of the group about their situation, particularly on the northern boundary with the Mahalapye lands area, that they went ahead and cut the line of this boundary intending to construct a drift fence. Further progress was halted by the Mahalapye Sub Land Board pending a full land use investigation of the area.

11.9.3. Factors preventing implementation

No information could be collected on the Tutume area groups. At Nxangu the problems holding up progress of the group were twofold. One was the group's total lack of finances as Foot and Mouth disease regulations prevented the marketing of their cattle. The more major obstacle, however, was that the area they had settled on, where they proposed to equip an old well and if possible develop a ranch, is presently State Land. Only when decisions have been made on its future status can the rights of the group be considered.

At Tlhagasanong the situation is more a social tragedy. The necessity to group was, and still is, to allow water development, since as individuals the farmers cannot develop more water sources in the area. The tragedy is that a feud between the two main families involved has prevented this collaboration. The earlier settlers in the area who need improved water sources most as a result distrust the main rival family, who under the syndicate arrangement would receive compensation for the communal use of his water sources. The suspicion extends from a fear of


SKETCH MAP OF.
-LAND-USE AT MORALE-
COMMUNICATIONS - TRACKS
- RAILWAY
- ROAD
SIGNIFICANT CONTOURS
WATER POINTS
FENCE PROPOSAL
ARABLE LANDS
CATTLE MOVEMENTS
RIVER
LANDS APPLICATION
SURVEY NUMBER
NEW SHOSHONG LANDS ALLOCATIONS
MORALE HILLS
GRAZING AREA
BONWAPITSE RIVER
PALLA RD LANDS AREA REQUEST
TO TOBELA
TO NUMEROUS WELLS
OVERGRAZED
MORALE PASTURE RESEARCH STATION

dependence on this one successful family to one of being "chased away" from the area. The feud had its main outworking when one of the brothers in the older family in the area attempted, in 1977, to drill a borehole without consulting the syndicate. This provided grounds for a formal rift between the rival families which was deepened when an application by another relative for another borehole site was turned down by the Land Board on which connections with the successful rival family existed and were claimed to be the cause.

The members of the syndicate have no experience of working together on any project. To follow up their initial plans for rationalising water distribution the group elected a small committee to survey the area and plan what measures to take. The committee never even met. Similarly a committee to draft an official constitution never got together to do so. Only one member's proposal for a constitution exists.

At Morale social problems of an internal nature have not been in evidence. The group was in fact sufficiently well internally organised to produce a legally drafted constitution and apply for AMA registration. Some influential membership in the group ensured this. The problems for this group have been land use issues. Reference to the land use map[31] for the area makes the situation very clear (page 209). Membership of the group is restricted to people having water sources in the area or to others having agreements with water source owners. Only two of the members plough in the adjacent lands area. The Morale cattleowners are thus a quite distinct and separate interest group from their neighbours.

Even though Morale has been a cattlepost area for many years, the land use dispute arises because this grazing locality happens to be an area containing the most suitable soils for arable use anywhere around Mahalapye, a major village centre of 25,000 and growing according to recent DTRP surveys. There is no question as to the Morale area's communal status in such a location. The AO(LR) for Central Region, in a report to the Ngwato Land Board LUPAG[32], describes the land use conflict as a "classic confrontation" between communities with arable needs and cattle owners needing grazing. He notes four groups involved in the conflict

(i) the "Morale Associated Cattlemen" - the group of 17, only one of whom has separate cattleposts elsewhere.

(ii) Mahalapye arable cultivators needing to expand steadily into the Morale area from the north.

(iii) Palla Road village cultivators - 65 farmers who have applied for a new 500 hectare block of arable lands area just south of the Bonwapitse river.

(iv) Peripheral cattle owners who, though denied access to water in Morale, use the grazing area. The AO(LR) describes this group as an "unorganised entity" which will be affected by any land use changes in Morale as their alternative grazing areas outside to the south and west of the Bonwapitse are very overcrowded.

In addition, the AO(LR) notes the collection of firewood in the Morale hills as another use made of the area by other people.

In view of this communal situation, the Ngwato Land Board and Mahalapye Sub Land Board ruled that the Morale Associated Cattlemen, if they wished to pursue their intentions to develop the area, should con-

(31) Prepared for Land Board by AO(LR) Serowe
(32) Dated May 1980.

sult the neighbouring communities. This the group has apparently not done. The AO(LR)'s report notes that neither the peripheral cattle owners nor the Mahalapye community as a whole have been consulted. He observes in conclusions from survey interviews (25-30 households in and around the area were contacted during the course of the land use and capability survey) that

> "- not one respondent outside the Morale area had a clear idea of what proposals for the area were. Some had vague notions of a fencing scheme but knew no details."
>
> "- people in the south and west of the Bonwapitse, and in the north where some cattle are kept inside the lands areas, are generally not keen on the ranch concept because they currently have unrestricted access to the Morale grazing area."

11.9.4. <u>The issue - closed exclusive use of grazing in communal situations</u>

What land use plan and management system could satisfy the diverse needs of all four interest groups in the communal Morale situation? The AO(LR) puts forward several alternative courses of development for the Morale area - viz:

(a) permit an exclusive group ranch - i.e. a closed system,

(b) recognise primarily as an arable production area (because of soil fertility, high rainfall locality - 500 mm/year, proximity to Mahalapye market, potential to provide many target group families with income through ALDEP),

(c) integration of both arable and improved livestock production systems (reserving soils of best capability for arable, and the remainder for ranching),

(d) "do nothing" - this would only be a postponement of a decision that would be repeatedly sought as the present trends would continue to increase progressively the pressures and the conflict.

This was the status in May 1980 of the planning discussion. As the AO(LR)'s report recognised, an integration of land uses for the area would be a compromise solution less perfect from each group's own interest. The Morale Associated Cattlemen stand to lose most from any integration. With one exception, this is their only cattlepost area - a position which the Land Board has been in sympathy with.

The AO(LR) notes that in LUPAG discussions in 1979 (ref. 32/79) the then Ngwato Land Board members of LUPAG favoured continued recognition of "user rights" - i.e. of present occupancy - "because of the alternatives of having to provide heavy compensation which the Land Board were unwilling and able to do". They suggested Palla Road farmers should seek lands elsewhere in the Shoshong or Mookane areas, distances of some 30 miles. Land Board's sympathy with the Morale cattlemen did not extend, though, as far as encouraging the development of the area under their ranching association.

At Tlhagasanong a land use conflict never arose as such. Progress has been halted mostly as a result of internal social problems. But the syndicate's initial application for exclusive use of the area based, as at

Morale (and as would have been the case at Tsetsejwe), on present occupancy, was responded to with caution by the Ngwato Land Board in February 1976. The group was warned quite firmly that their intentions could only be considered when the District's TGLP land use zoning exercise had been completed. It should be recalled that the Tlhagasanong proposal came at a time when District authorities and officials had scarcely started the TGLP planning process.

As the syndicate's internal problems prevented their exerting continued pressure on Land Board, no conclusions were ever reached on the land use plan for this area. Regional Agricultural staff conducted a land use survey of Tlhagasanong in July 1976, mapping the position of water points, cattleposts, fields and noting range condition. An "internal consultation" exercise was to follow for which questionnaires were designed but staff shortages prevented the Region from proceeding further with this at the time. To date Central District planners have yet to decide on the way communal zoning applies to areas like Tlhagasanong - a cattlepost area defined earlier in this report as a "grey area" (see Chapter 8) beyond the limits of the more overcrowded immediate communal radius around villages and lands areas yet well within reach for farmers with resources to dig wells or participate in other forms of water development. The Tlhagasanong area is only 20-25 km from the neighbouring villages of Mogapinyana, Kgagodi and Mogapi. Were closed groups of this type to be permitted to fence, the enclosed areas would continue to allow present occupants to maintain as many as 45 to 50 livestock units per family, whilst beyond their fence whole communities sharing the remaining communal grazing might be permitted an average only of 10-15 livestock units per family. This is of course a long term scenario and assumes the eventual introduction, whether through the more gradual persuasive process of group and institutional development, the use of conservation legislation or both, of stocking quotas related to carrying capacity.

The Tlhagasanong group definitely had a closed concept in mind for their area. The constitution proposed by one of their number[33] in an attempt in July 1979 to reactivate the group's initial aims included such phrases as:

- a farmer who rejects membership will not be allowed settlement in the syndicate area
- cutting of grass and poles by persons other than members of the syndicate shall be prohibited,
- the syndicate shall reject unlawful settlements in the area
- nomads who have no existing rights in the syndicate area will return to their areas to safeguard the congestion of livestock in the area.

The only note of compromise comes in a suggestion that "100 acres of land will, with the approval of the Land Board, be debushed for the cultivation of crops for the consumption of farm servants.

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(33) This proposal though widely distributed even to Government Departments for comment has not been accepted or even discussed by the group.

11.9.5. Conclusions and guidelines

The Morale and Tlhagasanong cattleowner groups were classified as type D because their expressed intentions were to develop their cattlepost areas on the basis of existing exclusive occupancy by means of an organisational system closed to outsiders. In both cases, but particularly at Morale where the group has been able to pursue its claims more persistently and a clearer case of conflict in land use has therefore arisen, the basic issue is whether the area claimed is to be considered as part of a wider communal area locality. If so, can that wider communal area with the communities dependent on it be defined, and what form of partial development should be considered in the context of long term land use planning catering for all interests of the communities concerned?

Morale is clearly part of a wider total. Only open forms of partial development should therefore be considered. The Land Board and the AO(LR) are therefore correct to emphasise the need for proper consultation on the future use of the area. Due to the conflicting land use demands on the area, the situation could in fact be described as one of land scarcity and pressure. In this case a total approach to the entire communal area of which Morale is a part is recommended. This has to involve intensive consultation and comprehensive land use planning as we saw in Section 11.5. In many respects this is the approach implicitly being taken by the land use planners at present, though not defined as such.

In conclusion a number of recommendations can be offered.

1. R11/44: PARTIAL CLOSED SYSTEMS OF REORGANISATION AND LAND USE ARE NOT TO BE RECOMMENDED IN COMMUNAL AREAS.
R11/45: CLEARER POLICY GUIDELINES ARE NEEDED FOR LAND USE PLANNING IN "GREY AREAS" WHICH AS PART OF WIDER TOTAL COMMUNAL LOCALITIES REPRESENT POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE PARTIAL OPEN DEVELOPMENT. The future needs of more of the members of communities dependent on a locality must be catered for in planning. Effectively this means adopting a total approach to these situations.

2. R11/46: THE ONLY FORM OF LAND USE DEVELOPMENT FEASIBLE FOR THE MORALE AREA IS AN INTEGRATION OF ARABLE AND COMMUNAL GRAZING. AN EXCLUSIVE RANCHING OPERATION IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE COMMUNAL NEEDS OF THE WIDER COMMUNITY. IF MEMBERS OF THE MORALE ASSOCIATED CATTLEMEN HAVE SERIOUS COMMERCIAL RANCHING OBJECTIVES, THESE SHOULD BE PURSUED IN THE COMMERCIAL ZONE. THE GROUP SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO APPLY FOR A COMMERCIAL RANCH AS AN AMA.

3. R11/47: THE AO(LR)'S RECOMMENDATION IS STRONGLY SUPPORTED THAT IN CONSULTING ALL PEOPLE INVOLVED AROUND MORALE, THE LAND BOARD SHOULD NOT RELY ON THE MAHALAPYE 'KGOTLA' ALONE BUT "VISIT THE AREA AND DISCUSS PROBLEMS AND PROPOSALS WITH THE PEOPLE BOTH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY AFFECTED".

4. R11/48: MORE EMPHASIS IS NEEDED ON INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO REPRESENT MORE EFFECTIVELY THE MAJORITY OF THE FARMING COMMUNITY IN THE DIALOGUE WITH THE MORE ARTICULATE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CATTLEOWNER GROUP. The Sub Land Board, in an interview, seemed very aware that the interests of the majority of less articulate farmers needed protection.

5. R11/49: THE MAHALAPYE SUB LAND BOARD AND SENIOR SUB TRIBAL AUTHORITY SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY BRIEFED ON THE LONG TERM ISSUES CONCERNED WITH MORALE, IN ORDER TO MEDIATE MORE EFFECTIVELY IN THE CONFLICT.

6. R11/50: IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEARER THAT LAND BOARDS CAN BE PROVIDED WITH RESOURCES FOR MLGL'S "IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND USE PLANS" PROJECT TO ALLOW COMPENSATION. THE LAND BOARDS CONCERNED (NGWATO, MAHALAPYE, SHOSHONG) DO NOT SEEM TO BE AWARE OF THIS OR AT LEAST OF HOW THESE RESOURCES CAN BE UTILISED IN PRACTICE).

11.10. TYPE E - PARTIAL CLOSED, LIMITED PURPOSE SCHEMES

11.10.1. Case situations

This category would exist if groups were allowed to fence areas of communal grazing for their exclusive use but only for a limited purpose such as fattening, or bull or weaner camps. It has been noted that the danger exists of AMA organisations effectively obtaining this situation through the APRU communal grazing cell project (see sections 11.7 and 11.8. although the intention of these projects and AMA organisation is that they should be open.

No examples exist of proposals for fattening, bull or weaner camps in the communal areas for a closed group. The only project which might possibly fall within this category is the Chibangabiya"mogau"fencing group in Tutume District. The zoning status of the Chibangabiya area, reported to be some 40 km west of Tutume, is believed to be communal. It is a cattlepost area shared by farmers from Seolowane and Senete. The Selolwane group has existed since around 1972/73 building a group crush and attempting to develop a water source. After TGLP in 1976 they were reported to be interested in forming a co-operative ranch. The present project is much more limited in scale. In coaoperation with about five farmers from Senete, the Selolwane group now of seven farmers are proposing to enclose an area of grazing infested with the 'mogau' poisonous plant. To date some funds and rolls of wire have been contributed by the Selolwane group (see Appendix table 9.2). Co-operation with the less organised Senete farmers has however proved difficult and due partly to this and probably to the FMD situation, little progress has been reported since 1979.

11.10.2. Viability of the Chibangabiya project

The cost of the 22 km of fencing involved at Chibangabiya was calculated at just over P4000 by the Regional APO. Funding under SLOGA had been discussed, and the group had agreed on a per member contribution of 5 rolls of wire. If all were to donate this amount with a membership of 12 the group would raise nearly 50% of the capital cost. Economically the project would be highly justifiable for the group; a contribution of 5 rolls of wire would be conpensated for by the saving of just one beast's life from poisoning. The membership appear to be large cattle owners with herds of in the region of 60 head, and losses from 'mogau' poisoning in the past must have been considerable.

11.10.3. Conclusions and guidelines

The Chibangabiya project has only been proposed because a 'mogau' infested section needs to be fenced off in an area of relative land abundance. The "camp" which would be created represents a small portion of the overall grazing area. Even though plans do not necessarily include the introduction of improved management, fencing on this scale, to the relatively rich cattleowners involved, is a profitable venture - in this case simply to save the lives of a few cattle each year.

In both this case and potential cases elsewhere, the group project can be permitted only within the framework of an area land use plan and necessary consultation with other users of the communal grazing. Organisation should in theory be open not closed. This should be reflected in the group's constitution and in the terms of any land allocation.

11.11. HOW TO APPROACH COMMUNAL GRAZING AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT

11.11.1. Seeing the experience in terms of types of organisational approach

What has been learned over the last five to six years of experience in trying to introduce communal grazing management systems in Botswana? Chambers and Feldman recommended pursuing a variety of approaches and Government in its 1973 White Paper endorsed this policy. The evidence of this chapter is discouraging. Most ranching projects in the communal areas are not managed by farmers as members of the communities involved. All tribally built ranches except one are now managed virtually directly by Government or another agency, having failed to manage themselves. The one exception is reported now to be bankrupt, and Government take-over is talked of. Freehold ranches purchased for expansion of communal grazing in the south east are devastated and unmanaged. Government in the RLMP AND VADP adopted completely unrealistic approaches, failed to plan comprehensively, consult farmers adequately or anticipate support requirements. Evidence indicates that the approach being taken to introduce APRU cells is likewise too rushed. The only example of an attempted replicable co-operative ranch is at Mabeleapudi but here again SBDT's approach has ignored group development aspects completely, the community has had no genuine involvement in management and is confused even as to who the ranch belongs to.

The most important key to further discussion is considered to be the classification system - i.e. the categories originally suggested by Chambers and Feldman - total, partial open and partial closed systems of organisation. The overriding recommendation of this chapter is for all concerned with development in this field to see what is happening in terms of this classification and the ample warnings provided by its original authors about what each approach should involve, the dangers to be aware of and the situations each is appropriate for.

R11/51: WITH THE ASSISTANCE POSSIBLY OF FURTHER GUIDELINES DEVELOPED IN THIS CHAPTER UNDER EACH CATEGORY IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT TECHNICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL GUIDELINES BE DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF CHAMBERS' AND FELDMAN'S CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM.

Recommendations and guidelines directed towards each type of organisational approach and its appropriate situation appear within each section. In this final section an attempt will be made to draw the experience more together.

11.11.2. Participation

The type of communal situation and organisational system is of fundamental importance in assessing participation.

In a total approach (type A) the whole community, including all interest groups, must be provided for in a comprehensive land use plan. So far no such system has been implemented. Where total systems have been proposed - e.g. in the Barolong, participation in the grazing enclosure groups involved only part of the local community. The needs of the remainder were not considered. No institutional development has been done to safeguard participation.

The experience with type B has been discouraging. At Mabeleapudi the confusion over the purpose and ownership of the ranch, lack of involvement of the community in its development and management and fear of the Society's share capital by-laws discouraged local participation. It is not known what economic level of farmers were involved although by-laws restricted membership to owners of less than 100 head of cattle. This may have alienated the richer members of the community and caused their opposition to the ranch - a factor reported also to have discouraged participation by the rest of the community beset also by leadership problems. In this respect the ranch was not "open" to everybody. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect a community to agree to the use of part of its communal area for "the poorer sector" only.

R11/52: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS ASPECT BE STUDIED BY RURAL SOCIOLOGY. It is believed, though, that the management style of SBDT was the factor above all other considerations which affected participation. All other B ranches have been tribally developed and as such not related in practice to a particular community. The BDA ranch is potentially one exception.

R11/53: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE NOW TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT AS A COMMUNITY MANAGED PROJECT. Rankoromane ranch provides possibly the greatest potential for group management of a partial scheme.

R11/54: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ITS MEMBERSHIP AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS TO THE VILLAGE AND LANDS COMMUNITIES USING THE AREA BE CLOSELY STUDIED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE RLFA. Full participation in the initial RLFA activities are important to ensure that in the long term the use of the grazing area remains open as it is now. It is a challenging initiative on the part of the RLFA committee.

There are as yet no type C schemes organised unless the Ntimbale AMA's APRU cell is counted in this category.

The APRU cell programme has received opposition as a partial development in areas of land scarcity where the approach should be total. AMA organisation has been interpreted in some cases as a closed system of group organisation. The Ntimbale membership is a small proportion of the population of eligible communities in the area. This low participation should be a cause for concern; as a matter of principle, participation in partial open schemes should be as high as possible. Judging from

Action Research study findings, and supported by evidence elsewhere, the APRU's extension approach is to be criticised. APRU cell projects are being pushed ahead and organised in environments of almost complete ignorance about the purpose, management system, cost and technicalities involved. The lack of attention to institutional development for consultation purposes and land use and management survey appears to be the major weakness. Low participation at Ntimbale and confusion and rejection of the scheme elsewhere can all be attributed to failure to educate the community adequately on what the APRU cells are all about. Recommendations are given in section 11.8.11 on the approach needed.

These are examples of proposed partial closed schemes - types D and E in the communal areas. The proposed membership of these is restricted to present occupancy or use of more exclusive and wealthier cattlepost areas.

R11/55: AS THE AREAS CONCERNED, IF IN THE COMMUNAL ZONE, REPRESENT PART OF A WIDER TOTAL AREA, DEVELOPMENT WHETHER OR NOT ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED BY THE PRESENT GROUPS MUST, THROUGH PROVISIONS IN ORGANISATIONAL BY-LAWS AND UNDER THE TERMS OF LAND ALLOCATION, BE OPEN. Cases like Morale need to be treated as situations requiring a total approach - i.e. comprehensive land use plan and institutional development sufficient to ensure genuine consultation and other management functions concerned with the use of the area.

11.11.3. Form of organisation

Very limited experience exists so far on form of organisation for management of grazing land in Botswana. Organisations like the RLFA, attempting to introduce improvements to the facilities at Rankoromane ranch, are at this stage unregistered informal groups. No organisations have been developed in type A situations (total systems). The Communal Co-operative form of organisation was proposed at one stage of the RLMP for Tsetsejwe. Progress was interrupted before any significant lessons had been learned.

AMA organisation is being introduced for partial open APRU cell schemes. There is every reason for confidence in this form of organisation provided it receives adequate support and guidance. Although the Ntimbale AMA constitution provides for membership to be "open" to members of certain communities, it remains to be seen how this will be interpreted in practice. Community level adult education, management training of the AMA committees and farmer training in the purpose and technicalities of the APRU cells are vital to encourage participation and hence to ensure the organisation does remain genuinely open to the community.

The only experience with Co-operative organisation has, at Mabeleapudi, been a dismal failure. No regard was paid to training of management or membership in co-operative principles. Society by-laws were for the most part ignored. Management was effectively held in the hands of SBDT - the initiating and promoting agency. The Department of Co-operatives has hardly been involved throughout the six year period of registration. The recommendation is that the Society should be dissolved and the whole project re-organised with more attention to group development, possibly as an AMA under the more flexible supportive CAMA organisation.

The most effective form of organisation is the one intelligible to its members. The 15 pages of by-laws of the Serowe & District Small

Producers Livestock Co-operative Society were totally unintelligible to the local communities involved. This possibly explains why SBDT never attempted even to show them to members of the management committee from Mabeleapudi and Paje. Discussion and comprehension would have demanded extremes of patience on all sides. The AMA constitution for Ntimbale is a much better document, straightforward and with readily intelligible objectives and methods.

It remains to be seen what organisation will be developed in situations demanding a total system approach. The Matsheng Land Use Plan foresees AMAs being formed on a village-wide basis and possibly "subordinate" AMAs on the basis of ward or affinity groups (page 49 Matsheng LUP). It notes that "single management bodies with responsibilities for group and land management throughout the village communal area will be needed, so as to ensure co-ordinated and well-distributed development." At Matsheng the LUP expects it to take some time before viable AMAs are established, and in the meantime sees VDCs as the existing institution which will execute management functions with respect to grazing improvements. The GDO and CDO are expected to oversee the AMA formation process, the CDO advising and supporting the VDCs in the meantime.

Matsheng (still only a proposal) is the only example where institutional development has been linked in the plans to comprehensive land use planning. Although this attempt to link, in itself, is a step in the right direction, much remains to be learned in practice of what is involved. The assumption that VDCs can perform communal area management functions to begin with is a risky one. In many of the overcrowded parts of the country settlement is very "mixed" with communities sharing patches of grazing. Institutional development at this level is weak (e.g. in the Barolong). Experience with partial schemes and with group development generally all serves to emphasise that the building up of effective community level planning and management capability requires a long time, persistent training and adult education inputs and the all important ingredient - direct experience. At Matsheng, so far the only commitment is verbal.

If, even in attempting to introduce partial scheme proposals (APRU cells) the logistics or skills for an approach which facilitates institutional development are beyond present reach, what more of the approach required for facilitating a total organisation system where an institution is essential as a forum for arriving at decisions affecting the whole communal area. Such a forum must achieve fair representation of all interests and be able to exercise certain controls and sanctions in a democratic way.

In terms of controls over proper land management, the ultimate sanction for total system is conservation legislation. In commercial areas or even in partial open schemes in the communal areas, other sanctions can more easily be applied - withdrawal of AMA registration, cancellation of a lease, or cancellation of an NDB loan. A whole community cannot so easily be sanctioned in those ways. An offender cannot be expelled from the membership of a total system other than by imprisonment! The Matsheng Land Use Plan incorporates a role for the District Conservation Committee and other authorities in applying sanctions against AMAs for violation of stocking rates or other conditions. Serviced by the DAO, the Conservation Committee will work to promote a broad understanding of local conservation issues.

Chambers and Feldman provided a classification together with advice and predictions on organisational and legal aspects of improved grazing management systems on a total scale. The Matsheng Land Use Plan

has effectively applied these to a specific area (though possibly not as a direct translation from Chambers and Feldman's guidelines as no reference is made to them). What remains is for Botswana to learn more exactly what it all involves in practice. Clear indications are coming from experience with the group development process, much more is always involved than is anticipated. Actually to implement a comprehenesive land use plan by means of developing a total organisational system for areas like Bamalete or the Barolong is an operation far beyond present institutional capability at all levels.

Much of the evidence presented in this chapter and the views of officials and farmers themselves supports the gradualist approach. Views do vary. In some areas of less land pressure and where a clear gain is seen, farmers do not refuse the introduction of radically novel projects like APRU cells, and seem to hope to learn from them. More widely though both at farmer and official level the technical package and the organisational system with it are rejected. Institutional development appears most genuinely to be occurring in the drift fence and related groups where, as at Mmathethe (Macha fence), Metsemaswaane and Thabala, through experience of communal schemes which have involved an extent of area wide development, awareness is growing of not only the need to but of how to think and plan for future management. Later chapters, firstly on single project groups and then on multi project areas and groups - particularly on the work of Farmers Committees - will reveal more of this.

This awareness, this practical experience of what is involved in planning, consultation, anticipating what a project will mean for different interest groups in a community and organising contributions and work is missing in most of the story of this chapter. Institutional development has been overlooked, neglected, substituted for and just about anything except facilitated.

R11/56: A FUNDAMENTAL CONCLUSION OF THIS STUDY IS THAT IN THE EXPERIENCE SO FAR OF COMMUNAL GRAZING/ RANCH DEVELOPMENT, INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A NEGLECTED AREA. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FAR MORE ATTENTION IS NEEDED IN THIS AREA, CONSCIOUSLY RELATED TO THE TYPE OF ORGANISATIONAL SYSTEM (A, B, etc.) APPROPRIATE TO THE SITUATION (land pressure, conflict or relative abundance). In type A situations it is clearly a prerequisite for any genuine planning and future management. For partial schemes to be genuinely open (B and C) it is likewise vital for effective consultation.

In promoting communal schemes, management needs to be recognised as the scarce resource at farmer level. To develop management capability will require training, time and money. Farmers see management as a costly innovation. No type B ranching scheme has been successfully managed by farmers or tribal representatives. To keep the costs of improved grazing and livestock systems to a minimum requires good management - a cost in itself. The need for this innovation and its cost to the community should be weighed against the neeed for management for other communal priorities.

11.11.4. Research and education on attitudes to overstocking, and other measures for approaching this problem

A problem in introducing improved grazing management in the communal areas is the attitude of farmers to overstocking. This was explained in section 11.2.2.

Chambers and Feldman predicted that in areas of land pressure, the difficult issue of setting stock quotas would have to be confronted at an early stage. Awareness of any need to control stocking rates is still very limited. The Tlhagasanong group (type D) according to one proposed constitution, was willing to stock in line with carrying capacity, but then at Tlhagasanong, an area of relative land abundance, farmers are more able to do so. Stocking rate can be controlled within a partial scheme (e.g. APRU cell) but farmers again have resisted these in all but the more understocked areas.

Some Land Boards are aware of the problems. The Rolong Land Board explicitly prohibited further development in terms of fencing, of the grazing enclosures in the absence of agreements on stocking rate. The Tawana Land Board is keen to see an APRU cell demonstrate the improved productivity possible through proper management of the most degraded pastures. But for farmers the implications in the Barolong have been too drastic to contemplate; the sort of quotas per family would be too low to be acceptable if carrying capacity were adhered to.

Farmers and some officials see solutions to the problems in the most overcrowded areas in terms only of dramatic intervention such as the purchase of more freehold land. Certainly, serious consideration is needed on any possible ways to expand the communal areas as anticipated in the TGLP (para. 37c) "if communal areas are already overcrowded they will be made bigger". The acquisition of water sources and hence grazing areas on the margins of the communal zone for groups from overcrowded areas is one possibility to explore. A small farmer needs his communal grazing nearby, not one or two hundred miles away in the commercial ranch development areas. Such distances are totally impractical unless owners have herds of a certain threshold size (it varies from around 50 to 70 head) above which it can become a commercially worthwhile exercise to establish and manage the herd under improved conditions further away. For smaller owners, opportunities to participate in commercial ranching must be provided nearer to the communal areas where they live. Incentives could be increased to compensate wealthier owners to ranch commercially farther out.

Apart from these more dramatic measures, long term solutions within the communal areas depend on: (a) Government understanding more about small farmer attitudes and management systems, and (b) small farmers understanding more about improved management systems and being provided viable alternatives to the present system. Attitudes are only likely to change if and when incomes and livelihood decrease in real terms. Government has to be able to demonstrate losses in livestock productivity due to overgrazing and relate these to standard of living of the farmer. At present though it cannot even be proved that the overall management system is not operating on a sustainable basis.

R11/57: ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS CAN ONLY COME FROM FURTHER RESEARCH, difficult though it is outside controlled conditions. Technical research in livestock and crop production systems and socio economic research on overall management systems and livelihoods, if undertaken in parallel, may assist understanding of what levels and types of livelihood are sustainable. As part of this exercise, alternatives should be explored to livestock - the increased use of tractors etc.

Farmer training needs to be approached more in this light.

R11/58: ALTHOUGH INSTRUCTION ON HUSBANDRY TECHNIQUES IS VALUABLE, EVERY GROUP OF FARMERS IN FOR TRAINING REPRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR DIALOGUE ON LONGER TERM MANAGEMENT ISSUES. This is particularly so where the participants actually are Farmers Committees or farmer groups engaged in the management of some project. The amount of farmer education going on at present on range and livestock management is negligible. It is virtually limited to the training at Ramatlabama of commercial ranch managers. The only training course conducted for the management of a communal area group appears to be the December 1978 workshop organised by Central Region's agricultural staff for the Mabeleapudi Co-op committee. Education is a necessary part of the institutional development process. The widespread confusion and ignorance about the APRU cell programme in areas where it has been proposed could almost certainly have been significantly reduced had field courses, campaigns and other methods of adult education and farmer training been employed at appropriate stages in the discussions.

11.11.5. Land use and management system - surveying, planning and consultation

The value of using a classification (types of system A to E) is to provide a basis for judging more easily what is happening in a particular area. Even in drift fencing there is anxiety over whether an enclosure movement is taking place - a lands grab, or in some cases a grazing grab.

R11/59: THIS CHAPTER HAS CONCLUDED THAT WHEREVER ANY FORM OF PRESSURE (i.e. A LAND USE CONFLICT) EXISTS OR CAN BE ANTICIPATED, THE APPROACH AS FOR A TOTAL (TYPE A) SYSTEM IS NECESSARY INVOLVING COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE PLANNING AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

R11/60: ELSEWHERE IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS TO ENCOURAGE OPEN PARTIAL SYSTEMS (TYPE B AND C) SURVEYS AND CONSULTATION ARE STILL NECESSARY.

What is involved has been illustrated by experience notably at Matsheng, for a total approach, and at Morale basically also for a total approach in order to prevent a closed type D system developing. The difficulties encountered when either land use planning or consultation are neglected have been amply illustrated by experience, e.g. of the RLMP at Thabala and Tsetsejwe, SBDT at Mabeleapudi and APRU in the Kgatleng and in several other localities. Another example is Tlhagasanong where in 1976 Central Region's agricultural staff concentrated too much on technical appraisals (land use survey, range condition etc.) and too little on the group itself - who owned what, what various individuals needs were and how they could best be met through group action. A balance has to be achieved. A lot of technical expertise (mainly land use staff time) was wasted at Tlhagasanong in 1976 because subsequent internal social issues prevented any group follow up. Conversely had the approach from the beginning been more gradualist with more attention paid to the social issues, the later divisions in the group could possibly have been safeguarded against.

The capacity of staff at Regional level supported by specialist technical and adult education sections at HQ to investigate the land use and management system for a given situation is a support area neglected

in the past which requires more emphasis.

R11/61: IN DEVELOPING GUIDELINES IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE EXPERIENCE BE STUDIED AND TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT OF THE MATSHENG EXERCISE, THE MORALE INVESTIGATION, THE ACTION RESEARCH UNIT'S SURVEY IN THE KGATLENG AND THE ATTEMPTS OF CENTRAL REGION AROUND 1976 TO UNDERTAKE LAND USE SURVEYS AND "PUBLIC" AND "PRIVATE" - (INTERNAL) - CONSULTATION FOR TLHAGASANONG AND THE RLMP PROJECTS. Similarities will be noticed in questionnaire coverage, consultation methods and the type of information obtained.

R11/62: A POSSIBLE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND ACTION RESEARCH COULD BE DISCUSSED (THIS IS A RECOMMENDATION), THE PURPOSE BEING TO SET UP A CAPABILITY TO SUPPORT REGIONAL STAFF WHEREVER CONSULTATION EXERCISES NEED TO BE FACILITATED - AS NOW FOR APRU CELL PROPOSALS, AND CERTAINLY IN THE FUTURE FOR TOTAL APPROACHES TO AREAS LIKE THE BAROLONG OR MALETE.

11.11.6. Potential problems in communal grazing schemes

Potential problems are best anticipated in the context of type of organisational system (A to E) and with regard to the sort of communal situations the systems are appropriate for. The discussion in sections 11.3.2. - 11.3.3., and in the sections on each type of system that follow (11.5 to 11.10) has already covered this area.

In a more general way it can be noted that various types of potential problem have been experienced:

- attitudinal
- social (internal)
- community leadership
- tribal/communal
- organisational, institutional and managerial

The attitudinal, organisational, institutional and managerial problems have been referred to in the sub sections above (11.11.1 to 11.11.4). Internal social problems affect group development generally (see later chapters), but the example of Tlhagasanong is a particularly tragic one (11.9.3.) Community leadership problems can affect progress directly and indirectly. At Mabeleapudi the rivalry between the two headmen was one cause of difficulties with consultation and institutional development in the community. Solutions require major intervention in community affairs through popular education methods or even more direct measures to change the leadership.

Tribally related difficulties in co-operation between neighbouring communities are very liable to occur in situations where grazing areas are shared. One underlying factor in the break up of the proposed Tsetsejwe Communal Co-operative (under the RLMP, 1976) was this type of factionalism. Residents of the Metsebotlhoko cattlepost area, Babirwa people from Bobonong were opposed to being part of a project organised from Tsetsejwe - a community of BaPedi, more recent immigrants from the Transvaal. Likewise the proposed RLMP scheme for Matsiloje area was shelved due to a refusal of Matsiloje people to share the project area with Mapoka people even though it was to be on State Land.

This chapter has focussed most on the key issues of stocking rate, of attitudes to improved management and of how to ensure through land use planning, institutional development and consultation that all schemes in the communal areas are genuinely open. Potential problems can affect

these processes in the same way that they affected progress of lands fencing schemes, where, since there was much more information from experience, issues like shared grazing, leadership and social factors were studied in more depth.

11.11.7. Long term land use planning and organisational strategy

The experience of the last few years does nothing to refute the recommendations of Chambers and Feldman for the different strategies appropriate to situations of land pressure, scarcity or conflict (a total approach) as compared to situations of relative land abundance (a partial approach).

More has been learned of what the two strategies involve, particularly in terms of what comprehensive land use planning involves and what consultation must involve in the way of institutional development.

Plenty more guidelines are now available for future approaches, some of which are summarised in the conclusions to each section in this chapter.

R11/63. AN OVERALL GUIDELINE IN THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PARTIAL SCHEMES IN AREAS OF RELATIVE LAND ABUNDANCE IS THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT THEY ARE GENUINELY OPEN TO FULL PARTICIPATION FROM THE WHOLE COMMUNITY. Obviously not everyone will, or should necessarily, join the first AMA in an area. Some will always prefer to watch and wait, and later schemes can accommodate them. Some careful assessment is needed in the early planning and consultation stages however, to calculate the proportion of available communal grazing being absorbed in a partial scheme, and hence roughly what proportion of the community the scheme should aim to benefit. With the RLMP at Thabala Government was possibly over cautious in its anxiety to ensure maximum participation in the initial partial system proposal. This was because the officials concerned did not at the time understand well enough the distinction between partial and total systems or the way a sequential approach of partial development could be pursued.

Essentially this is still the case. The experience even with partial schemes has been so haphazard that a sequential strategy remains elusive. APRU recommend weaner fattening units as the most viable partial scheme to begin with. But within what more overall strategy does this fit? Should the goal be some combination of a certain number of such fattening cells, bull camps and weaner camps with the remaining land managed under a total system for the remainder of the herd? This detailed extent of planning is as far away as ever.

As controls and sanctions can be more easily applied to partial development systems it makes sense in long term planning to maximise the proportion of land under partial system organisation in areas of relative land abundance. This does not mean that any short cuts can be taken compared with the land use planning and institutional development required for total systems. Partial development has to be planned within a total context in the communal areas - hence the problems in areas like Morale and Tlhagasanong.

In more overcrowded areas where lands and grazing are closely mixed as in the Barolong, the total approach necessary should aim to minimise the amount of grazing falling within boundaries of the lands areas - i.e. so that the maximum amount of pasture can be created in the recognised grazing areas where improved management can be encouraged (see 11.5.4.)

11.11.8. The type of framework needed for the gradualist extension approach to communal area livestock management

The experience of ranch development discussed in this chapter has shown that it is not possible to achieve "instant" ranches. All that is involved in forming a group ranch has been underestimated. The more cautious pace of the gradualist extension approach is required.

But gradualism must be pursued within an overall strategic framework. The present extension approach to livestock management in the communal areas has been described as "a vacuum" (IFPP animal production specialist). Most REOs and APOs admit that animal production extension goes on without reference to any management plan or strategy in the communal areas. With its emphasis on parasite and disease control and breed improvement, and water development being provided independently by the Land Utilization Division, animal production extension serves farmers desires well in the short term by increasing herd sizes regardless of the effect on the grazing. Bits of infrastructure are developed - dip tanks, dams, drift fences and the very occasional firebreak - but largely outside an area land use plan.

It is suggested that the overall framework should consist of three main components: a spatial land use plan for the development of communal area infrastructure; a management plan for the management of cattle and the practice of wider husbandry programmes than just tick control, and an institutional development plan. The infrastructure and management plans should be appropriate to the different defined types of communal situation, whether a lands/mixed situation, or a cattle and grazing situation. The type of organisational system developed by institutional development should also be linked together with the type of communal situation.

Comprehensive guidelines need working out so that field workers can move in this direction. Further investigation on a micro level of the experience with livestock related group projects is needed before guidelines can be developed properly,. but the following points are a suggestion for what guidelines could include.

A. R11/64: A SPATIAL LAND USE PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIVESTOCK INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS. Just as there are possibly more ideal sized lands enclosures and optima spacing between water points to distribute cattle evenly over available grazing, so is it likely that ideal patterns should occur in group livestock husbandry and management. Further evidence on this will be seen in later chapters, especially 16 on tick control. Guidelines appropriate to different communal situations therefore include the following:

(i) - In the lands areas (mixed lands and patches of grazing) combined but small facilities for smallstock, calves and cattle are likely to be appropriate. Dual purpose smallstock/cattle husbandry groups are already common in the south.

- In the grazing and cattlepost areas larger cattle numbers are found particularly during the 8 months cropping season. It may be correct to encourage larger and more expensive facilities for longer term use.

(This suggestion is expanded on in Chapter 16.)

(ii) There should be a build up in the size of project and grant assistance from small groups and small projects receiving small grants

for relatively simple facilities to larger projects with greater grant assistance as participation increase. In this way the official preference for beginning with a simple project - handling facilities and a spray pump rather than a dip tank - would be endorsed, and the problem of first time groups attempting expensive communal facility projects and then getting stuck at a certain threshold and being unable to move forward would be initiatied.

(iii) The anticipation of organisation as well as technical factors determining the ideal spatial distribution of facilities. Problems of shared grazing enter the scene for tick control and smallstock groups as well as for drift fencing and water development (management of group dams and boreholes).

B. R11/65: A MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR IMPROVED ANIMAL HUSBANDRY PROGRAMMES

(i) Farmers should be encouraged to adopt some practices on an individual basis. This could include a number of vaccination and worm treatments etc., though even these might become cheaper to farmers if packaging was geared to groups through larger containers.

(ii) Other practices should be adopted on a group basis. They must be related to seasonal requirements. Group activity in the lands areas could be encouraged to start in late winter with a sheep scab campaign and botulism/vitamin AE vaccinations.

(iii) A management system should be worked out which is related to the interaction of drift fences, water sources and herding practices and their effect on livestock grazing habits. This is an area which particularly requires further study. The number one priority in improved cattle management is to encourage the segregation of cows and calves at night, the calf sheltered, milking at dawn and allowing both together to graze all day.[34] For good productivity a ruminant needs 8 hours of biting herbage in 24. Traditional practices do not allow this.

C. R.11/66: INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT LINKED TO PROJECT TYPE

(i) Closer investigation is likely to confirm a connection between appropriate sizes of group livestock projects, their ideal spatial distribution and the long term type of communal management system (A to C) appropriate to the area situation (mixed lands or grazing). Thence the type of group development can be specified and the institutional development objectives worked out.

(ii) Farmer training, campaigns, FC workshops etc. could be conducted with this important forward linkage to communal grazing management in mind.

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(34) IFPP Animal Production specialist recommendations.

11.11.9. Support logistics

APOs have negligible specialist training beyond their DAO counterparts. Some are enthusiastic and do not mind getting their hands dirty. Others hardly know what to say when they stand in front of a group of farmers wanting to build a dip tank. ADs often lack the transport to assist in an area-wide land use survey or consultation exercise. Skills are required in adult education.

Basically the approach has to be highly integrated. Some Regions are short of specialists in range ecology or ranch management. Southern Region does not even have a Land Use Officer. Ideally support in range ecology and water development is required even for drift fence schemes. If the Department of Agricultural Field Services has difficulty now co-ordinating and integrating the dam building programme, and support in range ecology with land use planning done in the Regions for drift fencing schemes, the task ahead in progressing towards communal grazing management systems starts to fall into perspective. This chapter has suggested how to make a start in places in order to learn more of what it involves.

11.11.10. The broader policy context

A comprehensive strategy towards the improved management of communal grazing involves in the long term more than just the encouragement of group activity which is the main focus of this report. Government is aware that other measures may be required - such as redistributive systems and incentives to increase offtake rather than herd size. Either stock numbers have to be controlled or nutrition has to be improved in some other way.

Therefore there is a need to understand more about the management system in the communal areas and just how livelihoods are being sustained, as has been alluded to often in this chapter.

11.12. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 11

11.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with assessing what progress has been made in developing an institutional framework for an improved management system on communal grazing land.

11.2. What are the situation, attitudes and objectives of communal grazing users?

11.2.1. Communal areas are regarded by some as a warehouse where they build up their herd. When the herd is large enough it is moved out to remoter pastures, perhaps in the sandveld. For owners with less than 70 cattle it is not worth the effort of moving, and they cannot be easily persauded to form groups in the commercial areas. They still hope to form groups when they have enough cattle. But the land is being taken up and soon it will not be possible to keep this warehouse attitude.

In some areas farmers hope to find a solution by purchasing freehold land on their doorstep. For small farmers the land really must be immediately next to them.

Farmers with less than 40 cattle are not even interested in APRU cells within the communal areas, as they are not rearing cattle to sell. APRU cells may appeal to people with more than 40 cattle but with not enough to justify moving to another area.

Communal area cattlepost owners in the "grey areas" also do not find it worthwhile to move to commercial areas. They are able to achieve their aims where they are.

There is thus a diversity of situations with regard to communal area ranching, needing a variety of approaches.

11.2.2. The attitude of most communal area livestock owners is that grass and water should be free. It may of course be necessary to hire water in some seasons, but the concept of management fees in commercial groups is foreign. There is no idea of a cash flow. Money for tick control etc. is raised afresh when required. This attitude helps explain reluctance to pay even the low fees set at some ranches. Cattle are seen as an investment not as a source of turnover.

The outlook is less traditional in areas where farmers are influenced by the freehold farms, and may also be in areas in the south east, where farmers are feeling the pressure of overcrowding. Here the value of selling is appreciated. Drought may have sharpened awareness. Nonetheless there is no positive move towards APRU cells in the overcrowded southeast.

As APRU is aware, there is as yet nothing to convince farmers of the value of reducing their herd size and then selling off surpluses to pay for improved management. Although productivity can be increased if stocking is reduced, farmers do not perceive this or even that overstocking exists and is causing a decline in output in terms of calf production. But the results of research which has concentrated on beef production will not convince farmers who are using the land for milk and draft power too. A more attractive investment alternative must also be presented. APRU and IFPP researchers are increasingly aware of all this.

APRU cells are also not popular as they worsen the situation outside the cell.

Extension workers and regional authorities often assume that fencing is only for commercial areas and ranching for the big owners.

APRU research represents a start in looking at the communal grazing system. It is hoped that it will enable more to be learned of attitudes in these areas.

11.2.3. Some farmers, though perhaps not most, are aware of the connection between overgrazing and overstocking. Many groups interviewed in this study were concerned that fencing could lead to more crowding of grazing land. They saw more exclusive use of a grazing area as the solution. Some groups thought this could be achieved by the non participation of non members in their facilities. In other areas a realisation was growing that those who share grazing areas need to work together. Many complex potential problems are involved. Several so-called management projects in the communal grazing areas are really to do with water development, which must be tackled before anything else is started.

11.2.4. Other aspects of improved management of livestock which group members showed interest in were better bulls and castration of poor bulls AI, rotational grazing, water reticulation, fencing of paddocks, fattening tollies for sale, fattening heifers, tick control, camps for bulls, supplementary feeding, disease control, 24 hour grazing, access passages to water points and fencing off lands in grazing areas. Farmers already have some resources and various developments are going ahead, but even where institutional development is now strong, communities are still not yet ready to go on to larger schemes like partial open grazing developments. Communities lack management capacity to tackle too much at once. The problems Sefhophe farmers had resolved to tackle had been overridden by discussion of an APRU cell. Government still has to learn to listen to farmers.

11.3. How systems of organisation can be classified

11.3.1. The background to the long search for solutions to the problems of communal area range and livestock management is provided in Chapter 5. Chambers' and Feldman's classification is helpful. More discussion of this report and other major reports on rural development should be encouraged among field staff by DAFS.

11.3.2. Chambers and Feldman classified organisations for the control of communal grazing into partial open, partial closed and total (open) systems. Partial involves only part of the communal land, total involves all of it, open refers to systems allowing any members of the community to participate, and closed refers to a limited number of the community members.

The advantages of a partial open system include less legislation, political palatability, and that procedures like those for voluntary organisations can be used. Disadvantages include the involvement of a smaller piece of land, poor people may not benefit quickly, and increasing livestock crowding outside the area.

A partial closed system may help by drawing off larger owners from communal areas, but this is unlikely in practice. It is disadvantageous in limiting future land use choices and upward mobility, and squeezing smaller owners.

Total systems have a large area and likely economies of scale, are stable and concentrate administration. But they require great care to ensure democracy, legislation and the setting of stock quotas, the incorporation of smallstock and high administrative costs, and may encourage authoritarianism.

11.3.3. In areas where land is relatively abundant, Chambers and Feldman recommended a sequential approach using partial open systems, possibly working towards a total system. In areas of land scarcity and pressure a total system is necessary, within the context of a land use plan.

11.3.4. For the purposes of this study, the classification has been expanded to 5 categories to allow for the stated objectives of the ranches:

1. TOTAL			=	Type A
2. PARTIAL	(a) open membership	(i) full-scale development	=	B
		(ii) limited development	=	C
	(b) closed membership	(i) full-scale development	=	D
		(ii) limited development	=	E

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a project should be classified as open or closed, perhaps because communal areas are used by different communities. Examples of different project types are given.

11.4. What is the status of projects to date?

Table 11(ii) lists projects under the headings built and in operation, under construction, planned or proposed, and never made it. This shows how little experience has been had of group managed projects to date.

11.5. What has the experience been with type A ranches?

11.5.1. Chambers and Feldman saw the total system as the ultimate goal for all communal areas whether introduced in steps or all at once. There are no examples of successful implementation but several attempts have been made.

11.5.2. Extension staff dealing with the Range and Livestock Management Project at Thabala and Tsetsejwe were not aware of the Chambers and Feldman report.

Four proposals were made for Thabala. The first was a total approach which included beef production and arable needs. The initial RLMP proposal was for a partial open beef ranch. It was also suggested that non-cattle owners should participate in a ranch by a shares arrangement. The fourth proposal was the most conprehensive and included fencing the lands, water development in communal grazing and a sandveld ranch. Although this proposal was preferred by all parties, the Ministry was ill equipped at the time to go ahead with a total approach. The community and the RLMP team were also interested in the B approach, recommended by Chambers and Feldman for such areas, but due to inexperience and lack of

guidance its possibilities were not appreciated.

At Tsetsejwe a total approach was launched as part of the TGLP campaign. So many applications were received from the whole of the communal area that it was decided to start with just the north-western third. But in effect this made the total scheme a partial closed scheme, specifically warned against by Chambers and Feldman. The subsequent problems had all been predicted by Chambers and Feldman: there was trouble with stock control quotas, non-beef activities, consultation and administration. A smaller partial open approach may have succeeded.

Suitable areas for total schemes are few and more may have to be created, otherwise the tendency will be towards partial closed schemes.

The RLMP experience suggested the inadequacy of 'kgotla' consultation. An intensively trained FC or management group may fill the role better. Extension workers started to move towards a gradualist approach in tackling such schemes.

11.5.3. The Matsheng land use plan is the first attempt at a plan for a total approach in a communal area. As Matsheng is an area under pressure this is the approach recommended by Chambers and Feldman. Drawing up the plan involved a concentration of expertise, most of which came from outside.

The plan stresses the importance of an institutional framework for management and sees the 'kgotla' in the key role. Effort has been made to consult thoroughly with the people by way of 'kgotla' meetings, but it is not clear how deep understanding of the plan really is. Inter-village rivalries, remoteness and lack of past experience suggest institutional development may be very slow. It is recommended that several years should be spent on preparatory institutional development before any massive planning input.

A commitment to support is seen as crucial. A problem here is in the remoteness of Matsheng. This may also discourage Batswana staff.

The plan does not propose to tackle the issue of stock control quotas immediately but must make it the endpoint in a phased programme. Alternative forms of investment to livestock are necessary.

The Matsheng plan is an advance in thinking about what a total approach involves. It is suitable for areas of severe pressure, so should not be considered feasible for everywhere in Botswana. Long term development is planned. If anything, even more emphasis should be placed on institutional development than specified by the plan. Committed Government support and a gradualist extension approach are needed for such an endeavour.

11.5.4. 18 grazing enclosures have been proposed in the Barolong. They are small, awkwardly shaped enclosures in an area where lands and grazing are very mixed and pressure is great. Only some groups have recognised that the inclusion of fields in the enclosures constitutes a problem. Fences are long relative to enclosure size and therefore potentially costly. Some expense can be saved where projects share fence lines .

Group membership ranges from 17 to 88. Methods of raising contributions are similar to lands area fence schemes, though only three groups have started to raise funds.

It is premature to discuss developments proposed by the groups closely as they really represent the groups' state of awareness of needs. Major objectives are water development and saving of herding problems.

Some borehole, tick and smallstock projects are going ahead but only two fencing projects have started. Membership of fence groups is

lower than that of other projects. Further investigation of membership is needed. Two possible explanations are that only cattle herd owners are joining and that lack of membership is due to poverty.

The stocking rate would be a problem as there are far too many animals for the available land. Devastation could result if animals were dumped in grazing enclosures. At present pressure is relieved by utilisation of unallocated land within lands areas. Although this represents extra land, the known livestock figures are probably lower than reality.

It seems that few large herds of cattle are owned in the Barolong. Most people own small herds and/or smallstock.

The Barolong is thus a poor communal area with problems of land pressure. Present group objectives for enclosures are unrealistic. This is why the projects have not been pursued. A comprehensive land use plan is required for the area, taking into account the needs of the whole population. Preparatory institutional development is necessary. The plan framework could be based on the Matsheng plan. A smaller area should be looked for where a total approach can be piloted. An area where involvement in communal schemes has already been extensive may be suitable. Total enclosures are recommended - integrated enclosures of lands and grazing.

11.5.5. The Ramotswa ranch proposal in Malete area is for a total management system of grazing, dividing the land into camps and making use of the lands area when appropriate. Problems anticipated at a LUPAG discussion concerned the stocking rate, camp boundaries, and social acceptability.

11.5.6. All the total schemes recognise that in practice progress must be piecemeal. Meanwhile farmers are proceeding with drift fencing in a piecemeal way, perceiving the need for integrated management of lands and grazing. Other areas where total grazing and livestock management could be practised are therefore emerging, especially in the south-east. It is intended that cattle graze the hills for 8 months and return to the lands for winter. This idea is clearly still a basic one and there are problems of shared grazing and merging lands areas. Awareness of the problems is growing and some fence group members are actively involved in projects to improve livestock conditions.

11.5.7. In conclusion, the limited experience of type A schemes points to four problems. Care must be taken in the definition of an area and its users: there is a danger that partial schemes may become established; total schemes should be limited to areas really suited to them. A total scheme should be set in the context of a comprehensive land use plan. Effective land use planning rests on genuine consultation which in turn rests on institutional development. The issue of controlling the stocking rate must be faced.

The introduction of a total grazing management system is not easy. Eight recommendations are made concerning the need to consolidate arable lands in areas of land pressure; the need for comprehensive land use plans; temporary fencing of smaller arable blocks; further investigations on the effect of fencing on grazing areas; socio-economic studies of farmers; priority to water development; education of farmers and District staff and consultation with farmers from early stages.

11.6. What has the experience been with type B ranches?

11.6.1. This is the only type to be built so far in communal areas.

11.6.2. Most B ranches were built before Independence. Masama ranch was developed by the Bakgatla to rear bulls. The BDA ranch was multi-purpose and included training, fattening cattle, arable activities and a village store. Ramatia and Leupane were probably originally intended both for training and fattening, and Goodhope as a rearing centre. Several freehold farms, including Rankoromane, have been purchased by tribes in the south east to extend communal grazing areas. Mabeleapudi ranch is the most recent example of a B ranch. It was intended as a breeding and rearing ranch which would act as a replicable model.

11.6.3. Current uses of the ranches vary and are often different from the original purpose.

The BDA ranch, though understocked, has a breeding herd of over 300 cattle. But it no longer fattens cattle for other farmers and the other items in the project, except the store, have also collapsed. This was partly due to the deaths, or loss by other means, of several members of the governing Council in early stages of the scheme. Remaining members failed to cope with the complexities of the project. There have been financial losses and deterioration of property.

Masama, Ramatia, Leupane and Goodhope all receive Government support. Masama supplies bulls to the Bakgatla as intended. Ramatia is used to fatten cattle for farmers and is currently being extended to act as a demonstration facility. Leupane and Goodhope are part of the APRU demonstration and research network.

In practice the growth and management of the Mabeleapudi ranch has been in the hands of a few leaders of the Serowe Brigade Development Trust rather than of members of the Paje and Mabeleapudi communities. It has been used to fatten cattle belonging to the Swaneng Consumers Co-operative and units of the SBDT.

Rankoromane is currently unmanaged but an FA group is starting work on restoration.

11.6.4. Economic assessments are difficult. Rankoromane was just a grazing area, but now money raised by the RLFA is to be matched by a SLOCA grant. The APRU managed ranches are not strictly commercial enterprises. If records are still available it would be worth investigating the economics of rearing the BDA herd. The project was started with aid money, but whether this was to be repaid is not clear. Farmers at Ramatia were reluctant to pay the low fees. The costs of the Mabeleapudi ranch were to be repaid by a system of share capital and management fees. This did not work.

11.6.5. Participation in the tribally owned fattening ranches was presumably limited to people able to purchase bulls. Rankoromane is used by cattle owners from a wide neighbouring area. The RLFA wish to encourage all users to join and then restrict the ranch to members. It would thus become a closed system. Full support should be given to the RLFA. There is little to be learned from BDA experience about participation. It is now in a position for a fresh decision on its use. An open approach is recommended. There should be full consultation, special training of FCs and discussion of leadership and social problems. The Mabeleapudi ranch failed to attract community participation and even

caused resentment and confusion. There was no real attempt by SBDT to involve the local people. A radical change is needed at Mabeleapudi, using the knowledge acquired in Botswana on ranching and group development. The recommendations of this report are for publicly writing off the capital debt, reviewing share capital by laws, discussing a change in management, deciding on an alternative form of organisation, and starting on an active community and group development programme if an open organisation is chosen.

11.6.6. In conclusion, experience with B ranches has been discouraging viewed from Chambers' and Feldman's aim of using them to build up improved management of communal grazing. It is tragic that more support was not given to them by Government. Promising development is now occurring, however, at Rankoromane. None of the ranches has succeeded in being partial, open and multipurpose. More thorough economic analysis of the different cases would be valuable.

11.7. What has the experience been with type C ranches?

11.7.1. Type C ranches are a possible entry point for communal ranching.

11.7.2. So far there only exist proposals for type C schemes at Thabala, Malore and Lerala.

11.7.3. The farmer objectives at Thabala are for a bull camp, weaner camp and fattening camp in an area of the sandveld. At Malore/Kanngwe water development is the priority and weaning and bull camps are wanted. At Lerala a bull camp is proposed.

11.7.4. Discussion of funding has taken place only at Thabala. A matching grant is favoured for the bull and weaner camps. A loan may be appropriate for the fattening camp. Detailed investigation of these proposals by extension staff is recommended.

11.7.5. Type C schemes have emerged in areas where there is group experience already. It is recommended that type C proposals are looked at in conjunction with the use of lands enclosures for winter grazing. Projects could be financed under Livestock Project II communal credit schemes.

11.8. What has the experience been with APRU communal grazing cells?

APRU cells are discussed separately to facilitate separate assessment and because they fall between categories C and E.

11.8.1. APRU cells aim to combine research into overgrazing with group development. There is potential conflict in this aim stemming from Government control. The goal is for 12 cells and two cntrols in representative environments, funded by APRU, managed at first by a trained AD and with an annual intake of c. 150 cattle from communal area cattleowners. Interested members of a community register as an AMA and then commit themselves to the details of management.

11.8.2. APRU cells fatten weaners as the benefits are clearly measurable and visible. The management cost is calculated at c. P12.00 per animal each year. Farmers will only realise the worth of this if they are interested in fattening for profit.

11.8.3. There is some interest by local administrators in having a cell in Makukung in Ngamiland. An AMA group has registered at Ntimbale, Tati. Interest has been expressed at Sefhophe, Bobonong. A proposed cell in the Kgatleng area has been opposed. Negotiations are underway about a site at Monwane, Kweneng. There is some interest at Kubung in Kweneng South. Rankoromane ranch has been rejected as a possible site. Mogwalale, Barolong, is a possible site but there is no local interest.

11.8.4. The potential problems encountered in trying to implement APRU cells are highly instructive.

11.8.5. Precisely because APRU wish to locate cells in areas of land pressure and overgrazing, there is resistance from the farmers who cannot spare room from the rest of their overcrowded grazing.

11.8.6. Confusion has arisen because farmers see membership of the cells as closed and for the rich. Is an AMA group really open or closed? It is of advantage to members for it to be closed, but there should be a fair chance initially for everybody to consider the question of joining.

11.8.7. Another difficulty in the south arises from the fact that several communities share grazing and therefore consultation needs to be thorough.

11.8.8. An Action Research report in the Kgatleng found the majority ignorant about the purpose of cells and the remaining few with only partial understanding. The consultant also found much misunderstanding. The use of the cells for just weaners was not approved, as farmers are not interested only in weaners. At some places the cells were seen as belonging to Government. The cost was also felt as too high. Batswana are not used to spending money on cattle.

11.8.9. Farmers were found to be more interested in AI centres and water supplies. In some places interest was shown in APRU cells because they were seen as solving water unavailability.

11.8.10. There were hopeful signs, however, in areas where land shortage was not acute, of willingness to learn and benefit from APRU cells.

11.8.11. Despite the original objectives, after 3 years only one cell is anywhere near implementation. It can be concluded that partial schemes are unsuitable for the target areas and actually hinder real progress - buying adjacent freehold land is a better way of intervening; where partial development is feasible there should be more consultation; greater flexibility in cell management may increase farmer interest, and that the change in approach should be radical.

This report supports the cell programme in its wish to be the first step in a sequential approach but emphasises the need for real regard for farmers' situations and attitudes. APRU no longer wants to push the programme but there is still no agreed strategy for approaching

farmers about it. Presenting a programme at a few 'kgotla' meetings is inadequate for several reasons. The slower process of institutional development is recommended as more thorough. A comprehensive public education scheme is essential. Land use and management surveys should be conducted, taking into account existing farmer priorities. A gradual group development approach is strongly recommended.

11.9. What has the experience been with type D ranches?

11.9.1. Little is known of three type D projects that were once proposed. Type D ranches are really only possible in "grey" zones. The Morale and Tlhagasanong proposals are of most interest.

11.9.2. The priority of the Tutume and Nxangu proposals which sprang up in the wake of TGLP seems to have been water development rather than commercial ranching. At Tlhagasanong the group wanted to fence their cattlepost area to avoid being moved to the sandveld. Some ideas on improved management were put forward. The second fundamental objective was to rationalise water distribution, which definitely required collaboration in this area. At Morale the motive was to halt the expansion of neighbouring lands. The cattlepost owners were paying alarming amounts in penalties for crop damage.

11.9.3. Progress at Nxangu is hindered by lack of funds and by a land status problem. There has been no progress at Tlhagasanong because of a bitter feud. At Morale problems stem from a conflict of land use interests between the cattleowners and arable users in Mahalapye and Palla Road.

11.9.4. Of the alternative possibilities for Morale the Ngwato Land Board in LUPAG discussions favoured continued user rights. The social problems at Tlhagasanong have prevented an early approach to Land Board being followed up. Nor has an overall land use decision for the such "grey" areas been made by Central District. The Tlhagasanong group certainly have a closed scheme in mind.

11.9.5. The Morale area is effectively a wide communal area under pressure and it is therefore recommended to take a total open approach. Clearer policy guidelines are needed for "grey" areas. Morale cattlepost owners should be encouraged to apply for a commercial ranch. Area-wide consultation and institutional development are needed at Morale. The Land Boards need to be better briefed and made aware of how to use MLGL resources.

11.10. What has been the experience with type E ranches?

11.10.1. The only case of category E ranches is the Chibangabiya fencing group where a dozen cattlepost owners wish to enclose an area infested with the poisonous 'mogau' plant. Progress is slow due to the absence of co-operation from Senete farmers.

11.10.2. The project is both economically viable and justifiable for the group.

11.10.3. The group project should only be permitted under open membership.

11.11. How should communal grazing and livestock management be approached?

11.11.1. The experience of trying to introduce communal grazing management systems has been discouraging. Most are not managed by farmers themselves, some have collapsed and the approach has been unrealistic. The key to further discussion is felt to be the Chambers and Feldman classification and its implications.

11.11.2. Participation can be assessed by means of the classification. The whole community should be considered in type A projects, but this has not been done. One reason for the failure of Mabeleapudi, a B ranch, was lack of whole community participation. Participation at BDA and Rankoromane should be explored in the awareness that they are open schemes. Low participation in APRU cell projects is related to their being partial schemes in areas needing total ones. At Ntimbale the message has not reached the potential participants. The D and E schemes proposed ought to be open.

11.11.3. Experience of the forms of organisation is limited. There is no experience for type A situations. Some B projects have AMA organisation which could be successful if well supported. Although officially a Co-operative, Mabeleapudi has not adhered to Co-operative principles.

What about the future of organisation in areas where there are total systems? The Matsheng LUP foresees AMAs with subgroups, with VDCs being used while AMAs are built up. Experience suggests the VDC is probably too weak. The facilitation of the requisite institutional development will require a massive input. Conservation legislation can provide an ultimate sanction for a total system. What experience there is with group development indicates that more is involved than is anticipated by most.

A gradualist approach is supported by the evidence in this chapter. More attention should be paid to what is involved in implementing schemes and to consciously thinking of projects in their context. Farmers should be trained in management.

11.11.4. Some Land Boards have shown awareness of the need to control the stocking rate, but in over-crowded areas farmers have resisted attempts to practise control. Pressure could be reduced by the purchase of freehold land or expansion into unused grazing when water is developed there. Wealthy owners could be encouraged to move away from the communal areas.

Government understanding of farmers and farmers' understanding of management need to be improved. Research into levels at which livelihoods are sustained is required. Farmer training in range and livestock management needs stepping up.

11.11.5. Type A schemes are recommended for areas under pressure, and B and C schemes for other communal areas. Both require land use planning and consultation/institutional development. Difficulties have been encountered when land use planning has been neglected, or when it has not been matched by emphasis on group development. More work is needed on facilitating the planning capacity of Regional staff.

11.11.6. Potential problems can be recognised within the context of the A-E classification. The various problems have already been discussed in this chapter. They can affect the schemes in the same way as potential problems affect lands fencing schemes.

11.11.7. Recent experience upholds the Chambers and Feldman recommendations. It is important that partial schemes in areas of relative land abundance should be open to the whole community. A sequential strategy for partial schemes needs to be worked out in the context of a long term plan. Total schemes in overcrowded areas should aim forimproved management on the maximum possible amount of grazing.

11.11.8. Since instant ranches are not possible, a gradualist extension approach is recommended, but this should be within the context of an overall strategy in communal area livestock management. There should be a spatial plan for the development of infrastructure, a management plan and an institutional development plan. They should be related to the communal situation. More research needs to be done before guidelines can be worked out but they could include small facilities for smallstock and cattle in mixed lands/grazing areas, more expensive facilities in grazing areas, build up from smaller to larger projects, and the anticipation of both organisational and technical factors. It must be decided if management practices must be for individuals or groups, their relation to seasons and how drift fence/grazing situations should be tackled. Institutional development must link to the type of communal area.

11.11.9. There must be much more, and more integrated support by DAFS.

11.11.10. Government needs to pursue other measures than group activity if the management of communal grazing is to be achieved.

CHAPTER 12: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON DAIRY RANCHING IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS.

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CHAPTER 12 SOME OBSERVATIONS ON DAIRY RANCHING IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

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12.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 12

Chapter 12 List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AI	Artificial Insemination
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
CODEC	Co-operative Development Centre
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
KRDA	Kweneng Rural Development Association
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
OSSCA	One Stop Service Centre for Agriculture
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

12.1. THE AIMS OF DAIRY POLICY

Botswana's imports of fresh milk, processed milk and butter increased in value from P1.3 million in 1974 to P4.6 million in 1978, most of this consumption being in the growing urban centres. Government policy aims towards self sufficiency in milk products and in particular wants to create opportunities for small cattle owners in the communal areas to increase their incomes from milk sales to the major population centres.

Traditionally milk is an important aspect of keeping cattle in the communal areas. This was noted at various points in chapters 8 to 11. In terms of household consumption and contribution to diet, milk is particularly important to small farming families. Traditionally surpluses are sold locally in the lands areas and villages and thereby contribute also to incomes. The contribution from the peak milk season corresponds with the pre harvest period - a time when poorer families are most likely to experience food shortages.

Marketing on a regular and sustained basis to the centres of population is a very much more sophisticated operation than the selling locally of untreated milk surpluses. In most major villages and urban centres the traditional form of marketing coexists with the sale of much more expensive imported milk. The task of the Dairy extension programme is to try to create a modern Dairy industry from the traditional one in order gradually to take over from imports to the population centres and provide an additional source of livelihood to the small owners in the surrounding communal areas.

12.2. DAIRY DEVELOPMENT AREAS

As a first step the Ministry of Agriculture has loosely designated dairy development areas within an 80 km radius of population centres - primarily the urban centres and major villages responsible for the increasing demand for imported milk.

The policy has then encouraged marketing of milk produced in the surrounding communal areas and cattleposts to reception points in the population centres.

The goal is the formation of co-operatives in the centres which receive, pasteurise, pack and wholesale or retail the milk to the population. In practice two such co-operative dairies have formed, one at Selibe Pikwe and one at Gaborone. Elsewhere the MoA's Dairy section has established (eg. in Maun, Mahalapye and Francistown) milk filtration facilities only. The filtered milk is sold at a much cheaper price than pasteurised milk. This represents a much simpler step up from traditional selling.

Extension work in the dairy development areas has emphasised hygiene in the production of milk for conveyance to the filtration or pasteurising reception centres. The Dairy section has its own small body of extension staff stationed in the few villages or towns where reception centres are operated, and in a few villages surrounding these centres. At the reception centres dairy extension staff are present almost constantly to ensure correct operation of the equipment and assist with record keeping. Extension Area ADs have tended to have minimal involvement in dairying extension

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Encouragement of Dairy ranches has not been a major aspect of policy. Inadequate funds have been available for the assistance such schemes would require. Policy has been to assist in the setting up of a marketing structure before attempting methods of boosting production. Two ranches are receiving assistance, however, and their progress is the main subject of this chapter. The experience serves to vindicate the approach in the proposed UNDP assisted project "Investigation into Small Scale Rural Dairying".

12.3. THE OPERATION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING DAIRY AT SELIBE PIKWE

Only one co-operative run dairy has been in operation for any period of time - the dairy at Selibe Pikwe run by the Mmadinare Co-operative Marketing Society. Discussions had been going on since around 1968 in Mmadinare with the object of establishing a dairy so that farmers in the neighbourhood of the new mining town of Selibe Pikwe could benefit by supplying the town with milk. The Society formed as a Marketing Co-operative in 1972 and by 1975 work had begun on the dairy facilities in town. By 1978 a fully equipped pasteurising and packaging plant was in operation and an extension built for milk processing. The total membership of the Society is over 400. Of this membership up to 50 supply milk regularly to the dairy, the highest ever number having been 53 in one month in the peak period early in 1978.

This study was unable to look in any detail at the operation or economics of the Mmadinare Co-operative dairy. However as meetings were held with the co-operative Society Committee, manager and Dairy board in connection mainly with the ranch, some observations were made on the problems of the Dairy marketing operation which are relevant to the discussion on ranching.

The main problem of the Co-operative has been the instability in milk supply - seasonal fluctuations which are basically a production problem. The Co-operative has had to shut the dairy for several months each winter as milk supply from the cattleposts dwindles to nothing.

This imposes severe financial stress on the Society, as the expensive facilities lie unused and trained staff have to be found alternative activities otherwise they are lost and replacement staff have to be recruited next season. In order to avoid losing staff in this way the Board developed the extension in 1978 with a view to wholesaling imported milk in the winter season, the facilities serving the twin function of allowing the summer season glut to be processed.

Due to the 1979/80 drought conditions a surplus has never been received since the extension was built, and so it has yet to be utilised. Due also mainly to the FMD restrictions on cattle marketing the Society's overall finances have simultaneously reached their worst state and with a lack of capital, milk wholesaling has also not been possible. In April 1980 the Board was discussing the possibility of loan finance for this activity.

The economic viability of the Dairy plant is naturally a function of demand and supply. Pasteurised milk has to be supplied to the town at a favourable price compared with imported alternatives. The sale value was P1.80 per gallon in 1980. The Society was retaining an average 65% commission on milk sales (i.e. P1.10 per gallon) to contribute towards the

reserve fund. This proportion varies with the turnover of the Dairy. The Board calculated that if supply of milk fell below 500 litres per day the operation of the Dairy could not be economic (unless the producer received even less than 70^{t} per gallon). If on the other hand supply reached 1000 litres per day it could be possible to pay the farmer P1.20 per gallon. At 700 litres the farmer could receive 80 thebe and so-on.

To illustrate the nature of supply problems, the Dairy between 17 - 26 March 1980 received a total of only 403 litres of milk. A price of 70 thebe per gallon was being paid - but in 10 days less milk was received than the minimum required in one day for the Dairy to be run economically. The Dairy was faced with early closure due to the drought situation (April-May are normally the peak months). The Board responded by increasing the price for the farmer to 90 thebe per gallon for an experimental three week period, and staged a full scale publicity campaign cum survey, visiting all the producers who could possibly continue to supply and recording the quantity of surplus available. The result was a supply of only 1418 litres from only 3 suppliers from the less drought stricken area further south towards Mogapinyana in the entire trial period from 1st to 21st April 1980 - a quantity sufficient for only 2 days economic running of the Dairy. The survey revealed that only 9 other producers from the Lebethu area had a milk surplus totalling 121 litres per day - but that none of them was interested in supplying. In the entire Tobane area only 15 litres surplus was available.

The reasons farmers gave for not supplying milk were straightforward economics. The drought situation had reduced milk surpluses to such small quantities that its transport to Selibe Pikwe became uneconomic. The drought/FMD situation also meant that farmers, with no income, could not afford to keep their vehicles in a state of repair. Farmers added that labour shortage was a factor - they could not at once herd their cattle, milk them and transport the milk to the dairy. Collection of the milk by the Co-operative was suggested, but for the same economic reasons the Board realised that as the producers were so scattered, transport would be prohibitively expensive in relation to the quantities of milk available. The Board therefore closed the Dairy two months early in April 1980.

Although the above example is taken from a particularly severe drought year, the economics of operating a Dairy are vividly portrayed. The possibility of group action by farmers in organising transport to supply milk was discussed with the Board, but it emerged that even this would not be worthwhile under the drought conditions. It raised the concept though of a possible threshold over which supply became economic. Examples of group action had existed before. Farmers from Lebethu, Tobane and Moshakgabelo used to bring their combined milk supply in three vehicles altogether, sometimes converging on Tobane and transporting in one vehicle from there. The Dairy Board had encouraged this. In future extension work in the area group action in transportation should receive more emphasis.

Although group action in transportation can help to reduce costs of supplying, the feasibility of supplying milk to the reception centre is also determined by the price received. The Co-operative Dairy Board was aware in April 1980 that their ability to make decisions on the pricing of milk to the producers depended upon sufficiently accurate financial statements on the running of the dairy being available. It appeared as though the management of the Co-operative needed more support in the area of financial monitoring. This should be examined.

Returning to the basic problem of seasonal fluctuation in milk supply, an obvious possible solution is in the area of milk production itself. If production could be sustained at a higher level even for an extra few

weeks in the winter and reduce the period of shutdown, the viability of the Dairy would be improved. The Mmadinare Co-operative Committee and Dairy Board felt strongly that more extension work aimed at increasing and sustaining milk production was crucial to the success of the marketing operation. It is open to question, however, as to whether the increased costs of maintaining milk supply would be covered by the value of the increased production. The Co-operative's resolve on this difficulty has led to the Society embarking upon a dairy ranch scheme - the aim being to create a steadier milk supply. At the more recently opened Gaborone Co-operative Dairy this need is met by the Department of Agricultural Research and the nearby freehold farmers which together account for the bulk of milk handled. A proposal in 1978/79 to establish a Dairy Co-operative in Serowe was to have relied on the Serowe Farmers Brigade dairy farm for this stabilising function.

The experience so far with the dairy ranch at Selibe Pikwe will be described below. To conclude this brief look at Co-operative milk pasteurising and marketing, it is necessary just to stress that the experience at Selibe Pikwe has demonstrated that this activity is a sensitive commercial venture at the mercy of market conditions. The assessment of viability requires careful calculation based on surveys of milk demand and supply. These surveys in themselves may require many man-months on the part of Dairy extension staff. Finally the viability of marketing units of this level of sophistication depends upon ironing out the natural seasonal fluctuations in supply either by tackling local milk production or by resorting to processing or importing to fill in the lean months.

12.4. INTERMEDIATE LEVEL MILK FILTERING PLANTS

Compared with the traditional system of selling untreated milk surpluses, the organised supply to Co-operative pasteurising and marketing centres is a big jump which has been made so far in only two towns - Selibe Pikwe and Gaborone. The difficulties to do with fluctuating supply at Selibe Pikwe have been described, and these economic problems are only likely to be avoided at Gaborone by the presence of commercial scale suppliers.

An intermediate stage is the running of simpler milk filtering facilities. This study did not look into this operation as currently it is run in certain centres more as a service-cum-demonstration by the Ministry's Dairy section than as a group activity. Extension has not emphasised any potential for group action in this operation. Where the market does not justify the immediate organisation of a pasteurising plant, filtering the milk at a collecting centre adds only slightly to the cost of the product which can then still be sold much more cheaply in a village than imported pasteurised milk.

Now that the Dairy section has run filtering facilities for several years in some centres the possibility could perhaps be explored of encouraging forms of group management of these facilities.

12.5. PROGRESS WITH GROUP DAIRY RANCHES

Filtering is really just a refinement in the traditional system and capital overheads are so minimal that, when supplies dwindle, shut down is not an economic disaster. More sophisticated systems of pasteurisation and marketing, however, depend on production. Increased milk production must also be an important aim outside the issue of the viability of pasteurisation plants if a reduced reliance on imports and an increase in small farmer incomes are wanted.

Dairy policy must therefore turn its attention towards production. It is known that under commercial conditions Tswana cows do not produce an adequate milk yield response to justify the high cost of irrigated winter fodder. Upgrading the potential of Tswana cows and the production of winter fodder is, however, very costly, and it takes several years before breed improvement yields returns.

With this background it is interesting to observe the experience so far with group dairy ranches.

Only two projects are underway and neither is complete. The one is the 1200 hectare ranch being built just east of Selibe Pikwe by the Mmadinare Co-operative Marketing Society. The other, on a totally different scale and method of organisation a 250 hectare project being built at Tsanikuna on the east bank of the Thamalakane river a few Km. south of Maun by the 12 members of the Thamalakane AMA.

12.5.1. Allocation of grazing for dairying in communal areas

Other proposals have emerged from time to time. In 1976 two small syndicates of 4 and 5 members applied to the Ngwato Land Board for sites at Molapowadipitse and Morupule between Serowe and Palapye. Neither of these two progressed beyond the initial land application. The reason for this leads us to state one potential problem for dairy ranching straightaway - the allocation of sufficient grazing area in the often congested communal zone around population centres. Due to the complexities of land use planning in the communal area between Serowe and Palapye the applications of the groups at Molapowadipitse and Morupule have had to be left pending a detailed land use plan. For this reason no development or management plans have ever been discussed for these projects.

The Committee of the Mmadinare Co-op originally had this smaller scale concept in mind but no serious attempt appears ever to have been made to explore such possibilities in the communal areas around Selibe Pikwe. The intention was to encourage smaller ranches for smaller groups of producers to extend the season of milk production even just marginally. The Committee observed, though, that land could not be found for these schemes; Government policy was to encourage milk production to reduce imports, but unless Government could help the Land Board to define areas where dairying could be carried on, "it was impossible" - the Committee commented.

The Committee noted that the Co-operative was only allocated the one ranch site east of Selibe Pikwe because the area had no water. This eased the adjudication of claims on the grazing area by farmers as far as 20 km away. But as the site was nowhere near large enough for all members of the Co-operative to enter their dairy cattle the purpose of the ranch had to change. From a group project, it changed to a commercial venture by the Co-operative on behalf of its total membership. This difference will be explained below.

The Thamalakane AMA was allocated its site despite 5 claims on the grazing and one existing arable user. The arable cultivator refused to

accept compensation so the Tawana Land Board allocated the dairy ranch boundary around this field. The grazing claims took six months to settle and would very likely have precluded the dairy ranch development had the Tawana Land Board not been so strongly supportive of the interests of the group.

Land allocation to dairying within land use plans for the communal areas surrounding population centres has not, however, been the real issue. If it was, more action would be expected from the Ministry's Dairy section to urge that land for dairy ranching be set aside in the district land use plans. This has not happened. The issue really is to do with the viability of intensified methods of milk production in the communal areas. Thamalakane, with its potential for cheaper fodder production in the 'molapo' is an exceptional case.

12.5.2. Brief notes on objectives and progress (see Appendix 9 for available details)

The Thamalakane group at Maun decided upon their dairy ranch project after a trip to Mmadinare in 1976 where they learnt of the Mmadinare Co-op's proposal. At this time there were 18 members interested in the Thamalakane group. Their site was allocated in August 1977. The Committee decided upon P10.00 membership fees, and in addition that each member should contribute a cow which would become the property of the group. Further to this each member was required to cut a certain number of fence posts. 7 members each cut 63 poles and only 5 members cut another 63 poles each after it was decided more were needed. The poles were all cut by March 1979.

The group's original project was very basic. With the help of the Dairy AD in Maun the group calculated in 1977 that a loan of P1700 was needed to pay for fencing wire. Provision for the production of fodder for winter feed was not part of the group's idea. As members of the Committee explained, they had wanted

"to go at the project in stages." 1

The advice of the Dairy section, however, was that upgrading by AI Friesian crossing was essential along with irrigated fodder production if the project was to be viable. Eventually a loan of P10650 was approved for the Thamalakane project, but AMA registration became a condition for release of funds.

The processes of approval of project funding and then AMA registration took until February 1980. By mid 1980 a 'molapo' area on the Thamalakane had been bunded and bush fenced and lucerne seed planted for fodder. Fencing, and the construction of a 10000 litre reservoir together with water reticulation had yet to be commenced.

The original plan[2] of the Mmadinare Co-operative was to have a ranch or ranches where dairy cattle could be kept together and the milk transported to the Dairy more easily than is the case where many members each have a small number of cows at widely scattered cattleposts. The Committee thought that in this way economies of scale could be achieved, all the dairy cattle being managed together even though ownership over individual cows would be retained by the farmers. Milk would be combined and the profits returned to the owners of the cows.

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(1) Interview April 1980

(2) The Thamalakane group modelled their plan on this early Mmadinare concept; the two projects are now very different.

When it became apparent that insufficient land was available for this approach the Committee's proposal for the one ranch near Selibe Pikwe was that members would contribute cows which would be crossed with bulls of improved breed to produce an upgraded dairy herd on the ranch after which the original cows would be returned to their owners.

The problem with this approach was that the one proposed ranch, holding only 60-80 cows to begin with, was too small for many members to be able to contribute and that it would be unfair for the profits to be returned just to those members who were able to contribute cows.

The current proposal is therefore that the ranch will be a form of investment for the membership of the Co-op as a whole. Members will be requested to contribute capital which will be used to purchase stock. The members' contributions will be repaid from the profits from the sale of milk from the ranch. After this the dairy ranch will be one of the Society's businesses.

The Mmadinare Co-operative dairy ranch is therefore very different in nature now from the Thamalakane AMA. The Mmadinare Co-op contracts all development work - fencing, cutting of poles, water reticulation etc. although by March 1980 only 2.5 km of fencing had been completed out of the 18 km total. The contractor, a small local operator had been engaged on the job since July 1979.

Water development was progressing more satisfactorily with the Department of Water Affairs hired to equip an old Town Council borehole, construct a reservoir at the centre of the ranch and lay the 5 km of piping from the borehole to the reservoir. The Co-operative was responsible for arranging for the trench for this piping to be dug.

12.5.3. Organisation and management

Although the styles of management of the Mmadinare Co-operative and the Thamalakane AMA are very different both organisations were aware that management capability was a major problem.

The Thamalakane AMA is a group in a much truer sense than the Mmadinare Co-operative Society but even with a total membership of only 12, members of the Committee reported that 4 had a non-participatory attitude, prefering to sit back and hire others than to join in working. Six of the original number of 18 had dropped out for similar reasons previously - to do with the proposed group ownership of contributed cows and the labour required for cutting poles.

Although the AMA had just received the P10650 loan, members described the group as "having no money at present" in the context of hiring a manager[1]. After the fence was to be finished the 'molapo' bunded and water reticulation developed - all through group effort[3] - the group planned to select one of their number to act as a foreman receiving a P40/month wage.

Once the ranch "got moving" the Committee planned to consider sending the son, a Form V completer, of one of the Committee members for management training. The problem, members explained, was that none of them was educated enough to do book-keeping or proper management.

Their thrifty gradualist approach had, one could not help feeling, been somewhat undermined by the Ministry's approach. They had become registered as an AMA without the detailed provisions of the Act having been fully explained. They stated that they had become so worn out with mostly fruitless meetings to do with the financing of their scheme that when AMA

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(3) 'Molapo' bunding was achieved through drought relief in May 1980

registration had become a prerequisite for funding they just agreed. Although their own proposed method of organisation was close to Co-operative principles, they had never had any discussions on Co-operative organisation. Their constitution, they explained, did not include provisions for dealing with those among their membership who would not participate in labouring, but the Committee was still determined that these members should be expelled as others with more genuine interest were reported keen to join.

Essentially the Thamalakane group, after four years of wanting to embark upon a project step by step and within their perceived management competence, had instead, through Government advice and funding requirements, found themselves tackling a far more sophisticated project requiring a high level of management expertise and with a P10650 loan to repay over 15 years. Understandably the group was at once relieved at a go-ahead, but anxious over their capability.

The Mmadinare Co-operative project is on a different scale altogether from the Thamalakane scheme. Management, however, was still the critical constraint . The Co-operative currently runs a cattle marketing operation and an agricultural supply store as well as the Dairy. Financial crises have been a feature of the past. Management tended to receive the blame although in the case of the Co-op's loss of the BAMB crop marketing agency in Mmadinare it is known that the economics of crop marketing agency are marginal [4]. The venture into dairy ranching represents a major added demand on management expertise. Contrasted with the Thamalakane group, the membership of the Mmadinare Co-operative has but little understanding of the finances of the Co-operative, which, in a multi purpose organisation embracing cattle marketing (on which a 5% commission is charged), trading, milk processing and marketing and now the running of a dairy ranch, are very complicated. In this type of situation it is easy for the affairs of the organisation to slip way beyond the reach or influence of the ordinary member. The ability of the Committee, the Board and the Manager to maintain a continued unity of purpose among the Co-operative membership is a difficult task.

In discussions on funding, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning proposed at the beginning that the Co-operative ranch should be funded through a commercial loan, and ultimately conceded only to one third grant/two thirds loan financial assistance. One of the conditions for release of funding was that adequate management be found, which was interpreted to mean that "a volunteer be found to run the ranch" [5]. The Volunteer agency agreeing to recruit a manager also stipulated certain conditions - viz. a house, a vehicle and certain other expensive additions which the Ministry of Agriculture agreed to find finance for.

To date the volunteer manager has still to be recruited because the Co-operative over the past year has as yet not managed to have water installed at the ranch or the manager's house built. A vehicle was earmarked for the ranch manager's use but not for the Co-operative generally. Without one the Co-operative Manager was unable even to visit the ranch site to supervise labourers hired to dig the trench for water reticulation to the ranch centre. For a time the management relied on the Chairman's willingness to use his private vehicle until the inconvenience and expense

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(4) OSSCA-KRDA project findings.
(5) Notes on the development of Mmadinare Marketing Co-operative Society Dairy Ranch at Selibe Pikwe by Dairy Section.

became too much. Likewise the progress of the local fencing contractor was unsupervised; partly as a result this man who had contracted to fence the 18 km perimeter for P1800, had after eight months completed only 2.5 km, had consumed his P383 deposit and had no money to continue to pay his workers who had all scattered. Progress with the fence was at a standstill in April 1980 as the Committee sought approval from the Ministry of Agriculture to extend the same contractor further credit, while the Ministry understandably blamed the management for employing such an unreliable contractor in the first place.

Apart from the matter of the vehicle, the Committee felt strongly about the financial controls imposed upon the Co-operative for "their" project. A wide gulf seemed to separate the Co-operative management from Ministry officials to whom the evidence seemed to point to financial mismanagement on the part of the Co-operative. The Committee on the other hand, farmers from Mmadinare and nearby villages, saw the process of developing the ranch as a difficult new concept to tackle, and the Government attitude as uncompromising. Their sympathies were with "the poor fencing contractor" for whom the P383 deposit was "a very small sum which could not last him". The contract was referred to as a "kontrac ya sekgowa" a new alien (literally "white man's") type of agreement to the farmers locally. The contractor had agreed to do the whole job in 4 months, not really "knowing how long he would take" before the money was to run out. Now he needed to be helped out with a further sum "but the Ministry will not accept this; will say it is management's fault".

The management clearly felt distrusted and hamstrung by the imposition of the Ministry's financial controls. To pay a farmer for fence posts, the usual Government payment vouchers had to be filled in, signed by the local Dairy AD and forwarded to Gaborone for payment. The Committee complained that this process could take weeks as the vouchers could be returned with queries or with a line improperly completed and meanwhile the farmer awaited payment "with children's school fees to pay".

Any expenditure of the development project money held in the Co-operative Bank had to be authorised first by the local Dairy AD and then by the Ministry. In practice this meant that the AD virtually became the foreman in charge of the labour hired to do the fencing etc. The AD had to measure on a daily basis the number of feet of trench dug for the water piping in order to authorise payment of the labour each week.

The funds for the building of the ranch manager's house were warranted to the Regional Agricultural Office in Serowe after long delays caused essentially by the Ministry's concern that responsibility for the funds be kept out of the hands of the Co-operative.

The story of the Mmadinare Co-operative dairy ranch is thus so far one of management problems. The Government loan was to be released upon the recruitment of an expatriate manager without whose expertise the project was considered non viable. The recruitment in turn rested upon assurances about accommodation, transport etc. The volunteer agency was very concerned that the Co-operative itself was a going concern and that its overall management would be supportive to the volunteer. The negotiations took years. Meanwhile costs escalated. Eventually it was accepted that development should go ahead so that facilities should be ready for the arrival of the ranch manager, but the management of the Co-operative was in effect not entrusted with the control of the development process. In a slow, clumsy and uneasy fashion, with responsibilities very unclear, physical development of the ranch has proceeded for just over a year now. In terms of group development it has not been a rewarding experience.

12.5.4. Some notes on viability

The difficulties and long delays in funding and progressing with both the Mmadinare and the Thamalakane projects have essentially been due to Government's own doubt and caution over the economic viability of dairy ranching. The insistence on adequate management at Mmadinare was a reflection of this concern. From the outset it was recognised by the Ministry of Agriculture that "quite plainly the finances of the ranch could not afford to repay...a commercial loan" 5 and it was in view of the dicey economics that an expatriate manager was recommended. The 1976 project memorandum tried to reduce costs to "a bare skeleton in order to reduce the loan repayment to a sum that the project could afford to repay". Transport of milk, for example, would be by donkey cart from the ranch to the Dairy in Selibe Pikwe.

The expense in dairy ranching is in producing milk longer than the natural season at the cattleposts. For this supplementary feed is required which means conserving fodder either as standing hay, baled hay or silage for the maintenance ration. Expensive purchased feeds have to be strictly rationed per cow according to milk production. Winter fodder production on any scale requires irrigation. The ready water supply at the Thamalakane ranch 'molapo' is thus a significant advantage. At Selibe Pikwe water would be extremely expensive.

For the investment in irrigation for fodder production, fencing of camps and water supply to be economic the genetic potential of the Tswana cow has to be improved by upgrading with exotic breeds. This investment in turn takes some years before yielding a return in the form of increased milk production and income.

The Thamalakane group were quite aware of these economic realities. Not only did members comment that they did not expect any profits in the first five years, but by their frugal actions and voluntary labour they clearly aimed to minimise the cost of the project. The cows were to be donated outright, becoming group property. In many respects the Thamalakane project would appear to stand a good chance of being economic. One main problem is perhaps the limited market in Maun which precludes pasteurising before local marketing and therefore reduces the sale value of the milk.

The other problem of which the Committee is only too aware is management. To run the dairy ranch as a viable concern, to keep the books, to manage the fodder production, the milking herd, the breeding, the feeding, health, water supply, and keep the ranch facilities and equipment in good condition requires alert management which has either to be paid for as a cost itself, or contributed to by members. It remains to be seen whether the return per member from a project of a size holding only about one milking cow per member, justifies the work involved.

For the Mmadinare Co-operative ranch different factors affect viability. Where at Maun the problem is more the market, at Selibe Pikwe the ranch was started because market demand could not be satisfied and the pasteurising and other facilities at the Dairy needed steadier less seasonal production to be viable. However, there exists considerable doubt among some Ranch Extension staff as to just how this ranch, with its already overgrazed poor pastures and expensive water supply, can economically produce milk any longer into the winter season than the cattleposts.

The cash flow situation is illustrated in "Notes on the development of the Mmadinare Marketing Co-op Dairy Ranch at Pikwe". The only comment that can be made in view of the experience so far is that the level of management required for this project to be viable will indeed have to be of a very high order.

12.6. HAS DAIRY EXTENSION FACILITATED GROUP DEVELOPMENT?

There are good reasons why group activities in milk production have not until recently been emphasised by Dairy extension staff. In starting the new industry attention has had to be concentrated in other directions. Since the economics of milk production are affected by the sale value of milk, high investments in intensifying production may not pay and so there has been a need for milk market surveys and the development of marketing structures. In the case of dairy production, what is viable seems to require levels of management beyond current farmer capability, or even for that matter, beyond trained Co-operative management. Thus, for justifiable technical reasons, Dairy extension staff have been performing a supervisory and recording role and the headquarters has held a close grip on virtually all the other managerial roles related to the projects. At the Mmadinare Co-operative ranch every step has been closely monitored, and even after the expatriate volunteer has been recruited, a Dairy AD is to be stationed at the ranch full-time to keep records of amounts of milk sold daily. The AD "will report regularly to Gaborone (the Ministry HQ) who are required to submit regular returns to The Ministry of Finance". [5]

Nonetheless a Co-operative ranch should be a group endeavour. The combined approach of the Dairy Section and CODEC at Mmadinare, however, has done little to facilitate confidence and the other necessary attributes and skills required for good management.

The Mmadinare Co-operative Committee and manager were particularly disenchanted with the support from Government. Instead of facilitation of the Co-operative's efforts the atmosphere was more one of mutual distrust and suspicion. In a joint meeting between the Co-operative's Chairman, Committee members and the Manager, the management asked where was advice supposed to come from? The Co-operative was on its own. It recognised its management problems and that it did not understand about ranching. But, explained the members, neither did CODEC have any idea. They thought that they, the Co-op, were if anything better as at least they knew they needed help - "CODEC do not even realise help is needed...and is far from providing the sort of advice needed".

Extension staff and the Ministry in general were also criticised. Dairy ADs had inadequate training both of the technicalities and organisational skills for ranch development. They had no knowledge of group work. General duty Extension Area ADs were completely uninvolved. At the beginning, Committee members recalled, the local AD had been instrumental in helping the Co-operative. Now there was no collaboration. [6]

In emotional language the members of the Committee and the Manager stressed that they, and other members of the Society felt "as farmers" that they were just not receiving help. "In the Ministry and in CODEC they talk on theory, but the Manager, the Committee and the members do not understand. Government sets down conditions without discussing things deeply...Government supercedes things...there are many examples of the Co-operative's problems being ignored...(the Co-op) and Government are not pulling together...the Committee and the Manager find it impossible to talk openly of the management problems with the Ministry or CODEC; farmers are now tired because they have so many problems". A total communication

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(6) This unhappy state of affairs was a direct result of actions of a former Senior Dairy Officer who refused to allow Dairy extension staff to attend local Agricultural District meetings. This reduced communication between Extension Area ADs and Dairy staff on work matters to nil.

breakdown was referred to, not helped by the information "having to travel through so many channels".

A particular criticism on the part of the Committee members was levelled at CODEC/MoA staff who, it was alleged, do not observe channels of communication locally. Instead of first meeting the Manager, meetings are held with the Committee and the Manager together, the Manager 'a sa itse sepe' (not knowing anything). On one occasion CODEC had addressed members in Sefhophe having slept in Mmadinare without first informing the Co-operative of anything. Similarly the Ministry HQ was criticised for always dealing direct with the Co-operative without keeping the RAO or DAO informed of progress. The Committee Chairman wondered why officials were always in such haste, never had time to sit and get to the root of troubles. He emphasised that after the meeting conducted for this consultancy, the consultant "should go away realising that they were complaining".

The clear message was that the Co-operative's management and membership needed "to be taught in these new things" rather than be dictated to. Facilitation rather than regulation was, in other words, their appeal. The feelings of the Co-operative's management seem to indicate that although the approach of the Dairy section has been, no doubt in all good intentions, to safeguard the viability of the projects, greater emphasis on group development is necessary if the organisation and its management is to cope at all in the long term with these activities. Government's attitude in holding the purse strings and, for example, in failing to provide the Co-operative management with transport without which supervision of the progress of the ranch was impossible, was keenly perceived by the Co-operative as distrust in its capability. A wide gulf in confidence and capability exists - to be bridged.

12.7. CONCLUSIONS ON GROUP ACTIVITY IN DAIRYING

As far as milk production is concerned, the limited experience so far suggests that it is still early days for group commercial ranching in the communal areas. Dairy ranching by groups of farmers in the communal areas appears to require levels of management expertise far beyond present capabilities, even if projects are economically viable. Neither is land readily available in the communal areas for dairy ranches. Indeed, the use of communal grazing for dairying cannot be incorporated in land use plans until the return obtainable from dairying can be compared with other uses of the land - arable, draft power, beef, smallstock etc. The different acreages and numbers of cows which farmers may have would make for complicated by-laws if joint fencing of arable areas for dairy fodder purposes were contemplated.

R12/1: IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN MILK PRODUCTION BE LIMITED TO HELPING INDIVIDUAL FARMERS, NOT GROUPS. The research approach implicit in the proposed UNDP "Investigation into Small Scale Rural Dairying" is strongly supported in this connection. Improving the small farmer's milk production should be approached with sensitivity to his total enterprise situation. Particularly supported are the way it is proposed to study the traditional system and productivity of the livestock and the range, the methods suggested for fodder production to improve diet (experimentation with early harvesting and treatment of crop residues, and

the grant provision of fertiliser, grass and legume seed for the farmer to plant in fenced lands areas to improve pastures), and the offer of 50% subsidies on milking equipment as part of an extension programme.

R12/2: AT THE SAME TIME IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE IN THE TWO CASES WHERE DAIRY RANCHES ARE ALREADY BEING DEVELOPED TO FACILITATE THE GENUINE BUILD UP OF LOCAL MANAGEMENT COMPETENCE. A solid group development approach should be developed at Maun. The Thamalakane project has the advantage of unique fodder irrigation possibilities. At Mmadinare a great deal of open dialogue is necessary between Government and the Co-operative to restore confidence and trust before any meaningful further progress can be expected. Much more effective communications and collaboration between DAFS staff at HQ and in The Region and District, CODEC and the Co-operative itself are required. The interesting impression to emerge from the Mmadinare Co-operative was that they had a much clearer concept of group activity, the difficulties and the possibilities, and of the kind of support and encouragement it required than they gave credit to Government for having.

In terms of milk marketing, on the other hand, there clearly is scope for group action. Although this study did not look specifically at the pasteurising facilities which have been installed at Selibe Pikwe and Gaborone and so recommendations are tentative, the following suggestions are made:

R12/3: FUTURE EXTENSION SHOULD EMPHASISE GROUP ACTION BY MANY SMALL PRODUCERS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS IN TRANSPORTING OF MILK TO RECEPTION CENTRES.

R12/4: THE POSSIBILITY OF GROUP (PERHAPS AMA) ORGANISATION OF MILK FILTERING FACILITIES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE SMALLER POPULATION CENTRES.

R12/5: DUE TO THE LIMITED DISTRIBUTION OF DAIRY ADs IN EXTENSION AREAS MUCH MORE EFFORT IN IMPROVING COMMUNCATIONS BETWEEN DAIRY AND EXTENSION AREA ADs IS NECESSARY, AND EXTENSION AREA ADs SHOULD IN PARTICULAR BE MORE INVOLVED IN DAIRYING EXTENSION ACTIVITIES.

12.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 12

12.1. What are the aims of dairy policy?

The Botswana Government intends that part of the growing urban demand for milk and milk products be met by sales from the communal areas. The local sale of milk surpluses is traditional in the communal areas and now extends to the towns, but the Dairy programme's task is to create a more sophisticated modern industry.

12.2. What is happening in the dairy development areas?

In dairy development areas around the main population centres farmers are encouraged to send milk to reception centres. Dariy extension staff emphasise hygiene in milk production and assist with processing. It has not been a major part of policy to encourage dairy ranches, but two ranches are receiving help.

12.3. What has been the experience of operating a co-operative marketing dairy at Selibe Pikwe?

In 1978 the Mmadinare Marketing Co-operative Society started to operate a pasteurising and packaging dairy for selling milk in Selibe Pikwe. The winter shortage of milk causes severe financial stress to The Society, which has been exacerbated by drought and foot and mouth disease. A certain amount of milk must be received to make the operation of the plant economic and when more milk is received the farmers payment can be increased. A survey carried out by the dairy during a drought period showed that farmers could not afford to transport such small surpluses as might exist. Transport by the dairy or by groups of farmers would also not be worthwhile. But in "normal" times group transportation should receive more emphasis by extension workers. Help with the financial monitoring of the dairy would also be beneficial. The Society has embarked on a dairy ranch scheme to try to create a steadier milk supply. The Gaborone Dairy is supported in this way by research and freehold farms.

The viability of such a sophisticated venture as a dairy depends on an assessment of the actual supply of and demand for milk. It is necessary to tackle the question of seasonal fluctuations in supply.

12.4. Milk filtering plants

Apart from the dairies at Selibe Pikwe and Gaborone, the Dairy section is running several milk filtering plants in smaller centres. The time is possibly now ripe for encouraging the group management of these facilities.

12.5. What progress has been made with group dairy ranches?

There is a need for dairy policy to turn its attention to production. Upgrading Tswana cows is a long and costly business. Only 2 ranch projects are currently underway, one near Selibe Pikwe and another, smaller one near Maun.

12.5.1. Land allocation for dairying ranches in communal areas is a problem. 2 small groups failed to progress because they could not get land between Serowe and Palapye. The Mmadinare Co-operative Society met the same problem when trying to encourage small groups to set up ranches and it was finally only allocated one ranch site because the site had no water. This site was not large enough for all Co-operative members so it had to

become a commercial venture. The Thamalakane AMA also had difficulties obtaining a site. Nonetheless it is not land allocation but the viability of intensified methods that is the crucial issue.

12.5.2. Stimulated by a visit to Mmadinare, the Thamalakane group raised fees and started fencing. The Dairy section persuaded them of the need for improved breeds and fodder, and , as an AMA, the group had bunded, bush-fenced and sown a 'molapo' by mid 1980.

Two proposals by the Mmadinare Co-operative proved unworkable. The current proposal is to purchase stock for a ranch with money invested by members. A local contractor was engaged in building the ranch, and The Department of Water Affairs had been hired to develop water. Most work still remains to be done.

12.5.3. 8 of the original 18 members of the Thamalakane group have been actively participating in developing the ranch. They are aware that they lack management skills and plan to send one of the group's sons for training. Their intended step by step approach has been altered by Government advice and funding requirements to one requiring higher management capability.

Management has also proved a constraining factor in the case of Mmadinare project. Management is complicated because the Co-operative is running several ventures. A Government loan and grant depend on an expatriate manager who cannot be recruited until there is a house, and water for the ranch. Lack of transport is holding up progress. The Committee had different views from Government on the way the fencing contractor was paid, but Government interpreted lack of progress to Committee mismanagement. Other financial delays were caused by moneys having to be authorised by the AD and by the Ministry. Progress has thus been slow and uneasy.

12.5.4. Difficulties and delays with both projects stem from Government caution over economic viability. The production of winter fodder and the upgrading of Tswana cows are expensive undertakings. The Thamalakane group members were aware of the realities and of the need for management. Their problems could arise from a limited market and the small size of the venture. Economic viability at Mmadinare may be thwarted by over-grazing.

12.6. Has dairy extension facilitated group development?

Until recently Dairy extension staff have been too occupied with the necessary development of marketing structures and with close supervision of projects to give attention to group development. It is unfortunate, however, that little has been done to facilitate the Mmadinare Co-operative as a group. The Co-operative Committee criticised the Ministry and CODEC for their lack of real help and of proper or correctly channelled discussion of the problems. They felt distrusted and dictated to.

12.7. What conclusions can be drawn on group activity in dairying?

Because of management problems, land unavailability and complexities of organisation the time is not right for group dairy ranching. Attention should be focussed on helping the individual farmer to increase his milk output for sale. Support should be given to the two existing ranches, however, to facilitate real management competence. On the marketing side there is potential for group action, both on transportation and in milk filtering. Extension ADs should be more involved in dairying.

CHAPTER 13: GROUP RANCHING IN THE TGLP COMMERCIAL AREAS

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CHAPTER 13 GROUP RANCHING IN THE TGLP COMMERCIAL AREAS

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13.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 13

Chapter 13 List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AGINF	Agricultural Information
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
AS	Agricultural Supervisor
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
FDA	First Development Area
GDO	Group Development Officer
HQ	Headquarters
ILCA	International Livestock Centre for Africa
KRDA	Kweneng Rural Development Association
LPCU	Livestock Project Coordinating Unit
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NDB	National Development Bank
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
REO	Ranch Extension Officer
REU	Ranch Extension Unit
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SCC	Short Course Centre
SDA	Second Development Area
SGR	Selebalo Group Ranch
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VADP	Village Area Development Programme

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON CHAPTER 13

The author wishes to emphasise the tentative, exploratory nature of the discussion and recommendations of much of the latter part of this chapter. Commercial ranching is a particularly complex form of group activity. All available experience, as this chapter will show, points to the tendency for the potential problems inherent in the process to be underestimated, yet the Government policy goal remains - that ranching groups are to be encouraged and in particular "small owners". Political pressures have increased in some parts of the country to the point that field staff feel pressured for achievement. Often this pressure to form ranching AMAs stems from nothing more than a drought-induced anxiety over grazing and water supplies. Elsewhere in the country political pressure is if anything the reverse. Some field staff complain of pressures simply to get project funds spent. Yet plentiful experience exists, in Botswana, sufficient to convince anyone of the long, meticulous and complex process of ranch group formation.

The latter part of this chapter attempts, very clumsily, to set out some measures for consideration in order to try to bring the overall ranch development scene into balance. Government's goal to facilitate participation of owners of small herds in groups will never be easy or cheap to implement. If serious attention is not directed now at the way commercial land is developed simultaneously with directing far more resources into facilitating group formation, the goal will be overtaken by events. Perhaps the resource most needed by smaller cattle owners apart from land and cattle is time.

13.1. GOVERNMENT OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMMES

"It should be noted at this moment that the group does not exist except the few members that have remained to utilize the water. Practically no ranch exists at the moment except a miniature cattle-post."

Concluding comments in "Status of the Selebalo Group Ranch" 1 Feb. 1980, by REO and GDO.

13.1.1. A reminder of TGLP objectives

The formation of groups for ranching in the commercial areas is an underlying principle of the TGLP which declares that "first priority will be to help groups of smaller owners to own commercial ranches." The allocation policy is to give preference to such groups over individuals, provided a group owns the normal specified minimum number of livestock to obtain land in a commercial area. The aim in this is primarily one of social equity. Government believes in the TGLP that commercial ranching should not be the privilege of the rich alone; small farmers too should be afforded the chance to participate in ranching and earn an income this way - a difficult prospect even in the communal areas, as we have seen in Chapter 11.

13.1.2. The Group Ranch Subsidy Scheme

To assist owners of smaller herds of cattle to move from traditional to commercial management, Government has had on offer since mid 1979 what amounts to roughly a 50% grant covering certain specific items towards initial ranch development.

A circular[1] explains the scheme:

"the decision to adopt this policy arises from the fact that smaller herd owners do not have the capital resources needed for the necessary basic developments for establishing a ranch. Loan funds, of course, are available but if this source of capital is used for all necessary developments without any equity contribution then the ranch is not a viable proposition."

It notes that certain minimum facilities need to be established in early stages of ranch development for the adoption of acceptable levels of management.

These are:

i) A cased borehole with adequate yields of potable water and pumping equipment.
ii) Adequate water storage and water troughs.
iii) Sufficient reticulation of water to allow proper use of the range.
iv) Perimeter firebreaks and some internal firebreaks.
v) Sufficient fencing to allow segregation of weaners, bulls and young heifers for appropriate periods in the management calendar.
vi) Necessary buildings for housing ranch staff, storage of ranch equipment and feed supplements such as bonemeal and salt.
vii) Necessary tools and equipment required for maintenance and husbandry practices.

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(1) Savingram 22.5.79 "Group Ranch Subsidy Scheme". B. L. Addy

Of the above, the subsidy scheme covers:

i) Drilling and casing a borehole of suitable yield and quality.
ii) Construction of perimeter and appropriate internal firebreaks.
iii) Provide half the cost of an appropriate water reticulation scheme.

The construction of the borehole is the item whose cost is most liable to vary, but on average, assuming borehole development is straightforward, the subsidy amounts to about 50% of the total initial development costs.

The remainder can be financed from a group's own capital or from development loans provided through the NDB or commercial banks under the Livestock II Development Project. The Ministry anticipates these loans would be repaid over a 7-8 year period after which a second phase of more comprehensive developments would start - full perimeter and internal fencing, additional water reticulation and firebreaks.

13.1.3. The target group as defined by the Subsidy Scheme

The subsidy scheme is available only to groups which satisfy certain conditions:

i) they must register as an AMA (a minimum of 10 members)
ii) no individual member may own less than 30 head of cattle (± 20 Lsu) nor more than 100 head (± 70 Lsu) and these must be included in the ranch herd
iii) the cattle owned by the members must originate from an overstocked communal area
iv) the group must follow an approved management programme (including stocking rates)
v) the group must employ a manager
vi) the group must construct the following developments

- equip the borehole and construct water storage tanks and troughs
- complete appropriate reticulation
- construct fences for the control of bulls, weaners and heifers
- construct necessary buildings and purchase appropriate tools and equipment
- construct handling crush

Note that point (ii) means that the cattle owner is from the "middle peasantry" level described in Chapter 8. The inference from this is that the "poor peasant" (in cattle terms only) with around 20 head or less is effectively classed out of the commercial ranching game.

Groups which do not qualify for assistance under the subsidy scheme (e.g. smaller syndicates of larger owners) are not precluded from farming and applying for commercial leases or from advice from the ranch extension programme on management plans, and are still eligible for loan finance.

13.1.4. The ranch extension programme

The ranch extension unit in the Animal Production Division provides advice on ranch planning design and development techniques and on management plans and practices[2]. Effective extension commences after the process of zoning, demarcation and allocation of ranches is completed.

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(2) Annual Report 79/80

REOs are stationed in each Regional Agricultural Office - though some posts are or have been vacant for some time. The 79/80 Annual Report notes the likely constraint that lack of field staff (ADs and AS level stationed in the commercial areas) will pose as the programme develops.

A close working relationship is clearly necessary between REOs and GDOs in each region in order to provide consistent support to commercial ranch groups.

The programme is endowed through project AE06 with 5 tractors, one for each region, and various items of machinery to support demonstration activities and to assist with certain aspects of ranch development (e.g. firebreak construction). REOs are provided with vehicles.

Demonstration facilities are being developed. Windmills, various specification fencing, firebreaks, handling units, spray races, water reservoirs and weaning camps are among the sort of facilities being set up at some of the RTCs and Short Course Centres, also at the Brigades Devt. Trust Ramatia ranch at Kanye and in a few other locations.

The Ranch Management Training Centre at Ramatlabama, another resource of the programme, conducts one-year training courses. 28 trainees completed the course in 1979 and a further 24 are attending in 1980. ADs joining the ranch extension programme are trained here as well as prospective ranch managers.

The programme aims to support the formation of one AMA ranch per year per region over the next five year period. This is in addition to the Pilot Group Ranch Project in Southern Ngwaketse where, with specialised extension support, 12 group ranches are projected over the next three years. The goal in three years time, in other words, is that there should be 12 AMAs established in the Pilot Project area and 18 more AMAs underway altogether in the six regions - a total of 30 AMAs besides smaller syndicates.

13.2. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF PROGRESS

The fullest available details on the groups are provided in Appendix 10. Across the country the picture is as follows:

TABLE 13(i) COMMERCIAL RANCHING GROUPS COUNTRYWIDE (MID 1980)

Number registered AMAs	-	1
Number applied/applying for AMA registration	-	5
Possible further AMA groups (immediate future)	-	1
Other groups	-	c.25*
Inactive/defunct groups	-	9
TOTAL	-	about 40

Progress is best described region by region.

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* note: included in this figure are approx. 12 syndicates occupying Ncojane ranches (Western Region) details on which are not provided in Appendix 10, but can be found in LPCU/ILCA Aug. 79.

13.2.1. Western Region

In Western region the groups to have formed so far are small syndicates with an average membership of 3.25 members. Of 21 occupied ranches on the Ncojane State land, 12 are occupied by such syndicates with membership ranging from 2 to 7 members. Three of the ranches are empty and to be reserved for AMA groups in the context of land use plans for the area; the group ranch subsidy scheme would apply to such AMAs if their livestock were withdrawn from overstocked village areas.

Further group/AMA ranches are planned in relation to the Matsheng land use plan and at Werda.

13.2.2. Maun Region

Some of the ranches in the Mainaveld commercial first development areas were reported to have been allocated to very small syndicates. No groups anywhere near approaching AMA size applied. No data were available on the syndicates.

13.2.3. Francistown Region

Opportunities for commercial ranching have been limited so far to 8 ranches demarcated on State Land near Nata, and 12 ranches in Central District's first development area at Lephasha. Another 15 ranches are to be demarcated in the State Land north of Nata. The possibility exists of reserving sites in this area for AMAs. Of the 8 existing ranches at Nata, four were allocated to syndicates of 3, 7, 7 and 8 members respectively. Five other syndicates have existed in the region, mostly having formed around 1977. Some of these may in reality be borehole syndicates only. Information is inadequate to show their current situation. One or two of the existing boreholes in the future Lephasha ranching area may be syndicate operations.

13.2.4. Central Region

Only three prospective commercial ranching groups have ever applied to the Ngwato Land Board from within the region (see Appendix 10.2.). Other borehole syndicates do exist in the western sandveld, the now commercial zone, but the presence of communities of non-stock-holders in these cattlepost areas has complicated the land use planning and demarcation exercise. To date, no commercial ranches have been demarcated in the region although LUPAG in May 1980 was discussing the demarcation of 8 ranches in what amounted to the last unutilized open space of land in the western sandveld.

The rest of the commercial zone is already virtually fully occupied with boreholes. It appears that at least 2 of the 3 applications made around 1977 were from occupiers of such already existing water points in the now commercial zone.

This means that so far no application for commercial leases have come from farmers in the communal areas. It was suggested at LUPAG (5/80) that 2 of the proposed 8 ranches to be demarcated be reserved for AMAs.

13.2.5. Gaborone Region

The one and only registered commercial ranching AMA exists in Gaborone - the Dutlwe AMA, a group of 20 farmers from Dutlwe village who have been allocated the northern half of nearby Gunter's ranch in the

Western Kweneng (full case study details in Appendix 10.3.). Another potential AMA is the Baitiki group, presently a syndicate of 9 members originating from Molepolole and allocated a ranch in Kweneng's first development area, where another syndicate of 5 members from Thamaga may also apply. Two syndicates have applied for ranch allocations in the second development area in the northern Kweneng - one from Tlokweng and one of 9 members from Molepolole.

Finally there is the possibility of a group forming from Takatokwane village in the western Kweneng to manage the southern half of Gunter's ranch. After the death of Gunter, the Kweneng District Council/Land Board has since 1974 reserved the two portions of the old ranch for possible groups from Dutlwe and Takatokwane. Due to community leadership and social problems progress at Takatokwane has been very slow. There is an element of interest in the village but a viable group has yet to form.

13.2.6. Southern Region

Group formation in commercial ranching got off to an early start in Southern District with the Selebalo group ranch. Occupying one of four ranch sites in western Ngwaketse to be drilled boreholes under Water Affairs project GS09 and reserved by the Ngwaketse Land Board for groups, the Selebalo project was started in 1975 through the initiative of the Range and Livestock Management Project (RLMP). The progress (summarised in more detail in Appendix 10.4.) reached the point of full physical development of the ranch and entry of livestock. But for reasons to be explained later in this chapter, the group never exercised any effective management over the area which reverted more or less to cattlepost conditions and the group ultimately ceased to function.

A group of 11 members from Khakea in the western Ngwaketse has since (1979/80) been allocated the second of the four reserved GS09 boreholes. This group is one of four (as at 8/80) awaiting AMA registration. The other three are:

- "Boikago" from Mmathethe, with 21 members
- "Itikeng Bamakgomo" from Mahule/Sediberg with 13 members
- the Moskupha ranch group of 12 members.

All these three have applied for AMA registration, have constitutions and management plans drawn up and have applied for or been allocated existing boreholes in Southern District's Pilot Group Ranch Project area or in the first development area.

One other group of 14 members from Ntlhantlhe - "Badisakgomo" - has also applied for a pilot group ranch project allocation, but progress with its management plan and towards AMA registration was behind the other groups.

In Southern Region there are also four groups in addition to Selebalo which formed but which are now non functioning. Two got as far as drafting constitutions - one from Mmathethe (the Tshwarogano group), the other called Lepapa ranches, a group of 10 better connected people from Kanye and Gaborone who originally applied for two ranch allocations. The other two groups from Kanye and Goodhope did not get very far at all. The Goodhope group never really formed but was more in the nature of an attendance at meetings which steadily diminished in size to the point where ranch extension and group development staff were addressing only 4 or 5 people.

13.3. PARTICIPATION - THE ACHIEVEMENT SO FAR

Are smaller owners getting the priority in ranch allocation promised in the TGLP - how does it work in practice? Are small owners really interested in commercial ranching, or who is, and for what reasons?

Systematic research studies into ranch groups have yet to be undertaken, so no detailed socio economic data on membership are available apart from isolated observations e.g. by Solway on the Dutlwe group [3]. This consultancy therefore could glean information only from scattered sources, AMA registration applications, REO and GDO reports etc., and from discussion mainly with extension staff concerned. Personal contact was limited to the Dutlwe, Takatokwane, Ntlhantlhe, Molepolole (Monwane/Mereatswe) groups. This section summarises what was found from an admittedly superficial study - who have been and are members of ranching groups of different sizes, and how have they fared?

13.3.1. Membership statistics

In table 13 (ii) below, the data on membership of ranching groups are summarised.

TABLE 13(ii) MEMBERSHIP OF COMMERCIAL RANCHING GROUPS

GROUPS	Number of Members	Cattle numbers		
		Total of group	Average herd per member	Range (herd size per member)
1. Ncojane (Western Region) - average for 12 SYNDICATES (7)	3.25	650	200	-
2. Nata ranch syndicates - average of 4 SYNDICATES (8)	6.25	289	46	20 - 80 (1)
3. Baitiki (Kweneng)	9 (2)	700	78	40 - 150 (most c.80)
4. Takatokwane (Kweneng)	18 5 (3)	470 (3)	78 (3)	1 x 125 2 x 100 2 x 50 1 x 40
5. Dutlwe AMA (Kweneng)	20	960	48	1 x 100 4 x 60 4 x 70 1 x 50 1 x 40 5 x 30 4 x 20
6. Mmamatlako	5 (4)	-	-	-
7. Monwane/Mereatswe	9	c.630	c.60-70	max. 100
8. Selebalo group	16	362 (5)	- N/A	Note (5)
9. Southern Region (average of 7 proposed AMAs)	13.00	542 (6)	42	10-100 (6)

(3) J. Solway "Report on Dutlwe Village, Kweneng District", 1979 - Rural Sociology Report Series No. 14.

NOTES on table 13(ii)

(1) range of herd size for membership of one syndicate only out of the 4.
(2) membership consisted of 3 main farmers and their sons and cousins.
(3) only six farmers out of 18 committed to ranching; herd ownership figures available for those 6 only.
(4) membership of syndicate - a man, 3 brothers and close neighbour.
(5) for Selebalo group, 362 is the highest number of cattle entered on ranch; ownership data not available; it is known that one member joined owning only one beast, and several others with only 2 - 3 animals; altogether 7 members had less than 10 head and one had 11 head of cattle.
(6) note that figures available for S. Region proposed AMAs are for "cattle pledged" per member; actual ownership may be over this although it is not supposed to be for subsidy scheme approval.
(7) data from Ranch Extension Annual Report 23 May 1980.
(8) data from GDO/REO Francistown August 1980.

From table 13(ii) and from the additional information in the Appendix 10 tables, it can be calculated that altogether something like 300 farmers throughout the country have been involved with a commercial area ranching proposal at one time or another. At the present moment about 200 are actively involved in groups. This excludes the former membership of the now inactive Selebalo group and four other proposed but now inactive AMAs in Southern Region. It accounts for 26 of the roughly 40 commercial ranching groups to have existed.

The average size of existing commercial ranching groups is about 8 members. It ranges from the 2 or 3 members of some of the Ncojane ranch syndicates to the 6 or 8 members of some Nata syndicates up to the 21 members from Mmathethe and the Barolong of the proposed "Boikago AMA". Further study of the statistics in table 13(ii) reveals a little more about these members. At Ncojane the small syndicates own an average of 650 cattle each, or 200 head of cattle per member. These are big owners, the "emergent capitalist" class[4]. None of these syndicates has over 10 members; the average of 3.25 members is enough to produce a commercially viable sized herd of 650. The syndicates allocated ranches on the Nata State Land have on average nearly twice as many members, 6.25 in each syndicate. These are farmers, with an average of 46 head of cattle each, at that threshold point discussed by Cooper[4] - the solid self sufficient middle peasant level beyond which regular selling can be considered. Most of the groups in the Kweneng are well into the "rich peasantry" bracket, members having herds of around 70 head.

At Dutlwe a precise breakdown of members' herd sizes is available (see table 13(ii)). This group represents almost all the cattle ownership classes from owners of 20 head up to an owner with 100. At Takatokwane there are six farmers reported to be seriously interested in managing the southern part of Gunter's ranch as a commercial venture. The rest are only concerned with obtaining more grazing and the use of the water sources as we shall see below. The six interested farmers include three with 100 and

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(4) D. Cooper : NMS working paper No. 4 "How Urban Workers in Botswana Manage Their Cattle and Lands : Selibe Pikwe Case Studies" June 1980

more cattle, and three with 40 to 50 head one of whom was a labourer on Gunter's ranch while Gunter was alive.

In Southern Region the proposed AMAs and the former Selebalo group all have or had much larger memberships, and correspondingly lower cattle numbers per member. The average size of 7 of the proposed AMAs in mid 1980 was 13. It should be added that this figure had been fluctuating considerably over the previous year to 18 months during which the AMAs had been forming. Earlier in 1979 the average size of six AMAs was over 17 members each. The GDO commented that this was during a worse drought period and at a time when AMA ranch group formation was receiving a lot of political attention and encouragement. The present membership of the proposed AMAs has only 42 head of cattle per member registering, the lowest average herd size of groups throughout the country.

The Selebalo group originally had 16 members, with an average herd size of only 23 head of cattle (estimated from the highest number ever to have been entered on the ranch). As table 13(ii) shows, almost half the group had only 10 cattle or less. One mr even joined having only one beast.

Thus from this brief survey we see that a wide diversity of farmers have become involved in commercial ranching projects at one time or another, ranging from owners of one animal to farmers with 200 or more in the smaller syndicates. But over the country as a whole, the average member now of active existing or proposed commercial ranching groups has 79 head of cattle. Excluding the 12 Ncojane syndicates, the average member of groups in the east of the country has 49 head of cattle.

Let us now look still closer at some of these participants and at the participants too in some now inactive groups.

13.3.2. A closer look at the participants

One factor has emerged clearly already - that the participants with some 200 cattle each in the Ncojane syndicates have significantly larger herds of cattle than the average participant with 49 head in commercial ranching groups in the east of the country. By studying the membership more closely we can begin to learn more about the people involved.

The Ncojane syndicates

As at May 1980, 21 of the 25 ranches built near Ncojane under the first Livestock Development Project were occupied. The 1979/1980 Ranch Extension Unit Annual Report records nine of these ranches as occupied by individuals, and 12 by syndicates. The average herd size per member of the syndicates is 200 cattle. As would be expected the individual occupiers have larger herds - averaging 424 head of cattle[5].

Annex 12, table 1 of the LPCU report[6] provides some information on the origins of the Ncojane ranch lessees. Occupants of the 18 ranches

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(5) Note - there is some discrepancy between these data from the Ranch Extension Unit's report for 1980 and those in the Livestock Project Coordinating Unit's 1979 report. The 1979 report records that out of 18 ranches leased by 1979, 14 were leased to syndicates with an average membership of 2.7 members. There appear to have been some changes in occupancy of the ranches between 1979 and 1980, some syndicates having increased, and others having decreased in size. Assuming both sets of figures were correct at the times they were produced, the trend seems to have been towards fewer larger syndicates.

(6) LPCU/ILCA report August 1979.

leased by that time (1979) came from the following villages:

Ncojane	-	5 syndicates of 3, 3, 2, 2, and 2 members
	-	1 individual
Kuli	-	1 syndicate of 3 members
Makunda	-	2 syndicates of 3 and 2 members
Karakubis	-	2 syndicates of 2 members
Kalkfontein	-	1 syndicate of 2 members
	-	1 individual
Hukuntsi	-	2 syndicates of 6 and 4 members
Ghanzi	-	1 syndicate of 2 members
	-	2 individual lessees

The Ncojane ranches are around 50 km. only from Ncojane and Kuli but 100 - 150 km. from Makunda, Karakubis and Kalkfontein. Lessees from Ghanzi or Hukuntsi are 200 - 250 km. away. The same report[6] on page 74 adds that most of the ranch owners live far away from Ncojane in urban centres. This absenteeism is a problem for extension work, as extension staff only have "mostly illiterate" ranch foremen to contact.

Thus, from the limited information referred to, we can see that the members of the syndicates and individuals leasing the Ncojane ranches are mostly very big cattle owners from most parts of Ghanzi and parts of Kgalagadi Districts. Without more information further comment is not possible.

R13/1 : IT WOULD BE OF INTEREST TO STUDY AND COMPARE MORE CLOSELY THE LESSEES FROM NEARBY AND MORE DISTANT VILLAGES, AND TO LOOK IN PARTICULAR FOR ANY DIFFERENCES IN HERD OWNERSHIP, COMMERCIAL ATTITUDES AND MANAGEMENT ABILITY.

In any discussion of the Ncojane experience it has to be borne in mind that from the beginning no concessionary terms were available in the first Livestock Development Project for groups. All ranch lessees, whether syndicate or individual have the same terms to comply with, viz:-

- rent of P200.00 per ranch per annum for first 5 years after which rentals to be adjusted to conform with TGLP rents
- loan of P27000 for each ranch with interest (at 8%) capitalized for the first two years making the capitalized loan amount to P31492 at the end of the second year
- further grace period during years 3, 4, 5 and 6 during which no principal is repaid, but interest only at P2519 per annum
- from year seven onwards to the 18th year an annuity of P2065 payable twice a year covering both principal repayment and interest.

Only in the VADP was a group ranching component planned, intended as a complementary development to LDPI. The non-formation of the 40 ranching groups planned was noted in chapter 5. At present it appears that apart from the small syndicates, the only group on a Nocjane ranch is a group of squatters on ranch no. 22 who claim to have been given permission by a government official to use the borehole. The ranch has become grossly overstocked, according to the LPCU/ILCA August 79 report[6], and extension staff have recommended the squatters be given a lease for one of two other vacant ranches. Ranch 22 had been intended for a group under the VADP.

The Nata syndicates

Very little information on the Nata syndicates could be found for the purpose of this study. The latest data available from the Francistown Regional Agricultural Office are summarised in Appendix table 10.1. There are some differences between these data and those on page 88 of the

LPCU/ILCA Annual Report for 1978/79 which records 6 members each for the Masunga and Sechele syndicates (instead of 8 and 7 in 1980 according to the REO), and notes that one additional syndicate, the "Nata syndicate" of 2 members was leased ranch no. 5.

An interesting aspect of the membership of the Nata syndicates is the distance the ranches are from where the members originate (mostly in the overcrowded North East District, some 150 km or more away) particularly considering the much smaller herd sizes owned per member (46 cattle) than, for example, at Ncojane. It is possibly a reflection on the extreme overcrowding in North East District that owners of these smaller herds consider it worthwhile to move them so far to a commercial situation. Alternatively the cattle figures available may include only those to be entered on the ranches and exclude some other categories of stock kept behind in the communal areas.

R13/2 : AGAIN, FURTHER RESEARCH IS RECOMMENDED ON PARTICIPATION IN THE NATA RANCH SYNDICATES FOCUSSING PARTICULARLY ON THE LOCATIONAL ASPECTS.

The Kweneng FDA/SDA syndicates

At the time of this study four syndicates had applied for or been allocated commercial ranches in the Kweneng District's southern First Development Area (FDA) or northern Second Development Area. Few data were available on the syndicate from Tlokweng although it was known that the members, who included the Chief of Tlokweng and his brothers, presently keep cattle in the communal areas in Tlokweng and in the Kweneng.

Much more is known about the other three syndicates. Firstly, as was noted in section 13.3.2. above, the members of these syndicates have an average herd size of around 70 head of cattle. Farmers with this size of herd or above, have always been those to escape the communal areas and through syndication or on an individual basis to establish private water sources in the sandveld or in other vacant areas. It is thus not surprising to find that members of all three of these syndicates have been running Council boreholes as syndicates for many years already.

Like the Kgatleng borehole syndicates, and the members of many of the Ncojane ranch syndicates, the membership of these Kweneng syndicates consists mostly of close relatives and neighbours. The 9 members of the Baitiki group come from 3 families with sons and cousins making up the number. The Mmamatlako syndicate is a group of 4 brothers and one close neighbour.

Most of these people, as would be expected, tend to be the better connected, educated and therefore more aware. The Chairman and largest cattle owner of the Baitiki syndicate is the former Chairman of Kweneng District Council, Land Board and member of the Conservation Committee. This gentleman and two others were running a Council owned syndicate borehole in the Lephephe communal area, but, after TGLP, wanted to drill their own. In order to increase their combined livestock numbers to the more viable size of 600 in order to obtain a commercial lease, they expanded their group. All three families now involved in the syndicate are literate, working either in Council, Government or the KRDA in Molepolole.

The Mmamatlako syndicate members come from Thamaga. In this case it is the younger brother of the biggest cattle owner in the group who happens to be a Councillor. The other group from Molepolole with members from Monwane and Mereatswe lands areas is blessed with its Secretary being a driver at the local District Agricultural Office. It is this man, also the largest owner in the group, who is naturally the best informed and the most committed to ranching.

Concerning distance to the commercial ranching areas, it is interesting to observe that members of the last mentioned group from Molepolole have been running a syndicate borehole together in the Mereatswe area only a few kilometres from the ranch site allocated to them now in the Second Development Area. The move is thus a matter of little consequence to these members.

The Western Kweneng groups near Gunter's ranch

The villages of Dutlwe and Takatokwane are about 60 km apart, and some 200 km west of Molepolole into the Kalahari desert. Long before TGLP was dreamt of, a certain white farmer by the name of Gunter was granted permission to fence a very large area just to the south and between the two villages and to develop water and build a house. It was a condition that the ownership of the property upon Gunter's death should revert to the Kweneng Land Board. A number of Dutlwe and Takatokwane residents became employed on Gunter's ranch, and many others made use of his 4 boreholes for watering cattle. For these reasons, but primarily due to situation the ranch was, after Gunter's death, reserved by Kweneng District for groups from Dutlwe and Takatokwane. The situation is thus rather exceptional. The ranch is already there, and there exists a relationship of a kind between the village populations and the ranch nearby.

The experience of encouraging groups from these two villages to lease and manage Gunter's ranch (divided into two halves by the Land Board) has to be considered independently from other groups in Kweneng for these reasons.

The response from both Dutlwe and Takatokwane appeared at first to be enthusiastic. At Takatokwane two lists of 10 and 8 people arrived on the Land Board's desk applying for use of the two boreholes in the Southern portion of Gunter's ranch proposed for Takatokwane. For various reasons, as we shall see, the Takatokwane group stalled at this point, but at Dutlwe a group of 20 members was registered in March 1980.

The average ownership of cattle in the Dutlwe group is 48 head. The exact herd sizes are given in table 13(ii). From this it can be seen that 10 of the members, or half the group, have 40 head of cattle or less. Only 8 of the members are in the rich peasantry class with 60-70 head. The membership includes, in fact, an almost complete range of herd ownership - from 20 to 100.

The REO at the Gaborone Regional Agricultural Office was able to provide some interesting insights into the group's social dynamics. In the group there are 3 main kin families involved plus one outsider who had been employed by Gunter as a pumper, and remained on the ranch with 40 cattle of his own (originally Gunter's) continuing to look after the property for the Land Board. The other three families can be sketched as follows:

Family A

- 4 members of the AMA, three with the same surname together with a fourth brother the recently appointed acting chief of Dutlwe
- one of the brothers is much wealthier than the rest and more committed to the AMA
- the acting chief apparently has little influence in the AMA

Family B

- the traditional chief's family (N.B. - the proper heir is still very young)
- 5 members of the AMA, mostly middle aged

Family C

- 9 members of the group - five brothers and four sisters (3 of the sisters widows, one unmarried)
- the progressive section of the group (feed bonemeal and salt, vaccinate cattle etc.)
- Chairman, one of the richest in the AMA, progressive, with a borehole, used to be a borehole mechanic in Dept. of Water Affairs
- one of the widowed sisters is the largest cattle owner with 100 head
- the son of one of these members is the trained manager of the AMA, an ex-tax collector with Form III education and experienced with cattle and borehole repairs.

The membership of the AMA thus covers quite a spectrum, although only three main Dutlwe families are involved. Family C is the most committed to proper management of the ranch, already practising improved husbandry techniques at their cattleposts. Members of family B tend to go along with majority opinion in matters concerning the ranch, and have adopted improved husbandry practices following the example of the progressive Chairman in family C. Two of the members of family A are reported to be unpopular in the AMA. They practise no improved management at present and water their cattle at open wells in the pans, not having boreholes or wells of their own. The chief is reported to want really to drill a separate borehole and form a syndicate with his brothers; their interest in the ranch is limited to the water supply. None in family A had paid up full membership fees (as at mid 1980). Pressure was reported to exist on these members to withdraw from the group in order to allow others more committed to the ranch to join including the chief's mother and a cousin[7].

At Takatokwane signs were of similar divisions across the community in interest in the ranch. Like Dutlwe, Takatokwane is a village surrounded by the commercial ranching zone. The majority of farmers registering interest - using the portion of Gunter's ranch did so for the water. This may in the case of the Dutlwe membership partly explain the participation in the commercial ranch of farmers with low herd sizes. The ranch is close by the village and water is available. At Takatokwane this outlook on Gunter's ranch was openly expressed at a 'Kgotla' meeting in November 1979. It should be understood that Council and Ministry of Agriculture staff had addressed a series of meetings (as at Dutlwe) explaining that the ranch was available for leasing to members of the Takatokwane community the developments (fencing, housing, boreholes etc.) to be purchased by the group, provided those interested register as an AMA and manage the ranch according to an approved management plan.

At a meeting in November 1979 the author, the REO and GDO asked those present how they felt about the ranch, and how the Land Board and Government proposals fitted in with their situation. The response to this enquiry was lively, no doubt partly because the meeting was held, intentionally, in the absence of the headman and other village leaders who had decided to hold a VDC meeting instead of attending the pre-advertised meeting in 'Kgotla'. It was explained that a number of farmers already kept cattle in the ranch watering at one of the boreholes paying a fee of 25^{t} per head per day to Council. The 18 who had registered with Land Board in two lists had done so in order to water at the two boreholes also. The farmers emphatically did not want to become a group, but to maintain separate kraals,

(7) Note that Solway's study includes further analysis of Kin/family relationships in Dutlwe; it was not possible to cross check these findings with the REO's observations.

have their own herdboys and "meet in the grazing area". Some declaired that it was easier to count cattle in separate herds than when all cattle were managed togetner as a single herd and extended this argument to conservation, believing that a single herd did more damage. Farmers explained that the crucial problem at Takatokwane was water supply. What farmers needed were sources of water, but they were "in the middle of a commercial area for ranching". To the north is a game reserve. To the north east are lands areas giving way to private boreholes of Khudumelapye village people. A quick count was made of available water sources within reach of Takatokwane. Apart from the two in Gunter's ranch (Phokje and Mmaphojane) these included:

- Lekgwabe borehole; 10 km west of Takatokwane; previously Gunter's, now syndicated by the headman and some others; to water cattle a fee of P2/head/year charged to non members; broken down Oct - Nov 1979
- Somo borehole; also Gunter's, now privately owned; daily fee charged P2.00 if under 10 head or P5.00 if under 100 head - only while Lekgwabe broken down
- Kgoro borehole - belonging to a rich Dutlwe family
- Kopye - belonging to an M.P.
- Bolanche - privately owned
- Maseru - north east of Takatokwane, low yielding borehole next to lands areas.

Farmers explained they used to utilise Kgoro and Kopye boreholes but were no longer permitted by the owners in order to avoid overstocking. The overwhelming consensus of the meeting was that Takatokwane had an insufficient communal area and water sources, and that Council and Land Board should be convinced (by the Councillor, it was suggested) of this problem. The community was not prepared to form an AMA to take over the commercial management of the ranch.

The land problem at Takatokwane is partly explained by the community's history. The village was formed only in 1967. The people are Bakgalagadi - a minority tribe. The REO explained quite simply that they do not yet know one another well, having come from north, south, east and west to form the village. Due also to some deep rifts within the community and lack of effective leadership[8], the people as they explained in 'Kgotla', were "not together" and recognised this as a problem because they needed "one voice to convince Council of their request for water"[9].

Solway in her 1979 report on Dutlwe village draws similar conclusions about the limited future options facing those unable to afford to move to a borehole. On page 20 she notes that "As TGLP progresses the southern area will soon reach its capacity for boreholes and farms leaving little room for expansion for those families that may accumulate cattle in a generation". The communal area needs of the majority of the population of both villages must be carefully considered in land use planning and development. At Takatokwane the REO reported in 1980 that of the 18 "members interested" in the ranch only six showed evidence of any commercial purpose. Their herd sizes are given in table 13(ii). Two of the biggest owners are a father and a son. One of the smaller owners is a wife of the headman. Another

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(8) It was reported that a case was ongoing between the community and the headman over the headman's alleged fraudulent ownership claim to a community developed borehole.

(9) Notes from November 1979 'Kgotla' meeting

was one of Gunter's ranch labourers. This loose group of six seems committed to managing the ranch although their combined cattle numbers are far below its viable capacity. They sent two members to witness the Dutlwe AMA registration ceremony in March 1980.

The rest of the Takatokwane "membership" is a motley crew. At the November 1979 Kgotla meeting, a roll call of members present was requested by the REO. As names were called out it emerged that of the 18 members, 7 were in prison at that time for various offences including cattle theft. The young people from the village were mostly away at the mines.

The REO commented that most of the community would be satisfied to continue using the Lekgwabe borehole for the time being which would be easier after the removal of the larger herds to the ranch - an acceptable course of action for the biggest owners who found paying P5.00 per day for up to 100 head of cattle too expensive.

The Selebalo group ranch

The situation of the Selebalo ranch in relation to the nearby communities at Sekhuma pan has a striking resemblance to Gunter's ranch and the villages of Dutlwe and Takatokwane. The villages around Sekhuma are nearly the same distance west beyond Kanye, far out in the sandveld of western Ngwaketse bordering on Kgalagadi District. Selebalo ranch is, however, much smaller than Gunter's and the other difference, of course, is that Selebalo ranch was offered to the Sekhuma community by the Range and Livestock Management Project as a new development.

New or old, the Selebalo ranch was seen foremost by members of the Sekhuma community as an opportunity for a new water source opening up inaccessible areas of grazing. As the RAO observed in 1976[10]:

> "the only benefit seen by the people is the provision of water... basically, the people want the water, but do they want what goes with it?"

As we shall see below, the events of the next 3 - 4 years proved conclusively that most of the membership did not want what went with the water - i.e. improved management.

As the ranch facilities physically crumbled, only six of the 16 original members remained on the ranch to continue utilising the water. After the gravitational water tank had crashed to the ground by early 1980 (it had been in danger of falling for a year with one leg severely corroded), members connected the borehole pump to pipes leading 4 km to the west and south reservoirs and pumped water to them directly, a practice guaranteed to ruin the machinery. Firebreaks originally cut by the RLMP team had never been maintained, fencing was destroyed in many places and the cattle kept in the ranch were neither castrated nor dehorned. In March 1979 the REO reported that no bonemeal or salt supplements had been fed for 8 months. No seasonal breeding or early weaning was practised and different stock categories ran together as one herd. From July 1977 to May 1979 the entire number of cattle on the ranch were watered and herded continually in the northern camp, the group refusing to utilise the two southern water points on the grounds that "it is too far to walk" and "there is no herder to look after the cattle"[11]. As a result the northern third of the ranch became severely overgrazed whereas the southern part of the ranch had

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(10) "Group Development Southern Region" - report by RAO South 27 July 1976.

(11) "Selabalo Group Ranch", REO report 1 March 1979.

plenty of grass.

Further evidence on the mismanagement of and attitudes of this ranch will be seen in the next section. Here it serves to illustrate that most of the initial membership did not have a commercial ranching purpose upon joining. Farmers with as few as 2 or 3 cattle became members. The one member with only one beast joined under the impression that through some magical process the entering of one beast would bring him more cattle. The GDO reported in 1980 that the members with small herds say that they were deceived, and that what had been promised (more cattle) did not materialise; rather debts had been incurred. Just as at Takatokwane, members stated in 1980 that they would much rather be separate with individual cattleposts as they had no central pool of funds from which to manage the ranch. The six who remained with cattle in the ranch, it was suggested, were hoping that Government would just leave them alone with the borehole. Early in 1980 the brother of one of these six members joined the group with 39 head of cattle increasing the membership to 17. As he did so, the two brothers making clear their intention to form a syndicate to run the ranch in a letter of request to Government, seven members indicated their wish to withdraw membership and three others absent from the January meeting had already removed their cattle.

It should be explained at this point that ever since the syndicate formed in 1975, a state of feud had existed between two sections in the group reflecting rival factions in the Sekhuma community - a state of affairs which had not been noticed during the group formation period of over a year. This situation had led to non participation by most of the group in activities on the ranch requiring labour. Only 5 members were reported to have worked during one period in 1979. Serious commercial intent was limited to a very small proportion of the membership.

The Southern Region proposed AMA groups

Formed after a process which only started in mid 1978, less is known about the membership of these groups than about groups like Selebalo which have existed for over 5 years now. The main point which can be added to the overview in 13.3.1. is that the membership of these proposed AMAs includes farmers currently herding their cattle in the overcrowded communal areas around the villages. Members of the Ntlhantlhe group were reported mainly to be older men with their herds up on the hills - a notoriously overgrazed area. The average herd size owned by members registering in 1980 was only 42 head (see table 13(ii)). It can be concluded that the AMA/group ranch subsidy scheme approach has succeeded so far in attracting "target group" farmers - the owners of smaller herds. It is also likely that the relative proximity of the Southern Ngwaketse Pilot Group Ranch Project area to the communal areas may be a factor explaining the interest displayed by the smaller owners in participating, although farmers at Goodhope in the Barolong cited the distance to the project area as a problem accounting for lack of interest.

The Ngwaketse Land Board's positive encouragement of groups to seek commercial allocations and the reserve of ranches for this purpose, together with political publicity, also helps to explain why groups of this kind have formed in Southern Region. Another factor must be the greater pressures on land in the south compared, say, with Central Region where grazing and water are not felt to be such a problem.

13.3.3. The Participants - some conclusions

The mostly very recent experience with commercial ranching groups around the country, as has been shown, has been so diverse that it is pre-

mature to attempt to see very definite patterns from it in terms of participation, certainly bei re more in depth study has been done. Livestock Project I at Ncojane never set out to encourage groups. The syndicates which have leased some of the ranches are mostly very small in membership, and the participants with over 200 head of cattle each fall way beyond the target group of the group development programme. Only in the southern regions of the country has a determined AMA ranching programme recently been attempted with the target group in mind. The disastrous experience with the Selebalo group has taught the country, and particularly the Southern Region agricultural staff and District authorities, how carefully participants need to be selected for a viable commercial ranch group.

Overall in the eastern part of the country, participation in commercial ranching groups (existing or proposed) has tended to involve the following:

- members of already existing borehole syndicates usually with correspondingly high herd sizes (around 70 cattle), sometimes with cattleposts very close to the commercial ranch development areas
- farmers from villages situated within or on the margins of the commercial ranching zone faced with severe water shortage problems; owners of small herds have included themselves in these groups though often misapprehending the commercial ranch purpose
- owners of smaller herds who have responded to the invitations to apply for commercial ranches in Southern District where, again, the areas reserved for group ranches are relatively close to the communal zone.

The syndicates leased the Nata ranches appear somewhat exceptional. Several of them are clearly family concerns though. Also North East District is particularly overcrowded.

In the rest of this chapter the objectives of farmers and the problems which have been encountered in forming and managing viable commercial ranch groups will be studied. Finally some conclusions will be offered on the question of viability and target group, together with suggestions for approach.

13.4. FINANCE AND FINANCIAL AWARENESS IN COMMERCIAL RANCHING

One of the first points to be clear about is that ranching is a commercial venture. As became clear in chapters 11 and 12 on ranch-type activities in the communal areas, the costly capital investment can be justified only by high standards of management including marketing. Successful ranching has to aim to maximise the value of offtake - the source of business turnover from which the investment can be paid off and profit earned. As chapters 8 and 11 noted, this business attitude to cattle is not traditional, so the first pitfall likely to be encountered is encouraging owners, particularly of small herds (which represent the family's security), to join ranching groups is a lack of financial awareness.

The minimum initial ranch developments recommended by the ranch extension unit and required as a condition for eligibility for a grant

under the group ranch subsidy scheme (see 13.1.2.) cost P25 - 30,000. Government grant aid covering the borehole, partial water reticulation and firebreak clearance amounts to roughly P12 - 15,000 in value leaving the group with the remainder of essential developments costing P12 - 15,000. This excludes perimeter fencing, a measure which ranch extension specialists see as less essential initially than the provision of bull and weaning camps, handling facilities and water. Farmers, though, tend instinctively to see perimeter fencing as an immediate necessity to prevent straying and to establish boundaries of their land. This would dramatically increase initial capital costs. 30 - 40 km. of perimeter fencing, if contracted, can cost P1000 per km. or more. P250 to P300 per km. is not an unrealistic "self-help" cost in terms of materials and transport. A figure of at least P8 - 10,000 can safely be estimated for perimeter fencing a 6400 hectare ranch as a bare minimum. The guidelines on ranch development and management[12] puts the total initial outlay on a 6400 ha ranch at P50,000 including all minimum developments above, plus the fencing of the perimeter and six paddocks and the construction of a manager's house.

So far few ranching groups have been in existence long enough for much to be concluded on their financial performance. Four of Southern Region's proposed AMA groups have raised some initial capital totalling P6100 or averaging P1525 per group. The 13 members of the "Itekeng Baruakgomo" group with an average of 46 head of cattle each pledged to the ranch herd, had by August 1980 (a year after formation) raised P2800, the highest amount, by means of the highest level of joining fees - P200 per member. Joining fees of other groups varied but were not less than P100.00. Only two of the proposed AMAs proposed joining fees in proportion to cattle numbers entered on the ranch, though figures were not specified.

The Nata ranch syndicates were in a slightly different position in being required to pay for certain ranch facilities already in existence. Within a year and a half period from their formation they raised an average P4233 per group towards initial ranch developments.

The Dutlwe AMA, taking over the management of part of Gunter's ranch, is also faced with paying for existing property. The final reported valuation of P6000 payable to the Kweneng Land Board is to be borrowed, the group plans, from the local cooperative marketing society as an interest free loan. The Dutlwe AMA and the proposed Takatokwane group have joining fees of P1.00 per head of cattle entered on the ranch.

Ranch development costs cannot of course be met solely by means of initial joining fees. Loans have to be obtained by the groups and repaid with interest over a period of years. How a group chooses to raise the regular (usually twice yearly) loan repayments is a group decision. The Dutlwe AMA constitution provides for other fees as and when it is necessary to raise funds for specific developments. Most other groups appear to propose to pay all expenses including loan repayments, the development budget and the operational management budget from the regular collection of fees based on the number of cattle held on the ranch by members.

The management fees proposed vary from group to group. The Southern Region proposed AMAs specified management fees varying from 2 thebe per beast per day proposed by the Ntlhantlhe group as a "watering fee" to 8 thebe per day proposed by the "Itekeng Baruakgomo" group. The latter figure would amount to a per beast fee of P29.20 per annum. Most of the Southern Region groups proposed 5 thebe per day, or P18.25 per annum. The

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(12) In TGLP guidelines published by MLGL 1979.

Dutlwe AMA constitution/management plan specifies a P12.00 "grazing and maintenance fee" per beast per annum.

In addition all groups have financial provisions attached to members' labour on the ranch. In most cases this takes the form of absentee fees - a fine on a member who fails to turn out for work on the ranch, usually imposed on a daily basis. Absentee fees for the Southern Region groups vary from 50 thebe per day to P10.00. At Dutlwe the group looks at the labour question from the more positive opposite viewpoint and pays members who do work on the ranch a 50 thebe daily wage.

The only commercial ranching group to have been in existence long enough to provide case study experience of ranch management and finance is the Selebalo group ranch, and the financial chaos reached by this group provides also the most poignant illustration of the potential problems to avoid.

The Selebalo group moved cattle on to the ranch in July 1977. No joining fees were required under the constitution. Finances were to be raised by each member being responsible for payments towards total running costs "in proportion to the size of his livestock quota relative to the sum of all members' livestock quotas". The costs to be covered this way were to include:

i) land rent
ii) borehole operation costs
iii) animal husbandry requisites
iv) management and labour costs
v) ranch operation costs
vi) loan repayment and interest[13]

The only fund raising device approved by the group in its first year of operation was a P1.00 per day absentee fee. By April 1978 the REO was already anxious about the group's finances. He wrote "it does not look like the Group is aware what it entails financially to run a ranch, and the sooner this is brought home to them the better....at the moment the only income the group receives comes from the payment of 1 Pula a day when a member does not turn up for work and the odd beast received by the group as compensation for grazing destroyed by fire. This income will in no way cover expenses".[14]

To cover expenses the REO proposed a 10 thebe daily management fee per beast (calves free of charge). If the ranch was stocked with 300 head of cattle this would bring in an income of P10900 per year - just enough to cover the expenses of P10000 the REO calculated as follows:

	Pula
- rent	800
- loan repayments	1803
- manager's wage	1200
- labour (pumper etc.)	850
- maintenance	667
- firebreaks	300
- veterinary/water/minerals	3000
- hire of transport	479
- contingencies	900
	10000

(13) Article (i) of "membership and members duties" in the constitution of the Selebalo Group Ranch.

(14) "Selebalo Group Ranch" REO report 24 April 1978.

The group compromised in October 1978 by agreeing to a management fee of P1.00 per beast per month - one third the level recommended by the REO. But by August 1979 members had fallen well below even this level. Assuming an average stocking rate of 200 head of cattle on the ranch (actual records were not kept accurately) the REO calculated that from November 1978 to July 1979 P1800 should have been collected whereas during that period only P268.00 had been paid up. Extracting absentee fees from work defaulters was meeting with equally little success - P484 was outstanding according to records kept.

Finally by February 1980 the total of outstanding fees had reached P2004.00 and in a report[15] the GDO and REO observed that "there is a big doubt as to whether the group will recover this sum from individuals".

The inability of the group to meet running expenses in view of the problem of getting members to contribute was in part explained by an P800 cash surplus having been inherited from the initial NDB development loan. It also reflected the minimal cost "management" programme the group adopted. The pumper's wage of P30.00 per month and borehole running costs were the main items. No manager was ever employed and no approved management was practised. As management fees were not collected systematically when faced with loan repayment the group resorted to crisis fund raising appeals familiar from borehole syndicates generally.

The chairman is recorded (minutes of meeting with CAMA 23/10/79) as reminding "members to start collecting enough money so as to be able to pay the next installment which is only two months away due".

The first and second half yearly loan repayments of P951.90 (after 3 years grace period) were never paid.[16]

One factor in the financial problems of the Selebalo group must, however, have been the illiteracy of the membership. Reports regularly referred to incorrect financial records. At the meeting with CAMA (October 1979) the GDO's minutes note that "A quick check on the books indicated that some of the transactions are never recorded. This is reflected by the cash balance being P61.05 yet the treasurer said he had P87.00....The group has never put any money in the bank. Since the treasurer himself cannot read or write he asks other people (not members) to do the recordings for him".

It is also possible (this is pure conjecture) that members may have been discouraged from contributing by a clause in their constitution under section 7 "Financial Management" which reads as follows:

> "Fixed capital assets e.g. fencing, belongs to council, and water reticulation equipment will belong collectively to the group."

In conclusion, although no final reckoning was available on the Selebalo group's finances the situation in mid 1980 after about 3 years

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(15) "Status of the Selebalo Group Ranch" by REO and GDO South, 1st February 1980.

(16) The evidence here is unclear; in report ref. 15 above it is written "The NDB loan payments has not been paid despite our numerous previous advices to the group". In the minutes of a meeting between CAMA and other officials with the group on 23 October 1979, CAMA is recorded as having "announced it to the group members that the (first) installment which was due to the NDB's loan by July 1st 1979 was paid in by him on behalf of the group P951.90t. The receipt was mailed to the group but not yet received".

of running the ranch can be summarised from the evidence as follows:

- P800.00 initial loan surplus in bank account drawn down (? final bank balance)
- no money ever credited to the bank account
- after 3 years grace period (calculated from 30th June 1976) at most only one of two NDB loan installments due 1/7/79 and 1/1/80 repaid though evidence on this is confusing[16]
- group managed to maintain operational costs of pumping
- ranch facilities allowed to deteriorate completely; no maintenance done.

Quite what financial benefits accrued to any of the members is not recorded. An indication is that of sixteen original members only six still had cattle in the ranch by early 1980. The stocking of the ranch fell from 362 at the end of 1978 to 215 head by January 1980. Withdrawal of cattle was reported to have corresponded with the increasing pressure on members to pay the management fees. Even five of the original members with cattle still on the ranch early in 1980 owed a total of P999 between them equivalent to over 12 months outstanding management fees.

It is not the intention of this section to try to establish any financial models for group ranches. All that is being attempted is to highlight the commercial nature of ranching and to compare or contrast this with the perceptions of farmers contemplating involvement. At Selebalo the REO in a key report[17] singled out "financial awareness" as one of the main points in "organising ranching groups in future". He wrote that "the prospective members must be explained to and have a clear understanding of the financial implications in joining the group, such as fixed costs, variable costs and loan repayments".

Do groups which have formed since and are forming now have adequate financial awareness? From the evidence of this chapter one can only conclude that financial awareness is still variable. The Ntlhantlhe group, for example, has so far not raised any funds from the P100.00 joining fees, and the 2 thebe daily "watering fee" proposed does not indicate much comprehension of the cost of ranch management. The "Itekeng Baruakgomo" group, on the other hand, seem much more aware. In addition to P2800 raised, management fees of 8 thebe per day would from 596 cattle pledged to the ranch if collected bring in an annual income of P17403. Elsewhere the evidence is still fragmentary. The Nata syndicates are reported to have paid the required initial sums for existing ranch property ranging from P3600 to P5000. Dutlwe AMA is all set to obtain a loan of P6000 for its similar costs.

Although the Ncojane syndicates fall outside the target group of this programme their record and that of individuals there is also of interest. No payments either of loan principal or interest are due on any of the Ncojane ranches until the end of June 1981 when the first annual installments of P2519 are to be paid. So far only rent has been payable at P200 per annum per ranch. The Livestock Project Coordinating Unit/ILCA report[6] notes in Annex 12 that 8 of the 18 ranches leased by 1979 were in arrears totalling P871.00 at the end of July 1979. Seven of these 8 were syndicates. Certainly the report was issued only a month after the rental deadline, but the information is still of interest considering that of all commercial ranching groups the rich Ncojane syndicates would be expected most readily to manage the rent.

In the sections below, study of other aspects of experience with commercial ranching groups may help enable a better appreciation of the

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(17) "Selebalo Group Ranch" : 1st March 1979.

causes, for example, of the financial failure of the Selebalo group, and the factors responsible for overall viability.

13.5. THE MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION OF COMMERCIAL RANCHING - GROUP ATTITUDES, OBJECTIVES AND EXPERTISE

> "While appreciating that Rome was not built in one day, and well aware of....the difficulties in getting the members converted from the traditional way of raising cattle, to a commercial ranch group..."
> ("Selebalo Group Ranch" by REO (South) 24 April 1978)

To understand properly why the Selebalo group failed financially with their ranch, or whether any group is likely to succeed, one needs to look for evidence of commercial purpose, organisation and management. In this section the experience of the Selebalo group ranch will be studied first as it is the only commercial ranch group in the country to have been organised and to have developed and managed a ranch for a period of over 5 years. Some of the main lessons learned from Selebalo will then be compared with experience elsewhere.

13.5.1. Selebalo group ranch - case study

In 1975 the Selebalo group was formed under the RLMP to manage the first of four ranches reserved for groups in western Ngwaketse. The expectations of the time can be seen in the working of a constitution drafted for the group. The objectives were "to promote profitable livestock production, in keeping with sound livestock and range management principles". Members were "to provide reasonable labour for group tasks" as directed by the elected Management Committee (M.C.) which was to be responsible for the ranch management including:

- preparing a monthly financial report and monthly herd register
- employing a paid manager or appointing a manager from among the members of the group
- maintaining a bank account into which "all Group proceeds shall be deposited"
- recommending members' annual livestock quotas the sum total of which "shall not be greater than the number of livestock units that the whole ranch is capable of carrying"
- directing the ranch manager in his duties - viz.
  - 6(b) "all livestock shall be managed as a single herd"
  - (c) "all members shall accept sound husbandry rules as specified by the M.C."
  - (d) "no livestock shall be removed from the ranch without the prior approval of the M.C."
  - (f) "all decisions regarding livestock sale shall be made by the M.C."

In addition the Management Committee was empowered to borrow money for the purposes of farming subject to the agreement of at least 75% of the members (the proportion required for all majority decisions as, for example, also for allocation of annual livestock holding quotas on the ranch) and to deduct money owing to the ranch from the proceeds of the

sale of any individual member's stock.

The Management Committee was supposed to meet "at least once a month" in carrying out these responsibilities. These were the provisions the group agreed to in their constitution. But what happened?

To begin with the ranch, physically, was well developed. "The first impression of the ranch was very favourable and properly run it should have great potential" wrote the REO[18]. There was plenty of grass, not much bush, the borehole water supply was strong, the water reticulation well planned and installed and fencing and handling facilities were quite adequate. The ranch was developed over a two year period. The borehole drilled under the GS09 scheme was equipped under the same scheme and handed over to the group in 1975. Approval for ranch demarcation was granted by the Land Board in October 1975. The USAID sponsored RLMP team then took over the responsibility for preparing plans for the development and management of the ranch and for providing technical advice and assistance to the group. Water reticulation was developed in early 1976. Fencing commenced in March 1976 and continued through to the end of 1977 by which time the perimeter fence, the bull paddock and weaner paddock were completed.

All this work was achieved by the group but not without considerable support and physical assistance from both the RLMP team and extension field staff. An AD, seconded to the RLMP team, was assigned to the Selebalo ranch for two and a half years from 1976 to 1978. His residence and role there in motivating and assisting the group has been described as "instrumental in their progress"[19]. "Without his advice, help, pushing and actually doing the work, not much would have been done" wrote the REO in March 1979.[20]

The group on the other hand had already established a reputation. "Continued difficulties were experienced in attendance by group members in the development work which resulted in discontent between group members who had worked more than others on the development of the ranch" reported the REU.[21]

It was due to these problems and the degree of friction within the membership that the introduction of the defaulter's, or absentee, fee was resolved at a meeting with the Minister of Agriculture in July 1977.

The ranch was built, in other words, through the efforts of only part of the membership and through direct physical effort also on the part of the AD, other extension staff and the RLMP team. The firebreaks, for example, were actually ploughed by tractor by the RLMP team.

Reluctance to take management responsibility appeared very early on. The RAO in July 1976, a year after the group formed, noted that the "Chairman has not to date called a meeting and will not attend meetings that are convened"[22]. By November 1977 the Assistant Ranch Development Officer was forced to write that "it is now abundantly true that there is some gross negligence in the running of this ranch. There are no meetings held monthly by the Management Committee. Up to now no Manager has been chosen. There is normally nobody responsible enough at the ranch, but small boys. There is nobody employed by the Group to look after the water engine".[23]

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(18) Selebalo Group Ranch; REO, 24 April 78
(19) "SGR" REU 4/78
(20) "SGR" REO 1/3/79
(21) "SGR" REU 4/78
(22) Group Development Southern Region; RAO South, 27 July 1976
(23) Selebalo Group Ranch; Asst. Ranch Devt. Officer, 7 Nov. 1977

Reports throughout 1978 and 1979 continued to reveal what the Southern District Conservation Committee even went so far as to describe as "a total fiasco". The Conservation Committee visited the ranch on 2nd April 1978 reporting that "the reason for entering Selebalo was to find information in regard to the general management of the ranch with particular reference to firebreaks". They found that "Selebalo ranch has no manager to run it. Although there is an AD at the ranch, he is being wasted because he is advising nobody". And in reference to firebreaks they found "there are no firebreaks....there is no controlled grazing practised".

The management record was never to improve. In October 1979 the group confessed to CAMA that since the last general meeting in December 1978 the Management Committee had never met. A manager was never appointed or hired. The nearest the group came to doing so was at the October 1979 meeting called by CAMA to warn the group of the possible reallocation of the ranch by the Ngwaketse Land Board unless the Selebalo group improved its management. The group mentioned that "they had identified one young man who would be recommended for training...as a ranch manager".

The mismanagement at Selebalo was referred to earlier in section 13.3.3. Study of the long series of official progress reports produced mostly by support staff in Southern Region from 1977 to 1980 makes painful reading.

Steadily after 1977 the facilities were not maintained but were allowed to fall into disrepair, and improvements suggested by ranch extension staff were not carried out. After the initial ranch construction period enough wire was left over for 6 km. of 4 strand internal fencing to be continued. This was never done. The group was repeatedly advised to strengthen the fencing of the bull and weaner camps but by August 1979, the REO reported that though an attempt had been made, by fitting droppers, the fencing was still not strong enough to keep bulls inside. Much of the perimeter fencing fell into disrepair; by 1980 regional staff described it thus:

> "Going to the ranch from the northerly direction one would be highly impressed by the main gate which is always kept closed. But travelling only one kilometre either side...the fence does not exist. Cattle go in and out...as they wish..."

Features and layout of the ranch designed for improved management practices were ignored. The 3 watering points on the ranch were situated so that a form of rotational grazing could be practised by shutting off the water in areas which needed resting and opening up in areas where there was grass. Instead just one water point was used continually for two years as was noted in 13.3.3. above.

Although in 1978 optimism was still evident from the tone of some official reports, by 1979 this had disappeared. A key report produced from Ministry HQ in April 1978, only nine months after cattle had been entered on the ranch explained the "improved management practices that are currently being adopted by the group".

Feeding bonemeal and salt was not "yet practised regularly due to transport and supply difficulties". Weaning at approx. 7 months old "has been introduced but success has been limited because fencing is inadequate to contain weaned calves. This situation is being rectified by strengthening the fences in the weaner paddock". Further fencing was also required to separate the herd into age and sex categories, unless more regular herdmen were to be employed. "Materials are available to sub-divide the ranch into three 2000 hectare grazing paddocks". The report continued..."this

(fencing) work is expected to progress over the next few months".[24] In addition the report noted that a programme of restricted seasonal breeding had been adopted, the season gradually to be reduced over the next four years to a January to March breeding period. All heifers under 2 years old were already separated from the breeding herd to control age at first service. Castration, dehorning, deworming and tick control operations were "gradually being introduced as normal practice in the herd".

By 1979 though, it became clearer that these practices were not being adopted, and the tone of reports became less patient or hopeful. The REO (South) reported on 1st March 1979 the following:

> "The situation at the SGR has now reached a stage where in spite of sustained effort by the RAO and his staff, the group concept is not working and the ranch is virtually just another cattlepost."
>
> "Seasonal breeding and early weaning have stopped completely, and all cattle run as one herd. The strengthening of the weaner and bull paddocks were never completed due to non attendance of the group members and their complete indifference to improved management practices."
>
> "Castration and dehorning etc. takes place occasionally, it is certainly not being practised on a herd basis, but rather according to the whim of individual owners."
>
> "No attempt to sub-divide the ranch has been made, and maintenance of existing fences is not carried out."
>
> "The advantages of (proper management and husbandry) has been repeatedly explained at meetings and to individual members, and although the group has indicated that it understands and is in agreement, when it comes to actually carrying it out in practice very little gets done."

Regional staff finally lost hope and patience in the future of the Selebalo group which itself started to disintegrate around the end of 1979. Official exasperation is conveyed in the language used in reports - viz.

> "gross negligence", "complete indifference", "totally inactive... management committee", "a total fiasco", "the group concept is not working" and finally "the group has got a history of non attendance to meetings and work, not being able to work together, only agreeing if pushed to do so by a Government Officer, not honoring the agreements, not following the constitution (such as it is) and appears to be totally indifferent towards advice and the future of the ranch..."[25]

On the face of it, the attitude of technicians seems quite justified. Regional staff had made a lot of effort. In November 1977, already with a discouraging background, regional technical staff tried to convene a meeting by collecting the members from house to house. The Assistant Ranch Development Officer reported that the group members were "very uncooperative, they even went to the extent of using abusive language to us".[26]

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(24) "Selebalo Group Ranch" ; Research and Extension Coordinator, Animal Production Division, April 1978

(25) "Selebalo Group Ranch"; REO, 1 March 1979

(26) 1977

In 1979 the REO reckoned that between April 1978 and February 1979 alone, headquarters and regional staff made 10 visits to Selebalo, four of these to attend meetings with the group members. At two meetings too few members turned up to form a quorum and in January 1979 at a meeting specially arranged for the group to meet NDB staff, members refused to attend "on the grounds that they were too busy ploughing".

The impression however, that one cannot help inferring from the records is that not only did some group members not understand what officials were constantly exhorting them to do, but, judging from their behaviour, their participation in the project appeared to be against their will.

In only one report, that of the meeting between the group, CAMA and regional staff on 23rd October 1979, is there a record[27] of dialogue on the problems as the group perceived them. At this meeting it was seen that members of the group were clearly aware of some of the failings of their group. When asked about problems their response included the following:

- They do not attend meetings and nobody bothers to convene meetings.
- Only a few people turn up to work on the ranch. These were the smaller owners who claimed to have bush cleared 5 km of firebreak a year earlier, but not progressed further as a Government tractor had never come to harrow the cleared area. It was also claimed that some members had cut poles for fence maintenance, but others failed to do so. Members complained that it was the owners of larger herds who did the least work.
- All members are illiterate. No proper records are kept so members do not know how much or when the management fees are payable, and most members therefore do not pay their fees and dues to buy supplementary feed. Illiteracy is also why no secretary has been elected.
- Members complained that larger owners do not pay absentee fees. Others who do not pay said they did not have any money.

Lessons learned from Selebalo

The Southern District Conservation Committee reported that it had "thought this ranch (would) be of assistance in the implementation of the TGLP, but a total fiasco is what it has experienced. The setting up of the group itself is confusing and not successful because of the differences which lie between the individuals' cattle numbers". The REO concluded that "if nothing else the experience with the SGR has shown how not to go about organising ranching groups in future".

Why was the Selebalo group ranch such a fiasco? A number of probable factors can be discerned. The REO, in his report of 1.3.79, noted "the main points to look out for in organising ranch groups" from his experience. The following account is based on these points but expands the argument:

i) Social factors - "compatibility"

From as early as 1976 the presence was noted by the RAO of factions within the group originating from divisions within the community of origin.[29] In 1979 the REO selected "compatibility" as a main point to look out for in organising ranching groups - "without the people being able to

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(27) Dialogue of some kind must have occurred on some other occasions but is not recorded anywhere.

(28) 2 April 1978

(29) Group Development, Southern Region; RAO South; 27/7/76

agree and work together in their daily life, there is no reason to believe that they will do so in a group". These social divisions were a fundamental factor affecting participation. The process of group formation in 1975 did not, however, reveal their presence or importance. Neither, once recognised, was any attempt made to reorganise membership. Only one resignation and replacement in membership occurred in the first year. Only in late 1979 at the meeting with CAMA does there appear to have been official dialogue over the possibility of a change in membership, with group members voicing their desire to get rid of uncooperative members and "get new better members" instead.

ii) Syndicate organisation - "similarity"

In view of the social division within the group, syndicate organisation with its unlimited liability, was probably a discouragement. The REO notes "similarity" or "a degree of equality between members" as being advantageous "to avoid one or two members dominating the rest of the group". At the October 1979 meeting CAMA informed the group that if changes in membership could be permitted by all parties concerned, including the NDB, the constitution could be redrafted and the group registered as an AMA.

iii) "Ownership feeling"

This was another point highlighted by the REO - "The group must be made to understand that the ranch is theirs and not just another Government ranch". The RLMP approach did little to facilitate this feeling, though. The resident AD became "regarded by the group members as "their" AD and he is recording minutes of their (Chairman-less) meetings" wrote the RAO in July 76[29].

Without the assistance of the AD and the RLMP team the ranch with little doubt would not have been built by the original Selebalo group.

Furthermore several fundamental ownership questions were never clarified. As the REO's March 1979 report states:

> "As far as can be ascertained the Selebalo Group Ranch is not registered anywhere, it has not got a formal lease with the Ngwaketse Land Board and only a draft constitution exists".

Since early 1978 awareness of these issues had featured in reports. "No formal lease has been drawn up or signed. Therefore amount of rent not known" and "Borehole ownership not clarified. Rent or payment not known" - reported the REO in April 1978. The HQ Ranch Extension Unit's report on Selebalo in the same month noted "to date (the group) has made no payments for the (borehole and equipment) facilities and the position needs to be regularised". This situation and the provision in the draft constitution regarding Council ownership of any fencing erected can have done little to foster an "ownership feeling".

iv) "Responsibility"

"Willingness by members to take on jobs for the benefit of the group...is a must" concluded the REO. Enshrined in the constitution (see earlier in 13.5.1.) was the concept of group labour in the construction and operation of the ranch.

Whether or not social factionalism was the primary factor hindering this form of participation, the "absentee fee" system failed to resolve the problem. The REU report[30] concluded that a better system of arranging activities requiring labour inputs was needed "such that all labour is paid for by the group, whether the labour is a group member or not; a wage system, in other words. This was never implemented, however.

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(30) SGR REU 4/78

A factor explaining in turn the problem with payment of absentee fees may have been the incapacity of the group at financial record keeping.

v) Illiteracy

"It is important that some members of the group are literate" wrote the REO. Incredibly not a single member was literate. The difficulties this caused in financial record keeping have been noted. Even more incredibly, nothing was ever done to help. Almost the converse was the case. The draft constitution actually provides that "The Secretary of the Management Committee will be an official of the MoA, and he will make a written record of all meetings of the Group and Management Committee"[31].

Whilst constantly warning the group that the AD would not remain in their service (effectively as manager) beyond the end of 1978, no attempt was made to train members of the group in literacy and record keeping etc. It was hardly surprising that by October 1979 the group had to report to CAMA that they "had not as yet elected any Secretary. The reasons being that ever since they (last) met with CAMA, REOs and RAO no body convened any meeting in between, and also there is no literate member."[32]

vi) "Financial awareness"

The necessity for this has been explained previously (13.4.). There is no doubt that some members of the Selebalo group had absolutely no awareness of the financial implications of their venture. In the 1978 report, the REU noted that "of paramount importance is the question of how the financial aspects of the ranch are organised". With cattle on the ranch individually owned by each group member, "although they may accept management on a group basis (which, as it emerged, they didn't) it is unlikely that decisions on disposal will be accepted in the same way"[30].

The constitution, however, not only made the Management Committee responsible for directing how the cattle should be managed but also for marketing. From the beginning the Selebalo group was organised with an insufficiently clear or viable financial system. The precise measures of generating income were completely vague until ranch extension staff attempted to introduce some possible concepts in 1978. Two approaches were suggested:

- obtaining grazier scheme steers, to be owned by the group as a whole to generate direct income
- a system of fees levied per head of cattle.

The group agreed to both methods though as we have seen the payment of fees did not work out well. For various reasons the group never utilized the grazier scheme either. Its economics for the group were in any case doubted by the REO.[33]

vii) "Real interest and understanding to form a group"

This was another requirement concluded by the REO in March 1979. Particularly stressed was the need to "look for more response from the people" and not to "push for instant results". The pushing by Government officials and the uncooperative response from the people clearly emerges from the record of the reports. The members had never worked together on a project before. Suddenly they were a group. The exact process of group formation is not documented but it is said to have involved little more than "who wants to join a ranch?" being announced in 'Kgotla' after some rudimentary explanation, and the registration of those responding

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(31) SGR constitution

(32) Minutes of meeting with CAMA 23/10/79 recorded by GDO

(33) SGR; REO 24/4/78

regardless of previous experience, affiliation or understanding. As far as can be ascertained no specialised farmer training of any kind was arranged.

viii) Support responsibility and logistics

from an early stage the management of support to the Selebalo group was recognised as a problem. In 1976 the then RAO South described the RLMP team's role as "clearly undefined" noting in particular the need to clarify who the AD posted to the ranch was responsible to[29]. Severe transport problems precluded regular visits from the APO(South) in 1975/76. Support from the Department of AFS fell "far short of what should have happened", according to the RAO. The RLMP team, meanwhile, were, at times at least, actually engaged in building the ranch (e.g. clearing firebreaks). With the AD also virtually performing the role of ranch manager for over 2½ years, and the group in such general confusion, it appears that the support and management roles remained unclear. This is best illustrated by the firebreak example. They were "constructed by the Government" notes the REO. He continues "the group should carry out maintenance and had agreed to reimburse Government the cost of using Government machinery for this purpose, if machinery could be made available" but due to administration changes adopted by CTO and the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning the mechanical unit provided for in the 1978/79 estimates had not been delivered by 1/3/79. The REU in 1978 records firebreaks as having been "constructed and maintained by Government facilities", but meeting with CAMA in October 1979, the group claimed to have bush cleared 5 km. of firebreak "hoping that the tractor and harrow would be supplied by the MoA"[32]. "They claimed the harrow never came", continues the same minutes, and "they were encouraged to continue debushing".

Nothing does more to undermine a group's self reliance than when confusion exists as to what tasks are the responsibility of its members or when promised support fails to arrive. The REO in his March 1979 report concludes that "the extension worker must have absolutely clear guidelines and facts, and be sure of these" before approaching a group. "All credibility with the people will be lost if he has to explain away or alter what has been said previously rather than admit he does not know and seek clarification".

ix) Remoteness

Part of the support problem for the Selebalo group ranch was due to remoteness, though this did not of course apply to the resident AD. Two reports refer to remoteness as a problem also effecting group participation. The RAO South cited relative remoteness from Sekhuma (10 - 12 miles) as one cause of the "difficulty in maintaining attendance for group tasks"[29]. The REO noted a transport problem "as the ranch is situated rather a long way from any trading centre"[33]. For supplies the group at the start was relying on one member and his truck, though he was not being compensated.

Selebalo - a failure in group development

The purpose of the RLMP was to test "replicable systems" of group ranch organisation, as was discussed in greater detail in chapter 5. The Selebalo group ranch was the only pilot project which the RLMP succeeded in establishing on the ground, and, having noted that it was unsuccessful, it is important to see the experience in terms of its pilot project purpose and to notice exactly the errors made and the causes of the difficulties.

In what terms was the project unsuccessful? It can be argued that the group was a failure in many respects - financial, organisational and in terms of management and conservation, to name a few. It can also be argued and this is the view of this report, that the pilot project was above all a

failure in group development, A failure, in other words, of approach. The closer the evidence is studied, the more this becomes apparent.

The process of group formation should never have resulted in a membership featuring feuding factions, total illiteracy, lack of understanding, lack of interest or unwillingness to cooperate and provide labour. The group included some members who could not possibly gain anything from participating - members with only one or two beasts. Financial un-awareness (among many members, probably most) was not the only problem, but overall financial viability and a system for generating income were lacking from the beginning.

The experience emphasises the need for a group development approach. Many of the reports tend to reveal frustration on the part of officials concerned with Selebalo rather than facilitation. This is not to condemn outright the efforts of the AD at the ranch and those of other support personnel who clearly did their best to encourage and assist the group to succeed. They tried hard, of that there is no doubt, and that they became disillusioned is understandable. It was their method of approach that failed, not themselves. The REO, as can be seen from his regular and perceptive reports, recognised this.

13.5.2. Organising and managing commercial ranch groups - experience elsewhere.

That errors were made in the organisation of the Selebalo group ranch, though very unfortunate, should not be a source of astonishment. Selebalo, started under the RLMP, was a pilot project in group ranch organisation. It was started before the gradualist extension of group development approach emerged in 1976, the early Selebalo experience forming in fact part of the body of evidence and opinion in favour of the adoption of group development principles[34].

Most of the commercial ranch groups existing or being encouraged today have formed after the TGLP and with the benefit of the RLMP experience as background. What signs are there that the Selebalo lessons have been learned? The close look at participants (section 13.3.) has already provided much of the background, so discussion here will be briefer.

Commercial objectives and attitudes

The evidence suggests that in the formation of groups other than the small syndicates, similar difficulties to those at Selebalo are being experienced in ensuring that members possess a commercial purpose and a financial awareness. As at Selebalo, the most universal objective of farmers is the obtaining of a reliable water source and thereby the procuring of an exclusive area of grazing. In many groups only a core fraction of the membership has a commercial purpose.

The Takatokwane group is plain evidence of this - only some six members appear to have any interest beyond that of water supply, whereas most of those registered with the Kweneng Land Board are actually opposed to ranching and admit it openly - reminiscent of attitudes and behaviour

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(34) RAO South in his "Group Devt. Southern Region" of 27.7.76 concluded "Projects arising from official sources appear less successful at this stage, and could possibly be as a result of "hastiness" on the part of officials to get things moving more quickly. The lessons from this are obvious". This was a reference particularly to Selebalo in contrast to projects "originating from within communities resulting from "felt needs" - e.g. the Pelotshetlha drift fence".

at Selebalo. Even at Dutlwe a proportion of members are primarily concerned with water only. In Ngamiland only "groups" to have formed are two associations of individual (and some small syndicate) ranchers with the purpose of obtaining borehole drilling equipment. The one exception is the Nxangu group whose primary motive again, though, is escape from the overcrowded drought stricken communal conditions along the Boteti. The avoidance of drought was a major factor also in the initially wide interest in forming AMA ranching groups in the south. Earlier in 1979 the average size of proposed AMA groups was around 30% higher than of the same groups in 1980. Ranch extension staff explained this unequivocally in terms of water as the prime concern of prospective members.

Commercial intent appears to be strongest in the smaller syndicates, for example those leasing the Nata ranches and those applying for commercial allocations in the Kweneng first and second development areas. Most of the members of these have already been managing boreholes together as syndicates. There appears to be a tendency for the more commercially minded members of the larger (proposed AMA) groups also to be people with this background.

Background education and experience of members

The almost total incapacity of the Selebalo group to organise and manage the ranch is hardly surprising given 100% illiteracy among the members and the complete absence of previous group experience.

Information on the background, experience and expertise of participants in many of the currently proposed ranching groups is not sufficient to draw many conclusions. Previous experience of running boreholes as syndicates is common among members of the smaller ranching syndicates, as mentioned above. The membership of the "Baiteki" syndicate in the Kweneng is a promising example. Part of the group has for some time been managing, as a syndicate, a Council owned borehole. All the members are literate. All have experience of employment in Government, Council or in KRDA, and were described by the REO (Gaborone) as "very aware and profit-motivated". Other examples were documented in section 13.3.

Social profiles of this kind were not available for the membership of the proposed AMA groups in Southern Region. Data for these would be of particular value as the Regional staff, acutely mindful of the mistakes made in the past at Selebalo, have tried to exercise special care in the group formation process for these ranch AMAs. The experience needs monitoring for the reason also that only in Southern Region, due to a large extent to the positive attitude of the District authorities, has a systematic attempt been made over the last two years to encourage the formation of AMA ranch groups. Elsewhere the existence, mostly of smaller syndicates, is largely incidental. For these reasons only the experience of organising the proposed AMA groups in Southern Region can be compared directly with Selebalo.

R13/3 : IT IS RECOMMENDED, THEREFORE, THAT MORE DETAILED DATA ARE COLLECTED ON THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS OF THE PROPOSED SOUTHERN REGION AMAs TO ENABLE SUCH COMPARISON.

The REO observed in one of his reports on the need for the Selebalo group to identify a candidate for management training, that "the person engaged....should be of a reasonable level of education, enabling him to keep simple records, read and understand....extension service information, ...be able to carry out simple repairs etc. and have a progressive outlook on modern ways of running a commercial cattle operation"[14].

That the Selebalo group never appointed a manager is most probably

attributable to the general state of social division and lack of commercial motivation, awareness and understanding among the members. Most members were just not interested in management as the history of the group's performance abundently revealed. Their attitude was not discouraged by the action of the RLMP in supplying an AD to the group whose services virtually amounted to those of a manager.

For other groups there is now more incentive to employ a manager than there was at the time the Selebalo syndicate formed. To qualify for assistance under the group ranch subsidy scheme the employment of a manager is obligatory, as is agreement to adhere to an approved detailed ranch management plan.

Several of the currently forming groups have selected manager candidates. Of those sent for training by groups, two have had standard 7 education and two passed form 3. In most cases the candidates are sons of group members. The manager of the Dutlwe AMA, for example, is the son of the Chairman. He is around 30 years old, passed Junior Certificate, is an ex-tax collector and has experience with cattle and borehole repair work.

Not all groups find it easy to identify such a suitable candidate. The Ntlhantlhe group, the proposed "Badisakgomo" AMA, had selected a JC level school leaver, but he was rejected at the training centre and the group was left in a quandary as to what to do next. The practical reality is difficult. It is one of shortage of skilled and responsible manpower. As experience has proved in ranching (including dairy ranching) operations in the communal areas, management does not just happen but for commercial viability has to be of a high standard and such competence is costly. A tendency was noticed in discussions both with some group members and extension staff for Co-operative organisation to be cited as the solution, as though just by forming a Co-operative a group could somehow ensure management. Like any group, however, a Co-operative Society has to find a candidate to be trained as its manager. Moreover the record even of marketing Co-operatives (a single function organisation which cannot begin to be compared with ranching) has not been without its problems. Farmers in any case are unwilling to forego the individual ownership of their cattle which Co-operative organisation would involve. Neither does Co-operative organisation necessarily guarantee the participation of the group members as the experience shows at Mabeleapudi (chapter 1) and Mmadinare (chapter 12).

The uneasy balance between economic viability and the cost of management, as was observed in both the preceding chapters, is a crucial factor also in commercial ranching.

Although indications are that groups forming now are becoming more aware of the importance of management and the role of a manager than was the Selebalo group, the attitude of cattleowners to managers is still notoriously negative, as the feedback from the 1976 TGLP consultation proved. It was one of the major Radio Learning Group Campaign issues, along with the rejection of stock limitation. Recalling the way the Selebalo group also acquiesced originally to having a manager if its constitution is any guide.

R13/4 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT NO AMOUNT OF EFFORT SHOULD BE SPARED IN THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROCESS TO EDUCATE PROSPECTIVE RANCH GROUP MEMBERS ON THE MEANING AND PRACTICE OF MANAGEMENT AND THE MANAGER ROLE. Agreement of members in group meetings should not automatically be equated with awareness and understanding of this issue.

Social factors

A root cause of the organisational problems at Selebalo was the

presence of rival factions originating from the Sekhuma community. Similar problems have appeared elsewhere. The most notorious case could be said to be Takatokwane. Apart from 7 of the 18 Takatokwane farmers registered with the Kweneng Land Board being in gaol at the time of this study, a clear symptom of the social environment in the village, a court case was in process between members of the village and the local senior subordinate tribal authority over the rights to what the villagers claimed was a community-developed and equipped borehole. The chief apparently had lately denied villagers access, claiming ownership for himself. An atmosphere of deep distrust in group action pervaded the village as a result of these events - an ironic fate considering that the village in fact had in respect of this project a track record of community action. The recent establishment of Takatokwane as a village may be another factor contributing to its social instability.

It goes without saying that social problems are less liable to cause friction in smaller family or close neighbour related syndicates with a tradition (see chapter 3) of mutual assistance and cooperation than in larger groups.

R13/5 : FURTHER COMPARATIVE MICRO-LEVEL STUDIES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN SMALLER SYNDICATES AND IN LARGER GROUPS ARE RECOMMENDED IN ORDER TO IMPROVE KNOWLEDGE OF THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL FACTORS.

Selebalo and Takatokwane are two illustrations of the potential difficulties inherent in larger groups. Extension staff in Southern Region expressed misgivings over attempting to work with groups of 10 or more members required by the AMA and group ranch subsidy scheme regulations. Part of the problem with forming groups of more than 10 members has been the difficulty in arranging attendance at group meetings when members come from several different communities. The membership of the "Boikago" group, for example, comes from Mmathethe, Metlobo, Metlojane and Lobatse - i.e. some from town, some from the Barolong area and some from Ngwaketse District.

Group size is not so much the issue as viable ranch size. The interrelated questions of ranch viability and target group farmer (i.e. owner of what sized herd) will be returned to below.

Proximity of ranches to the communal area

An aspect which, in the opinion of this report, has received inadequate attention, is the location of commercial ranches with respect to the communal areas.

The aim of the group ranch subsidy scheme is to withdraw cattle in small herds (of 30 to 100) from overstocked communal areas, but the distance to the commercial zone from such areas has often proved unacceptable to the owners of smaller herds. An inevitable dilemma is raised in achieving the aim of the subsidy scheme and in reaching the target group.

R13/6 : FROM THE DATA AVAILABLE THIS LOCATIONAL FACTOR CANNOT BE PROVED BUT RATHER ONLY RECOMMENDED AS AN IMPORTANT AREA FOR FUTURE CONSIDERATION IN FURTHER RESEARCH, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT.

From the conclusions of section 13.3. it can be deduced that proximity of the commercial ranching zone to the participants' previous cattlepost or normal communal grazing area tends to be a factor in participation. The most commercially oriented groups tend to be the smaller syndicates whose members have larger average herd sizes (i.e. nearer 100 than 30) and who formerly have been operating boreholes as syndicates and therefore already have cattleposts in or near the commercial zone. A tentative but logical conclusion is that such cattleowners represent the most straight-

forward potential for commercial ranch group development work. They do not, however, correspond very closely to the stated target group of the subsidy scheme which is supposed to be owners from overstocked areas.

Participation by smaller owners from overstocked communal areas appears to be limited at present essentially to the members of proposed AMA groups in Southern Region. Data on Nata syndicate members are insufficient to allow much comment. Even the information on the Southern Region groups is slightly ambiguous as members' cattle numbers are stated in terms of those pledged to the ranch and may exclude others to be retained in the communal areas.

The groups further west, Selebalo, Takatokwane and Dutlwe, are in a different position, the communities of origin being themselves located actually out in the commercial ranching zone. As was observed in section 13.3., owners of smaller herds have featured in these groups. A problem in all three cases, however, though to a lesser extent at Dutlwe, has been the predominance of traditional non-commercial attitudes. The ranches have been located so close to the villages that efforts to encourage group formation have experienced difficulty in distinguishing between farmers with genuine commercial interest from those seeking merely the provision of a much needed local water source and the effective expansion of communal grazing. At Takatokwane this openly expressed perceived need far outweighed interest in ranching. The Matsheng villages are similarly located and so the same perspectives may be expected in future AMA ranch organisation there. It is suggested that while farmers in communities located within the general commercial zone may be said to be placed advantageously for the purpose of ranching, it is unrealistic to expect commercial ranching aptitudes to form faster than among farmers further away. The social history, institutional structure and access to resources in these remoter villages if anything lend far less cause for encouragement. Furthermore, as appears the case at Takatokwane, the local priorities in these remote areas - nothing to do with commercial ranching - may require the attention of initial development efforts.

R13/7 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT COMMUNAL AREA PROBLEMS AND NEEDS ARE CONSIDERED MUCH MORE CAREFULLY IN THE PLANNING FOR THESE AREAS. PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO ENABLE THE NECESSARY CONSULTATION FOR THIS PLANNING AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES TO TAKE PLACE.

Furthermore the logistic difficulties of supporting ranch group development in remote areas, which were discovered by the RLMP at Selebalo, are being reconfirmed elsewhere. Efforts expended over the last few years in encouraging the formation of groups from Dutlwe and Takatokwane to manage Gunter's ranch probably well exceed 100 man days of professional and technical expertise. In view of the dashed expectations of the VADP the proposed Matsheng Land Use Plan has a far less ambitious schedule for group ranching and much more extensive support requirements than the VADP. Lack of inputs and services has represented a significant problem also for the Ncojane ranches, the owners of which did not form the Service Company as advised under LDP I. As a result a special LAC has had to be opened and continued specialist ranch extension support provided. However the exercise in these remoter areas, though difficult in terms of support logistics, pales in significance by comparison with the main challenge of the real communal areas.

The big issue is how far Government is prepared to go in facilitating the target group of smaller owners from the main overcrowded communal areas to participate. This is not invention or theoretical argument. Small farmers plainly do find the distance to the commercial ranching excessively

far for participating. Interest at Goodhope dwindles for this reason. Elsewhere interest has not even been expressed.

As was observed in section 13.3. the stance adopted by Southern District and the Ngwaketse Land Board in reserving ranches relatively close to the communal areas in the eastern part of the District as well as the four sites reserved in western Ngwaketse is commendable.

R13/8 : CLOSER STUDY OF PARTICIPATION IN SOUTHERN REGION'S PROPOSED AMA RANCH GROUPS IS RECOMMENDED AS A PRIORITY RESEARCH AREA IN ORDER TO DISCOVER MORE EXACTLY WHAT IMPACT, IF ANY, THE GROUP RANCH PILOT PROJECT HAS ACTUALLY HAD ON PARTICIPATION BY THE TARGET GROUP. Former members who have dropped out from the groups since 1979 should be interviewed as well as current members and a sample of non participants from the village areas concerned. The Action Research Unit would perform such a survey well, judging from their investigation of the APRU cell programme in the Kgatleng, possibly assisted in this case more directly by ranch extension staff and the Rural Sociology Unit.

Although the locational factor can only be speculative with the limited data available the evidence is strong enough for this report

R13/9 : TO RECOMMEND THAT ALL DISTRICTS GIVE MAXIMUM ATTENTION IN TGLP ZONING POLICY, RANCH DEMARCATION AND COMMUNAL AREA PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, TO FACILITATING TARGET GROUP PARTICIPATION IN COMMERCIAL RANCHING. Appropriate and effective ways of achieving this need to be explored and introduced. In stark terms, unless Government and District authorities intervene appropriately and actively on the behalf of the smaller owner, the availability only of subsidies and advice will be inadequate to assure his participation. Evidence suggests strongly that ranching in the commercial areas can only be possible for the owners of smaller herds (i.e. nearer 30 than 100) if opportunities (ranches) are reserved for these farmers as close as possible to the communal areas where they come from.

R13/10 : THE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION OF THIS REPORT IS THEREFORE THAT NOT ONLY MUST RANCHES BE RESERVED FOR AMA GROUPS, BUT THAT IN PLANNING DISTRICTS SHOULD RESERVE SUCH RANCHES AS NEAR AS POSSIBLE TO THE COMMUNAL AREAS.

R13/11 : TO ACHIEVE THIS A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECT SEEKING TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO SUCH GROUPS BOREHOLES AND COMMERCIAL SITES NEARER THE COMMUNAL MARGINS IS REQUIRED.

R13/12 : FOR INDIVIDUALS AND SMALLER SYNDICATES SPECIAL FORMS OF COMPENSATION AND INCENTIVE TO ENCOURAGE THEIR OPERATIONS IN THE PARTS OF THE COMMERCIAL ZONE LESS CLOSE TO THE COMMUNAL MARGINS ARE NEEDED.

13.6. THE TARGET GROUP FOR VIABLE COMMERCIAL RANCHING

> "A few big cattle men make a better ranch group than many small owners" (a ranch extension worker).

The above opinion is widely held among officials, but is it what they should be saying? Our purpose now is to return to some questions posed earlier in this chapter and try to define what the target group should be for participation in commercial ranching groups.

A lot of confusion over who should be encouraged to participate was found to exist and we shall start with some of the sources of this confusion.

13.6.1. Current confusion over target group

An immediate source of confusion is between the target group of the group development programme, the "rural smallholder", and the target group in terms of ranch extension. This confusion stems from there being no precise definition of rural smallholder in terms of cattle numbers owned, whereas for ranch extension a definition of target group does exist (i.e. owners of between 30 and 100 cattle, section 13.1.2.). That the group development programme has no broad definition of target group gives it an overall flexibility but

R13/13 : THIS REPORT BELIEVES AND RECOMMENDS THAT A CLEARER DEFINITION OF TARGET GROUP WOULD BE A NECESSARY ELEMENT OF GUIDELINES FOR GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN COMMERCIAL RANCHING (one of the many types of group activity within the programme).

In the absence of clear guidelines group development, ranch extension and other field staff can hold widely diverging views. GDOs tend to see their role as serving the interests of the small farmer - an owner of 100 cattle does not fall within that bracket for them. Some GDOs resent involvement with "big cattlemen groups". REOs, on the other hand, particularly those with more experience of working with ranch groups, for example in Southern Region, believe in the target group of owners of 30 to 100 cattle.

Some extension staff are still confused between the 30 to 100 cattle target groups and the AMA regulation limiting ownership by any one member of share capital to between 1% and 20% of total share holding. This is an unnecessary source of confusion as the 1-20% applies to member liabilities and does not have to be connected with cattle ownership or the number of cattle entered on the AMA's ranch. Moreover it represents a safeguard against the domination of small owner members by the more powerful owners of larger herds - a difficulty which is reported to have arisen recently in at least one Ncojane syndicate as well as at Selebalo.

R13/14 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN GUIDELINES THE REASONING BEHIND ANY CRITERIA FOR SUBSIDY SCHEME ASSISTANCE BE DISTINGUISHED CLEARLY FROM THE QUITE INDEPENDENT RULES ABOUT AMA MEMBERSHIP.

One might hope for clarification on target group in the TGLP guidelines[35] but the relevant guidelines do not go into special detail on this but are written to apply equally to an individual or group ranch developer. The only reference to a target, under the section describing the group ranch subsidy scheme, is a mention of "the medium and smaller cattle owner" together with the warning that "past experience has indicated that this type of ranch development (i.e. group) should proceed with caution until more experience is gained". But no indication is given of any special viability problems of groups or of what can be done about them.

In the TGLP itself "small owners" are defined as "people with less cattle than the limit that the Land Board fixes for each person in the area". The same small owners, it is stated, will be encouraged to syndicate to go commercial as well as to group in order to fence in the communal areas. Fixing such limits involves carrying capacity calculations and complex planning issues, and the concept of "stock limitation" was unpopular in the radio learning group consultation. No Land Board has fixed such limits and therefore the "small owner" remains undefined and our quest for the target group unassisted.

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(35) TGLP guidelines published by MLGL as part of a District planning handbook. 1979.

The average extension worker's resolve to encourage participation by small owners is made difficult by what is seen to be the very disillusionary result of the pilot project at Selebalo, together with experience in the communal areas (chapter 11). The small owner's credibility has perhaps been damaged, at least in terms of participation in ranching, when it is recalled that in the TGLP the salvation of the small owner rested in the outcome of such trials[36]. Such disillusion is unfortunate because although there is no doubt that the Selebalo group ranch was a failure what is important is to be clear in what terms, and why. As has been argued, Selebalo was primarily a failure of Government approach. But that does not prove that small owners in a group ranch make it non-viable.

R13/15 : WHAT HAPPENED IN THE VARIOUS PILOT PROJECTS AND WHY SHOULD BE DOCUMENTED AND DISTRIBUTED MORE WIDELY TO OFFICIALS AND EXTENSION WORKERS IN THE FIELD TO ENABLE A MORE BALANCED PICTURE TO BE SEEN.

Without such properly researched accounts of past experience it is easy for a distorted picture to emerge and unfavourably affect understanding of the viability of ranching for small owner groups.

Ranch extension short-staffing in the Regions is another problem which during critical periods of TGLP zoning and ranch planning has undoubtedly affected the direction planning has taken . In Central Region, for example, the absence of an REO during this period, coupled with the preoccupation of other Regional staff with the communal areas has resulted in minimal informed discussion having taken place, for example in LUPAG and Land Board, of group ranching in the commercial areas. Established views about the use of the sandveld and about commercial ranching for the big cattle owner are therefore still firmly entrenched and no provision has yet been made in District policy for reserving commercial ranches for groups. This is another factor confusing target group concepts.

13.6.2. What do we know about herd size and viable target group?

The issue of the target group must be looked at in terms of the overall value of a farmer's herd. In order to do this it is necessary to return to Cooper's analysis of the multiple value of cattle and his division of the peasantry into classes[37].

Cooper found that Batswana attach a positive value to rural life and having cattle which involves more than just status. The herd represents more tangible things than status. Cooper clarifies the value of cattle by distinguishing their "use value", "exchange value", and "semi-exchange value":

Use value - This describes the direct use of cattle for draft power in ploughing, milk production and transport, as hauling sledges or carts of firewood or water drums, or taking melons, sweetreed or other crops to market, or the family and equipment to and from the lands.

Exchange value - This describes the sale value of cattle in terms of purchasing power for specific needs like paying school fees, traditional doctors, fines, herdsmen, for food in

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(36) TGLP Popular Version, section 7.

(37) David Cooper: "How Urban Workers in Botswana Manage their Cattle and Lands : Selibe Pikwe Case Studies" : Working paper No. 4 NATIONAL MIGRATION STUDY. June 1980.

a time of drought, for building a house or buying a vehicle.

Semi-exchange value - This describes the allocation of cattle as bride wealth or inheritance to children, for slaughter on such occasions as weddings and funerals, for sale to pay school fees for a relative's children or for use in ploughing for a relative; from all these allocations economic returns are expected in the future as a result of the social credit established through the allocations.

Cattle can also, of course, have a commercial income earning value.

Cooper related these types of cattle value to the size of herd in a division of the peasantry into "poor", "middle", and "rich" (section 8.5.). The relationship is summarized in table 13(iii) below:

TABLE 13(iii) : SIZE OF HERD AND VALUE OF CATTLE

Size of herd		Value/uses obtainable
Below 10	-	Partial use value, viz a little milk and transport, but ploughing barely possible even by inspanning cows.
15 - 20	-	Use values.
	-	Some exchange values, e.g. drought or other exergency sales more feasible.
21 - 40	-	Use values; full team of oxen possible.
	-	Exchange value for specific purposes as need arises.
	-	Some semi-exchange social obligations can be fulfilled.
	-	Reproductive capacity of herd can be maintained.
40/50 and above	-	Self sufficiency.
	-	Can start to think of selling regularly because cattle are surplus over other uses.

(Adapted from Cooper pp 45-46)

This sketch of the situation enables us to consider more rationally the question of the target group. Several points arise.

In the first place, in Cooper's terms, the ranch extension target group defined by the subsidy scheme criteria corresponds to the middle to rich peasantry and emergent capitalist classes. But this range of people straddles the break point in herd size at which an owner can normally sell regularly. The subsidy scheme's lower eligibility limit of 30 cattle is less than the breakpoint. These owners have other, diverse, uses for the herd, and the subsidy scheme is of little practical assistance unless the ranch is located very close to the lands and usual communal grazing of the herd, for the owner is unlikely to find it convenient to move his entire herd to a distant commercial ranching area. The subsidy scheme requires a member's whole herd to be incorporated in the ranch herd. This is unrealistic and

P13/16 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE QUESTION OF A RANCH MEMBER HAVING TO INCORPORATE HIS WHOLE HERD INTO THE RANCH HERD IS LOOKED INTO.

Cooper shows that it is only owners with over 40 to 50 cattle who can begin to sell regularly. Regular offtake is a requirement for commercial ranching. These people too are able to move out to remoter areas. Indeed, owners who are well into this bracket, with perhaps 60 to 70 cattle, are usually already out in the remoter cattlepost areas and are often involved in borehole syndicates as was observed in section 13.5.2. It is therefore these owners who are the natural target group for ranch development.

It is clear from Cooper's description of the value of cattle why those with very few beasts but who are very close to ranches may have been attracted to entering their cattle in the hopes of increasing their herd size. Instances of this have already been cited, for example at Sele'alo, and at Dutlwe AMA which includes several members with only 20 to 30 cattle. Experience actually in the communal areas should not be discounted : farmers at the Thabala and Tsetsejwe RLMP sites with very few cattle wanted to join.

Two target groups

But what possibility of involvement in commercial area ranching can the small owner really have? To join a commercial ranch with the main objective of increasing herd size is non viable. There is bound to be conflict in a project containing a mixture of members, some with such an objective and others with the more viable commercial objective of maximising turnover or offtake. Possible objectives for small owners were not made clear in the commercial ranching projects.

What small herd owners need above all is assistance to increase their herd sizes to the point where regular selling becomes possible. They need projects close to communal area sites where they carry on other income earning activities; on these projects they should be able, for example

a) to fatten an animal in order to receive more for it when the need for sale arises;

b) to utilize improved management practices to increase their herd size.

Such projects have different requirements from the commercial ranches presently proposed. There should be a greater subsidy element, as in communal area projects. This is partly because the poor to middle peasantry have even fewer capital resources at their disposal than the richer peasantry, and partly because of the nature of the enterprise (building up viable cattle numbers). The projects would not be viable in the more distant commercial ranch development zones.

In other words small owners are precluded from participating in commercial ranch schemes in the present development areas by economic and locational factors, as well as by the automatic exclusion due to the subsidy assistance cut off at 30 cattle. Small owners from the overstocked communal areas need to be seen as a second target group whose particular problems and needs should be defined and planned for more clearly, separate from the more viable commercial ranching target group of owners of 40-50 cattle or more.

R13/17 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES FOR GROUP RANCHING SHOULD CLEARLY DISTINGUISH THE TWO TARGET GROUPS AND RECOGNISE THE RICHER CATTLE OWNERS AS SUITABLE FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE PRESENT COMMERCIAL RANCH DEVELOPMENT AREAS.

13.6.3. The need for clearer guidelines especially on target group and small owner participation.

The Ranch Extension Unit naturally has a clear sense of purpose, but, as with a number of types of group activity where the activity has its own

specialist technical support staff section in the Ministry, this sense of purpose gets diluted once outside the range of the Unit's support staff.

Clearer guidelines for field staff on commercial ranching as a group activity should help overcome this problem. It is felt that the guidelines in the TGLP fall short of the mark. Therefore, although this report supports the caution in the TGLP guidelines, it does so with one proviso; that is, that existing knowledge and experience, if systematically reviewed and researched, mainly in the field, is sufficient for guidelines to be issued to give fieldworkers and District authorities some positive ideas about what to try and encourage and, more importantly, how.

That the TGLP guidelines have insufficiently motivated and directed action in the Districts in this respect is evidenced by the REU having had to issue a circular to RAOs advising on the importance of Districts acting positively to reserve commercial land for future groups. Regional Agricultural staff have then had the problem of convincing District authorities to take such positive steps while the TGLP guidelines had dealt with merely the procedures for Land Boards should a group application arise - very much a passive approach - the greatest emphasis being on the gradualistic approach to group development. However, even the REU's circular[38] has a pragmatic tone; the REOs were requested to draw the attention of Land Boards to the existence of the Subsidy Scheme for AMA ranch groups and "to solicit their cooperation in reserving a few of the proposed ranches for this purpose". The circular assumes that "when it becomes known that land is available for this purpose in the commercial areas it will tend to create an interest in the formation of AMAs as ranching groups".

This is a reasonable approach to take with developments of a pilot nature, over which there are doubts and while controls are set so that during the experimental period land does not get gobbled up.

R13/18 : THIS REPORT, IN DEFENCE OF GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT THROUGH THE TGLP TO THE SMALL OWNER, MUST RECOMMEND THAT A MORE CONSCIOUS AND ACTIVE POLICY FACILITATING SMALL OWNER GROUP PARTICIPATION IS BROUGHT INTO ACTION. Possible lines of approach are suggested below (13.8.)

R13/19 : THE FIRST STEP RECOMMENDED TOWARDS PRODUCING THE MORE DYNAMIC GUIDELINES NEEDED IS A SHORT RESEARCH CONSULTANCY FOCUSSING ON EXPERIENCE WITH SMALL HERD OWNER PARTICIPATION IN GROUP RANCHING. It should be a field oriented assignment but bringing together relevant documentation. The aim should be to separate out different factors determining viability of small owner participation - technical, economic, organisational, and management (including such factors as location - see 13.5.2.) - in order to produce more positive ideas on target group and necessary approach.

13.6.4. Reaching the small owner

The Government is committed through the group development programme and the TGLP to assisting the small owners to participate in commercial ranching. At the moment, as we have seen, the circumstances of the ranches mitigate against them. Also, as some Districts proceed with TGLP zoning and commercial area ranch demarcation, future openings will dwindle as sites are allocated on a first come, first served basis. How, in these difficult circumstances, can small owners be helped?

The first essential is to be both more aware and more accepting of the difficulties inherent in the process of facilitating small owner

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(38) Ranches for Groups : REU 16 June 1980

participation. That commercial ranch groups with small owner membership have so far proved difficult to organise, manage and support must not mean that efforts to facilitate small owner participation should be allowed to wane while easier goals are tackled. Already (August 1980) unofficial talk can be heard in The Ministry of Agriculture of relaxing the criteria for subsidy scheme eligibility so that non-AMA groups of less than 10 members could benefit. The temptation to take this easier course is strong, as there are valid economic and organisational arguments in favour. But where does this lead? In the absence of firm controls on ranch allocation in the commercial zone it will encourage further the acquisition of sites by larger owners in smaller groups. By absorbing more of the already desperately short ranch extension and group development field staff time, it will reduce the available support for smaller owner group formation.

Small owners will only receive attention if they are consciously planned for. A balanced approach is needed which recognises the small owner target group as well as the commercial ranch extension target group, incorporates safeguards in ranch demarcation and allocates adequate resources towards smaller owners.

All options which seek to facilitate small owner participation will be tough to implement. Put simply there are two possible extremes. One is to reserve ranches in some way, as TGLP intended. It is recommended here that ranches are reserved nearby communal areas for two reasons. Firstly because this will enable small owner involvement along similar lines to their traditional way of life such as the possibility of frequent personal checking on their cattle rather than leaving them to the unaccustomed care of a manager. Secondly because the appropriate ranch and group development extension support would be impossibly difficult to organise in more remote locations. Even with individual owners this has proved a problem at, for example, the Ncojane ranches due to owner absenteeism. As was found at Selebalo, another remote location, with a group the extension problems increase proportionately.

At the other extreme, in the absence of more conscious controls on land allocation, a far more deliberate group development effort involving far more facilitation of the small owner target group is required now. The greatest priority would have to be given to small owner group formation so that the priority in ranch allocation can be a reality. Without groups to apply for ranches, the priority they would receive means nothing.

The present approach is almost there but not quite. It is at neither of the two extremes argued above, yet being somewhere in between will not work. It is not necessarily half hearted - field staff particularly show a high commitment to the idea of AMAs and small owners. It is perhaps more like half-way or half-cock. The limited REU target of one AMA ranch formed per region per year and the REU's request of Land Boards to reserve ranches for this purpose in development areas as they are developed are both sensible actions but they do not in themselves constitute a conscious enough policy or approach in relation to the various known constraints in group ranch formation. The constraints of land availability, staff time, transport and the process of institutional development involved in group ranch development need to be seen together. As argued just above, it is necessary to be aware of the two extremes. Without adequate land safeguards, much more resources and effort is required in group formation. Conversely, if staff and other resources required for the time consuming group formation process are recognised as a constraint, then an appropriate conscious land use policy must be pursued which reserves future openings for smaller owner groups for whose development many years must be allowed.

In the concluding section of this chapter which follows, some possible elements of an approach are suggested which might help facilitate small owner participation.

13.7. A NOTE ON STOCKING RATE

A discussion of group ranching is not complete without some mention of how groups are to come to agreement on controlling stocking rates in their ranches.

At Selebalo, the only group ranch where cattle have been entered for a significant period of time, the issue did not arise for as soon as the attempt was made to introduce cost related management fees members began withdrawing their cattle. Raising management fees to viable realistic levels may thus be a form of control on members who are really not in the ranch for commercial reasons.

This may not seem to be borne out at Ncojane where over half of the ranches have over the last couple of years increased stocking rates to levels beyond the recommended carrying capacity according to a survey completed in February 1980. The survey found 5 ranches grossly overstocked (130% of the carrying capacity and above) and 5 more were between 5 and 30% overstocked[2]. On these ranches, being owned by individuals and small syndicates, management costs were probably not seen so directly in terms of the numbers of cattle stocked on the ranch, as they would be in a large group situation where management fees are introduced as a cost in proportion to cattle numbers held. Just as in the communal areas the farmers on some of the Ncojane ranches, certainly at Selebalo before fees were suggested, and at Takatokwane, seem not to have been aware of an overstocking problem.

Another explanation of the Ncojane management behaviour may be that farmers perceived that increasing the stocking rate would help their finances and increase short term viability.

The official response to the overstocking at Ncojane has been to recommend yet more investment on the ranches (the future development of fencing, firebreaks and water reticulation) in order to improve herd control. Also as a short term measure the grazing of excess cattle on some of the presently understocked ranches (presumably paying the owners) has been recommended. Finally the Livestock Project Coordinating Unit/ ILCA report[6] recommends the enforcement of stock limits.

Overstocking has thus already become a problem in the commercial areas. How will groups approach this problem? Most AMAs forming now agree on the number of stock they will start with. This is reflected by the carrying capacity laid down in the management plan the AMA is obliged to produce as a registration precondition. But how does a group reconcile the wishes of some members who might want to increase their cattle holdings on the ranch? Basically it is up to the group members to decide who should reduce stock numbers and agree on member's annual quotas. Further to this various pressures exist in theory which could be brought to play if an AMA group fails to abide by its approved annual management plan its registration (on which its NDB loan is conditional) can be withdrawn. Also the Land Board lease is conditional upon registration. The Agricultural Resources Board also has powers to recommend such action if a local Conservation Committee brings such problems to its attention.

How all this works in practice depends upon the capacities of and coordination between the Division of AMAs, Animal Production and the Agricultural Resources Board, and mainly on their regional level performance. Annually every AMA's management plan will have to be studied to ensure that stocking rates are in line with carrying capacities. If necessary a management plan should specify how the AMA proposed to reduce stock numbers - for example on a percentage basis.

This situation has yet to arise but it clearly rests again on regional level capability - convincing extension work at this level. Groups must receive sound advice and be able to see and be prepared to act upon the reasons why decisions on stocking must be made. This will demand considerable extension competence .

To assist regional level staff

R13/20 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE ISSUES OF STOCKING RATE, ITS RELATIONSHIP TO COMMERCIAL RANCH VIABILITY AND THE ORGANISATIONAL IMPLICATIONS FOR GROUPS ARE FOCUSSED UPON IN FILM/CASE STUDY EXTENSION AID MATERIALS RECOMMENDED IN SECTION 13.8.3., R13/28.

13.8. SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON APPROACH AND SUPPORT

"At regional level we just never have time to think what we are doing" (an REO)

"The onus is on the regional agricultural staff to get LUPAGs to understand the need to reserve ranches for AMAs"
(Ministry of Agriculture HQ official)

13.8.1. A perspective on group ranching

This chapter and chapters 5, 6 and 11 have together traced the long story of past and recent efforts to develop management systems for cattle on communal grazing and to form group ranches in the TGLP commercial areas. The focus has been on small owner participation because the group development programme is targeted at this group.

The result of the ten or so years of policy formulation and pilot projects has not been dramatically successful. In the communal areas the necessary processes of institutional development have been and still are much underestimated. Small owners can only look forward to livestock development through a long and laborious process. The group development programme's gradualist approach to institution building through group activities and incremental projects is a key element of the process. Ranches in the communal areas will be beyond the capacity of most communities to organise or available extension staff to support for a long while yet. The evidence of chapter 11 should illustrate this.

The TGLP provided for larger owners and groups of smaller owners to move their herds to the commercial areas where commercial methods and levels of productivity could be introduced more quickly. Pressures in the communal areas were expected to be reduced by this movement. In the event two key assumptions have proved inaccurate. Firstly, the pressures in the communal areas will not in fact be significantly affected by the size of any livestock movement to the commercial areas. Much of the future commercial areas is already populated by cattleposts. The western sandveld in

big districts like Central is not as empty as was thought and has since become virtually totally covered with boreholes. Secondly, small owner participation in commercial ranching is not as viable as was assumed. AMA legislation was developed primarily with group ranches for small owners in mind, but experience seems to be demonstrating that smaller groups and syndicates of larger owners are a more viable financial and organisational proposition and currently (end of 1980) attention to the proposed Limited syndicate legislation is being revived.

Although this legislation will help smaller owners relate to larger owners within syndicate sized groups, it may have the effect of reducing the support available for larger groups - the AMAs - simply due to competition for scarce manpower and other resources. There is a danger that in practice less rather than more effort will be directed at facilitating smaller owner participation simply because by its nature it is a much more demanding and difficult task.

An important conclusion of this study is that aims and policies which were established nearly a decade ago[39] and recommendations made (by Chambers and Fieldman) have still not been effectively trialled. The communal area record (chapter 11) and the record of this chapter need to be seen together from this viewpoint. It is therefore important, before it becomes too late, to control the events taking place - particularly the TGLP zoning and ranch demarcation and allocation exercises - to allow time for more experience to be gained. The RLMP and specifically the Selebalo group ranch have produced no guidelines on the viability of small owner participation due primarily to a misguided group development approach.

R13/21 : THE MAIN RECOMMENDATION OF THIS CHAPTER IS A VERY GENERAL ONE AND IS THAT THE APPROACH TO RANCH GROUP DEVELOPMENT MUST CONTINUE TO BE GRADUALIST (I.E. GROUP FORMATION MUST NOT BE PRESSURISED) BUT ITS FACILITATION MUST NONETHELESS RECEIVE HIGHER PRIORITY AND BE RELATED TO A BROADER LAND USE PLANNING FRAMEWORK.

In chapter 11 it was observed that the term "communal ranching" covered too wide a spectrum of activities in the communal areas and a classification based on Chambers and Fieldman's was developed so that different types of project could be discussed more clearly[40].

R13/22 : IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THIS BE DEVELOPED FURTHER TO COVER DIFFERENT GROUP RANCHING SITUATIONS IN THE COMMERCIAL AREAS AND IN THE AREAS ON THE MARGINS OF THE COMMUNAL ZONE. Group ranch development in other words needs to be planned and facilitated more on a spatial basis with respect to different target groups. Two basic target groups have been identified in this chapter - small owner groups and the more commercially viable groups of owners of 40/50 cattle and more.

The processes, institutional and organisational, and support requirements will be different for the more commercially viable groups under the present Group Ranch Subsidy Scheme as applied in the ranch development areas than they would be for larger small owner groups located nearer the communal area margins, where project aims and viability would be different.

In the remainder of this section an attempt will be made to sketch an alternative to the present situation where the goals in the TGLP, the subsidy scheme and the group development programme towards small owners are

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(39) for example in Government's National Policy for Rural Development, 1973; see chapter 5.

(40) see section 11.3.4.

clear in theory yet confused in practice. In terms of viability, management, relative ease of organisation and support, smaller groups of large owners and individuals are the natural commercial ranching target group. Yet through the subsidy scheme for AMAs the objective for owners of 30 cattle of removing their whole herd to a commercial ranch is being pursued at the same time. As we have seen this is non viable primarily due to the distant location of commercial areas.

More alternatives need to be created to suit the needs of different target groups incorporating different subsidy conditions, support resources, and other methods of facilitation and implemented uniformly in plans for land use, group development, ranch extension and the Land Board's activities in zoning and ranch demarcation. The programmes of all these key bodies need to be solidly within a common strategy.

13.8.2. Land strategy

> "If communal areas are already overcrowded they will be made bigger" (TGLP para. 37(c))

In Central District[41] very little empty land exists in the commercial zone which can be reserved for future groups. Both the First (at Lephasha) and Second Development Areas of Central District are populated with boreholes and cattleposts already. Borehole-supplied cattleposts have encroached so far west and north that by May 1980 the LUPAG could identify only two small pockets of borehole-free land, each sufficient for the demarcation of about eight ranches, though with continuing pressures for normal borehole allocations only one of these packets may be set aside for ranch demarcation.

It is in this one pocket that the GDO suggested at the May 1980 LUPAG that two of the eight sites be reserved for future AMAs. These two sites represent the only potential for AMA ranch development in Central District at present. The only other possibility is if AMA sized groups were to form in the second or future development areas by increasing the membership of syndicates around existing boreholes. There is no guarantee that the two sites requested by the GDO will be reserved. The allocation of ranches on the Nata State Lands was done according to criteria with preference being given to groups. If this precedent is followed it is doubtful whether any AMAs would form in time to apply. We have seen earlier in this chapter (13.3.) how the participants in commercial ranching groups tend to be those with cattleposts in or near the commercial zone. They tend to be the more aware, better connected, already organised people with sufficient resources and cattle numbers (averaging 49 head in the east), and are in a more favourable position to apply for land before groups of smaller owners get a chance to organise themselves.

Currently there appear to be no groups interested in commercial ranching in Central Region. No new groups have formed since the few whose letters were received by Ngwato Land Board shortly after TGLP was launched (see 13.2.), and no extension effort encouraging commercial ranch groups has been in action. This seems to have been due to a number of factors:

- the busy preoccupation of the region's agricultural staff

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(41) Central District falls under the jurisdiction of different agricultural regions. Francistown Region serves the northern part of the District which includes the Lephasha and Nata Stateland areas, while Central Region covers the southern part of the District, the largest in area and containing the bulk of both the commercially and communally zoned tribal land.

with programmes in the communal areas

- slow progress sorting out the District's land use plan
- low priority in assignment to the Region of an REO (because of the land use planning problems).

Central District's predicament is an illustration of the potential danger in any District and of the delicate balance in and relationships between staff resources, the land use planning exercise, group formation and ranch allocation. People are encouraged in the process of group formulation if it is clearly known that land is available or waiting for particular types of group, and resources, particularly of support staff, can be assigned to facilitate the formation processes within a sensible gradualist time schedule. If there is no overall strategy or agreed sense of direction between the agencies allocating land, the extension staff encouraging groups, those advising ranchers and the land use planning or zoning advisers then development will be ad-hoc and groups will have an uphill battle to take advantage of their priority status.

The Central District situation is the most poignant example. Not only is there no real strategy in operation to make these aspects of TGLP a reality, but even the one attempt to get groups onto the scene - the GDO's request for two ranches to be reserved for AMAs - is a far shot. Most of the evidence so far points to the difficulty of group ranching operations in remote areas. The ranch development area the LUPAG was hurriedly planning in May 1980 where the two AMA sites were requested, over 10 km west of Serowe, is far from the overcrowded communal areas where the AMA members are to come from if they are to be assisted by the subsidy scheme. For small owners such distantly located development areas are out of the question until some time way in the future when attitudes to management and herd use may change.

Although the Ministry of Local Government and Lands and central bodies like the Land Development Committee may now support in principle a general policy on reserving land for groups, much more needs to be done to strengthen such resolutions in practice. In the Districts many influences are at play and relationships between technical and professional support staff and the policy making authorities are critical. The quotes used to open section 13.7. typify the problem. Expertise is very scarce but the direction action takes often rests on the effect of one or two personalities in a District, and how their thinking is interpreted by Land Board or Council.

R13/23 : THIS PROBLEM WILL BE RETURNED TO IN THE NEXT SECTION BUT IN THIS CONTEXT IT IS URGED THAT MUCH MORE TIME AND ATTENTION SHOULD BE DEVOTED IN DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT OR SPECIAL LAND BOARD/LUPAG/SPECIALIST STAFF CONFERENCES TO THESE STRATEGY AREAS.

Some specific elements of a spatial strategy for group ranching are recommended below for consideration.

1) <u>A zone of commercial group formation</u>

One practical way of interpreting the basic TGLP provision for making the communal areas bigger is to carry out R13/10 and reserve and make available land for small owner groups near to the communal area margins.

The sort of developments to encourage would initially be quite different from commercial ranches and would be along similar lines to projects which have been attempted in the communal areas (see chapter 11). Small owner objectives would need to be understood and considered more closely in planning projects. The basic small owner objective of increasing herd size to a more viable size means two things:

(a) higher levels of subsidy would be required similar to the matching grant system in use in the communal areas;

(b) projects likely to be of interest are those which help provide more access to grazing and water and which allow breed improvement.

R13/24 : FURTHER RESEARCH IS NECESSARY ALONG THE LINES OF COOPER'S REPORT TO IMPROVE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PATTERN OF SMALL OWNER MANAGEMENT BEHAVIOUR.

The recommendations in R13/8 should be part of the research relating to the spatial concept suggested here.

R13/25 : SHORTER TERM LEASES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR GROUPS ALLOCATED SITES IN THESE COMMUNAL MARGIN AREAS. As leases expire this would encourage a movement of membership and herds further out into the commercial zone as herds were built up to commercially viable levels. One could conceptualize this intermediate zone as the zone of commercial group formation in an organisational sense and in the sense of creating commercially viable herds.

Clear understanding of objectives is important. The participation of small owners in commercial area groups should be discouraged in favour of schemes in this intermediate zone where the small owner target group would be encouraged to enter cattle even in single figure numbers, whether for fattening or one or two cows for breeding.

One alternative method of making more viable small owner participation in a commercial scheme is the use of grazier scheme cattle. Members of the Ntlhantlhe AMA ranch group proposed this. A report by the REU on Selebalo Group Ranch also suggested it[19] although the REO dealing with the Selebalo group calculated it would have been of marginal value[20].

R13/26 : POSSIBILITIES FOR USING THIS SCHEME TO HELP SMALL OWNERS BUILD UP THEIR HERDS NEED MORE STUDY.

It is beyond this report's already too great scope to delve more deeply into possible ways of phasing small owner groups into the nearer margins of the commercial zone. It would have to be a long term and continuous gradualist group development process. Failures would continue to occur as they have done already in the communal areas. The process would be expensive financially and in terms of other forms of support but any way of achieving the goal of facilitating small owners to participate in commercial ranching will be expensive. To encourage small owners to build up their own herds by relocating one step, if you like, towards the commercial zone is possibly the most positive way to transfer resources from rich to poor. It is certainly a more acceptable and viable concept than giving small owners more cattle as a grant - a notion which has received discussion on occasion.

2) Commercial areas related to distance from communal areas

The commercial ranching areas, it is suggested, should then be seen in spatial terms from their border with the communal areas, the nearer sections where small owner projects should receive priority towards the more remote sections.

R13/27 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FORMS OF SUBSIDY ASSISTANCE ARE GRADUATED ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL AND RELATED TO LOCATION. The aim should be for clear relationships and guidelines to be developed bringing together forms of assistance and support linked to different target groups, and related also to a spatial plan.

3) Link commercial and communal area plans

It is important that plans and activities in the communal areas be related to those for the commercial areas.

Diagrammatically what is being recommended is illustrated below.

TABLE 13(iv)

COMMUNAL AREAS	ZONE OF COMMERCIAL GROUP FORMATION	COMMERCIAL RANCH DEVT. AREAS
- Approaches A, B, C (see chapter 11)	- Approaches ? B, C, D & E (see ch. 11)	- type "D" ranches
- matching grants	- small owners (under 30/40) to enter stock	- individuals
	- matching grants	- priority to AMAs and syndicates
		- commercially viable herd sizes (40/50 plus)
		- subsidy scheme
		- special incentives to encourage development at most remote locations.

The objective is to create practical alternatives. Currently an owner of less than 30 cattle has few opportunities for introducing improvement. Action in the communal areas is constrained by complex institutional problems, notably the processes of consultation and land use planning. He is precluded from assistance under the subsidy scheme, and in any case the commercial ranching development areas are too far away.

If a zoning strategy were introduced along the above lines, the subsidy scheme could be relaxed in order to apply in the commercial ranching areas to limited syndicates as well as AMAs. A zone of expansion, special forms of subsidy, a support commitment and time is what small owners need. Given time and special opportunities groups will form and be able to compete for allocations in the commercial zones as and when ranch sites or development areas become available.

13.8.3. Support

"The most serious weakness is technical expertise at regional level" (Ministry of Agriculture HQ Official).

Case studies have shown that support can be the crucial factor in group (and communal) ranch formation and organisation. The Selebalo group ranch set out with almost exactly similar aims as AMAs forming now. Its constitution provided for management plans, ranch development, a management committee, a manager and most aspects of a management system. What happened has been described in detail (see 13.5.1.). The REO dealing with the Selebalo group in its later stages drew up a number of guidelines from the experience which correspond with basic principles of group facilitation. Particularly important is attention to literacy, other forms of training - both technical, organisational and financial, consultation, a gradualist support approach (the REO wrote "don't push the people ahead - wait for their response") and clear areas of responsibility between the group, its management, the local AD and other support agencies.

Selebalo, it is argued, was a failure primarily of group development

approach, although a confusion of objectives (involving owners of very small herd sizes in a commercially oriented project) was also to blame.

An aim of the strategy suggested in section 13.7.2. would be to help clarify objectives so that more appropriate projects for small owners could be developed in more suitable locations. If target group concepts are clearer and are related to target areas as well the most appropriate group development approach can be put in action.

A fundamental thesis of this chapter is that two target groups should be defined and recognised - the commercial target group (owners of 40/50 plus) and the small owner target group. If these can be made to correspond with different target zones as suggested above, the next step is for all institutions and agencies involved in the group formation and ranch development process (i.e. Land Board, LUPAG, ranch extension, group development and field staff) to allocate priorities in annual plans in order to reduce conflicts as the target groups compete along with individual ranchers for scarce support expertise.

Balancing support logistics with planning goals is very hard. Currently the goal is to establish 30 AMA ranches in the ranch development areas country wide during the next 3 years, as well as to continue to support other ranchers. To set this in the perspective of experience is not encouraging.

i) There is minimal actual experience with ranching groups other than experience with the processes of demarcation and AMA registration, the Selebalo saga and a few syndicates (on which next to no monitoring has been done).

ii) What experience there has been (e.g. at Selebalo and Dutlwe) indicates that the level of support requirement is highly demanding where group ranches are situated beyond the reach of normal extension contact. The Ncojane ranches are also a story of support difficulties.

iii) The ranch extension unit complains of short staffing - both at professional level (not all regions have even one REO yet) and at field (AD) level.

The REU recognises that the process of ranch group formation is a long one and also recognises the limitations of technical staff. It was said by one official that the livestock programmes were relying on many regional staff who had almost no vision themselves but "stagger from one spray race to the next; that is as far as they think".

Vision and practical aptitude among regional and other field staff varies tremendously but certainly cannot be taken for granted. The reality of support capabilities at these levels becomes another reason for controls to be exercised over the zoning and ranch allocation process so that time and opportunities exist for the facilitation of groups - whether of commercial level participants or small owners.

What the process should involve should have become amply evident from the earlier parts of this chapter.

Only a few points will be highlighted here as recommendations.

1. Extension aids in use on the subject of group ranching are almost non existent. Available films at AGINF are unsuitable for ranch extension. No other materials have been developed and although there has been a proposal for films to be obtained it was cancelled from the 1980/81 estimates. It is considered that sufficient case study material exists for the production of very useful extension aids and

R13/28 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FILMS ABOUT THE PROCESSES OF RANCH GROUP FORMATION ARE MADE.

Besides the obvious necessary treatment of what commercial ranching involves technically and financially, the case study material should be

presented to illustrate potential social and organisational problems, the meaning of management, and forms of assistance and support available. Demonstration facilities alone may help a farmer learn and understand technical aspects of ranching, but cannot help create awareness of what group organisation and management involves. Apart from the trial and error process of actual experience, it is considered that film is the most appropriate medium to exploit particularly in the case of ranching which involves both a change of location as well as a radical change in management.

R13/29 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT USAID CONSIDER PROVIDING THE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE AND RESOURCES FOR PRODUCTION OF THESE FILMS THROUGH THE AMENDED RLMP.

2. Demonstration facilities are still a useful tool. Up to now these too, as well as other extension aids, have been far from equal to the task although progress is beginning to be made now at their construction. Again, the rate at which such work gets done is dependent on the aptitude and energy of available staff in each region.

R13/30 : CLOSER TECHNICAL SUPERVISION IS RECOMMENDED AND TRANSFER OF STAFF WHERE NECESSARY TO HELP ENSURE A MORE EFFECTIVE SUPPORT PRESENCE IN EACH REGION.

3. The selection of sites for demonstration facilities often seems to pose problems in the regions.

R13/31 : CLEARER GUIDELINES ARE RECOMMENDED ON THE USE OF THE RANCH EXTENSION AND SLOCA DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMMES as many field staff seem confused between them and their use as between the commercial and communal areas.

The partnership between the REU and the Kanye Brigades for the use of Ramatia ranch is particularly welcomed.

R13/32 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS ARE PURSUED WITH OTHER BRIGADE CENTRES AND THAT DEVELOPMENT TRUSTS ARE ENCOURAGED AND ASSISTED TO BECOME MORE INVOLVED IN SUCH PROJECTS. In particular opportunities should be explored in cooperation with the new structures and management of the Serowe Brigades Development Trust.

4. The improvement to the demonstration facilities at SCCs and RTCs is an important development but one which may not be fully utilised so long as field staff remain confused about target group. Most SCCs have long been grossly underutilised.

R13/33 : TO GET FIELD STAFF INTO THE HABIT OF USING THE FACILITIES INSERVICE TRAINING IS RECOMMENDED, ONCE GUIDELINES ARE PRODUCED FOR GROUP RANCHING.

5. R13/34 : SITING OF DEMONSTRATION FACILITIES IS RECOMMENDED IN THE "COMMERCIAL GROUP FORMATION ZONE" IN A SIMILAR WAY TO THE SLOCA PROGRAMME'S MATCHING GRANT/DEMONSTRATION PROVISION.

6. R13/35 : GREATER FLEXIBILITY IS RECOMMENDED IN THE USE OF GOVERNMENT TRANSPORT TO ENABLE PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS OF COMMERCIAL RANCHING GROUPS TO TRAVEL TO SEE THE SITES OF THEIR PROPOSED RANCHES OR THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS INVOLVED. In a number of cases in Southern Region farmers, some of them close to the lower subsidy scheme limit of 30 cattle owned, were registering in AMAs without having ever seen the location of their proposed ranch in the Pilot Project area. The GDO and REO expressed their awareness of the great need for helping to make farmers more aware of what they were embarking on. The inflexibility seemed to be at a higher level.

7. The recommendation that guidelines are needed has been made in several contexts in this chapter. A great deal of preparatory work is required for these guidelines. In particular it is recommended that guidelines take into account:

- the relationship between the communal and the commercial areas
- the recommendation R13/25 for an intermediate group formation zone between commercial and communal areas. The possibility of some of the so-called "grey" areas being classified in this way should be explored as an appropriate form of communal area expansion. (see chapter 11)
- the small-owner target group as well as the present commercial target group. Possibly the thresholds for subsidy scheme eligibility should be re-examined in the light of this recommendation.

8. The land use planning issues discussed in section 13.7. should be added to the terms of reference for the research consultancy recommended in R13/19.

9. Above all the approach to ranch group formation must be gradualist. The approach of Southern Region's staff is perhaps most worth repeating. They spoke of actively trying to discourage would-be participants by vivid illustrations of the real financial implications, the risk of loss, the likelihood of negative returns during initial development years and often by describing the Selebalo group's experience. Often such talk alone serves to reduce membership of a proposed group from 15 down to 7 or so. The remaining members have then to find others to try to reach once more the AMA limit of 10. The new members too are screened by the REO and GDO. Eventually the regional staff hope a group of 10 may evolve with some chance of success.

13.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 13

13.1. What are the Government objectives and programmes for group ranching in the TGLP commercial areas?

13.1.1. In the TGLP priority is given to groups of small farmers to ranch in the commercial areas.

13.1.2. A group ranch subsidy scheme provides about 50% of the costs of building basic ranch facilities. The remaining funds could be provided from a group's capital and/or loans under Livestock II Development Project.

13.1.3. The subsidy scheme defines conditions of group status, cattle numbers owned, management, and ranch development. Other groups are still eligible for loan finance.

13.1.4. The ranch extension unit provides advice, staff (but there is a shortage), demonstration equipment and facilities, and a training programme for ADs and managers. It aims to have 30 AMAs established or underway over a 3 year period.

13.2. What progress has been made?

13.2.1. In Western Region several small syndicates have formed Some of these occupy ranches on the Ncojane State Land. More ranches are planned.

13.2.2. In Maun Region there are just a few very small borehole syndicates.

13.2.3. In Francistown Region ranches have been demarcated in various areas. Some have been allocated to syndicates in the Nata area.

13.2.4. In Central Region demarcation of ranches is difficult and is still being discussed. No applications for commercial ranches have yet come from groups of communal area farmers.

13.2.5. In Gaborone Region the Dutlwe AMA has registered. There are several other possible groups forming.

13.2.6. In Southern Region the Selebalo group ranch began in 1975 but has now disbanded. Three groups with plans and constitutions have applied for AMA registration. One group is at an earlier stage of formation. Four groups began but are now non-functioning.

13.2.7. Only the Selebalo group and Ncojane syndicates have had ranching experience. Other experience is in group formation and planning.

13.3. Who is participating?

This section looks at who has been or is participating in commercial area ranch groups. Limited data make it necessarily a superficial study.

13.3.1. Table 13(ii) summarises membership numbers. About 300 farmers have been involved in groups at some time. Average group size is 8. At Ncojane members belong to Cooper's "emergent capitalist class", at Nata and in the Kweneng members are "solid middle peasants" or "rich peasants". At Dutlwe members ewn between 20 and 100 cattle. At Takatokwane there are 6 interested farmers. In Southern Region the proposed AMAs have a

larger membership and smaller average herd size than elsewhere.

13.3.2. The limited information available on the Ncojane ranches indicates that most individual and syndicate owners are very big cattle owners from Ghanzi and Kgalagadi Districts. No concessions for groups were ever available in this area. The only "group" are some squatters round a borehole on one of the ranches.

The little information that is available on the Nata syndicates membership is not consistent. Despite relatively small herd sizes, ranches are a long way from where owners originate. Further study of membership in both Ncojane and Nata would be worthwhile.

Members of the four syndicates with ranches in the Kweneng have long been running borehole syndicates, are close neighbours or relatives, and are usually well connected and well educated.

In the Western Kweneng groups from Dutlwe and from Takatokwane benefit from the legacy of Gunter's ranch. The Dutlwe group contains quite a wide spectrum of people with regard to cattle numbers, management practices and background, and involves 3 kin families plus one other person. Interests in the ranch do vary. The Takatokwane group is not actually interested in managing a ranch as a group but had only registered in order to have access to water. The Takatokwane community is recently established and is short of land and of water sources. Only 6 people showed real commercial interest in ranching.

The Selebalo ranch, proposed as an RLMP project, was also seen chiefly as a new source of water. Group members made no attempt to manage and maintain the ranch. Farmers with very small numbers of cattle joined hoping to magically increase their herds. Rivalry within the group further contributed to non-participation.

In Southern Region members of the proposed AMAs are target group farmers, a fact which may be due to proximity to a Pilot Ranch Project, encouragement by the Land Board and pressure for land.

13.3.3. Experience with participation is diverse. It has mainly involved members of existing borehole syndicates and farmers, perhaps facing water shortage, who are near the commercial ranching zone.

13.4. Finance and financial awareness

Successful ranching necessitates a financial attitude to cattle which is not traditional. The initial outlay on building a ranch may amount to P50000. Several groups have raised some of the initial capital and have considered how to repay loan money. There are various suggested per beast charges to cover management costs, as well as provisions for the cost of labour.

Selebalo provides instructive case study material. There were no joining fees, and at first only an absentee fee, which worried the REO and caused him to propose a monthly management fee per beast. This was agreed to but little was actually raised. By February 1980 fees were P2004 behind target. This problem was due to the minimal cost management programme adopted by the group, the illiteracy of the members and also possibly to ownership of some capital assets by Council. The group had no credit, failed to repay all the NDB loans and allowed facilities to deteriorate, although pumping costs were covered. Cattle were withdrawn from the ranch. The REO noted that financial awareness should be a key factor for future groups.

Financial awareness among other groups, however, is variable. Some

have not raised any money, others are making progress. Even the Ncojane syndicates are not abreast of payments.

13.5. Management and organisation of group commercial ranches

13.5.1. The Selebalo ranch started in 1975, promoted by RLMP and intended to run, under a manager, on range management principles. The physical development of the ranch was achieved in the first two years, but not without considerable help and pressure from the RLMP team and the AD. Absenteeism among group members was already a problem. From the beginning the group members were reluctant to manage the ranch. They failed to hold meetings or appoint a manager. Visitors to the ranch reported on the poor situation. Facilities were not maintained. Watering points were not used properly. A Ministry report in 1978 noted the beginning of improved practices, but these were not followed through. The group itself started to disintegrate towards the end of 1979 and regional staff lost all hope. Regional staff did make an effort to confer with group members. There is one record of group comments which shows that they did recognise the problems of non attendance at meetings and lack of work by the group on the ranch. They pointed to illiteracy as a difficulty in managing and paying fees, and to a difference in attitude between large and small cattle owners.

What lessons can be learned from Selebalo? It is necessary to look out for social divisions in a group; at Selebalo incompatability affected participation. The type of group organisation needs to confer equality between members to avoid some dominating. Ownership questions must be clarified. Attention must be paid to a system for arranging labour on the ranch. At least some members must be literate and able to handle records. Group members must be aware of the financial implications of a ranch venture. Interest in forming a group should come from the people and not be imposed by Government. Support logistics need to be thought out beforehand : failure to provide promised support undermines a group's confidence. Any problems which may arise from remoteness must be tackled.

Although it can be argued that it was the Selebalo group itself that was a failure, this report views the Selebalo project as a failure in group development approach.

13.5.2. Most other commercial ranching projects have formed since Selebalo and should therefore be able to benefit from its experience. Have they?

A real commercial attitude is still rare; other motives for ranching, particularly water development, are uppermost. Smaller syndicates are the exception. Smaller syndicates also have the advantage of literacy and management background. Unfortunately such information on background on proposed AMAs in Southern Region is not available. There is more incentive for groups to appoint managers and in some cases this is going ahead but suitable candidates are scarce. Some group members erroneously believe that forming a Cooperative would solve management problems. Many farmers still do not see the need for managers and it is recommended that effort should be put into educating ranch group members on the manager role. Friction arising from social problems is also common, except in smaller family based groups. Large groups encounter problems just in meeting. The location of ranches with respect to communal areas is a factor needing more attention. It effects participation, particularly the type of participant. The target group is only being reached in Southern Region. Group ranches actually in the commercial zones are encountering non-commercial attitudes and other discouraging factors. They need special consideration. Support

is also a problem. The main issue, however, concerns the extent of Government commitment to small owners in overcrowded areas. In Southern District and Western Ngwaketse, commendably, ranch sites are being reserved. Other districts need to give more attention to the whole question. Active intervention on behalf of the small owner is necessary. Ranch sites need to be reserved near the communal areas and a development project is necessary to achieve this. Individuals and small syndicates may need compensation to encourage their moving further away.

13.6. What should the target group be?

13.6.1. There is some confusion about the target group for viable commercial ranching. The group development programme has no definition of target group but ranch extension aims at owners of 30-100 cattle. Only some extension staff are happy to work with "big cattle owners" with nearly 100 cattle. There is confusion too between the number of cattle an owner may have and the AMA share capital regulation of 1-20%. This should be clarified. The TGLP does not define a target group or what it means by small-owners. The Selebalo experience has disillusioned some extension workers about working with small farmers. Workers should be given more information about experience on the pilot projects. Short-staffing has added to lack of information by preventing full discussion.

13.6.2. By looking at Cooper's work it is possible to consider the question of a viable target group in relation to herd size. For the rural Batswana cattle can have a "use value", an "exchange value" and a "semi-exchange value". The realisation of these values depends on the size of their herds. Farmers at the lower end of the target group defined by the ranch extension subsidy scheme do not have enough cattle for commercial ranching to be practicable in distant ranching areas. It is farmers with over 40/50 cattle who are able to participate. Small farmers are attracted to the schemes, hoping to increase their herds. This objective, however, cannot be combined with commercial objectives. Small farmers require a different type of project, one with more subsidies and closer to the communal areas. This means that in effect there are two target groups for commercial ranching.

13.6.3. Although ranch extension staff may know what they are doing, clearer guidelines on commercial ranching as a group activity are needed for other field staff. Existing experience is sufficient to provide such guidelines. The REU had to issue a circular to Districts about reserving commercial land because the TGLP was not adequate. But even so a more consciously positive policy for facilitating small owner group participation is necessary. Further research is recommended.

13.6.4. How can small owners actually be helped? There must be more awareness and acceptance that the process is difficult. The task must not be ignored in favour of easier goals. The small owner must be consciously planned for. Either ranches need to be reserved near communal areas, or immediate attention should be given to facilitating small owner groups. At present field staff show a high commitment but the approach is only halfway there.

13.7. Stocking rate

The stocking rate issue did not arise at Selebalo, though the behaviour of members when fees were raised may be a clue on how to ensure

commercial interest. But overstocking has occurred at Ncojane. Management fees do not seem to be perceived as directly related to cattle numbers. There have been several official recommendations in response to overstocking at Ncojane. As far as AMAs are concerned group members have to decide on quotas. There exist some official methods of control which will depend in practice on regional level coordination of departments. Careful extension work must prepare groups on this point.

13.8. Approach and support

13.8.1. Looking at the whole history of small owners and group ranches in both communal and commercial areas there has not been dramatic success. The approach can only be gradualist. Communal area ranches will take a long time to develop. Neither can commercial attitudes and methods be introduced more quickly in commercial areas, for there is not as much space as was assumed and smallowner participation is not practicable in the way envisaged. There is a danger that small owners may be neglected because they are difficult to help.

The aims of a decade ago have still not been trialled, so it is important to ensure there is time for experience to be gained. Ranch group development must continue to be gradualist but must also receive high priority.

The spatially-oriented classification of projects developed in chapter 11 needs to be extended to include the two commercial area target groups. Each target group will have different institutional, organisational and support requirements. In practice the two are not being treated differently.

13.8.2. Cattleposts already occupy much of the commercial zone in Central District and there are only two sites which could be reserved for AMA ranch development. If land is allocated on a first come, first served basis groups of small owners will probably not have a chance to form before the land is accounted for. No groups are currently forming and for various reasons extension staff have not been able to actively encourage them. There needs to be an overall strategy if groups are to take advantage of their priority status. Even the attempt to reserve ranch sites does not help small owners at present as the sites are remote from the communal areas.

More needs to be done to strengthen resolutions to reserve land. Time should be spent developing a spatial strategy for group ranches. Several recommendations for a spatial strategy are made, the first concerning a zone for commercial group formation : land for small owner groups should be reserved near communal area margins; higher subsidies are required; projects should help access to grass and water and encourage breed improvement; further research on small owner management behaviour is needed; Southern Region's group ranch pilot project should be monitored; short leases for groups in this zone of commercial group formation should be considered; and research into the use of grazier scheme cattle is necessary. Phasing small owners into a zone of commercial group formation would inevitably be a long-term and expensive process. Secondly, a spatial strategy should relate commercial areas to distance from communal areas by varying subsidy assistance and group type according to location. Thirdly commercial and communal area plans should be linked. In this way small owners will be given real help and time, and will eventually be able to compete for commercial zone allocations.

13.8.3. Selebalo, as we have seen, was largely a failure in group development approach. If target group objectives are clear and related to particular areas, a corresponding approach can be put into action. It will be difficult to achieve the AMA target number of ranches because so much support is required. Regional staff support will not be adequate and this is another reason for making time for group facilitation by reserving land. The approach to facilitation should involve making films, demonstration facilities, arranging the proper use of existing facilities, inservice training for field staff to encourage them in the use of facilities and siting facilities in the commercial group formation zone; more use of Government transport so that groups can visit prospective ranch sites; guidelines on group ranching; a gradualist approach - Southern Region's tactics could be emulated.

CHAPTER 14: GROUP ACTIVITY IN WATER DEVELOPMENT.

CHAPTER 14: GROUP ACTIVITY IN WATER DEVELOPMENT

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14.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 14.

CHAPTER 14: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO(LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
BPMS	Borehole Preventative Maintenance Scheme
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
CLUO	Chief Land Utilization Officer
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
DO(L)	District Officer (Lands)
FC	Farmers Committee
GDO	Group Development Officer
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
lsu	Livestock unit
LUD	Land Use Division
MRTC	Mahalapye Rural Training Centre
PFS	Pupil Farmer Scheme
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
SBDT	Serowe Brigades Development Trust
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
VDC	Village Development Committee

14.1. THE LIMITATIONS OF THIS CHAPTER

Water development is a complex subject involving several different technologies - that is borehole development, dam and haffir building, well digging and the construction of other forms of water storage like small catchment tanks or weirs across sand rivers. This chapter attempts to survey some of the experience with such projects in terms of group development but cannot comment in any depth on technical aspects.

Other studies, notably the Ministry of Agriculture's Water Points Survey, are bringing in a range of professional skills to study thoroughly alternative forms of water development in the agricultural context from technological, economic and management angles. This chapter represents a very limited study by comparison. It is based on only direct contacts with water development groups. The remainder of the data in the Appendices 5 and 6 (on dam groups) and 7 (on borehole and well groups) were gleaned from various sources. The more general limitations of this report were explained in Chapter 2 but here it should be emphasise that these limitations apply particularly in water development.

The data on dam groups are very hard to reconcile. Many dams are known under different names. They may be registered under one name and then come to be known under another. The "Boipopo" dam group at Lerala could be one example. It is difficult to establish whether it is a more recent group, or an older dam (perhaps "Telefoni") under another name. In some cases records appear to be lost as with the Tsetlhong dam group south of Serowe. These problems stem primarily from poor record keeping and management of the dam building programme in the past, a subject which will be returned to later (see 14.3.11).

Furthermore, until relatively recently the dam building programme was not conceived in group development terms. The data on dam groups as groups tend therefore to be very incomplete.

Two sets of data thus exist - some incomplete records on dam groups in the regions, and the records of the Small Dams Unit (SDU) in the Ministry. The SDU staff are currently (1980) conscientiously trying to update and order their records. Fortunately some preliminary field survey results carried out in mid 1980 were for incorporation in this report. The Appendix 6 tables are derived from these reports.[1]

A reconciliation between the various information sources is attempted below (see table 14 (i)).

With borehole development the data problems are even greater. The group development programme has yet to identify a clear role in relation to borehole syndicates. If limited syndicate legislation is enacted the CAMA office is likely to take on more of a supporting function, although as with ranching groups it will be important for the target group for group development in the context of borehole syndicates to be clearly defined. The programme will otherwise risk having its impact dissipated over too broad an area (i.e. out of the communal zone) and over too wide a target group (i.e. missing the small owner.)

In the past, however, extension staff have had little to do with syndicate organisation or management problems. This is mainly because most syndicated boreholes are located either in the most remote reaches of ADs areas or are actually well outside the communal zone altogether (the zone most covered by Extension Areas). Records of borehole syndicates as groups are therefore extremely incomplete. Neither in most Districts do Land Boards or Councils maintain systematic records, and

(1) Thanks to Mr. Isaac Phometsi of SDU.

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syndicates are not legally registered anywhere. As this consultancy was dealing with the Ministry of Agriculture's group development programme, it was beyond its scope to research data other than that available through the extension contacts of the DAFS field staff. The appendix 7 data are therefore limited to these sources. Many functioning syndicates, out of the reach or attention of field staff but valid groups nonetheless, are therefore unavoidably overlooked. The potential future group development support role regarding syndicates will be commented upon later in this chapter.

14.2. WHY FARMERS ARE TAKING ACTION

Settlement for the majority of rural households revolves around the availability and reliability of water supplies. When families can move to the lands and how long they can remain there depends on domestic water supplies. Where cattle and other livestock can be kept and grazed depends upon water. So too do numerous other activities, such as the maintenance of a vegetable garden, moulding bricks for building, the operation of dip tanks or the watering of tree seedlings. Water becomes a problem when supplies are inadequate, inconvenient or unsuitable for a farming household's particular purpose at any given time of year. As one source of water dries up in one place, local movement, or even migration in times of severe drought, is required to the next most conveniently located and suitable supply. In the course of every season most rural families may shift once, twice or even more often.

Water supplies for the vast majority of farmers at the lands in the communal areas are still for the most part the temporary traditional sources. For traditionally, many lands areas were occupied for the duration of the cropping season, after which households returned to their village. This temporary form of settlement has influenced the nature of water development; less effort has gone into the development of permanent water sources there than in cattlepost areas. More reliable sources are expensive and so investing in water for the sake of domestic supplies and a few livestock for part of the year had too high an opportunity cost compared with at the cattlepost.

Movements and choices of which type of water source to exploit at different periods through each season depend simply on practicality.

In the Mmadinare North lands areas most farmers depend on 'mosenyana' springs in hollows in their fields for primary sources.[2]

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(2) In this chapter the term "primary" water supply is used for whatever sources a farmer resorts to first, i.e. the most accessible and convenient source. "Fallback" sources are those to which farmers have to turn as the primary sources dry up or break down. Primary sources are most commonly natural or traditional sources. Fallbacks tend to be dams or boreholes although dams can replace traditional sources as primary supply when they become relatively more convenient.

These are made use of by digging pits from which water is drawn. Few of the springs hold water for long after the rains end and farmers then have the choice of trying to hire water from owners of springs which are still running, paying 10-20 thebe per drum, or hauling water in drums by donkey cart from the Motloutse river over 4 miles away. Similarly, draft oxen may have to be trekked long distances to the Motloutse for water.

At Lerala the main source of water in the lands is pans which dry up easily. Water has then to be hauled by sledge or skotch cart either from Lerala or Majwaneng villages. The only borehole sources are much further away in the grazing east of the drift fence.

At Masoko traditional wells in the Masoko river have always been the fallback water source but the construction of a small dam enables farmers not to have to resort to the wells until late in the winter, even as late as August and September. Cattle water at pans until they dry up and then the dam, the next most convenient sources. The labour of digging out the wells is postponed until the dam dries.

At Tsubue, near Mmathethe, also, attention turns in winter to the sand rivers, but these wells too may dry out by June or July and the last resort then becomes the nearest borehole, whether owned privately or by Council. In the late winter months thousands of cattle may congregate at such boreholes. 3000 was the estimated figure at the private borehole near Tsubue, coming from as far and wide as Gamokope, Mmusi, Morabobane and Mmathethe.

The Mmantshadidi borehole, formerly Tribal Administration, now Council's 'matimela' department, likewise caters for herds from as far away as Tsetlhong, Kgaswe and Segakwana - almost the entire major lands areas south of the Serowe - Palapye main road. Sometimes these vast herds congregate at the nearest major river or dam. The Motloutsi and Boteti rivers become severely overgrazed as during dry seasons or times of drought they turn into the only fallback communal water source.

The common result of droughty periods is the scattering of the population. Almost every area has its pattern. Before dams were built around Segakwana the population of this lands area used to have to abandon the lands and return to Serowe, sending their cattle to Palapye, Serowe or south to the Mmite dam near Radisele. At Dinogeng members of the Farmers Committee explained how the population is forced to leave the lands area for Mochudi every year because of lack of water.

Many problems result. The obvious and often quoted one is that since water availability determines the period of residence at the lands it affects the adoption of improved practices like early ploughing. The woodlot that the Thabala FC planned at Motshegaletau could not be started for a year because there were no people there to do the work due to lack of water, and no water for the seedlings. At both Medie and Melokaganyane farmers were unable to start on planned smallstock projects until their borehole/reticulation projects were undertaken. At both Masoko (Thabala) and Machana (Boteti area) progress on lands fence enclosures was delayed by local water unavailability.

For dip tank projects a good water supply is essential. The Malmore livestock group was concerned not to be dependent on just the nearest private borehole before embarking on their dip tank. The IFPP livestock staff believe that bigger livestock groups should possibly be formed around syndicated boreholes (i.e. with common membership). Their belief tends to be borne out in practice by the actions of four dam groups in Serowe District, Mmantshadidi, Kgaswe, Janyane and Segakwana,

which are each planning to take over former geological survey boreholes as they develop tick control facilities. Other farmers associated with water development groups also see the possibilities that water opens up to them. At Lerala dam groups proposed developing orchards. At Segakwana a borehole syndicate proposed a clinic, dip tank and a fruit and vegetable garden for marketing to Palapye and Serowe. At Dinogeng clinics have already formed at several of the dam groups and at Mokobeng a primary school garden has developed under a dam wall.

Without reliable water, groups themselves are disrupted. At Metsai in Moshupha West neither the Committee nor the members of the Metsai dam had met for years, the 1978/79 drought being the major cause, having scattered the population from the surrounding lands areas. The dam had never dried up but the families remained at Moshupha since their shorter term supplies nearer the lands had dried up because of the poor rains, and only the herdboys remained near the dam. It had proved impossible for records to be maintained on the use of the dam or for fees to be collected systematically. Under such circumstances it is easy for the door to be opened to the mishandling of funds and to other organisational problems.

Another aspect of the problem of water, one in the grazing areas, was described in connection with lands enclosure fences in Chapters 9 and 10. Many examples exist of where a lack of water on the grazing side of fence projects stands to compromise the fence objectives. At Mmamaereng only sandriver wells existed as water sources on the grazing side. Outside the Pelotshetlha fence lack of water in the grazing resulted in cattle roaming the lands areas at time when crops were still in the fields. At Kanngwe farmers stated that a borehole would be needed on the grazing side of the fence once it was complete. The present borehole is in the lands. Lack of water in grazing areas can even amount to a reason for fencing the lands. In some cases, of course, water development and fencing do go h[illegible] and, as at Magoriapitse where the membership of the fe[illegible] and dam groups is the same.

Some of the Barolong grazing enclosure groups, discussed in Chapter 11, clearly hoped that by forming a group, water would be developed by Government in the enclosure. The motivation of the members of some proposed ranching groups and certainly of APRU communal cell groups revolved around the likelihood of such group action resulting in a new water source. The surge of interest in AMA ranch groups in Southern District in 1978/79 was also partly attributed to this motive in a time of drought.

Very often water supplies do exist but not where they are needed or at the right time. A good example is the densely populated and overstocked communal area west of Moshupha. Cattle crowd in the limited grazing around the lands to water at the Metsai dam. Yet only 20 km away further west stretches a sandveld area of plentiful grass - Legogo. But at Legogo there is no water other than transient puddles after rain. The same situation of overgrazing and crop damage existing side by side with underutilization of grazing occurs in many parts of Botswana.

Water can also determine the status of small settlements. A number of water development projects arise from farming communities wishing to establish themselves as villages, and can run thereby into difficult planning or even political settlement issues. The Toteng community is up against North East District's politically rooted village regrouping policy. In a pathetic meeting, villagers keenly expressed their problems. Domestic supplies had to be brought from deep holes dug in the Shashe

river. Water levels in the river were so low that it was reported to take ages to fill even a bucket. For old people it was a particular struggle. Livestock meanwhile had to trek through lands areas to be watered either also in the Shashe river or at a borehole near Botalaote. Water sources were needed in the grazing areas to prevent this, but above all the village had been adamantly requesting for water to be reticulated only 2½ km from Makaleng village where three boreholes were said to be in operation. This possibility seemed to be being overruled by policies being pursued against developments in the smaller villages and favouring development of Makaleng and other planned centres.

The situation is not so extreme in other Districts but the settlement issue can still cause problems. The Monwane Farmers Association had a long battle to secure approval and funding for their borehole due to the difficulty of establishing whether Monwane was a village, in which case water development would be a Council responsibility, or a lands area. The Malokaganyane reservoir group had a similar struggle lasting ten years as funds raised first languished in Council, then the group was advised to try the Ministry of Agriculture where its AE.10 application was rejected as the reservoir would be used for livestock watering. "Wait for SLOCA" the group was told. Eventually in 1980 the U.S. Embassy funded their project.

This brief account suggests many reasons why groups of people in the rural areas are becoming involved in water development.

14.3. THE EXPERIENCE WITH DAM GROUPS

14.3.1. Numbers of dams and dam groups

Table 14(i) summarises the available data from Appendices 5 and 6 on existing dams and known dam groups.[3]

This table shows that there are at least 232 dam groups in the country as at mid 1980. Of these, 124 are groups waiting for dams to be built by the Small Dam Unit, the majority (about 80) of these being in Central Region. 108 of the 232 groups have actually got dams, some 82 of these having been built since the inception of the 1974 dam and haffir building policy by the four units of the Small Dams Unit.

There are then a highly conservative minimum of 84 dams in the country for which no groups exist. Most of these were built before the 1970s under the old dam building programme and some of them by self help ("ipelegeng") during the mid 1960's drought period. Most probably there are well over 100 "old" dams in the country.

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(3) Considerable discrepancies exist in available records. Appendix 6B lists some of these - i.e. c.90 dams recorded by the 1980 SDU survey but for which no information was found in the regions (mainly because no groups exist), and dams (at least 70) for which information did emerge in the regions (though not necessarily as groups) but which the SDU's survey has so far omitted. It is hoped these checklists may prove useful in subsequent cross checking.

TABLE 14(i)
DAMS, DAM GROUPS AND MEMBERSHIP - by DISTRICT
(note ix)

	NUMBER OF GROUPS (+ MEMBERS)			DAMS WITHOUT GROUPS (ii)
	Dam built since c.1974	Formed around old dams (i)	Recently formed; dams not yet built	
TUTUME	-	2 (FC and VDC)	-	at least 8
TATI	-	2	3	at least 14 (x)
BOBONONG	-	-	19 (377)/17	-
PALAPYE	21 (185)/13	-	1	2
SEROWE	21 (283)/16 (iii)	2 (iv)	26 (115)/6	-
MAHALAPYE	4 (26)/2	3-4 (20)/1	33 (239)/11	4-5 (v)
KGATLENG	7 (232)/6 (vi)	1	8 (111)/5	14
KWENENG (NORTH & SOUTH)	16 (416)/11	5 (380)/5	14	
SOUTH EAST	4 (170)/4	2	7	9
NGWAKETSE (NORTH & SOUTH)	9 (140)/6	8 (628)/6 (vii)	10-12 (viii)	32
BAROLONG	-	-	1 (16)	-
TOTAL	82 (1452)/68	26 (1028)/12	124 (858)/40	84 (minimum)
Average membership (all Districts)	21.3	85.6	21.45	-

NOTES

(i) Mostly recently revised groups formed around dams built pre-1970s in order for repairs to be carried out; includes a few groups which have survived through from original date of construction,

(ii) includes mostly old Government (pre 1970s) dams,

(iii) includes 3 dams built in ipelegeng - groups/FC responsible still active; rebuilt/improved recently by SBDT/LUD and one old Government dam managed by a FC,

(iv) both in practice responsibility of Council,

(v) data not very clear - groups formed or not,

(vi) includes 3 dams recently built by self-help/local contribution,

(vii) includes one old ipelegeng dam,

(viii) includes 5-6 around IFPP (now under construction) and 5-6 in Malore area,

(ix) data in brackets is known membership figure with sample (number of groups with data) underneath; where incomplete membership data available no figures are given in brackets,

(x) includes 9 dams reported by GDO still not handed over to groups by NE District Council.

14.3.2. Dam group membership

Also in table 14(i) are membership figures. Groups formed since the 1974 policy have an average registered membership of just over 21 members per group. Using this average (for 68 of the 82 dam groups with dams built and for 40 of the 124 groups in the waiting list) the impact of the dam groups programme can be estimated - i.e.

Estimated total number of members of the 82 groups with dams built	-	1746
Estimated total number of group members in the 124 groups waiting for dams to be built	-	2654

An estimated 4400 farmers have thus registered under the small dam building policy in the last six years.

In addition, many more farmers have formed groups, in some cases registering with the SDU, around older dams. The average membership of these groups is far higher at 85 per group. This would appear to be because the dams built before the 1974 policy tended to be bigger structures built for the general area-wide use of larger communities. Taking 85 as the average (based on 12 cases) the total number of farmers in all 26 groups which have formed around older dams must be in the region of 2210.

The above estimates are likely to be on the conservative side. As we shall see below the number of registered members of the dam group sometimes bears little resemblance to the number of people who subsequently use the dam. Simply put, there seem never to be enough dams for the needs of an area throughout the year. Once a dam is built it often becomes a fallback water source for many more people in the surrounding communities than was intended. This over-use very often

results in the dams drying up earlier than they would if used for the planned membership. Dams thus tend to be used by many more than those registered, but not for the whole year.

This problem may be soluble only through planning a more uniform and adequate distribution of water sources, and will be discussed further below.

14.3.3. Groups which have built their own dams

Under the 1974 policy[4] the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for the construction of a dam and either the group or Council are responsible for future maintenance. It is therefore not surprising that few examples can be found of dam groups having built dams for themselves. Apart from 'ipelegeng' (self help under drought relief in the 1960s) projects where communities did construct dams through their own labour, in some cases assisted at certain stages with Government equipment, the only cases of real and more recent self help were found at Dinogeng in the Kgatleng. Available information on these is summarised in the Appendix table 5.7. The Mmilo group, for example, has raised a total of P738 since 1976. Of this amount, P668 was used in 1978 to hire a contractor to scoop out a haffir dam. Outside Dinogeng the only other example is the Thabala Farmers Committee which raised P120 in 1972 towards a plan to construct 3 dams in the Thabala area. But the project was shelved on the advice of the then RAO that under the Small Dam Building Policy (which was then imminent) these dams would be constructed by Government free of charge. Thabala's dams were eventually constructed at Government expense - but six years later.

This consultancy was unable to study experience with the 1960's 'ipelegeng' dams - i.e. as distinct from dams built for communities or groups with Government machinery. Data which were collected are insufficient to test any hypothesis that dams built through community labour are maintained thereafter any differently from dams built by Government. But there are examples of current group or community action to rehabilitate old 'ipelegeng' dams. At Otse, P206 was raised in 1979 through VDC efforts and a contractor hired to scoop out the silt from the old village 'ipelegeng' built dam. Another example is the Morule dam group in Moshupha West where P458 was raised through watering fees from 1970 to 1975 for the cost of fence maintenance and gatekeeper employment. The rebuilding of this dam in 1974 was carried out by Government, though. At Segakwana (Serowe District) the Farmers Committee has continued efforts to maintain the Matono (ipelegeng' dam, built in 1967 with the assistance of Government machinery. Other cases include Mogatsapoo and Rantseng in Serowe District, dams at Kubung and Gabane, and the Lwale dam in Ngwaketse North.

As groups are also forming to have old Government built dams repaired and then to manage them, it does not appear that the 'ipelegeng' drought relief programme created an exceptional lasting community or group responsibility for the dams built at that time. Communities did, after all, receive drought relief provisions and earnings in return for labouring on 'ipelegeng' projects.

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(4) See Appendix 6c: The Ministry of Agriculture's dam and haffir building policy.

14.3.4. Dam maintenance by groups - the record

According to the available data in Appendix 5, 41 dam groups (out of the total 232) have actually raised some funds towards dam repair or maintenance.

The total funds these 41 dam groups have raised amounts to P4298, or an average of P104 each. This total includes all monies raised other than the P663 which the Mmilo group in Dinogeng used for actual construction rather than for maintenance. The real total is likely to be a good deal higher than the P4298 figure as cases are known where funds have been raised although the exact figure was not available.

A number of points are of interest in connection with group contributions. First are the methods of contribution.

Raising of funds

All dam groups in order to register their water right and apply for the construction of their dam by Government, have to mail P6.00 with their application. Virtually all dam groups formed since 1974 have done so. These funds have not, however, been included in the calculation of funds raised. What is of greater interest and importance is the group's contribution towards the ongoing management of their dam after its construction by Government.

Records show only 19 dam groups as having instituted a membership joining fee. The joining fees of these 19 groups vary from P1.00 to P20.00 but average just over P4.00 per member. Great difficulty has sometimes been encountered in raising these fees. An example is the Polokwe group in Moshupha South area which manages dams "12" and "13". Between 2-300 members first registered in 1969. The Committee set P2.00 as the joining fee but many members failed to contribute. Disappointed by this, the joining fee was reduced to P1.00, and still the problem persisted. According to the records, enough money was raised to pay for initial fencing materials and a further P78.00 was spent on repairs between 1969 and 1977. In addition P78.00 is still held in balance in the accounts.

Another fund raising method has been an annual subscription. Some of the 19 groups above set annual subscriptions either at the same rate per year as the joining fee, or at a lower rate. The following are examples:

GROUP	JOINING FEE	ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
Kgalapitse	P 3.00	P1.00
Rabotsirepe	P15.00	P5.00
Mmilo	P20.00	P10, P5, P10 (i)
Thamaga W.	-	P2.00 per month

NOTE (i) The Mmilo group set these consecutive annual subscriptions in order to raise funds for dam construction as well as later maintenance.

Other groups which have raised funds have done so through livestock watering fees levied per head of livestock a member has. The Metsai group in Moshupha West started out with a P2.00 per family annual subscription in 1968, changing over in 1973 to an annual watering fee of 10 thebe per head. The initial response in 1968 was good. 101 members

paid the P2.00 subscription. When per head fees were introduced in 1973, however, only 59 out of 94 registered members paid their fees. P90-10t was collected altogether, well under the amount which should have been raised for the 1587 head of cattle recorded as belonging to just these 59 members. Between 1974/75 P122.20 was collected; again not all members paid their fees. In 1976 and 1977 there was no collection. Then in 1978 it was decided the fees must be raised to 20t per head per year. Only 23 people paid their fees in 1978 - totalling P129.80.

To summarise - it can thus be seen that

a) very few dam groups collect fees or raise funds,

b) those that have tried to collect fees have had great difficulty in doing so regularly, and many members avoid paying.

Dam maintenance by groups

The Ministry of Agriculture's dam policy states that the responsibility for maintenance of dams once handed over by the Ministry can be either that of the District Council or the group. The decision between these two options was left to Councils to make and most Councils, not welcoming the added administrative burden, took the second option for the groups of farmers to have the responsibility.

Once a dam is handed over to a group, the Policy states, annual watering fees of 72 thebe per livestock unit were to be collected from users of the dam and set aside as a maintenance fund.

The maintenance record, as can be expected from the fund raising record, is very disappointing. Taking Isaac Phometsi's 1980 Survey of 166 dams throughout eastern Botswana, only 30 of these were reported to be fenced satisfactorily. Of these 30, some were only bush fenced. The fences of all the remaining dams were loose or broken, partly trampled down or completely destroyed. According to Phometsi's report the condition of fences is generally worst in the south of the country - Ngwaketse, South East, Kweneng and Kgatleng. In Central Region the condition of fences appears to be somewhat better although many are still loose, incomplete or partly broken.

The few groups which have persistently tried to keep their dam fences repaired tend also to employ gatekeepers. Information is scarce, but in at least ten cases it was established that gatekeepers were, or had been, at work. These are summarised below:

Masoko (Thabala	- bush fenced	- 2 voluntary gatekeepers
Rramajaalela (Segakwana	- wire fenced	- P10.00 per month
Rabotsirepa (Dinogeng)	- bush fenced	- Volunteer
Mmilo (Dinogeng)	- bush fenced	- Volunteer
Manoko (several groups)	- wire fenced	- P8/month in one example
Tlebegwane (Metsemaswaane)	- wire fenced	- Voluntary (?)
Morule (Moshupha W.)	- wire fenced	- Hired (? rate)
Metsai (Moshupha W.)	- wire fenced	- P5/month - later P10/ month
Tshwaane (Moshupha W.)	- bush	- Voluntary
Polokwe (Moshupha S.)	- wire	- Voluntary

A group's effort to keep its dam fenced and watched over is typified at Segakwana in Serowe District. The Rramajaalela dam was built by Government in 1968 for the use of the population of the surrounding lands areas. Farmers from 8 lands wards use the dam and for some time the Segakwana Farmers Committee has been attempting to establish a group based on residents of the Mmaloswane ward, the nearest lands to the dam. For social reasons this has proved difficult as Mmaloswane is a higher status ward ('bokgosi' - the chief's relatives), so the dam continues to be used indiscriminately. Several attempts by the area FC have been made to keep it maintained. A R5.00 levy was collected from most Segakwana families at one time and the total funds raised deposited with Council. This amount was reported by the FC to have been misappropriated. The fence was built and repaired by the FC at least three times - in 1968, 1974 and 1975/76. A gatekeeper was hired in 1968 but his employment only lasted one month before the fence became broken and his task fruitless. The same thing happened in 1975 although this time he was two months in office.

The duty of a gatekeeper varies. In most cases it is to control the entry of cattle to the dam (i.e. within the fence) or to the drinking trough where these have been fitted and are still in working order. And as part of this exercise, to see that only members' cattle are allowed to water or that non-members' cattle are charged for extra. In some cases the gatekeeper's duty has been extended to checking, and repairing, the fence (e.g. at Morule) as well as that the gate is kept shut, or even locked in a few cases. At Masoko a gatekeeper was elected to check the fence after the bush fence the group had built was broken by farmers from neighbouring Moiyabana and Motshegaletau. This happened when the Motshegaletau dam dried up. No trouble has since been experienced.

Examples of maintenance or repair activities beyond just fencing are very rare indeed. In a very few cases (e.g. Konkriti dam at Mokobeng) groups had taken the trouble to protect the dam wall from trampling by cattle by placing thorny bush around the wall. In only one case (at Makoro in Palapye District) had a group grassed the dam wall. At Dinogeng the Mmilo group were planning after the 1980 harvest to collect funds to build a wire fence and purchase piping, a pump and a trough. The Metsemaswaane group (Tlebegwane) also planned to extend the piping supplies by the Small Dams Unit so that the trough would be outside the fence they were erecting.

Elsewhere the overwhelming trend was for farmers to expect Government to return and fix things which were not right. Pumps and watering troughs were commonly reported to be not working but no action was being taken by the groups concerned. An SDU official explained that most often the reason for the broken pump equipment was rough misuse by small boys sent to water the cattle.

This is in stark contrast to such scenes as at certain dams at Seleka and Ramokgonami and Palapye District where groups had constructed a stool by the pump where an old man could sit and operate the equipment correctly.

The policy whereby dams are to be maintained by groups from the collection of fees is clearly not operating. If serious attention were given to the policy, more emphasis on collection of the statutory fees and on maintenance would be expected in group by-laws. Yet few groups even have by-laws.

14.3.5. Dam group by-laws

Out of the 232 dam groups only 21 appear to have by-laws (some not on paper) and a further 8 have by-laws proposed or in process of preparation.

Details of by-laws were found for only 8 groups. They covered the following main provisions:

TABLE 14 (iii): DAM GROUP BY-LAW PROVISIONS

By-law Provisions	Groups
1. Payment of annual subscriptions	
- P1.00/member	Morule
- P1.00/member	Kubung
- P2.00/member	Mosinki
- P20.00/member	Mmilo
- 0-25 thebe	Shakge
- P2.00/member	Polokwe
2. Payment of annual watering fees	
- 10t/head	Metsai
3. Access to dam restrictions to members	
- P10.00 fine if member waters someone else's cattle	Shakge
- P16.00 fine on a non member stealing water	Shakge
- P10.00 fine for watering if non-member	Botepetepe
- watering of non-member's cattle charged at 10t/head	Metsai
- non members not allowed to water (but if non-member begs for water he should pay a fee (not specified) if going to stay around for some time)	Morule
4. Penalties on cutting fences	
- offenders to be sent to Chief/DC	Polokwe
- anyone breaking fence punished	Mmilo
- fine of one beast	Botepetepe
- unspecified penalties	all dams under Segakwana FC
5. Restrictions on purpose/use of dam	
- cattle not allowed; purpose restricted to domestic, calves, smallstock, draft oxen at ploughing time	Rabotsirepa Mmilo
- no livestock permitted inside fence	Mmilo
- domestic, calves and smallstock only	Tshwaane

6. By-laws encouraging observation of rules, enforcing participation by members etc.

- P1.50 fine on members failing to come to work digging fence post holes	Polokwe
- P100 fine on members refusing to work (e.g. cutting poles)	Botepetepe
- P1.00 fine for causing damage	"
- -50t fine/thrashing for misbehaviour	"
- -50t fine for failure to attend meeting	Shakge
- P10.00 fine for failing to attend work unless good reason and previous record in which case 50t fine	Shakge
- P80.00 fine for damaging work	"
- refusing people to be sent to Council	Metsai

7. Other miscellaneous by-laws

- no beer brewing or selling on work days	Shakge
- money collected to be banked	"
- 25t collection from all members towards projects	"
- P1.00 fine on the chief if he fails to invite people to meetings	Botepetepe

Only in the Shakge constitution were any provisions listed regarding committee elections. A two year period in office was specified. Also provided for were monthly meetings of the committee. At Morule with no rule about the length of office, the committee had been unchanged since 1970. No rules existed on what to do about members not attending meetings or not participating in other ways. Only exhortation and warnings were made by the committee, but were unobserved.

Only at Morule, though, was a provision observed regarding control of cattle numbers. "Every member should quote correct livestock numbers" was a rule introduced to try to assist collection of watering fees. A similar rule, "The number of cattle drinking to be limited", had been in effect initially at Mmilo in the Dinogeng area, but as the group later excluded cattle altogether from watering at tge dam other than draft oxen at ploughing time, cattle numbers owned by members are now not recorded.

The action of the Mmilo group represents one of the few examples of a group overtly concerned about the care and conservation of their dam. Also very evident in the more gentle confident tone of the by-law wording. No mention is made of the level of fines or thrashing to be imposed on offenders. The by-laws have a more positive thoughtful expression - viz:

TABLE 14 (iv)

BY-LAWS OF THE MMILO GROUP, DILOGENG (1)

1. Members watering without permission will be punished (dam is closed in rainy season; the group decides on opening time);

2. Anybody breaking the fence will be punished;

3. Any member causing damage will be punished;

4. Children causing damage will be punished;

5. Bad behaviour is not necessary among members;

6. Number of cattle drinking should be limited;

7. Members should attend meetings and participate in any activity;

8. Any livestock are not allowed to be watered in the dam - but only in the trough (2).

9. Dam wall must be looked after and grass planted to protect the ground.

10. Members joining after the dam construction should pay P20.00.

11. If the water gets low only people, smallstock and calves may use the water.

(1) Translation from Setswana done rather hurriedly by the author at the meeting at Mmilo from the Secretary's notebook copy.

(2) The trough is a traditional hollowed log outside the bush fence, filled from drums/buckets hauled from within the dam fence.

Members explained that the subsequent exclusion in the rules of all cattle was done because the total would have been too many for the dam, and in order to try to avoid disputes between members some of whom had no cattle or very few and others 20-30. Difficulties with by-law No.1 were experienced initially but stopped after members were warned, and after the group had erected the bush fence.

The Mmilo dam was built, as we saw in 14.3.3., by the sole effort and contribution of the local community of 50 members. The subsequent care over maintenance this group has shown seems significant.

Another interesting example is the committee which oversees the Metsai and Tshwaane dams in Moshupha West. Metsai, dam "No.1" - the first to be built around Moshupha, is a huge structure which never goes dry despite its use by probably well over 2,500 livestock units. The careful restrictions imposed on the use of the much smaller Tshwaane dam have been possible only because of Metsai nearby. Cattle and other livestock water in large numbers at Metsai whilst at Tshwaane the water is to be used, as at Mmilo, for domestic and smallstock only. In the Dinogeng area alternative communal water sources for cattle are available at the Manico river. The larger owners are members of borehole syndicates further north.

The only other example, to the author's knowledge, of a group imposing such restrictions is at Makanke in Manoko area. Here again two dams are available - Motloletsetsega and Mmamasilwane, both managed by the Makanke VDC. Only one is for cattle watering, the other reserved for domestic calves and smallstock.

Observation and enforcement of by-laws

The smooth operation of the Tshwaane and Mmilo by-laws is, however, very rare. In most other cases few or none of the by-laws had been effectively implemented. At Polokwe no-one had ever been charged for failing to come to work though many did not participate. In the by-laws a person who failed to contribute the P2.00 subscription was to be treated as a non-member. Yet people who kept promising to pay but never did were still allowed use of the dam. Eventually the Committee "became tired" of raising the issue. No more was done. Furthermore, the very people who refused to contribute were those who broke the fence, usually at night. They were never caught even though the committee had proclaimed that such offenders would be sent to kgotla.

The same story could be related about Metsai, although the problem here is exacerbated by cattle straying to the dam from neighbouring areas. Many cattle water at Metsai from Molapowabasadi and Rralekgetlho but the committee could find no way to enforce payment. In 1978 only P24.80 was collected from 10 owners from Molapowabasadi nearest Metsai, yet hundreds, if not thousands, of intruding cattle had watered there. Possibly this made more difficult the following internally of the constitution. Whereas at the start all members had agreed to follow the rules, eventually most users of the dam had not contributed yet were still allowed.

At both Metsai and Polokwe refusing people were supposed to be sent to Council or the Chief in Kanye. Chief Bathoen supported the Polokwe committee by decreeing that he would not accept any complaint from a person denied membership of the group if that person had not contributed. In practice this assurance did not seem to be implementable.

14.3.6. Cattle numbers and overstocking at the dams

Figures for the actual cattle numbers watering at dams are difficult to come by. All groups registering with the SDU (since 1974) have to agree not to allow numbers of cattle to exceed 400 lsu. The available data on groups formed since 1974 to have a dam built by the SDU tends to conform with this limit. In Palapye District, for example, data for 12 dam groups shows an average membership of 13 farmers and 360 livestock units. A total of 4317 lsu were registered as using the dams at the time of application. Figures for other Districts are broadly similar, e.g.

Bobonong	- 8 groups,	315 lsu each,	total 2500
Serowe	- 23 groups,	313 lsu each,	total 7200
Mahalapye	- 6 groups,	233 lsu each,	total 1400
Kgatleng	- 5 groups,	302 lsu each,	total 1510
South East	- 2 groups,	350 lsu each,	total 700

In practice however the number of cattle using many small dams is known to far exceed the 400 lsu limit.

At Ngwapa dam in the Mokobeng area, 397 lsu were registered in the application but in 1980 Central Region's AO(LR) reported "far" over 400 lsu. Kgaswe dam and Janyane in Serowe East have also been reported on occasion to have thousands of cattle using them.

The cause of the situation at Kgaswe was for some time that having been built in 1977 before other dams were built in the same area, any attempt to control its use to its registered members was a non-starter as the need for water was so acute all around it. This problem tends to be repeated in many areas where older dams are still functioning. The

old Kapye dam near Shoshong, one of the few to continue holding water in the Shoshong area, was used by thousands of cattle[5] until heavy rains finally destroyed it in 1979/80. In the south the number of cattle recorded using old dams is staggeringly different from the numbers required now by the SDU policy. In Ngwaketse figures for the 3 dams - Metsai, Morule and Polokwe - total 6795 cattle, an average of 2265 each. Even these figures are likely to be large underestimates.

In areas where the number of dams are few and represent the most readily accessible water source at particular times of year, cattle numbers on these few dams are most likely to reach excessive levels during such periods.

A glance through the Appendix 5 tables reveals that the great majority of dams are requested and built in communal area, mixed lands and grazing situations. The available information is summarized as follows:

TABLE 14(v): USE OF DAMS

Use/purpose of dam		Number of examples
Water at the lands	- draft oxen - milking cattle - domestic	43
Water at the lands	- lands based livestock the primary use	22
"Communal" (in one case village, lands, cattle)		5
Water in the grazing and domestic for lands		2
Water in the lands - domestic primary		5
Water in the grazing		5
Cattle watering in the village		1
Domestic - village		1

By far the greatest demand and purpose for the dams is their use for livestock watering and multi-purpose (livestock and domestic) at the lands areas.

The problem which then appears to arise is the control of the livestock in these mixed communal areas. The common pattern of land use has been described already in Chapter 8 and in the context of the fencing in Chapters 9 and 10. In the absence of lands enclosure or drift fences, which even though catching on in popularity are still features of relatively few parts of the communal areas, no boundaries control where cattle move in search of grazing or water. Add to this the fact that for much of the year cattle owners are not resident in many of the lands areas, and even when they are, are busily preoccupied with arable activities and short of labour for herding, then the frequency with which cattle go astray can be appreciated. Many herds are not even kraaled at night.

(5) According to Shoshong Land Board

The result of this is a lack of control over where cattle water. Thus the SDU survey found 1-2000 cattle watering at Mamagofu or Egepeto dams in Tlokweng while at other sites not far away dams may be under stocked.[6]

The same problem was found around the Kgaswe, Thomas, and Segakwana dams. The overstocking problem may then be a function of at least two factors. One is the distribution of water sources. The other is the control over the cattle, for as long as water is available at a dam, farmers tend to allow an uncontrolled number of cattle to water there.

14.3.7. The condition of dam structures

The following tables summarise the state of the dams as surveyed by the SDU, 1980. For details see Appendix 6.

TABLE 14(vi): COMMON PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS OF OLD DAMS (i.e. built prior to 1970s)

		Number of cases
1.	Silting causing reduced capacity	16
	(conversely - no. still with plenty of capacity) -	(3)
2.	Cattle trampling wall	11
	(conversely - no. with wall still very intact)	(9)
3.	Fences - in good condition	2
	- loose/partly broken	9
	- completely destroyed	11
4.	How full dams were when surveyed June/July 1980	
	Full - 9	
	$\frac{3}{4}$ - 5	
	$\frac{1}{2}$ - 20	
	$\frac{1}{4}$ - 14	
	Dry - 24	

TABLE 14(vii): COMMON PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS OF DAMS BUILT SINCE 1974

1.	Fences - in good condition	25
	- underway	6
	- loose, partly broken	25
	- incomplete or without droppers	12
	- wire reinforced with bush	3
	- bush fenced only	8
	- not fenced	9
	- fence completely destroyed	2

(6) Isaac Phometsi - personal communication

2.	Dam wall	- still O.K.	62 (1)
		- cattle trampling but wall still O.K.	8 (2)
		- some damage from trampling	4
		- bad damage from trampling	5
		- badly eroded/breached/cracked due to poor soil or design features	12

3. Water holding capacity

- whole year/long time	24
- quite long/ 6-8 months	11
- never very long/less than 6 months	6
- still new/never filled yet due to drought	11
- some leakage	2
- leaked at beginning/now fair/ improving	11
- poor, leaks badly, porous soil	9
- poor, poor siting/catchment, too small - most water lost	13
- breached after first rains, design fault	1

4. How full dams were when surveyed in June/July 1980

Full	-	8
¾	-	8
½	-	31
¼	-	15
Dry	-	20

Comment: Old dams

The most noticeable problem with older dams is their silting-up which causes a reduction in their water holding capacity. The majority of these dams used to hold water for long periods but now dry up by the middle of the winter or earlier. Due to the silting, a common problem also is the erosion of the spillways caused by water rushing across the silted dam area straight over the spillway. Although the higher water levels which silting causes can weaken the dam wall itself, remarkably the walls of most of these old dams are still holding firm despite heavy trampling by cattle in many cases. This in turn results from the deterioration of the fences although in many cases it was only the dam walls which were fenced by Government and not all of the dams were subsequently taken over by groups and the whole dam then fenced.

Around many of the old dams, overgrazing was reported to be common and erosion in the area around some of the dams.

New groups are forming in the area of many old dams. In some cases this is a revival of original community-wide groups who wish for the old dams to be de-silted or for fencing materials to be provided. In other cases the old dams are being ignored and groups forming under the 1974 policy for new dams to be built.

Comment - post 1974 dams

Turning to the dams constructed more recently under the 1974 Policy on small dams and haffirs, table 14 (vii) shows their condition (as surveyed in June/July 1980 - two to three months after the last rains of the 79/80 rainy season fell) varies widely. Of the total of over 80 dams built since 1974, some 20-30 were built in the last 2 years or so and due to the 1978-79 drought had never filled. A common tendency is for dams to leak, sometimes quite badly, for the first year or two and then for water holding to improve.

Taking these factors into account, the total of 24 dams reported to hold water for a long period of time, sometimes right through the year to the next rainy season, is fairly encouraging although the survey in June/July 1980 found only 16 dams to be more than half full compared with 35 dams to be dry or nearly dry and 31 dams about half full.

A not encouraging finding of the SDU survey was the frequency of dams built since 1974 which have had design problems. In about nine cases dams were found not to fill with water or to fill very poorly due to poor siting or catchment conditions. Masoko farmers made this complaint, saying that much water was wasted. The Metsemaswaane group expressed the same problem, both groups requesting that their dams be enlarged or deepened so that they would then hold water through until October. At Motshegaletau the catchment was so poor that farmers had to move cattle through Masoko to traditional wells, the dam dried up so early.

In a number of cases, SDU reported spillways likely to erode in future due to poor design and in 4 cases breaching of the dam wall itself had occurred for design reasons.

In only 25 cases were wire fences found to be in satisfactory order by the SDU survey - that is less than 1/3 of the groups. As the dam wall were still mostly relatively new, they were still in good order although in 9 cases trampling was starting to cause damage.

In the next section, possible explanations for these poor standards of management will be discussed.

14.3.8. Why so many dams are trampled, over-utilised and dry

Talking to farmers about dams confirms the picture surveyed by the SDU. Farmers are in many cases disappointed with their dams. The dams do not hold water long enough for the basic objectives farmers had - for example for draft oxen for winter or early ploughing (Shakge dam) or for the orchards and vegetable gardens the groups had planned (e.g. Lerala, Segakwana).

In many cases they dry up so that the livestock farmers are keeping have to be moved elsewhere. There are a number of possible reasons for these problems.

Poor siting or design

Reference to table 14(vii) above shows that of just over 80 dams constructed since 1974, 13 were sited in a poor catchment, or were too small. One was designed badly - the wall breaching after the first rain, and another 9 leak badly due to porous soil. Others have had leakage problems but have improved, but even so the result in practice has been that only 24 dams successfully hold water through the whole year - only just over a quarter of the total.

Although possibly in many of these cases the problem may be exacerbated by overstocking, to which we will turn in a moment, the siting or design aspect cannot be ignored. It is, however, an issue about which the present staff of the SDU are very aware and anxious to amend.

The obvious solution - more care and skill in the siting and design of structure - is a question primarily of technical expertise.

R14/1: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE OTHER SOLUTION, WHICH HOPEFULLY THE WATER POINTS SURVEY WILL HELP DEVELOP, WILL BE AN INCREASED EMPHASIS ON ALTERNATIVE WATER SOURCES. ADs WILL THEN NOT JUST HAVE THE OPTION OF ENCOURAGING A DAM GROUP WHERE ALTERNATIVES WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE, AS IN AREAS WITHOUT SUITABLE SOILS OR CATCHMENTS.

A more immediate measure necessary in some situations is the enlargement, deepening or other appropriate modifications on dams about which farmers are complaining.

R14/2: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE SDU, ON COMPLETION OF THEIR SURVEY, DISCUSS WITH REGIONAL STAFF THE CASES REQUIRING ATTENTION AND JOINTLY DEVISE A STRATEGY AND SCHEDULE FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT. Where the problem is clearly a design fault, Government should bear the responsibility for necessary modifications. Where it can be established that the cause is partly or wholly the result of what could be termed "mis-use" (particularly in the case of more recently built dams) then it is recommended that greater emphasis should be placed on facilitating remedial action by the group.

Overstocking

Over utilisation of dams is a complex subject. It is not always the result of apparent negligence on the part of farmers. The availability of water and the various demands for it through the whole year and throughout a whole area need to be seen as an interrelated dynamic situation. Even the definition of an area is difficult, as we shall see from the examples below. Over-utilization can,then, be the result of a number of causal problems.

(i) local over use. The most common cause of over-use of dams constructed in a locality is their inadequate number for the population. Thus the Shakge dam had 14 registered members but is used by at least 22 families in practice, and at Mokobeng the AO(LR) referred to "indiscriminate use by non-members."[7] In the Lerala area only 4 dam groups formed and had dams constructed; their membership is far far below the actual local population and farmers now say many more dams should have been built and a number of further requests have had to be turned away. Farmers thought it was a Land Board ruling of 5 miles between water sources which limited their quota to 4. In fact it was the result of an arbitrary limit set per Extension Area in Palapye District in response to information on the SDU's capacity schedule. In the lands area north of Mmadinare again a limit of 6 dams has been set to correspond with Bobonong District's quota. The Mmadinare North Farmers Committee explained that two more sites were needed - one at Rabapela outside, and one at Mhatane inside the Manatsane fence.

(7) Mokobeng dams: report by AO(LR) Central 11/79.

This issue, then, of the adequate distribution of dams in a locality, arose frequently in discussion. Other examples include Serowe East where too few dams were originally built and now many non members use the dams. A long waiting list of new dam groups exists. There are only old dams at Gamokope and they are mostly silted up completely. The Mmathethe village leaders emphasised the need to develop 7 or 8 new dams in the area simultaneously. At Masoko there is an interesting example of the dynamic situation of an expanding lands area. Already one dam has been built. The lands area has meanwhile expanded to the east and the number of farmers allocated in the area has grown from 49 to over 100, related, incidentally, to the lands enclosure scheme. Cattle numbers in the area have increased proportionately. Due to this and the greater distance from the expanding end of the lands from the Masoko dam, a new group has formed at Mmamapote.

(ii) Uncontrollable influx of cattle from neighbouring localities

Examples: (a) Metsai (Moshupha West); here farmers bemoaned the Metsai dam as the cause of the devastating erosion and overgrazing around their lands area. The influx of cattle occurred most in the dry season, coming chiefly from sandveld areas further west when boreholes broke down. The most frequent culprits were the Rralekgetlho and Molapowabasadi Council borehole syndicates. Cattle were sometimes driven or strayed from as far as Thamaga.

(b) Morule (Moshupha West); the dam group here complained of the same difficulty and documented the offending neighbours as:

- Mahatelo lands area which should use Lwale dam (now breached, having been repaired 3 times by Government) but depend only on traditional wells in sand rivers.
- Motale - lands area of Kanye/Thamaga; water at Rralekgetlho borehole, but have no local water source of their own and have not attempted to develop one.
- Molapowabasadi - the syndicate (?) borehole long broken down and left unrepaired; also have a very small dam, so when it dries they turn to Morule.
- Rralekgetlho - Moshupha/Kanye lands area; a syndicate borehole which is normally kept operating well but when broken down have no alternative.
- Kubung - dams do now exist in this area and ? a Council borehole, but Kubung cattle still stray to Morule.

(c) Polokwe (Moshupha South): farmers maintaining dams "12 and 13" complained that the main disadvantage since having their dam built had been large numbers of "newcomers" to the area - cattle from as far away as Thamaga area.

(d) Rramajaalela (Segakwana); the Segakwana FC complained that every year this dam was broken into by cattle from Kgaswe, Janyane, Mmantshadidi and Tsetlhong. Farmers from these areas had cut the fences, the FC alleged, but had never contributed.

(e) Kapye (Shoshong); the danger of one major water source sited in a lands area is well illustrated by the Kapye dam where thousands of cattle were reported by the Shoshong Land Board to have roamed the lands and destroyed crops because of the lack of alternative water sources in neighbouring areas.

(iii) Siting too close to another water source

This does not cause over-utilization of the dams water but may aggravate the overgrazing of the surrounding area. The Mmamodijana dam at Mokobeng was reported to be sited too close to a borehole and another sited actually at, or rather in, a communally used pan. Some social and administrative upheaval was created by the Land Board's later decision that the group should not fence the pan in with the dam because of other users of the pan as a communal source. As a result the group's dam fence runs straight through the contiguous waters of the pan so that non members' cattle can water freely at the pan and very likely dam group members' cattle too. Unhappy scenes can be predicted when the pan dries up and water is left within the dam fence only.

Surprisingly this very basic land use planning error has been repeated at Malotwana and Seleka - where the Mohudiri dam was constructed in the communal pan used by the neighbouring Rasesa lands people.

Social problems

> "Next time if you have a problem for water, where do you turn?" (Metsai farmer)

The above examples lead us naturally into social problems. Access to water is an issue of deep traditional significance to the Batswana, water being the crux of existence in the rural areas. Although times have moved on since the days when all water sources were like the grazing communal property to which all had right of access (and even now only equipment but not the water sources themselves can be owned in the communal areas), attitudes die hard. It remains a respected convention, essential for survival, that people and their cattle deprived of water should be permitted the use of a water source normally used and even managed and maintained by others. Kin or close neighbours are turned to first, but even outside this network the convention holds.

Socially, many farmers explained, others in need of water for their cattle cannot be turned down. This explains why groups managing the Metsai, Morule and Polokwe dams continue with resignation to suffer the over-use of their facilities by cattle straying from areas where boreholes have broken down.

Organisational problems

Problems which have occurred in siting dams and in their subsequent management can sometimes be attributed directly to the effectiveness or otherwise of local level organisation. The social tensions that resulted from the cases where dams were sited too close to other communal water sources cannot be ascribed only to inadvertent land use planning. If institutions had operated more effectively, consultation would have occurred and such errors would never have been made.

The constant breaking in at Rramajaalela dam by farmers from neighbouring areas would likewise be more effectively discouraged were

there to be a group specifically responsible for the dam. The present set-up can be traced back to the time when only the two old dams - Matono and Rramajaalela, were built. It was before the 1974 dam groups policy. The two dams came to fall under the Farmers Committee for the whole Segakwana area. Since then several other dams have been built and the FC has tried to organise as far as possible a rational and equal membership for them all.

The Rramajaalela dam, in a rational plan for Segakwana area, should be used and managed only by the nearby Mmaloswane ward lands area. For social reasons (bokgosi - a superior un-cooperating attitude by the higher status Mmaloswane ward), Mmaloswane has not taken responsibility for this dam, so it remains used by anyone and everyone and a FC responsibility.

The other common organisational problem is the transitory nature of settlement at the lands coupled with, often, a lack of effective traditional leadership. A period of drought, or even the normal seasonal cycle which takes the population away to the village after harvest, can disrupt attempts at management. Fences get broken, fees are not collected, and meetings are not held while the population has scattered elsewhere. Even the carefully organised Mmilo group in Dinogeng held no meeting during the 1979 drought period while Dinogeng lay deserted for Mochudi. Furthermore, as at Dinogeng and in many lands areas, the lands populations are from so many village wards that unless the group itself can cope through its elected leaders and respected elders, cases would have to be referred to the main 'kgotla' in Mochudi. In the case of Polokwe likewise cases would have had to be referred to Kanye.

The only solution to these social and organisational problems is the slow and long term process of institutional development implicit in the group development programme. The dam groups data in Appendix 5 reveals little about the most appropriate form of management organisation, but it certainly appears to be clear that many groups have no formally elected committee at all. Apparently successful cases where VDCs have taken on the management of dams (usually old ones) do exist - for example, Otse, Goshwe and Makanke (Manoko area). Other cases exist where they have failed - e.g. Gabane where the community was not supporting the VDC's initiative in the repair of the old village dam.

In several cases Farmers Committees have been an important local influence. The good examples of local level planning of water development and distribution in Serowe East and Segakwana areas can be attributed directly to the activity of the two area FCs. The Thabala FC similarly took area wide initiatives in water development as long ago as 1972. And the Metsemaswaane FC in South East District and the Dinogeng FC have likewise been important.

What tends to count most, however, is straightforward local social dynamics. The character, enterprise, initiative and motivation of a few leading figures makes the difference between indifference and care. The Chairman and voluntary gatekeeper of the Polokwe dam group was, for example, a member of the local smallstock group, on the drift fence committee, the elected best farmer in Moshupha South, a former Master farmer under the P.F.S. and a caring person - allowing his house to be used as a store for Red Cross famine relief food. Again the Secretary and the driving force of the Metsai dam group, with all its problems, was the local FC chairman who used his own kraals for the local smallstock group, ran a hawkers licence shop for the lands area and allowed the Council clinic to operate in his yard.

14.3.9. Why so many dams deteriorate unmaintained

Uncontrollable factors

A number of factors may explain the apparent neglect of so many dams. Firstly, the entire preceding argument is relevant - namely the siting, design, water distribution, social and organisational factors. The efforts of a number of groups to maintain fences and control the use of their dams have been totally frustrated by factors beyond their control. To expect farmers to exercise management responsibility effectively in the face of such problems is unrealistic, and it is argued here that in many cases the cause of apparent neglect or management disinterest has been either a poorly designed or sited structure (too small to hold sufficient water) or a hopeless water distribution situation in the locality of the dam with demand far exceeding supply at critical times of the year.

What is really expected of groups? Have they been supported effectively?

But apart from what we may call, for the moment, uncontrollable factors (suggestions for dealing with these follow below) groups can only be expected to perform within the limits of their awareness of what their responsibilities are and within their capabilities or knowledge. It is here that group development approach and support should enter - but has it done so effectively?

Most regional or HQ level staff acknowledge many shortcomings in Government's approach to dam groups. There is almost nil supervision or monitoring of the groups' problems, progress or activities. No records are kept on the state of dams in most regions - only Central Region's AO(LR) was proposing to introduce a system. Only in Central Region, it appeared, had any systemmatic training program been attempted aimed directly at dam groups. No serious attempt is made to encourage or check on the groups' responsibility to collect fees. And the whole area of technical support is unclear and lacks strategy.

Above all dam building emerges as a Government program. Government initiated. Provision of a structure is what is perceived rather than participation in a project. As one AO(LR) commented: "people call back Government if anything goes wrong" rather than taking initiative and action themselves to put a fault right. An experienced Motswana LWO wondered now that Government has a "groups policy" whether people will show more concern for their dams than they have in the past. Dams are a familiar development built first by 'mephatho' (regiments), then by 'ipelegeng' (self help under drought relief) and now by Government. But the signs are that people display the same attitudes to the dams. It is as if seeing Government's heavy machinery at work alienates the group from the project.

But is it this simple? Is it inevitable that group initiative and participation should be alienated when Government is involved in the work?

This report believes that it is and it isn't. It is because of the way the program has been managed, because the program does not fully solve the water distribution problem (water remains inadequate) and sometimes because of design faults. But if certain weaknesses can be overcome it is not inevitable and with a more strategic and supported group development approach dam groups could work.

14.3.10. Support to groups

Firstly we will consider the most straightforward aspects of support.

(i) On fencing - who should do it?

It is not clear whether the responsibility for fencing a dam is the group's or the SDU's. What is the function of SDU's fencing and concrete work crews? For a time, due to the outbreak of foot and mouth disease, the crews were assigned emergency duties on the veterinary cordon fences. In 1977 Central Region had made a policy decision, in co-operation with the SDU, that groups should fence their dams with materials provided by the SDU. When this issue was raised for the first time in Gaborone Region in October 1979 a similar agreement was reached. Central Region agreed that SDU crews were responsible only for fitting pipes, pumps and troughs. Nonetheless the support concept is confused because different functions are performed in other regions.

R14/3: IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT THE DIVISION OF LAND UTILIZATION ISSUE CLEAR GUIDELINES ON THE QUESTION OF FENCING DAMS, CLARIFYING IN PARTICULAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF GROUPS AND THE ROLE OF SDU SUPPORT CREWS.

With scarce manpower it seems folly that the SDU should be employing fencing and concrete work crews to perform jobs farmers are perfectly capable of if given the materials and adequate guidelines. It may be that the constraint on the farmers doing the work is simply the failure or insufficiency of fencing materials to arrive from SDU. In the Segakwana area groups were supplied with only 3 rolls of wire each whereas they needed 4 rolls of barbed wire and 2 rolls of highstrain. Dam groups sometimes remain up to a year, or even longer, without fencing materials being delivered.

Having discussed these questions with representatives of SDU and staff in the regions, this report recommends that:

- R14/4: GROUPS ARE SUPPLIED WITH ADEQUATE FENCING MATERIALS AND THESE SHOULD BE DELIVERED IN GOOD TIME AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO ENABLE THE GROUP TO FENCE BEFORE THE DAM FILLS.
- R14/5: GROUPS ARE TRAINED TO CONSTRUCT FENCES(INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF A SKETCH PLAN SHOWING THE RECOMMENDED FENCE LINE CORRESPONDING WITH THE QUANTITY OF FENCE WIRE ISSUED).

(ii) Support to help groups maintain and repair their dams

The role of the fencing and concrete work crews should be radically reviewed.

R14/6: THEY SHOULD BE REDEPLOYED AS ADDITIONAL TECHNICAL SUPPORT TO ASSIST REGIONAL, RTC AND FIELD STAFF IN THE TRAINING OF DAM GROUP COMMITTEES AND MEMBERS TO TAKE OVER INCREASING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE OF DAMS.

The rebuilding of eroded spillways (with stone aprons), the repair and grassing of trampled walls, the desilting of silted up structures (using simple ox or tractor drawn scoops), the repair of pipes, pumps and troughs should all be normal aspects of maintenance besides the repair of fences. More demonstration is needed to show groups how they can undertake these projects themselves.

(iii) Technical guidelines on dam maintenance

R14/7: TECHNICAL GUIDELINES ARE RECOMMENDED AS AN EARLY STEP IN INTRODUCING EFFECTIVE SUPPORT. At present even groups which do take some initiative in construction or maintenance receive no guidance. The Mmilo group, for example, was planning to raise funds after 1980 harvest towards purchasing fencing material, piping, a trough and a pump, yet had no idea of the cost of these materials. The group appeared not to have had any contact with the SDU, or anyone for that matter, apart from their local AD.

(iv) Regional co-ordination

Co-ordination for all these activities should be done in each region by the AO(LR) or Land Use Officer. The specific support input from SDU (e.g. in the supply of materials, spare parts, or delivery of scoops for use in desilting) should be requested by the regions on the basis of regional monitoring of the condition or problems of the group dams in each region.

(v) Field training courses

Training of groups should start as soon as a schedule of the dam building unit is known for the area in question. By the time a dam is about to be constructed, a group should be clearly aware of the policy under which the dam is built and their obligations and responsibilities in practice. This must involve more than the mere perusal of the small print on the back of an application form. A field trip to an operating dam group or a field course with imaginative visual aids, discussions with the nearest Conservation Committee member, and a talk by AO(LR) or an SDU field representative are the kind of background training the members of a prospective dam group need.

(vi) Management Committees

R14/8: ALL DAM GROUPS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO ELECT FORMAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES AND THE MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS EXPLAINED.

(vii) Review of system of fund raising

Support should not come to an end with the shutting of the gate of a newly built fence but should continue in ongoing supervision of a group's collection of fees and maintenance activities as recommended above. However, a level of fees for raising funds for these purposes is difficult to recommend at present.

R14/9: A SERIOUS ENQUIRY IS RECOMMENDED INTO GROUP FUND RAISING THROUGH THE COLLECTION OF FEES. It is hoped the Water Points Survey may produce guidelines on the cost of water and how it should be paid for. In any case it makes no sense to have a policy insisting on the collection of 72 thebe per year per livestock unit, intended for maintenance, yet ignored by virtually all groups.

(viii) Training in book keeping and record keeping skills

Whatever level of financing is finally recommended,

R14/10: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT RECORD KEEPING, BOOK KEEPING AND COMMITTEE FUNCTIONS SHOULD BE PROPERLY COVERED IN TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR DAM GROUPS

AND APPROPRIATE LEDGERS PROVIDED TO EACH GROUP TO ASSIST COMMITEEE OFFICE BEARERS TO PUT IN PRACTICE THE TRAINING. In view of the expectation that groups will follow the 1974 policy and raise funds, it is absurd that no systematic training has been attempted in most regions. It is touching to see the conscientious way some group secretaries and treasurers approach their responsibilities, and yet to see the innocent disorder of their notebooks. Keeping track of member contributions according to livestock numbers watered is no easy task. Recording at the same time the expenditures of the group on materials or hiring contractors likewise needs to be done methodically. The Mmilo group, for example, was conscientious in the extreme; the honesty of its Secretary is beyond dispute; yet to untangle the exact expenses the group had incurred from the slightly muddled records was unnecessarily awkward. The committee would benefit enormously from a training program. That other groups have given up trying, faced with other unsurmountable problems and never instructed in what to do, is hardly surprising.

(ix) Involvement of District Authorities in dam group problems

The real problems groups face in managing their dams need to be brought into the open and discussed. This is what committee training sessions should aim to achieve. Solutions may emerge to the difficulties of continuing to maintain dams when members are scattered by drought, if the combined minds and effort of groups, their committees and support staff are brought together.

R14/11. IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT COMMITTEE AND GROUP TRAINING SHOULD EXPLORE THE BROADER ISSUES AND PROBLEMS FACING DAM GROUPS. A trained committee, aware of the cause, for example, of local overstocking from neighbouring areas, should then have the confidence to send a delegation to Council to protest at the disrepair of a neighbouring Council borehole, and to raise the overstocking problem with the District Conservation Committee.

R14/12: CONSERVATION COMMITTEES, THE SDU AND LOCAL POLITICIANS, AS WELL AS THE RELEVANT SUPPORT STAFF SHOULD ATTEND FIELD COURSES FOR DAM GROUPS (as they did in some cases in Serowe District in 1978) so that more effective co-operation and mutual understanding is developed.

14.3.11. A strategic managed approach to dam group development

> "Dams are the most sought after yet the poorest organised programme" (a regional staff comment).

Training, exhortation and material support to groups will be of little lasting use so long as the problems sketched in 14.3.8. above persist. To really get dam groups on a sound footing requires radical changes not only in group development (encouraging groups to exercise more responsibility) but in planning the distribution of dams and other water sources within the framework of a land use plan. Both need to be done at once as farmers themselves are only too aware. Talking about water in the Gamokope area, farmers at Mmathethe emphasised two things:

(a) that 7 to 8 dams needed to be developed at once, all with Committees organised and people trained.

(b) that group effort though good, "needs education and discipline".

Polokwe farmers added that "more help is needed especially in the education of others", implying the need for broad consultation.

The solution to what up to now have been referred to as the "uncontrollable" problems facing many groups is to start developing water through a less arbitrary, more planned, approach.

(i) The expected life and demand on a dam

Dams need to be considered in terms of their expected life and the demand which will be put on them in relation to other water sources in an area. The life of a dam is sometimes quoted as ten years. However, it can be longer if

(a) conservation measures are taken to prolong it (e.g. tree planting),

(b) the distribution of water in the area is adequate to keep demands on the dam and pressures on the surrounding grazing to a reasonable level and

(c) support is available to the group to enable it to keep the dam well maintained, repaired, scooped etc. as necessary.

(ii) Consultation and land use planning

The problem in many areas of inadequate numbers of dams having been built for the local population is the result primarily of arbitrary planning and inadequate consultation. Certainly strong political pressures are bound to influence the scheduling of a unit whose job is to provide sources of water in the rural areas. But the chaos which has often resulted in the form of helpless groups with dams built for 400 Lsu to water safely through the year, swamped with hundreds more cattle, is often directly attributable to the way dam groups have been caused to form. People become aware of developments and programs at different rates. In some areas (around Serowe, for example) a certain number of groups formed at the time of initial publicity and subsequently had their dams built. Other people in the same localities and faced with the same water problems, did not apply, preferring to see if dams are actually built for others before committing themselves. By this time it is too late; the Government unit has moved elsewhere. But what then happens is that more people than those who registered come to use the dams that were built, and the water becomes insufficient for this demand to be met through the year. At Lerala members of one dam group said other local residents had not joined because they did not understand what grouping meant. Elsewhere, DAOs have been forced to set completely arbitrary limits - like 4 dams per Extension Area in Palapye District - in order to arrive at a total figure within the SDU's declared capacity for that District in the coming year.

In some cases Land Board restrictions on the development of new water sources within 5 miles of another, are said to have affected planning. Certain Land Boards are also wary of the development of dams in lands areas for fear of encouraging too many farmers to make their lands into cattleposts as well, causing a movement of extra cattle into these areas.

The solution of these problems must come from land use planning and more effective consultation on water development related to definite catchment areas.

In theory, water development in a given area should obviously be based on population distribution, and hence demand, and the availability

of alternative fallback supplies. But exactly how these bases can be assessed in each region is a difficult problem. A Water Points survey is needed in every locality where water is a problem and development contemplated. But manpower and skills for such an exercise will always be a constraint. Regional staff and ADs, assisted by DO(L)s, have attempted to inventory the water resources in ADs extension areas but without great success.[8]

The only practical solution is for Districts and Regions to identify priority areas for water development and focus the land use planning, technical surveying and consultation processes on these areas. It is hoped that the Water Points Survey may provide guidelines in doing this.

(iii) Institutional development

To assist in planning and then implementing a rational distribution of water sources in an area, effective consultation is vital.

R14/13: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT FUNCTION IS TO FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF AREA-WIDE INSTITUTIONS WHICH CAN ASSIST THE CONSULTATION AND LAND USE PLANNING PROCESS. The role played by the Segakwana Farmers Committee is an example of the value of such institutions. During the 1974/75 period when dam groups registered in the Segakwana area the FC was instrumental in reorganising groups so that each dam would have similar membership and livestock numbers below the 400 lsu limit. One group (Matshosa dikgang) was found to be just one family, the leader writing the names of all his relatives, some of whom were not around. The FC was able to regularise this position. Its continued efforts to manage the other dams built pre-1970 have likewise been important.

Conversely the problems experienced at Mokobeng or Seleka where dams were sited in communally used pans, should never have occurred had an effective consultation process been followed.

Francistown Region's proposed campaign to turn old dams over formally to VDCs after a VDC conference and series of 'kgotla' meetings (planned late 1980) represents an example of the necessary process of institutional development.

(iv) Restricting and controlling the use of dams

R14/14: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM MUST COME FROM AN ALL EMBRACING WATER DEVELOPMENT AND LAND USE STRATEGY, AIMED AT IMPROVING THE DISTRIBUTION AND AVAILABILITY OF WATER AND THE CONTROL OVER WHERE CATTLE GRAZE AND WATER. Where dams merely fall within an inevitable cycle of water shortage from pans to wells to dams and then farther afield to some borehole as each source dries up, there is little hope for improvement without the development of other appropriate alternatives. The aim must be to improve water distribution and availability in such a way that suits local needs and demand. Building more dams may not be the best solution. Alternatives like weirs, smaller catchment tanks or boreholes may be what is needed.

R14/15: IT IS RECOMMENDED ALSO THAT AREA-WIDE LAND USE DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS FENCING BE RECOGNISED AS INTER-RELATED WITH WATER DEVELOPMENT. Water development as a concomitant to fencing was noted in Chapters 9 and 10. Here there is a need to visualise it the other way round. As farmers fence between their lands and their grazing, the first step towards some

(8) This was tried as part of the initial TGLP land use plan in Central Region and in conjunction with the then Botswana Extension College map reading course.

control over where cattle graze is made. The lack of control over cattle is precisely what causes so many dam groups difficulty in managing their dams.

This concept contrasts sharply with the ad-hoc and often unrelated way in which fencing and water development proceed at present.

(v) By-laws and their enforcement

This report seeks to emphasise that the process of by-law formulation is a crucial aspect of group development, being the action whereby members of the group, necessarily in the context of the wider community, think through the potential problems of their project and develop agreements and rules to overcome them.

As section 14.3.5. showed perhaps little over 10% of dam groups have explicitly developed by-laws other than signing the application form which binds them theoretically to observe the stock limits, maintain the dam and collect the statutory fees. This signing exercise has borne no relation in practice to what happens to the dam group thereafter.[9]

R14/16: IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT DAM GROUPS ARE GUIDED AND ENCOURAGED TO DRAFT BY-LAWS APPROPRIATE TO THEIR SITUATION. In this process the groups should be encouraged not to dwell merely and excessively on devising severe penalties for various forms of offence. The formulation of by-laws should be a positive exercise which aims to secure agreement both within the group and in its external contacts with neighbours, on how the dam will be managed and maintained. Rules are clearly needed governing such issues as

- who will collect fees and count and record cattle that water,
- how much the fees should be;
- what happens if fees are not paid;
- who will participate in maintaining the dam;
- who may water (i.e. how wide the membership extends)

At the end of the exercise, which should have involved widespread area consultation assisted by such area wide institutions as the FC, it should be clear who will use the dam and what sources non-members will use.

By-laws are of little use if there remain populations in the neighbourhood who have no fallback water source. Enforcement of one group's by-laws in such situations is politically unacceptable. This is basically why no dam group by-laws have ever been observed or enforced. Politically the needs of those deprived of water will tend to outweigh in practice the inconvenience caused to a group whose dam is entered by such non members. It appears as though the District authorities have to turn a blind eye to the whole problem. Conservation Committees have not seen fit to attempt any action. At Polokwe, for example, Southern District Conservation Committee members had visited the area on some pretext but had not become at all involved in the problems the Polokwe group was having managing dams 12 and 13. Similarly, an initiative early in 1979 of the Serowe Brigades dam building unit and Central Region staff aimed at introducing tighter controls on the overstocking and overgrazing of dams in Serowe District appears to have got nowhere with the Central District Conservation Committee.

(9) One exception to this was Central Region LWO's field courses for dam groups in early 1979 where the conditions on the application forms were discussed at length.

Mmathethe farmers talked of dealing with by-law defaulters in dam groups in the same way as they proposed to enforce participation in and observance of the Macha drift fence rules.

But talking of by-law enforcement in the context of dam groups when dams are inadequate sources of water for area needs is virtually useless.

(vi) Improving planning and management - some recommendations

Experience of years of delay, sudden cancellation of previous commitments to groups and uncertain scheduling of the dam building units are common complaints in the field and the regions. In Central Region's GDO Annual Report for 1979/80 the GDO in despair "strongly recommended a representative of the Land Utilization Division to address 'kgotlas' where dam groups have been formed" in Bobonong District after receiving information that the SDU would not be going to Bobonong District as had been planned a year earlier.[10] This represented the second time in five years that dam group formation had been encouraged in the District and then come to nothing.

Francistown's GDO likewise considered the dam group formation procedure an affront to group facilitation principles. "How can the Ministry of Agriculture advocate the gradualist extension approach and not negotiate with the Dam Building Unit in an effort to co-ordinate policies" she commented as she saw groups being organised, having sites approved, filling forms and then waiting years with no certainty of when the SDU would arrive. Farmers at Nkange reported that they had been let down in 1976 after they had dutifully formed groups with 15 members each (the average the policy recommends); they described how they would now "grab any chance" to get the SDU in their area. The Tutume DAO, as at Bobonong, had the SDU in his Annual plan, but who would win?

The dam building program can indeed appear disorganised. In some districts no monitoring is evident as in the Kweneng, for example, where 7 dams built between 1976-1978 and mentioned in the 1980 SDU survey are not recorded in groups data at all. There is confusion with dams going under different names. There has been up until recently, a hopeless gap in communication between the SDU and the regional staff in some regions where the tendency is for dam application forms to be filled and dispatched by ADs and DAOs as a bureaucratic exercise. Rather incomprehensible procedures for programming and processing applications have existed to guide the pieces of paper through the inexorable series of approvals, but have done nothing to instill a sense of strategy.

Record keeping has been completely random. Regions have sometimes kept records if they remembered to do so as a bunch of application forms passed from pending to out trays, but the formal procedure omitted a copy for the Regional office. Then in SDU headquarters, swamped with forms coming in from different parts of the country, the system of record keeping of applications again was unclear. No record was kept to show when an application was received or any waiting list showing where groups had applied.[11] When SDU survey teams have left the office for the field on site visits, they have taken the only copies of applications - the only record at HQ.

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(10) CLWO gave verbal assurances about the SDU schedule for Bobonong District at an Annual Planning meeting in Serowe on 18 April 1979. Personal communication 8/80.

(11) Personal communication; Isaac Phometsi 8/80.

There has not been, in other words, a clear management sytem in operation. It has been no better in HQ than it has in the regions, although at the regional level particularly the responsibility has been least clearly defined.

Although the SDU will for the foreseeable future experience equipment and manpower constraints in relation to the demand for dams, its operation within such capacity ceilings does not have to prevent a logical distribution of water sources being planned.

A vital need therefore is to improve the planning and management system without which any attempt, at any level or in any one district or region, to follow a strategic and planned group development approach is doomed to failure.

Some key changes which would help improve the management of the programme are recommended below:

R14/17: MOVE THE MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROGRAMME MORE INTO THE REGIONS. THE AO(LR) OR DUO SHOULD PLAN AND MONITOR THE DAM BUILDING PROGRAMME IN EACH REGION. SDU FOREMEN SHOULD REGULARLY ATTEND DISTRICT MONTHLY MEETINGS WHERE THEY ARE OPERATING SO THAT PROGRESS AND SCHEDULES CAN BE FOLLOWED MORE CLOSELY BY THE REGIONAL STAFF.

R14/18: IMPROVE COMMUNICATION PRIMARILY BETWEEN SDU HEADQUARTERS AND THE AO(LR)S CO-ORDINATING THE REGIONAL PROGRAMME

R14/19: INTRODUCE A RECORD KEEPING SYSTEM IN REGIONAL OFFICES

R14/20: REGIONAL LAND USE STAFF SHOULD SEE WATER DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF THEIR LAND USE PLANNING WORK PROGRAMME; A SYSTEMATIC MAPPING EXERCISE, OF DAMS INITIALLY, IS NEEDED IN EACH REGION SO THAT WATER DISTRIBUTION AND PROBLEM AREAS CAN BE IDENTIFIED MORE EASILY. IT IS HOPED THE WATER POINTS SURVEY WILL PROVIDE GUIDELINES ON PRIORITY PLANNING.

R14/21: A PLANNING/MANAGEMENT FLOW DIAGRAM TYPE PROCEDURE FOR THE DAM PROGRAMME SHOULD BE INTRODUCED IN EACH REGION SIMILAR TO THE COMMUNAL FENCING PROCEDURE INTRODUCED BY AO(LR) CENTRAL.

Such a procedure should include various indicators of progress such as

- land use map/plan drawn
- consultation
- by-laws formulated
- training course carried out
- Land Board approval
- site approval etc.

and could be extended for future monitoring to record

- whether repairs needed
- water holding
- maintenance problems etc.
- teething troubles (preferably soon after construction for new dams while SDU still in area)

R14/22· IN MOST REGIONS IT IS NECESSARY FOR REGIONAL STAFF IN CO-OPERATION WITH SDU TO START BY FINDING OUT WHERE DAMS ARE, WHAT CONDITION THEY ARE IN, WHAT GROUPS ARE CALLED AND WHAT PROBLEMS THEY HAVE.

(vii) Clarifying basic policies. "Washing the hands of responsibility for dams"

Administrative responsibility is also unclear with regard to ongoing maintenance. The decision to take the second option in the 1974 dam building policy (Council's handing responsibility over to groups) seems to have happened more by default than through positive strategy. Although District Councils may have been aware of the implications to themselves had they opted for the responsibility, it is doubtful how aware they were, or are now, of what this responsibility should involve for the groups. The status of dams in some districts still in fact seems unclear. In South East District it was reported that dams had been constructed for groups without proper committees and that moves were in hand to encourage proper management in order to avoid a possible Council take-over - an eventuality feared by the groups as farmers were well aware that fees would be charged and tax information revealed. In none of the groups are any fees collected at present.

In NE District the GDO reported nine dams as having never been handed over to groups by the Council which recently fenced the dams failing to inform either agricultural staff or the farmers concerned.[12] Only five dams had been fenced before farmers had removed, cut or destroyed the fences afraid that Council would be introducing new charges. It was this state of affairs which prompted agricultural staff to plan a campaign jointly with Council of handing the dams over to VDCs.

What is disturbing is not only these examples of confused policy, but the deeper reality that the so-called handover of maintenance responsibility to groups had tended to be a totally empty, meaningless exercise unaccompanied by any form of direction or support. Even where Councils have made their policy clear they have in effect washed their hands of responsibility for the dams and there has been a complete failure to pass on to the groups what the responsibility should be or how it can be practised.

R14/23: IT IS RECOMMENDED IN VIEW OF THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, THAT WHEN THE FINDINGS OF THE WATER POINTS SURVEY ARE COMPLETE, DISTRICT AUTHORITIES ARE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN FORMULATING FUTURE POLICY SO THAT THE CONFUSION WHICH HAS BEEN A FEATURE OF THE DAM BUILDING POLICY IS NOT REPEATED.

(viii) Facilitating community participation

Everyone connected with the present dam building program is anxious to see radical changes. Although technical criteria are also involved, this report believes that fundamentally the cause of the apparently poor record of dam management by groups has been the confused and poor order of planning, management and policy above the groups' heads. Groups cannot operate successfully when the facilities they are to manage are inadequate or when their efforts are destroyed by outside interference.

If radical changes in approach are to be introduced, an improvement in communication and exchange of ideas must occur between those in HQ responsible for managing the construction program and those responsible for group development in the regions.

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(12) GDO Francistown; personal communication 8/80

R14/24: A WORKSHOP ON THE PROBLEMS OF DAM GROUP FORMATION AND MANAGEMENT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED AS A FIRST STEP.

The experience and knowledge of group development principles of GDOs needs to be matched with the technical skills of the dam builders. Both extremes are at the present moment shouting at one another, but from too far apart. Officials in SDU feel the CAMA office needs to take more initiative in developing an approach to more effective dam group operation, while in the field GDOs despair at the SDU's inflexible procedure.

This report believes that the elements of a sound dam building and group formation strategy already exist in the corporate mind of various officials in HQ and the field. It must however be seen and developed as a comprehensive approach, involving in land use planning attention to adequate water distribution, in consultation, an effective development and use of local institutions and in subsequent organisation, a genuine effort to facilitate real participation.

R14/25: IN THE LATTER CONTEXT IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT MORE SERIOUS STUDY IS GIVEN TO THE USE OF LABOUR INTENSIVE METHODS IN CONSTRUCTION AS WELL AS SUBSEQUENT REPAIR AND MAINTENANCE. It is discouraging that suggestions in 1979 of the Serowe Brigades dam building unit for the trial of labour intensive methods should have not received more support from the Ministry of Agriculture. The SDU disapproved this initiative on the grounds that per cubic metre of earth moved it worked out slightly more expensive than the use of machinery at a standard daily wage rate. Yet apart from the obvious immediate benefit of generating rural income, what needs to be taken into account is the potentially enormous future saving if through labour intensive methods, more lasting community participation can be engendered, hopefully improving water availability and, most importantly, distribution in more areas (assuming machinery is otherwise a constraint). If at the same time through careful facilitation methods, groups develop an increased sense of responsibility for the dams they have built, and they continue to receive support, dams built in this way could be longer lasting and thus very much cheaper for Government in the long run.

(ix) What to do with old dams

Old dams built before the 1974 policy introducing the concept of small groups, present a special problem now. Many are in a chronic state of disrepair, yet may still have potential for repair. Most were built on a catchment basis rather than for any specified group. But as at Metsai, groups have sometimes formed after the dams were built in order to fence and manage them. In most cases, however, they never had management committees.[13]

The Ministry's policy towards these dams now can be unclear and inflexible in practice. In theory a group conforming to the 1964 policy must form, register, and request repair work to be done. In practice usually the old dams are used by vastly greater populations of both people and cattle than the policy allows. Mmathethe farmers, for example, feared whether if a group was formed for repairs to be done at the old Gamokope dam, others would still take it as being communal. 21 members had registered by mid 1980 with 370 cattle, but there were worries about what the other many more people in the area would do. Officials in the Kgatleng had similar worries about the Kgalapitse dam. Wide consul-

(13) This was certainly the case in the Kgatleng according to Gaborone Regional staff meeting.

tation was taking place as far as Morwa, Dikwididi, Oodi, Matabele and Modipane explaining that membership was open. But few were registering from these areas or paying the P3.00 joining fees. How in future would non members be excluded if in the past they had enjoyed the use of the dam communally?

The answer seems to be for other groups to be formed at the same time to apply for new dams so that a reasonable new distribution of water is created. This is how the Segakwana FC resolved the problem - by forming six new groups in addition to the two old dams Matono and Rramajaalela. At Ganokope it was thought 7 new groups would be needed - but as this chapter has already indicated this requires considerable local co-ordination and consultation - a task for local institutions.

With old dam groups too, Government's approach needs to be more flexible as well as consistent. The shortage of water sources around Mmaltethe was bitterly complained of by farmers. The private borehole at Tsubue is exceedingly overstocked and families pay high rates (P1.50 per year) to water their livestock. Yet old colonial dams - Gamonang, Gasegopolo, Lokgajane and Gamokope lie there silted up. The farmers reported that now they are being advised to build small catchment tanks instead - a spin-off from IFPP nearby. This kind of wavering in approach and delay in action is what group development staff are most anxious about.

Flexibility in support is the other essential. It is distressing to hear of cases where groups had undertaken to fence old dams, were assured at one time that materials would be supplied only to be told two years later than no funds were available for this[14]. The RAO for Francistown was responding in 1980 with a plan to seek funds from SLOCA. The GDO's intended approach to clarify the status of these dams built in 1971 and mount a campaign to hand them over properly to VDCs was a positive initiative although as this chapter has repeatedly concluded

R14/26: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ANY ATTEMPTS TO CLARIFY OWNERSHIP AND THEN TO SUPPORT GROUPS (WHETHER VDCs OR OTHERWISE) MANAGING OLD DAMS SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A LAND USE PLAN FOR THE AREA SEEKING TO ASSURE ADEQUATE WATER DISTRIBUTION.

14.3.12. Dam groups in a wider water development strategy

This chapter has tended to stress the weaknesses of the dam building program and in particular its contravention of the principles of group development as the major cause of the problems and disappointing management standards of the dam groups.

But it has also shown that some communities can and do take action even to develop their own dams. Both this type of initiative and successful ongoing dam management tend to occur where there are fallback water sources, where groups can exercise control over the exploitation of water locally, or where through dynamic leadership, sound local institutions or good extension support, they can see a way to do it.

But far more commonly dam groups that once formed are disintegrating and seeking alternatives rather than endure the apparently endless uncertain road to having a dam built.

Examples of delays causing such action are at:

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(14) This is reported to have happened at Goshwe, Matobo and Mosojane in N.E. Districts (GDO Francistown 5/80).

Mmadinare North:	2-3 dam groups discussing borehole project instead
Matlage (Kgatleng):	group raised P200 and waited 4 years for a dam; now transferring funds to BH project
Dinogeng (Kgatleng):	6 groups waiting since 1977
Ditlogwe (Dinogeng):	group planning change to BH
Disana (SE):	group planning change to BH.

Elsewhere we have already noted cases (e.g. in Palapye District) where dam groups registered for years were later cancelled after rescheduling due to SDU capacity ceilings. Even at Pelotshetlha the prestigious IFPP project had to wait until 1980 before work started on any of its 6 dam groups.

It is because of the fickle reliability of the program as well as some other disadvantages that dams are sometimes regarded by farmers as a last resort. A dam may not even be the most appropriate form of water development for an area anyway. In the concluding section of this chapter the need for a wider water development strategy is emphasised.

14.4. BOREHOLE DEVELOPMENT GROUPS

14.4.1. Data available

The limitations of this study in respect of borehole syndicates has been noted in 14.1. It is not possible to give even the remotest estimate of the number of borehole groups operating in the country. The following table summarises data which came to light during this consultancy:

TABLE 14(viii): A SAMPLE OF BOREHOLE SYNDICATES(3)

DISTRICT	OPERATING GROUPS		PROPOSED GROUPS	
	No.	No. members	No.	No. members
Ngamiland W. (4)			4+	12/4
Ngamiland E. (4)			4+(5)	27/4
Tutume			1	60
Tati			2	60/1
Palapye			1	34
Serowe (2)	10-12		4	65/1
Mahalapye	9-10		3-4	?
Kweneng N.	?		6	96
Kweneng S.	3+	187+	7+	40+
Kgatleng (1)	50-60	Average 14.5	3	22/1
S.E.			4	?
Ngwaketse S.	2	20 members/1 125 users		
Barolong	5	182/3	4	93/2
TOTAL	85+	1100+	44+	509+

NOTES: (1) In the Kgatleng information only came to light on 17 syndicates through contact with district agricultural staff/group records; figures quoted here are estimates of researcher Pauline Peters (Personal communication).

(2) GDO Central estimated about 50 operating borehole syndicates in the region mostly in the south (Shoshong - Lephaphe); but records available on very few.

(3) Membership figures are given for the number of groups for which they are known - i.e. in Barolong 93 members in 2 of the 4 proposed groups.

(4) In Ngamiland borehole drilling equipment unavailable. One Association (of syndicates) formed - the S.W. Ngamiland Farmers Association with aim of buying rig.

(5) At least two of the Ngamiland E. groups interested in the alternatives of well digging or reticulation from Boteti river.

14.4.2. A note on history

Boreholes were first developed in the 1920s in the Kgatleng, Chief Isang imposing a R10.00 levy or the donation of an ox on all taxpayers to raise the necessary finance, and employing regimental ('mephato') labour. 7 successful boreholes were drilled by the tribe in this way and handed over to be run by elite groups mostly with connections with the chief's family. The colonial Protectorate Government continued this practice of handing over other boreholes drilled later in the Kgatleng and in other districts to these syndicate groups mainly in order to save administrative expenses. Many of the early Government boreholes were drilled under the Colonial Development and Welfare program.

Many of the sindicates were charged a certain fee (£140 at one time) on taking over the facility. However, the records of such transactions have got lost over time and there remains some confusion over ownership. Some were drilled and equipped by Government. Others were equipped by the syndicates. Pauline Peters estimates half the syndicates fully paid for the drilling and equipping costs.[15] In the Kweneng a similar state of confusion exists. Some syndicates are said to have got possession of equipped boreholes free of charge while others paid P1000.00. Most of these boreholes were drilled in the 1960s under drought relief and were later handed over to Council and in turn to syndicates.

During the 1950s and 1960s there was a tremendous expansion in borehole drilling. It was during and after this period that individuals started drilling on their own. The development of drought relief boreholes between 1962-1965 represented, as it were, the first large scale demonstration that water could be obtained in the Sandveld and other places devoid of rivers, pans or wells - the sources upon which Batswana traditionally relied.

Since then many hudreds of boreholes have been drilled in such localities, chiefly pushing west into the sandveld.

In the grazing areas the point has been reached in most eastern districts where space is running out for new allocations. No individuals are now allocated space in'Kgatleng'. It is worth considering whether the

(15) personal communication 8/80

same controls should not also be being introduced in districts like Central. Should new grazing area allocations be reserved for syndicates only?

But many boreholes have also been drilled in what are now, under the TGLP, known as communal areas. In primarily arable areas, Councils have showed the greatest resistance to the privatisation of boreholes and generally still hold the administrative responsibility for them, collecting fees from users and employing pumpers. Some boreholes which were developed and initially handed over to syndicates in the Kgatleng were later brought back under Council control in order to safeguard the needs of the larger populations in these areas. In the grazing areas, though, individuals and syndicates came to have complete control.

Two kinds of borehole "syndicate" have therefore to be recognised. One is the small group usually of less than 20 members and often of only half a dozen who collectively run boreholes in grazing areas. Another quite different type of borehole group is the usually much larger group managing boreholes in the mixed lands-grazing communal areas in some districts.

Another important point is that very few, if any, of the larger syndicates in communal areas developed the boreholes they are running themselves. All those reported in Ngwaketse or Barolong took over the management of boreholes previously run by Council.

14.4.3. Observations on the borehole groups forming now together with some recommendations for approach

Although the Kgatleng DO(L) reported that a new borehole syndicate was forming every week in the Kgatleng, it was not possible through group development and other MoA records to obtain an accurate picture for the country as a whole. The groups which had come most to the notice of regional agricultural staff were those planning projects in the communal areas. Various observations can be made on them:

(i) the communal purpose

The majority of communal area projects were for the purposes of domestic water supply, and the watering of livestock in the lands areas. This is illustrated in Table 14 (ix).

TABLE 14(ix) PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE PROJECTS

1.	domestic and livestock watering in the lands		- 16
2.	cattle watering in grazing areas	9	- 7
3.	village/lands supply		- 2

NOTES (1) most of the 7 grazing area projects are in the Boteti area where farmers were anxious to get livestock away from the river to less overgrazed pastures,

(2) the two "village situations were Toteng and Monwane. Some Barolong projects could also almost be categorised here.

(ii) lands, village or livestock?

The purpose of a borehole project has sometimes become a difficult issue. The main reason for proposing a borehole in the communal areas is to have

a permanent supply of water as a fallback for when pans, wells or dams are dry. However, the funding of these projects can be obstructed when it cannot be shown that water is either domestic, or for livestock, or for irrigation. The most awkward issue is whether the development of a permanent water supply is interpreted or even intended as a move towards village status of previously a lands area community. If the community is or intends to be a village, then the appropriate channel for seeking the provision of a water supply is through Council. Most Councils have tended to resist strongly the establishment of more smaller villages requiring more services. The Ministry of Local Government and Lands' current efforts towards a settlement policy is therefore a development which will have important implications for such communities.

Projects which have experienced problems from this predicament include groups in the Barolong, Monwane, Malokaganyane and Toteng in the North East. Toteng, as was noted in 14.2, is up against North East District's village regrouping policy because, as the farmers were aware, to approach Water Affairs for a borehole or reticulation from Makaleng was treading straight into the very local authorities which were against such development away from the centres they had defined.

R14/27: THIS REPORT REGRETS THIS STAGE OF AFFAIRS AND RECOMMENDS THAT A RATIONAL, PROFESSIONAL INVESTIGATION IS MADE INTO THE WATER SITUATION AT TOTENG.

At Malokaganyane in the Barolong, one of the most appalling case studies in group development occurred as has been mentioned, when it took from 1970 to 1980 for this lands community to get a water reticulation project funded. Details of the Monwane case are given in Appendix 7.9.

(iii) acquiring rights to un-used boreholes

Practically all the big borehole groups and many of the smaller syndicates currently proposing projects are aiming to take over the use of presently closed old boreholes developed by Geological Survey, Roads or under drought relief. Thus 13 of the larger groups are only concerned with equipping the boreholes. Very few propose to develop new boreholes. As was observed in 14.1 above, only some borehole groups have paid anything like the real costs of borehole development. There is thus a tendency even now for many groups to expect boreholes to be provided without cost to themselves. Examples are the groups at Rakops which assumed that through the SLOCA program, Government would drill the boreholes. The Medie group in Kweneng collect P1000 under the same assumption but then on being made aware that they would have to drill appears to have become one of the rare cases of a borehole group reverting to dams![16]

While groups not surprisingly seek to avoid the high costs of the development of new boreholes by applying for the use of old ones, the procedures appear often to be very cumbersome. A group at Makalamabedi had applied to Land Board in July 1979 but was still waiting in April 1980. Regional agricultural staff at Francistown reported heavy going efforts to help the Marapong group negotiate with Water Affairs for the use of an old borehold. At at IFPP - a priority rural development project area - the process was taking years to obtain the use of six old boreholes for livestock groups.

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(16) the link with 3 new dam groups reported at Medie is unconfirmed

R14/28: ALTHOUGH THIS STUDY LACKS FULL INFORMATION ON THE NATURE OF THESE PROBLEMS THE DIFFICULTIES APPEAR UNNECESSARILY GREAT AND NEGOTIATION AT A HIGHER LEVEL ON THIS ISSUE IS RECOMMENDED IN ORDER TO FACILITATE MORE EFFECTIVELY THESE GROUP INITIATIVES.

(iv) developing new boreholes in areas of extremely uneven water distribution

Whilst the lack of drilling capacity in Ngamiland is exceptional, even in other parts of the country it is a problem. Situations were observed in the course of this consultancy where further borehole development would greatly improve water distribution problems, but where local initiative appeared transfixed by impressions of the incapacity of the Department of Water Affairs to work outside of a very tight priority schedule decided by Councils. An example is the area west of Moshupha where appalling levels of overgrazing occur, along with crop damage, in the lands areas primarily because of inadequate water supply in adjacent grazing areas. The Legogo area was one such grazing area which if boreholes were developed to improve water distribution would relieve the pressures at certain times of year.

R14/29: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE ATTENTION OF CONSERVATION COMMITTEES TO SUCH SITUATIONS SHOULD BE DRAWN BY AGRICULTURAL STAFF AND A GREATER SENSE OF WATER DEVELOPMENT AND LAND USE STRATEGY INTRODUCED, AND GROUP ACTION ENCOURAGED.

(v) borehole maintenance

The attention of Conservation Committees needs to be drawn also to the often calamitous consequences of borehole breakdowns on the users of dams in neighbouring areas. This was discussed in 14.3.8.

(vi) organisation of larger borehole groups

Examples of the larger groups include those at Monwane, Segakwana, Kgaswe, Janyane, Mmantshadidi, Marapong, Tonota, Toteng, Dikabeyana, Medie, Pelotshetlha, and several groups in the Barolong. Their membership averages around 53 members each.

Often the groups have grown up out of other initiatives. Several are also dam groups (Segakwana, Kgaswe, Janyane, Mmantshadidi). Others, and the Segakwana group again, are also, or have been, engaged in communal fencing projects - like at Dikabeyana and Pelotshetlha. Many of them in addition are centres of livestock project activity - particularly the building of dip tanks and handling facilities. Significantly several again are closely connected with Farmers Committees for the area (Segakwana, Kgaswe and the other groups in Serowe East, Dikabeyana, Monwane, Pelotshetlha).

The technical and organisational complexity of the multiple projects which some of these groups are involved in has suggested in some cases AMA registration. This report was unable to look closely enough at the issues to come out with a clear recommendation, but the arguments for registration are strong.

The experience of operating borehole syndicates emphasises the financial and other difficulties inherent in an organisation supported regularly by only a small membership. The Pelotshetlha syndicate, after many years, still has only 20 members - possibly as a result of some mis-

conception which seems to have gained ground that the maximum size of a syndicate is 20 members. Southern District Council has apparently been urging more people to join the Pelotshetlha and other syndicates in order to boost its finances and assist management. The membership of 20 is only a fraction of the household (perhaps nearly 300) utilising the borehole. The Kanngwe borehole likewise is run by a small syndicate yet serves 125 farming families in the area.

AMA registration would provide groups of this kind with a much larger more stable membership base and help to even out the financial burden. Small owners would probably gain significantly as their position as hirers of water would be altered. The rates charged to hirers can be very high. Examples include:

Tsubue	- P1.50 per head per year
Mmantshadidi (Council BH)	- 10 thebe per head per day
Barolong syndicates	- 5 thebe per bucket - P1.00 per drum

It seems hard to imagine how groups of the size which are now forming, unless well organised, will cope with the administrative problems of borehole management which are already forcing the much smaller Kgatleng syndicates after years of independent existence, to club together again through their Association and view their organisation.

AMA registration would provide these larger groups greater access to the support and supervision which is very likely going to be necessary.

R14/30: THIS REPORT THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR AMA REGISTRATION FOR LARGER BOREHOLE DEVELOPMENT GROUPS BE EXPLORED FURTHER.

A few points also need to be raised on the subject of syndicate organisation in areas beyond the lands. This has been well researched by Pauline Peters in the Kgatleng. Her interesting findings will not be repeated here, but a few points which arose from this consultancy and which tally with her observations need mentioning.

(a) increasing financial difficulties

The escalation in running costs which has occurred in recent years is forcing many syndicates to review radically their financial arrangements. The reviva of the Kgatleng Syndicates Association is no coincidence - it is a direct response to the pressures borehole operators are feeling. The methods syndicates employ to raise funds are various. Much of the necessary finance is still collected on an ad-hoc basis as the need arises. But nearly all syndicates still collect money on a flat rate ("round price" it is euphemistically known as, for "administrative convenience") per member.

The owners of smaller herds will thus tend to be hit hardest by the increases syndicates are introducing.[17] There is therefore a greater need than ever before to help syndicates, in the interests primarily of

(17) Annual subscriptions have risen from P5.00 to P20 or more over the last couple of years. Whereas repair or diesel contributions used to be on an ad-hoc basis the trend is towards the incorporation of these into annual subscriptions. A few syndicates have subscriptions of up to P.100 per member already. (P. Peter - personal communication).

smaller owners, to move towards a system of proportional fees based on cattle numbers watered. Although the involvement of agricultural staff has never been great in syndicate affairs,
R14/31: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS ISSUE BE RECOGNISED AS ONE WITHIN THE COMPASS OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AS IT CONCERNS THE TARGET GROUP.

R14/32: AS PART OF THIS MOVE TOWARDS GIVING GREATER HELP TO SYNDICATES, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMA OFFICE WITH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM APPROPRIATE SOURCES, DEVELOP MATERIALS TO GIVE SYNDICATES MORE GUIDANCE ON FINANCIAL MATTERS, BUDGETING TO COVER MAINTENANCE COSTS AND INCLUDING THE TRAINING OF SYNDICATE COMMITTEES IN BOOKKEEPING SKILLS. Technical training (in borehole maintenance etc.) might also help reduce syndicate expenditure on the BPMS service, but this is an area which the Department of Water Affairs could investigate.

(b) security for smaller owners through limited syndicates

The economic climate, as well as the fact that grazing pressures have increased, appears to be causing increasing insecurity for smaller owners who have often been in the class of hirers of water from the syndicates, as opposed to being syndicate members. Pauline Peters' findings in the Kgatleng appear to provide strong evidence supporting the introduction of legislation for "Limited syndicates". This would encourage more smaller owners to join syndicates which otherwise are tending to become the province of fewer larger owners.

(c) land use issues

In the Kgatleng pressures in the grazing areas have already reached the stage where discussion has started in LUPAG on such proposals as creating space for more syndicates by reducing the distance between them. Only one in thirty of Kgatleng's farmers is a member of a syndicate. The rest continue herding their herds around the lands, and represent in fact the participants in the bigger lands based water development groups. These issues are beyond the scope of this study but as the group development program is concerned with facilitating the small farmer's entry into projects which will improve his livelihood, land issues will inevitably be implicated, and the CAMA office has to be aware of them.

14.4.4. Conclusions on group development support to borehole groups

Group development staff will inevitably become more involved with borehole groups for several reasons - viz:

- the likelihood of (and need for) limited syndicate legislation and with it support and supervision,
- the increasing trend in communal areas towards large borehole groups,
- the great need in the communal areas for further borehole development as part of a broader water strategy to improve distribution.

(i) Necessary support functions during development phase

The support functions needed by borehole groups involve a co-ordinating input from a number of specialist technicians. As with the development

of dams, land use planning focussing on water distribution, is involved. As livestock watering is usually part of the purpose, advice from the APO on layout of water reticulation, troughs and handling facilities should be provided.

A borehole is a major project and a large investment. The group should therefore receive advice on:

- objectives, purpose of project, including an assessment of the use and demands on the borehole through the year,
- management plan for tackling the project,
- financial plan and grant assistance,
- constitution

Necessary consultation should occur in the neighbourhood of the project. The group development role is in facilitating this process.

R14/33: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES ARE DEVELOPED TO ASSIST FIELD STAFF AND LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROCESSES INVOLVED.

(ii) Ongoing management

The difficulties smaller syndicates in the Kgatleng are encountering are evidence of a gap in assistance available. The support functions recommended in R14/33 above apply to the large borehole groups even more than the small ones.

(iii) Syndicate status and supervision

Only one District Council (Southern) employs an officer with the responsibility for overseeing syndicate affairs.

R14/34: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMA OFFICE LIAISE WITH THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS TO CLARIFY THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DISTRICTS, IN POLICIES AND ADMINISTRATION REGARDING SYNDICATES.

14.5. THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF FORMS OF WATER DEVELOPMENT AS PERCEIVED BY FARMERS

Each different form of water supply has its advantages and problems. While one may be reliable and permanent, it may be highly expensive both to develop and maintain. A cheaper source on the other hand may be unreliable; at the very time when water is required it may be dry, and farming families forced to migrate to where an alternative is available.

Thus far in this chapter, two alternatives have been considered - dams and boreholes. They are the forms of water development with which groups have been primarily involved for the simple reason that they are large expensive projects which small farmers can only have access to collectively. The alternatives of hiring water from private owners is a widespread fallback but is usually very expensive as well as being inconvenient because private boreholes may only be developed in grazing areas and are therefore often quite a distance away.

As group projects, dams and boreholes were found in this study to have various advantages and disadvantages, as perceived by farmers, which are listed in tables 14 (x) and 14 (xi) below:

TABLE 14(x): ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF DAMS AS PERCEIVED BY FARMERS

ADVANTAGES

1. Saves labour; no longer have to dig for water in river wells, or at least this task is postponed later than otherwise (Masoko, Polokwe)
2. Cheap to run.
3. Free - no cost involved in development as provided by Government.
4. Convenient (nearer than former sources).

DISADVANTAGES

1. Unreliable; if no rain - nothing, therefore they are the "last resort" (i.e. least preferred new development); they may fail to hold water at crucial times of year when group needs it - e.g. for draft oxen (Shakge); dry up in drought periods scattering population and stopping ploughing (Kgaswe).
2. Inconvenient - still have distance to walk for domestic supply.
3. Difficult to manage - where lands population scattered (Maunyele)
4. Difficult to control use
   - perceived to be free/communal/difficult to refuse access socially
   - enforcement/collection of fees difficult,
   - dam fence easily gets broken.
5. Encourages overstocking, overgrazing, erosion, crop damage because difficult to control use.

TABLE 14 (xi): ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF BOREHOLES AS PERCEIVED BY FARMERS

ADVANTAGES

1. Permanent - reliable all year round
   - allows permanent settlement
   - allows other developments like clinic, school and other projects needing permanent community and reliable water supply
   - allows residence or keeping of livestock to continue in lands areas in winter (Lerala needed water closer to lands)

2. Easier management control

- over cattle watering,
- over use by non-members (can be chased away and are in any case discouraged from membership by expenses)
- thereby restricts more effectively access to grazing area (Mmamaereng - in connection with grazing side of drift fence).

DISADVANTAGES

1. Expensive for all farmers to afford to use/be members.
2. Running expenses.
3. Can break down/maintenance problems
4. Lack of contractors to drill/Water Affairs very tight schedule.

In view of these characteristics, which form of development is most appropriate? In some localities, farmers are starting to put their money on boreholes. The emergence of several borehole groups in the lands areas south of Serowe from Kgaswe and Janyane to Mmantshadidi and Segakwana is a clear indication that farmers want a more reliable, permanent water source in their area to complement the dams which they already have. A pattern of more evenly distributed development of water, the bulk of the sources being less reliable dams backstopped, as it were, by one permanent and reliable source in the area for when the dams are dry - the borehole - is coming about at the initiative of certain lands communities.

Another dimension is the place of individually owned water sources. Here boreholes and deep wells will be discounted for two reasons. One is that we are concerned in this report with the small farmer target group for whom the development of boreholes or deep wells on an individual basis is too expensive. The other is that Land Boards discourage the development of individually owned boreholes or wells in lands areas

a) because of the risk of introducing additional large herds of livestock to the lands and

b) in order not to create opportunities for such owners to charge local inhabitants for domestic supplies.

For small farmers, apart from traditional individually developed water sources such as shallow wells and small haffirs, it is now possible to dig and construct an improved water catchment tank for which the material costs of P120, together with an allowance for labour, are paid by Government under ALDEP.

The advantages of a catchment tank are:

- convenience (it can be built right in the yard)
- cheapness
- minimum input of technical expertise required in planning,
- appropriate especially where lands are widely scattered and group sources would be too far apart and difficult to organise.

Somewhere in between these catchment tanks for individual farmers and the dams and boreholes for larger groups, there is potential for constructing weirs or of digging deeper wells on the basis of smaller groups.

Such groups would be approved of by Land Boards just as the development of boreholes and dams is permitted in the lands areas only for groups.

14.6. TOWARDS A SPATIAL STRATEGY FOR WATER DEVELOPMENT - SOME CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has so far concentrated on the problems groups have faced in developing water or having it developed for them, and it has been seen that there has been no real strategy. Development has usually proceeded on an ad hoc and arbitrary basis.

A strategy is needed in water development which takes into account where water is needed, when it is needed and the uses to which it is to be put. When these three aspects of demand are known, the type of water source (its characteristics of permanence and reliability) and whether group or individual development is appropriate, can be properly considered.

14.6.1. The uses of water in a spatial context

Although it is impossible in a diagram to allow for every possible eventuality or for the finer arguments in favour of one type of development over another to be shown, Table 14(xi) below attempts to represent the needs:

TABLE 14(xi): THE NEEDS IN A SPATIAL CONTEXT

NEED	BEST LOCATION	TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT AND FORM OF ORGANISATION
DOMESTIC NEED - source needs to be close - good quality - to last long enough to allow residence at lands from the onset of the first rains, or a little earlier, through until after harvest without interruption - sufficient for small scale backyard vegetables, poultry etc.	Right in the lands home yards or as near as possible	1. Individual water catchment tank (if traditional primary sources very unreliable and group sources inconvenient). 2. Skotch cart/sledge may still be required to fetch from fallback sources in dry periods. 3. If catchment tank only marginal improvement on traditional primary source, a group skotch cart to improve transport to fall-back sources to collect drums may be all that is needed.
DRAFT OXEN AT PLOUGHING TIME - needs to be within easy reach - reliable for duration of ploughing.	At the lands home or in immediate locality	1. locality group weir or well, 2. individual catchment tank (but reliable enough in quantities required at start of season) 3. group dam, 4. NOTE: Borehole if permanent lands settlement
CATTLE HERD WATER SUPPLY (A) the herd of the majority of small owners - accessible (not too far away from lands in order to (i) minimise labour herding and (ii) allow winter grazing in the lands, - convenient (to minimise labour involved in watering the cattle) - reliability: needs to be year round, especially where group livestock husbandry projects planned.	On margin between lands and communal grazing area	1. must be adequate number of sources to cater for needs of cattle population of all lands dwellers. 2. must be planned in context of water development neighbouring grazing so that sources not over-utilised. 3. implementation in conjunction with fencing scheme separating lands from grazing likely to be beneficial (see Ch.9-10 for benefits of fencing in reducing crop damage and saving small farmer labour in herding and watering cattle on grazing side of fence). 4. Dam groups or borehole groups taking into account problems/advantages of each.
(B) larger herds based presently around lands. - to exploit underutilised pastures further out from lands, - to keep cattle herds away from lands areas, - for owners able to afford the labour to herd cattle separately from lands home (i.e. manpower available to establish a cattlepost) - reliability year round.	Further out into grazing areas away from lands.	Syndicated boreholes

14.6.2. Are the lands permanent?

Besides the uses to which farmers put water, another issue which affects the type of water development that is appropriate in and around the lands area is the extent to which farmers consider their settlement in a permanent light.

The settlement policy being developed by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands/Department of Town and Regional Planning has particular applicability here and

R14/ : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THROUGH CAPAD THE TWO AREAS ARE BROUGHT TOGETHER.

Most of the cases where lands communities have taken the initiative in borehole development are clear examples of the trend towards permanent settlement in these areas. One of the best examples is at Segakwana, the lands area southeast of Serowe.[18] Progress here has followed these steps:

1967 - Matona ('ipelegeng') dam built
1968 - Rramajaalela (Govt.) dam built
- FC organised fund raising to fence dams and try to control use (gatekeeper hired)
1968 - FC realised that dams "useful" in the rains but a borehole was needed for water to be available all year
- FC organised further contributions and hired drilling contractor to deepen and equip old survey borehole. R194.00 spent - attempt failed when hit rock.
1974/5 - 6 more dam groups formed in area along catchment on N.E. side. under new policy, co-ordinated by FC.
1976/77 - the 6 dams built by SDU
1979 - a borehole syndicate formed with 65 members
1980 - over P2800 raised towards BH syndicate
- 2 more dam groups formed on S.W. side of area

In addition to these developments the farmers are building a drift fence along their northern boundary which will enclose the existing chain of 8 dams just on the lands side of the fence. This has been deliberately planned in order to control livestock from straying towards the dams from neighbouring grazing and lands areas.

Permanent settlement has tended sometimes to be discussed as an issue or sometimes even as a threat, rather than as a natural and healthy sign of rural development. By their actions, farmers are demonstrating that they want to establish themselves in a more stable way of life near the place of their occupations: that is, in the lands and surrounding communal grazing. They want a reliable, clean, year-round domestic water supply; water in sufficient quantity for building a new home; and even water for other projects like schools, health posts, poultry projects, horticulture, fruit, smallstock dips or fencing.

Where lands communities seek greater permanence and somtimes even village status, there is justification for the most reliable water sources to be developed, and farmers usually rate boreholes as first choice.

This may then affect the picture in terms of fallback or even primary water sources. Farmers may find a twice-weekly trip to the borehole with a couple of drums on a skotch cart a convenient enough prospect for domestic sources.

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(18) Segakwana is in fact only one of several similar initiatives taking place in the lands south of Serowe.

Whether other forms of water development additional or complementary to the borehole are needed depends on the nature of the other sources (farmers may still prefer to continue exploiting pans and wells etc. until they dry up in order to save money) and how large or scattered the lands area is.

14.6.3. Should there be individual or group development of water?

Where exceptionally favourable natural sources do not exist, an individual small farmer can develop water sufficient for domestic needs for a limited period by building an AIDEP catchment tank. The needs of a small number of lands based livestock can also be catered for for a limited period through this development, or through the digging of more traditional Laffirs on the same sort of scale.

Development beyond this scale of size and cost has to be through group action. Experience is limited to dams, mostly built by Government, and boreholes, most of which groups have only equipped, not drilled. But as this chapter has shown, the group experience has frequently not been very effective.

That groups have experienced problems in water development should not, however, be construed as inevitable, or used as an argument for an out and out reversal in approach towards smaller scale individual supplies. The two forms of organisation and the types of water development appropr-ate are complementary.

In future planning, a careful balancing of the complementary forms of water development should be the approach. Obviously the economics of different methods enters here and is an aspect being dealt with thoroughly by the Water Points Survey team.

Apart from relative expense, the other consideration is whether the need in an area is more for a reliable fallback source or convenient primary sources. Where a borehole is within reasonable distance, or a dam over which control can be exercised, then individual activity by farmers in improving their primary supply is building catchment tanks could be more relevant.

Fallback sources are, however, the most critical problem in many lands areas. Traditional primary supplies may be within reasonable access for most families but great disruption is caused when these fail. The most urgent need in these situations is for group development of more reliable fallbacks.

14.6.4. Further considerations in a spatial strategy for water development

The following points are also for inclusion in a spatial strategy for water development:

(1) Primary and fallback supplies

One element of strategy is the balance in development between primary and fallback supplies. Improvement in primary supplies can be achieved to a certain extent through encouraging individual action. However, as fall-backs will in most situations still be needed, attention should not just be concentrated on individual catchment tanks because the development of larger scale fallback sources (weirs, wells, small dams) through group action may in fact remove much of the need for individual action as well if they can be conveniently sited.

(2) Distribution of group water sources

It is in the type of group action that spatial strategy is most important. The failure of the dam building program to produce well "managed" group dams which hold water through the year for their members has been due primarily to the lack of attention to water distribution. It has not been the fault of the groups. To be successful, the development of dam groups must occur within the framework of a land use plan. In the lands areas the problems to try to avoid creating are:

(a) an unbalanced water distribution as between the lands in question and neighbouring areas, particularly grazing areas.

The drawback that is often cited with regard to dams in the lands - viz. that they cause an influx of cattle - appears to be the result most commonly of inadequate grazing area water supplies. Further investigation of this problem would be useful in order to study an alternative possibility - i.e. that it is because the dams in the lands are dams (and can therefore be readily intruded upon in the free-for-all communal spirit) as opposed to types of source over which control is easier, that the influx takes place.

(b) an inadequate distribution and capacity in the lands area in question.

Enough groups need to be formed and sufficient sources developed, of whatever combination of types, to ensure that this does not happen.

(3) The advantage of small to medium lands enclosures

The parallels between water development and fencing development were discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Here it is pertinent to note that the conclusions reached in Chapter 10 on the ideal sized lands enclosure, and on the problems of large arable enclaves apply equally to the problems of water distribution.

In a small to medium sized lands area with grazing adjacent, the same water sources can more likely double as domestic and livestock supplies. The larger the arable enclave the more difficult and labour consuming it becomes to achieve this.

14.6.5. The constraints on achieving adequate water distribution through a spatial strategy

The constraints noted so far can be summarised.

(1) SDU's limited capacity to build dams resulting in arbitrary ceilings having been set on the number of dams to be built per district or extension area.

(2) Water Affairs Department's very tight schedule (geared mainly to village water supply priorities).

(3) The lack of private borehole drilling equipment and contractors.

As with so much development in Botswana the other constraint is manpower.

The ultimate constraint on the SDU is not so much the procurement of more machinery, but the availability of the technically and professionally skilled manpower to manage the units and plan the strategy within which they should work.

A great advantage of small scale catchment tanks undertaken by farmers individually is their much smaller demand on professional (particularly land use planning) skills.

R14/35: THESE SOURCES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED, THEREFORE, WHEREVER THEY ARE MOST APPROPRIATE. Wherever more permanent fallbacks and primary sources for larger numbers of livestock are needed, though, the only potential is through group development.

What solutions are there to the constraints?

(1) The process of group development, by emphasising institutional development, will, itself help to overcome part of the land use planning problem through increasing local capability in planning and consultation. These processes can be critical in achieving optimal water distribution.

2. R14/36: THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LABOUR INTENSIVE METHODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP WATER SOURCES (WEIRS, WELLS AND DAMS) WOULD REDUCE THE NEED FOR MECHANISED UNITS. The mechanised units have experienced severe maintenance problems at times which both lowers their output and increases the demand on scarce technical and professional manpower managing them. Labour intensive methods would appear to involve less problems in this respect.

(3) Even with labour intensive methods, inputs of professional expertise in land use planning and design of structures are still required. This was discovered sharply in the execution of the 1979/80 drought relief well digging scheme in the Boteti area and Ngamiland. Very few wells were developed despite the apparent urgency of the drought situation.[19]

The crucial need, then, is for skills in the planning and design of water development. The Water Points Survey will presumably address this issue when presenting final recommendations. It should perhaps be considered whether further specialised technical assistance is required to extend, as it were, the Water Points Survey to all regions to support their present land use planning staff in the identification of priority areas and in planning their development.

Guidelines (and training) for regional and field staff in the technical and planning aspects of water development are needed in this area.

(4) A way to increase the development of water sources (other than by Government expanding its already stretched capacity) is by encouraging the private sector. If limited syndicate legislation is enacted, the potential is increased for small owner participation in borehole group development. Wealthier entrepreneurs could perhaps be encouraged to develop boreholes for syndicates, thereby taking advantage of their private resources and management expertise, and spreading the benefits wider.

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(19) The project mistakenly encouraged well digging in the lands, not appreciating apparently that it was in the grazing away from the Boteti river that water was needed, not in the lands alongside the river. Elsewhere wells were not appropriate due to deep sand or salt pan conditions. Only 4 well digging groups exist (see Appendix 7.2) - all in Ngamiland East, and proposing wells as sources of water in the grazing. The only other case known to the author is a well dug by a group of remote area dwellers at Ndobe (Tsodilo - Ngamiland West) where a priest is reported to have got a group of people to dig a well, organised through the issue of drought relief rations.

14.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 14

14.1. Limitations of this chapter

This chapter is not a technical study of different types of water development, but is based on contacts with groups. Dam groups data are difficult because some dams are known under more than one name and because group records are incomplete. An attempt has been made to reconcile various sources of information. Borehole data are even more difficult, for extension staff have had little contact with borehole syndicates. Many syndicates have inevitably been overlooked in this study.

14.2. Why farmers are taking action

The availability of water influences many aspects of rural life. Different sources are exploited throughout the year according to practicality. Springs and pans, then rivers and dams and finally boreholes may be used in turn. In droughty periods the population is forced to scatter. This makes improved practices difficult to implement. It also hinders other projects like woodlots, smallstock or fence enclosures. Some groups are trying to ensure a water supply before embarking on a project. Many farmers in water development groups realise that water opens up other activities. Groups themselves can be disrupted by lack of water and unable to function. Lack of water on the grazing side of lands enclosure fences threatens the viability of the project. Sometimes water and fence development are being carried on together. Other groups are fencing because they hope it will encourage Government to develop water. Water often does exist but in the wrong place and at the wrong time. Some communities are unable to obtain a reliable water supply because it involves them in political issues, as those concerning village status. All these points are reasons why farmers are becoming involved in water development.

14.3. What has the experience with dam groups been?

14.3.1. There are at least 232 dam groups in Botswana, some still having dams built. 84 or more dams have no group. District figures are presented.

14.3.2. About 4400 farmers have registered in the small dam building policy. A further 2210 are involved in older dams. Many more people actually use the dams.

14.3.3. Few dams were constructed by groups. There are some in the Kgatleng and also the 'ipelegeng' dams of the 1960s. Little information is available on these dams. It does not seem that there is any special community feeling for 'ipelegeng' dams.

14.3.4. Over P4000 has been raised by 41 of the dam groups towards dam maintenance. Some groups have joining fees, which have not always proved easy to raise. Other groups have annual subscriptions and other groups have raised funds by watering fees. Here too there have been difficulties. Most Councils have given the responsibility for dam maintenance to groups, but the record of maintenance is disappointing, many fences are in poor condition, especially in the south. In at least 10 cases dams have gatekeepers and do attempt to maintain the dam but circumstances are not usually helpful. There are very few instances of repair activities

beyond fencing. Mostly the Government is expected to deal with problems. Groups are clearly not caring for dams successfully.

14.3.5. Only 29 of the dam groups have or propose by-laws. These cover payment of subscriptions/fees, access, penalties for damaging fences, restrictions on dam use, and participation. There are very few examples of actual attempts at cattle control. The Manilo group has a particularly good record. In most cases by-laws are not being successfully implemented.

14.3.6. Although the cattle numbers of dam group members may conform to the SDU limit of 400 lsu, in practice many more cattle use the dams. If dams represent the most readily accessible source of water at a particular time they will be used by those in need. Most dams are used for livestock and domestic purpose and in lands areas. It is difficult to control where livestock water and overstocking may result.

14.3.7. Two tables are provided which summarise the condition of old and post-1974 dams. The main problem with the old dams is silting up and subsequent erosion of the spillways. Dam walls are still holding but fences are poor and there is much trampling and overgrazing. New groups are forming in the area of the old dams. The condition of the post-1974 dams varies widely. Water holding capacity through the winter is fairly encouraging. Several, however, have serious design problems. Most fences are not in good order but dam walls are still all right.

14.3.8. There are various reasons why so many dams are trampled, over-utilized and dry. Some dams are poorly sited or poorly designed. SDU staff are anxious about this. An increased emphasis on alternative water sources where dams are unsuitable is recommended. Existing dams need improvement. Overstocking is also a problem. It occurs because the dams in a locality are too few for the population or because of an uncontrollable influx of cattle from neighbouring localities. Overgrazing in the dam area may be aggravated by the dams being sited too close to another water source. There are also social problems. It is a respected convention that people and their cattle should be allowed to use a water source when their own has dried up. Poor organisation may also be responsible for the deterioration of dams. There may be no group in charge of a dam or lands settlement may be transitory or local leadership absent. The solution to such problems is the long-term one of institutional development. VDCs have sometimes been successful in organising dams, sometimes not. FCs have also taken the initiative in some cases. A lot depends on the enterprise and motivation of a few leading figures.

14.3.9. Many dams deteriorate unmaintained for the above reasons, but the problems are also due to shortcomings in approach and support to dam groups. The dam programme is seen as in the hands of the Government not as a group project. Certain adjustments are needed to make the dams programme group-centred.

14.3.10. It is not clear whether the responsibility of fencing dams lies with groups or with SDU crews. This should be sorted out. Farmers are capable of the job but need materials, promptly delivered, and training. SDU crews could assist regional staff in training groups on the technical aspects of dam maintenance. Technical guidelines on maintenance are needed.

These support activities should be co-ordinated regionally. Careful field training should be accomplished before the dam is built. Dam groups should elect management committees. The system of fund-raising should be reviewed. Groups need to be trained in record-keeping. Open discussion of the real problems groups are facing is needed so that they can be better understood and so that action can be taken.

14.3.11. Two things are needed if the problems outlined in 14.3.8. are to be tackled: group development and an overall plan for water development. Various components of this more planned approach are suggested. Dams need to be considered in terms of their expected life and the demand on them. Measures can be taken to prolong the usefulness of dams. Arbitrary planning and inadequate consultation have together resulted in swamping of dams by too many cattle. Many people did not understand what groups meant until it was too late and the dam unit had moved on. Water development surveys are needed, and, given manpower constraints, this means in practice that regions must identify priority areas. Institutional development to facilitate consultation and planning in such planning is vital. An all embracing land use strategy is the solution to controlling the use of dams. Alternative water sources may need to be developed. It should be recognised that fencing must be planned in relation to water. Dam groups should be guided and encouraged to draft appropriate by-laws. This should be a positive exercise, working out how the dam will be managed and maintained. By-laws will be useless if there remain members of the community with no fallback source of water. There has been no clear management system in operation with regard to the dam building programme. Groups are kept waiting for long periods. There has sometimes been no communication between SDU and regional staff. Records have not been well kept. To help this situation it is recommended that the management responsibility for the programme is moved to the regions; a record-keeping system is introduced to regional offices; water should be part of land use planning; a planning/management flow diagram for the dam programme should be introduced; regions should start by making an inventory of dams, groups and problems. Responsibility for maintenance has also not been properly handled. It is not clear what this responsibility involves. No direction has been given. It is recommended that district authorities should be involved in future policy making. It is necessary for those in charge of the construction programme and those involved in group development discuss the problems formally. More serious study should be given to the possibility of using labour intensive methods of construction and repair. It could help to generate a greater sense of responsibility for the dams by the communities. Old dams present a special problem. In practice it is difficult to form a group for repairing an old dam because of the huge numbers of people who use them. Groups for new dams need to be formed at the same time as groups for old ones. Government needs to show more flexibility in approach and in support.

14.3.12. Although in some areas dam groups are proceeding well, on the whole the many difficulties met by farmers are turning them to consider other types of development. Dam development should in any case be considered in a wider context.

14.4. Borehole development groups

14.4.1. Data on borehole syndicates are incomplete but such information as is available is set out in a table which shows there are at least 85 groups and 1100 members, and a further 44 proposed groups with 509 members.

14.4.2. The early boreholes drilled in the kgatleng in the 1920s and those drilled under the Colonial Development and Welfare Programme were handed over to syndicate groups. Records of any fees paid are lost and there is now some confusion over ownership. The expansion of borehole drilling in the early '60s demonstrated the possibilities of the sand-veld and individuals began to drill on their own. Space in the grazing areas is running out. Here borehole syndicates consist of small numbers of people. In the arable areas many boreholes are still controlled by Council, or they may be managed by larger groups of people, having taken over Council boreholes.

14.4.3. Various comments can be made on borehole projects planned in communal areas. Most are for domestic water and livestock in the lands areas. Funding problems can arise when a single purpose cannot be specified for the borehole, or when the development of a permanent water supply is interpreted or intended as a move towards village status; various groups have experienced difficulties because of the latter predicament; a proper investigation should be made into the water situation at Toteng. Most of the big borehole groups propose to take over old boreholes rather than incur the cost of developing new ones; procedures presently appear rather cumbersome, however, and it is recommended that they are made easier. The attention of Conservation Committees needs to be drawn to the problems of areas where water distribution is extremely uneven and also to the consequences of borehole breakdowns on the neighbouring dam users. The large borehole groups are often engaged in several projects and therefore AMA registration has been recommended; other reasons for becoming AMAs are the sharing of the financial burden by increasing the membership, and giving greater access to support and supervision.

Regarding the organisation of borehole syndicates situated outside the lands areas, help is needed in the face of rising costs for syndicates to move to proportional not flat-rate fees; more guidance needs to be given on financial matters; there is support for the introduction of legislation for "Limited Syndicates"; the CAMA office must be aware of land issues and their effect on the small farmer's entry to syndicates.

14.4.4. Group development staff are bound to become more involved in borehole groups. Support functions during the development phase include land use planning, advice from the APO on the technicalities of watering cattle, and advice on the objectives, management, finance and constitution of the project. Guidelines on all this are needed to help field staff. Guidelines are also needed for supporting groups with ongoing management.

14.5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of water development as perceived by farmers?

The two forms of water development in which small farmers are involved in groups, dams and boreholes, are seen by them to have various advantages and disadvantages. Dams are labour-saving, cheap, free to

develop and convenient but also unreliable, can be difficult to manage, their use is hard to control, and encourage overgrazing. Boreholes are permanent and management control is easier, but they are expensive to implement and run, may break down, and contractors are short. In some areas farmers are favouring borehole development as a backstop to existing dams. Individually owned catchment tanks should also be considered part of the picture for small farmers. These are convenient, cheap and require a minimum of planning expertise. There is also the potential for weirs or deep wells for small groups.

14.6. Towards a spatial strategy for water development

14.6.1. The different needs for water in communal lands areas and suggestions for the appropriate type of development and form of organisation are represented in a table.

14.6.2. Another important issue in deciding on appropriate water development is the extent to which lands settlement is permanent. The settlement policy of MLGL should be related to water development. In cases where lands communities are developing boreholes there is a trend towards permanent settlement. Segakwana is an example. Farmers' preference for boreholes in such instances will affect both primary and fallback sources locally.

14.6.3. Should there be individual or group development of water? Individuals can develop catchment tanks but larger scale enterprises require group work. Group experience so far has not been favourable, but this is not inevitable and the two approaches can still be planned as complementary. The economics of the methods is also a factor as is whether the need is for primary or fallback sources. Often the most urgent need is for fallback sources.

14.6.4. Three more points for inclusion in a spatial strategy for water development are: a balance between primary and fallback supplies; the development of dam groups within a land use plan framework, trying to avoid the problems of unbalanced supplies between an area and its neighbours and within the area itself; and the suggestion that small to medium lands enclosures will be easier to handle than large ones.

14.6.5. There are various constraints on achieving adequate water distribution through a spatial strategy: a limited capacity to build dams or drill boreholes, tight schedules, and manpower. Since individual catchments avoid these constraints they should be encouraged wherever possible. The constraints may be partly overcome by the process of group development, the encouragement of labour intensive methods, further professional expertise particularly supporting regional staff, and encouraging the private sector.

CHAPTER 15: CATTLE HUSBANDRY GROUPS, MAINLY FOR TICK CONTROL.

CHAPTER 15: CATTLE HUSBANDRY GROUPS, MAINLY FOR TICK CONTROL

15.1. THE NEED FOR GROUP ACTION IN TICK CONTROL

15.1.1. The tick infestation problem

15.1.2. Methods of tick control practised on an individual basis and their limitations

15.1.3. The advantages of group action

15.1.4. Where the action is taking place

15.1.5. Who is participating?

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15.7.6. Guidelines for the longer term task - making real use of SLOCA

15.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 15

CHAPTER 15: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AgInf	Agricultural Information
APO	Animal Production Officer
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
BCC	Botswana Christian Council
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
FC	Farmers Committee
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
GDO	Group Development Officer
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
LAC	Livestock Advisory Centre
RALOM	Reasonably acceptable levels of management
RLFA	Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
Vet.Dept.	Veterinary Department
VDC	Village Development Committee

15.1. THE NEED FOR GROUP ACTION IN TICK CONTROL

Throughout eastern Botswana tick infestation is the one problem affecting their cattle which farmers are most aware of. As control by chemical means has such immediately visible benefits, tick control projects rival fencing schemes in popularity and for very much the same reason, for with communal lands fencing, the crop damage problem is equally obvious and the benefits of fencing cattle out are immediate.

15.1.1. The tick infestation problem

It has been the succession of the relatively wet years of the mid 1970s and the consequent growth in cattle numbers which has caused the dramatic increase in the tick population. Given ideal conditions ticks multiply rapidly with a 15 day life cycle and each tick producing as many as 20,000 eggs.

In Botswana, although diseases like heartwater can be carried by the bont tick, the problem ticks represent is primarily a burden of debilitation and added stress. While a tick is parasiting an animal 2 cc of blood is used per day to feed the eggs. A load of 2-300 ticks on a cow means therefore a loss of 400 to 600 cc of blood daily, with obvious effects on general health and productivity.

Coupled with secondary infection, serious sores and wounds can also develop.

Ticks are thus, under normal conditions, primarily a production rather than a health problem. In times of drought, though, when resistance is more generally lowered by mineral and vitamin deficiencies, the immunity of cattle to tick borne diseases may also drop, and cattle can succumb - for example - to heartwater.

In sandveld areas, and in the north-west, ticks are not such a serious problem.

15.1.2. Methods of tick control practised on an individual basis, and their limitations

This study found various methods of tick control reported to be very widely practised, though irregularly, by individual farmers. Common methods include the mixture of products such as gammatox, stockholm tar or tick grease with old machine oil or diesel and their application with a brush or a stick and cloth. Farmers reported these mixtures stayed in place for a long time.

Hand spraying with a knapsac sprayer or stirrup pump is much less common. Farmers borrow such pumps from one another and mix up the spray or dip remedies in old bath tubs or drums - one wonders whether to the correct strength.

These hand methods are practised almost entirely unsupervised. Sometimes the Vet. Dept. crushes are used. More often the work is done in the farmer's own bush kraal - a highly dangerous method as the cattle are free to kick and try to escape. Many Vet. Dept. crushes are little better, however - being old, heavily used, deep in mud, and sometimes wider than farmers would want.[1]

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(1) Vet. crushes are designed for mass vaccination campaigns carried out by Vet. Dept. staff, not for general cattle husbandry.

Tick control on an individual basis under such conditions has a number of disadvantages, then. To summarise, these include:

(i) dangerous without proper handling facilities

(ii) very slow, laborious and time consuming

(iii) hard work handling cattle alone - hence particularly difficult for old people, women household heads, families with a labour shortage

(iv) the slow speed of work can cause overgrazing in the area of the kraal

(v) the methods tend to be less efficient

- less thorough than plunge dipping or more powerful spraying from a spray race
- handsprayers waste a lot of liquid and being less durable are also prone to blocking and breaking down

Most importantly though the effectiveness of tick control depends to a very great extent on area wide action. Individual action, if not accompanied by the neighbours' action, is a continual battle against reinfestation as the treated cattle move out onto infested communal pastures and mix with untreated animals.

The problem is that the vast majority of farmers do not practise control methods regularly or efficiently. Ticks are left for weeks and months on many cattle. In some cases only milking cows are treated.

An implication of this is that the provision of SLOCA grants to individuals in the communal areas is largely unnecessary for tick control[2] because of the reinfestation problem with individual action. Also there is the danger of grants being used to develop facilities which may be hired out to other owners later at unreasonable charges.

15.1.3. The advantages of group action

Farmers are quickly accepting that group action is the solution in the communal areas to the problems above. The advantages of group action can be listed:

(i) convenience

- proper handling facilities can be built by a group, even if they are then used by farmers on an individual basis
- an old man or a farmer on his own can come and lend a hand with group work and in return be helped to treat his own cattle
- group methods are faster
- cattle get used to the facilities and after a while behave much more quietly

(ii) effectiveness

- areawide control of the majority of cattle can be tackled
- the methods are more efficient

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(2) Grants to individuals under SLOCA could be usefully put to use in other areas - e.g. improvement of water sources (reservoirs etc.)

(iii) financial

- only as a group can small owners afford the cost of building the facilities for practising the more effective and efficient methods

15.1.4. Where the action is taking place

The location is not known for every project, but nonetheless at least 96 of the group projects are in the communal mixed lands/grazing areas.

Only 16 of the group projects are in cattlepost areas. The reasons for this apparently low and ironic figure may be:

- many cattlepost areas are sandveld where the need for tick control is not so serious.[3]
- at the cattleposts much individual activity does go on; cattleposts tend to be more widely spread out and separate from one another

15.1.5. Who is participating?

As participation is centred in the communal areas rather than out in the cattlepost areas, it is to be expected that many smaller owners will be involved in the projects. Table 15(i) summarises herd size and membership data available on 33 projects. The herd sizes given may be slight underestimates of the actual cattle ownership of the participants as it is possible that not all of the cattle owned by some members are kept in the area of the project. Also some members may have witheld a proportion of their herds from treatment - though this is unlikely. The figures are hopefully a reasonable indication of the socio-economic level of participants in terms of cattle owned. Apart from the one extreme example at the Kgophathate cattlepost area near Maunatlala, it can be seen that group activity in tick control is concerned primarily with the poor to middle level peasantry class - owners of between 10 and 30 head of cattle. The average member's herd size is 28 cattle.

The figures demonstrate that participation often involves owners from both extremes - those with very few cattle along with the few larger owners in the locality. As we shall see later in this chapter, though, it is often a battle to involve the whole of a given community in a project.

TABLE 15(i) AVERAGE HERD OWNERSHIP OF PARTICIPANTS IN 33 TICK CONTROL PROJECTS

Project group District	Total cattle for group	No. of members	Average herd size	Range in herd size, where known
Matsiloje	512	11	47	12 - 93
Matenge	780	34(1)	23	
Seviya	800	40	20	

Project group	District	Total cattle for group	No. of members	Average herd size	Range in herd size, where known
Madiba	Bobonong	3000	80	37	
Makaro	Palapye	1562	70	22	0 - 50+(2)
Diloro	"	400	13	31	13 - 75 (3)
Kgophathate	"	2000	15	133	
Magkabo	"	454	15	30	10 - 60
Nakatsa-Kgokong	"	400	20	20+	
Kgaswe	Serowe	400+	20	20+	
Janyane	"	400+	15	27+	
Mmantshadidi	"	400+	20	20+	
Mmamorontshe	"	700	30+	23	
Botepetepe	"	350	20-25	16	
Masoko	"	600	17	35	
Rasesa	Kgatleng	5-600	10-20	37	most 20-50
Gakutlwe	Kweneng N.	1000	84	12	
Seribotsane	Kweneng S.	4-500	36	12	4 - 40
Mmankgodi	"	1000	184	5	
Tsorogwane	"	1000+	40	25+	
	"	800	40+	20	
Gamokele	"	250	40	6	
Kamenakwe	"	300	35	9	
Mmamaereng	S.E.	c 2800	55	50	
Metsemaswaane	S.E.	450	50	9	
Segakwana	"	c.700	65	11	
Ranaka	Ngwaketse N.	-	17	c.25	10 - 40
Gathwane	Ngwaketse S.	3-400	18	19	
Kanngwe	"	786(4)	15	c.50	
Mmalore	"	800	20	40	
Dibajakwena	"	400	17	23	most:15-20 biggest 50
Ramonnedi	E. "	310	9	34	
Rebone	Baralong	750+	28	27	

NOTES on Table 15(i)

(1) For Matenge, 34 is the entire local population

(2) At Makoro exact herd sizes were known - viz:

6	members	had	no cattle
7	"	"	under 10
18	"	"	10 - 19
17	"	"	20 - 29
9	"	"	30 - 39
1	"	"	40 - 49
5	"	"	over 50 head

(3) The range of 13-75 cattle applies to the size of herds brought for spraying

(4) At Kanngwe - the cattle numbers are those using the syndicate borehole - probably belonging to more than the currently proposed membership of the dip tank

15.1.6. Part of a wider package

This chapter is not only about tick control, however. Tick control happens to be the major focus of farmer and therefore of extension activity presently for the reasons given. But it is only a small aspect of cattle husbandry and management in a wider sense.

A few projects show a recognition of this.

In certain areas group activity is concerned with more specific problems. In Chobe District groups are aiming to control 'senkobo' disease, not ticks. In the sandveld, the objective may be more to do with controlling horseflies or carrying out certain vaccinations.

It will be shown at the end of the chapter that there is a need in the field to visualise and plan activity in tick control with a wider husbandry and management strategy in mind.

15.2. TYPES OF TICK CONTROL PROJECT FARMERS ARE UNDERTAKING

Full details on the tick control projects can be found in Appendix 4. This section summarises the data.

15.2.1. The types of project

Through group activity farmers are undertaking the following types of project:

- construction of handling facilities (crushes and kraals)
- purchase and use of hand spraying equipment (knapsac spray or high pressure pumps)
- purchase and use of portable motorised spray pumps
- purchase, construction and use of fixed spray races
- construction and use of dip tanks

In addition in one case a group was planning to build a vaccine/ drug storeroom in the cattlepost area concerned near Khudumelapye.

All except two of the projects to be described are being undertaken by unregistered farmer groups. The two exceptions are the Nshakgazhogwe and Gabane Co-operative Societies, planning respectively a dip tank and a spray race for the use of their members.

Other Co-operative Societies such as Gweta and Tonota are planning livestock holding grounds or demonstration facilities which might include handling facilities and dipping equipment. These projects are to be assisted under a provision of the SLOCA project which aids the development of Co-operative infrastructure generally. This is an important programme though outside the scope of this report.

15.2.2. When projects started - the first groups currently on record

Nearly all the group activities in tick control started very recently over the last two to three years. Only four projects started before 1977. The first group to start activity appears to have been the Mmampaba area group in Kweneng South, known as Rrammidi. It started in 1973/74 as a burial society, its members also giving mutual assistance in the fields. It now has over 30 members who built a crush and are using hand spraying methods. The other three earlier groups started in 1976 at Maunyele in Ngwaketse South (the Mohuduhutswe group), Gakgatla in the Kweneng (the Mmasebele crush group) and at Mmankgodi where the Farmers Association became the first group in the country to undertake a dip tank which was finished finally and first used early in 1979.

15.2.3. Crush and handling facilities projects and hand spraying equipment projects

Table 15(ii) summarises the number of these projects which groups have undertaken in the different regions as at mid 1980.

TABLE 15(ii) NUMBER OF CRUSH/ HANDLING FACILITIES PROJECTS BY REGION

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
1. Completed and in use	1	1	4	6	1	13
2. Being implemented	-	-	3	-	1	4
3. Proposed	-	1	2	5	-	8

NOTES ON TABLE 15(ii)

(1) The figures in Table 15(ii) include only projects used in conjunction with hand spraying methods. All dip tank and spray race projects also incorporate the construction of the necessary handling facilities (crush and kraals); these are not included here.

(2) In Southern Region the one project recorded as being implemented is the project at Dibajakwena in the Pelotshetlha area where the group is provided with all material and considerable technical supervision by staff of the IFPP.

(3) In several cases the crushes were built by groups using poles supplied by the Vet. Dept. In one case an AG15 (SLOCA) grant assisted with materials purchase.

Most of the crush projects built by farmers in groups are then used by farmers on an individual basis. According to available data, only three of the groups have as yet gone on to purchase hand spraying equipment to be used on a group basis, although other groups are planning to.

TABLE 15(iii) NUMBER OF KNAPSAC SPRAYER/ HIGH PRESSURE PUMP GROUS BY REGION

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
1. Purchased by group and in operation	2	-	1	-	2	5
2. Being collected for	2	-	2	-	-	4
3. Proposed	-	1	1	3	-	5
4. In operation in connection with group built crush	1	-	1	1	-	3
5. In connection with Vet. Dept. crush	2	-	2	-	4	8
6. Uncertain present status	-	-	-	3	-	3
7. Group activity in purchasing remedies only; using Govt. equipment (1)	-	-	1	-	5	6

NOTES ON TABLE 15(iii)

(1) In Southern Region two groups used stirrup pump belonging to the local AD; three groups in the IFPP area used IFPP double action pumps.

(2) This table excludes the Matenge group in Francistown Region which has been operational for some time using Government equipment and remedies supplied for demonstration purposes. The group plans a spray race project and is recorded under that category.

From Table 15(iii)it can be seen that at least 11 groups are operational in the country. 5 of these groups have purchased their own equipment in some cases with substantial help from SLOCA or AEIG grants. The remaining 6 active groups are still utilising equipment on loan from the local AD or APO, or in the Pelotshetlha area from IFPP.

A further 4 groups are actively raising funds towards implementing their projects. Another 5 projects are known to be planned and another 3 groups are on the records but the status of their projects was uncertain at the time this study was done.

If all the planned and underway projects materialise, the total number of groups in the country using hand spraying methods will be about 23.

In addition to this number, new groups based on existing smallstock groups can be expected to form especially in Southern Region. Several existing tick control groups grew up from initial activities with smallstock. As was noted in 15.2.3., handspraying projects may also emerge from groups which formed initially to construct a crush.

Figures are not available on participation for all the groups - particularly those still in the planning stage. However data for 18 completed and operating projects indicates an average group size of 24 and a total participation of 432 members.

15.2.4. Portable, motorised spray pump projects

Only in Central Region has interest been shown in this type of equipment. The following table summarises the activity:

TABLE 15(iv) NUMBER OF MOTORISED SPRAY PUMP PROJECTS (CENTRAL REGION ONLY)

	Number
Purchased and in operation	1
Being implemented (fund raising)	1
Planned/proposed	5

This concentration of interest in the region is most probably the direct result of the programme of demonstrations which APOs in Central Region have carried out covering at least 20 extension areas since 1977. In other regions motorised equipment has not been demonstrated in the same way.

The one operational group at Thabala uses its portable machine to service 7 sub groups in 3 lands and 4 cattlepost areas, the sub groups making use of Vet. Dept. crushes in each area. The total membership of the 7 sub groups amounts to around 70 farmers.

Altogether in Central Region at least 125 farmers are members of operational or planned groups in this category[4].

(4) Data available on only 5.

Several of these groups were expanding in size at the time of this study.

15.2.5. Spray race projects

The figures for these projects are given in Table 15(v)

TABLE 15(v): NUMBER OF SPRAY RACE PROJECTS BY REGION

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
1. Completed and in operation	-	-	-	4	-	4
2. Being implemented	-	-	1	5	1	7
3. Proposal	1	1	9	7	-	18

NOTES ON TABLE 15(v)

(1) Proposal: included here only are projects where the decision has been made definitely for a spray race over a dip tank. In Table 15(vi) on dip tank projects a further six projects are recorded where a group decision has not yet been reached.

(2) Implementation: all seven projects listed as being implemented were, as at mid 1980, in very early stages - viz. site allocated, a start made in fund raising only.

All four completed spray race projects are in the Bamalete area of South East District, and were built with grant assistance from various sources (BCC, US Embassy, CUSO) starting with the Mmamaereng group in 1977. The head start which groups in this area had over the rest of the country was due in large measure to the concentrated efforts of the Gaborone Region GDO supported by an APO with exceptional practical ability.

The four operational groups in South East District have a very even average membership of just under 60 members each, totalling a participation of over 230 farmers.

Data are available on 8 groups in implementation stages and another 8 groups proposing spray races. The membership of these groups is as follows:

	Average	Total
Groups implementing spray races (8)	33	264
Groups proposing spray races (8)	19	152

15.2.6. Dip tank projects

TABLE 15(vi): DIP TANK PROJECTS GROUPS BY REGION

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
1. Completed and in operation	1	1(5)	-	2	-	3
2. Advanced stage of implementation (1)	-	1	5	1	-	7
3. Early stage of implementation (2)	-	1	3	1	3	8
4. Proposed (4)	-	1	7	1	3	12
5. Undecided between dip tank or spray race	-	3	1	1	1	6(3)

NOTES ON TABLE 15(vi)

(1) "Advanced" includes:

- where substantial funds raised; site allocated; contract under negotiation
- where dip tank partly/nearly built; being renovated

(2) "Early" stage of implementation includes:

- 4 cases where funds being raised but final decision between dip tank/spray race still not made

(3) Note in addition to these 6 cases, 4 cases where fund raising started

(4) All 12 groups definitely selected dip tank projects as choice; in one case progress postponed pending completion of drift fence project.

(5) "completed" project in Francistown is dip tank at Senyawe - in fact the renovation of an old dip tank built by Tati Co.

Table 15 (vii) summarises data available on participation in dip tank projects.

TABLE 15(vii): PARTICIPATION IN DIP TANK PROJECTS

	Data base	Average membership	Total Participation
Completed projects	2	142+	284+
Projects being implemented	7	42.5	298
Planned projects	10	19.4	194

Excluded from the data in Table 15(vii) are the members of the Nshakgazhogwe Co-op. Society. The Society has around 300 members but it is uncertain how many of these will participate in the planned dip tank project.

15.2.7. Total number of tick control projects and total participation

If all types of tick control project are counted together, group activity (including formation and operation) amounts to 120 groups with a known participation of at least 2200 farmers as follows:

	Number (all stages)	Participation
Dip tank projects	36	776
Spray race projects	29	646
Motorised spray pump	7	125
Hand spraying	23	)
Crush construction only	25	) 432
		)

In addition groups were reported to exist at Otse (Sakhutswane), Hubung, Chaokeng and Phiritswane although the nature of their projects and membership were unconfirmed.

15.3. METHODS OF FINANCING AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

15.3.1. Fund raising methods and funds raised for initial purchase of equipment

Initial joining fees are raised from members usually towards the purchase or development of the project facilities. As with most types of project, the tick control groups have devised other means also of raising finance. The Mogotswana Ikage Farmers Association at Seribotsane in the Kweneng, for example, raised funds towards its project by members organising their draft oxen into 8 spans and then doing contract ploughing for other farmers. Information on other groups can be found in the

Appendix 4 tables.

For different types of tick control project the amount of finance to be raised is of course very different. The following table summarises the available data on this:

TABLE 15(viii): FINANCING OF TICK CONTROL PROJECTS

	MAUM	FITOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
1. HAND METHODS						
(a) FEES Average	P5.00	-	P8.00	P3.25	P2.70	P3.80
No. (2)	2	•	1	2	2	7
(b) FUNDS RAISED						
COMPLETED PROJECTS						
Total	P115.00	-	P98.00	P81.00	P223.00	P508.00
No.	1		1	2	3	7
Average/Group	P115.00		P89.00	P40.25	P74.00	P72.57
Average/Member	P5.00		P8.00	-	P3.15	P5.38
UNDERWAY PROJECTS						
Total	P70.00		P68.00	P65.00		P203.00
No.	1	-	2	1	-	4
Average/Group	P70.00		P34.00	P65.00		P50.75
(c) GRANT ASSISTANCE						
Total (3)	P65.00	-	nil	P1179.00	nil	P1244.00
No.	1			2		3
Average/Group	P65.00			P589.50		P414.66
2. MOTORISED SPRAY PUMP						
(a) FEES Average	-	-	P6.66			P6.66
No.			3			3
(b) FUND RAISED						
COMPLETED PROJECTS						
Total			P675.00			P675.00
No.			1			1
Average/Group			P675.00			P675.00
Average/Member			P10.00			P10.00
UNDERWAY PROJECTS						
Total			P705.00			P705.00
No.			5			5
Average/Group			P141.00			P141.00
Average/Member			-			-

TABLE 15(viii) contd.

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
(c) GRANT ASSISTANCE			nil			nil
3. SPRAY RACES						
(a) FEES Average	-	P4.00	P16.80	P8.80	P10.00	P11.24
No.		1	6	10	2	19
(b) FUNDS RAISED						
COMPLETED PROJECTS						
Total				P1690.00		P1690.00
No.	-	-	-	4	-	4
Average/Group				P422.50		P422.50
Average/Member				P7.20		P7.20
UNDERWAY PROJECTS						
Total	P50.00	-	P1514.00	P580.00	P350.00	P2994.00
No.	1		5	4	1	11
(c) GRANT ASSISTANCE						
Total	-	-	nil as yet	P5218.00	-	P5218.00
No.				5		5
Average/Group				P1043.60		P1043.60
4. DIP TANKS						
(a) FEES Average	-	P10.00	P15.50	P9.40	P8.30	P9.85
No.		2	2	5	6	15
(b) FUNDS RAISED						
COMPLETED PROJECTS						
Total	-	-	-	P1390.00	-	P1390.00
No.				2		2
Average/Group				P695.00		P695.00
Average/Member				P8.50		P8.50
UNDERWAY PROJECTS						
Total		P1060.00	P928.00	P710.00	P481.00	P3179.00
No.	-	2	2	2	4	10
Average/Group		P530.00	P464.00	P355.00	P120.25	P317.90
Average/Member		-	P8.90	P8.10	P6.25	P7.75

(c) GRANT ASSISTANCE

Total				P3245.00		P3245.00
No.	-	-	-	3	-	3
Average/Group				P1081.66		P1081.66

NOTES ON TABLE 15(viii)

(1) The group at Komana in Maun Region have no stated fees and have 5 beasts pledged by members in addition to the P50 raised.

(2) In all cases where number of projects stated, this is just the number where data are available.

(3) The very high figure for grant assistance towards hand spraying projects in Gaborone Region includes the full cost of materials for a crush for one project. For other projects only spraying equipment was provided from grant money, although crush poles were on occasions issued by the Vet. Dept. but not costed.

15.3.2. Some observations on financing

Considerable sums of money have been and are being raised towards tick control projects. If the totals from Table 15(viii) are added up for all types of project, it can be seen that groups have raised P4263.00 towards projects which are complete and a further P7081.00 has been raised towards the many more projects which are being implemented.

Assistance from various sources totals P9707.00, most of which has been utilised towards the material and equipment costs of the projects which have been completed.

As would be expected the average group contribution towards hand spraying projects is much lower than for more permanent projects.

For hand spraying equipment the average total funds raised per group is P72.57 - almost the price of a knapsac sprayer.[5]

Higher pressure/double action pumps are more expensive and groups which have purchased these have mostly received grant assistance.

More interesting still is the pattern of average contribution per group member. This does not vary nearly as much as would be expected from the marked trend in stated joining fees. Joining fees range from an average of P3.80 for hand spraying through P6.60 for portable motorised equipment to around P10.00 for dip tanks and over P11.00 for spray race projects.

The average actual contributions per member are, however, quite different. For completed projects, they vary as follows:

- Hand spraying projects - P5.38 per member
- Spray races - P7.20 " "
- Dip tanks - P8.50 " "
- Motorised spray pump (one example only) - P10.00 " "

(5) LAC Price mid 1980 was P75.00

By mid 1980 the members of another 21 dip tank and spray race projects (for which funding data were available) had each raised an average of P7.75 and P8.42 respectively.

The financial cost to the group member is thus not very greatly different in practice from one type of project to another. Groups tend to manage to raise only between P5.00 and P10.00 per member towards the capital costs of a project. The remainder of the material costs - whether less than P100.00 for hand spraying equipment or over P1000.00 for a spray race or dip tank construction is paid for now, from Government grants, together with additional materials for the building of handling facilities which at around P1000.00 are roughly the same for every type of project.

Another surprising observation is that no significant difference is apparent between group fund raising towards dip tanks and spray races. Joining fees are in fact the reverse of what would be expected, being P1.40 higher on average for spray race projects than for dip tanks. Yet the cost of materials for a spray race should be considerably less than for a dip tank - viz:

Comparative costs of dip tank and spray race[6]

DIP TANK

Materials for tank, roof, draining pens, crush	-	Approx. P2000.00 (Animal Prod. Division circular 1/78 estimated P2500.00)

SPRAY RACE

The spray race	-	P750.00	(includes roof)
50 pkts. cement	-	112.00	
60 x 16' poles	-	210.00	
42 x 8' poles	-	78.00	
1 roll 8 guage wire	-	30.00	
		P1200.00	- approx. P1200.00

(plus small quantity sand, gravel supplied by farmers for draining area and catchment tank).

The trends observed above in the figures on fund raising appear to be due primarily to two major problems concerned with selection of project type.

One problem is the issue of group size in terms of membership and cattle numbers. What is the correct type of project for groups of different sizes?

The other problem is to do with understanding (amongst extension staff as well as farmers) of the comparative advantages and problems of the different methods. It is, however, a problem closely connected with the first issue.

First of all, though, one specific problem affecting fund raising can be mentioned and then set aside to enable a focus on the two main problems above.

(6) Figures as provided by APO for Gaborone Region based on experience in that region.

15.3.3. The effect of drought and foot and mouth disease marketing restrictions

Not directly related to the two main issues is the problem of the effect that drought conditions and FMD had on groups. The effects were similar to those affecting fencing (see Chapter 10). Drought conditions brought many communities to a level of poverty which restricted their capacity to raise funds. Examples include the spray race project proposed at Gakgatla and the effect on paying of subscriptions at Mmankgodi's dip tank. The halting of handspraying operations as well as efforts to raise more money towards a spray race at Diloro (Palapye District) and the difficulties in fund raising in Chobe District are among the examples of the effect of FMD marketing restrictions. Cases where drought conditions disrupted organisation and further progress also occurred - due to local populations dispensing usually because of lack of water supplies. An example is the group at Seokangwe in the Kweneng.

The administration of subsidies in drought conditions becomes more complex. Should a group receive a total grant towards their project when the community is poverty stricken? At Diloro farmers argued against such a drought assistance policy on the grounds that it would encourage enrollment of members who had no real commitment to the project but who were joining only to take advantage of a free facility. They suggested instead that Government should assist groups which had already undertaken projects of their own initiative with their ongoing finances. Diloro farmers had come to a stop with spraying activities for lack of money to purchase remedies. They requested Government assistance for this.

R15/1: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THE PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING ONGOING PROJECT ACTIVITY DURING PERIODS OF NATURAL DISASTER (DROUGHT, FMD) AND REVIEWS ITS POLICIES ON WAYS TO ASSIST GROUPS IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

15.3.4. What type of project is appropriate for what size of group?

The issue of group size and which type of project is appropriate is a complicated one. As the Animal Production Divisions guidelines of February 1978 state, a number of factors are involved. One is the distance cattle have to travel to the treatment point (if large numbers of cattle have to travel a long way to a central treatment point they lose grazing time, erosion round the point results and regular attendance is less likely) but the factor we shall concentrate on in this section is the size of the herd to be treated.

The guidelines advise that the selection of type of equipment or facilities should be related to herd size as follows:

Equipment	Herd size
Stirrup pump	0 - 25
Knapsac sprayer	25 - 50
High pressure hand pump	50 - 100
Motorised pump	100 +
Spray race	up to 500
Dip tank	500 +

In practice, however, there is no pattern like this as Table 15(ix) shows:

TABLE 15(ix): TOTAL NUMBER OF CATTLE OF GROUPS BY TYPE OF PROJECT

	Less than 100	101-250	251-500	501-1000	1000+(2)
Hand spraying (1)	1	1	6	5	1
Motorised spray	-	-	1	1	-
Spray race	-	-	4	7	4
Dip tank	-	-	1	6	3
Undecided between dip tank/spray race	-	-	3	-	-
Average group membership (all project types)	20	N/A	24	42	57

NOTES TO TABLE 15(ix)

(1) Included here are 8 groups which have hand methods in operation but have bigger projects planned - 3 of the groups with between 251 and 500 cattle, 4 of the 5 groups with between 501-1000 cattle and the group at Komana (Maun) with over 1000 head of cattle.

(2) Some proposed groups have very large cattle numbers - over 3000 at Madiba (Mmadinare), 2000 at Kgophathate and 1562 at Makoro.

Two points illustrated by this table are worth emphasising. The first is that groups have been using hand spraying methods (often just a knapsac sprayer) to treat as many as 1000 head of cattle. This has proved feasible because the large herds have been divided into two or three lots, based usually on different sub areas of origin, and treatment has been organised on consecutive days. The Mmalore group subdivided its total of 800 cattle into 3 lots of 200-300 each in this way. In other cases, for example at Komana and Diloro, the knapsac sprayer is the property of the community or group as a whole but is used each month on an individual basis, sometimes at different locations. These practices mean that the Animal Production Division's guidelines on hand sprays and herd size are not necessarily realistic.

The second point arising from Table 15(ix) is that there is certainly no clear relationship between herd size and whether a sprayrace project or a diptank project is chosen.

In practice, however, as far as group size is concerned, tick control groups have found themselves grappling not with the method of control and the total herd size, but with the number of farmers in the group and the amount of money they are able to raise towards a particular type of

project. Groups commonly start off too small, meet difficulties raising funds and are unable to go on unless the circumstances change.

This has happened even with handspraying groups. The Diloro group at Kgagodi, for example, started with 7 members and found it could not afford the knapsac sprayer it proposed. But the group increased in size to 11 and ultimately 13 members, who successfully purchased the sprayer and operated it for over six months. After that time 13 more farmers became interested in joining the group, making a total membership of 26 - a spray race is now proposed.

At Tsorogwane a group consisted of 40 members in an area with many more than 60 households. The group raised P40 from P10 joining fees. Members wanted a dip tank and even dug a pit without a plan, but then reverted to a spray race proposal on the advice of the GDO mainly on account of the additional finance involved in building a dip tank.

At Diphephe a small group of neighbours want a dip tank but are unable to raise the money even with donations of cattle. They hope others will join them but find it difficult to rouse more local interest. The situation is similar at Kumakwane. Lack of leadership makes it very difficult to increase interest beyond the 14 existing group members.

At Manoko 84 people contributed 50 thebe each as a joining fee to one group, but few contributed the more realistic P10 fee towards a dip tank decided upon later by the committee.

Farmers at Madiba (Mmadinare North) rejected the proposal for a motorised spray pump after seeing APO(Central) demonstrations in 1977/78 on the grounds that the machine wasted so much dip fluid instead of containing it under the roof and within the side walls of a spray race and recycling it. A group then formed determined on a dip tank, and like the Tsorogwane group, started digging. Although there was a total membership of 80, however, less than 20 participated at all regularly in the digging or contributed any money. By April 10th 1980, nearly two years after the group had had its first meeting, still only P128.47t had been collected and the pit was incomplete. Members of the group, frustrated, discussed with the author how they could be rid of those who had shown no commitment and continue with the small group of those who were really interested.

All the groups to have completed dip tank or spray race projects have done so only with the assistance of grants towards the material and sometimes the contractors' costs.

It does not just matter that the numbers contributing initially are sufficient. The groups must also be organised with a membership sufficiently stable to ensure the continued viability of the type of project selected.

In the case of the Bamalete spray races, this appears to have been achieved. Although sometimes starting from membership levels around 40, the groups seem to have stabilised with between 50-60 members and have not only got their spray races built, but have continued operating them fairly regularly.

At Mmankgodi, on the other hand, despite happy beginnings - a high membership of 184, most of whom paid their joining fees, a grant of P625 and the completion of a dip tank by 1979 built mainly by the Farmers Association chairman, the initial good use of the tank and its frequent use for demonstration - in March 1980 the Chairman revealed that all was not well, the cattle count had fallen to 240, revenue was inadequate and the group was left with only P47 in the account. The committee members were very concerned at this lack of participation and talked of requesting advances in order to obtain bulk supplies of dip chemical at cheaper prices.

It is only possible to speculate as to the causes of this fall off in participation. One possibility is that after an extended period of severe drought all through 1979 and into 1980, some farmers may have found the tick population had been reduced. Evidence of ticks on cattle in the area did not seem entirely to support this however. The committee officials present explained that a number of members has reverted to using hand methods. Some owners were reported to have complained that the 5 thebe dipping fees were too high. It appeared that these tended to be larger owners with cattleposts beyond the hills.

But another explanation is that during the cropping season access to Mmankgodi village is limited to the immediately adjacent lands and grazing areas. Owners from farther afield (Tsorogwane/Thamaga side or Kumakwane) could not traverse the lands areas between their areas and Mmankgodi. It thus seems possible that the initial participation in the dip tank project, drummed up through active and well intentioned group formation work and strong village leadership, may have been higher than what is sustainable in the long run.

Conclusions on group size and the method of tick control will be drawn and more fully discussed later, but at this stage it is possible to suggest, from the Bamalete experience, that a membership of around 50 seems to be necessary for bigger projects in the communal mixed lands and grazing areas. This number of members allows a reasonable group contribution to be raised towards a spray race or a dip tank if fees are in the region of P7.50 to P10.00 per member. It would represent a total herd of between 500-1000, assuming people own 10-20 cattle on average in such areas.

But several problems remain. What if local attitudes, leadership or other social problems interfere with the organisation of a larger group, or if the local community is just too small and has too few livestock? An alternative approach involving a progression in project size may be one solution. Another may be to adopt a spatial strategy. Both solutions imply greater emphasis on smaller projects. We shall return to these solutions later. It is first necessary to discuss the second major problem affecting group fund raising - the confusion over the comparative advantages of different types of project.

15.3.5. The advantages and disadvantages of the different methods

At field level there is minimal practical guidance available to help groups decide between alternative methods of tick control. It is believed that in many cases this accounts for the frustratingly difficul limbo period groups experience in trying to reach a large enough membership and level of contributions for larger projects to become feasible. For if methods are found in practice to be too expensive or difficult in another respect, participation will fall and the efforts of those remaining will become all the harder as their battle against area-wide tick infestation is less effective. It is therefore most important for groups to select the most appropriate type of project for their means and circumstances.

The confusion in the field is both over technical advantages and disadvantages and over comparative operational costs.

Technical advantages and disadvantages

The comparison in capital costs between a dip tank and a spray race given in section 15.3.2, show that a dip tank is almost twice as expen-

sive as a spray race in materials. But the most crucial problem with a dip tank is not so much the material costs but the need for professional building skill, which is not allowed for.

For most dip tank groups the construction work has been a real problem. At Bokaa the dip tank leaked. At Makoro, through an absence of effective technical supervision, the work of a capable contractor was wasted due to errors in the plan., In both cases the delay caused to the groups was over a year. And for the Madiba group north of Mmadinare just the process of finding a suitable contractor and negotiating a contract had taken from 8th August 1978 when the group started digging their pit up to the period of this consultancy and had still not been finalised. Mmankgodi was a rare case because the group's chairman was able and willing to construct the dip tank himself. He was a talented builder and dedicated and active member of the community. He went completely unrewarded, however, for he was left entirely on his own in building, was not paid, and did not even receive thanks from the community or from the Government.

The only available guidelines for the decision between a dip tank and a spray race are vague and general.

Dip tanks are said to have the following advantages:

- simpler to operate once built
- no engine to go wrong
- more efficient (cattle are totally immersed in the dip so that awkward areas like ears, tail etc. are reached).

Spray races are said to have different advantages, viz:

- much cheaper to construct; far less labour
- are removable if necessary
- a smaller group can more easily cope with construction (the Mmamaereng group took 3 weeks to build theirs)
- require much less water (although it is important that a clear water source is available)
- cattle when weak from drought won't fall in it and have difficulty climbing out again as they would with a dip tank (an observation of a farmer).

But spray races also have disadvantages. The engine, pump, wash pipes and nozzles all have to be regularly checked and cleaned. This requires a higher degree of group organisation and technical expertise compared with operating a dip tank which involves little more than an ability to measure volumes accurately. The Mmamaereng group appeared, by its own accounts of its progress, to be coping with the organisational aspects without problem. The engine was kept at the house of the nearest committee member to the spray race and maintenance, members of the committee explained, was their responsibility.

At Metsemaswaane progress was not so smooth. The group had experienced some problems with the water intake blocking. This could have been due to the use of dirty dam water. Signs of some disorganisation were evident - as when, for example, a dip day started and it was discovered that there was no fuel for the engine. However, as in many areas, at

Metsemaswaane a number of different projects were going on at once, including a dam being fenced and a drift fence being planned, all the activities essentially the responsibility of a precious few committee activists.

The advantages and problems of handspraying methods are seen more clearly. The waste of liquid is clearly visible as some of the spray disappears into the air and more of it is lost dripping off cattle in the kraals - although concrete draining areas beyond the crush can reduce this waste. The mechanical problems with cheap stirrup pumps are well known and few groups use this method. Knapsac sprayers are more popular as they are more reliable and are multi-purpose (e.g. they can be used for spraying vegetables with insecticide). In addition, the hand methods are cheaper than dip tanks or spray races to purchase, involve far less effort in construction of facilities - only a basic handling unit needs to be built - and as a result can be implemented much more quickly on the basis of a smaller group. Hand spraying equipment, and to a lesser extent the motorised spray pump, are also portable and as a result can be used by individuals or by several sub groups in different parts of the area. Most of the 13 members of the Diloro group, for example, used their knapsac sprayer individually or in groups of 2, 3 or 4 on a given day. They did the spraying at the Vet. Department's crush and arranged to use the equipment with 'Rra-pompo', the committee member in charge of the sprayer's safekeeping and maintenance.

The heavier motorised spray pump has only been operated by one group, the Thabala Farmers Committee. After over two years of fairly regular use and no professional servicing it was still functioning well.

A number of factors have, then, to be taken into account in decision making between alternative methods. The group and the extension workers advising the members have to agree to what is felt to be within the group's competence and resources, and without practical guidance it is not an easy decision.

Comparative operational costs

The lack of information on comparative operational costs of the different tick control methods makes economic comparison between the methods extremely difficult.

Farmers at Masoko, one of the sub groups using the Thabala Farmers Committee portable motorised spray pump, complained that it was very expensive to run. In their experience to spray 600 cattle in a 3 hour session used 6 drums of spray mixture, all of which was lost as the group had not constructed any permanent handling facilities, draining areas or catchment tanks to recover any of the liquid. As ALTIK mixture was so expensive (the group found), they had changed to Carbaspray at P4.80 a tin or Tritix at P2.10 a tin - both available at the Thabala Co-operative branch.

Having had this experience the Masoko sub group were planning a spray race project at Masoko. Part of the reason was also that in practice there had been difficulties arranging transport to bring the pump over to Masoko from Thabala - about a 15 km distance, and the group was worried at how dusty the machine became when transported by sledge.

R15/2: IN VIEW OF THESE EXPERIENCES IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN ANY DEMONSTRATIONS OF MOTORISED SPRAY PUMP EQUIPMENT THERE SHOULD BE ADEQUATE EXPLANATION OF THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS AND EXPENSE OF RUNNING THE MACHINE AND THE NEED FOR PROPER LANDLING FACILITIES AND TRANSPORT. Groups

interested in this type of equipment should be encouraged and assisted to construct appropriate facilities.

Comparing dip tanks and spray races, it is generally and widely assumed that, once built, dip tanks are cheaper to operate than spray races. However, this is said correctly to depend on how many cattle are put through. The figure most commonly understood is 1000 cattle as the minimum for the economic running of a dip tank. Yet the Animal Production Division's guideline is a minimum of 500.

Taking 600 cattle as an example, one comparison using ALTIK[7] as a dip chemical is as follows:

DIP TANK

Initial filling - 33 litres ALTIK

Top up - 2.5 litres mixture lost per head dipped
- $4\frac{1}{2}$ drums water lost for 600 head
- $4\frac{1}{2}$ litres ALTIK top up required at rate of 1 litre per 200 litres water

- therefore just for the first dip of the year, $37\frac{1}{2}$ litres of ALTIK are required.

SPRAY RACE

- each time spray 600 cattle a total of 9 drums of water are used (3 for the initial filling and 6 for top up of the spray race reservoir, as 3 litres of mix are lost as each animal goes through the race)
- at a dilution of 1 litre ALTIK per 300 litres water for spray races, about 6 litres of ALTIK would be required for one dip day.

By comparison, the spray race group could spray the 600 cattle total 5 or 6 times before they had spent even as much as the dip tank group spent on its first dipping.

Assuming the two groups treat their cattle 12 times in the year (a not unreasonable target based on actual experience) the comparative cost works out at:

Dip tank group - 87 litres ALTIK

Sprayrace group - 72 litres ALTIK

At P94 for a 25 litre tin of ALTIK, the spray race group would be P56.00 better off (the value of 15 litres difference). This would surely be more than enough to pay for petrol, oil and any maintenance involved.

The example here is a back-of-an-envelope calculation which should not be treated too seriously.

What should be the subject of serious consideration is the fact that no better guideline exists as far as extension staff in the regions are concerned.

The majority of ADs are probably unaware even that mixture loss in a dip tank is 2.5 litres per beast dipped and that for a spray race the figure is 3 litres. There is certainly only a generalised awareness beyond that of the illusory financial implications.

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(7) For different chemicals the comparative economics may work out differently.

It is not at all clear exactly where thresholds in viability occur for different methods, and under what circumstances. The minimum of 500 head of cattle for a dip tank can economically be valid only if dipping is very regular and frequent during the year - weekly or fortnightly during the rains and periodically in winter - totalling perhaps 18-20 dips. Alternatively the size of the local cattle population to use the dip has to be enormous (counted in the thousands) with the resulting ecological risks, before the dip tank can equal a spray race in economic usage terms.

However, some calculations from the Vet. Department[8] find that the spray race still comes out more economical even for weekly use with 1000 head, although again the calculations did not allow for fuel and maintenance.

Experiences of farmer groups trying to finance ongoing tick control treatment is also very confused and does not help us to distinguish between the real operational costs of the different methods.

Only 9 groups in the whole country, of all types, use or propose per head fees as the method financing ongoing activities. But none have had a successful stretch of experience at it for various reasons. The Mmankgodi case has been cited. It is probable that those expressing disapproval of the 5t fees had a problem more of inconvenience - distance to travel, than money. Hand spraying methods in the convenience of a nearby crush (if available or built with SLOCA assistance) possibly should have been their answer. At Diloro it was the onset of FMD marketing restrictions which brought the group's operations to a standstill. Here each member paid 5t per beast per month, which allowed the member two treatments. Spraying with the group's knapsac at the Vet. crush started on the 8th August 1979 when two members treated 41 cattle. The next day two others used the equipment one with 19 cattle, the other with 48. The correct amount of fees were collected by the treasurer and recorded by the Secretary. As time went on, between August 1979 and March/April 1980 the equipment was used on 26 days by 11 of the members - an average

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(8) uncertain origin, passed on via Ranch Extension Unit in Animal Production Division. Relevant table as follows:

1. COST OF DIPPING 1000 HEAD, WEEKLY FOR 1 YEAR
CLEANING AND REFILLING DIPTANK AFTER 6 MONTHS

		ALTIK (25 l.)
1st filling	66.7 l. at P3.76	= P251.20
2nd filling	66.7 l. at P3.76	= P251.20
Replenishment 50 times	500 l. at P3.76	= P1883.00
	Total	P2385.40

2. COST OF SPRAYING 1000 HEAD WEEKLY FOR 1 YEAR
FRESH FLUID EVERY WEEK AND BOOSTING AFTER EVERY 100 HEAD

		ALTIK (25 l.)
52 fillings	520 l. at P3.76	= P1958.32
Boosting 468 times	79.6 l. at P3.76	= P 299.63
	Total	P2257.37

of 3.7 times each over the 6 month period.[9] By November a few members were owing fees by the end of the month. By 1980 more fees were owing and because of drought and FMD restrictions on cattle marketing members simply had no more money with which to continue paying.

The Metsemaswaane spray race group only introduced the idea of per head fees in March 1980. Up till this time the group had been able to carry on spraying activities with the help of P100.00 surplus funds after the initial fund raising and grant had been used in the building of the spray race. At one point the group used some of this amount to purchase sorghum from BAMB and brew beer for sale locally in order to raise further funds. No experience of operating a fee system has thus been gained there yet.

The other examples are both in Ngwaketse South. The Kanngwe group of 15 members is reported to contribute 15 thebe per beast per month for monthly treatment with the knapsac sprayer provided by AE10 for its smallstock activities. In addition 20t per beast fees are charged for botulism vaccination. At Maunyele the Mohuduhutswe group had 5t fees per beast sprayed, but as we observed in the last section the group dwindled in size and in activity reportedly at least partly because of ill feeling towards certain members of the committee who took advantage of having possession of the group's sprayer. So this experience too is limited as far as trials are concerned of the system of charging fee

Most groups raised funds on an ad hoc basis; as their supply of dip runs out the hat is passed round. The various methods of fund raising for ongoing treatment activities can be outlined:

(i) Groups which financed purchase of chemicals at least for an initial period from surplus joining contributions/grants

- Metsemaswaane
- Mabozo
- Diloro (P8.00 surplus from group contribution - no grant involved)
- Paje (group's proposal for a loan includes sufficient finance for 40 litres ALTIC)

(ii) Groups in which members take turns to purchase dip

- Komana[10]
- Ramonnedi E.

(iii) per head fees stated in by-laws of planned groups (not yet implemented)

- Matsiloje	-	5t	(10t non members)
- RLFA	-	5t	(25t non members)
- Kwahu	-	2t	(25t non members)

(9) Although 11 members are recorded as having sprayed, cattle belonging to all 13 members were treated as in some cases cattle belonging to more than one member were brought by one person.

(10) At Komana where one farmer wants to spray his stock, he buys dip and other neighbours join him in using it; the next time another pays. Several sub groups operate on this basis as the area is very wide.

(iv) Fund raising by flat rate contribution per member when more chemical needs purchase

- average for 5 groups - P3.20 per member
- range from 50t to P5.00
- in one case the P5.00 subscription covers smallstock dosing also.

The alternative to being a member and contributing the agreed amount on a regular basis is to be a non-member and pay non-member fees. These fees are, however, very high, averaging for 7 groups nearly 19 thebe per beast sprayed or dipped.

Generally speaking, then, fund raising is ad hoc with few groups having had more than a very short period of experience of charging fees per head of cattle sprayed or dipped. Although some of these groups have moved towards this sytem from more ad hoc systems, some groups are sticking to their flat rate methods presumably, as with many borehole syndicates, for administrative convenience.

R15/3: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FURTHER RESEARCH STUDY THE EFFECT ON PARTICIPATION OF THE OPERATION OF FLAT RATE CONTRIBUTION SYSTEMS AND SYSTEMS USING HIGH NON MEMBER FEES. THE INVESTIGATION SHOULD ENSURE THAT PROBLEMS ARE NOT BEING CREATED FOR THE OWNERS OF SMALLEST HERDS.

It is not only the diversity of methods and the lack of records[11] that makes it difficult to make economic comparisons but also the fact that tick control treatment itself is often carried out much less regularly than is recommended. Here again records are very incomplete, but the following cases can be cited:

Dipping/spraying frequency

(i) No records available - many groups

(ii) On an individual basis - 2 groups

(iii) Weekly - Seviya; Mmankgodi - during ploughing season

(iv) Fortnightly to monthly

Mmankgodi - every 2 to 4 weeks
Mmamaereng - every 2 weeks or 4 weeks
Masoko - every 3 weeks in by laws (in practice less often due to drought)
Mmalore - every 2 weeks in summer
Kanngwe - monthly basis
Metsemaswaane - monthly from January - March 1980

(v) Less often than monthly - in practice
Diloro - 3.7 times in 6 months (average per member)
Metsemaswaane - 3 times in 1979.

In general most experienced tick control groups watch the levels of tick infestation and when the condition of cattle gets bad, treatment is decided upon. To be effective in controlling area wide infestation and keeping cattle in good condition, treatment should be at least fortnightly during the rainy summer months. In the winter only periodic attention is required - perhaps just one or two treatments.

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(11) Records not surprisingly are kept best by groups where cattle are counted and fees collected, e.g. Diloro, Mmankgodi

With records as they are, and under the circumstances in which groups operate - dipping or spraying perhaps only 6 to 8 times a year at the maximum, and irregularly, and raising funds in the manner described, calculation of costs per head of cattle (the important variable) would be highly unreliable.

What is the extension worker to advise? What are the farmers to understand and decide? The Animal Production Division's February 19 guidelines offer no comment at all on operational costs and the fact is that farmers and extension workers are left to muddle through the part of the group formation and decision making process which is most critical to the future success of the project. It is not surprising that many groups have gone through long periods of indecision and that a considerable number of groups recorded in the Appendix tables have decided against their proposed projects "dip tank or spray race".

R15/4: A MAIN RECOMMENDATION OF THIS CHAPTER IS THEREFORE THE FORMULATION OF FULLER TECHNICAL AND PRACTICAL GUIDELINES FOR EXTENSION STAFF AND GROUPS. These guidelines should clearly explain the advantages and problems of different methods in practical detail. Equally important is clear explanation of the way operating costs are calculated. If this were available groups could also receive some guideline on what fees to charge. The calculations need to show how costs are related to frequency of use of the equipment.[12] The use of case study material and visual aid presentation is recommended to help get certain points over more clearly. The guidelines material should form the basis of practically oriented inservice training of regional APOs and then District field staff.

R15/5: FINALLY, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS OF ALTERNATIVE TYPES OF PROJECT ARE CIRCULATED MORE WIDELY. Evidence was only seen in one region of such materials which the Animal Production Division has prepared for:

- a water reservoir or trough
- a bale for handling cattle
- a complete handling unit
- standard dip tank, footbath and draining pen

It is not clear whether the IFPP handling unit is recommended or not. This incorporates a water catchment area and 1000 litre catchment tank for use, calibrated, as a reservoir for operating a double action hand spraying pump. It appears to be an ideal solution for hand spraying groups as it helps overcome the two problems of water supply and, through draining pens, excessive loss of spray fluid.

R15/6: THIS REPORT RECOMMENDS THAT A TECHNICAL ASSESSMENT IS MADE ON THE IFPP DESIGN AND IF CONFIRMED APPROPRIATE, THAT PLANS AND VISUAL AID MATERIALS BE PREPARED AND CIRCULATED TO PUBLICISE IT.

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(12) If this seems obvious, the consultant observed one APO giving a rather confused presentation to a group in which this aspect was completely neglected in discussions on the operating cost of a dip tank

15.4. GENERAL ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS

Thus far we have looked at two major problem areas in connection with two aspects of group organisation - the raising of finance towards the purchase or construction of project equipment and the ongoing process of fund raising towards the regular operation of the equipment.

The difficulty of selecting the type of project appropriate to a group's size and situation has been discussed. In particular section 15.3 concentrated on the problem of comparing the technical and economic advantages or problems of different methods.

The incidence of other contributory problems has been noted in passing. Social and leadership problems, the effect of drought and the presence or absence of practical skills in building have, for example, been mentioned. This section will pull together the various other problems which have affected the progress of tick control projects.

15.4.1. Establishing local priorities

In the same way that progress on lands fencing schemes - the other most common area-wide activity - was often affected by community involvement in other projects, several tick control projects were likewise held up often through preoccupation of the same group membership with other schemes.

Examples include:

Ntlhantlhe - still preoccupied with drift fence; following Land Board's advice not to be involved with more than one project at once.

Kgophathate - cattlepost group; some members participating on Mogapi lands enclosure fence; the entire Kgophathate community engaged on fire-break clearing on Saturdays.

Nkange - farmers busy with fence project. Also water development a high priority.

Medie - community confused over what was their local priority - a collecting centre or tick control.

Mokatako - community decided to postpone activity on dip tank until after drift fence complete

Gamokoto - smallstock group active; members interested in tick control but in fenced grazing enclosure first.

Apart from these examples of projects "in limbo" for the time being, there are others where groups have progressed already through some stages and are now nearing being ready for tick control activities. At Kanngwe farmers have been active in a smallstock project for some time, have completed a drift fence and are now contributing towards a dip tank having treated cattle with the AD's stirrup pump for a while.

As with most community activities local consensus and ordering of priorities is vital if the full energies of the community are to go into projects. It is probable that a lack of priority agreement underlies the problems facing many tick control groups, not just the examples cited above.

The importance of area wide institutional development cannot be over emphasised in helping to solve this problem, if the area wide majority participation desirable for tick control is to be achieved.

15.4.2. Effective committee organisation

This is in many respects a postcript to the conclusion of the section above. By institutional development is meant, in this context, the building up of an effective structure, embodied in a management committee with necessary links to whatever traditional local leadership exists, to manage the whole process of group formation and organisation and the implementation of the project.

The presence of a Farmers Association such as the one at Medie, incapable of deciding for and with the community between tick control and crop storage and marketing, is of little use. At Ranaka in 1977 a 'kgotla' meeting did decide on a dip tank project in preference over fencing smallstock dosing and other alternatives. But here the "Farmers Committee" elected to manage the project was totally ineffective and two years went by before a core group of those really committed to the project formed a sub committee. Progress then began, showing that what counts is who is involved in a committee - not the Farmers Committee title.[13]

Another example of ineffective organisation may help to emphasise the point.

The serious problems the Madiba dip tank group had with participation can certainly be traced to this cause. The poor turnout at digging the pit may seem surprising considering that a P2.00 fine on members not participating was provided for in the by laws. However, this by-law had never been implemented because two key committee members (the Secretary and Vice Chairman) rarely turned up themselves. Records were thus never written of those failing to participate, let alone the awkward aspect of discipline when group leaders were those primarily at fault. The secretary of the group was reported to be a major obstacle to progress in other ways as well, having caused similar disruption in the same capacity in the VDC. People were only coming to realise his character and that for further progress re-election of the committee was essential.

15.4.3. Leadership and social factors

The situation at Madiba was, however, more complicated still, and serves to illustrate the way that social factors can affect tick control groups. It was reported[14] that a factor underlying the misbehaviour of some of the committee members and others in the group was reluctance on the part of some of the wealthier cattle owners in the area against the project succeeding for fear that it would interfere with the labour supply for the management of their cattle. Elements within the community therefore encouraged disruptive gossip to hinder progress.

Such influence from those of higher status in a community can have far reaching consequences. Although many farmers north of Mmadinare expressed their support in meetings where underlying issues often do not surface, outside the meetings their commitment does not materialise. No action or contribution follows. One farmer explained that once the project was built many of those who had stayed in the background would come forward and even pay. But in the meantime the majority of members enjoyed the idea of the project but then behaved as though the project would then automatically come about without their active involvement.

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(13) This report uses the FC title to mean only FCs which have been elected and trained in accordance with recognised terms of reference for area wide FCs.

(14) In discussions held between the author, various committee and group members and the AD for Mmadinare North.

Leadership problems were the cause of some of the difficulties with a number of other projects also. At Kumakwane membership stuck at 14 and because of ineffective village leadership further community support was not forthcoming. This had consequences for the Mmankgodi group as we shall see in the next section.

At Rasesa also, it was reported that the headman provided no lead, and in the lands areas there was a complete vacuum of leadership. In one of the two schemes, women were predominant on the organising committee as they were the most active in the informal 'kgotla' proceedings. However their efforts were unsupported by their menfolk and no progress was being made.

But at Diloro the progress of the small group is an example of a determination to succeed on the part of a few members of a community in the face of a local majority under the influence of a headman who did not support such development. Their steady increase in number from 7 to 11 and then 13 using the hand equipment purchased, followed by interest from another 13 farmers and the proposition for a bigger project, shows that group development can overcome local social problems.

15.4.4. Problems associated with pattern of settlement in the communal areas

As effective group action in tick control depends on the collaboration of all the owners using a particular area, the problems inherent in the mixed up settlement pattern characteristic of the communal areas affect tick control groups especially. The nature of the settlement pattern and the extent of sharing of grazing areas between neighbouring communities and the mixture of village and tribal origin which can be found in many lands areas was described in Chapter 8.

Some examples of the impact on tick control groups of these problems can be added here.

Tsorogwane: Members of the lands community originate from several different villages and once dispersed to these different places progress is brought to a standstill as organisation takes such a long time.

Sikwane: A proposed dip tank/spray race group was formed or a village basis in 1979. Thereafter constant difficulty was experienced in holding meetings of the group and its committee as members had scattered to different lands areas for the cropping season. Although evidence was not very complete the author concludes that group organisation centred on the various lands sub areas may prove more viable.

Manoko: The lands community here consists of farming families from Thamaga, Molepolole, Gabane, Kumakwane and Mmankgodi. No recognised 'kgotla' operated in the entire area.

Seviya: This group was reported to have had organisational difficulties due to members of the committee being widely scattered; hence communication problems.

Maunyele: the organisation of the Mohuduhutswe group ran into problems partly connected with the widely scattered membership across very spaced out lands areas. The AD tried to encourage the group to split into 2 sub groups to solve this problem. However the other problems then surfaced to do with the committee's mismanagement of the equipment.

Most of the cases above were organisation or administrative. Similar problems can be caused for a variety of reasons, sometimes involving, as has been noted, leadership or socially rooted disputes between people in an area. The real problem for tick control is when the result is a disunited attack on the ticks. With certain other projects it can be argued that the progressive should be allowed to get ahead; the others will catch up or join in later. But tick control is all about area-wide action and therefore area wide organisation.

As Mmankgodi farmers were discovering, the problem of a drop in participation was that the members still dipping the cattle would have to do so more often and therefore at more expense, as the cattle became more quickly reinfested on returning to the grazing areas shared with owners who were not members and were not taking action. In particular, Mmankgodi members felt that something needed to be done at Kumakwane because this was the community with whom they shared the communal grazing in the hills separating the two villages. The chief of Mmankgodi was for this reason being encouraged by his people to visit the 'kgotla' at Kumakwane. Diplomacy was called for as weak leadership at Kumakwane was what Mmankgodi people attributed the problem to.

Ntlhantlhe farmers and members of the Mmamaereng group also commented on the shared grazing problem.

15.4.5. Water supply

The type of tick control project possible and where it can take place is determined to a great extent by the nature of water supplies.

A spray race requires a quantity (perhaps 10-12 drums or more) of clean water for every spraying day. To fill a dip tank may require in the region of 100 drums; and for replenishment during or after dipping a further 10-12 drums of water will still be needed. The siting of these permanent installations has to take this into account.

Many groups have experienced considerable difficulties over water supply. The Metsemaswaane spray race group had to fetch water by skotch card a distance of 5 km during the very dry months of 1979 when the Tlebegwane dam next to which their spray race is sited was dry. This caused a number of members to drop out of the group when it became the turn of their sub group to have to fetch water for spraying the next day.[15] At Bokaa, the dip tank was sited a long distance from the wells used for watering cattle on the assumption that water would be reticulated to the dip tank from the village borehole operated by the Kgatleng District Council. But this intention was never communicated to Council by the group's committee, and although the village councillor was aware of the project he was never involved. Because of this the dip tank had to be filled by the DAO's office in Mochudi hauling water by Government transport and bowser. The issue of a permanent water source was still unresolved in m id 1980 - 3 years after the project began.

Many other groups depend upon the solution of a water supply problem for the implementation of a dipping or spraying project. Among them are:

Mmalore - depend on a private borehole at present; dip project can only be implemented when group has independent water source.

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(15) Metsemaswaane sub divided its members into two sub groups based on two sub areas.

Kgoro: - farmers recognise priority of developing and equipping borehole in the grazing (enclosure) area before dip project.

Segakwana, Kgaswe, Janyane, Mmantshadidi: groups south of Serowe all planning borehole projects to safeguard water supplies (in addition to dams) before undertake dip projects.

Ntlhantlhe: farmers proposing to collaborate with Magotlhwane farmers to build dip tank which would have to be situated down on edge of lands areas to be next to the river and where a dam needs to be built.

At Gakutlwe (Manoko) progress on spray race project reported to have been hindered by water shortage; possibly this referred to general water shortage in lands area disrupting settlement.

Some groups have overcome the problem or are overcoming it. At Mmankgodi the Farmers Association realised they would need a small engine and lengths of hose to pump water from the nearby Kolobeng river, and therefore added P2.00 to the joining fees in 1978 specifically towards this additional project.

Similarly at Tonota East and Seviya (the Senyawe group) groups have discovered they need pumping equipment to fill their dip tanks. In the case of Senyawe the group had been filling the dip tank by hauling water in drums. In both cases applications were in progress in 1980 to SLOCA for the pumping equipment.

As well as dip tank and spray race groups, groups using hand spraying equipment can be affected. The Tswidi group in Pelotshetlha area is only able to use its own crush if water is available locally. If not operations have to be carried out at a Vet. Department crush some distance away where there is a borehole.

The problem of water supply clearly needs greater attention in the planning of livestock husbandry facilities.

R15/7: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN GUIDELINES ON THIS, THE RELATIONSHIP TO WATER DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE CLEARER.

The appropriate form of water development for different types and sizes of livestock project need emphasis. The IFPP plan for handling facilities incorporating a water catchment tank may be appropriate for smaller groups using hand equipment. Larger groups operating dip tanks should perhaps develop on the basis of borehole group membership. IFPP's plans to amalgamate several groups around 6 handling units to be sited next to 7 boreholes to be obtained from Water Affairs may be an appropriate large lands area group size/spatial pattern. The developments occurring in the lands areas south of Serowe completely at the initiative of Farmers Committees and dam groups will result, it appears, in a similar pattern.

15.4.6. Land allocation difficulties

Two cases were reported of Land Board delays in allocation of dip tank sites. In the case of the Tonota Co-operative the delay was over a year. At Ranaka the Kwahu group had also not been allocated a site and as a result the APO was unable to build handling facilities for the group as an encouragement from the SLOCA demonstration programme. Elsewhere Land Board delays were never reported to be a difficulty.

15.5. BY LAWS AND THEIR OBSERVATION

As far as could be ascertained at least 18 groups had drafted by-laws of some form. In the regions the picture was:

	Number of tick control groups[16] with by-laws
Maun	-
Francistown	2
Central	5
Gaborone	8
South	3

A further 6 groups around the country were reported to be in the process of preparing by-laws. Some example constitutions are provided in Appendix 26 for the groups at Bokaa, Mmankgodi, Metsemaswaane, Segakwana, Mmamaereng, Madiba and Diloro. In addition to these a few other cases were seen such as those of the Kwahu group at Ranaka which provide only for the dipping fees proposed by the group, and those for the Matsiloje group and the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association. The Matsiloje by-laws cover joining fees and action against members not providing labour in group activities, and the registering of cattle numbers before dipping. The Rankoromane constitution was drafted to embrace all that the RLFA Committee anticipated would be involved in the full redevelopment of Rankoromane ranch. It fell, however, far short of this, and at the same time was not specific enough to guide the group through their initial task - the renovation of the dip tank. The group was therefore advised in February 1980 by the DAO to simplify the constitution appropriately for the dip tank project.

Several points are of interest:

(i) All the groups which have completed the major projects - dip tanks or spray races - have constitutions,

(ii) Most by-laws do not specify what dipping or spraying fees will be. The Metsemaswaane group started out by specifying an annual P2.00 fee per member to cover running costs, but did not implement it and raised funds in other ways eventually proposing a per-head fee system. It is suggested that this omission by most groups is a reflection of the lack of technical and economic guidelines available to groups.

(iii) A number of groups impose higher joining fees on late joiners. At Mmankgodi the standard joining fee for original members was P7.00. The current fee for new members is P13.00 - nearly double. It is not clear whether this is meant to incorporate in an additive sense the annual P3.00 subscription. Since two years have elapsed this would be the result. If so it will become progressively more difficult for new members to join which would seem to be contrary to the object of the Farmers Association - benefitting the farming community as a whole, with membership "open to any person interested in the Extension Area". The increase in charges is nowhere provided for in the constitution,

(16) There may well be more than these, written down in group notebooks. These were the only ones that came to light from AD/GDO records.

nor is there any suggestion that such a practice is required in order to compensate the Association in consideration of a new member's not having contributed his labour towards the project initially. Mmankgodi's constitution is in fact one of the rare ones which does not dwell constantly on the nature of penalties to be incurred for failing to work or do this or that.

At Madiba the differential between the original joining fee and that for late joiners is colossal - something like ten times - the standard fee is P20.00; that for joining after project completion will be one beast and "the executive committee will decide whether a beast is of an acceptable size and quality".

This by-law was pointedly aimed at coercing full participation by everyone presently resident in the area, as a rejoinder is added whereby any person who moves into the Badiba area after the dip tank's completion will be expected to pay only the P20.00 fee. The harshness of this by-law may partly explain the group's present predicament described in 15.4.2. and 15.4.3. It has a large membership on paper, or if you prefer - those raising their hands in assent in 'kgotla', but over ¾ of the 80 members contribute little or nothing by way of labour or money.

By contrast, at Bokaa and in most of the Bamalete spray race groups, nothing more than the normal P10.00 joining fee was required to qualify a member to dip his cattle - whether or not that member had worked.

It is uncertain whether the Segakwana group did ever collect or have cause to collect the 25 thebe or 50 thebe payments imposed per day when a member failed to work. At Madiba as we saw earlier the P2.00 per day fines on such members have not been collected.

(iv) In most cases as we saw in 15.3., groups failed to collect the stated joining fees from members. Metsemaswaane set joining fees at P14.00, but collected on average only P6.00 from each of its 50 members. Even at Mmankgodi where late joiner fees are now set at P13.00, some original members have failed to contribute the entire P7.00.

The view of this report is that the formulation of by-laws is a crucial step in the group organisation process. At the same time by-laws are a totally ineffective remedy for an inappropriate project, and even for an appropriate project the meaningful enrollment of the full community can be achieved only through adequate consultation and institutional development, not through coercive rules set by executive committees in some of whose members the community may not have confidence.

The extension worker facilitating the group developing process has to be especially careful. The object in tick control is certainly to encourage full participation by farmers of an area. Penalties on late joining may appear to be a scheme likely to deter someone from not joining and contributing at the early stages when participation counts most. But there are risks of alienating those who perhaps cannot afford to join or who are slow to understand what is going on.

R15/8: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS ASPECT BE EMPHASISED IN GUIDELINES ON BY-LAWS FOR TICK CONTROL.

15.6. A BROADER CONCEPT IN CATTLE HUSBANDRY GROUP ORGANISATION

How can the participation of all area residents be assured? How widely is "an area" to be defined in this context? We have just seen that by-laws do not necessarily achieve their object, yet many groups put their faith in their constitution as though its existence in itself absolves the group from its problems. Some small groups caught beneath the threshold for viability discussed in 15.3, plan for Government grant assistance to make them financially capable of implementing the project of their choice, and plan then to write a constitution believing that thereafter many more people in the area will join once they see the project is moving.[17]

But as this chapter has shown many groups have great difficulty deciding which of a number of alternative project methods is appropriate to their situation. This has been seen to be tied up often with a lack of technical and economic knowledge which improved guidelines will help to reduce. But in the main the difficulty is knowing what size to aim for, in membership and cattle numbers, and what area of control the project should aim to cover. The wild discrepancies between the recommended herd sizes for different tick control methods and those actually happenning in practice is evidence of the problem (see 15.3.4).

To help tackle these shortcomings, the approach to group activity in tick control should consider four main areas:

- the importance of institutional development
- the resort where appropriate to an incremental approach, i.e. a progression in methods
- spatial considerations
- wider livestock management considerations

15.6.1. The importance of institutional development

In several contexts the need for institutional development has arisen. Competent leadership and organisation is essential for a community to be able to decide on its priorities. Sometimes extension workers themselves are not clear on priorities and farmers are left in confusion as to which of several projects to undertake. Rational planning - of water development, for example, often the necessary precursor of a dipping project - requires the presence of a local institutional structure capable of such decisisions. Again, in tick control such a structure is essential for the consultation process through which a genuine consensus should be reached on a project method and area of control.

It is also necessary in overcoming leadership and social problems.

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(17) These were precisely the steps proposed by the Diphephe spray race group.

But even where leadership is spirited and strong, as it was in Mmankgodi, and where many 'kgotla' meetings were held, the consultation and planning process failed at some point to anticipate what we may describe as a spatial problem. How could the participation continue through the cropping season of those whose herds were separated from Mmankgodi by lands areas?

Training of the local institutions and aware support is needed for sound project appraisal to anticipate situations like this.

15.6.2. A progression in methods

It was estimated that a membership of around 50 at least is necessary in the more densely populated communal areas for a viable spray race project (see 15.3.4). This conforms also with the average herd sizes to be found in these areas. Most of the groups which were "stuck" in 1980 were smaller groups than this, but still with the object of a major project, dip tank or spray race. What is the solution for these situations? There are a number of alternatives.

Financial assistance for large projects

One is to assist the group financially towards its object on the assumption that in due course more members will join, whilst bewaring of the tendency of groups to charge higher fees to late joiners.

R15/9: BEFORE OFFERING ANY SUCH GROUP GRANT ASSISTANCE, THIS REPORT RECOMMENDS THAT GREAT CARE IS EXERCISED IN INVESTIGATING THE CAUSES OF THE GROUP'S ORGANISATION DIFFICULTIES. Flexibility in the administration of SLOCA is good in many respects but acceptance of an unrealistic valuation of labour could lead to problems later if the membership ends up too small and with too few cattle to operate the project viably. This can happen if spatial factors are not considered (how far away potential new members are). SLOCA administrators claim that grants are being awarded currently at a 50% rate. That is, if the group's own valuation of its labour is included, the group contribution of funds raised plus value of labour amounts to 50% of the total project cost, and the grant covers the rest. Leaving aside the value of labour, it was estimated that groups were raising 10% of the material costs and SLOCA was paying up to 90%. It is of course within the SLOCA matching grant terms of reference that groups should raise a minimum of 10% of the cash costs. But a strong argument in favour of interpreting the "minimum" literally, and encouraging in practice groups to raise as much as 50% or more is that in this way more attention will be forced towards correct appraisal of the long term viability of a group's project.

R15/10: THIS IS THE APPROACH RECOMMENDED. This implies less attention to labour valuation. That the group considers itself capable of building the project is a requirement for every group. Whilst it is important to ascertain that the group can do the initial work, it is more important to be sure of what the group will do thereafter.

R15/11: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT AN ALTERNATIVE FINANCING METHOD WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IS A LOAN. The situation where a loan could be appropriate is where a group intent on a large project is unable to

organise sufficient participation for reasons which are clearly institutional or related to leadership or social factors. The Madiba group at Mmadinare is an example. As far as can be seen spatial problems are not the cause of the organisation difficulties.[18] The group is faced with an unco-operative majority of members with little understanding of what the project is all about. It is possible that many have never seen a dip tank as only hand and motorised spraying equipment has been demonstrated at Mmadinare. Apart from taking everyone on a tour to the nearest dip tank (possibly near Tonota) the only solution is for farmers to be convinced after seeing it happen in their area. This is precisely what many groups set out to do, although at Madiba, as we saw in 15.5., anyone who failed to make up his mind to join at the start is to pay with a beast if he wants to join later.

A way around this would be to provide those interested at the start with a loan. The project could then be implemented and the loan repaid from the fees of those joining as time went on. It would be important for safeguards to be incorporated in the constitution preventing unfairly high joining fees for late joiners.

Starting small scale

Apart from financial assistance to a group to facilitate implementation of a large project whose future viability is confirmed by appraisal, the alternative approach is to start smaller as the Diloro group did - with a project the group could immediately afford.

From small beginnings group activity can develop into bigger projects.

This is a fact. At least 13 groups have progressed in this way and form a body of evidence supporting an incremental approach.

Examples include the following:

	Initial project	Bigger project planned
Matenge:	Crush, hand methods	Spray race
Komana:	Knapsac sprayer	"
Masoko:	Motorised spray pump	"
Kamokwa:	" " "	"
Diloro:	Knapsac sprayer	"
Koajeena[19]:	Crush group	Dip tank
Mmantshadidi:	Crush group	Dip tank/spray race
Machaneng:	Crush group	Motorised spray pump
Mmasebele:	Crush group	Spray race
Mmalore:	Hand spraying	Dip tank
Kanngwe:	"	"
Kgoro:	Smallstock project	"

(18) This needs to be confirmed in future work with this group

(19) This group at Moiyabana is assumed to be one group and not two different projects.

In addition IFPP plans for a number of its livestock husbandry groups to progress from what has been initially mostly smallstock activities and the treatment of calves to more major handling unit projects based on borehole water supplies.

The Masoko group at Thabala started in fact not even with the Thabala FC motorised spray pump, but as a group of 6 farmers who helped each other with dehorning and castrating cattle at one kraal. This group has progressed through 3 phases now to a membership of 17 proposing the spray race.

Similarly at Diloro, interest has grown from 7 to 11 to 13 and now to 26. The group started by reckoning what it could afford. Fees were raised from P5.00 to P8.00 in order to reach the cost of the knapsac sprayer (P75.00). Apart from the unfortunate impact of drought and FMD, the group was in full control of its finances, and its demonstration of tick control in the area led within a few months to a doubling in interest to the point where the group size is approaching that which justifies a spray race.[20]

But if the spray race project is justified ultimately in an area, why start with something smaller? From the evidence of practical experience this incremental approach may be preferable whenever the following conditions apply:

- where only a small proportion of farmers are interested, initially, in a project,
- where social/leadership factors seem intractable for the present time,
- where the main local priority is something else but a few farmers wish to make a start on tick control

In some situations, were a bigger project to be encouraged through grant assistance, the core group of interested people could be landed with a majority of passengers contributing little in cash, labour or spirit. An incremental approach which succeeds in motivating the majority through a demonstration of what group action can achieve has a stronger chance of long term success.

15.6.3. Spatial considerations

In certain situations there are spatial reasons why groups should not only start, but stay, small. Various circumstances can be defined, for example:

(i) Where the total livestock population in an area is too small to justify a spray race.

- The Seokangwe lands community selected a crush and pressure pump for this reason

(ii) Where the population of an area is widely scattered, the area very wide, so that sub area groups are more practical:

- At Rasesa farmers decided on splitting into two groups

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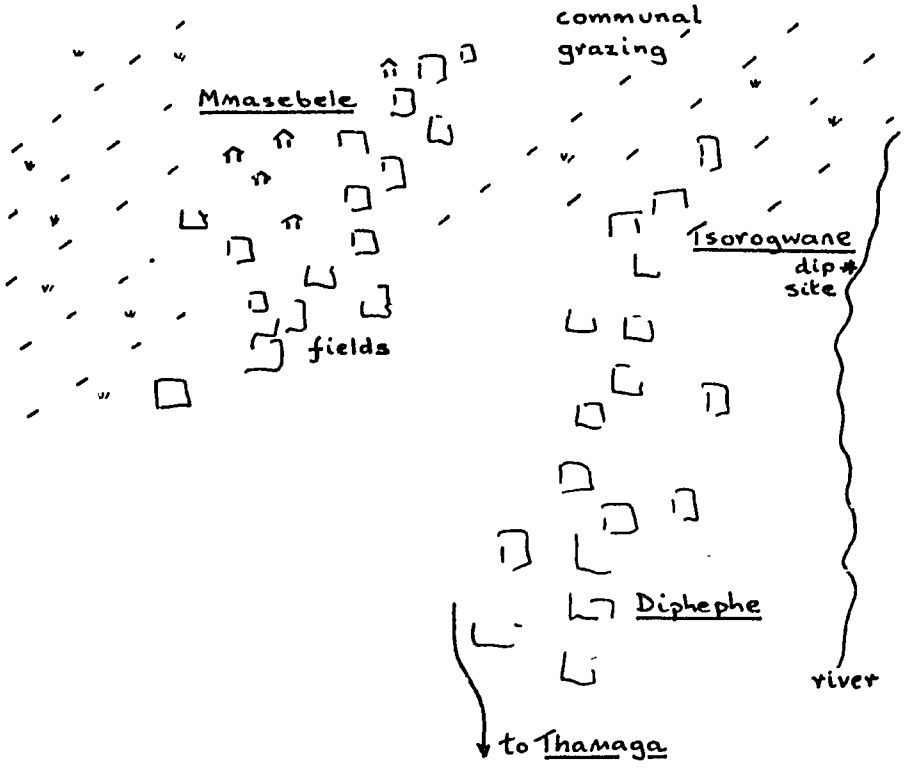
(2) It should be noted that Diloro borders on a cattlepost area and herd sizes are on average much higher than in the more heavily populated communal areas

- At Sikwane attempts to organise farmers into a single area wide group were rendered difficult as people scattered to widely separated lands areas for the ploughing season.

Alternatively, the purchase of portable hand spraying or motorised spraying equipment can be considered as an area-wide project, the equipment shared between several sub groups (as at Thabala) or used on an individual/small group basis as at Komana, or Diloro where 2 members lived over 16 km from the group's centre at the Vet. crush. However, several handling units may require building on a sub group basis and as these units each represent a high cost, altogether separate activities by sub area groups may be more practical in the long run than too much transport of equipment. The effectiveness of area wide institutional organisation matters here. At Thabala it was strong and 7 sub groups were able to operate with reasonable efficiency under the Farmers Committee in the use of the motorised spray pump. At Sikwane, though, area wide organisation was very weak. There was considerable difficulty even calling meetings centrally at the village when the population had scattered to the different lands areas.

(iii) Where lands and grazing is very mixed with no passages for driving cattle in between. Here smaller projects at the separate lands areas may be the answer rather than a central project, even if distances are comparatively small. Examples are:

- Tsorogwane/Mmasebele/Diphephe: this situation is best illustrated by a diagram:



Rather than combine in a single big dip tank project at Tsorogwane (as was proposed at one stage) separate smaller projects are being implemented - either hand spraying or spray races.

- At Mmankgodi the central dip tank project is in difficulties, as the lands areas cannot be traversed during the cropping season to enable participation by farmers from Manyana, Kumakwane or those towards Thamaga, Tsorogwane.

In certain situations however, central facilities can be built and used on a sub area group basis.

- At Mmamaereng the spray race is used on consecutive days firstly by members from the S.E. side of the area, with 600-1000 cattle, and on the second day by farmers from Mmamaereng and Kike with up to 2000 cattle.
- At Mmalore the group operates in 3 sub groups each with 2-300 cattle from 3 sub areas on consecutive days.
- At Metsemaswaane activity is divided into 2 sub groups.

What guidelines are possible which account for spatial considerations? The Animal Production Division guidelines (Feb. 1978) do draw attention to spatial considerations in a general way, in particular to the distance that cattle may be required to travel to a central facility and the organisational and other problems this may cause. The guidelines also observe that the larger investments in dip tanks and spray races are not justified where they may lie idle for more than half the year - i.e. in areas where settlement and therefore the presence of livestock is not permanent.

The difficulty with guidelines is describing ideas and appropriate methods clearly and in practical detail so that field staff and farmers can visualise what could be done, whilst avoiding laying down rigid solutions.

R15/12: IN DEVELOPING THE CLEARER GUIDELINES WHICH ARE CERTAINLY NEEDED TO PROVIDE A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHAT CAN BE DONE AND HOW, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS RECEIVE MORE ATTENTION:

Land Use Planning: the planning of where handling units, spray races or dip tanks are developed by groups should be more inter related with the planning of water development and fencing within area land use plans.

(a) Permanent lands settlement

The fencing of lands enclosures may be relevant in some situations to the siting of livestock husbandry and management facilities, as it is to water development. Where the trend is already towards permanent lands settlement through the development of more permanent water sources, livestock populations are also more permanent. Livestock are already kept in small herds (mostly domestic related stock) all the year round in many lands areas. Bigger centrally sited livestock facilities may be practical in such situations if there is permanent water and if lands areas are fenced and passages of grazing usable. Dip tank projects may be relevant in conjunction with borehole syndicate groups, dam groups

and fencing. This is happening in certain areas (e.g. south of Serowe).

In many of these areas additional livestock migrate in to the lands from surrounding grazing in winter if there is permanent water, as water sources often dry up in the grazing. Whether to encourage this, or to encourage water development and the development of more permanent livestock facilities in the grazing/cattlepost areas is a matter for local land use planning. Local institutional capacity to be involved in such planning and consultation is most important.

(b) Development aimed at cattle populations in the grazing

Where the bulk of cattle are in recognisable grazing areas for most of the year or where the development of water in such areas' neighbouring lands areas would be advantageous, the development of larger more expensive installations like dip tanks or spray races in the grazing may be most appropriate. Again, water development in the grazing, and possibly drift fencing to separate the grazing from the lands areas, may be necessary inter-related projects.

Examples of where this approach was considered most appropriate by farmers are at Nkange and in certain parts of the Barolong - e.g. Kgoro.

(c) More dispensed development of smaller handling units

As the earlier part of this section argued, the development of smaller scale facilities may be most appropriate actually within lands areas in very scattered or mixed settlement situations. In these areas, as the Animal Production Division guidelines point out, livestock owned are usually a mixture of cattle and smallstock. Combined handling facilities such as those being piloted at IFPP seem most appropriate.

15.6.4. Wider livestock management considerations

Although farmers clearly perceive tick control as their immediate priority, Animal Production specialists are concerned that in extension work a broader outlook is maintained. As one official explained, after a few dry years the urgency of tick control could alter completely. As the viability of bigger projects like dip tanks is related to the amount of use, unless sited in locations where there will always be a large cattle population, the facilities could turn into monuments of the wet 1970s.

Tick control is only one aspect of husbandry and of management. Reasonably acceptable levels of management (RALOM) should include

- disease and parasite control
- dehorning and castration
- feeding supplementary minerals, especially phosphate
- water development) to improve range fodder
- the reduction of veld fires) availability
- better kraaling practices of cows and calves

In addition breed improvement and the introduction of seasonal breeding and early weaning can increase productivity although are stressed less by the Animal Production Division in the communal areas than marketing, range management and livestock husbandry and management

practices aimed at improving general animal health and getting a better quality product to market.

A basic handling unit, primarily the crush, is the necessary infrastructure not just for tick control but for a range of other practices including

- dehorning and castration
- culling and marketing of cows and other stock
- worm control (dosing)
- branding
- treating wounds
- vaccinations - Anthrax
  - contangious abortion
  - botulism
  - black quarter
  - pasteurellosis in some areas
  - calf paratyphoid
- AI pregnancy diagnosis

The crush if well built can last 20 years. It is the key facility removing the tiring hand work in improved livestock husbandry.

There is a need in cattle husbandry group organisation to think more broadly than in terms of just tick control.

Rather than encouraging dip tanks in a stereotyped way, more thought should be given to setting up the kind of infrastructure in the communal areas which will facilitate the practice of a broader livestock husbandry and management programme. Group development is undoubtedly the key to developing this infrastructure.

When broader management as well as spatial considerations are brought into the picture, the type of project appropriate to a particular sized lands community can be planned with greater vision for the future, possibly in conjunction with water and fencing development.

15.7. THE CRITICAL NEED FOR IMPROVED SUPPORT.

By now the kinds of problems which tick control groups face should be evident. This section draws attention particularly to the difficulties that groups have experienced which could be remedied by support, and gives examples of some of the shortcomings in support which do occur.

This is by no means a condemnation of the efforts of staff in the regions generally. Reference to the Appendix tables will show that in many cases groups of farmers are operating on the basis of support from their area AD. They may be borrowing the AD's equipment on a regular basis. Sometimes the ADs make themselves present at the veterinary crush whenever farmers spray cattle, as happens at Mmalore. APOs too, despite difficult transport constraints, often carry out programmes of demonstrations, or help a group in its formative stages with regular free supplies of remedies.

What is of concern, however, is that these activities should achieve as much as possible. APOs, at one per region, are very thin on the ground and in some cases lack adequate practical experience and technical skills. This section hopes to show that through the formulation of a more coherent strategy, a better understanding of the process of group organisation in the field and with a clearer idea of the practicalities of how it is to be achieved, the efforts of these staff can be put to optimal use.

15.7.1. A case study - the problems

The complexity of the support role in tick control groups is illustrated by the example of Kgophathate as it is one which shows the way in which the problems referred to in section 15.4 can interact. It illustrates also how difficult it can be sometimes to appraise a group situation or to put a finger exactly on where the problem lies in group organisation. When progress is stagnant for two years, as it had been at Kgophathate, what could be the reasons and a solution? What support input is appropriate?

Kgophathate is a well established cattlepost area south of Mogapi on the route to Maunatlala with a population of about 40 households. Interest in development projects was stimulated by the TGLP consultation campaign in 1976. Two radio learning groups formed in the area, about two miles apart and following a Conservation Committee tour, activity centred on a firebreak project which was subsequently co-ordinated on an area wide basis by the Mogapi Farmers Committee.

Exactly how the dip tank project idea developed was difficult to trace. At the consultant's meeting with farmers at Kgophathate a rather confused story emerged from different farmers explaining varying versions. It seemed to have happened on the rebound of an idea for dam group formation and without area wide consensus. Dam groups had been proposed at one stage but shelved when it was found that the farmers in the area were not eligible for dams as they were told that no member could own more than 40 livestock units. Most of the owners around Kgophathate owned well over this limit. The failure of dam building in the area appeared to cause confusion still to some of the farmers, although others explained that on the whole the area was satisfactorily endowed with wells.

The moment at which a dip tank group came into being appears to have been a meeting between members of the firebreak group and the Central District Conservation Committee. In the words of one farmer, the farmers were asked what their next project would be and after some inconclusive discussion about dams there was talk of a dip tank and "the Conservation Committee then wrote down that there was a dip tank group in the area".

From there the situation developed in a muddled way. A committee formed from the leadership of the two radio learning groups with the two Serowe women who had been the radio learning group leaders retaining key positions.

Although about 15 people were said to be interested in the project no members had actually been registered, however, or funds raised by mid 1980 - two years since the project idea came about. Indeed, no joining fees had even been decided upon. There was in other words no group existing in an organised sense and only a brief discussion with farmers

indicated that widespread consultation in the area had not taken place and unanimous agreement about the problem and the need for tick control was far from having been reached.

It emerged that whenever meetings were held, at a point midway between where the two radio learning groups had met, less than half at the most of households in the area attended. And when two trips were arranged to see dip tank facilities in the Tuli Block, only 17 interested farmers attended the first one and 13 the second.

What exactly was the problem? That some farmers were keen to have a dip tank project there was no doubt - but why had they not been able to progress? And why, in an area where most households owned large numbers of cattle and were therefore not short of resources, was interest not area wide?

Some farmers pointed out that they were preoccupied with the Mogapi lands enclosur fence project. Other farmers disputed this, saying that few were concerned with that project and that even the clearing of the firebreak (which was continuing) only occupied people on Saturdays.

But what really appeared to be the problem was the mixed origins of the people with cattleposts at Kgophathate and the difficulty of aligning them under an area wide leadership. Kgophathate is the cattle post area of people from as far and wide as Mogapi, Kgagodi, Mogapinyana, Leserepole, Maunatlala and Serowe. The centre of Kgophathate falls within the Mogapi AD's Extension Area and under the jurisdiction of the Mogapi headman and Farmers Committee. But farmers in the wider neighbourhood fall across the boundaries of 3 Extension Areas and co-ordination was necessary for 3 ADs to be present when a meeting had to be held.

The difficulty of co-ordinating area wide action was not being experienced for the first time. The Farmers Committee had experienced problems with the firebreak in securing the co-operation of residents of Molapowadinama - Maunatlala people - on the eastern side of Kgophathate.

For tick control, as we have seen earlier in the chapter, effectiveness depends on an area wide action. Yet at Kgophathate, which had to act as a unit for a viable dip tank project, there was evident dissent over whether a dip tank project was what was wanted. It was wanted by some; the women leaders were particularly keen as they admitted not having confidence in the mechanical reliability of a spray race. They believed, it seemed, that everyone understood dip tanks, but others in the meeting were clearly not convinced.

The other problem, then, was that consultation and explanation had been inadequate. For one thing the Farmers Committee had not been involved. No discussion had occurred in the Mogapi 'kgotla'. Were the Serowe ladies responsible for this oversight? Was it arrogant behaviour or simply a lack of understanding of the role of a Farmers Committee in co-ordinating area wide activities? Or was it a question of ignorance on the part of the majority of owners in the area about tick control methods that could be achieved by groups?

Into this situation in April 1980, the meeting was called by the ADs trying to encourage progress. The APO from the regional office was the key speaker. But his visit was virtually wasted. He delivered a text book lecture on the advantages and problems of a dip tank project. But his address completely missed the point and even the discussion which followed did not touch upon the real reasons for lack of progress - the social and organisational problems and the muddle over the type of project in the absence of a technical appraisal of the area situation.

The two years at Kgophathate are thus an example of the confused way in which a project may be decided and of subsequent muddles result-

ing in no progress, disillusionment in many cases and often misplaced visits by specialists.

How can situations like this be remedied?

15.7.2. Improved courses at RTCs

Although we must not forget that many groups receive personal visits from support staff, there is a great need for improved formal technical and organisational training. Support staff visits, if well programmed, can be an effective informal training exercise, and in the smaller regions where both distances and the number of commitments are smaller it is possible for regional staff to devote greater direct personal attention to specific groups. One or two of Francistown Region's more recent courses were carefully planned in this way.

In the bigger regions this becomes very difficult and training tends still to follow the traditional pattern.

For years farmers have been coming into RTCs for courses on general agriculture. Courses may include the subject of internal and external parasites on cattle, and deal with their life cycles, the related hazards to cattle and with general methods of control, but this study found few training courses which were actually designed for farmers in the process of organising group projects.

The Makoro and Madiba groups have received no training at all, and in Gaborone Region, even though there are now 4 spray race groups and 2 diptank groups which have had completed projects for some time, the March 1980 course for the committees of tick control groups was the first ever.

The move towards more specialised courses at RTCs is most pronounced in Central Region where many courses on "internal and external parasite control" were being conducted at Mahalapye R.T.C. However, even these were mostly not for project groups, but for collections of interested farmers from various extension areas. What was of the greatest concern was that RTC staff tended to have no idea what were the precise training needs of farmers coming for a course. This would usually be discovered only on the morning the farmers congregated for their first course session.

R15/13: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT APOs IN THE REGIONS ARE ALWAYS INVOLVED IN THE PREPARATION OF TRAINING COURSES FOR PROJECT GROUPS AND THAT A PERSONAL VISIT TO THE GROUP BY THE APO IS MADE SO THAT TRAINING MATERIALS ARE PREPARED AT THE RTC APPROPRIATE TO THE GROUP'S SITUATION. It is pointless to send a group of farmers to a course on dip tanks unless a prior appraisal has been made by the APO that a dip tank is, in principle, the appropriate project.

One of the important observations of this study has been that the process of group formation can be very difficult: there are many problems in the mixed lands - grazing areas which are characteristic of communal situations. Therefore it is very necessary to increase the awareness of what is involved in group development in order to reduce social tension and distrust and one way to approach this is through imaginative and relevant courses for committees, backed up by broader institutional development and education of the community.

15.7.3. Improved lectures and demonstrations in the field

It is difficult for all the farmers in a tick control group to attend courses. The quality of lectures and demonstrations in the field is therefore very important.

The guidelines[21] which field staff have at present are inadequate for providing a really thorough grasp of the technical factors involved in tick control projects. True, they do list the key technical factors to consider, like cattle numbers, distance the cattle come from and the nature of water supplies, but, having seen different APOs and other extension staff in operation in situations where groups required guidance, the consultant feels that the guidelines are not helping the staff to communicate what it all means in practice.

In one instance APO was addressing a group without any visual aids apart from an old dog-eared and mostly invisible technical drawing of a dip tank borrowed from the Vet. Department. The APO was unsure how much water it would take to fill the tank and his explanation of the comparative costs of building and operating a dip tank and a spray race was equally ambiguous as it did not allow for the effect of the numbers of cattle going through treatment.

Talking is not enough. If extension staff are going to show farmers the alternative types of project effectively they need to use very vivid visual aids like flip charts or film strips. AgInf can produce these materials, though no work has yet been done on aids for tick control as a group activity. The most vivid media presentation of all is films. A film unit would be an extremely useful part of the whole group development programme and could be used to particular effect for tick control groups. Films can put across not only the technical and economic features of a project but also the practical organisational problems.

R15/14: IN ORDER TO BEGIN TO GET ACROSS A CLEAR MESSAGE ABOUT THE DIFFERENT METHODS OF TICK CONTROL IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SERIOUS PRODUCTION OF VISUAL AIDS IS DONE. It is necessary for the Division of Animal Production to supply the technical guidelines (as recommended in section 15.3) and for GAMA office and regional staff to liaise closely with the Animal Production specialists in advising AgInf what materials are needed in the regions and on what scale. Flip charts with clear bold illustrations of the technical features of different methods are needed together with supporting film strips showing exactly what is involved in operating them. The production of these materials calls for a lot of imagination to try to convey the nature of the practical problems which can be encountered. The involvement of staff from the regions with their practical experience is important.

Some though not all the members of a tick control group, can be taken on a tour to show them the various methods of control which are available. But demonstration facilities for dip tanks and spray races have been totally inadequate in certain parts of Botswana.

In Central Region neither of the groups currently undertaking dip tanks (Makoro and Madiba) have had any training in the construction and operation of dip tanks and although Mahalapye RTC was proposing to run a training course for the Serowe Groups in June 1980 with the title "Dip tank building as a group", the staff reported that they had no demonstration facilities at the RTC. The APO pointed out to the consultant on a separate occasion that there were dip tanks at APRU's ranches at

(21) Animal production division: tick control - some guidelines for extension and field staff, February 1978.

Morale and Leupane, but since the APO had not been involved at all with the staff in planning the course, the suggestion had not been made.

The Torome group was being taken by the Mmadomare AD to the Tonota dip tank, and Kgophathathe group had been twice to the Tuli block to see a dip tank, but apart from these instances there appeared to be nothing in the way of tours or demonstrations in the region.

In Gaborone Region the situation is not so bad and increasing use has been made of the first dip tank and spray race projects that groups completed, for demonstrating to other groups.

The SLOCA funds could be used to remedy the lack of demonstration facilities and some APOs are beginning to make use of the funds to improve initially the facilities at RTCs and SCCs, but there is still a long way to go before demonstration facilities match the need.

Tours to see other projects are also frustrated by the lack of transport. One AD made this comment in explanation of why his farmers had not been to see a project. SLOCA does provide an additional vehicle to every region so will hopefully help to alleviate the shortage, but transport is bound to remain a problem.

15.7.4. The technical content of courses, field lectures and demonstrations

It needs to be clearly impressed upon the group and committee members that the logistics of building dip tanks and spray races are very complicated. At Makoro, as we have already seen, the construction of a dip tank was done to an incorrect design resulting in a 1½ year delay to the group's progress. The Madiba group experienced a long and difficult time finding a contractor to build a dip tank and then negotiating a contract with him, and being made aware of the material costs, builder's fees, and the amount of group labour needed to collect sand etc. locally. Dip tanks require much skill and labour to construct. At Bokaa the dip tank leaked when it was built and the group had problems getting the builder to come back and repair it.

Spray races are easier than dip tanks but they too need a proper builder, or at least careful supervision if the group do the work.

Detailed guidelines need to be produced on construction. They are also needed on the working of the dip tanks and spray races. The technicalities of emptying and replenishing a dip tank require guidance, and although replenishing a spray race with fluid is easier, practical guidelines are still extremely useful for general operation. Spray race groups were seen to have problems of blocked and rusted equipment deriving from lack of engine maintenance and of cleaning the race itself. Table 15 (x) illustrates the type of detail to which suitable guidelines must go in order to help groups.

TABLE 15(x): SPRAYRACE OPERATION GUIDELINES AND ITS CARE

1. Do not mix Dipping Solutions
2. Mix Dip with clean water always
3. Thoroughly mix Dip and water before spraying
4. Use fresh Dipwash each time. i.e. 200 litre water with 7 litre dip
5. After every 100 beasts add 100 ml of ALTIK Dip fluid

6. Use ALTIK Dip only unless advised to change
7. Animals should go through one by one to avoid accidents
8. Calves under 3 months should not be sprayed
9. Race crush should not be used for any other operations
10. Remove dung from floor during spraying session
11. After use make sure that the race is cleansed/flushed

Care

- never run pump without water!
- clean strainer and the whole concrete floor after each use of engine
- check engine oil and fuel before starting
- a. after every 50 hours of operation clean and change or re-oil A/cleaner
  b. after every 100 hours change engine oil, clean fuel strainer check spark plug cap and clean spark plug
  c. have spare oil, petrol, adjustable spanner and extra spark plug (NGK B6 H5) on hand always
- engine should not be run any faster than is necessary to get maximum speed.

Caution (Pre-) in General

- clean race before each use
- do not use old Dip wash
- keep the sieve clean
- keep nozzles clear and unblocked
- replace water in foot-bath when it gets dirty
- spray on cool mornings of the day
- keep dips and empty containers safely.

(These guidelines were developed early in 1980 by the APO for Gaborone Region).

It is also extremely important to provide training and guidelines in record keeping and understanding financial control. This is not only crucial to the success of tick control groups, especially the bigger ones, but is also the key to the problem of the group's being able to decide which scheme is most appropriate in their situation. Groups need to be able to record the number of cattle dipped per member and to calculate the fees owing, and then balance the income with the operational costs of different methods.

At present many raise money on an ad hoc basis. This results in low efficiency because there can be long periods between dipping when the money runs out.

Even at Metsemaswaane where there has been a spray race for some time there were no records. All the group had were receipts from the Livestock Advisory Centre when they bought the dip, which they kept with touching conscientiousness. This indicates that it is not for lack of caring that there are no records, but rather for lack of being shown how. The Mmankgodi FA is often held up as an example of successful group development in the Gaborone region, but even though it did try to keep records of cattle dipped, fees owing etc. on studying these records closely the consultant found a major arithmetical error in the membership register. Committee members explained that at one time they had even resorted to hiring a local girl to do the record keeping. The experiment lasted for 4 months, but P20 per month for her wages proved too expensive for the group and too little for the girl. Responsibility rested on the chairman who sought the help of the court clerk to check his figures, but the committee was aware that they had fallen behind in record keeping.

In contrast to this the records being kept by the Diloro group in Central Region were well ordered and accurate, and illustrated the benefits which training can bring. The expertise had been brought to the group by their secretary who had received training at an MRTC FC training course in 1979 in her capacity as secretary of the FC.

15.7.5. The management of support

If tick control groups are to avoid problems like those of the Kgophathathe group, there needs to be a progression of support inputs to an area.

There is a place early on for AgInf. campaigns, with film strips and other visual aids, creating an awareness of the need for tick control. This should include film material about the process of group formation and group activities. Field campaigns can be complemented by slightly longer duration field or RTC courses on the subject of internal and external parasite control, at which farmers should have more opportunity to discuss alternative methods in more detail with the APO or RTC staff. At the next stage farmers need an APO's visit to discuss their particular situation with them and with the local AD. At this stage careful consideration and specialist advice is required about what type of project is best for the group. Ideally an effective local institution, like a Farmers Committee which represents an area as a whole, should be brought into the discussion. The building up of area-wide institutions like FCs, which is a fundamental group development aim, has been shown in this chapter to be crucial to the progress of tick control groups.

Finally, a decision on the type of project made, it is time for further practical demonstration, perhaps a tour in the case of a major project. Thorough practical training is required with the help of detailed guidelines.

Obviously no rigidly set pattern of support can be laid down. But it is important that the emphasis be right - from vivid techniques to help create awareness early on, to practical detail once farmers with guidance have made an appraisal as to which alternative method is appropriate.

How is that guidance to be provided? At the moment as soon as an AD thinks a tick control project is possible the APO is called out from the regional office. Often all the APO does is to talk and demonstrate hand spraying equipment which all District offices have (or should have) anyway and which ADs should be competent to operate. But his demonstrations may be premature. The problem may be ignorance about ticks about which films and flip charts can illustrate better.

In other cases, dip tanks and spray races may not be appropriate due to other considerations. Yet APOs continue wasting their time sometimes, lecturing on the pros and cons of dip tanks or even conducting tours to show dip tanks to farmers from such situations, usually out of ignorance about the area where the farmers come from, or about social problems affecting what the community can do.

Only the AD and farmers have the local knowledge essential for project appraisal. Often, though, this knowledge has remained untapped for long periods. At Mmadinare, the AD concerned acknowledged that he had been aware for many months of the social problems affecting the organisation and progress of the Madiba group - yet the opportunity had never come for him to discuss what he felt to be the real problem, let alone solve it.

The request for support from the regional office is made by the AD. ADs are therefore the staff who most need better guidelines and inservice training so as to understand better the factors to be considered in planning and organising group tick control projects.

This report considers, in view of its conclusions about a broader concept in cattle husbandry group organisation, that ADs, given the necessary further training, are capable of handling alone the majority of group situations which must be smaller projects. The APO will then not have to be called out unnecessarily, but only when uncertainty exists in the project is appropriate.

To get a better managed system going will require much initial effort but the impact would be widespread. ADs need training. APOs also need training in order to be of greater assistance to ADs in making project appraisals and providing more effective support for the larger projects.

Fundamental to all training is the development of guidelines. All that exists currently are two handouts[22] and some drawings provided to APOs at a short HQ briefing session. This is just not adequate material for training to be based on. Material is needed which sparks the imagination and vision of staff in the regions. Staff need to become more aware of how the various factors to be considered in project appraisal and group organisation work and interact, not even just a list of what they are. Then and only then will viable group projects be the order of the day.

If this amount of training and work in the development of guidelines appears excessive, some perspective may help. At the moment a few individual groups are requiring an immense amount of support to see them through anyway.

The AD from Mmadinare North visited the Madiba group every Tuesday from August 1978 to May 1979.[23] At Mmankgodi in Gaborone Region, the GDO from the regional office made no less than 25 personal visits to Mmankgodi in a period of about one year to help with the dip tank project, in addition to the supportive visits of the APO.

(22)The February 1978 guidelines and another 2 page handout to APOs in the regions on "SLOCA - DEMONSTRATIONS" of 4 July 1979

(23)Excepting in the final week of each month when District monthly meetings are held.

So much effort is being wasted which need not be wasted if support were better managed. Farmers from Sikwane were brought to see the Mmankgodi dip tank, but they only had an elementary idea about tick control. No investigation had been made of the local circumstances at Sikwane. The community at Sikwane is so scattered in a number of lands areas that it proved hard, subsequently, for them even to meet centrally, so a dip tank would certainly not be appropriate.

15.7.6. Guidelines for the longer term task - making real use of SLOCA

SLOCA is now available to assist the Department of Agricultural Field Services with much of its prior support problems. Transport for APOs has been eased and funds are available for a broad ranging demonstration and grant programme. SLOCA in fact is the vehicle for which the Animal Production Division has been waiting in order to try to introduce a new approach. It represents currently, the support project to aid group actions by small owners in the communal areas.

The problem now is to convey to field staff in the regions what this approach is and to get it happening.

In the Ministry some disappointment has been expressed at the initial lack of response from the regions towards what was on offer. But when the history of Animal Production extension is considered this is not surprising. It was geared in the past to the individual livestock owner through the Pupil Stockman Scheme - the sister to the Pupil Farmer Scheme. Extension concentrated for years on dehorning and castration and other simple husbandry practices an owner could perform at his cattlepost. Diseases have always been left to the Vet. Department.

Group activity for small owners only became seriously pursued after the gradualist extension approach to TGLP implementation in the communal areas evolved in 1976.[24]

Essentially the approach in group work has been to provide support to farmers for whatever the farmers perceived to be their priority. Senior technicians in the Animal Production Division explain that the recent focus on tick control has been in response to farmer awareness of the tick infestation problem, serving hopefully as an initial step towards broader action in livestock husbandry and management. The thinking is that farmer confidence can be won from starting with problems they are most aware of rather than by attacking more contentious issues.

There are several points here. The first is that the Animal Production Division acknowledge that tick control is but a very small aspect of the broader developments they would like to see, outlined in section 15.6.4. Secondly it needs to be pointed out that if tick control projects fail because of inappropriate methods chosen or because other priorities like water or range/fencing developments should have been tackled first - then farmer confidence is more likely to be lost than gained. Thirdly, it is considered here that the real reason for the emphasis on tick control both before, but now particularly after SLOCA has been available (representing potential for a broader approach) is that there is a serious lack of vision in the regions as to what exactly to encourage and how. And fourthly, that this situation stems

(24) This is not to say that group extension methods were not used in the former days. Demonstrations, farmers days etc. have always been used as an extension method but with individual follow up.

from inadequate training and guidance from headquarters on the broad aims and the practical details of the SLOCA strategy. It is considered in other words that the constraint is no longer the lack of a vehicle - the SLOCA project - to use in implementing a programme. Even with SLOCA a major breakthrough will not be achieved until a real message is conveyed to the staff in the regions.

When it is considered, as this chapter has shown, that even the limited load of two dip tank projects in a region has proved along with other demands, beyond support capacity[25], then the importance of adequate preparation for SLOCA is all the more stark.

In this light the disappointing reaction from the regions is less surprising. Staff in the regions have received negligible briefing on strategy for SLOCA and Animal Production generally in the communal areas. They have as a result little practical feel for the brief outlines circularised out from HQ. APOs also, unless they have an exceptional personal aptitude and flair for their work, totally lack the practical ability and technical knowledge needed for their job. They have the same training as a DAO. Beyond that they received no specialised training at all until SLOCA was introduced, and since then have only received a couple of briefings amounting to a few days.

More than a couple of circulars and a few days briefing is necessary to launch the project which forms the technical basis for group activities for small owners in the communal areas.

R15/15: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT MAJOR INSERVICE TRAINING WITH A STRONG PRACTICAL ORIENTATION IS ARRANGED FOR APOs AND APPROPRIATELY CONCENTRATED TRAINING ALSO FOR OTHER REGIONAL AND DISTRICT FIELD STAFF. Much use should be made of case study material on group projects to give APOs, particularly, a feel for group organisational aspects.

Finally, the broader aims of SLOCA - i.e. the implementation of the RALOM (reasonably acceptable levels of management) package of recommendations - need to form the basis of guidelines developed for group activity in cattle husbandry.

R15/16: IT IS RECOMMENDED THEREFORE THAT GUIDELINES ON GROUP TICK CONTROL PROJECTS ARE DEVELOPED AS A COMPONENT OF GUIDELINES ON THE BROADER PACKAGE FOR GROUP ACTIVITY IN CATTLE MANAGEMENT

The broader guidelines should include:

(i) practical details on all types of projects for which assistance is available through SLOCA - i.e.

- water reticulation and lifting devices
- land rehabilitation
- fencing systems
- fire break systems
- tick control systems
- handling systems

(ii) an explanation of spatial/land use planning considerations, in particular noting the interrelationship with water sources and their development, fencing, firebreaks etc. (see 15.6.3.)

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(25) viz. Makoro and Madiba in Central Region 1977-1980.

Important here is to be aware that communities have a limited capacity for project activities. Starting with a major tick control project may not be as appropriate as taking action first in fencing or water development. The latter have been shown to be the most common farmer priorities before tick control. Smaller tick control projects based on multi purpose handling facilities may be more appropriate in the short term while major effort is towards other priorities.

(iii) clear recommendations (with examples) on types of handling facility/multi purpose project (which can be used initially for tick control) appropriate to different situations - i.e. as defined by type of water supply, nature of land use, density of cattle population or other livestock etc. (ref. also 15.6.3.)

(iv) how to decide btween dip tanks, spray races and hand equipment tick control methods as the initial project (see earlier 15.3.5.) together with ideas for a progression in project development where appropriate.

(v) Guidelines on alternative tick control methods should be clear on:

- the effect of varying dipping frequency
- the use of different remedies
- what affects economic viability
- what are the costs per head of cattle treated for different methods used appripriately (size of herd, regular treatment) or inappropriately
- operational methods, maintenance etc.

(vi) guidelines on the use of multi purpose handling facilities for group or individual activity in other areas of husbandry and management should likewise be clearly presented in such terms with a suggested calendar of activities for different area situations - i.e. combined smallstock/domestic cattle in lands - summer only or throughout year; or the use of bigger projects in cattlepost areas; (see 15.6.4.)

(vii) a clear account of the likely processes of group organisation for different types of project, noting for example with dip tanks scheduling of:

- area wide campaigns or demonstrations
- what to take into account in project appraisal
- how to find and negotiate with a building contractor
- siting and allocation considerations
- related projects (water development)
- training needs

(viii) visual aid materials including film strips and, if possible, films on the broader livestock management and husbandry infrastructure which can be created through group activity.

The administrators of the SLOCA general Animal Production programme could do well to take a leaf from the Smallstock Unit in respect of preparation for implementing the programme. What SLOCA needs is the sort of provisions the Sheep and Goat Development Project contains for developing extension materials and equipment and undertaking of staff and farmer training.

R15/16: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE ADMINISTRATORS OF SLOCA REVIEW THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THE ANIMAL PRODUCTION DIVISION IN RESPECT OF THESE AREAS AND TAKE ANY NECESSARY STEPS TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL FUNDING OR EXPERTISE TO COVER THESE NEEDS. This report considers this to be of paramount importance for the future success of the SLOCA programme which must depend ultimately on the quality of support manpower and materials in the regions.

15.8: SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 15

15.1. Why is group action needed for tick control?

Farmers are acutely aware of the problems caused by ticks and of the benefits of tick control projects.

15.1.1. Tick numbers have increased in recent wet years. They limit the productivity of cattle and can also cause sores and sometimes disease.

15.1.2. Some individual farmers try to control ticks by using greases or handsprays. Their methods have several disadvantages, but the chief one is that tick control is ineffective unless it is carried out over a wide area. SLOCA grants for tick control to individuals in the communal area are unnecessary.

15.1.3. Group action solves all the problems associated with individual efforts. It is convenient, effective and financially feasible.

15.1.4. Most of the tick control projects are taking place in the communal lands/grazing areas. Action is not as necessary in cattlepost areas which are usually in the less seriously infested sandveld and where individual action is anyway more widespread.

15.1.5. From figures avaiable on the herd sizes of participants in tick control projects, the farmers involved mostly own between 10 and 30 cattle, though farmers with many more or many fewer cattle also take part.

15.1.6. There is a need to consider tick control as only one part of a wider strategy for cattle management.

15.2. What types of tick control projects are going on?

15.2.1. The types of projects being undertaken by groups concern the construction of handling facilities, hand spraying equipment, motorised spray pumps, fixed spray races and dip tanks. All projects but two are being done by unregistered groups. There are also some Co-operative Society projects which fall outside the scope of this report.

15.2.2. Most projects have started in the last 2-3 years. 4 projects began in the early '70s.

15.2.3. There are 13 crush/handling facilities projects in Botswana, 4 being implemented and 8 proposed. Most of those completed are used by farmers on an individual basis. At least 11 groups operate hand spraying equipment. Another 4 have started to raise funds and a minimum of 5 more are planned. Other groups are expected to form. About 432 members are participating in either crush building or handspraying projects.

15.2.4. Interest in portable motorised spray pump projects has been shown only in Central Region where APOs have been actively demonstrating for several years. One project is in operation. It has 70 members in

different sub groups. One more project is underway and 5 are planned, involving a further 55 farmers.

15.2.5. There are 4 spray race projects operating, all in Bamalete, due to the efforts of the former GDO and APO. 7 more projects are in very early stages and 18 are proposed. 230 farmers are participating in the Bamalete projects and over 416 in the rest of the groups.

15.2.6. 3 dip tank projects have been completed, 15 are at some stage of implementation, 12 are proposed and a further 6 groups are deciding between a dip tank or a spray race. Over 776 people are involved altogether.

15.2.7. We thus find a total of 120 groups in tick control with over 2200 farmers participating.

15.3. How are funds being raised and what are the financial problems?

15.3.1. Most groups raise funds for the initial purchase of tick control equipment by joining fees, but other methods are also used. Table 15(viii) provides data on fees, funds raised and grant assistance for the different types of project by region.

15.3.2. Several interesting observations arise from table 15(viii). Actual average group member contributions do not vary as much as the stated joining fees. Although the costs of the various types of project are very different, the cost of each to the individual is very similar. Government grants make up the cost of expensive facilities. Even spray race and dip tank projects, the latter costing about twice the former, are receiving like group contributions. These trends in fundraising seem to be connected with two inter-related issues: group size, and understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of the different methods of tick control. First, a separate issue is discussed.

15.3.3. Drought and foot and mouth disease have both halted fundraising in some parts of the country. Should a group in a drought/FMD area receive a total grant? Diloro farmers argued this could adversely effect participation. Assistance for groups which had already been active should, however, be considered.

15.3.4. The Animal Production Division have issued guidelines on method of tick control in relation to herd size, but no clear pattern emerges from data on what groups are doing in practice. Large herds can be treated by hand methods because they are split up. The main problem groups are actually meeting with regard to group size concerns the number in the group and the money raised. Groups start too small for large projects and then run into financial difficulties. This has happened at, for example, Kgagodi, Tsorogwane, Diphephe, Manoka and Madiba. The group must also be large enough to sustain ongoing costs. Bamalete groups have been successful. There have been difficulties at Mmankgodi. Judging from Bamalete experience a group size of about 50 is necessary for dip tank or spray race projects.

15.3.5. The fact that there is little real guidance to help decisions between methods of tick control contributes to lack of participation and failure to fund projects. There is confusion over technical advantages and disadvantages. The skill needed to build a dip tank is not allowed for and several problems have resulted; guidelines on dip tanks versus spray races are vague and do not take into account some disadvantages of the latter which have been experienced in practice; technical problems and advantages of handspraying methods, however, are more clearly seen. There is a lack of information too on comparative operational costs: there have been difficulties with a portable motorised spray pump which need to be dealt with in demonstrations; the assumption that dip tanks are cheaper to run than spray races does not allow for the number of cattle which use the facility or for the frequency of dipping; actual experience with financing different methods is also confused and records are poor so this too hinders clear comparison - and here too the picture is complicated by differences in frequency of use. It is not surprising that farmers and extension workers do not know what decision to come to.

Fuller and more practical guidelines are therefore recommended. Details of cost caluclations in relation to frequency of use should be shown. There should be more visual aids and a better inservice training for extension staff. Plans of different projects need to be circulated. The IFPP design should be assessed more carefully.

15.4. <u>What general organisational problems are there?</u>

Apart from finance problems and comparative technical and economic advantages and disadvantages of different methods, other problems have affected the progress of tick control projects.

15.4.1. Several projects were being held up through the preoccupation of the group members with other schemes. Area wide institutional development is necessary to tackle the situation.

15.4.2. There are examples of ineffective committees holding up progress on tick control projects.

15.4.3. Social factors, such as a wish not to disrupt the status quo exhibited at Madiba, hinder projects, as may uninterested headmen.

15.4.4. The pattern of settlement in the communal areas may cause difficulties, perhaps because of seasonal dispersal, lack of recognised 'kgotla' or widely spaced lands areas. Area wide action to control ticks is essential to success so these difficulties are all the more critical. Shared grazing is also causing problems in some areas.

15.4.5. Water supplies are important for spray races and dip tanks. Some groups have found themselves going long distances to fetch water, resulting in members dropping out of the group and delays.

Other groups cannot begin projects due to water problems. Three groups have found solutions to their difficulties. Even hand spraying groups can be affected. More attention should be paid to the relation between water development and livestock projects. IFPP plans are promising.

15.4.6. There are just two cases of delays in dip tanks projects because of delays in land allocation.

15.5. By-laws

19 tick control groups have by-laws; a further 6 are preparing them, and 3 groups partially cover activities with by-laws. All the completed projects do have by-laws. Most do not specify dipping/spraying fees - this may be related to the lack of technical guidelines. Some groups impose high joining fees on late joiners. At Mmankgodi the reason is not specified but it is against the principle of encouraging open membership. At Madiba the late fee is deliberately very high in order to persuade everyone to join immediately - but perhaps it is resulting in reluctance to join? Other groups make no difference in fees for latecomers. In most cases even the stated joining fee is not collected - By-laws need to be seen not as a way of dealing with problems which arise but as a crucial part of group formation itself. Penalties may alienate people. More attention should be paid to by-laws and tick control.

15.6. A broader concept in cattle husbandry group organisation

How can the participation of all area residents be assured? How can the difficulties in choosing an appropriate project be tackled? Four main areas need consideration.

15.6.1. Institutional development is necessary in order to produce leadership competent to make rational plans and enable the community to really participate in decision making.

15.6.2. It is possible to help proposed projects, stuck because of too low a membership, by giving financial assistance. This should be done cautiously, making sure that membership is likely to increase. Letting groups pay 50% of SLOCA grants (not 10% and the rest in labour) is one way of focussing on this. Loans should be encouraged in situations where the cause of low participation is clearly not spatial problems but due to institutional, leadership or social factors. Secondly, projects can be helped by encouraging a small scale start of the committed few. This has worked in practice, with at least 13 groups progressing from handspraying or crush groups to dip tanks and spray races. IFPP has similar plans. The idea is that the majority becomes motivated through demonstration.

15.6.3. There are several spatial circumstances where groups should stay small: the total livestock population may not be very large; area sub groups may be appropriate due to a widely scattered population (alternatively portable equipment can be shared in the area providing that organisation is possible); separate projects may be best when it is not easy to travel between lands areas. In other situations central facilities can be built, however, and used by various sub groups.

The Animal Production Division guidelines do touch on spatial considerations but clearer help is needed, though avoiding rigid rulings. Tick control projects should be seen as part of land use plans. Large central facilities may be appropriate, if there is water, in permanent lands areas or grazing areas where cattle stay all year. Smaller facilities may be appropriate where lands are scattered and settlement mixed.

15.6.4. Tick control is only one aspect of improved livestock husbandry, and would not be as necessary in drier years. It is therefore important to aim at structures which can handle other practices than tick control.

15.7. What about support?

Valuable efforts are being made by extension staff to support tick control projects, but with better strategy and understanding their efforts can be made more effective.

15.7.1. The case of Kgophathate illustrates the complexity of the support role. The idea of a dip tank project at Kgophathate appears to have originated incidentally at a meeting with a Conservation Committee, of the ex-Radio Learning Group that was tackling a firebreak in the area. There was no organised dip tank group, however, and no general consultation. Only some farmers went on trips to see dip tanks. Perhaps the Mogapi fence was occupying local farmers. Another problem seems to be the mixed origins of people in the area and the lack of clear leadership. It seems too that it was the old Radio Learning Group leaders who were assuming the appropriateness of a dip tank project, without general consent. No progress was made for two years. A meeting with extension staff did not help as the real problems for lack of progress were not touched on.

15.7.2. In areas where personal visits of staff to groups are possible, informal training is of course of great value. In large regions this is difficult and formal courses are needed. These should not just deal generally with parasites but focus on the needs of farmers organising tick control group projects. APOs should be involved and give information to RTCs on each group's needs.

15.7.3. Lectures in the field could be greatly improved by the addition of good visual aids. A film unit would be of particular benefit. Ag.Inf. could produce materials. Groups could be taken to existing facilities for demonstrations. More facilities are needed for this purpose. SLOCA grants could be used. SLOCA grants also provide for transport and could help remedy this hindrance to visiting facilities.

15.7.4. Courses and field talks need to mephasise the technicalities of constructing and running dip tanks and spray races. Detailed guidelines should be provided on construction and operation. Table 15(x) gives an example of guidelines. Training in record keeping and financial control is also important and will help groups to decide on which system is appropriate and to run their system efficiently.

15.7.5. Support inputs to an area should be progressive. Field campaigns can be followed by courses and then by specialists visiting the area and discussing the appropriate type of project, preferably with a local institution like an FC. Demonstrations may follow. At the moment the demonstrations given by APOs are often premature and misdirected. Local knowledge remains untapped. The key to improvement is to train ADs who will then be able to handle most situations. APOs need training. Material must spart the imagination of the field staff, and they must be helped to see the interaction of factors in projects. All this may

appear a lot of work but it can have a widespread impact whereas at present a lot of effort is going into a few individual projects.

15.7.6. The SLOCA programme is now available to help the Animal Production Division to support group activities. Response to SLOCA has been slow in the regions, partly because in the past Animal Production extension has concentrated on helping individual farmers with simple husbandry practices. Group work has started with tick control - just one aspect of broader improvements. Farmer confidence may be lost if these fail. Perhaps the problem too is lack of a real message. Briefing for SLOCA has been inadequate. Much more training for field staff, especially APOs, is needed. The RALOM recommendations need to form the basis of guidelines for group activity in cattle husbandry. These guidelines should include practical details of SLOCA-aided projects, an explanation of spatial considerations and regional priorities, recommendations on multi purpose projects in relation to geographical situations, how to decide between types of tick control projects, guidelines on methods of tick control, guidelines on the use of multi purpose handling facilities, an account of the likely processes of group organisation, and visual aid materials. SLOCA could well emulate the Smallstock Unit with regard to preparation for implementing the programme. It is recommended that SLOCA administrators develop resources for producing extension aids and training staff and farmers. The future success of SLOCA in the communal areas depends on regional support.

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16.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 16

CHAPTER 16: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD (ss)	Agricultural Demonstrator (smallstock)
AgInf	Agricultural Information
APO(GD)	Animal Production Officer (general duties)
APO (ss)	" " " (smallstock)
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
FC	Farmers Committee
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
LAC	Livestock Advisory Centre
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SALO	Senior Agricultural and Livestock Officer
SCC	Short Course Centre
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
SSU	Smallstock Unit

16.1. SMALLSTOCK IN THE RURAL ECONOMY AND WHEN SMALLSTOCK GROUP FORMATION STARTED

The 1979 Livestock and Crop Survey[1] found that out of 78,000 family farms in the tribal areas, 46,000 owned goats and 14,000 owned sheep, the total number of goats and sheep in the country being 545,000 and 95,000 (excluding flocks in the freehold areas).

The distribution of these flocks corresponds closely to that of the mixed lands/grazing communal areas (see page 448).[2] Smallstock are kept primarily around the villages and lands areas, and to a lesser extent at the cattlepost. Their place traditionally in the rural economy is similar to that of cattle. Customarily they are kept as an investment to be sold as the need for cash arises and for slaughter at ceremonial occasions. Their value is of course much less than that of cattle, so their slaughter is justified for an occasion of less importance than would merit the slaughter of a cow. But for owners of very small cattle herds or no cattle, the attitude to smallstock is very similar to that of cattle herd owners to their cattle. The motive is primarily to see the flock increase in size. A very small farmer will invest in smallstock after a good crop harvest, his ultimate aim being for the smallstock to breed to enable him subsequently to be able to afford to buy a heifer.

But in one large respect the situation is very different. Whereas the promotion of beef exports has been a major national objective, the development of the smallstock industry received negligible attention until the Sheep and Goat Project started in 1978. Marketing of smallstock is limited to local transactions in the lands areas or as far as the village or, if nearby, a town. Prices can be high in the villages and towns under this system. A goat in good condition can fetch P25 to P30 easily. P40 was reported around Lethakane Orapa. But actually in the lands areas and smaller villages prices usually fall between P12-P20.

The importance of smallstock to small farmers can be appreciated. The sale of two per year from a flock of around 20 could bring in an income of P60 per year - the equivalent of 2 acres of reasonable arable production.

Set against this potential the Sheep and Goat project is very important. Tragically it appears that its importance comes now after smallstock flocks have already been decimated in many areas by the incidence of disease and parasites which took their toll from around the mid 1970s, in much the same way that the tick infestation problem hit cattle.

This study found many farmers, particularly in parts of Central Region, describing catastrophic losses between 1975 and 1977. At Mmaphashalala, for example, the Farmers Committee talked of the area smallstock population as having been way over 1000 before 1977, but being now little over 100 with most farmers having only 2, 3 or 4. Along the Boteti river the same applies. Few flocks are over 10 in size according to Khumaga farmers and extension staff.

This appears to correspond with the wide difference between the 1979 Survey[1] and the Sheep and Goat Project figures[2]. The figures for the latter, based on 1976 data estimated the total size of the tribal sheep and goat flock at nearly 2 million with 420,000 sheep and 1,400,000 goats. And it estimated that 73% of agricultural holders owned smallstock - many of

(1) Planning & Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, December 1979.
(2) from Sheet and Goat Development Project, Phase I; April 1977; Smallstock Unit, Ministry of Agriculture.

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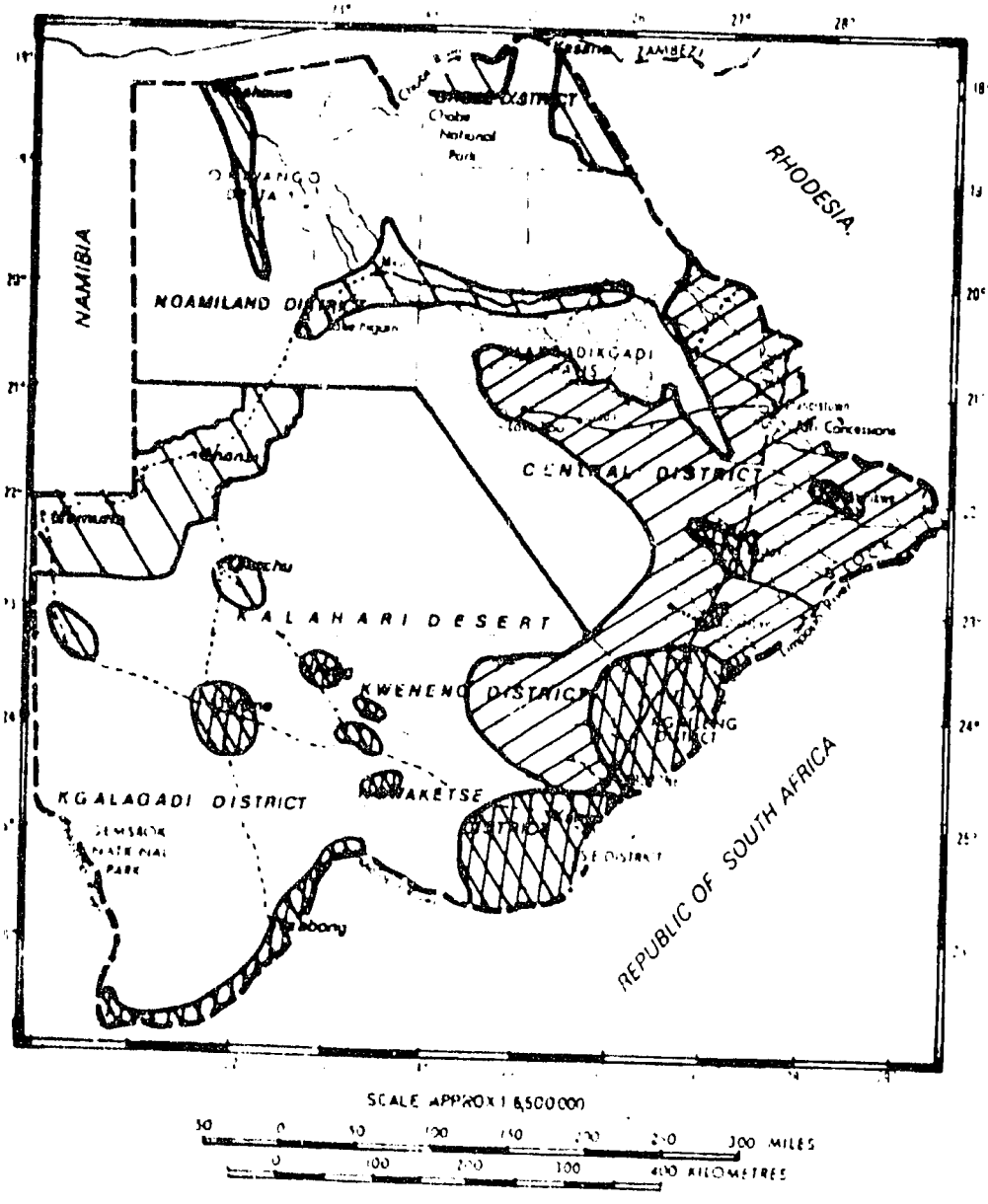
BOTSWANA



SHEEP AND GOAT DISTRIBUTION

High Concentration	>0·1 head / ha.
Medium Concentration	0·1-0·04 head / ha.
Low Concentration	< 0·04 head / ha

S.S.U./E.M

the owners being in the lower income groups. It seems likely that some of the flocks have disappeared altogether since 1976.

The idea of encouraging smallstock groups came about in 1976. This was the year during which the gradualist extension approach to TGLP in the communal areas emerged, as was discussed in Chapter 6. The emergence of this groups approach coincided with the preparation in the Ministry of the Sheep and Goat Project, and the idea of smallstock dosing groups was launched by the Smallstock Unit,[3] as a first step towards a more coherent smallstock programme and as a contribution to the effort being directed towards group activities. In papers on smallstock group formation[4] the officer in charge of the then fledgling SSU saw smallstock group activity as a key step in "a gradual but progressive development towards a fenced communal grazing group" and identified dosing projects as "suitable as an initial activity of a group". As can be seen from the detailed tables in Appendix 16, group activity mostly started after 1976/1977 following this initiative.

16.2. WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED?

Table 16(i) summarises the detailed data from Appendix 16. It does not claim to include all the group initiatives which have existed. In Central Region alone many more "groups" were nearly formed in 1977-78 but their progress was shortlived and records available now omit them. A few other cases are known to have been omitted in other regions. In Gaborone region, potential or defunct groups may "exist" at Thamaga (Sepene), Kopong and Dinogeng. In Southern region the SSU reports additional groups to exist at Maiphitlwane, Mabadisa, Mamankge, Tsopeng and Sedibeng.

Thus countrywide at least 10 groups can be added to the inactive/possible revival category and one group to the functioning class.

Altogether therefore, there are about 27 functioning groups practising hunbandry activities and another 43 potential groups - about 15 of which formed or were active at some time in the past but then folded up along with at least another 40 known groups which are now defunct.

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(3) Hereinafter the Smallstock Unit is referred to as SSU.

(4) "Smallstock and Group Formation" and "Smallstock groups (dosing" by I.L. Fisher, 1976.

TABLE 16(i): STATUS OF SMALLSTOCK GROUPS, BY REGION

	Maun	F'town	Central	Gab.	South	Whole country
Groups functioning as at mid 1980 (1)	1	3	2	-	22	27
Proposed/planned groups						
- receiving support (2)	-	5	8	-	-	13
- idea/plan only	-	1	5	-	4	10
- raising funds					5	5
Groups currently defunct						
- but which were once formed or active (3)	4	1	21	7	7	40
- revival planned	-	-	5	-	-	5

NOTES ON TABLE

(1) functioning = practising husbandry activities

(2) support = programme of demonstrations or field courses started; in most cases no group commitment shown yet - i.e. activity based on demonstrations, free supply of remedies during initial stages

(3) as is discussed in the text, "active" in this context sometimes refers to little more than coming together to benefit from one demonstration or perhaps dosing only once.

16.3. PARTICIPATION

The groups currently active have a total membership of around 470 farmers - an average of 18 farmers per group. The average sized flock is 22 smallstock per member, or 414 smallstock per group - totalling 10,439 smallstock altogether for all these groups.

Data on 27 of the now defunct groups showed a similar average group size of 16 members - with a total of 443 farmers participating. If this group size is typical it means that for the over 40 groups to have existed at one time, around 640 farmers were involved.

Another 222 farmers are registered as members of 10 of the planned groups.

Altogether probably in the region of 1500 farmers are, or have been involved in group activity in smallstock since the mid 1970s. In some cases this participation is known to include farmers from the target groups. At Kgoro for example there were several women members and some young people. In several cases the majority, if not the whole of a lands

community or village are members - for example:

- Topisi - 32 members, only 1 farmer outside group
- Gamokoto - all smallstock in the area included
- Matenge - the membership of 34

6.4. TYPE OF GROUP ACTIVITIES

From the Appendix 16 data it can be seen that functioning groups are active in several areas of smallstock husbandry - dosing, dipping and vaccination against pasteurellosis. Their activities can be summarised as follows:

Dosing (all active groups carry out dosing)

- mostly using bush kraals of one of the group members, occasionally specially built
- only some IFPP groups and the Rebone group at Kgaro have built recommended handling units (crush, pens) so far; several others planned
- using AD or APO equipment - 2
- using SSU equipment - 2
- using IFPP equipment - 8
- purchased dosing gun - 1
- using dosing gun provided through AE10 grant - 4 (+ 2 applications pending)
- borrow syringe from other farmers - 1
- use applicator provided with remedy - 2

Dipping (not all the groups do dipping)

- using knapsac sprayer -
  - bought - 1
  - AE10 - 4
- using an old bath/drum - 1
- using recommended dip tank - 3
- building " " " - 3

- groups planning recommended dip tanks/full handling units - 12 (9 in Southern Region)

Vaccination

All the groups supported by the IFPP at Pelotshetlha do carry out vaccination as well as dosing and dipping, but the only other groups in the country which appear to vaccinate are also all in Southern Region - Polokwe, Metsae, Kanngwe, Mmalore, Relemogile and Gamokoto. Four of these groups received equipment from AEIO grants in February 1979.

In many cases smallstock groups are active also in cattle tick control. This applies at Sebina, Matenge, Lokala, Kanngwe, Mmalore, Maunyele, Gamokoto and five other groups in Southern region. In some cases the exact same membership is involved in the two areas of activity - as with the 28 members at Gamokoto and the 34 at Matenge.

Another important trend is the progression from initial activities in the kraal and using hand dipping methods, towards recommended dip tanks and handling units. 12 groups altogether are planning the full handling units. Of these 11 have been active before on a simpler basis - 9 of these being in Southern Region.

Records on treatment are systematically maintained by very few groups, so it is difficult to determine the regularity of treatments. Records are slightly better for dosing than for dipping and vaccination which in some cases is carried out on an individual basis anyway. The by-laws of three Barolong groups (Rebone, Relemogile and Reikakantse) specify four dosings per year based on SSU recommendations. At Mmalore dosing had been done 3 times in 1979-1980, and at Kanngwe the AD's report was that regular treatment was carried out. At IFPP, under the constant supervision of Animal Production ADs, groups were mostly dosing 3 times a year, dipping fortnightly and vaccinating twice a year.

Elsewhere in the country activity has been highly irregular except at the villages where, since early 1980, the SSU has embarked upon a supervised programme of support assistance. Regular demonstration treatments have been carried out in Mogapi, Tamasane and Kgagodi in Palapye District; Sebina, Makaleng, Sinitwe, Marapong in Francistown Region; Mokobeng, Makwate, Chadibe in Mahalapye District and in 9 villages in Southern Region. In several cases groups have yet to form in these villages - e.g. in Tamasane or Kgagodi, so it is still early to assess the record of SSU demonstration treatments. In a few cases, though, the SSU was succeeding in gently handing over responsibility to a group. This is illustrated in the Mogapi case where for the third demonstration farmers contributed P10.00 - being half the treatment cost - and on the fourth occasion on 12th June 1980 the group contributed P25.00 - the total cost of remedies.

16.5. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

16.5.1. Funding equipment and facilities

Few groups have raised a significant amount towards the capital or equipment costs of their projects. This is particularly true if the record of failed (now inactive) groups is included. Only one of these could be said to have raised any money apart from what was required to purchase remedies, and this was the Thabala Farmers Committee which purchased an automatic dosing gun from FC funds for the benefit of the 3 groups under its patronage. And only one other of the groups which failed even had joining fees intended for such a purpose. This was Mogapi which has now

revived its activities under support from SSU. In its previous life the Mogapi group had P5.00 joining fees for the smallstock dosing project. However, only 4 farmers contributed P12.00.

Of the currently active groups at least 10 (about one third) have joining fees ranging from P2.00 to P10.00. P5.00 fees are commonest - particularly for the groups concerned more recently with smallstock dips and handling units.

In this way 12 groups have raised P885.00 towards the equipment or facilities for their projects - averaging P74.00 each. 8 of these groups have received AE10 grants towards their projects - all in Southern region. 4 of the grants were of P155.00 each towards a knapsac sprayer, syringe and dosing gun. The other 4 were for P849.00 each towards the full handling unit plus dosing gun and syringe.

Most groups, including those currently defunct, have been relying heavily on the use of equipment on loan from the local AD or the regional APO. At IFPP all groups have been using IFPP equipment, and 100% of the cost of materials for the handling units, footbaths, dip tanks has been provided by IFPP. IFPP groups, like most in the country particularly outside Southern region, have not had to raise any funds other than the cost of remedies.

16.5.2. Fund raising towards purchase of remedies

As with tick control in cattle, groups raise money in a variety of ways. About 14 of the groups raise money through fees levied per smallstock treated. Most other groups raise money through annual, monthly or irregular subscriptions. Information on this is summarised below:

EXAMPLES OF FEES CHARGED ON SMALLSTOCK TREATED

	Average fee per smallstock treated	Range in fees	Example case
Dosing only	4.8t	1t - 10t	-
Dipping and dosing	-	-	15t
Dipping only	-	-	5t
Vaccination only	-	1t - 4t	-
Dipping and vaccination	9.5t	8t - 10t	-
Dipping, dosing and vaccination	17.5t	10t - 25t	-

SUBSCRIPTIONS LEVIED PER MEMBER

Dosing	-	range from 25t to P3.00 (Metsae)
Dipping	-	buy in turns; method common
	-	P5.00/member in one case
D, D & V.	-	P5.00/member in one case

Some groups dose as a group and have fees for this, but vaccinate and dip smallstock on an individual basis. Such is the case at Gamokoto and also with some of the groups at Pelotshetlha.

The wide range in fees levied per head of smallstock treated even applies within the IFPP area at Pelotshetlha. Here for dosing only, fees vary from 3t to 8t per head.

16.5.3. Financial problems

Difficulties in financing have been frequent, in many cases bringing activity to a halt. At Metsae, for example, the 10 members involved each contributed P3.00 raising P30.00 altogether back in 1974. An attempt was made to levy 3t fees on smallstock treated but these were not paid by some members and funds finally got exhausted by 1977 and the activities stopped. The arrival of drought conditions the following year aggravated problems at Metsae by scattering the population, and it was only in 1980 that the revival of activities was being discussed. Drought appeared to be the cause of financial difficulties at Kanngwe too - resulting in irregular contributions and hence treatment. In the Boteti area of Ngamiland East and in parts of Central Region the drought/FMD situation in 1979/80 also affected groups.

Apart from where drought/FMD was a cause of financial problems, these difficulties were usually the symptom of other organisational problems. The next section will study in particular the reasons why so many smallstock groups have failed.

16.6. WHY SO MANY SMALLSTOCK GROUPS ARE NOW DEFUNCT

The overriding impression from 16.2 on the achievement of the last 3-4 years in smallstock group formation is the number of groups which were formed, functioned in some way for a short while and then collapsed into an inactive state. Even the term "group" may hardly be appropriate in many of these cases. As with group development generally, many factors have influenced the progress of these groups, but in this case several of the factors are specific to the approach taken with smallstock dosing group formation. First, though, the general problems will be briefly summarised.

16.6.1. General problems affecting smallstock group progress

Examples were found in this study of several of the common problems affecting group development. Leadership/social problems were constraining group organisation at Marobela where attendance at meetings and at a field course was discouraged by a conflict between lands and village dwellers. At Kgoro the group, though gaining ground fast, had faced problems in encouraging area wide participation due to a long established rift in the community between a clique close to the chief (those related to the chief's family and families descended from those who worked for the chief) and the rest of the community who tended to be poorer. Action started amongst these people with little encouragement initially from the more powerful elements in the village. However, once the project was complete the chief himself crossed sides and joined along with five others at the new P10.00 joining fee rate.

Committee organisational problems have also occurred. In one case at Lothakane, the treasurer adsconded with group funds and only 4 of the original 12 members remain active. At Maunyele difficulties were also reported with the Mohuduhutswe group. These were mentioned in Chapter 15. The committee at Mokatako was reported weak - possibly due to community preoccupation with a drift fence. Three Farmers Committees

have also experienced difficulty managing smallstock activities - at Metsae, Thabala and Mogapi. In each case, the Farmers Committees had experienced difficulty maintaining smallstock project member contributions and revival of activities was being planned or carried out on a fresh basis of specific committees responsible for smallstock activities. However, at Thabala and Mogapi other factors to be documented below were primarily responsible for the collapse of activities. And at Mogapi the strong influence of the Farmers Committee had in fact probably been instrumental in causing the funds to be raised, as the FC called meetings a month in advance of both dosings in 1977 to decide on the amount of funds needed.

In at least five cases (Barobadilepe, Marapong, Medie, Malokaganyane and Matlage) progress on smallstock projects was held up while group activity concentrated on water development - boreholes in most cases. Conversely several of the more successful groups had reliable domestic water supplies.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to the more specific factors which have caused so many smallstock groups to fail.

16.6.2. Difficulties in obtaining supplies of remedies

The supply of remedies for dosing (or other treatments) can be a problem in the rural areas. In the Boteti area the groups at Makalamabedi and Rakops are said to have collapsed because of this, although other factors may have been more important. At Rakops the LAC was reported to have closed between June and July 1979 after the group had dosed only once. This apparently brought action to a halt. At Makalamabedi the group obtained supplies through the AD from Maun. The process of remitting money in this way gave way eventually. And at Mogapi the group also experienced problems when the Palapye LAC was out of stock.

Were group activities really to get underway in the more remote parts of the country, the supply problem could well be a more serious one. In contrast, where remedies are reliably available on the spot - as at the Pelotshetlha Co-operative - groups have had no difficulty.

It is considered here that this problem is minor by comparison with other factors to have affected progress. Most communities are within relatively easy access of a Co-op or a Livestock Advisory Centre, and the obtaining of supplies is more a question of orderly organisation. The making of advance orders is related to the issue of raising adequate funds for treatment - an aspect which should receive attention in guidelines for groups.

16.6.3. Group size and area wide participation

In the same way as for tick control on cattle, smallstock internal or external parasite control is effective only when control activity is area wide involving the majority of smallstock owned.

Several groups have had trouble in soliciting area wide participation. Currently in 1980 the Kanngwe group, embarking on the bigger smallstock dip project, had contacted all farmers in the area aware that action by their membership of 15 alone would be ineffective. only one additional farmer had responded after the 3 month period reported by the AD; the threshold problem experienced by many cattle tick control groups

seemed to be the case again here. The problem at Kgoro of encouraging full participation has been mentioned. Here, about 2-300 smallstock are still outside the group, many area farmers not having joined. But in contrast, some communities have achieved virtually full participation. The success at Gamokoto appears due to strong group leadership coming from the headman's influence; the headman related that dosing was always held on two consecutive days - the second day being to chase up those who had not turned up on the previous day.

In a few cases progress on this problem was being made by a gradual increase in group membership. At Kgoro the situation was improving - six members having joined since the project was finished by the initial group. And at Mogapi participation, since the end of 1979 when activities were revived, has climbed from 18 in the original group, to 28, and now 32. The SSU estimates that most smallstock around Mogapi village are now treated, and 60-70% of smallstock in the area as a whole.

But in some other areas area-wide participation by a single group proved difficult. The membership of the Mohuduhutswe group in Maunyele holds the record for fluctuation - starting at 30, increasing to 83 and then settling finally at 22 members. The scattered distribution of lands in this area was a factor connected with the organisational problems this group had.

The groups along the Boteti river at Makalamabedi also had organisational difficulties caused by the scattered population distribution along the river.

In Francistown region groups at Sebina and Marapong, faced with these difficulties, reorganised by splitting into two separate groups in each area. Participation in the Sebina area was increased from one group with 20 members to two groups each with 20 members, and the distance reduced from 15 km to 7·8 km travelling to the group centre.

There would seem to be no technical reason why the area-wide participation problem could not be solved in some of these cases by the sharing between sub groups of equipment purchased, for example, by the area Farmers Committee. This seems to have been attempted only in the Thabala FC which bought an automatic dosing gun for use by sub groups at Thabala, Masoko and Motshegaletau. However, from the experience, the Farmers Committee learned that the sub groups need to be organised with committees and have separate financial control from the Farmers Committee.

Although it has long been recognised that distance is an important factor in smallstock group organisation, practical guidelines have yet to be formulated on what is an appropriate radius for group operations.

R16/1: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN FURTHER RESEARCH THE EXPERIENCE OF IFPP AT PELOTSHETLHA (WITH 9 GROUPS IN ONE EXTENSION AREA) IS COMPARED TO THAT OF THE REST OF THE COUNTRY IN THIS CONNECTION.

16.6.4. Marketing constraints

Inadequate markets were the cause attributed to the failure of several groups, particularly in Serowe, Palapye and the Boteti districts. Around Thabala, the price of a goat was reported to be only P12-14, and P16-20 around Serowe. The groups at Thabala and Kgaswe failed to raise contributions from farmers, it seems, due to the poor market opportunities set against the cost and effort of dosing the stock. However, it is vital also to take account of the next factor - the effectiveness of dosing on its own - in this calculation. Were a full management package

to have been attempted, with more convincing results, the attitude could have been different.

It is recognised, though, that the development of improved market opportunities is essential for the viable introduction of improved management practices. This is not only because this is the only way in which farmers (and the nation - in terms of grant assistance) can be able to afford to introduce the improvements. Another reason is that otherwise the increase in smallstock numbers, although desirable in the short term, must be controlled in the long term to avoid overgrazing.

The provisions in the Sheep and Goat Project for improving smallstock marketing infrastructure are therefore very important.

The SSU has already suggested the possibility of batch marketing from several neighbouring areas, for example the Mogapi - Kgagodi - Tamasane area. However, the prices offered by BMC are much lower than farmers have been used to getting, albeit for small numbers sold around the villages. Whether this is the reason why BMC has not slaughtered smallstock for over 4 years while before this as many as 30-40,000 were slaughtered annually, is uncertain. It could be one effect of the drastic losses in smallstock sustained around 4 years ago.

Much more investigation of the marketing problem is necessary. It is recommended that further investigation includes the possibility of collective action by farmers in smallstock marketing.

16.6.5. An ineffective husbandry and management package

By far the most important reason for the general failure of smallstock groups formed between 1976-1978 was the ineffectiveness of the husbandry package being recommended, or rather the absence of an effective one. Group activity was centred around dosing only, and even this in most regions was being carried out on a completely ad hoc basis.

The result was that smallstock continued to die. At Maunatlala and elsewhere too farmers even attributed the deaths to the treatment. At Mogapi farmers described how smallstock continued to die and were said to have rotten lungs or footrot. Footrot and pulpy kidney were quoted at Lerala. Along the Boteti, though, the serious problem remained liver fluke carried in the water.

Farmers had joined smallstock dosing groups under the mistaken impression, often perpetrated by extension staff, that dosing would solve the disease problems.

The collapse of so many groups when smallsteck continued to die is not surprising. Part of the problem was that the causes of deaths were never identified properly. Veterinary Assistants are stationed in few areas by comparison with ADs, and spend much of their time away on campaigns in any case. There was thus no monitoring or checking at all of the results of dosing, or the incidence of other disease problems.

Essentially in the first wave of smallstock group formation there was a complete failure to recognise that smallstock deaths could result from the single or combined effects of a variety of disease and parasite conditions. These include many different species of worms causing different problems and requiring quite different treatments. Put simply, groups were probably treating the wrong worms in many cases. The correct remedy to use can only be accurately known from checking faeces samples to see which worms are the problem.

Even if the remedies happened to be the right ones, the dosing

records were totally inadequate. At least 14 of the groups never dosed more than once. Although dramatic reductions in worm infestation can result from one dosing, sustained and noticeable effect is possible only from a full, regular course of treatment.

But apart from worms there are several other crucial but basic causes of ill health, incuding ticks; various forms of lameness due to wounds, ticks, untrimmed feet or footrot bacteria; sheep scab; nasal worms, and the disease pulpy kidney.

The SSU is now totally aware of the ineffectiveness of its former approach, and encourages groups right from the initial demonstrations to practise a fuller husbandry and management package. Part of the reason for the failure to do this originally was that when smallstock dosing groups were launched after 1976, no specialist support was available on smallstock in the regions. The Sheep and Goat Project was still being prepared, and the SSU at HQ was severely understaffed, preoccupied with the setting up of the Project, and therefore unable to provide the guidelines needed for the field activities. The purpose of the Project was, after all, to do this.

But in most respects, it must be concluded that the initial drive to form smallstock dosing groups was premature and ill advised. The regions were simply ill equipped to implement such a programme and it should not have been started with such inadequate preparation.[5]

Whether permanent damage has resulted in some areas in terms of farmer confidence in extension staff and their messages remains to be seen. Batswana farmers are patient, tolerant and resilient. The revival of interest in several parts of Central Region where groups collapsed in disillusion bears witness to this. Interest has even revived at Maunatlala with two groups proposing full management packages in the wake of blaming dosing for smallstock deaths. And at Mogapi and Topisi farmers are responding to the SSU's new approach, convinced by the results.

The success of the programme from now on depends entirely on how effectively the SSU can impart the new approach to field staff in the regions. Clear presentation of the message (guidelines, visual aids etc.) and inservice training with a strong practical orientation will be needed.

16.6.6. Ineffective demonstrations

It is possible that dosing on its own may have had an effect had groups been launched into a regular dosing programme. Here though, the demonstrations provided by regional or field staff were sometimes ineffective themselves. In at least 14 cases groups only received one demonstration from an AD, APO(ss) or APO (General Duties) in the region.[6] Before 1979, no visual aids were used in most regions to assist farmers

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(5) It is important to note that the SSU when originally launching the smallstock dosing groups idea emphasised that "dosing is not a miracle cure and only partial success can be expected. Management improvement is also necessary in the efficient control of internal parasites"; - see note (4). The problem was that this awareness did not permeate to the field where things were happening.

(6) Again readers are referred to original notes (4) on smallstock dosing which emphasised "dosing is a continuous and regular practice, not a once and for all exercise."

to understand the internal parasite problem. AgInf campaigns on internal and external parasite control were launched between 1977-1979 and covered many areas, but were not necessarily geared (a) to areas where groups were being formed or (b) to aspects of the group formation process.

This situation is to be remedied under the Sheep and Goat Project, a major object of which is to strengthen the support staffing and equipment in the regions.

16.6.7. Poor group formation approach

A number of "groups" were not groups in an organised sense at all. In most cases this is attributable to the approach taken to form the groups. At Matlage in Kgatleng, the site of SSU field investigations, all the smallstock in the village were dosed once free of charge followed up only by field recording activities. Owners had not been involved - the smallstock brought for dosing by herdboys. The AD's subsequent attempts to form a group had been in vain. At Makalamabedi a similar approach produced similar results. And at Goroko in Ngamiland E. the continued activity of the group became dependent on the presence of the AD visiting the area from Maun with the equipment and remedies, paid for by the farmers, with the transfer of the AD activity halted.

Clearly initial group facilitation should be according to principles which are to be followed through. To link group formation with the activities of field recording is inevitably difficult. On the one hand expertise is present in the area and the farmers are owed some recompense for their co-operation in the investigations. On the other hand it is important to be clear from the start about responsibilities and group organisation. However, the first phase of investigating present production levels under traditional systems of management has already given way to a second phase where the effect of improved management practices are to be monitored.

R16/2: IT IS RECOMMENDED IN THE APPROACH WITH THE SECOND PHASE THAT EXTREME CASE IS TAKEN TO ENCOURAGE FARMERS TO CONTRIBUTE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO THE TREATMENTS SO THAT VIABLE GROUPS MAY RESULT - not farmers over dependent on Government.

16.6.8. The importance of reliable support in the regions

The most striking feature of the data in table 16(i) is the distribution of active groups from one region to another. 22 of the total of 27 active groups in the country are in Southern Region.

The factor which explains this situation most neatly is the quality and quantity of support. Southern Region is exceptional in two respects. Firstly it includes one extension area, Pelotshetlha in which exceptionally high inputs of specialist support have been available through the IFPP.[7] 9 of Southern Region's smallstock groups are within the IFPP area. IFPP's approach is also fundamentally different from that of extension staff elsewhere in that all materials and equipment are provided to groups at IFPP expense, IFPP scales are used for weighing, and a considerable degree of staff supervision of group activities takes place.

(7) IFPP has an APO and 3 specialist Animal Production ADs concentrated in the Pelotshetlha area.

ADs are present constantly at group activities, and were seen by the consultant to be performing the actual dosing for farmers at Dibajakwena as well as recording numbers of smallstock treated - though the consultant was led to understand this did not always happen. This extent of support is clearly difficult to replicate under normal circumstances outside IFPP, but what can be achieved is demonstrated also in Southern Region, however, by the quality of support of the smallstock AD stationed at the regional office. Under the supervision of the SSU, this AD has worked exceptionally actively, managing to keep in regular contact with more than 20 villages.

The contrast in other regions is considerable. Francistown, Maun and Gaborone have not had an SSU specialist stationed at the regional office. General duty APOs tend to have to concentrate on cattle, particularly since the SLOCA programme started. In Francistown Region the APO (GD) was, however, able and willing to provide support to smallstock groups. This explains the achievement there. In Gaborone and Maun region, this did not work out, and no support has been forthcoming.

In Central Region an APO(ss) was stationed by the SSU from 1977. Initially his main role was to supervise the field investigations being carried out by the SSU preparatory to the Sheep and Goat project. From 1978, though, considerable pressure arose in the region for specialist assistance with the smallstock dosing groups and as the role of the APO(ss) with the investigations diminished, so the SSU acceeded to the pressures for the APO(ss) to perform a support role.

By early 1978 as a result of group formation efforts by ADs in the districts, 38 smallstock dosing groups had formed. Annual Plans for 1978/79 called for continued support to these 38 groups and in addition for 86 more groups to be formed.

The APO(ss) scheduled 15 weeks of his Annual Plan for 1978/79 for holding field courses and demonstrations, 6 weeks for follow-ups, 2 weeks for RTC courses and only 3 weeks for supervision of investigations. But in practice this did not work out, and a stage was reached by 1979 when ADs became highly critical of the support they were receiving. Although some demonstrations were carried out, many that the ADs had planned in their 3 month programmes with the APO(ss) failed to take place and ADs were left to face disappointed farmers. Transport difficulties were the reason most commonly given by the APO(ss) - although other support staff generally managed to get around this constraint. In reality the officer concerned seemed to find the adjustment to an extension support role difficult. Although personal motivation or aptitude for extension work may have been the main problem, a lack of technical supervision from the SSU was also a factor. Until 1980 and the arrival of staff at HQ under the Sheep and Goat project, guidance from the SSU on how to carry out the extension programme was minimal.

The experience serves to demonstrate how crucial technical support is to the success of the group development programme. Without staff well motivated, prepared and equipped to provide reliable and competent technical support, nothing can be achieved in an activity like smallstock husbandry and management.

To put it another way, the initial group development effort with smallstock groups failed in most parts of the country because technical support was not ready. Neither the package, nor the staff.

16.7. IMPLEMENTING THE NEW APPROACH

16.7.1. Guidelines for smallstock husbandry and management

The first essential to rehabilitating the group development effort in smallstock husbandry and management is to put together a sound and viable package of recommended practices.

This the SSU has already started doing, and the first provisional booklet entitled "Smallstock Management" will help enormously to clarify many misconceptions. The format of this booklet is clear and straightforward. Different disease and parasite problems are discussed in turn, in easy language, with brief details on the ill effects they cause to smallstock health, notes on life cycle and control methods.

What remains is to transform the material in this booklet into guidelines designed for group activity.

R16/3: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GUIDELINES ARE DETAILED ON:

(i) The type of remedies appropriate for different worms, together with an indication of cost to guide groups in setting fees - for example:

- PANACUR, for tapeworms - 6t/dose
- HELMATAC, broad range - 5t/dose
- NOGOVON, for nasal worm - 2t/dose

(ii) The need for specialist attention in identifying the nature of local parasite/disease problems (the smallstock specialist in the region may have to be responsible for faeces sampling) before a course of treatment is embarked upon.

(iii) The necessary frequency and regularity of treatment

- e.g. October, May and once/twice in between for dosing
- fortnightly dipping[8]
- pulpy kidney vaccination annually - especially where grazing conditions are better and dosing programme is underway
- Copper sulphate in the footbath mixed with dip chemical where footrot is a problem

(iv) Hoof trimming (this is now done as part of the SSU regular programme of demonstrations).

(v) When vaccination of kids and lambs is necessary against pasteurallosis - if mortality still occurs after external and internal parasite control, pulpy kidney vaccination and hoof trimming is done.

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(8) The SSU is still evaluating different methods of tick control. Tick grease, regularly applied, may well be the most satisfactory and cheap method in some situations..

(vi) How groups can take action also in aspects of smallstock management, notably in:

- fencing smallstock away from open water (particularly dams)[9]
- provision of watering troughs[9]
- improved distribution of water points to facilitate
  (a) the siting of smallstock management facilities,
  (b) greater control over grazing.[10]

Often attention to these management aspects could be incorporated into the implementation of other projects, particularly in water development and fencing. This implies that smallstock management should be considered in the guidelines for these other group projects also.

(vii) The various aspects of management which are the individual farmer's responsibility - such as kraal management. Group extension methods based on the management groups can still be used to demonstrate and encourage improved practices by the farmers individually.

(viii) The ideal size and area for a smallstock management group. Further research is necessary on field experience with this.

(ix) The progression from smallstock activities to a broader livestock management programme.[11]

When guidelines are developed, visual aids need to be produced. Currently the SSU has one main set of visual aids developed for the 1980 Shows including a flip chart of posters, a projector with 7 technical films and boards with photographs. In addition each APO and AD of the SSU has been provided with a box kit of remedies together with prices.

R16/4: ALTHOUGH THESE VISUAL AIDS ARE VALUABLE, VISUAL AIDS SPECIFIC TO THE GUIDELINES ON GROUP PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES ARE RECOMMENDED, AND USE SHOULD BE MADE BY THE SSU OF THE EXPERTISE IN AGINF IN PHOTOGRAPHY, PREPARATION OF OTHER MEDIA MATERIALS AND IN TESTING THE GUIDELINES AND MATERIALS PRODUCED (by the Action Research Unit).

16.7.2. Developing support capability

To implement the smallstock management and husbandry package through group activity depends on reliable support. There is no better way to appreciate this than to hear farmers themselves comment on the support they receive. Farmers at Mogapi were, for example, most impressed with the practical competence and most of all the faithfulness of the APO from SSU Headquarters who had supported their revived activities since early

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(9) An important cause of the spread of worms is the continuous grazing of wet areas and drinking of infected water.

(10) The SSU management booklet stresses that grazing of areas where smallstock are heavily concentrated should be avoided i.e. around kraals, water points and the village.

(11) A number of cattle husbandry groups have started from smallstock groups. This should be seen to be a natural progression, as smallstock activities is an easier starting point. The treatment of calves forms the bridge between smallstock and cattle.

1980. They remarked how they could depend upon him to arrive the previous evening and be up at 6 a.m. the next morning at the kraals ready to demonstrate with the farmers the full package of treatment (dosing, tick grease and hoof trimming). The group committee was able to describe exactly the dates on which the SSU specialist had come, how many small-stock had been treated and when the next treatment was due. Details for Mogapi can be seen in the demonstration/training column in Appendix table 16.5.

Another important aspect of support at Mogapi was the contribution of the Mogapi AD which was also noticed by the farmers. His initiative and practical aptitude was in turn appreciated by the SSU. Whereas at Mogapi the AD would willingly and competently turn his hand to demonstrate hoof trimming or help in other respects, the SSU staff reported that many ADs were not bothered to assist.

What is required is a good working relationship between ADs and SSU support staff within the framework of a clearly understood procedure for supporting the groups.

Guidelines for supporting the group formation process of smallstock groups

As with support to cattle husbandry groups, there is a need to develop guidelines which deal with the process of group formation and organisation and hence the most appropriate approach in facilitating the process, i.e. the progression of support inputs.

R16/5: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GUIDELINES DEVELOPED IN CENTRAL REGION IN OCTOBER 1978 BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GUIDELINES. The aim should be to streamline and improve the presentation of the Central Region guidelines as well as to modify the steps in the group formation process to allow for recent improvements in approach the SSU has introduced.

R16/6: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE STEPS WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE PROCESS INCLUDE:

(i) The SSU approach to demonstrations

- films the previous evening
- package of treatments the next day
- a series of at least 4 supervised demonstration treatments; the first two with all remedies etc. provided free; the third treatment the group raises half the cost; the fourth treatment the group raises the whole cost.

(ii) The phasing in of AgInf campaigns at an appropriate point in the process - either of cresting initial awareness, or of encouraging area wide participation in a group project after or during the six month period when the 4 demonstrations are carried out. The content of AgInf. campaign material should relate closely to the group formation approach.

(iii) Field courses for the training of groups in organisational aspects of the project for which more discussion time is needed; in the preparation of by-laws and a management plan the entire area population can be encouraged to attend a field course.

(iv) Field or RTC/SCC courses for group committees - preferably bringing together committess (and village leaders where appropriate) from several areas in order to exchange ideas. Committees need training in record keeping and in the more economic/technical aspects of smallstock management projects, as well as in committee duties etc.

It is important for staff in the regions and in the CAMA office to be aware of the provisions of the Sheep and Goat Development Project for developing extension materials and equipment. The Project (pages 25-26) clearly outlines the types of materials needing to be produced. What is necessary is for close collaboration to be established between the SSU, the CAMA office, AgInf and selected staff in the regions (with case study experience) in order that materials are produced most appropriate to the need.

Adequate specialist staffing in the regions

If group development in smallstock management is to be a success, the key to it is to get competent support to the regions. The progress of the programme in huge regions like Central cannot depend only upon Schedules of visits from SSU APOs coming up for Gaborone. The APO(GD) on which progress depended in Francistown Region went for a year's training in mid 1980.

It is absolutely essential that the provisions of the Sheep and Goat Development Project to get smallstock APOs (or ADs) posted to the regions are pursued with maximum speed. The importance attached in the Project memorandum to the training of these staff shortly after appointment cannot be overstated.

R16/7: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE SSU, WITH ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER INVOLVED DIVISIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL FIELD SERVICES (i.e. CAMA OFFICE, AGINF, ANIMAL PRODUCTION), SPARE NO EFFORT IN THIS INITIAL UPDATING AND TRAINING. If the support staff are thoroughly grounded in policy, objectives, technical recommendations and the use of materials and demonstration kits, time spent on initial training will be repaid later particularly as AD training depends in turn on the competence of the regional staff.

AD Training

Inservice training for ADs in the smallstock management package. the guidelines for work with smallstock management groups and in the practical husbandry methods is essential. This is recognised by the Sheep and Goat Development Project which sees the training carried out by SSU regional staff after their own training.

R16/8: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE TRAINING INVOLVES PLENTY OF PRACTICAL WORK WITH SMALLSTOCK AND WITH GROUP SITUATIONS. The training should have the effect of improving the working relationship with SSU specialists. The SSU has complained of the indifference of some ADs to the smallstock group programme. However, this can be a reflection on the ADs personal relationship with specialist staff; a first step must be taken by the SSU to ensure that its own staff in the regions are competent and active. Their training is the crux.

Demonstration facilities

It is impossible not to notice the effect of the IFPP as a demonstration in Southern Region. Extension staff and farmers alike are much more aware of what sort of projects are possible, what they look like and how they are built, than in other regions. It is important that for AD and farmer training in the other regions that demonstration facilities be developed.

R16/9: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SMALLSTOCK HANDLING PENS, CRUSH, FOOTBATH, DIP ETC. ARE BUILT AS DEMONSTRATION FACILITIES AT RTCs/SCCs IN ALL REGIONS TO ASSIST IN TRAINING.

Training of RTC/SCC staff in the smallstock management group approach

Another essential is the training of the staff of the RTCs and SCCs in the new smallstock management group approach.

R16/10: THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SALO (FARMER TRAINING) IN THE PREPARATION OF GUIDELINES IS RECOMMENDED SO THAT RTCs/SCCs ARE REPRESENTED IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE NEW APPROACH.

Co-operation with the Vet. Department

R16/11: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE HELD BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL FIELD SERVICES AND THE DEPARTMENT OF ANIMAL HEALTH ABOUT THE ROLE THAT VETERINARY ASSISTANTS COULD PLAY IN ASSISTING SMALLSTOCK MANAGEMENT GROUPS IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF DISEASES AND PARASITES SO THAT CORRECT TREATMENT IS ADVISED.

A note on the approach at IFPP

A glance at the tables in Appendix 16.12 clearly shows the importance of the experience at Pelotshetlha with smallstock management groups. The groups appear to be functioning regularly although as has been noted this takes place under the constant supervision of IFPP staff. This report was unable to study the IFPP approach thoroughly enough to make any firm assessment, but can make the following observations:

- IFPP may contain useful lessons in terms of group size/area of activity. The membership of all the groups at Pelotshetlha is remarkably constant with the exception of the bigger Dibajakwena group with 17 members.
- The experience should provide the SSU with valuable information also on the practice of the smallstock management package - i.e. the effectiveness of the various husbandry practices over a period of time; it is not certain how complete is the record of information in this respect. IFPP should aim to monitor closely the records of the group activities.
- The experience of the Pelotshetlha groups with financing their ongoing activities (i.e. purchase of remedies) is useful for guidelines to other groups. IFPP ADs have in most cases advised the groups on how to set fees to cover costs and in most cases the fees in use are at viable levels.
- A less healthy observation is that none of the groups has by-laws. This obviously is a reflection on IFPP's group development approach -

(a) it shows that IFPP staff have not stressed by-laws at all in the group organisation process and
(b) indirectly it testifies to the likelihood that groups rely considerably on IFPP personnel for the organisation of their affairs.

- The 100% assistance given to the groups so far in the material and equipment costs of their projects does not conform with group development approach in the rest of the country.
- ADs in some instances have been doing more than their proper role in supporting ongoing group activities. More emphasis should have been directed at training groups to practise the husbandry practices and to maintain records than on assisting the group by performing such duties.

R16/12: THE EXPERIENCE AT IFPP THUS HAS A NUMBER OF USEFUL ASPECTS WHICH IT IS RECOMMENDED SHOULD BE RESEARCHED FURTHER. But equally it will be necessary in evaluating the experience at Pelotshetlha to take special account of the exceptional methods which have been used in group facilitation. Possibly it is inevitable in a project with such a high concentration of staff to farmers that a certain degree of dependence may result. But this report should draw attention to the fact that some of the principles established by the Ministry[12] for successful group action may be being overlooked at IFPP.

(12) Refer to "Group Formation": Senior Agric. Officers Workshop, November 1976.

16.8. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 16

16.1. Smallstock in the rural economy and the start of groups

Flocks of goats and sheep are found mainly in the mixed lands/grazing communal areas. Like cattle they are traditionally valued for cash and ceremonies. Owners wish to increase their herds. The Industry received little attention until 1978. Marketing is limited to local transactions which are, however, of great value to the subsistence farmer. Since the mid 1970s many animals have been killed by disease and parasites. Group activity started with smallstock dosing groups, the idea being to build up to communal grazing groups.

16.2. What has been achieved?

There are some 27 functioning smallstock groups and 43 potential groups. Another 40 groups or more are now defunct.

16.3. Participation

There are currently about 470 farmers involved in smallstock groups. In some cases the target group is known to have been included. The whole of a lands or small village may be members.

16.4. What group activities are there?

All smallstock groups carry out dosing, mostly in bush kraala and using equipment from a variety of sources. Some groups also dip animals. Groups supported by the IFPP and some groups in southern region do vaccinations. Smallstock group members are sometimes involved in cattle tick control. Groups tend to progress from hand methods to more sophisticated facilities. Records have not been well kept so it is difficult to assess regularity of treatment. Treatments, however, appear to be irregular except in some groups in the south and some villages where SSU has a programme of support assistance.

16.5. Finance

16.5.1. Only 2 of the defunct groups raised any money towards funding equipment and facilities. About one third of the active groups have joining fees, and they have raised P885 altogether. Some of these groups have received AE10 grants. Most groups, however, rely on the loan of equipment.

16.5.2. Money for remedies is raised by fees per animal treated or by subscriptions. The amounts vary quite widely.

16.5.3. Difficulties in raising money have been frequent, because of drought/FMD or, more usually, because of organisational problems.

16.6. Why have so many smallstock groups failed?

Many groups started and then collapsed. This is partly due to general group problems and partly to specific problems in the approach taken in smallstock group formation.

16.6.1. General problems affecting groups have concerned leadership and social constraints, committee organisation and preoccupation with other priorities.

16.6.2. Difficulties in getting supplies of remedies has hindered some groups, but it is a small problem compared to some others. The ability to place advance orders is related to raising funds.

16.6.3. Smallstock parasite control requires areawide action. This is a problem in some cases, though other groups have had success, or are making progress. Difficulties arise when the population is scattered. Sub groups can be formed, however, and share equipment. Guidelines on an appropriate size of area for group operations have yet to be formulated. The experience of IFPP needs to be compared to that of the rest of the country.

16.6.4. Inadequate markets seem to have caused the failure of some groups, though it must be remembered that the effectiveness of dosing is influential here. It is important to develop markets, nonetheless, to pay for improvements and control smallstock numbers. Batch marketing to BMC is possible but prices are low. The whole area needs investigating.

16.6.5. The main reason for the collapse of groups was the ineffective husbandry package being recommended between '76-'78. Only ad hoc dosing went on and smallstock continued to die from a variety of untreated diseases. There are few Veterinary Assistants and dosing was not monitored nor causes of death investigated. A fuller programme is now encouraged. This did not happen at first due to lack of specialist staff and preoccupation at HQ. The programme was premature. There is some revival of interest among farmers despite mistakes made.

16.6.6. Dosing demonstrations were often inadequate. AgInf campaigns were not necessarily directed to the areas with smallstock groups or to group formation.

16.6.7. There was no real attempt at group formation in some cases: dosing was done for owners as part of a field recording exercise, or there was excessive reliance on an AD. In the monitoring of management practices farmers should be encouraged to form viable groups.

16.6.8. Most active groups are in Southern Region. The support available helps to explain this: 9 groups are greatly helped by IFPP; there is also a very active smallstock AD who is working with 20 villages. Other regions lack specialist staff and APOs, except in Francistown, are occupied with cattle. The APO(ss) stationed in Central Region became involved in supporting smallstock dosing groups, though for reasons of transport, lack of aptitude and poor technical supervision from SSU, the APO's programme did not work out well. All this underlines the importance of support.

16.7. <u>How can the new approach be implemented?</u>

16.7.1. A package of recommended practices needs to be put together as guidelines for group activity. The SSU has started this. Guidelines

should be detailed on remedies for particular diseases, the need for specialists to identify diseases, frequency and regularity of treatment, hoof trimming, vaccination of kids and lambs, group action in other aspects of smallstock management, which aspects of management are the responsibility of individuals, ideal smallstock group size, and progression of activities. SSU has some visual aids but needs to produce more, specific to the guidelines for groups.

16.7.2. Reliable support is very important as farmers themselves testify. As with cattle groups, guidelines are needed to deal with group formation and organisation. The Central Region guidelines (10/78) could be a basis. Steps in group formation could include SSU-type demonstrations, AgInf campaigns, field courses on organisation, and courses for group committees. Regional and CAMA office staff need to be aware of provisions made for developing extension materials. Competent smallstock specialists are urgently needed in the regions. Inservice training for ADs in the smallstock management package is essential, with an emphasis on improving the relationship with SSU specialists. Demonstration facilities need to be developed. RTC and SCC staff need training in the new smallstock management group approach. Co-operation with the Vet. Dept. is recommended. IFPP is clearly doing well. IFPP experience may provide valuable information on group size, the long term effect of the package, and finance. No groups there have by-laws - perhaps there is unhealthy reliance on IFPP? Groups are given 100% assistance and even ADs overstep their role and do too much for groups. Further research on IFPP experience would be useful.

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Agricultural Group Development in Botswana

Volume III
Chapters 17-26

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Agricultural Management Associations
Ministry of Agriculture
October, 1981

AGRICULTURAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

A preliminary survey of the experience of the Group Development Programme of the Division of Agricultural Management Associations within the Department of Agricultural Field Services, Ministry of Agriculture, Botswana.

For USAID/Botswana

By
A. B. J. Willett

October, 1981

Volume III: Chapters 17 - 26

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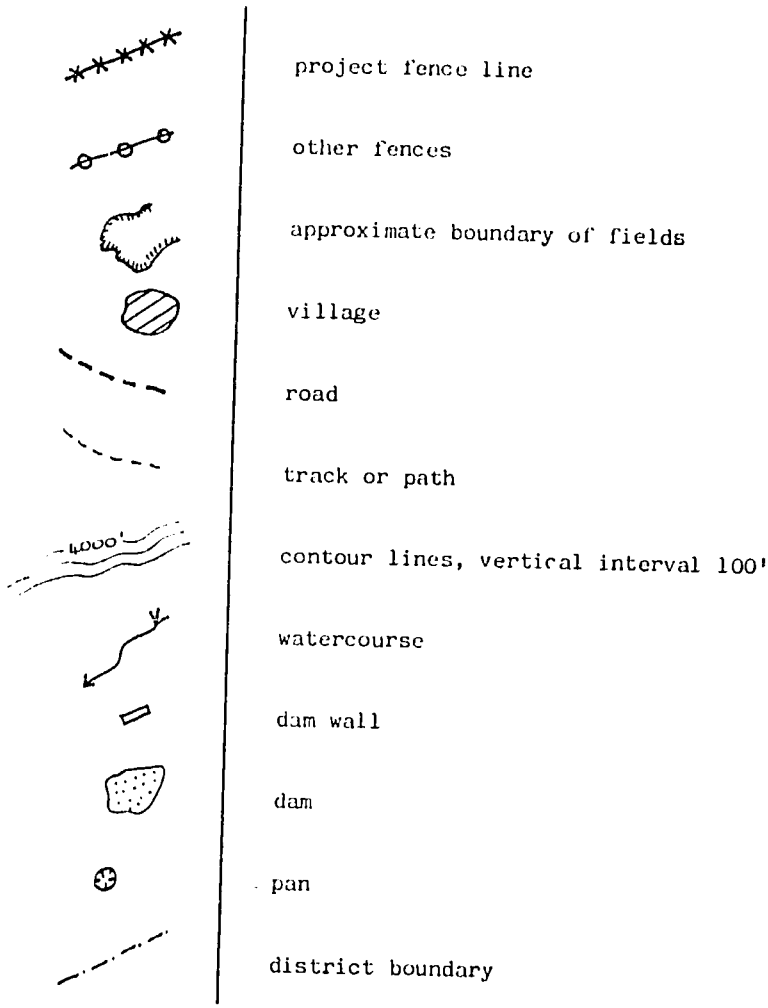
* Author's sketch

** Reproduced from "Settlement Strategy, Kgatleng District" draft report, July 1980, Department of Town and Regional Planning, kindly provided by A. Lapointe

KEY TO MAPS


project fence line
other fences
approximate boundary of fields
village
road
track or path
4000'
contour lines, vertical interval 100'
watercourse
dam wall
dam
pan
district boundary

RECOMMENDATIONS: Volume III

Recommendations from Chapters 17-26 of this study are summarized by chapter and presented in the following section. Recommendations from Chapters 10-16 are presented in Volume II. A complete summary of all recommendations appears in Volume I.

Supporting arguments and contextual references of each recommendation are found in the respective chapters.

CHAPTER 17: CONSERVATION PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

RANGE CONSERVATION

R17/1: It is recommended that the policy for Government assistance in firebreak construction is clarified to reduce confusion in the field and encourage a better understanding of what a project should involve.

R17/2: It is recommended that in guidelines on firebreak activity preparatory demonstration, community education, field training and institutional development should be stressed.

R17/3: It is recommended that clear guidelines are issued on possible methods and costs of firebreak maintenance.

R17/4: It is recommended that the use of animal draft is experimented with on various soils at times of year when farmers are recommended to maintain firebreaks (this should take into account other seasonal preoccupations, availability of draft power and water supplies in communal areas), and that film strips are made for use in demonstrations.

R17/5: It is recommended that the issue of the correct width of firebreaks is clarified immediately.

R17/6: It is recommended that firebreak development is encouraged within the context of other developments, particularly water, fencing and livestock facilities.

R17/7: It is recommended that extension efforts are directed at piloting firebreaks as part of a rotational grazing system in suitable areas.

R17/8: It is recommended that Fire Ranger's job description and position in the Ministry's organisational structure is reviewed.

R17/9: It is recommended that measures to maximise collaboration on range management between the involved sections within DAFS are reviewed by the Ministry.

VILLAGE WOODLOT AND DONGA RECLAMATION

R17/10: It is recommended that clearer organisational guidelines are produced to complement the planning and management guidelines in the "Handbook for Village Woodlot Planning and Management in Botswana".

R17/11: It is recommended that village woodlot projects are encouraged only where adequate specialist support can be assured and only where the guidelines provided in the handbook can be followed.

R17/12: It is recommended that AO(LR)s and Land Use Officers from the regions participate in a specially arranged training workshop at one of the forestry centres, the object of which should be to become thoroughly familiar with the handbook and to achieve a practical feel for forestry methods.

R17/13: It is recommended that the main focus of the Rural Afforestation project should initially be to assist in the development of more centres from which support can later be provided.

R17/14: It is recommended that funds are made available for small scale tree planting activities in villages as part of a long term campaign of public education.

SOIL CONSERVATI _

R17/15: It is recommended that in future catchment area contouring demonstrations greater attention is paid in the early stages to training, demonstration and group organisation.

R17/16: It is recommended that there are AgInf campaigns to create awareness of the value of schemes during the stage when project sites are selected.

R17/17: It is recommended that there should be clear guidelines for group activity and financial contributions.

R17/18: It is recommended that demonstration catchments should not be so large as to be beyond the capacity of the soil conservation unit to implement in a period of 6 months - 1 year.

R17/19: It is recommended that Government work should be minimised and group participation maximised.

R17/20: It is recommended that Brigades Development Trusts should be encouraged to set up and operate farm mechanisation services.

CHAPTER 18 : BUNDING OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS IN THE OKAVANGO AND BOTETI RIVER AREAS.

R18/1 : It is recommended that methods and effectiveness of traditional flood control are looked into before any new system of 'molapo' management is finalised.

R18/2 : It is recommended that Maun Region's Group Development Officer and District extension staff are involved with immediate effect in the planning and organising of all future work with 'molapo' bunding projects.

R18/3 : It is recommended that the AO(LR) and the Tawana Land Board are involved in future in the initial planning and consultation stages of the group development process in order to create awareness of land issues and later be in a position to control land allocation where possible through a land registration exercise.

R18/4 : It is recommended that the problems of organisation arising from people with lands in 'molapo' areas should be broached at the initial stages in project design and organisation.

R18/5 : It is recommended that more study is made of the water and soil management implications of the new schemes and that these questions are fully discussed with farmers during the planning stages of projects.

R18/6 : It is recommended that group development should aim to catch up with the situation in 'molapo' areas and facilitate the formation, election and training of 'molapo' management committees.

R18/7 : It is recommended that the Division of Land Utilisation should develop technical and managerial guidelines for the 'molapo' groups.

R18/8 : It is recommended that the reassessment of the BAMB crop pricing policy receives early attention.

CHAPTER 19 : GROUP ACTION IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

R19/1 : It is recommended that careful study of the viability of the Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society is made before spending United Nations funds on new Co-operative marketing facilities.

R19/2 : It is recommended that group development/extension staff approach the Mopipi fishermen with questions about management skills in order to facilitate group development.

R19/3 : It is recommended that the Fisheries Section produce some guidelines on the various tasks involved in fishing and processing, together with labour requirements.

R19/4 : It is recommended that there should be more involvement of group development staff from Maun in organisational aspects of fisheries groups.

R19/5 : It is recommended that marketing organisation is considered separately from production/processing in group development in fishing.

R19/6 : It is recommended that, for fisheries groups, assistance under AEIO is provided to a group of any size if that group is a viable production unit and will not need to hire labour.

CHAPTER 20 : GROUP ACTIVITY IN CROP STORAGE, MARKETING, PROCESSING AND INPUT SUPPLY

R20/1 : It is recommended that guidelines, and therefore objectives, in developing crop infrastructure are made clearer.

R20/2 : It is recommended that guidelines on methods, costs and organisation are prepared for group activity in grain storage of family subsistence requirements, or surpluses for later sale, at a central facility, if a community is reasonably compact : storerooms should be constructed to recommended specifications; there should be training in appropriate methods of treatment; the institution should be open to the whole community; financing of storage should be on a per bag basis. Grant assistance should only be given to area wide institutions.

R20/3 : It is recommended that the management of threshing equipment should be by a community institution, with grant assistance only to area wide institutions. Guidelines are needed on the operation of machinery, organisation, and charges per unit volume threshed.

R20/4 : It is recommended that a distinction is made between milling for subsistence needs and milling for retail to local consumers. In the former case, a system of charges per unit volume is suggested, in the latter there should be a registered organisation with trained, accountable management.

R20/5 : It is recommended, in collecting/bulking up crop produce for onward transport for sale, that there is a properly constructed loading slab at the central collecting point, that area institutions are provided with training and bookkeeping materials for management, that the project is recognised as within the scope of Farmers Committees, and that organisation is all done within the context of an acceptable crop pricing policy.

R20/6 : It is recommended that transport is discussed with Farmers Committees and at other levels (e.g. 'Kgotlas') before ALDEP policies on crop collection are finalised.

R20/7 : It is recommended that a storeroom, training, record keeping and advance publicity are all provided in organising the bulk purchases of seeds. This is all within the capacity of supported FCs.

R20/8 : It is recommended that FCs are encouraged not to engage in trade, but to assist farmers by placing orders for spare parts etc. from the nearest Co-operative/BAMB depot.

R20/9 : It is recommended, in small villages and lands areas, that efforts are directed at improving local storage and processing facilities and at training local management for such activity.

R20/10 : It is recommended that there should be a strategy for the development of crop infrastructure as depicted in the diagram, table 20(ii).

R20/11 : It is recommended that in remoter areas Government should assist communities with building a storeroom, installing a mill and a thresher, training local management, and collecting any surplus or delivering supplies in times of deficit, at first by supporting initiatives of FCs, but in the longer term by facilitating the formation of registered AMAs or Co-operatives.

CHAPTER 21 : A BRIEF LOOK AT TRACTOR GROUPS

R21/1 : It is recommended that discussions are held between the Ministry of Agriculture (Crops Division, CAMA, CODEC), the NDB, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and BRIDEC on ways to encourage and support the development of the Francistown Servicing Association and others like it.

R21/2 : It is recommended that the experience of the Sefhophe Tractor Association is studied by Farm Management experts in the Ministry of Agriculture in order to learn exactly what benefit members derived from this project and how the group was organised and financed in practice.

R21/3 : It is recommended that the exact operations of the Botsalano syndicate and the others at Tlokweng are investigated further by Farm Management experts with particular emphasis on economic aspects, and that they advise the group accordingly.

R21/4 : It is recommended that guidelines are developed by the CAMA office/Crops Division in co-operation with supply companies and the NDB, to encourage group activity in organising bulk fuel supplies.

R21/5 : It is recommended that

i) all groups hire a driver who can be held responsible for care and maintenance, and that training courses are arranged for drivers

ii) intensive training is arranged for committee officials

iii) the more equitable system of per acre fees is encouraged, particularly for larger groups, instead of flat rate fees which may penalise the smaller farmers

iv) the use of tractors should be encouraged in other income generating activities.

R21/6 : It is recommended that Brigades Development Trusts are assisted not only to establish mobile service and repair units, but also to operate mechanical units for hire.

CHAPTER 22 : POULTRY GROUPS

R22/1 : It is recommended that to try to overcome potential organisational problems attention is given to the careful organisation of work rotas in the preparation of group by-laws and that adequate training of all group members is carried out to ensure that duties are clearly understood.

R22/2 : It is recommended that the TWCA at Sheep Farm is advised to consider carefully, through formulating some by-laws, how the benefits from the project will be distributed among members and management carried out.

R22/3 : It is recommended that there should be a brief practical inservice course for ADs with poultry projects in their areas.

R22/4 : It is recommended that groups are provided with a record keeping system and are trained in using it to assist with project management.

R22/5 : It is recommended that inservice training is directed to achieving an attitudinal change in extension staff in favour of the low income target group.

CHAPTER 23 : GROUP HORTICULTURE PROJECTS

R23/1 : It is recommended that guidelines are developed on water requirements for gardening projects and that policy is clarified on the use of Council run water supplies for small scale horticulture.

R23/2 : It is recommended that guidelines for group projects include methods of surveying horticultural market demand.

R23/3 : It is recommended that priority in land allocation should be given to horticulture, particularly for group projects, where suitable soils are conveniently located in respect to water supplies, markets and people's homes.

R23/4 : It is recommended that, in future group development work where vegetable gardening projects are proposed, more attention is given to community education to increase awareness of and to deal with the petty thieving problems.

R23/5 : It is recommended that inservice training is carried out on a wider scale so that more ADs have the confidence and capability in horticulture to reach out and assist the people of the target group.

R23/6 : It is recommended that subsidisation for horticultural projects is kept to the minimum required to make a project viable.

R23/7 : It is recommended that extension staff should concentrate their attention on helping a group define its purpose clearly, design and plan a feasible project to achieve that purpose, work out a constitution which ensures the aims will be met, and develop organisational and management capacity to implement the project along those lines.

R23/8 : It is recommended that guidelines on financial assistance to small horticultural groups interpret the whole question of group size more flexibly so that groups of any size can receive assistance, provided their project is viable.

R23/9 : It is recommended that institutional development takes place as part of the group formation process in villages where institutions are poorly developed.

R23/10 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, all members of a group must be of a similar level of need and have similar aims.

R23/11 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, groups should be encouraged to start with projects they can cope with.

R23/12 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, the process of drafting the constitution must be closely, sensitively and patiently supported so that it becomes the act whereby the group develops a clear sense of self awareness and purpose.

R23/13 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, the social needs and dynamics of the underprivileged people or communities are understood thoroughly before introducing a project.

R23/14 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, popular adult education methods are used as a method of approach.

R23/15 : It is recommended that, in reaching the really poor, support must be regular and highly dependable, as well as competent. The needs are particularly for literacy, leadership and management training.

R23/16 : It is recommended that all group horticulture schemes have individually managed plots.

R23/17 : It is recommended that group contributions towards the capital development costs should be as high as possible to encourage a greater degree of commitment and responsibility.

R23/18 : It is recommended that small horticultural projects are managed as independent unregistered groups.

R23/19 : It is recommended that horticultural projects are <u>not</u> under VDC management.

R23/20 : It is recommended that village clinics and healthposts are used as starting and focal points for horticultural activity.

R23/21 : It is recommended that the approach developed at the Mahalapye Development Trust - including its emphasis on adult education - is used as the model for the extension approach in horticulture.

CHAPTER 24: AGRICULTURAL GROUP WORK WITH WOMEN

R24/1: It is recommended that further research is undertaken in selecting areas where group and community activity has taken place to assess the impact of the group development programme on improving extension contact with women.

R24/2: It is recommended that extension staff facilitate more actively the participation of women in all types of group and communal activity, with the additional aim of enabling more women to hold leadership positions, especially on Farmers Committees.

R24/3: It is recommended that more specific attention is devoted to gearing training programmes to the particular needs and situations of rural women.

R24/4: It is recommended that women's problems and programmes should be discussed more fully in VDC conferences and meetings, and in special training sessions.

R24/5: It is recommended that more use of professional adult education methods is made at all levels, to increase the awareness of women's situations by both men and women, and to identify specific needs.

R24/6: It is recommended that methods should include Popular Theatre, campaigns and the production of films on the women's role in the rural society, on what needs doing and how activities can be implemented.

R24/7: It is recommended that action with groups should proceed with caution and careful attention be paid to achieving the needs of the target group through project design and the drafting of detailed constitutions.

R24/8: It is recommended that in guidelines for supporting women's groups the extension worker's role in assisting the group to develop a constitution which clearly secures the group's purpose should be emphasised.

R24/9: It is recommended that Village Extension Teams should be trained, using adult education methods, to collaborate together in a co-ordinated approach in reaching the women's target group. Workshops should be arranged which bring ADs together with women's organisations and other extension departments dealing primarily with women. The aim should be to increase AD awareness and confidence in working with women's groups. ACDOs and FWEs should be made more aware of how to involve ADs in supporting women's activities, and vice versa.

R24/10: It is recommenced that more active discussion of women's activities should be encouraged as part of the Annual Planning and 3-month programming system, in agricultural staff meetings and in community institutions (co-ordinated by the VET) so that projects are planned which reflect the primary concerns of women in the community.

R24/11: It is recommended that ADs should be trained in the technical areas relevant to women's projects, such as poultry, horticulture, fruit tree growing, bee keeping, and the construction of catchment tanks for water, in order to be technically competent to support women's group projects.

R24/12: It is recommended that guidelines should be developed to assist village extension teams in providing support to women's groups. They should make clear how to support what sort of activities, especially whether to promote activities as group projects or through the medium of groups for demonstration and discussion but as individual activity thereafter.

R24/13: It is recommended that the specific problems involved in organising group activity in the lands areas should be the subject of further study and discussion in village meetings when women can be gathered together more easily.

CHAPTER 25: THE ROLE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

THE FUNCTIONS OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/1: It is recommended that AEs are required to obtain the written approval of the FC on all Extension programmes and reports and on Annual plans and reports, in order to improve the AE-FC relationship.

R25/2: It is recommended that training workshops are organised as part of the process of FC formation to assist FCs in identifying area problems and in planning future activities.

R25/3: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture draw up guidelines for extension staff which clarify the various technologies and recommendations which are most appropriate for individual farmer action and show how extension staff can still make maximum use of group extension methods in introducing them.

R25/4: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture takes steps to publicise the terms of reference both at a political level (Parliament and Councils) and at a community level.

R25/5: It is recommended that the idea of FCs setting an example to other farmers is dropped from the terms of reference and substituted by emphasis on their role in public education.

R25/6: It is recommended that greater use is made of professional adult education methods in bringing about the awareness necessary in communities to overcome social and leadership problems and develop more effective institutions.

R25/7: It is recommended that the role of the FC in stimulating, supporting and sanctioning activity amongst the target groups in the community is emphasised more strongly in the process of FC formation, election and training.

R25/8: It is recommended that Farmers Committees, together with the traditional leadership hierarchy, are recognised and promoted as the key local level institution in communal area planning and development.

THE OPERATION OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/9: It is recommended that there are seminars and workshops for VDCs, traditional village leaders, councillors and Community Development staff together with FC and extensional staff in order to improve awareness of the FC terms of reference and thereby improve relationships.

R25/10: It is recommended that policy should be to support activity by FCs on any scale within the FC management capacity and encourage full participation. Income raising enterprises should be restricted to registered organisations.

Best Available Document

THE ORGANISATION OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/11: It is recommended that the GDO studies the effect of the Dinogeng system of electing membership on farmers representation in the extension area.

R25/12: It is recommended that group development staff in the regions study the area jurisdiction of FCs with care, in order to facilitate proper representation which FC organisation must be flexible enough to achieve.

R25/13: It is recommended that further research is initiated into the question of FCs and area coverage.

R25/14: It is recommended that a determined effort is made to introduce a systematic programme of FC election and training in the regions where this has not yet been done.

R25/15: It is recommended that the CAMA office takes steps to clarify to all concerned the difference between the constitutions of a Farmers Committee and a Farmers Association.

R25/16: It is recommended that all FCs should draft constitutions along the guidelines provided in FC terms of reference.

R25/17: It is recommended that guidelines for drafting constitutions should be developed in the form of questions and reminders.

R25/18: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture reconsiders the question of FC recognition in order to facilitate the development of properly constituted (not registered) FCs through the added incentive that recognition would provide.

R25/19: It is recommended that the constitutions of all FCs should provide a certain minimum number of women to be elected.

THE PURPOSE OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

R25/20: It is recommended that high priority is given to an in depth research assignment on the impact of FCs, company areas with and without FCs.

R25/21: It is recommended that group development staff should seek to strengthen FCs as representative institutions even where Co-operative Societies have become locally powerful.

R25/22: It is recommended that there is further research into representative institutional development in connection with the definition of areas.

R25/23: It is recommended that further research is undertaken into the institutional arrangements in multi-project areas where there is no FC.

R25/24: It is recommended that DAFS clarifies policy in FC terms of reference in connection with the Department's management system.

R25/25: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture should formulate a national policy on FCs which emphasises clearly the area-wide roles defined in the already existing terms of reference.

DISTRICT FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS

R25/26: It is recommended that DFA development work is based upon the broader and more difficult task of area level institutional development.

R25/27: It is recommended that the Ministry of Agriculture develops clear policy on the relationships between FCs and DFAs.

PUBLIC EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR THE FC PROGRAMME

R25/28: It is recommended that careful recording is done of problems and issues raised and experiences in FC training and development, and that in public education and training programmes there is discussion of crucial areas, such as the leadership situation and mixed lands and cattlepost areas, and its connection with institutions in the villages, especially the major ones.

R25/29: It is recommended that Popular Theatre should be used when trying to form FCs in difficult social situations.

R25/30: It is recommended that initial FC training courses should aim to acquaint FCs with the broad aims of the terms of reference and at the same time assist each FC to identify the main problems and issues in its area, and select and as far as possible plan action on one feasible project.

R25/31: It is recommended that special technical training courses should be arranged to assist FCs in their capacity as "project management committees".

R25/32: It is recommended that formal training should include as many FC office-holders and members as possible.

R25/33: It is recommended that, in larger regions, the systematic procedure for training FCs District by District immediately after a specified period during which elections are held should be followed.

R25/34: It is recommended that training should still be related to FC elections, which should be regular, as the terms of reference suggest.

R25/35: It is recommended that professional adult education methods should be used in training in order to facilitate the discussion of the sensitive issues involved in leadership/area representation.

R25/36: It is recommended that films are produced to illustrate the problems in the rural areas which require institutional development for their solution, the problems of institutional development in different situations (e.g. the mixed lands/cattlepost areas), the process of FC formation, election and training, and the important functions and provisions of the terms of reference.

R25/37: It is recommended that FCs should be included in literacy training programmes.

R25/38: It is recommended that ADs are trained more thoroughly in book-keeping and record-keeping skills both at BAC and in in-service courses, in order to provide FCs and other groups with continuous advice.

R25/39: It is recommended that efforts should be concentrated on getting FCs to function effectively at area level before scarce support resources (manpower and transport) are employed in DF. development.

CHAPTER 26: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

IMPACT

R26/1: It is recommended that further study is done to assess the impact of group extension methods.

REACHING THE TARGET GROUP

R26/2: It is recommended that there is a more conscious effort to facilitate the representation of target group farmers on area-wide and District farmers organisations.

GRANTS

R26/3: It is recommended that a more uniform matching grant policy is facilitated by the CAMA office.

FACILITATION

R26/4: It is recommended that there is far more professional training in adult education methods for Batswana GDOs, ADs, Agricultural Supervisors and DAOs.

MANAGEMENT

R26/5: It is recommended that case studies are prepared which show clearly the relation between Extension Area, District and Support staff 3 MPs. In workshops staff at all levels should come together to discuss how their programming should tie up.

R26/6: It is recommended that, as project guidelines are developed, Annual Plan and 3 MP formats are redesigned as necessary so that specific support requirements for different projects can be more easily expressed.

R26/7: It is recommended that serious action is taken in the Department of Agricultural Field Services to raise the commitment to planning and management.

R26/8: It is recommended that the management implications of ALDEP are looked at closely in a consultancy.

R26/9: It is recommended that, to improve the planning of farmer training, farmer training staff participate fully in the regional 3 MP system.

R26/10: It is recommended that Annual Planning and 3 MP forms are modified so as to provide a better layout for more specific information on farmer training to be provided.

R26/11: It is recommended that more training is provided for staff at all levels in the regions in the identification of problems and needs of groups, so that training requirements can be more accurately predicted.

R26/12: It is recommended that guidelines on group formation processes and technical support requirements are provided, including clear guidance on training needs.

R26/13: It is recommended that the question of an overall management system for monitoring group development receives expert attention in the management training consultancy suggested at departmental level.

R26/14: It is recommended that monitoring aids similar to those devised by the AO(LR) in Central Region are developed for group activities and that technical support staff have responsibility for ensuring that their input is provided and recorded.

R26/15: It is recommended that files are kept separately on every group project, organised under Extension Areas and Districts.

R26/16: It is recommended that DAFS initiates the necessary training in the 3-month programming management system in a formal way, starting with HQ divisions and RAOs.

R26/17: It is recommended that the Rural Development Unit CAPAD office assists the Ministry of Agriculture in attending to the conditions of service of agricultural staff, from ADs upwards.

GUIDELINES

R26/18: It is recommended that the potential problem analysis technique should be used in the anticipation of support necessary.

R26/19: It is recommended that the production of guidelines for groups and extension staff be a team effort involving close collaboration between technical staff, group development staff, the Action Research Unit in AgInf, the Institute of Adult Education, and other AgInf sections.

R26/20: It is recommended that technical departments are made to take the initiative in setting out technical strategies and innovation; with clear policy on areas where group action is to be encouraged or group extension towards individual action.

R26/21: It is recommended that the CAMA/GDO role should be to co-ordinate the provision of technical input and case study experience from the field, and to provide guidelines on organisational aspects.

R26/22: It is recommended that the role of the Action Research Unit be strongly exphasised.

R26/23: It is recommended that the Action Research Unit is strengthened with the addition of more staff, and training programmes for them. This is an extremely urgent need which should be implemented during the remaining time that the RIMP Ammendment runs.

R26/24: It is recommended that the expertise in the Institute of Adult Education should be included in workshops and field exercises.

R26/25: It is recommended that when basic materials for guidelines are developed, AgInf should be responsible for putting together a final media package.

R26/26: It is recommended that the production of movie films should be very seriously considered.

R26/27: It is recommended that additional specialist consultancies should be considered to assist in the preparation of technical strategy in certain areas.

R26/28: It is recommended that care is exercised to ensure that all the needs outlined at the start of Section 26.13 are covered in guidelines: i.e. technical strategy, planning and programming support to groups, a consistent approach by different staff, designing farmer training schemes, procedures of group formation, drafting constitutions, clarifying the support role, monitoring progress, clarifying group and committee organisational and management functions, and staff training.

CONSTITUTIONS

R26/29: It is recommended that notes prepared by GDO Gaborone around 1979 (in the GDO files, Gaborone Regional Office) are used as a basis for discussion on by-laws.

TRAINING

R26/30: It is recommended that priority attention is given to the training and equipping of RTC staff in group development.

R26/31: It is recommended that a major repeat programme of senior staff training in the basic areas of group development and support management is arranged, with an emphasis on the application of the Enterprise Analysis technique.

R26/32: It is recommended that, for training in Annual Planning, case studies are prepared from real experience of planning.

R26/33: It is recommended that IDM and IAE are approached with the problem of training staff in adult education methods.

R26/34: It is recommended that the Department gives much more encouragement to the representation of field staff interests in the Botswana Civil Servants Association.

R26/35: It is recommended that DAFS approach the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to seek the help formally of DO(L)s in providing ADs with maps of their extension areas.

R26/36: It is recommended that closer research is conducted on the exciting trend in multiproject activity in some extension areas in order to understand better how to facilitate such strategic development.

GDO/CAMA ROLE

R26/37: It is recommended that great attention to publicity for the group development programme should continue and that the possibility of a weekly radio series should be explored.

R26/38: It is recommended that the CAMA office presses for a meeting, initially within the Department, to discuss the administration of grants.

CHAPTER 17: CONSERVATION PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS.

CHAPTER 17 : CONSERVATION PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS

17.1. THE MAIN CONSERVATION NEEDS REQUIRING COMMUNAL ACTION

17.2. RANGE CONSERVATION

17.2.1. Veld fire control - the initial Agricultural Resources Board objective

17.2.2. The construction of firebreaks - the achievement

17.2.3. Why so few firebreaks?

17.2.4. Lack of coherent strategy

17.2.5. A suggested new approach

17.2.6. Implementing a strategy for communal action in range conservation : some recommendations

17.3. VILLAGE WOODLOTS AND DONGA RECLAMATION

17.3.1. Awareness of the need for reafforestation

17.3.2. Woodlot projects - what has been achieved?

17.3.3. How participation has been organised and managed

17.3.4. The expertise and support required in woodlot planning and management

17.3.5. Are woodlots a viable project for community management?

17.3.6. How to support?

17.3.7. Where to start with forestry

17.4. GROUPS AND SOIL CONSERVATION

17.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 17

Chapter 17 : List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AgInf	Agricultural Information Section
AO(LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
ARB	Agricultural Resources Board
CDCC	Central District Conservation Committee
CLUO	Chief Land Utilisation Officer
CTO	Central Transport Organisation
DAFS	Department of Agricultural Field Services
EFSAIP	Evaluation of Farming Systems and Implements Project
FC	Farmers Committee
GDO	Group Development Officer
HQ	Headquarters
KRDA	Kweneng Rural Development Association
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NEDCC	North East District Conservation Committee
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RSS	Regional Support Staff
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SDCC	Southern District Conservation Committee
SED	South East District
SEDCC	South East District Conservation Committee
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VDC	Village Development Committee

17.1. THE MAIN CONSERVATION ASPECTS REQUIRING COMMUNAL ACTION

There are three main resources in the communal areas which the Botswana Government is concerned to see conserved. These are the range, the soil and woodland. Of course moisture conservation through improved arable practices is important to remember too, and the conservation of surface water supplies by the construction of dams and weirs is an important way to improve water availability. Group action in water development has been discussed in chapter 16. In this chapter we are concerned with the potential for and experience of action by communities in the first three areas.

In each of the areas there is potential for communal or group action. We have seen in chapter 5 how it was recognised early that to manage the communal range required cooperative effort. Where overgrazing is rampant most or early erosion, likewise community action is the only solution. In situations where the number of trees has diminished due to demands for firewood, fence posts and roofing poles, reforestation is needed. A project to support village woodlots has been tested, the idea being that eroded areas could be reclaimed and planted, with community management implied. We shall see in this chapter how far these various schemes have progressed.

17.2. RANGE CONSERVATION

The conservation of Botswana's major natural resource - its grazing land - is one of the basic aims of the TGLP. The search for a management system for the communal grazing has been described in chapter 5, and chapter 11 reviewed recent efforts to plan or introduce various systems such as control of numbers or grazing conference. There has been little success so far through these more comprehensive attempts, and the conclusion reached in chapter 11 was that all that is involved in such a process is not fully known, the skill is far under-stretched.

An incremental approach to implementing TGLP in the communal areas is possible that proceeds step by step in stages. Some of the possible activities which might engage villagers or groups can take place even in advance - fencing homesteads and, for example, water, stocking cattle for ticks, removing small stocks. What has the experience been of conserving the range?

[illegible] a broader concept in cattle husbandry and management than just stock control has developed. The Animal Production Division recognises that the cattle an homestead in cattle is directly dependent on range quality. Already every year [illegible] the overgrazed part of the communal area is reduced to [illegible]. [illegible] Various activities [illegible]:

- [illegible] cattle to remove the overgrazed [illegible] and which [illegible] more acceptable [illegible] cattle [illegible] opportunities to [illegible] and [illegible] water of reliable [illegible] to [illegible] pressure [illegible] water supplies [illegible] more [illegible] to the [illegible] pastoralist
- [illegible] - by [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]

Best Available Document

(this solution is technically possible but expensive and requires the initial removal of stock from the rehabilitation areas, and then the introduction of recommended grazing management standards, stocking rates etc. - not feasible in the communal areas for reasons discussed in chapter 11; where would the surplus cattle go?)

- reducing the destruction of grazing by veld fires.

17.2.1. Veld fire control - the initial ARB objective

The Agricultural Resources Board pragmatically selected the veld fire problem in 1977 for the newly formed District Conservation Committees to tackle. At national seminars the Conservation Committees were lectured on the issue, and a Fire Ranger was hired, trained briefly beyond his Junior Certificate level and posted to each Conservation Committee. 'Kgotla' meetings were held in all major and most minor villages as the Conservation Committees undertook often arduous tours of their Districts. Bags of cement and iron poles were issued from Gaborone, and Fire Rangers and drivers erected in most villages and along most roads metal signboards produced by the AgInf Section, warning against starting fires. Occasionally villagers assisted. Flip charts showing flames and starved cattle on burnt rangeland were used to great effect. AgInf campaigns on veld fires and their control were launched. There was media coverage and those Fire Rangers with better transport and motivation held follow up meetings and demonstrations in some small villages where the Conservation Committees had toured.

The result of this considerable investment of Government resources is difficult to measure. There is no doubt that the rural population became more aware of the veld fire problem. Also the amount of veld fire damage dropped between 1978-1979. However this drop coincided with drought conditions which have the effect of reducing the amount of grass growth to be burnt. But there probably were fewer incidents as well as less damage in terms of hectares burnt. It thus appears that one aim of the ARB's campaign was achieved in some areas - the creation of more awareness of the problem and the need to avoid starting fires.

In terms of community action, though, the achievement has been very small. Great difficulty was experienced in encouraging communities to mobilise their population to fight fires. And in the other possible area of activity - the construction of firebreaks - there has been an equally small response.

17.2.2. The construction of firebreaks - the achievement

Details on the firebreak projects which have been undertaken or planned are given in Appendix 12.

The project can be divided into two categories:

- firebreaks along drift fence lines
- firebreaks not connected with fencing

TABLE 17(i) A SUMMARY OF THE STATUS OF THE FIREBREAK PROJECTS

TABLE 17(i) FIREBREAK PROJECTS

1. firebreaks along fence lines

a) constructed (1)	-	Mogapi
	-	Lerala
b) planned (2)	-	Kanngwe
	-	Tshimoyapula in conjunction with planned fence
c) proposed	-	Tlokweng - along RSA border and along Batlokwa/Bagatla boundary fence lines

2. firebreaks not along fence lines

a) constructed	-	Mogapi
	-	Thabala
b) being planned/consultation stage	-	Mmaphashalala/ Mookane
c) proposed	-	Mkobeng

(1) it is believed that in fact a number of other drift fences/lands enclosure fences have been built to firebreak width; however no data was available on this;

(2) likewise many other fencing groups are planning clearing to firebreak width especially in Central Region where Land Use staff in the region have encouraged this.

Since details of these schemes are easily referred to in Appendix 12, description here will be brief. The firebreaks along fence lines are destumped at the time of fence line clearance. None of them have as yet (1980) been properly cleared. Firebreak clearance can be important in certain areas where fences have been built as the effect of a properly managed fence should be to increase the amount of grass growth on the lands side of the fence, which can therefore become a fire hazard. But soil type and rainfall affect the density of herbage so no one rule can be applied to every situation.

Only one firebreak - the one at Mogapi - has been constructed from scratch, separating one grazing area from another. The other firebreak constructed out of the context of fence schemes - at Thabala - was a track-widening effort. However, at Thabala the Farmers Committee intention had been to cut new lines through certain grazing areas to firebreak width in addition to widening the track from Thabala to Motshegaletau. One narrow

track was cut to the Masoko lands area, but has yet to be widened. Other proposals had to be dropped as the 1978-79 drought scattered lands populations back to the village and the community has since been preoccupied with other projects.

There are, thus, only 2 completed firebreaks totalling some 27 km. And in addition 70 km. of lands/drift fencing lines have been cut to firebreak width in the 2 projects - Mogapi and Lerala.

17.2.3. Why so few firebreaks?

There are a number of reasons why more firebreak projects have not been tackled by communities. Some of the problems involved in firebreak construction and constraints hindering community action can be mentioned.

Firebreak construction - the physical job

As every Motswana who has destumped and cleared for ploughing a few acres of Botswana bush will know, hacking down thorny trees and bushes and digging out the stumps is arduous work. A firebreak is simply an elongated 12 metre wide version of the same job involving extra miles of travel. The 15 kilometres of firebreak at Mogapi, equivalent to about 17 hectares, took 60 people three months to clear, according to the Farmers Committee. At Thabala the Farmers Committee had to organise two trucks to carry over 40 farmers from the village out to the north-south 12 km. cutline separating the sandveld to the west from part of Thabala's communal area. It was a strategic line for a firebreak, but much work was involved in getting out there to cut trees to widen it. Another method of clearing is to control-burn along the side of an existing track in order to widen it to firebreak width. The Thabala Farmers Committee is the only group to have attempted this in 1977 out along another track into the sandveld.

Once the trees and stumps have been removed the job remains of knocking out all the grass and other vegetation. This is the job which farmers so far have found most difficult in the few cases where projects have been attempted. In both cases where this was discussed - Mogapi and Lerala - Government assistance was felt to be the only solution. Disc ploughing by tractor to clear the tufty grass was considered the only possible method. At Lerala the Farmers Committee thought the community could collect some money towards the costs, but doubted whether it would be possible to mobilise people to do the final clearing in any other way. At Mogapi, after the initial destumping no clearing was done until the Agricultural Resources Board provided a tractor 8 months later. However here too, there had been an effort to raise money to hire a tractor by saving the funds collected from fining those who failed to participate 50 thebe per day. Unfortunately this money was reportedly misappropriated by the former headman. It is not certain whether the ARB sent a tractor to plough the Thabala firebreak also.

Besides initial construction there is annual maintenance of the firebreak. Official opinion here is firmly that this is the group's responsibility and that the work can be effectively done by dragging bushes or logs behind a team of oxen. The thinking is that this should be sufficient to knock out any annual grass which has grown. But the Farmers Committees at Lerala and Mogapi were both doubtful on this, preferring the idea of hiring tractors to plough up and down the firebreaks immediately after the first rains. There were worries, though, at the expense of doing this.

Government support : clarification of policy needed

Besides the trepidation felt at the physical job of firebreak construction and maintenance, it appeared that some confusion still persisted

over what the community responsibility should be as opposed to where Government assistance could be expected. The assumption still prevails at community level that Government will assist in the annual clearing. The long term management strategy is not clear.

At Lerala the fence line lay destumped, but how the final clearing operation was to be undertaken was an anxiety for the Farmers Committee. The equivalent operation at Mogapi was arranged by the ARB (even if an 8 month delay was involved).

R17/1 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE POLICY FOR GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE IN FIREBREAK CONSTRUCTION IS CLARIFIED TO REDUCE CONFUSION IN THE FIELD AND ENCOURAGE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT A PROJECT SHOULD INVOLVE.

This is particularly necessary now that SLOCA is another source of assistance with mechanical units available for work in each region. The administrators of SLOCA at HQ are clear on their policy for use of SLOCA equipment. It is to help groups to build, not to maintain, a project. The advice is that RAOs should not recommend a group for assistance either under the grant or demonstration components of SLOCA unless the group is known to be organised well enough for future management. This is clear in the minds at HQ, but what it involves in the field is another matter.

For one thing, it confirms the importance in this type of communal activity of preparatory demonstration, community education, field training and most of all, institutional development in order better to ensure organisational capability.

R17/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IN GUIDELINES ON FIREBREAK ACTIVITY THESE BE STRESSED IN THE PROCESS OF ORGANISATION.

But in the field the perception amongst farmers and field staff involved with communities trying to undertake firebreak projects, of how Government should assist differed somewhat from the assured attitude in the Ministry. While at the Ministry no intention of expanding the SLOCA mechanical units was contemplated, in the field farmers and field staff thought that a unit in each District was justified if Government was really serious about encouraging communal projects. The suggestions for the use that could be made in a district of a set of Government tractor, trailer and equipment included:

- firebreak maintenance with community contribution
- firebreak initial clearance as grant
- tractor hire to groups (see later chapter)
- transport (tractor and trailer) for farmers to field courses
- follow-up/maintenance or repair work on dams
- contouring
- grading of district showgrounds[1]

The Ministry naturally shies at any prospect of running a fleet of tractors up and down firebreaks in the communal areas. Instead the official view is that groups should hire tractors themselves. Indicating how much this would cost, an official in the Ministry estimated it would cost a community the equivalent only of the value of 1-2 beasts per year to maintain a 40 km firebreak[2]. Indeed this does not seem an excessive insurance

(1) These ideas came about during discussion with the MOGAPI Farmers Committee.

(2) This assumes a tractor hire charge of P10.00 per km of firebreak which is equivalent to current tractor hire charges - e.g. P20 per hectare. A 40 km firebreak is 24 hectares in size if the width of the firebreak is 6 metres. The total hire charge at normal rates would be P480.00. Discing a 6 metre firebreak involves three passes up and down (a set of discs is 2 metres wide) - i.e. a total distance travelled of 120 km of straight tractor running.

by comparison with the possible loss of grazing and even loss of life in the event of a fire.

However there does not seem to be much awareness of this type of calculation in the field.

R17/3 : IT IS THEREFORE MOST IMPORTANT FOR THE MINISTRY TO ISSUE CLEAR GUIDELINES ON THE POSSIBLE METHODS AND COSTS OF FIREBREAK MAINTENANCE, AN ACTION THIS REPORT THEREFORE RECOMMENDS AS PART OF GENERAL GUIDELINES WITH CLEAR GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MAINTENANCE.

Three further comments can be made on this. Firstly, the Ministry should be aware that in the very areas where fires are most prevalent there is a tendency for tractor ownership in communities to be most uncommon. The possibility of community hire of Government machinery in areas where private enterprise is weakly developed, or, alternatively, forms of encouragement to private entrepreneurs could be considered.

Secondly, whilst the Ministry encourages farmers to clear firebreaks with animal draft power, the author is not aware of demonstrations of this in practice. Indeed, one HQ official conceded that possibly on the hardveld this might not be very effective compared with using this method on lighter sandveld soils.

R17/4 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE USE OF ANIMAL DRAFT IS EXPERIMENTED WITH ON VARIOUS SOILS AT TIMES OF THE YEAR WHEN FARMERS ARE RECOMMENDED TO MAINTAIN FIREBREAKS (THIS SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OTHER SEASONAL PRE-OCCUPATIONS, AVAILABILITY OF THE DRAFT POWER AND WATER SUPPLIES ETC. IN COMMUNAL AREAS), AND THAT FILM STRIPS ARE MADE FOR USE IN DEMONSTRATIONS.

Thirdly, and a serious matter if confirmed, there appears to be some confusion over the correct width to which firebreaks should be cleared. Communities in Central Region have cleared to 12 metres width which, it is understood, is what the ARB recommended. But as the cost calculations just above show, the SLOCA recommendation is 6 metres. The difference between the two amounts to double, or half the amount of work depending which way it is looked at.

R17/5 : THIS NEEDS URGENT CLARIFICATION IN GUIDELINES.

Public interest in firebreaks; a low priority

One reason why there are so few firebreaks in the communal areas is the difficulty, in some areas, of motivating members of communities to tackle the physical work of firebreak clearance. At Tlokweng public interest was non existent and discussion confined to LUPAG meetings. The LUPAG doubted the possibility of encouraging self help groups "to help with the clearing" bewailing the problem of "selling the idea" to the people.

Quite what the problem was at Tlokweng needs further study. The LUPAG proposals were for firebreaks along the RSA border and along the fence line separating the Batlokwa grazing in the former freehold farms from the southern Kgatleng. There could be several causes of the difficulty of generating interest, among them the decline in the traditional authority of the Tlokweng 'Kgotla' and the lack of area wide institutional development in the Batlokwa tribal area[3] both in conjunction with the scattered pattern of settlement of lands areas around the perimeter of the Tlokweng area. The general urban orientation of the Batlokwa now towards Gaborone life next door also makes communal action hard to achieve.

The LUPAG ended by discussing the hiring of labour under drought relief programmes to clear the cutlines. However even this was later vetoed by the Tlokweng VDC which selected action on water reticulation in

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(3) Discussed in chapter 11 in connection with the Batlokwa drift fences.

the village as the priority.

It is important to recognise that communities have only a certain capacity to implement projects and that generally speaking firebreaks appear simply to have been a low priority compared with other activities demanding participation, contributions and management - like fencing, water development, tick control etc. Even at Thabala where plans had been ambitious at one stage - for 60 - 70 km, of firebreak - these targets eventually took lower priority in the Farmers Committee's schedule. And this is an area with an unusually strong and motivated Farmers Committee, and with practical experience of clearing 12 km.

Priority is also bound to be low in the areas of most severe overstocking where there is rarely any surplus grass to catch fire. It is uncertain whether this is in fact how Tlokweng farmers perceive the situation (is enthusiasm limited to officials?), but it is certainly the case in most of the south eastern part of the country. The Agricultural Resources Board's initial object of veld fire control was a priority, therefore, which meant less to the farmers in the most overgrazed parts of the country than to communities further north where grazing pressures are less severe, grass more plentiful and the fire hazard greatest. This must be a major reason why community action is limited to Central Region (the other main reason, it is conjectured, being the greater degree of Farmers Committee development in that region). The real conservation issues in the south east on the other hand have not been broached.

Cooperation between communities sharing grazing

In the parts of the communal areas where there is a need for group action in fire prevention, the problem of securing the cooperation of all the users of a grazing area can be a constraint. The problem is similar to that described in chapter 10 in the context of drift fencing. The Mogapi Farmers Committee raised this as one of the problems they had experienced with their project. The lack of cooperation from the inhabitants of the Mokgachawadiroma cattlepost area in the project initiated at the Kgophathate cattleposts could be traced to the former people having a different origin, at Maunatlala, which created social problems for the Mogapi FC leadership[4]. By the time when the author interviewed the Mogapi FC in April 1980 a further 15 km, of firebreak had still to be cleared to complete the project initiated in 1977. Nonetheless the influence and organising ability of the Mogapi Farmers Committee had been instrumental in achieving what had been done, and in overcoming some of the social problems involved in a joint venture of this kind.

The role of Farmers Committees has indeed been crucial in all the firebreak projects undertaken or being planned in Central Region. In the case of the Mmaphashalala/Mookane firebreak, the Mmaphashalala FC has been the driving force, twice arranging joint meetings with the Mookane FC to discuss cooperative action. And it was at the instigation of these two FCs that a field course on firebreak construction was planned and held in August 1978. In this situation cooperation is vital because fires are reported always to start on the Mookane side of the shared grazing where the grass is very tall.

Organising a scattered population together

The role of the Thabala Farmers Committee has also been crucial in the achievement in that area. Here the problem was less one of cooperation than of coordination and the sheer logistics of getting farmers together from their dispersed places of residence. To do this involved the organ-

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(4) See also the case study in 15.7.1.

isation of two trucks to transport people from the village to the sites of work on the borders of the sandveld to the west.

17.2.4. Lack of coherent strategy

Apart from the practical and organisational problems and the low priority communities have accorded to firebreak projects, an important explanation of the lack of achievement concerns the approach of the ARB and Conservation Committees.

The energetic tours and hours of meetings and conferences appear to be impressive signs of activity but disguise a number of problems. Essentially the ARB is a legislative body, not an extension or service agency. It is powerless to organise activity, but can only exhort. The discussions which Conservation Committees have stimulated in village 'Kgotlas' varied little from one theme - how those found guilty of causing a fire should be punished. Thousands of man-hours of discussion were excited on this issue and hundreds of opinions offered on the thrashings, fines, terms of imprisonment[5] and other penalties which were justified.

But whilst successfully stimulating public awareness about itself and the provisions of the Conservation Act, the ARB has failed in the important area of developing institutional organisation at community or smaller group level in rural areas either to fight fires or construct firebreaks. One notable occasion can be recalled from the author's previous experience in Government when a bush fire actually broke out in a nearby lands area during the course of a 'Kgotla' meeting in Sefhophe. The headman spotted it first and jumped to his feet in an exclamation of the fateful event, and with captive audience impressively began issuing orders that the assembled meeting should adjourn immediately in order to take action. The Central District Conservation Committee was able, however, to restore calm so as to proceed in an orderly way to close the discussions, and after some minutes' deliberation to explain that none of their number would be able to join the community in the practical application of all that had been talked about as the Conservation Committee, with two vehicles available, had a pressing engagement in another village 'Kgotla' later that afternoon.

Fortunately, undaunted, the headman wasted no further time in comandeering every tractor, cart, truck or other available vehicle (including that of the author who resigned temporarily from his duties as secretary of the Conservation Committee's next 'Kgotla' meeting, and that of an unfortunate white cattle speculator who had turned up hoping to buy cattle at 'Kgotla' that afternoon) and the entire community in all these vehicles and on bicycles or foot convoyed the 5 miles or so to the scene and had the fire under control within twenty minutes. The fire had been caused, the author discovered, by two girls on their own at one lands home. They had been chasing a snake out of their house and it had sought refuge in a hole in a tree. Setting alight a fire under the tree without taking precautions had resulted in the bush fire which destroyed about 40 hectares of communal grazing.

This case illustrates two things. One - the potential capability for action of a well disciplined community in fire fighting[6]. Secondly - the

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(5) The author recalls from earlier days one suggestion that the culprit should be imprisoned until the grass has grown up again.

(6) Normally near most villages such a fire would be left to burn, or local lands residents would try often in vain to control it assisted by any in the village who recognised any hazard to their own property.

image and approach of a Conservation Committee, compared with what extension staff expected it to be.

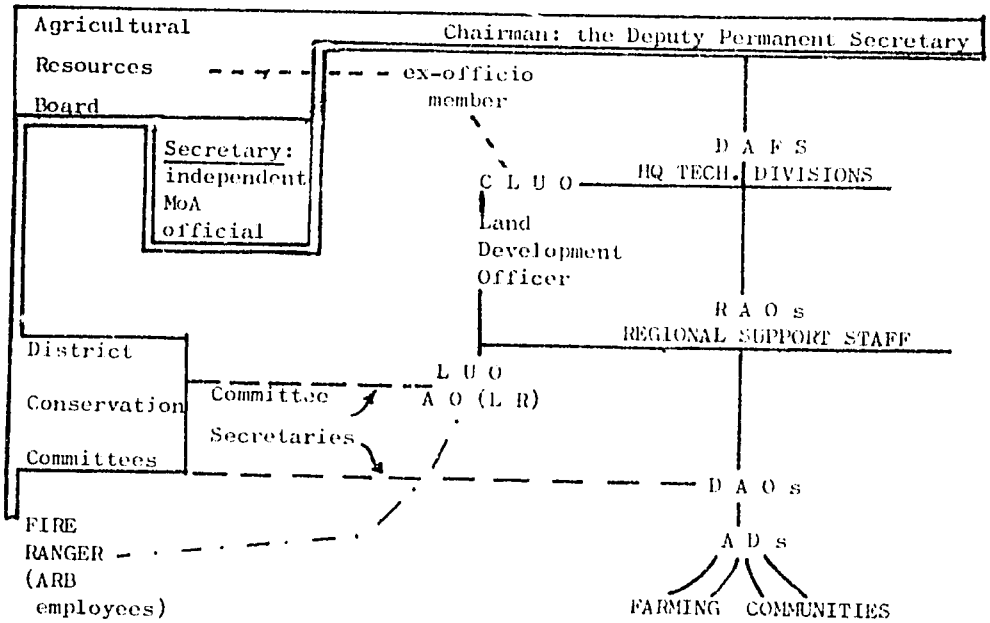
The problem has been not that Conservation Committees and the ARB have tended to focus on legislative aspects, for this is their proper and most effective role. The problem was more a matter of confusion, particularly at field level, over how action should be taken and whose responsibility it was to manage any programme of communal action.

Here it is useful to recall, from the discussion in chapter 5, the proposal of Fosbrooke which was never implemented. This was the "suggested addition to the Agricultural Resources Conservation Act to permit the establishment of Intensive Development Associations", discussed in 5.2.2. Really to be able to exercise control over the management of an area requires that there should be an institution with jurisdiction over that area onto which the ARB can file conservation orders, the institution in turn having some authority over members of the community using the defined area of land. At the moment there are simply no such institutions. Most grazing areas are shared between several neighbouring communities, and in many lands and cattlepost areas communities are of such mixed origin that even traditional leadership is ineffective. Even in villages the VDC cannot be said to be such an institution and, as we shall see when discussing woodlots and donga reclamation, attempts to work through VDCs in mobilising community action have not been uniformly successful. The only identifiable "owner" of land under present law is the Tribal Land Board of each District. The ARB can therefore file orders on Land Boards so that Land Boards in turn budget for the expenses of taking action. The only other sanction which can be used in theory is to penalise individuals for not participating.

But the ARB has little power to enforce the participation of members of communities in conservation projects. In theory the sanction exists of penalising individuals, even the headman of a village, who fail to participate in a scheme or action ordered by law. Thus people refusing to go and fight a fire could have action taken against them. But in practice to take such action assumes a working relationship between the ARB and local institutions, and the main failure has been this practical aspect of working positively to develop such institutions and constructive relations between them and the ARB/Conservation Committees. Talking in 'Kgotla' meetings is insufficient to achieve this development.

This is where extension should have entered the picture. Committees are the least effective action organisation and Conservation Committees have been no exception. Their only potential in this respect was their link through the ex-officio membership of certain DAFS staff to the DAFS organisation with its network of links through ADs to farming communities, and its resources such as RTCs and specialist regional staff. The basic organisational links are illustrated in table 17(ii)

TABLE 17(ii) ORGANISATIONAL LINKS IN PRACTICE
BETWEEN ARB AND DAFS
STRUCTURE AS IN 1977-1979; AN ILLUSTRATION



But this structure did not operate in the way in which it may have been intended. Fire Rangers were first and foremost ARB employees and although accommodated in regional or district agricultural offices, the strengthening of the ties to the regional structure supporting AD work in the districts occurred only in proportion to the ability of RAOs and DAOs to effect this link in practice.

In another awkward position were the Land Use Officers or, more latterly, AO(LR)s. They served 3 masters - the RAO, CLUO (through their immediate supervisor the Land Development Officer) and, to an extent, the Conservation Committee for which they acted as secretary. But as the bold lines in table 17(ii) attempt to show, the real operation of the ARB stepped around the DAFs structure.

What this meant in practice was that

a) the institutional links through the DAFS structure and its management system to farming communities were not fully utilised or strengthened

b) the technical input of the specialists particularly in the Land Utilisation and Animal Production Divisions (e.g. range ecology, ranch extension, land development, water engineering) was not harnessed to produce a coherent development or management plan for the communal areas

c) no such message was passed down through normal channels from the Land Utilisation Division to its representatives in the regions - the Land Use Officers, or AO(LR)s; they only heard of ideas through the main ARB hotline

d) there was scarcely any link through DAFS down to the regions

The effect of this general confusion, division of authority and lack of coherent technical strategy, filtering down to the field level was a complete muddle in terms of what was most important - who was responsible for action, and what should this be?

17.2.5. A suggested new approach

A change in approach should be built on two foundations.

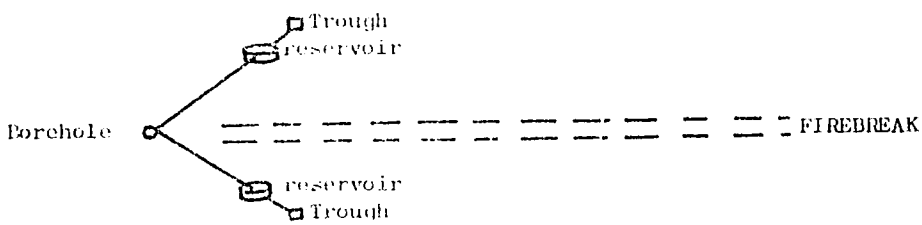
i) a clearer spatial concept for firebreak (and other development within the framework of an area land use plan

ii) the development of area wide institutions

Spatial strategy

As with all group or community actions which affect the appearance and use of communal areas, the framework of a land use plan must be a pre requisite. The ARB's approach up to now has all but ignored this whole aspect. Only a programme launched by the technical Divisions of the Ministry through the DAFS structure can be expected to achieve this, for this is the rightful role of the Department.

R17/6 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FIREBREAK DEVELOPMENT IS ENCOURAGED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER DEVELOPMENTS - WATER, FENCING AND LIVESTOCK FACILITIES PARTICULARLY. If promoted in a planned way and with other support inputs coordinated (e.g. dam building or SLOCA for other forms of water reticulation), firebreaks, in addition to fences, could form the basis of a rotational grazing system in certain areas. But it has to be in conjunction with water development.
Diagrammatically, all that is being suggested is:



(Note : other types of water source could be substituted)

By shutting off the supply to one side of a firebreak, a measure of grazing control can be established.

R17/7 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT EXTENSION EFFORTS BE DIRECTED AT PILOTING THIS TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT IN CERTAIN AREAS such as:

- where strong Farmers Committee leadership already exists
- where drift or lands enclosure fencing has already been done
- where grazing users are known and boundaries can be established through consultation

Areas which come to mind include Mmankgodi (if fires are a problem on the hills in that area), the Tswapong hills or Mogapi.

Institutional development

A major institutional development effort is needed in all parts of the country if conservation issues are to be tackled. In the absence of the sort of legalised institutions with area jurisdiction but with devel-

opmental aims that were suggested at one time[7], the only route available at present which approaches what is necessary is to work through Farmers Committees - albeit that they are voluntary bodies. If properly elected, organised and trained they represent a way of mobilising community action as has been demonstrated in the regions where a systematic programme of training and support has been carried on.

17.2.6. Implementing a strategy for communal action in range conservation : some recommendations

To implement the approach described above must involve the reorientation of the relevant sections within DAFS to provide the message and the necessary support in collaboration with the ARB. In terms of table 17(ii), the right hand side of the diagram, the DAFS structure, needs to be the bold line with effective links across to the ARB/Conservation Committees so that the action programme and the legislative aspects are in balance and harmony.

Starting from the level where action is desired, the communal areas, the first priority should be to encourage Farmers Committee development or to work through whichever institutions have effective area wide, whole community representation. In most regions group development and other regional staff are beginning to be aware of what is involved in Farmers Committee development. But in order to introduce a clearer role for Farmers Committees in conservation, close working ties between the CAMA office and the ARB are important. Conversely, such ties would help also to direct the attention of the ARB more specifically towards Farmers Committees as a potential institution with which Conservation Committees can cooperate in achieving conservation aims.

Next, to develop a management programme or strategy for Farmers Committees to implement, guidelines need to be produced by the technical Divisions responsible.

Guidelines should cover:

i) the technical specifications of firebreaks together with methods recommended and assistance available for their construction

ii) how to fight fires when they do occur

iii) how to develop where needed, an organisational system in a community in the context of an area plan (using roads, widened tracks or specially cut firebreaks) for fire fighting

iv) the circumstances where burning can be a tool in grazing management:
   - when it can be desirable
   - when not to do it
   - how to do it
   - how to get permission or advice
   - how such an action can be organised communally; obviously total consultation is absolutely necessary

v) when expert appraisal (by AO(LR) and APO) is needed as to the need for firebreaks in fencing schemes. Drift fencing guidelines should include this

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(7) i.e. the Intensive Development Associations - see 5.2.2.

To convey the message clearly to communities then requires a well coordinated approach by field staff. AgInf campaigns are important in stimulating awareness. It was an AgInf campaign which prompted the Kanngwe drift fence group to arrange that its fencing committee should also be responsible for organising firebreak clearing along the fence line.

Fire Rangers are trained in the techniques of fire fighting and fire-break construction. Yet certain Conservation Committees restrict the role of their Fire Rangers to following up reported fires, undertaking virtual police work in tracking down culprits and accompanying the accused to court or 'Kgotla' hearings.

R17/8 : IN ORDER TO EMPLOY FIRE RANGERS' SKILLS MORE EFFECTIVELY IN EXTENSION SUPPORT IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THEIR JOB DESCRIPTION AND POSITION IN THE MINISTRY'S ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE IS REVIEWED. It is suggested the Fire Rangers' chief role should be in undertaking demonstrations and field courses supportive to a veld fire prevention and control programme.

To assist in planning the Fire Ranger's involvement, guidelines for drift fencing and firebreak projects should include an outline of the organisational process showing where support requirements fit in. For example, where a group decided on a firebreak project, the AO(LR) should direct the involvement of the Fire Ranger in assisting the group with the technicalities. The APO also has to be involved in order to assist the group to disc plough after destumping, through the SLOCA programme's mechanical units.

But such a programme has to emanate and be monitored from somewhere. The argument here is that an action programme in veld fire prevention and control needs to be the responsibility of a section in DAFS, rather than of the ARB.

The most logical place for this responsibility is the Land Utilisation Division. But it is important to recognise that firebreaks and fire-fighting are just one component of range and livestock management.

In many respects it is surprising that the TGLP did not bring to bear greater pressure on the Ministry of Agriculture to establish a Range Management section, as so often happens when a prestige programme emerges and needs weight behind its implementation. To spearhead a range management programme, for this is what is needed at this point, this report does not necessarily endorse the formation of yet another specialist section. The problem is that so many areas of expertise are involved. Some, such as ranch extension, fall under the Animal Production Division. Others, such as range ecology, fall under the Land Utilisation Division. Water Development is now divided between the two Divisions - dam building in Land Utilisation, and other aspects under SLOCA in Animal Production. Skills in land use planning and demarcation are in Land Utilisation.

There is a great need to bring together the expertise involved in terms of better organisation. The Range Ecology section has tended to be a marginal unit, utilised little more than to provide information on carrying capacity if a request was made. The other component sections each operate largely independent of one another. Yet the conservation and improved management of the range and the better distribution of water sources are essential to the Animal Production Division's cattle husbandry and management programme.

R17/9 : THIS REPORT CAN ONLY RECOMMEND THAT MEASURES TO MAXIMISE COLLABORATION ON RANGE MANAGEMENT BETWEEN THE INVOLVED SECTIONS WITHIN DAFS ARE REVIEWED BY THE MINISTRY.

17.3. VILLAGE WOODLOTS AND DONGA RECLAMATION

17.3.1. Awareness of the need for reafforestation

Woodland is a vital natural resource to the inhabitants of the communal areas. Attitudes to woodland have always tended to be similar to those demonstrated to the range : woodland is another "free good" for the community as a whole to utilise. But as the size of permanent communities has grown the availability of trees for the basic needs of firewood, fencing and roofing timbers has in some areas been drastically reduced. To fetch suitable timber increasingly greater distances have to be travelled, and in many areas there is an awareness of the need to do something about the problem[8].

An example is Shoshong, a village of between 3-4,000 population, on the edge of a broad flat valley of lands areas tightly surrounded by escarpment hills which to the west give way to the sandveld cattlepost country. The proposal for a woodlot scheme for a badly eroded area on the outskirts of the village was made by the VDC in 1976 for inclusion in Central District's 1977/82 5 year plan. The Central Region AO(LR), after a visit to the village, reported information that wood for building purposes (Acacia nigrescens or 'mokoko') has now to be collected 18 km. from the village by donkey cart, sledge or tractor whereas 10 years ago the distance was nearer 8 km.[9] In parts of the Paralong and the Boteti area, even firewood is becoming difficult to obtain and suitable timber for fence posts does not exist[10]. Around major villages like Serowe the task of firewood collection occupies women and children from early morning until mid afternoon in order to obtain a few days supply.

In some communities interest has been expressed also in having orchards for the production of citrus fruit for sale.

There is, then, in some areas an interest in taking action either for communal gain or, in the case of woodlots, to alleviate perceived problems.

Another aspect of the subject is soil conservation. Many villages in Botswana are situated in hilly areas, often at the foot of steep slopes where the gradient abruptly changes to a very gentle slope. As smallstock customarily are kept around the village for at least part of the year (especially when lands areas have no water and are vacated for the winter), overgrazing around such villages is commonplace and sometimes severe. There are as a result few villages without several major active "dongas" or erosion gullies. In some villages these can be a menace, endangering habitations and cutting across roads and tracks.

"Dongas" can also be a problem in lands areas where overgrazing and cultivation occur side by side. Action on this aspect will be discussed in 17.4.

An effective remedy for stabilising and rehabilitating eroded areas, such as those described, is to protect them by fencing from further overgrazing, and then to plant trees and if necessary infill the dongas with stone or brush barriers so that soil starts collecting in them and vegetative cover becomes re-established.

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(8) A thorough analysis of the nature of the problem including the "fuelwood crisis" can be found in Richard White's "Handbook for Village Woodlot Planning and Management in Botswana", published in 1979.

(9) Savingram from J. C. A. Hobbs (AO(LR)) to Land Development Officer; 12 March 1980.

(10) For lands enclosure fence schemes purchased poles were being considered - see chapter 10.

Woodlots and "donga" reclamation can thus go together, and several District Conservation Committees have attempted to initiate woodlot projects where conservation measures against further erosion were considered necessary. The AHB has in some cases voted funds to assist in such projects. Besides this source of finance the Division of Land Utilisation has a project, AE13, to encourage village woodlots.

All these schemes would appear ideally suited to group or community action, so what has been the experience and how can such projects be organised and managed on a communal basis in practice?

17.3.2. Woodlot projects - what has been achieved?

Details on 6 groups are provided in Appendix 11. However this does not account for all the projects proposed and in some cases undertaken and a fuller list is provided in table 17(iii).

Included in this table are only those projects to be organised and managed by communities. There are other forestry projects in the country managed by Brigades Development Trusts as commercial/training ventures. These are not included in the inventory of community projects although as we shall see they are an important support component in any forestry programme in the communal areas.

Also proposed, in villages around Serowe for example, are some small scale orchard and shade tree planting projects at primary schools and health posts. These are not included in the table on community schemes.

In terms of numbers, there were therefore (mid 1980) 3 projects on the ground, 3 being implemented and a further 11 projects planned or being talked about.

Care has to be taken, however, in interpreting these figures as the projects do not neatly fall into a classification. As we shall see, for example, the Mmamokhasi project in the valley at Kanye is not a group or even a community project by any standards. It was proposed by the Southern District Conservation Committee and implemented by the Southern District Council. Several of the proposed projects have been proposals for a number of years. The Shoshong project was proposed in 1976 and the Sepane donga project proposed, in this case by the Central District Conservation Committee around 1977. In neither case is any result to be seen, as yet. The proposals for projects in Manyana, Papatlo, Diktim and Notwane also remain little more than discussion items in their respective District LUPAG and Conservation Committee agendas. The status of most of these projects is in fact fairly static. At Hokweng it might be more correct to say the proposal was abandoned, at least for the time being, in 1979/80 after a negative response from the community. Community Development staff were brought in on this project to try to help the VDC organise labour for this project which the South East District Conservation Committee wanted to see done and handed over to the VDC. The project was dropped by the VDC in favour of the water reticulation project. But voluntary labour (under food for work) failed even here and labour had to be hired.

Among the proposed projects, lasting interest seems to prevail only at the projects where the idea has originated to some extent from within the community, as at Mmankgodi, Shoshong, Matnuba ward (the Boipelo women's group) and Lerala where the dam groups were hoping to plant orchards within their dam fences.

In some cases it is difficult to state exactly where or how an idea originated. At Lerala, farmers perceive the orchard idea as their own - a project they would like to implement at their dams even though the idea was introduced by the AO(LR) for the region. Similarly, and significantly,

TABLE 17(iii) WOODLOT AND DONGA RECLAMATION PROJECTS

PROJECTS/STATUS	Type	Initiator	Management
1. IMPLEMENTED PROJECTS			
Malambakwena	Woodlot/donga reclamation	NEDCC	VDC
Motshegaletau	"	FC/RSS/CDCC	Thabala FC
Mmamokhasi (Kanye)	"	SDCC	Southern District Council
2. PROJECTS BEING IMPLEMENTED			
Kumakwane	"	VDC	VDC/food for work
Maunatlala	Donga reclamation only	?VDC	VDC/food for work
Morwa	Woodlot	VDC	VDC/food for work
3. PROPOSED PROJECTS			
Shoshong	Woodlot/donga reclamation	VDC	VDC
Lerala	Orchard	FC/AOLR	Dam groups
Mokobong	"	?	Dam groups
Sepane (Mathuba ward, Serowe)	Donga reclamation	CDCC	VDC
Boipelo women's group (Mathuba ward)	Orchard	Women's garden group	Women's group
Mmankgodi i) ii)	Woodlot Orchard	Farmers Assoc "	Farmers Assoc "
Makgopong	Woodlot/donga		?
Tlokweng/Notwane	Woodlot	SLDCC	VDC
Dikhim (SED)	Woodlot/donga reclamation	SEDCC	?
Monyana	Donga reclamation	SDCC	?
Papatlo	Woodlot	SDCC	?

at Motshegaletau the idea was suggested to the community at one time by staff from the regional office and the Land Utilisation Division. But now for all intents and purposes it is the Farmers Committee's project.

In this analysis of community activity in woodlots and related projects the aspect of ownership or managerial responsibility is found to be most crucial. This can be studied initially by an account of participation and how it has been organised and managed in different cases.

17.3.3. How participation has been organised and managed

Can forestry projects be managed by groups and if so what type of group and what is involved? The description "village woodlot" certainly implies village level management, but the experience so far has been very limited and the policy on community management of woodlots is vague.

Of the three completed projects the Mmamokhasi project was not a community project at all. It was not discovered whether any effort was made at any stage to encourage community participation, but what participation there has been seems to have been destructive. At the March 10th 1980 Agricultural Regional Staff Meeting in Lobatse it was explained that some people living in the neighbourhood of the project had cut and stolen some of the fence wire and others had been trampling the fence as the project had cut across previously used tracks and footpaths. It appeared that two 'Kgotla' meetings had been held to explain the project proposal, but that the local community had not been involved at all in other respects and consultation was felt to have been inadequate.

Participation by the community at Mmamokhasi therefore was nil. The project was initiated by the ARD/Southern District Conservation Committee in 1976, constructed entirely at Government expense and taken over by Council. 100% of the costs of the trees (400 eucalyptus and 87 poplar), fencing, fence repair work, construction of wire mesh/stone barriers, and infill and lining of donga head walls with rocks were met by Government, as were the costs of tractor hire and labour. Southern District Council, responsible now for the project, had a labourer hired to take care of the maintenance of the project.

At Malambakwena community participation was organised effectively by the VDC for the initial work of fencing, planting and placing stones and planting cactus around the head of the donga. Whether this was organised with the incentive of food for work was not discovered. It is known, though, that the work was carried out under the close supervision of Francistown Region's Land Use Officer. As the data in Appendix table II.1. shows, the initial zeal of the participants (or the VDC?) lasted no longer than the initial development effort. No watering was ever done and all the trees were dead by mid 1980.

Elsewhere - at Kumakwane, Morwa and Maunatlala action under the VDCs was being carried out under the food for work schemes introduced as part of the 1978/79 drought relief programme. None of these projects had had trees planted by the time of this study and at Maunatlala it seemed that activity was limited to donga filling unrelated to any longer term project.

Only at Motshegaletau could it be said that a group, in this case the Thabala Farmers Committee, was "managing" a woodlot project in an ongoing sense. But as is documented thoroughly in Appendix II.2. considerable problems had been experienced. Motshegaletau is a main lands area of Thabala and was selected by the Thabala Farmers Committee as a conservation site because of the obvious erosion problems there, and to complement the soil conservation (contouring) programme which the Land Utilisation Division had started the previous year in that catchment area. The bulk of the planning and preparation took place between February-October 1978.

From the beginning Serowe Forestry Brigade expertise was involved in consultations at Thabala and Motshegaletau, and the Farmers Committee attended a day's field course at the Forestry Brigade. The plan was to commence planting phase 1 (5 hectares of a total of 25 ha.) in September 1978.

But many problems beset the project, and work did not start until towards the end of 1979. Drought had scattered the normal population residing at Motshegaletau, and to get people from Thabala the 7 km. to the site the headman and the Farmers Committee chairman had to provide their trucks. Although poles had been cut earlier by the Motshegaletau people, when it came to clearing the work fell primarily on to the Farmers Committee from Thabala. By the time fencing and planting was done there was no adult participation from Motshegaletau. Only some school (4B club) children helped the 34 people who had come out from Thabala to plant.

The drought conditions interrupted progress still more. The Motshegaletau dam was dry and the clinic borehole also broke down. When it came to watering, therefore, the Farmers Committee seemed to lose sense of what should be done and support from the District Agricultural Office did not materialise. It appears that the watering problem had been foreseen and a commitment made to loan the Farmers Committee the office skotch cart so that water could be fetched in drums from a small dam privately owned by a trading family in the area. This was not done. Nor were any negotiations made, it seems, with the trading family in question.

Here local politics enter the picture. It transpired that rivalry had long existed between key office holders in the Motshegaletau FC sub committee and the main Farmers Committee in Thabala. The lack of cooperation at Motshegaletau was caused by the local leaders failing to inform people or encourage participation at that end.

Most of the October planted trees died. They were replaced by more eucalyptus in November and December, but by February it came to the attention of the AO(LR) in Serowe that watering was still not being done, so permission was given for a water bowser belonging to the soil conservation section at Motshegaletau to be used by the farmers committee. Thereafter 2 members of the Farmers Committee went out to Motshegaletau regularly to see to the watering. 3 ladies from Motshegaletau and 10-12 4B girls were busy watering the seedlings on the day the author happened to visit.

The Motshegaletau case illustrates many issues in group development which will be expanded on shortly. But what does at least shine out from the case, amidst all the problems, is the commitment to the project of the Farmers Committee managing it.

Unfortunately there are few projects with which to compare or contrast experience. The Farmers Association at Mmankgodi talked with an equal sense of commitment about its proposed orchard and woodlot, but the project was still in an early planning stage. At Kumakwane although a great deal of planning had been done, contractual arrangements with KRDA made, grant assistance applied for and a special constitution drafted with help from the Gaborone GDO, participation had only been on the basis of food-for-work organised by the VDC one day per week under the drought relief programme. The VDC itself was clearly committed to the project - having earmarked P385.00 of its funds. but it remains to be seen how the VDC will succeed in maintaining the commitment of the community.

What matters is understanding and motivation on the part of the community. As chapter 3 tried to show, there is a strong tradition in Botswana of community labour, but attitudes are fast changing. Extension approach must keep pace with this. There is a tendency still for extension workers (and politicians, Conservation Committees and the like) to expect

people of a village to come out and work just because of their speech. But often the full implications are only superficially discussed. In the case of a woodlot - how is the woodlot to be managed year by year? How much labour or other cost must be involved to achieve this? How big does the woodlot need to be to satisfy what requirements? How is the production to be disposed of to benefit whom in the community?

It is essential that objectives are clear and that there is understanding of how the project is to be managed and organised. In most of the cases reviewed here, however, few of these questions appear to have been discussed. Management responsibility, organisation and ownership seem usually to have been only vaguely considered. Yet for a community to have commitment to a project these areas are prerequisites.

Even at Thabala where much time was spent in preparation and planning, and the Farmers Committee and a fair segment of the community has since demonstrated real concern for the project, still no by-laws are drawn up to make answers to these questions clear.

The only project with by-laws is the Kumakwane VDC's Woodlot Project. These by-laws do make clear the following points (the language of the by-laws is used):

- the purpose is to plant trees for poles, woods etc.
- membership is open to all in the Kumakwane Extension Area
- to be a member a person must give hands to any work done - e.g. building fence, planting trees
- anyone who will not give hands will not be a member and will buy poles at a higher price
- members shall be free to buy poles, woods etc. at a lower price
- non members who are not Kumakwane residents shall buy poles etc. at a higher price
- the VDC must pay all money needed to run the project
  - to pay those who are hired
  - to hire tractors to plough
  - to pay once repairs

Some concept thus exists at Kumakwane of the project's objectives and intended management. But is even this adequate? It falls well short of the planning recommended in the handbook now available[8]. Although this project and another at Mmankgodi are planned in the Kweneng, the Kweneng District LEPAG's long term afforestation programme[11] does not even mention the possibility of self help group action in future plans. Proposed instead is the setting up of a District Council Forestry Unit with employed foresters and foremen all to be trained at KIDA in Molepolole. The objectives combine commercial wood production for the district's future needs with providing employment through labour intensive work. Heavy reliance will be on KIDA to manage all the woodlots for the initial period until Council staff take over. Groups will be hired from villages to do the necessary work on a contract basis.

Again long term management/ownership is unclear. The proposal talks of the woodlots being "run by Council or villages via VDCs".

Although the handbook now provides excellent technical guidelines for planning and management woodlot schemes, policy on ownership of the projects remains confused and vague.

RL7/10 : CLEARER ORGANISATIONAL GUIDELINES ARE RECOMMENDED TO COMPLEMENT THE PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT GUIDELINES IN THE HANDBOOK.

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(11) According to a draft LEPAG proposal

17.3.4. The expertise and support required in woodlot planning and management

Richard White's handbook gives excellent detail on how to plan a viable project. Worked examples of the necessary calculations are provided which enable the reader to grasp clearly how to think out what sort of project is appropriate in any situation, how big it should be to meet local needs, exactly what will be involved and how to go about it.

Most of the errors made so far in attempts to initiate community woodlot projects hopefully need not be repeated if these guidelines are correctly used.

To appreciate how important technical aspects are one has only to recall the achievement to date. Apart from Mmamokhagi where the entire project was built and then managed by Government/Council, trees are alive only at Motshegaletau. Even there only the third planted eucalyptus survived. The citrus all died. An orchard has to be near people / homes to be looked after properly.

It is then important to be aware of how much specialist support has been found to be necessary in these projects. In most cases where there has been no progress there has been no support. A project will not happen just as the result of a Conservation Committee or LUPAG resolution. Here the problems have been similar to those which affected firebreak projects (see 17.2.4.). As an example, the Central District Conservation Committee decided something should be done about the Sepane donga running through central Serowe past the Catholic Church. The matter was brought to the attention of the ARB whose members along with all the CDCC members all toured the site on more than one occasion. But what was never clear was how action should be organised. It depended on there being cooperation from the VDC, mobilisation of labour, provision of vehicles by the ARP or the RAO/DAO's office in Serowe, provision of necessary materials, and a technical plan and supervision for the barriers to be constructed. It was really on this last aspect that plans came to nothing. Responsibility for technical supervision was allocated to the Serowe Farmers Brigade (represented on the CDCC) but never materialised. The cement and wire provided by the ARB eventually got used for other purposes by the District Agricultural Office, or got lost in the confused office stores. Extension contact with the VDC had never been strong as the DAO's office was barely involved in the initiation of the project.

This was just a simple project by comparison with a woodlot and points to the necessity of effective support as well as to the need for effective consultation and community organisation.

The support needed for a woodlot is considerable. Specialist expertise in forestry must be available. A reason for most of the difficulties so far has been obtaining such expertise. At Motshegaletau the problems that can occur in practice come out clearly. Apart from the one day field course at the Serowe Forestry Brigade for Thabala Farmers Committee members, the only training held was one demonstration at Motshegaletau at planting time. Only 20 people attended, mostly from Thabala. The demonstration was carried out by Serowe Forestry Brigade instructors and trainees and involved no practical work for the farmers. Subsequently the only support received from the Forestry Brigade was the delivery of more seedlings. Record keeping even of the number of trees supplied was confused - at Thabala, at the DAO's office and at Serowe Forestry Brigade. Essentially things did not work out as had been originally planned. At the Forestry Brigade the manager with whom all the negotiations had been done suddenly and unexpectedly left. Yet it had been on the basis of the presence of his expertise that the Regional Agricultural Office had backed the Farmers Committee

project. Those who took over management at the Brigade were competent at handling the ongoing work at the Brigade but un-equal to the task of supporting a community scheme an hour's journey away and in its initial stages. Training was therefore not as had been specified.

At the same time the region's GDO went on leave and DAO was transferred. None of the region's land use staff had expertise in forestry and specific responsibility for supporting the project and monitoring progress had not been assigned to them. The Agricultural Supervisor stationed at Thabala seemed also to lack the authority and insight to coordinate the necessary action in such a situation. The problems at Motshegaletau, as was described earlier, were compounded by drought conditions as well as social issues. It can be difficult under such circumstances to see the way out.

Some say that the capability of the Farmers Committee to implement the project had been over-estimated, but faced with all these difficulties the performance of the FC can hardly be expected to have been any different. This is particularly so when the support which Thabala received in the end is compared, say, to Malambakwena where all the organised work was supervised in person by the region's Land Use Officer.

How effectively the guidelines of the new handbook will be put to use depends completely on the way they are followed by supporting staff. Although the guidelines are excellently presented and straightforwardly explained, the subject is technically much more involved than most extension staff, Conservation Committee members and certainly village organisations might imagine.

The partnership between those Brigades Development Trusts with forestry expertise and Ministry extension staff is therefore very necessary and needs to be cultivated. The Motshegaletau experience with the Serowe Forestry Brigade should act as a warning, though, about the degree of coordination necessary.

17.3.5. Are woodlots a viable project for community management?

When trampling over the eroded area at Shoshong in 1980 the AO(LR) from Serowe discovered the remnants of a 1960's Ministry of Agriculture "donga" reclamation scheme - a fenced off area which had fallen into disrepair and had since been pulled down completely by the villagers. "The land has had no chance to recover" added the AO(LR) in a cautionary note[9].

There are a good many other similar relics lying about the communal areas. Occasionally a faded notice with "Land Utilisation" or the word "conservation" still faintly visible is the only reminder of past efforts.

The new handbook leaves little doubt that woodlots if properly planned and managed are worthwhile. But the initial financial outlay and labour requirements are considerable. The handbook quotes 251 man days per hectare of plantation for the first year and as many as 133 and 120 man days in the second and third years if watering has to be done. If the planting year is followed by two years of good rains the labour requirement is about 60 man days less than these figures. Thereafter only periodic track and fence maintenance and a little pruning is required annually until the plantation can start to be felled or coppiced several years hence.

The main commitment on the part of the community is therefore in the initial year or two when a woodlot is established. Later on management of the harvesting, coppicing or replanting of the woodlot is involved. And when "donga" reclamation is also an objective, the site fences must be maintained to keep livestock from grazing the eroded area.

While these requirements may seem fairly straightforward, this report cannot help but express doubts at the capacity of communities to manage

what is involved unless considerable outside assistance is provided. This places group development and extension staff in something of a dilemma. How can a balance be achieved in supporting a group so that the woodlot is properly established and managed, yet while doing so, avoiding destroying the group's management responsibility. The Kwemeng LUTAG's draft proposal achieves the short term objective of correct plantation management by using KRDA management: it suggests the KRDA "gives the programme a start for e.g. 3 years" during which time the Council would set up a Forestry Unit and Council Foresters would be trained.

But VDCs or other village organisations cannot afford to employ a forester. They will have to rely on voluntary management and labour. To ensure that voluntary effort is not rewarded with failure, a tremendously careful approach is needed to enable communities to plan, establish and manage such activities; the approach, in order to develop management capability in the community to the extent required, must involve a tremendous element of training not only in the practical forester's skills but in management to understand for example the calculation of community requirements for wood, why a plantation should be of a particular size and how it should subsequently be exploited).

This is what you like is the "group development" approach. In the setting up of the Motshegaletau project it was planned that the Serowe Forestry Brigade, though not actually managing the project, would provide regular management supervision and training which Government would pay for on a contract basis. The conclusion of this report is that this approach is possible provided this extent of management and practical training and support is forthcoming.

R17/11 : THIS REPORT THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT VILLAGE WOODLOT PROJECTS ARE ENCOURAGED ONLY WHERE ADEQUATE SPECIALIST SUPPORT CAN BE ASSURED, AND ONLY WHERE THE GUIDELINES PROVIDED IN THE HANDBOOK FOR VILLAGE WOODLOT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT ARE ABLE TO BE FOLLOWED.

R17/12 : TO DEVELOP SUPPORT CAPABILITY IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ALL ACO(LR)S AND LAND USE OFFICERS FROM THE REGIONS PARTICIPATE IN A SPECIALLY ARRANGED TRAINING WORKSHOP AT ONE OF THE FORESTRY CENTRES SUCH AS KRDA, THE OBJECTIVE OF WHICH SHOULD BE TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH AND BE ABLE TO USE THE HANDBOOK ON WOODLOT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT AS WELL AS TO ACHIEVE A PRACTICAL REAL FOR FORESTRY METHODS. Appropriate similar training could be considered also for extension field staff selected from areas where projects have been planned (e.g. Motshegaletau, Mmankgodi, Kumakwane) and where local expertise is considered adequate - i.e. in areas where staff of the Ministry's forestry nurseries or Forestry Brigades are available.

Elsewhere it may be some years before the support capacity is developed to assist more community managed schemes.

R17/13 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE MAIN FOCUS OF THE RURAL AFFORESTATION PROJECT (ALFT) SHOULD BE INITIALLY TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORE CENTRES SUCH AS BRIGADES DEVELOPMENT TREES FROM WHICH SUPPORT CAN LATER BE PROVIDED. Government money is more likely to be invested successfully in promoting these more commercial/training enterprises than in fencing and providing trees to communities where Conservation Committees would like to see projects, but where insufficient management capability exists.

A third alternative is to make woodlot projects more immediately attractive to a community. This approach assumes that members of a community are reluctant to invest their labour or other contributions into an activity from which immediate rewards are not reaped. Government could actually pay the community something each year for undertaking the project until the production was saleable.

This approach still requires management supervision however, even though it may get around the initial motivation problem where farmers do not perceive a woodlot as being worth working at. In this approach, as in the Kweneng proposal, farmers effectively become hired laborers. Long term management from such beginnings is likely only to be possible as a commercial venture with the continued employment of foresters etc. It still depends, as in the Kweneng, on the availability of an organisation with the expertise to give it a start.

The basic need in promoting village woodlots by whatever approach, is for more skilled manpower in forestry.

17.3.6. How to support?

When visiting Shoshong the AO(LR) from Serowe was struck by the opportunity for the Land Utilisation Division to provide a "coordinated, comprehensive and integrated response to several problems identified by Shoshong village, rather than working as isolated units"[9]. The units referred to were the dams unit, the soil conservation unit and the forestry unit; and the overall land use planning input including soil survey could be described as the fourth.

The author can think of no better way to comment than to quote below the reply from the Land Development Officer (D. Sims) at Ministry HQ. His response captures precisely what is involved in providing technical support to a project in practice, although it makes no mention of using the Handbook for Village Woodlot Planning and Management which this report suggests is used as a basis by regional staff in such situations.

" 1) I note that you were asked to advise by the VDC, that the request came through the A/D and DAO, and that you toured the area with the Sub Land Board Chairman and Tribal Authority. In other words the request comes from the right quarters and has passed through the proper channels, and you are hardly likely ever to get a better chance than this to get something started. Obviously we must respond, but very carefully in view of the many failures and disappointments in the past.

2) How to proceed from here?

The physical plan

i) to establish a plantation which shall supply poles and firewood, and which can be extended year by year.

ii) to prevent soil erosion and flood damage, probably by gradually channelling, diverting, preventing, or storing flood water.

iii) to extend this planning and land treatment to a larger area in future.

The prerequisites are:

i) a map of the greater area, showing soil, topography, vegetation, settlement, use and communications. The suggested scale would be between 1:10,000 and 1:20,000.

ii) on this map the boundary of the problem area, together with all drainage lines, should be marked in, together with the outline of the land set aside for plantation, and the area to be planted, treated, and fenced in the first year; plus any dams, diversions, or physical protection measures required.

iii) a list of the inputs which have to be available the first year by what date, and their cost (i.e. number of seedlings, rolls of wire, fence posts, tractors, ploughs, water-carts, bags of cement - everything necessary).

iv) timetable of implementation, starting in April 1980.

The management aspect:

The objectives :

i) to create an organisation which owns the plantation, can handle its own financial affairs, and can either employ, or provide labour to establish. maintain extend and harvest the plantation.

3) Extension aspects

i) I think it would be wrong to work out a complete physical plan and then present it to the VDC, saying in effect "this is what has to be done". I think it would be right to work out a complete physical plan so that you can see what has to be done, but to take a blank base map to the meeting and get the members of the VDC to work out the plan on it, with the very smallest amount of discreet prompting. If they made a plan they will defend it.

ii) I believe personally that a development of this kind has the best chance of success if it is economically viable and eventually pays for itself. I suggest that the VDC be led into a detailed discussion of costs, both initial and annual, and prospective sales. For this you will have to be fully briefed before hand. A large blackboard would help. The discussion should be based on the actual costs of the plan earlier arrived at.

iii) discuss in detail what will have to be provided locally in the way of labour and management; and how the business side is going to be run. These two aspects are 99.99% of success or failure, and it is vital that the group themselves discuss long and deeply on this, and that they adopt a method which suits them, and by which they think they can deliver the goods. I suggest that no attempt be made to get a decision at one meeting, but that as many as necessary are held.

iv) it may be best if the group selects a few people to act for them, but these should report back frequently to the whole.

v) suggest that the committee write out a project proposal under AE 10 or 15, together with the A/D and DAO, rather than that you write it.

vi) it would probably be better not to mention or suggest grandiose plans for the re-planning of the whole of Shoshong, but to complete one project at a time, and hence build up confidence.

vii) similarly it may be best not to make announcements in the LUPAG or circulate papers on a Shoshong development plan. For one thing nothing may happen in the end and then you look silly, and for another all sorts of "experts" may move in and take the thing away from both you and the inhabitants, wreck it, and discard it. At the same time you do not need enemies, and so

should keep the LUPAG, Department of Town and Regional Planning, etc. informed about this little plantation, like the one at Motshegaletau, which is going to be put in.

viii) do not let the people lose interest through having to wait too long; keep it moving.

xi) work very closely with the AD and DAO.

I will provide whatever support and assistance I can, will be interested to hear of development, and delighted if and when you achieve something. "

17.3.7. Where to start with forestry

Drawing again on ideas of the AO(LR) Serowe, there is no better way to create awareness about trees than by starting with children. Managing a village woodlot may be beyond the capacity of most villages at the present time, but caring for a few trees in a primary school or clinic yard, or at the 'Kgotla' is not beyond this capacity or that of ADs there to advise.

R17/14 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FUNDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE FOR SMALL SCALE TREE PLANTING ACTIVITIES IN VILLAGES AS PART OF A LONG TERM CAMPAIGN OF PUBLIC EDUCATION. A popular scheme to "plant a tree" could be launched to coincide with some annual festival.

It is necessary for AgInf to produce appropriate visual aids to complement the Handbook on Village Woodlot Planning and Management to assist field staff in increasing awareness of the problems and their solutions.

17.4. GROUPS AND SOIL CONSERVATION

In certain types of catchment area erosion control measures are inefficient unless undertaken on a catchment area basis. Put simply - for one farmer to contour his lands may be pointless if the measures he adopts do not form part of a catchment wide scheme either because his efforts may be rendered ineffective by what is happening further up the slope, or because water he diverts from his field could cause added damage to a neighbour further down.

One of the first types of scheme suggested for group action, therefore, was a catchment contouring project. All farmers in an area would have to be involved, agree for certain erosion control works such as contour banks, diversion channels, infilling of gullies to be undertaken on the catchment area (necessitating some realignment of field boundaries in some cases) and agree to contribute in some way to the whole exercise.

The scheme would then serve as a demonstration of conservation measures. It was planned in 1976/77 that gradually one such scheme would be established by the Soil Conservation Section in each District for demonstration purposes. Ideally donga reclamation, tree planting and dam building were to be integral parts of each catchment scheme.

Motshegaletau, a 300 hectare site, was the first of these schemes to be attempted. The idea for the woodlot (described in 17.3. with details in Appendix 11.2.) in fact followed on from the initiation of soil conservation activities. Smaller demonstration projects were also started in

Tati District (40 hectares) and at Moshupha (15 hectares) though not, it is understood, on a group basis. The EFSAIP project (Dept. of Agric. Research) also implemented a contouring project at Mmopane, near Kopong.

In every case the contouring work carried out with Government machinery has been done at no cost to the farmers.

The progress with these projects measured both in physical terms (metres of contour bank built) and in terms of group development has been very disappointing. And the two are very much linked.

At Motshegaletau interest was initially fair. Farmers assisted with the cutting of pegs and attended meetings. But the processes of surveying, marking out and bank construction - all done by soil conservation staff - took far longer than either the Ministry or the farmers had anticipated. Chronic problems were experienced with machinery, the nearest CRO repair shop being 170 km. away by better roads or some 90 km. through the more direct back route. Progress was painfully slow and farmers gradually lost interest in a type of project which, like forestry, has no immediately visible benefits in any case. As the work dragged on into its third year the number of farmers ploughing at the Motshegaletau lands area had dropped to a handful (in any case some had reestablished lands at a new site, Masoko where larger allotments were possible and in order to avoid the infestation at Motshegaletau of the weed "quick grass"). Others had not come to plough because of the poor rains of 1978-79. Apparently on Motshegaletau soils early planting was essential because they dried out earlier than elsewhere at the onset of the dry autumn winds.

In addition, there were organisational problems at Motshegaletau - as mentioned in 17.3. For the contouring project no specific organising committee was established. One or two meetings were held initially and the expected duties of the farmers explained by specialists from HQ, but thereafter no management programme was drawn up and neither the soil conservation staff on site nor the Thabala AF seemed to have a clear picture of what the farmers should be encouraged to do in the context of what the Government machinery was laboriously doing. Nothing therefore was done by the farmers.

Likewise at Mmopane farmers were reported to have demonstrated no responsibility for the contour bank built. Some had since breached and were left unrepaired.

The discouraging experience at Motshegaletau can be attributed to several factors:

- inadequate consultation, demonstration and group organisation at initial stages
- unclear policies as to what was expected of the farmers; lack of demonstration or training in this field in repair, maintenance of banks, filling donga, building gatons, leaving drainage channels unploughed, ploughing along the contour on areas banked)
- too much of the work was done for the farmers by Government staff and machinery; a nominal charge per metre of bank constructed would have encouraged greater commitment; this was discussed at several stages but never introduced
- the work of the Government units itself was inefficient; this must have caused farmers discouragement and reduced the credibility of the project
- technical supervision/support could have been better at Serowe. The Soil Conservation Unit at Motshegaletau reported direct to HQ. Neither the RAO's or the DAO's offices at Serowe were properly involved. Both had severe transport constraints

- and the one Land Use Officer at the regional office was heavily preoccupied with other work (surveying drift fence schemes etc.) all over the region.

There is no reason for all of these problems to be repeated in the future. Staffing and transport at the RAO's office is now much better than in the past. The 1980/81 Plan of Central Region's Land Use section plans to complete the Motshegaletau project and start work on a second demonstration project in the region. At one possible site, Semolale in Bobonong District, the AD and Soil Conservation Assistant consulted all farmers individually after an encouraging group meeting. Large drawings and photographs were used to show farmers what would be involved and farmers were taken to some fields the Bobong District ADs had contoured. A fee of 1 thebe per metre was suggested as a charge for the work to be undertaken by Government. At the time of this study it was not clear whether a definite agreement had been reached at Semolale.

Central Region staff are now well aware of the need "to encourage far greater farmer participation in the next project than has been the case at Motshegaletau"[12].

R17/15 : IN FUTURE CATCHMENT AREA CONTOURING DEMONSTRATIONS GREATER ATTENTION TO TRAINING, DEMONSTRATION AND GROUP ORGANISATION IS RECOMMENDED IN THE EARLY STAGES OF PROJECT APPRAISAL. During the preparatory consultation stage when project sites are being selected,

R17/16 : THE COORDINATION OF AN AGINF CAMPAIGN ON SOIL CONSERVATION IS ONE EXTENSION ACTIVITY TO BE RECOMMENDED SO AS TO CREATE GREATER AWARENESS OF THE VALUE OF A SCHEME IN IDENTIFIED PROBLEM AREAS[13].

From past experience it can also be suggested that in future for demonstration projects to be successful as a group exercise

R17/17 : THERE SHOULD BE CLEAR GUIDELINES FOR GROUP ACTIVITY AND CONTRIBUTION, including a financial contribution, and that speedy competent execution of any construction work by Government is essential to maintain community confidence.

R17/18 : FOR THIS REASON DEMONSTRATION CATCHMENTS SHOULD NOT BE TOO LARGE, BEYOND, THAT IS, THE CAPACITY OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION UNIT TO IMPLEMENT WITHIN A 6 MONTH TO A MAXIMUM ONE YEAR PERIOD.

R17/19 : TO ENCOURAGE LASTING COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY, THE EXTENT OF GOVERNMENT EXECUTION OF WORK SHOULD BE MINIMISED AND GROUP PARTICIPATION MAXIMISED. Farmers should be assisted to undertake as much of the construction work themselves as can be tackled through labour intensive methods or the use of local draft power. Straightforward contour banking could be done, for example, by farmers using animal draft and Government loaned equipment, with major works executed by Government machinery without charge.

R17/20 : TO EXPAND THE AVAILABILITY OF EQUIPMENT AND EXPERTISE, BRIGADES DEVELOPMENT TRUSTS COULD BE ENCOURAGED TO SET UP AND OPERATE FARM MECHANISATION SERVICES AS THE SERONE FARMERS BRIGADE ATTEMPTED. Contract or advisory work could be carried out in a similar way to the way that the Serowe Brigade Dam Building Unit operates in that area supervised by the Ministry's Small Dams Unit, or to the way Brigades are assisting in forestry development.

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(12) AO(LP) Annual Plan 1980/81

(13) Soil erosion is currently being mapped by an air photo interpreter, which should give a better indication of priority areas.

Training courses for tractor owners in the construction of contour banks could be organised as another measure, and owners assisted to purchase grading equipment. Their work would, however, have to be closely supervised. Surveying and pegging would remain a task for qualified extension staff.

17.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 17

17.1. What are the main conservation needs requiring communal action?

The three main resources which need conserving and where there is group potential for conservation are the range, the woodland and the soil.

17.2. Range conservation

One of the basic aims of the TGLP is to conserve Botswana's grazing land, but there has been little success so far with comprehensive attempts to manage communal grazing and the processes involved have been underestimated. The gradualist approach argues that it can be done in steps. There are four ways to approach overgrazing in the crowded communal areas : market more cattle, improve water distribution, improve the range itself, and reduce destruction by veld fires.

17.2.1. ARB chose veld fire control as a first problem for Conservation Committees to tackle. A campaign was mounted : Conservation Committees undertook lecture tours, signboards were erected and Fire Rangers held some demonstrations. It seems that awareness among the rural population was increased, there were fewer fires in that period, but there has been little community action.

17.2.2. There are two types of firebreak projects, those with firebreaks along drift fence lines and those with firebreaks not connected with fencing. None of the fence firebreaks has as yet been cleared properly. They are to reduce fire hazard from the improved grass. One firebreak has been built to separate grazing areas and another was built by widening a track.

17.2.3. There are several reasons why so few firebreaks have been tackled. It is a tough physical job involving travelling long distances. Final clearing poses a particular problem and it was felt by project members that Government assistance was needed. There are worries about the expense of annual maintenance. The confusion felt in the field about the role of Government assistance needs to be dealt with. SLOCA administrators are clear that their equipment is available for development not maintenance, so groups receiving help must be organised. At Mogapi, however, farmers felt Government should make a tractor unit available for each district. Clear guidelines are also needed on costs. Special consideration should be given to areas where tractor ownership is low, to experiments with animal power to maintain firebreaks, and to the question of width of firebreak - is 12m or 6m recommended? Another problem is that firebreaks are often a low priority in a community. Reasons are complex, as at Tlokweng, and may include the lower fire hazard in overgrazed areas. Difficulties of cooperation between different communities may also be a constraining factor. In Central Region, Farmers Committees have helped overcome such problems. At Thabala the Farmers Committee has succeeded in organising a scattered population.

17.2.4. The role of ARB and Conservation Committees has been to exhort, not to develop institutional organisation. At one meeting in Sefhophe, the Conservation Committee declined to help in fighting a fire which broke out while they were there, but fortunately the headman organised the community effectively! As Fosbrooke pointed out, institutions are needed which have jurisdiction over an area and to which bodies like the ARB can file orders. At present it is only possible for Land Boards to budget for action. Non participants in a scheme can be penalised too, but only in theory. Conservation Committees and Fire Rangers did not operate in the extension structure as had perhaps been hoped - the result was lack of a

coherent strategy, and at field level confusion over what was to be done and who was to do it.

17.2.5. Two things are necessary in a new approach. Firstly, firebreaks should be seen as part of a land use plan in conjunction with other developments. Firebreaks as part of a rotational grazing system could be piloted in certain suitable areas. Secondly, institutional development is needed - in the absence of legalised bodies, Farmers Committees could be used.

17.2.6. To implement the new approach, DAPS and ARDU need to be more closely linked. Farmers Committees, or some equivalent, must be encouraged. Guidelines for a management programme should cover firebreak specifications and how to construct them, how to light fires, how to use burning as a tool in grazing management and when expert advice is needed. There should be a coordinated approach by field staff - extensions, the proper use of Fire Rangers, control from DAPS. There is a great need to bring together all the expertise of different specialists.

17.3. Village woodlot and donga conservation

17.3.1. Reforestation is needed in Botswana because the demand for wood is outstripping the supply. Many communities are aware of this. Some communities want orchards. Donga planting is also an aspect of soil conservation where dongas are active. Such schemes are well suited to group action.

17.3.2. Table 17(iii) lists the main woodlot projects, omitting Brigade Development Trust, primary school and health post projects. Of the 3 implemented projects one is not a community venture. Of the 11 proposed projects, 7 are static and in fact lasting interest seems only to exist where the idea originated in the community. 3 more projects are being implemented.

17.3.3. Experience of community management of woodlot projects is limited. The project at Bamokhawa has been started, built and maintained entirely by Government and the District Council. At Malambakwena the VDC organised the community to construct the project but there was no follow-up. Some schemes seem to be going on under "Food for work", only the Motsegaletau scheme is being managed. Tsau was implemented by the Khabola KC but there have been several problems, including drought, lack of participation, lack of support from the DAO, and local rivalries. Some of the first trees planted died. There seemed to be more success with a second lot of seedlings. The KC, through all, remained committed. If a community is to be committed to a project objectives must be made clear - how is the project to be managed year to year, who is to benefit and how? Only the Bomadwane woodlot project has systems which attempt to deal with these matters, but even these fall short of recommendations in White's handbook, and long-term aspects are not clear. Guidelines on organisation are needed, to complement the handbook already available.

17.3.4. White's excellent handbook provides details which should prevent the repetition of some of the errors made so far. Much specialist support is required for both technical and organisational aspects, as the failure of the relatives whole scheme for Kgapane Donga in Serowe showed. In practice expert support was not available for Motsegaletau. This cannot be effective without specific neither can the handbook be put to good use.

17.3.5. Woodlots have a high labour demand in the first 3 years, followed by skilled management of coppicing etc. It is doubtful if communities can cope without a lot of outside help. To avoid destroying the growth,

management responsibility a very careful group development approach is necessary. Field staff need training to increase their support capability. It is better to invest in centres from which support can be provided than in providing trees where management does not exist. Alternatively, woodlot projects could be made more attractive by paying labour - the whole should become a commercial venture.

17.3.6. A letter from the Land Development Officer at HQ to the AO(LH) Serowe about a woodlot project at Shoshong captures what is involved in supporting projects - planning, close work with the community so that they propose and detail what is to be done, a step by step approach which keeps moving, good contact with LUPAG and with regional extension staff.

17.3.7. Public education in forestry can be started in a small way by making funds available for primary schools or clinics. AgInf can help by producing visual aids.

17.4. Soil conservation

Soil conservation by contouring usually has to be done in a whole catchment area. Catchment area schemes were planned for each District. The first to be attempted was at Motshegaletau. Three other schemes have been started in Tati District, at Moshupa and at Mmopane. All have been done by Government and with disappointing results. At Motshegaletau progress was very slow and over 3 years farmers lost interest and for various reasons many failed to plough there. Organisation was also extremely poor, consultation inadequate, policies unclear, too much work was done for the farmers and support was badly managed. A new site is planned at Semotale and so far arrangements seem to be much better. In future more attention should be paid to training, demonstrations, group organisation, contracts, guidelines for group activity and financial contributions. Demonstration areas should be small enough for work to be speedy. Group participation should be maximised. Advisory work and services could be operated from Development Trusts. Tractor owners could be trained in making contour banks.

CHAPTER 18: BUNDING OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS IN THE OKAVANGO AND BOTETI RIVER AREAS

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CHAPTER 18 : BUNDING OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS IN THE OKAVANGO AND BOTETI RIVER AREAS

18.1. WHAT IS 'MOLAPO' BUNDING?

18.2. REBUILDING OF 'MOLAPO' BUNDS THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH/DROUGHT RELIEF EFFORTS

18.3. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

18.3.1. How serious is participation?

18.3.2. Group organisation

18.3.3. Land issues

18.4. LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS

18.5. GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN 'MOLAPO' BUNDING AND MANAGEMENT

18.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 18

CHAPTER 18 : List of abbreviations

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AO(LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
RTC	Rural Training Centre
VDC	Village Development Committee

18.1. WHAT IS 'MOLAPO' BUNDING

'Molapo' is a Setswana word meaning river or stream but used in the northwest to describe an area of land which gets flooded by the annual rise in the water level of the Okavango delta system. Every year around April the immense Okavango river which begins in the uplands of Angola starts to pour an estimated 12,000 million cubic metres of water into the 16,000 sq.km. delta system[1]. The entire delta is transformed as the water levels of the distributaries rise, and the dense late summer sward of grasses is gradually covered by vast expanses of water leaving only islands of higher ground and the higher river banks visible. The flood reaches to the farthest extent of the Boteti river raising the water level of its meandering course high enough to flood small patches of land along the river margin.

The peak of the flood occurs in the middle of the dry winter season and as the first rains of the next rainy season start to fall in the otherwise semi arid Okavango/Boteti area[2] the floods are receding.

A rich heavy soil is left behind full of moisture and weeds. Traditionally the Bayei tribe, who inhabit the margins of the delta, have cultivated small fields as the flood waters recede. The stored moisture in the soil allows planting well in advance of the main rainy season. The effects of drought are never experienced. The yields obtained have always been very high. Farmers at Sekapane told of harvests of 12 bags from "very small fields" and how people from Maun would travel up to the Matsaudi area to buy grain.

The work involved is heavy. A team of 8-10 oxen is required to pull a single furrow plough through the 'molapo' soils compared with a team of 4 oxen on the sandy soils away from the rivers. Farmers explained that it was common for the owners of small herds to combine cattle into a span for ploughing. Weeding, too, is heavy work carried out by hand.

But the art of farming a 'molapo' is in the control of the flood waters. The crop has to grow between the floods and must be harvested before the 'molapo' is swamped again by flood waters. To try to control or manage the flood, farmers have therefore devised a form of communal area infrastructure peculiar to this situation. Banks or "bunds" have been constructed across the mouths of 'molapo' areas where the flood waters enter from the river system. The traditional bunds have mostly been small, but many were built through communal effort partly through 'kutlwano' (mutual understanding between a group of farmers) or organised under traditional leadership. The object of a bund is to delay the rise in water levels in the 'molapo' until after harvest. The flood will then still occur as a result of ground water seepage but may still be lower than without a bund. The following diagram illustrates 'molapo' bunding:

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(1) From the National Development Plan 1976/81, chapter 8.
(2) The mean annual rainfall is around 500 mm. at Maun, and less as the Boteti traverses the margins of the Central Kalahari to the south.

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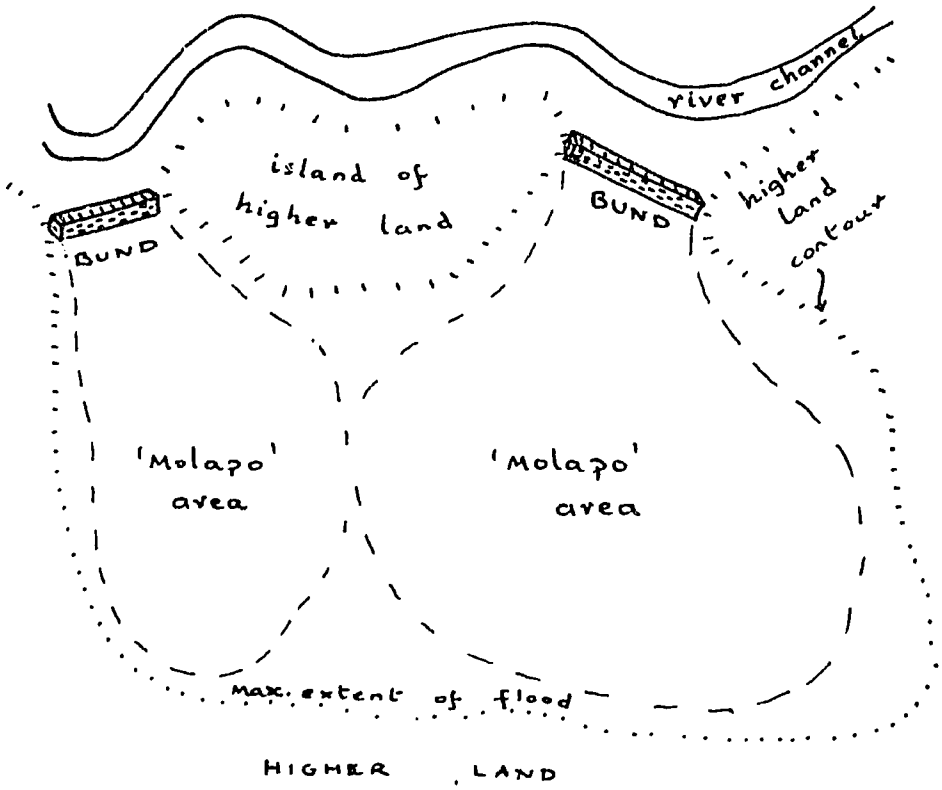
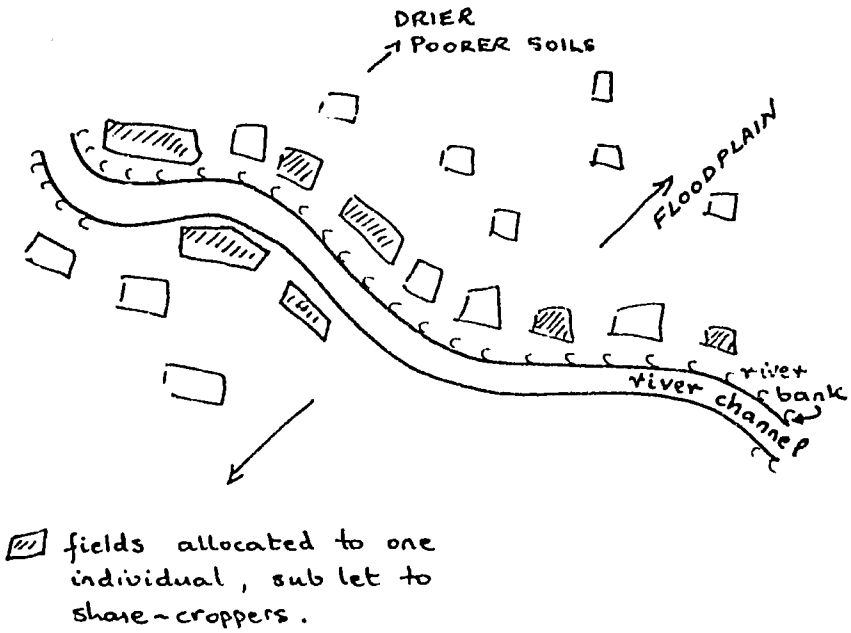


Most of the traditionally built bunds were, however, destroyed in the exceptionally high floods of 1975, and have not been rebuilt. Since this time many farmers have left farming the 'molapo' areas particularly on the eastern side of the delta, and are now farming chiefly on sandy soils away from the rivers. Along the Boteti, too, 'molapo' farming is less common than it was, possibly for the same reason.

Farming 'molapo' areas has always had its risks in this respect. The exact flood level in any season could not be relied upon. As a result many farmers had several alternative sites either in the same or in different 'molapo' areas. A special land tenure problem now exists in many areas where the best fields (along each side of the river channel or near the mouth of a 'molapo') have all been allocated to a few people - mostly the relatives of ward headmen who had the responsibility of land allocation in the past. Further away from the river channels the soils are drier and poorer, receiving less flood water, or more likely to miss the flood altogether. Share cropping has therefore become common practice, particularly in Ngamiland West. The diagram overleaf illustrates this.



Farmers without fields on the better soils are allowed by the owners of the fields near the river channel to use their fields in return for several bags of the harvest. The tenure of the sharecroppers is very tenuous, though, and can be terminated without consultation by the owners.

There is obvious potential for group or community wide action in the land use planning, bunding and subsequent management of 'molapo' areas. Although the number of people resident in these areas is still small, and life is still very remote and traditional, the development of 'molapo' farming represents a great long term possibility for agricultural production not only in Ngamiland but for Botswana.

As we shall see in 18.5., however, revival of 'molapo' farming on an expanded scale must depend on other aspects of agricultural policy - including crop pricing and marketing. It is deduced that a major reason why old 'molapo' bunds were never restored after being destroyed in the 1975 floods could be the general breakdown of economic activity in the rural areas in Ngamiland influenced a. the area has been by recruitment for mine labour, tourism, hunting and drought relief.

18.2. REBUILDING OF 'MOLAPO' BUNDS THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH/DROUGHT RELIEF EFFORTS

Over the last few years the agricultural potential of 'molapo' farming has received particular attention from the Department of Agricultural Research which maintains research stations in the Maun area. Two years of research experience at Moshu research station have already produced initial recommendations on flood control and work continues to prepare an extension package of recommendations on crops and varieties, fertiliser use, planting dates and spacing, cultivations and on water and

soil management under 'molapo' conditions.

Essentially through research it is aimed to produce a cropping system which will work on controlled flooding as opposed to the traditional system which worked largely on the natural flood. It might be observed at the start of this section, though, that during the course of the consultant's brief investigations very little information could be discovered on the traditional management system of 'molapo' areas. Exactly how was the flood controlled in the past by the bunding that was done, and what extent of flood control was achieved?

R18/1 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THESE QUESTIONS ARE LOOKED INTO BEFORE ANY NEW SYSTEM IS FINALISED, IF THIS HAS NOT ALREADY BEEN DONE.

The initial experiments at Moshu were first extended into the communal areas with a project at Goroku started in late 1978. Since then activities have expanded into about a dozen different areas and sub areas of the southern and eastern Okavango margins and the Boteti river. Approximately 20 bunding projects have been started in these areas as data in Appendix 13 show.

Altogether around 710 people have participated in the 20 schemes, some of which have been big projects. In order to bund out all entry points of water from a 'molapo' area it can be necessary to build as many as 8 or 10 structures. The average number of bunds to be built per 'molapo' is just over 4. Some of the 'molapo' areas thus protected have been as large as 1000 hectares in size. As the Appendix data show, 4 of the schemes were about complete by April 1980 (just before the flood). The others were still being worked on.

The bunds themselves are stout structures 2 - 3 metres high, 6 to 7 metres wide at the base and about 2 metres wide at the top. Their length varies according to the size of the 'molapo' opening. One of the 8 bunds at Sekapane, for example, was about 50 metres long.

All have been built entirely using labour intensive methods with spades, wheelbarrows etc. supplied by the Department of Agricultural Research.

To encourage participation on the schemes various incentives have been offered. Starting at Goroku work was organised on the basis of the standard Industrial Class wage of P2.80 per day. Information on the number of people employed was not discovered, but it emerged that to complete the two Goroku bunds between January and May 1979 cost the Government P15.00 per metre length built. Work on the Mazanga 'molapo' in the Matsaudi area was started in March 1979, under the food for work scheme, then available through the drought relief programme. Progress was slow. Farmers complained the food rations were too meagre and participated with difficulty. As the site to be bunded was 5 km. from Matsaudi work efficiency was very low as this distance had to be travelled daily. In July 1979 a 'Kgotla' meeting was held to encourage the work, but a suggestion that farmers should camp on site was not followed up. No work was done until the end of 1979 when work was launched afresh under the P1.00 a day drought relief work scheme.

It can be seen from Appendix 13 that work was organised on all the schemes through the P1.00 a day system by early 1980. An easy calculation will reveal that the cost of the programme, as at around April 1980, was in the region of P700.00 per day or well over P15,000.00 per month for the work going on on the 20 schemes.

All planning and design work for the projects was being done by Department of Agricultural Research officials. Potential areas were identified from air photography on which evidence of present or former cultivation showed up the used or previously used 'molapo' areas. In

some areas (Rakops, Habu, Tubu) the scheme was then advertised by Department of Agricultural Research officials. In most other cases requests for projects were received from the communities concerned.

18.3. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

Although progress in terms of bund construction has been impressive in most cases, several problems have been experienced in this new activity.

18.3.1. How serious is the participation?

An important problem is to do with participation. All participation so far has been induced largely through the P1.00 a day drought relief scheme. The Ngamiland region was particularly severely hit by both drought and foot and mouth disease between 1967 and 1980 to the point where subsistence in the rural areas became virtually dependent on drought relief assistance and economic activity was almost zero. In such circumstances the only way to encourage activity was through drought relief.

But the consequence of this has been that many of the participants in the bunding schemes have simply been labourers, turning up to earn the P1.00 a day with no intention of farming the 'molapo' in future or of participating in the long term. Comparison between the two columns "No. of workers" and "No. of farmers" in Appendix 13 illustrates this point. Some Department of Agricultural Research officials hope the proportion of those seriously committed to the projects could be as high as 75%, but opinion differs. In the Boteti area particularly, extension staff estimated that very few of those participating had lands in the 'molapo' areas but that the remainder were working for the money.

This problem could have two consequences. One is the effect on future group organisation and commitment. The other is the possibility that in some areas the work that is being done could turn out to be a complete waste of effort in the event that the 'molapo' area is not used. At Goroku, for example, not one farmer had ploughed in the 1980 season, according to one report, although it was reported also from this area that one tractor loan application was being made. It appeared that farmers at Goroku had left 'molapo' fields around 1955 for dryland farming - possibly because more land was required than was available in the 'molapo'. The Tawana Land Board demarcated 18 one hectare plots on the Goroku 'molapo' after work was completed in 1979 but several remained unallocated by 1980. Whether this turns out to be a serious problem or not depends on the viability of the 'molapo' management and extension package introduced by the Department of Agricultural Research.

18.3.2. Group organisation

The possible effect of the P1.00 per day approach on future group organisation can only be speculated. Difficulties were already apparent in some projects. At Sekapane, for example, where only 16 of the 40 participants actually had lands on the 'molapo', work was deliberately slowed by the labourers in order to take more time over the project and therefore earn more money. It appeared that completion of the project would not be achieved before the floods reached the 'molapo'. This would of course mean a season lost for the farmers.

Although it was essential to provide drought relief for the participants, it is considered in retrospect that the establishment of a firmer group development base could have been attempted. In none of the projects was an organising committee formed. The work was organised in every case by the election of a project leader. The duties of the leader were really nothing more than those of a foreman - marshalling the labour, overseeing the work and being responsible for tools. The attitudes sown by this approach are therefore ones of a labour mentality. ADs and Farmers Committee members from an RTC training course in 1979 visiting the Matsaudi project were indignant at the lack of community organisation in the Department of Agricultural Research approach, and not surprisingly were shocked that there was no Farmers Committee at Matsaudi to be playing an organising role. Extension field staff from the Loteti area likewise commented to the consultant on the absence of any local decision making being encouraged in the approach around Rakops.

Essentially no extension or group development input has occurred in the approach thus far. No training programmes have been undertaken, and little explanation given of how future management is anticipated.

This situation is unfortunate because, as will be shown below, successful management and use of these 'molapo' areas in future depends to a great degree on group organisation.

R18/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT MAUN REGION'S GROUP DEVELOPMENT OFFICER AND DISTRICT EXTENSION STAFF ARE INVOLVED WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT IN THE PLANNING AND ORGANISING OF ALL FUTURE WORK WITH 'MOLAPO' BUNDING PROJECTS.

18.3.3. The land issues

In the work done so far the land issues referred to in 18.1. have not arisen as such. The only incident reported was the allegation at Matsaudi that the chief had influenced the decision on which 'molapo' should be bunded first in favour of the one he used. This allegation was denied by the AD for that area, though, who explained that over 200 people had attended the 'Kgotla' meeting when the decision had been announced, and over 50% of the local farmers have lands in the same 'molapo' anyway.

All the same, this report considers that there are dangers that the labour of many and Government funds could be exploited for the benefit of fewer people, unless great care is taken in organising what goes on. At Matsaudi it is reported that the headman did warn the community that people not participating on the bund would later not be permitted to plough.

R18/3 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE AO(LR) AND THE TAWANA LAND BOARD ARE INVOLVED IN FUTURE IN THE INITIAL PLANNING AND CONSULTATION STAGES OF THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN ORDER TO CREATE AWARENESS OF LAND ISSUES, AND LATER BE IN A POSITION TO CONTROL LAND ALLOCATIONS WHERE POSSIBLE THROUGH A LAND REGISTRATION EXERCISE.

Fortunately the Tawana Land Board is extremely aware of the land tenure problems in the 'molapo' areas and has set many precedents in favour of sharecropping users in disputes between them and former "owners" of 'molapo' fields. The Land Board is already aware of the need for land registration in this situation in order to clarify who owns what land and where[3].

Another related problem in group organisation is that the people

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(3) personal communication of Mr. Dlodlo; Secretary Tawana Land Board

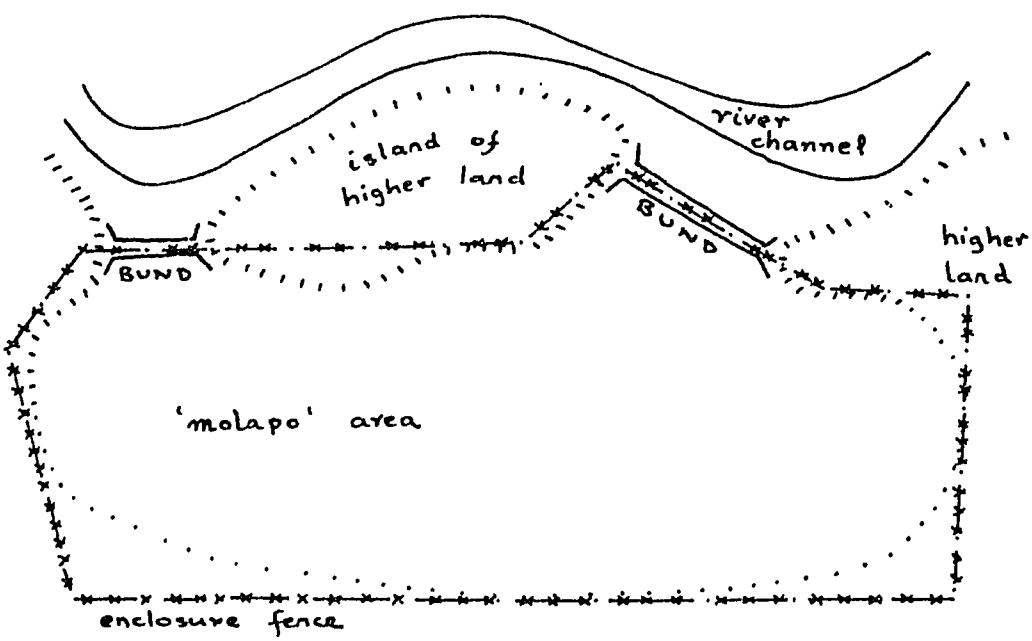
with lands in 'molapo' areas often come from different villages, particularly it seems in eastern Ngamiland. At Sekapane farmers commented that for some of the organisational tasks (see 18.4. below) the proposed VDC sub committee might be forced to hire labour in future due to the difficulty of organising people.

R18/4 : THIS APPEARS TO BE A LAND USE PLANNING PROBLEM WHICH, IT IS RECOMMENDED, SHOULD BE BROACHED AT THE INITIAL STAGES IN PROJECT DESIGN AND ORGANISATION. It seems unwise to promote projects the future management and maintenance of which may prove organisationally impossible.

18.4. LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT OF 'MOLAPO' AREAS

Community agreement and cooperation is essential in both the development and ongoing management of 'molapo' areas. The following are the aspects which could require group or community organisation:

1. Land use planning and allocation (the issues discussed in 18.3.3. above)
2. Fencing of the completed bunds; usually the bunds in time of flood are an access route from one "island" to the next. Grates will need to be erected at each end
3. Enclosure fencing of the entire 'molapo' area to be cultivated; again fences will be required in many cases across the bunds and "islands"; this is illustrated in the sketch below:



Many of the 'molapo' areas are surrounded by grazing areas used by both domestic livestock and wildlife. Individual fencing of fields in a 'molapo' is usually not possible as the area gets flooded. Sometimes the land use planning issues may be complex. At Sekapane the village is on the east side and the bunded 'molapo' area on the west side of the river channel.[4] Sekapane farmers were already concerned about the need for fencing and were planning to discuss the problem with 3 small communities on the west side who would have three alternatives, it was suggested, viz:

- herd their cattle
- move their cattle over to the east side
- participate in a fencing scheme

4. Maintain the bunds

5. Manage an irrigation and drainage system; piped water reticulation or ditches with pumps/windmills may be necessary to pump the water out of the 'molapo' area in order to allow planting, or to prevent the water levels rising before harvest. Controlled flooding may also be necessary to ensure all parts of a 'molapo' are irrigated

6. Construction of roads and bridges to facilitate marketing and access

7. Coordination of the necessary burning of 'molapo' areas before ploughing

8. Shared draft power/joint ploughing as in the past

9. Crop storage and marketing of surpluses.

Clearly some of these are longer term developments. However, if the considerable investment being made in the construction of bunds is to be justified economically, a development programme integrating most of these aspects will be required. As can be seen from Appendix 13, farmers at Matsaudi, at least, are aware of some of the future organisational tasks.

But the problem at present is that there is little idea, even officially, of how successful the package of recommendations for 'molapo' farming will be, or exactly what further developments and management will be required.

It is in this context that it is important, as referred to in 18.2., to understand how 'molapo' management used to be done traditionally. According to farmers interviewed, there always used to be certain organisational problems involved in the control of flooding. In particular the issue was between those farmers with fields further up the 'molapo', on drier land, who wanted more water, and those nearer the bund and the river channel who did not. It is important to know how these problems were dealt with in the past in order to work out how bunded 'molapo' areas are to be managed now. Yet little thought has been given so far to what happens when the floods rise on the newly built bunds. Agricultural Research staff had the attitude "we'll see what to do when the time comes". Farmers, on the other hand, were perplexed at what was to be done because the new bunds were far bigger than those built traditionally. Would channels be dug to let the waters in? How would the water be distributed equally over the 'molapo' area?

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(4) The river has to be crossed in order to work there

R18/5 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT MORE STUDY IS MADE OF THE WATER AND SOIL MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW SCHEMES AND THAT THESE QUESTIONS ARE FULLY DISCUSSED WITH FARMERS DURING THE PLANNING STAGES OF PROJECTS.

18.5. GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN 'MOLAPO' BUNDING AND MANAGEMENT

The main conclusion of this brief study of recent efforts to encourage 'molapo' bunding is that the future viability of the projects is totally dependent on group development. Yet at the same time this is the very ingredient about which nothing has been done in the approach so far. It is appreciated that the Department of Agricultural Research has been energetic in promoting the initial construction activities and has developed some positive links with farmers, and also that the Department's proper role is to develop the husbandry and management package for 'molapo' farming.

It is understood that in 1981 a take over of the 'molapo' bunding programme by the Division of Land Utilisation is planned. This move is endorsed by this report as the bunding work is a land development exercise, and the DLU will have more surveying and engineering capacity to fall back on in the planning and design of new schemes.

Continued close contact with the Research Department will remain vital, however, in the provision of recommendations and guidelines for future development and management.

R18/6 : THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT ROLE IS PERHAPS MOST VITAL AT THE PRESENT TIME AND SHOULD AIM, IT IS RECOMMENDED, TO CATCH UP WITH THE SITUATION IN TERMS OF FACILITATING THE FORMATION, ELECTION AND TRAINING OF 'MOLAPO' MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES. A great deal of organisational and technical training will be required.

Emphasis should be placed as soon as possible on the formulation by the communities of necessary by-laws to deal with land allocation issues as well as the other aspects of present and future management. Extension staff should realise, though, that it is pointless to concentrate on framing by-laws unless the tasks and responsibilities to be organised and assigned are clearly known.

R18/7 : THE FIRST ESSENTIAL RECOMMENDED IS THAT THE DIVISION OF LAND UTILISATION SHOULD DEVELOP TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL GUIDELINES FOR THE 'MOLAPO' GROUPS.

It is difficult to know at what level to target objectives for the development of 'molapo' groups. Initially it is likely that the use of the bunded 'molapo' areas will continue to be traditional in terms of sizes of fields cultivated, subsistence methods of technology and subsistence levels of production. Further investment in 'molapo' areas in terms of irrigation and drainage to permit larger acreages to be cultivated can only occur within the framework of an integrated plan which has to include marketing.

These issues need much more attention. Crop marketing in Ngamiland is virtually non existent as the BAMB prices are so low by comparison with locally obtainable prices. Farmers are just not producing for sale to BAMB. It is most unlikely that 'molapo' farmers will behave any differently. If production from the 'molapo' areas is to be seriously encouraged above the level of subsistence and local sales, the question of BAMB crop

pricing will have to be re-assessed.

R18/8 : THE WHOLE ECONOMICS OF THESE PROJECTS REST ON THIS ISSUE AND IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IT RECEIVES EARLY ATTENTION.

Even any initial enclosure fencing may prove beyond the resources of the communities concerned unless something is done about crop marketing[5], or unless FMD livestock marketing restrictions are able to be lifted. Otherwise the communities simply do not have the financial resources to contribute a share towards a Government matching grant for fencing and, as was discussed in chapter 10, continued discretion to allow the provision of 100% grants will have to be applied to any such development to get done.

In the long term it is important that the groups concerned start to contribute something towards these projects. Signs of this kind of responsibility are scant at the moment. At Goroku farmers were reported to have cut some poles towards a fence for the bunds. However no fencing was done as no wire was supplied and no extension follow-up occurred to form a committee to organise such work.

Only at Sekapane are there signs of real awareness and serious intention and this seemed due in the main to the unusual qualities of the bunding leader who happened also to be the Secretary of the Matsaudi VDC, a new body elected for the first time in 1979. Already the VDC had built a clinic and a drought relief storeroom through community labour and had raised P180.00 through the P50.00 scheme[6] and other donations towards a primary school. The VDC had had no training as yet, though the consistent support of the local ACDO was gratefully acknowledged. But the VDC Secretary had once been employed as a Government messenger and his progressive enthusiasm was the main driving force. His awareness about agriculture had been stimulated by attending a course at the Nxaranga RTC.

He was aware too that the VDC did not represent the Matsaudi area as a whole. Several sub areas not represented among the VDC's 10 members had to be visited specially in order to hear their problems. The Secretary suggested that sub committees should be elected in those sub areas.

For the bunding projects the Secretary explained that it was proposed to form two groups - one for Sekapane and one for Mazanga and that each should have a committee and elect one member to be a VDC member.

The VDC Secretary was also keen for the establishment of a Matsaudi Farmers Committee, and that training courses should be organised so that the various committees should manage their projects efficiently. To facilitate this the VDC even proposed to build a visitor's house at Matsaudi "to encourage Government to come and teach and help us".

It is time the group development and extension staff followed this lead. Matsaudi would be a rewarding area to start with.

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(5) See chapter 10 for what happened to the Xhaugwe/Mohembo enclosure fence group.

(6) The special FMD/drought relief scheme launched in Ngamiland/Boteti in 1979 to enable farmers to get an advance payment of P50.00 from Government through the BLDC/the Cooperatives on the basis of pledging livestock sales.

18.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 18

18.1. What is a 'molapo' bunding?

In northwest Botswana the term 'molapo' refers to an area of land which is flooded annually by the rise of the Okavango waters, receiving a deposit of rich soil. Ploughing 'molapo' soils is heavy work. In order to control the flood groups of farmers have traditionally built bunds across the mouths of 'molapo' areas. Many areas have been abandoned after the destructive floods of 1975. Some better positioned 'molapo' sites, allocated to a few people, are sharecropped but the tenure of the sharecropper is uncertain. There is potential for group action to redevelop the 'molapo' areas.

18.2. Rebuilding 'molapo' bunds

An extension package for 'molapo' areas has been produced by research at Moshu. It is related to controlled flooding. Since 1978 about 20 bunding projects have been started, 4 of which are complete (4/80). The Department of Agricultural Research supplies tools and the labourers are paid. Some sites were chosen by the Department, others arose from communities' requests.

18.3. Problems encountered

18.3.1. It is probable that few of the labourers are committed to the 'molapo' projects. In an area severely hit by drought most may be working only because of the money. This bodes ill for future group organisation or even for any use of the 'molapo' areas. No ploughing had taken place at Goroku for example.

18.3.2. There is no real group development and even the project leaders are just labour foremen. This has shocked some regional staff and Farmers Committee members. The GDO and extension staff need to be involved in planning future projects.

18.3.3. Land issues have not yet arisen, although it has been suggested at Matsaudi that a manoevre had taken place in favour of some individuals. It is recommended that the Tawane Land Board is involved in project planning in order to control allocations. Another difficulty may arise because people with 'molapo' lands often come from different villages.

18.4. Long term development

Long term land use planning for the areas, including fencing, maintenance, water development, construction of roads, burning, shared draft power and crop storage, requires community agreement and cooperation. The exact direction of development, however, is difficult to ascertain and in this context it is important to understand how 'molapo' flooding was managed traditionally.

18.5. Group development in 'molapo' bunding and management

The future viability of 'molapo' projects depends on group development. This should be pursued. The Division of Land Utilisation, scheduled to take over the programme in 1981, should develop guidelines for groups and extension staff should encourage communities to formulate by-laws on management. Should 'molapo' farmers continue to farm at subsistence level? If crop marketing is to be considered, BAMB prices need reassessing. Financial resources in the area at present are so low as to possibly preclude even initial fencing. There are few signs of real contribution to the projects from the groups, except at Sekapane where the

project leader is particularly able. Some initiatives taken by this person would make it a good place to begin group development.

CHAPTER 19: GROUP ACTION IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

CHAPTER 19 : GROUP ACTION IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

19.1. THE FISHERIES INDUSTRY IN BOTSWANA

19.2. FISHERIES EXTENSION

19.3. THE POTENTIAL FOR GROUP ACTION

19.3.1. Collective marketing

19.3.2. Fishing and processing

19.3.3. Training and other support needs

19.3.4. Appropriate finance for fishing groups

19.4. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 19

CHAPTER 19 : List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease

19.1. THE FISHERIES INDUSTRY IN BOTSWANA

Fishing in Botswana is an enterprise concentrated in the north west of the country - the Ngamiland/Boteti and Chobe districts. Sporadic activity does occur around a few of the other permanent water sources in Botswana - some of the dams in the east and south and on the Limpopo river, but on an insignificant scale at the present time.

Traditionally the Bayei, Mbukush and some other minority tribes in the north of Botswana are the country's fishermen. Fishing has tended to be primarily a subsistence activity for these people with small surpluses of dried fish sold locally.

Contrary to what one might expect, fishing in the Okavango delta is not commercially viable because the fish are so widely dispersed in the swampy waters. Instead the large fish concentrations occur in the lakes at the very end of the rivers emerging from and fed by the Okavango delta. The greatest potential is in Lake Ngami; after this Lake Xau and the Mopipi dam.

Converting the small scale fishing enterprises of the traditional fishermen into a more commercial industry is the task of the Fisheries Section of the Ministry of Agriculture, with its head office in Maun.

To the populations near the fishing grounds, that is to Sehitwa, Mopipi, Kasane and the small communities around the Okavango margins, the development of the industry is potentially important. However, several difficult problems have to be faced. Firstly, production on a commercial scale from the lakes can be brought to a standstill if the lakes dry up. This is never likely to happen at Mopipi as water is continuously pumped in from the Boteti river to ensure that the diamond mining town of Orapa has a supply. But Lake Ngami did dry up in 1973. Before this from 1971-72 fish were bought from the local fisherman by the Botswana Development Corporation, but this operation was closed down when the disaster struck. It could happen again whenever the rains in Angola are insufficient to produce a big enough flood in the Okavango delta to spill over into Lake Ngami.

When this last happened the Fisheries Section assisted the Bayei fishermen from Lake Ngami to resettle at Mopipi. These fishermen form the basis of the small industry at Mopipi now. However, the potential at Mopipi is small compared with Lake Ngami and one former Fisheries AD who used to work at Mopipi has moved back to Lake Ngami to establish himself there.

Production then is risky. But as fishing has not before been a major activity in Botswana, the marketing structure is also fragmentary. The main marketing outlets have in fact been to Zimbabwe (when it was Rhodesia) and to Zambia. Not much information was available on the former Zambian export market. It used to be organised through the Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society but all marketing activities closed down during the years of the Zimbabwean war of liberation. Efforts were in hand in 1980 to help this Co-operative to restart.

In Salisbury a price of 90 thebe per kilogram of dried fish could be obtained in 1979, or P18.00 for a 20 kg. bag. The only way to connect to this market has been through dealers in Francistown, so the individual fisherman at Mopipi or Sehitwa has to arrange somehow to get his bags of fish from there to Francistown. To do this from Sehitwa is a 4 day excursion - 4 days lost fishing. One fisherman at Sehitwa was managing to organise a trip every two weeks, marketing 15-20 bags each time.

Unless protected by a shelter an added risk is that while accumulating a marketable surplus of processed fish, the whole amount could be destroyed, by rain. The same fisherman at Sehitwa lost 1½ tons of fish

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when this happened in March 1980.

The alternative to marketing in bulk to Salisbury is to sell on the streets and in the markets in the few towns in Botswana. The main centre of demand is Francistown. Here one piece of dried fish can be sold for 75 thebe. A bag contains about 120 pieces - so the return of P80.00 per bag is considerably higher than the wholesale export price. But of course marketing this way is very slow. In Selibe Pikwe where the Fisheries Section set up a stall in the market to encourage demand, only 4 bags of fish were sold per week.

Another alternative is to sit where production takes place and wait for a buyer. At Mopipi very small quantities are sold in this way, but the demand in the Boteti area is limited to the Orapa township and the infrequent passer-by.

The industry is thus a small and dispersed one in Botswana but is nevertheless important to the populations of certain areas for whom fishing is a primary source of income and employment, and in some cases food.

19.2. FISHERIES EXTENSION

Extension work by the Fisheries Section has concentrated on providing technical assistance to fishermen as individuals, and on trying to develop improved marketing channels. The Section has a demonstration unit which tours 'Kgotlas', schools and clinics, teaching how to cook salted fish and encouraging people to eat fish in a country where most people naturally prefer meat.

The Section has also employed a number of fishermen to catch and process fish in order to start the industry on a small commercial scale; produce is marketed in the markets at Francistown, Selibe Pikwe and Gaborone.

Improved, but simple, wooden boats are built by the Section's boat yard in Maun for sale to fishermen at a price of P75.00.

In marketing the Section has helped some fishermen by arranging the marketing of fish to Salisbury.

Essentially the Section is engaged still in the very early stages in what will be a long process of building up a fishing industry in the country. Much of its activities are still concerned with quantifying what is being produced and what the potential is, and with monitoring the state of the industry generally.

19.3. THE POTENTIAL FOR GROUP ACTION

While the industry is still in such an infant state with uncertain prospects, the potential for group action is obviously not going to be great. But if those individuals who are attempting to make a living from fishing were to cooperate, a viable industry would have a chance to start.

The experience with group or co-operative activity is summarised in Appendix 20. Here we shall highlight the main areas where group action could be important and discuss problems involved.

19.3.1. Collective marketing

The Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society is the only experience to date in the marketing of fish. As the notes in the Appendix indicate, it will be important, as efforts are made to re start its activities, to study its history before pouring in United Nations money to provide ice stores and other equipment. Ministry of Agriculture staff in Maun were aware of the need for careful project appraisal and were concerned at the ambitious overtures being played in Kasane.

R19/1 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT CAREFUL STUDY OF THE PROJECT'S VIABILITY IS MADE BEFORE SPENDING THE FUNDS ON NEW CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING FACILITIES.

Elsewhere marketing remains a problem area and one in which group action would seem to be highly beneficial. The Sehitwa group proposes to organise marketing as a group activity although the exact arrangements for this had yet to be worked out as at April 1980. The fishermen were aware that a treasurer would be needed amongst their number with sufficient education to provide this service. A treasurer had not yet been identified. Whoever is selected will need considerable training by Fisheries Section and Group Development/Extension staff in bookkeeping skills, and will need to be acquainted with marketing channels.

Marketing arrangements must be carefully organised with help from the Fisheries Section. When interviewed in April 1980 the fishermen expressed great reliance on the Fisheries Section to organise marketing for them, and even to sell on their behalf. There was much uncertainty evident about this aspect of the project. However the Fisheries Section seemed very aware of the problem and of how they should assist.

It is not clear why the fishermen at Mopipi have found it so difficult to organise marketing on a collective basis. The fishermen in this area have relied on the facilities of the Fisheries Section for some years already and were supposed to form a group in order to build a shelter. However the "group" has failed completely to organise any activity as a group, and even to attend meetings together. The fishermen fail even to agree on prices to be charged to buyers coming to Mopipi, and market their produce independently by sending their wives or going themselves to Francistown (about 250 km.) every week or so carrying just 2 bags of fish.

The cause of this group's organisational problems could not be discovered. All the members are Bayei originally from Lake Ngami, having been resettled at Mopipi in 1973. Their families plough at Mopipi for subsistence, but apparently keep no cattle in the area. Possibly they still feel themselves to be temporary residents in the village. Certainly they are a minority there tribally speaking. But for their income they depend entirely on fishing and it is surprising that they have not shown greater aptitude at organising their little industry collectively.

This report considers that this is most likely to be a group development problem, rather than a technical one. Possibly the group has become over dependent on the technical assistance from the Fisheries Section? Possibly their reluctance to work together stems from a lack of confidence in their capacity to manage such a project. Marketing, after all, involves money; possibly none of their number possess the necessary skills in financial management? In such circumstances it would not be surprising if mutual distrust over money matters prevented further progress.

R19/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GROUP DEVELOPMENT/EXTENSION STAFF APPROACH THE MOPIPI FISHERMEN WITH SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS IN MIND IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR GROUP. Marketing is their main area of inefficiency at present, it seems. The approach should concentrate on

discovering what problems - such as illiteracy, lack of organisational, managerial or simple bookkeeping skills - are constraining progress in marketing.

19.3.2. Fishing and processing

The formation of groups - problems

Apart from the so far unsuccessful attempts to encourage Mopipi fishermen to work collectively the only group project which proposes activity on the production side is at Sehitwa on the shores of Lake Ngami.

Full details on both projects are provided in Appendix 20 where it can be seen that at Mopipi 5 of the group of 8 have already bought boats individually, four of them expensive imported ones. The other 3 fishermen were no longer fishing as at April 1980.

At Sehitwa on the other hand the AE10 project idea began when the Fisheries Section discovered 4 fishermen who had made their own net and were wading into the lake to set the net and fish[1]. The possibility that assistance could be provided was met with great enthusiasm by these 4 fishermen, whose commercial interest and commitment was most evident. Two of the four men had worked in the past for a local fishing entrepreneur who had owned a boat and marketed produce to Salisbury. During this period (1975-1976) they were also taught fishing skills by the Fisheries Section. Another of the 4 also had previous fishing experience, but one was new to the activity.

As is described in Appendix 20, the initial proposal made by the Fisheries Section was for a single boat and set of fishing and processing equipment totalling a value of P1433.00. The application was made in April 1979.

This proposal was returned from Ministry HQ on the grounds that AE10 funds could only be used for projects of more than 10 people. The Fisheries Section staff were forced to return to Sehitwa to explain this to the members of the group and the VDC. By November 1979 after explanations and encouragement to form a larger group in Sehitwa, 21 people expressed their interest at a VDC meeting and a new AE10 project memorandum was prepared for a total of P3383.00 to cover the purchase of 2 boats and necessary equipment (for details see Appendix 20). Funds were approved for this expanded project by March 1980.

In the bigger group only 8 members had any previous fishing experience, including the 3 members of the original group of 4. The remaining 14 of the membership which had increased to 22 by April 1980 had no experience or tradition of fishing. Some of the fishermen consulted with by the author wondered even whether some of them would not fear to enter a boat on the Lake. However the experienced (mostly Bayei) members were prepared to allow the novices to join them provided they cooperated when instructed what to do.

Despite the apparently cooperative atmosphere among the 22, opinions differed about whether the group could possibly be viable and manageable at this size, and some of the fishermen were proposing that when the funds were received the group might reorganise into two groups, each with one boat.

What is a viable group size?

A basic issue in the organisation of fishing groups, then, is what size they should be. This study was unable to discover any evidence

(1) AE10 project memorandum "Fisheries : Lake Ngami" 4 April 1979.

of serious consideration of this question - a matter which is viewed with some concern. Is a group of 22 more viable than a group of 4? No basis seems to have existed for the Ministry's actions, and Fisheries staff at Maun had plainly not been involved in any discussion on policy or practical guidelines in this respect. The Fisheries AD who briefed the author on the project and on fishing generally, held the view that the group of 4 would have been a more ideal size, as with a greater number he could not see how the different tasks involved could be organised. It seemed that possibly the majority of new members had joined after hearing that a Government grant was on offer, thinking that this was another way to get some money. Admittedly the situation around Sehitwa in 1979/80 was desperate. Most of the able bodied men were engaged through the P1.00 a day drought relief scheme working on the Tsau road. Would interest in the fishing scheme drop whenever FMD cattle marketing restrictions were lifted? Did these men realise what it was to wake up very early before dawn and get out onto the cold waters of the lake? Time will reveal the answers to these questions. The author could not but be impressed at the turnout of all the group members at the meeting held in the afternoon heat after their work on the Tsau road finished at 3 p.m. But will this be a viable sized group?

To try to understand better the factors affecting viable group size it is necessary to study more exactly what is involved in fishing and processing.

It is certainly beyond the scope of this report to go into too much practical detail, or attempt to provide guidelines - but the following facts may assist readers to be aware of what should be considered:

Firstly costs. A wooden boat, as we have seen can be purchased from the Fisheries Section for P75.00, or a fibreglass one for about P400.00 The basic fishing equipment includes the following:

A net - 100 metres (50 metres when submerged in the water)	-	P30.00
Webbing for the net (100 m.)	-	P11.50
Rope for the net (100 m.)	-	P 5.00
Floats - 20 at 25 thebe	-	P 5.00
Lead weights - 20 at 20 thebe	-	P 4.00
		P55.50

With one net a fisherman will not however catch very much. The fisherman the author consulted with used 6 nets. These were left in the water for about a week and visited twice a day to haul out the fish - a two man job. Every week at least the nets are lifted for removal of weeds and for repair. Operating from one boat two men can haul in the catch from 15 nets in a day. This, then could be regarded as a basic unit in fishing, and represents an investment of P825.00 in nets etc. and P75.00 or P400.00 for a boat.

Processing, though, is a more time consuming task than the fishing. It appears that one man can only handle in a day the processing of two catches from 1 net. Theoretically therefore if a boat were fully utilised in fishing, and the 15 nets were hauled twice per day, a labour force of about 15 would be required for the processing.

The fisherman at Sehitwa explained what he saw, though, as a more realistic fishing team of 8 members.

Fishing	-	2 men	
Processing	-	splitting the fish	- 3 men
	-	cleaning the fish	- 2 men
	-	salting	- 1 man
	-	hanging/drying the fish can also be done by the same 6 land based workers.	

It seems the reasoning behind this smaller team was connected partly with what the group could be able to market, and partly uncertainty of supply of fish from the lake.

The immediate purpose of presenting the above information[2] is to illustrate the necessary factors to consider in group organisation. It can be deduced that a group of 4 members may indeed not have been an ideal size in terms of economic viability. The information tends to suggest, in fact, that if the present Sehitwa group of 22 were to split in half, two more manageable units might be created each being a viable sized operation for one boat. Of course, to operate as a single group could save certain management overheads in the organisation of marketing[3], bookkeeping, and the development and operation of combined processing facilities (basically a shelter).

The number of tables and bins, drying wires and other equipment used in processing will depend directly on the size of the group, as economies here cannot be achieved by sharing.

The question of viable group size cannot therefore be answered easily. It depends primarily on technical factors involved in fishing.

R19/3 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE FISHERIES SECTION PRODUCE SOME GUIDELINES ON THE VARIOUS TASKS INVOLVED IN FISHING AND PROCESSING TOGETHER WITH LABOUR REQUIREMENTS. Involved too are economic factors. Probably the Fisheries Section itself is still unsure of the longer term fisheries potential of Lake Ngami, and further research is still necessary. How many groups can Lake Ngami support, each hauling in the catch of 15 nets twice a day? Should a group aim for this level of production based on a one-boat unit? When does profit start to be gained; would a smaller group still be viable operating with fewer nets - i.e. within the capacity of a smaller labour force for processing? The experience of the fishermen operating individually with hired labour[4] needs to be studied to assess such economic questions.

R19/4 : BUT SINCE ORGANISATIONAL ISSUES ARE ALSO MOST RELEVANT TO ANY CONSIDERATION OF GROUP SIZE IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THERE SHOULD BE MORE INVOLVEMENT OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT STAFF FROM MAUN REGION IN FUTURE. The Sehitwa AD had assisted the group in formulating a thoughtful constitution (for a summary of its provisions - see Appendix 20). More assistance must be given, though, in helping the group to think through its management organisation, and how its cooperative principles are to be organised in practice.

19.3.3. Training and other support needs

The constitution drafted by the Sehitwa group with the help of the

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(2) All the information above was kindly explained by Mr. Justice Ntloyathuto (fisherman) and the Fisheries AD, Lego Molapis.

(3) However, see recommendation R19/5 below - section 19.3.3.

(4) Daily rates of P1.30 per day were being paid by one private fisherman for a 7 am - 5 pm day.

Extension Area AD actually specifies that training for the group should be provided by the Fisheries Section, Agricultural extension staff and the Co-operatives Department.

From discussions with group members it was clear that if the group was to operate a viable fishing, processing, packaging and marketing scheme, considerable training would be required. Questions were asked about taxation (whether the group's profits would be taxed), and whether the AEIO grant would have to be repaid to Government - showing that the group membership still had only a scant understanding of the way in which their project was being assisted. Did the equipment (i.e. AEIO provided equipment) belong to Government? Where should the group keep it safely stored? These were other questions asked.

Reference to the constitution (Appendix 20) shows that the group intended to operate on distinct cooperative principles. The revenue from fish sales was to be divided - part of it to be paid into group capital funds, and part to be shared amongst members.

The likely financial turnover of the operation from a two boat fishing scheme was not discovered in the course of this investigation. What is clear, though, is that the group will have to exercise considerable skill in financial management in the running of the scheme. The initial capital grant from AEIO provides for materials some of which depreciate and require maintenance and eventual replacement. Money from revenues will have to be set aside for these purposes. In terms of group development, compared with many other types of project, it is a complex undertaking.

If the scale of the operation merits it, in financial terms, the group should consider registration and the employment of a paid manager who could oversee the financial and marketing aspects of the project.

If the scale of the project in these terms is still small, the group would be advised to remain unregistered, but will require extensive management training. Writing by laws is one thing, but putting them into practice and managing the activities is quite another.

The experience of the Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society should be studied to see what management/organisation lessons are relevant to the Sehitwa group. It is understood, however, that the Yambezi Co-operative was purely a marketing organisation for individual fishermen. The proposed Sehitwa group project would be organisationally much more complex if it does involve marketing as well as production.

R19/5 : IT IS RECOMMENDED INSTEAD THAT MARKETING ORGANISATION IS CONSIDERED SEPARATELY FROM PRODUCTION/PROCESSING. One marketing organisation could be set up for a given fishing area (such as Lake Ngami) whose membership should include all fishermen - whether in smaller production groups or as individuals - in the area.

This would relieve production groups of the added management burden of marketing, and enable them to concentrate on being a viable fishing/processing unit.

19.3.4. Appropriate finance for fishing groups

The problem referred to in 19.3.2. of being unable to finance a small group of 4 members under the AEIO Small Projects Programme is a policy area which should be clarified from the point of view of production groups generally (in poultry and horticulture, for example, as well as fisheries).

As was discussed in 19.3.2., viable group size is what is important, not some arbitrary number of members, in deciding upon Government assistance. In Sehitwa and Maun there was complete confusion over where the magic number "10" came from. Was it because of "AEIO" or because AMAs

were for a minimum of 10 people? Somehow or other this figure seemed, at any rate, to have become the threshold to be crossed for grant assistance to be obtained.

R19/6 : IN THE CONTEXT OF FISHERIES GROUPS IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ASSISTANCE UNDER THE AE10 PROGRAMME IS PROVIDED TO A GROUP OF ANY SIZE IF THAT GROUP IS A VIABLE UNIT FOR PRODUCTION PURPOSES AND WILL NOT SUBSEQUENTLY REQUIRE TO HIRE LABOUR. Very small groups with commercially viable projects but which may need to hire additional labour (e.g. for processing tasks) should be assisted by means of loans which could be provided interest free or with special grace period conditions attached to groups in drought or FMD affected areas.

19.4. : SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 19

19.1. The Fisheries Industry in Botswana

Fishing is concentrated in the northwest of the country and is primarily a subsistence activity for some minority tribes, with small sales of surpluses. The best grounds are the lakes fed directly or indirectly by the Okavango. Difficulties in developing the industry are that production is risky as the lakes occasionally dry up, and that the larger markets (Zimbabwe, Zambia) are hard to reach and that local markets are small and unreliable.

19.2. Fisheries Extension

Extension work concentrates on providing technical assistance to individual fishermen and on trying to improve markets. A small start has been made with commercial fishing.

19.3. What potential is there for group action?

Group action could be important in getting a viable fishing industry started.

19.3.1. The history of the Yambezi Fishermen's Co-operative Society needs to be studied carefully before large amounts of United Nations money are used to develop it. At Sehitwa a group proposes to organise marketing. Having relied heavily on the Fisheries section they are uncertain about the project but the Fisheries Section is aware of the problem. At Mopipi there has been no attempt at group marketing and an attempt to build a shelter failed. Problems possibly stem from the dependence on the Fisheries Section and a lack of confidence in ability to manage a marketing project. It is recommended that they are helped by group development staff.

19.3.2. Attempts at group work in production have so far been unsuccessful at Mopipi. At Sehitwa 4 fishermen with experience and enthusiasm for commercial ventures made an application in April 1979 for an AE10 grant, which was rejected because fewer than 10 people had applied. A larger group was formed and funds approved, but the majority in this group had no experience in fishing. Doubts were being expressed within the group about the size. What is a viable size for fishing groups? The ministry had no good reason for preferring a group of more than 10. The Fisheries AD preferred a smaller group. Were the extra people just responding because of acute shortage of cash in the area? In working out the size of a group, the cost of a boat and the equipment must be considered, the number of people needed to fish, and the number needed to process the fish. One fisherman at Sehitwa thought 8 the ideal group size. Management overheads and marketing also need to be considered. Guidelines are needed. How many groups can a lake support? The Sehitwa group needs more help from the group development staff at Maun.

19.3.3. The Sehitwa group is aware that it needs a lot of training. Members still do not understand the implications of an AE10 grant. Skills in financial management will be necessary. Some aspects of the experience of the Yambezi Co-operative may be relevant to the Sehitwa group. If one marketing organisation for the whole fishing area were set up, the group would be free to concentrate on production and processing.

19.3.4. The issue of group size and grants needs to be clarified. Finance should depend on whether the group is a viable production unit - a small group may be this. Special loans could be considered.

CHAPTER 20: GROUP ACTIVITY IN CROP STORAGE, MARKETING, PROCESSING AND INPUT SUPPLY

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CHAPTER 20 : GROUP ACTIVITY IN CROP STORAGE, MARKETING, PROCESSING AND INPUT SUPPLY

20.1. WHAT GROUP ACTION HAS THERE BEEN?

20.2. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

20.3. FARMER GROUP PROJECTS

20.3.1. Objectives of farmer group projects

20.3.2. Organisational problems

20.3.3. The main issue - how to organise and manage a storage/marketing/supply project

20.4. CONCLUSIONS AND GUIDELINES

20.4.1. The needs and constraints in developing crop infrastructure

20.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 20

Chapter 20 : List of Abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
FC	Farmers Committee
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
OSSCA	One Stop Service Centre for Agriculture
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
VDC	Village Development Committee

20.1. WHAT GROUP ACTION HAS THERE BEEN?

Detailed information on group/community activity in the areas of crop storage, marketing, processing and input supply are provided in Appendix 14. The data are further summarised in table 20(i) below.

TABLE 20(i) CROP STORAGE, MARKETING, PROCESSING AND INPUT SUPPLY PROJECTS

Crop storage/collecting centres

Built/operational (4)	-	Thabala (branch of Co-op)
	-	Sefhare
	-	Seleka (mud brick)
	-	Chadibe
Planned (10)	-	Makwate (under construction)
	-	Makalamabedi
	-	Mopipi
	-	Seleka (cement version)
	-	Kopong
	-	Mmamarobole
	-	Boatlanane
	-	Medie
	-	Lentsweletau (Kgope)
	-	Ramotswa N.
	-	Lerala (concrete slab only)

Mobile buying organised (1978)

FCs at Lerala, Tsetlhong, Bikwe (3 areas)

Bulk buying of seed by FCs

Several areas in Central Region 1978/1979

Hammermill Projects

Operating	-	1	(Moroka Co-op)
Nearly complete	-	1	(Tonota VDC)
Planned	-	5	(Nshakgazhogwe, Nswazwi, Mapoka, Matobo, Goshwe)

20.2. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Farmers in many of the communal area lands areas and small village communities are faced with the following problems:

i) considerable distances over difficult roads to places where produce can be marketed (BAMB depots)

ii) high transport charges - e.g. P2.00 per bag at Mogapi; P1.50 per bag at Mmaphashalala to the nearest BAMB depot; as a result BAMB prices received net of transport costs are very low

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iii) equal difficulty in obtaining supplies of seed since seed distribution organised also through BAMB depots

iv) losses of grain in local storage

v) to buy food grain or flour in rural areas in times of local shortage is very expensive because of transport back to these areas and the value added for storage having been carried out elsewhere; prices in most rural areas are P12.00 to P16.00 per bag of sorghum, reaching as high as P20.00/bag in Ngamiland

vi) BAMB buying prices are very low by comparison with the prices obtainable in the rural areas when small surpluses are available.

20.3. FARMER GROUP PROJECTS

20.3.1. Objectives of farmer group projects

As a result of these problems many Farmers Committees and other village organisations have tried to design projects to remedy the situation. Projects range from small mud brick storerooms used by Farmers Committees to store seed supplies purchased in bulk from the nearest BAMB depot to proposals for multi purpose projects verging on a co-operative village store. Project objectives can be summarised below:

Objective	Examples
1. Grain storage (storing the harvest of members of the community or Farmers Association)	Mopipi Makalamabedi Seleka
2. Storage for crop collection (harvest bulked at store and buyer/BAMB called to village to come and collect it, usually only when farmers have a surplus to be marketed)	Mopipi Makalamabedi Ramotswa Mmamarobole Thabala
3. Supply of grain to store in time of local shortage	Makalamabedi
4. Supply of implement spare parts	Mmamarobole Kopong Ramotswa Mopipi
5. Supply of livestock remedies (to purchase in bulk for FC members)	Mopipi Sefhare
6. Storage of AD equipment	Seleka
7. Storage for seed supplies	Kopong Chadibe Sefhare
8. Local milling	Villages in Francistown Region

In several cases it must be noted that what the community organisations are trying to do amounts to the setting up of a fledgling co-

operative. At Mopipi and Seleka the Farmers Committees attempting to pioneer unregistered projects are meeting with local opposition from factions favouring the establishment of a co-operative store. At Thabala eventually the FC itself was the moving force in helping to establish a branch of the Serowe Co-operative Marketing Society in Thabala, after finding it too expensive to set up a store as originally proposed.

20.3.2. Organisational problems

Various problems have been encountered in attempting to organise the projects described. These can be summarised as follows[1]:

i) effect of drought and/or Foot and Mouth Disease on fund raising or through scattering the population
Examples : Mopipi, Mmamarobole, Ramotswa, Makalamabedi

ii) delays in site allocation by Land Board
Example : Makalamabedi (a one year delay reported)

iii) social/leadership problems
Examples : Mopipi, Mmamarobole, Kopong, Nshakgazhogwe

iv) weak committee organisation/uncertain priorities
Examples : Mmamarobole, Medie, Lentsweletau (Kgope)

v) no AD in Extension Area to support process of group organisation
Examples : Matobo, Goshwe, Boatlanane

vi) confusions over how project should be organised and managed (applied to collecting centres)
Examples : Mopipi, Kopong, Medie, Mmamarobole, Boatlanane, Lentsweletau (Kgope lands), Seleka.

20.3.3. The main issue - how to organise and manage a storage/marketing/supply project

The confusion over how these projects should be organised and managed was by far the main issue affecting progress. The argument in certain communities between (usually) the Farmers Committee/Association and other factions wanting there to be a village co-operative is really evidence of the management problem.

The issues/questions which frequently arise include:

- how exactly will the local store relate to either BAMB/the nearest Co-operative/OSSCA[2]; in no case was the relationship clear or had any detailed arrangement been worked out between the group/community and such external contacts; in most cases plans were being made purely on the basis of vague assumptions
- who will manage the store/marketing/trading operation in the village, keep records and the books, decide on charges, prices etc; at Kopong the Farmers Association was making a constitution without any idea of how these aspects would be managed; at Mopipi a constitution was proposed (see Appendix table 14.1.) but there

(1) For details, see notes in Appendix 14.

(2) OSSCA - the One Stop Service Centre for Agriculture operated by the Kweneng Rural Degelopment Association. Most projects proposed in the Kweneng assumed a link with OSSCA rather than BAMB/Gaborone or the Co-operative in Molepolole.

were serious doubts at official level over this management question - what "in charge" person could manage the trading work of the store for an income paid out of P1.00 monthly subscriptions from members? This is the point at which District authorities (Serowe DDC) as well as local factions wondered whether the project should not in fact be a co-operative society.

- who is eligible to use the project facilities - just paid up members of the Farmers Committee/Association or anyone in the community?
- how is the economic viability of the project to be calculated in terms of any decision between organising as an unregistered FC project or a Co-operative? At Seleka, for example, where elements in the community favoured a Co-operative, the previous mud brick storeroom built by the FC had never stored a single bag. The FC was proposing a cement storeroom. Would the turnover in future be sufficient to justify a Co-operative in the village? These questions had not been discussed.

In most cases these areas of confusion existed alongside heartening effort and commitment on the part of the local Farmers Committee/Association. At Mopipi the FC had organised collection of building sand (which got stolen during the months and months of confused delay to follow) and had approached deBeers at Orapa for funding. At Kopong the members of the Farmers Association were enthusiastically defining their project objectives when drafting a constitution in March 1980. But only part of the Kopong community belonged to the Association which had been formed in a confused manner, and the committee floundered completely in trying to draft by-laws for a project with no plan, no idea of costs and no management system worked out.

20.4. CONCLUSIONS AND GUIDELINES

20.4.1. The needs and constraints in developing crop infrastructure

The strategy for developing crop infrastructure must balance the needs of farmers against the main constraints in meeting the needs. The constraints are

- shortage of management capability (therefore the approach must develop it and organise around its development and availability)
- shortage/expense of transport in relation to market prices (therefore the approach must aim to minimise the need for costly transport movements where distances are great)
- the cost of building and other items of equipment (therefore the need to optimise the distribution of facilities)

To a great extent the different constraints work against each other. Thus to minimise transport the development of many storage and other facilities is involved with added costs in training management capacity.

The problems that most community organisations have had up to now have been the result mainly of inadequate guidelines as to what to aim to do, and within what framework of services provided by, for example, BAMB.

R20/1 : IT IS VITAL AND RECOMMENDED, IF FUTURE PROJECTS ARE TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THAT GUIDELINES AND THEREFORE OBJECTIVES ARE CLEARER, and that the communities receive sufficient support and training to undertake projects which will achieve the objectives. This means extension staff must have a clear strategy in mind.

Needs in different localities will vary. In remote areas they will be different from lands areas within 10-15 km. of a major village centre with a BAMB depot. Basically the needs are:

a) for a farming family to be able to store its subsistence requirements conveniently, effectively and cheaply
b) for grain milling facilities in lands areas where families are permanently settled or in villages where families move to
   - to save labour of traditional methods of food preparation
   - to save purchasing of expensive flour imported into the area (by milling local produce instead)
   - to enable local small surpluses to be marketed locally at the more acceptable higher local prices[3] instead of marketing to BAMB at lower prices, with high transport costs, only to import grain or flour later at much higher prices.
c) processing (threshing) facilities in the lands areas or in small villages central to lands areas. Note: the technology for such facilities is still unavailable in Botswana generally. Interest was shown in equipment tested at IFPP and by Farmers Committees in the Serowe area in 1978/79. Otherwise there is no awareness of this possibility - hence no projects planned.
d) minimum cost methods of marketing crop surpluses from lands areas
e) convenience methods of supplying inputs and seed
f) a method of supplying grain to deficit areas in times of drought/poor harvest.

Which of these should be developed at what level and how organised and managed? Which can best be provided for and organised at the individual, community or at another level depends on which of the constraints - management, transport or construction/equipment cost are most critical in a given area.

Activities best organised on an individual farming family basis would include

- storage/threshing of family subsistence requirements for a scattered permanently settled lands community[4].

Below is an outline of possible guidelines for activities organised on a group or community basis. Certain activities should be left to registered commercial organisations such as Co-operatives or AMAs or to BAMB, with their more highly developed management and other resources.

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(3) The price which local mills could pay for grain after harvest could be made to equate with the value of imported flour.

(4) This does not rule out the use of group demonstration extension methods in grain storage techniques.

20.4.2. Guidelines for activities organised on a group basis, managed by community institutions

i) Grain storage

R20/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES ON METHODS, COSTS AND ORGANISATION ARE PREPARED FOR GROUP ACTIVITY IN GRAIN STORAGE OF FAMILY SUBSISTENCE REQUIREMENTS, OR SURPLUSES FOR LATER SALE, AT A CENTRAL FACILITY, IF A COMMUNITY IS REASONABLY COMPACT : STOREROOMS SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTED TO RECOMMENDED SPECIFICATIONS; THERE SHOULD BE TRAINING IN APPROPRIATE METHODS OF TREATMENT; THE INSTITUTION SHOULD BE OPEN TO THE WHOLE COMMUNITY; FINANCING OF STORAGE SHOULD BE ON A PER BAG BASIS. GRANT ASSISTANCE SHOULD ONLY BE GIVEN TO AREA WIDE INSTITUTIONS.

ii) Threshing equipment - for produce for store or surpluses for sale; at central facility within reasonable access of whole community.

R20/3 : MANAGEMENT OF EQUIPMENT SHOULD BE BY A COMMUNITY INSTITUTION, WITH GRANT ASSISTANCE ONLY TO AREA WIDE INSTITUTIONS. GUIDELINES ARE NEEDED ON THE OPERATION OF MACHINERY, ORGANISATION, AND CHARGES PER UNIT VOLUME THRESHED.

iii) Milling of grains into flour; machinery needed in permanently settled lands communities or villages beyond close proximity (this needs defining) to BAMB Depot/retail outlets where milling equipment exists or flour is sold. Most initiatives so far have been in Francistown region where lands communities/villages are permanent and distant from main depots. Commercial interest has occurred in other areas (Tswapong, Bikwe). It is significant that two of the proposed/operating project in Francistown region are Co-operative Societies. Milling is more a commercial venture than storage/threshing.

R20/4 : IT IS NECESSARY TO BE CLEAR BETWEEN

a) MILLING AS A SERVICE TO FAMILIES ON A SMALL SCALE BASIS (A BUCKET OF GRAIN EVERY FEW DAYS) FOR SUBSISTENCE NEEDS, IN WHICH CASE A SYSTEM OF CHARGES PER UNIT VOLUME CAN BE SUGGESTED IN GUIDELINES FOR THE RUNNING OF SUCH SCHEMES BY COMMUNITY-WIDE INSTITUTIONS.

b) MILLING OF GRAIN PURCHASED FROM FARMERS AND FOR RETAIL OF FLOUR TO LOCAL CONSUMERS. This is a commercial activity for which much more management expertise is required. It is a necessary project in many isolated rural communities, but most likely to require A REGISTERED ORGANISATION WITH MORE HIGHLY TRAINED AND ACCOUNTABLE MANAGEMENT.

iv) Collecting/bulking up crop produce for onward transport for sale; the feasibility of this activity was proved by the Central Region mobile buying pilot project in 1978 which showed how Farmers Committees could, with adequate training, a record keeping system and support back-up, organise and manage effectively a crop collection exercise to a central point[5].

R20/5 : FOR THIS TO BE UNDERTAKEN SAFELY ON A REGULAR BASIS A PROPERLY CONSTRUCTED CONCRETE LOADING SLAB IS RECOMMENDED AT THE CENTRAL COLLECTING POINT FOR THE AREA. A tarpaulin is sufficient

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(5) For details, refer to "Mobile Crop Buying" by J. R. Hope/RAO Office Central; written early 1979 (undated).

covering material. A permanent store building is not required for this short term activity, but only for long term storage of grain (i.e. purpose no. (i)). Recommended specifications are needed for slab construction (some were drawn by Serowe Council Architect); funding could be through AE10. TRAINING AND BOOK-KEEPING MATERIALS ARE NEEDED FOR THE AREA INSTITUTIONS MANAGING THE ACTIVITY. Advanced publicity is involved to ensure all crops are brought to the collecting centre before being transported away. THIS IS A PROJECT EASILY WITHIN THE SCOPE OF A FARMERS COMMITTEE, BUT GUIDELINES ARE NEEDED TO EXPLAIN WHAT A "COLLECTING CENTRE" IS. Note also that in the experience so far with crop collection, onward transport from the collection points to BAMB depots was provided by Government, not the FCs. The transport was free, though under the original arrangement made with BAMB in 1978 in Central Region a nominal 10 thebe per bag was to have been charged.

The effect of this was crucial. It was the low cost of transport which stimulated interest in marketing in areas where transport charges per bag usually made marketing completely non viable.

But even with the low 10 thebe marketing charges proposed, there was no response from some communities (e.g. Moiyabana, Thabala, Maunatlala, Seleka). At the 'Kgotla' meetings FCs held in these places, farmers expressed no interest in the crop collection idea because BAMB prices offered were too low.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANISATION OF CROP MARKETING INFRASTRUCTURE AND TRANSPORT HAS TO BE DONE, THEREFORE, IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ACCEPTABLE CROP PRICING POLICY.

v) Transport of collected crops to nearest BAMB depot/lock-up store/Co-op Agency. This is considered practicable only where destinations are within, say, 15-20 km. of collecting points. Current ALDEP proposals are for lock-ups (as many as 40 to be built) to be within this reach so that one lock-up/BAMB depot/Agency exists per 900 farmers. However, transport seems to be very difficult for communities to organise. Only at Tsetsejwe (groundnuts - cash crop) and Semolale (a very isolated community) has any group initiative in the transport of crops to market been heard of by the author. In many isolated areas transport is at a premium. The few vehicles available are privately owned. Instances are known where FCs have organised transport (e.g. Thabala FC to collect farmers to the firebreak project) but social problems may often hinder the hiring of private vehicles in many areas.

R20/6 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT TRANSPORT IS DISCUSSED WITH FARMERS COMMITTEES AND AT OTHER LEVELS ('KGOTLA' MEETINGS ETC.) BEFORE ALDEP POLICIES ON CROP COLLECTION ARE FINALISED. It is anticipated that incentives may be needed to encourage the use of private transport, or assistance in transport required especially where greater distances are involved.

vi) Bulk purchases of seed: since the Department of Agric. Field Services suddenly dropped in 1978 its system of distributing seed to farmers by Government transport in the regions/districts, farmers have had to obtain supplies from the nearest BAMB depot. Some Co-operative societies were able to buy supplies for resale to farmers. No coherent system replaced the former age old system. Those Co-operatives which did purchase often failed to

purchase enough for local requirements. Many areas were left with no system at all. But the areas where Farmers Committees were active were able to organise an alternative - bulk buying of seed with members of the community paying in advance for their orders, and the total amount being forwarded by the FC to BAMB and a bulk supply collected (often with the unofficial assistance of the District Agric. Office). The bulk supply is then stored at the FC store and distributed to those who ordered.

R20/7 : AS WITH CROP COLLECTION, THE ORGANISATION OF THIS REQUIRES FACILITIES (IN THIS CASE A STOREROOM), TRAINING, RECORD KEEPING AND ADVANCE PUBLICITY IN THE COMMUNITY. IT IS EASILY WITHIN THE CAPACITY OF FCs TO ORGANISE IF SUPPORTED IN THIS WAY. Thus, a community does not have to have a local Co-operative Society for such services as this to be provided.

vii) Storage of AD demonstration equipment. This has been an important project organised by a number of FCs in areas where ADs have no Departmental housing or storage facilities.

viii) Ordering spare parts.

R20/8 : IN THE SAME WAY IN WHICH SOME FCs HAVE ORDERED SEED OR HANDLED MONEY FOR CROPS MARKETED IN BULK, IT IS POSSIBLE FOR FCs TO ASSIST FARMERS BY PLACING ORDERS FOR SPARE PARTS ETC. FROM THE NEAREST CO-OPERATIVE/BAMB DEPOT. FCs SHOULD NOT BE ENCOURAGED TO ENGAGE IN TRADE - buying and selling of agricultural inputs.

20.4.3. Activities/services best organised by commercial organisations - BAMB, Co-operatives, OSSCA, local traders with trained management and greater resources

The commercial activities of buying, bulk storing/wholesaling and retailing are best left to commercial organisations. This includes therefore:

- purchase, bulk storage, marketing of surplus grain
- sale of implements, seed, spares
- supply/resale of emergency grain to deficit areas

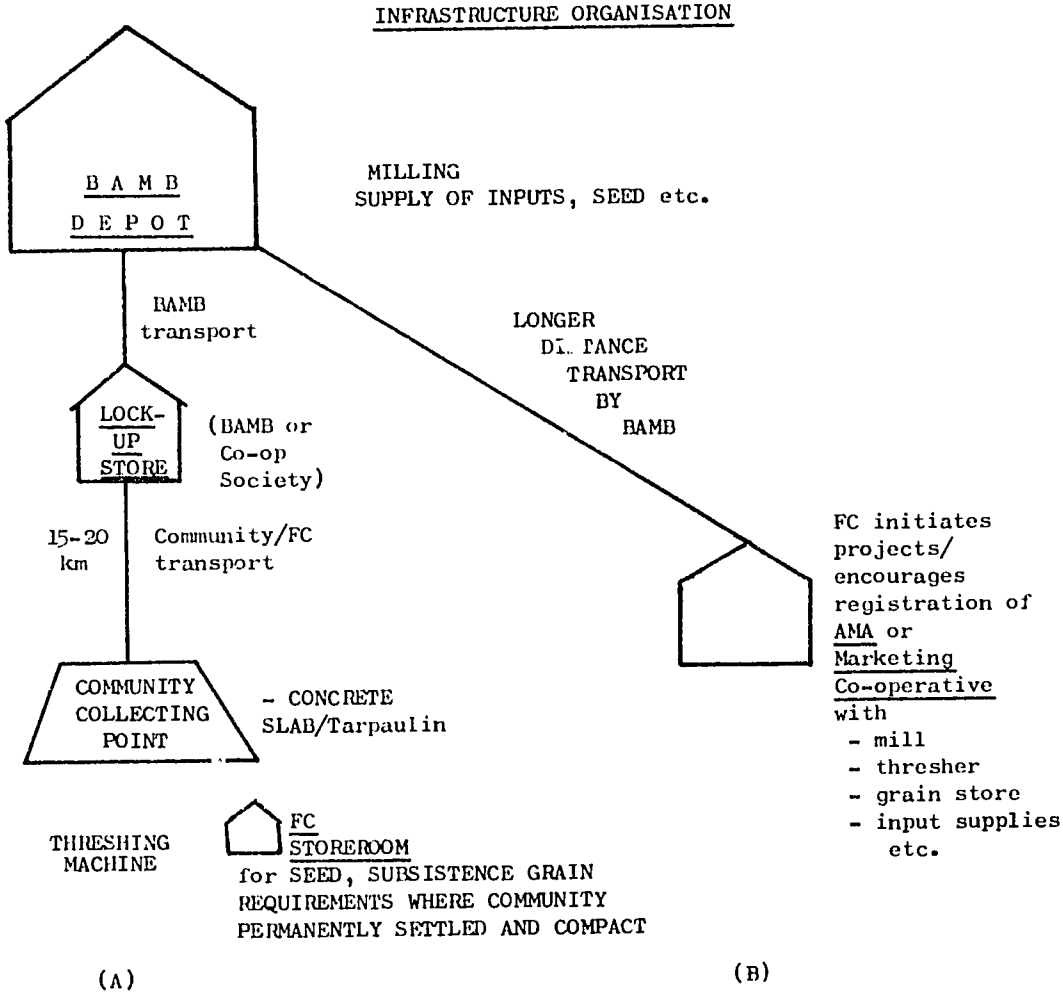
As noted above, where distances are great it may also have to include transport between collecting centres and the nearest Lock-ups/Depots. The responsibility of farmers should be to arrange transport to the collecting centre. Experience in Central Region in 1978 indicated that if FCs are well prepared and trained, and communities well warned in advance, that the actual collection operation can be organised quite quickly and efficiently. The aim should be to minimise non-essential transport. If, instead, a strategy is pursued which maximises self sufficiency in localities distant from a BAMB depot by improving local storage facilities, then only the genuine marketable surplus will have to be collected over what is consumed, processed and sold locally. It is obvious that for farming communities the storage and processing of produce in one place is more viable economically than selling the produce at a low price and buying it back later at a high price. It also minimises transport.

R20/9 : IN SMALL VILLAGES AND LANDS AREAS IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED AT IMPROVING LOCAL STORAGE AND PROCESSING FACILITIES AND AT TRAINING LOCAL MANAGEMENT FOR SUCH ACTIVITY.

20.4.4. Overall crop infrastructure organisation

R20/10 : WHAT IS RECOMMENDED OVERALL IS REPRESENTED IN THE DIAGRAM BELOW:

TABLE 20(ii) : A DIAGRAM OF CROP INFRASTRUCTURE ORGANISATION



Scheme "A" is roughly what is proposed under ALDEP. Scheme "B" is a representation of what needs to be done for more isolated communities where there are no Co-operative Marketing Societies as yet. This is the Mopipi or Makalamabedi situation, but is perceived to be the same in many slightly less remote areas such as Bobirwa or Tswapong.

R20/11 : THE AIM IN SCHEME "B" IS FOR GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST THE COMMUNITY WITH

- BUILDING A STOREROOM
- INSTALLING A MILL AND A THRESHER
- TRAINING LOCAL MANAGEMENT
- COLLECTING ANY SURPLUS ABOVE LOCAL SELF SUFFICIENCY, OR DELIVERING SUPPLIES IN TIMES OF DEFICIT

IN SITUATIONS SUCH AS THESE, SCHEME "B" MAY WELL START OFF AS A FARMERS COMMITTEE INITIATIVE. IT SHOULD BE RECOGNISED, HOWEVER, WHAT THE SITUATION DEMANDS, AND WHILST INITIAL FC ACTIVITIES CAN BE SUPPORTED, THE LONGER TERM AIM SHOULD BE TO FACILITATE THE FORMATION OF A REGISTERED AMA OR CO-OPERATIVE WITH ADEQUATELY TRAINED AND ACCOUNTABLE MANAGEMENT. The registration process with its emphasis on a properly formulated constitution and management plan should help to ensure that everyone joins and ultimately benefits.

20.4.5. Pricing Policy

It is beyond the scope here to draw conclusions on crop pricing. Current work in this area promoted under ALDEP should result in policies geared more appropriately to small farmer situations. Without such policy the development of expensive infrastructure may not achieve the aim of increasing small farmer production or income from crops. Action in this area is therefore crucially related to the approach outlined in this section.

20.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 20

20.1. What group action has there been?

4 crop storage/collecting centres have been built and 10 are planned, there have been 3 FCs organising mobile buying, several organising bulk buying of seed and 7 hammermill projects are in operation, nearly complete or planned.

20.2. What is the problem?

Farmers in communal lands areas who are trying to market are faced with problems of distance, high transport charges, difficulties in getting seed, losses in storage, and low BAMB buying prices.

20.3. Group projects

20.3.1. To meet these problems various village organisations have tried projects with the objectives of grain storage, storage for crop collection, storing grain against times of shortage, supplying spare parts and livestock remedies, storage of AD equipment and for seed supplies, and local milling. In some cases the community is trying to set up a fledgling co-operative.

20.3.2. Problems encountered include the effects of drought and FMD, delays in site allocation, social and leadership problems, weak committees, no ADs and confused organisation.

20.3.3. The main area of confusion concerns management. The issues arising include how a local store will relate to BAMB, a Co-operative or OSSCA, who will manage the operation in the village, who should use the facilities and how should the economic viability of the project be calculated? In most cases efforts are being made to tackle these issues.

20.4. Conclusions and guidelines

20.4.1. Shortage of management, cost of transport and cost of building constrain the development of crop infrastructure. Guidelines on what to aim for and within what framework are urgently needed, along with training. The basic needs are for storage of subsistence crops, grain milling facilities in permanent settlements, threshing facilities in lands areas, minimum cost methods of marketing, ways of supplying seed etc., and ways of supplying grain to areas of deficit. Which of these are developed and how will vary from area to area. Activities best organised on an individual basis are storage/threshing of subsistence crops in scattered communities.

20.4.2. Activities best organised on a group basis are grain storage in a compact community, threshing equipment, milling in permanently settled areas (a distinction must be drawn between milling for subsistence and milling for sale), collecting up crop produce for onward transport for sale, transport of crops to depots, bulk purchase of seed, storage of AD demonstration equipment and ordering spare parts.

20.4.3. Activities best organised by commercial organisations are the purchase, bulk storage and marketing of surplus grain, the sale of implements and seeds, and the supply of emergency grain to deficit areas. Transport may also be necessary where distances to depots are great. Transport would be minimal if self-sufficiency in storage were encouraged in remote areas.

20.4.4. Two overall schemes are recommended, one is similar to the ALDEP proposal, the other is for isolated communities with Co-operative Marketing

Societies. The latter could begin as FC schemes and later become AMAs or Co-operatives.

20.4.5. A crop pricing policy is essential to the approach outlined in this section and should arise from work under ALDEP.

CHAPTER 21: A BRIEF LOOK AT TRACTOR GROUPS

CHAPTER 21 : A BRIEF LOOK AT TRACTOR GROUPS

21.1. A SUMMARY OF GROUP ACTIVITY IN TRACTOR OWNERSHIP, HIRE AND MAINTENANCE

21.2. THE NEED FOR TRACTORS

21.3. PROBLEMS IN TRACTOR GROUP ORGANISATION

21.3.1. How to keep a tractor maintained

21.3.2. The economics of running a tractor

21.3.3. Organising bulk fuel supplies

21.3.4. Group management

21.4. GUIDELINES NEEDED FOR TRACTOR OWNERSHIP GROUPS

21.5. OTHER MEASURES TO HELP SMALL FARMERS GAIN CHEAPER ACCESS TO TRACTOR USE

21.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 21

CHAPTER 21 : List of Abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
BRIDEC	Brigades Development Centre
BP	British Petroleum
CAMA	Commissioner for Agricultural Management Associations
CODEC	Co-operative Development Centre
NDB	National Development Bank
RTC	Rural Training Centre

21.1. A SUMMARY OF GROUP ACTIVITY IN TRACTOR OWNERSHIP, HIRE AND MAINTENANCE

The Appendix tables 15 A, B and C provide what data were available on tractor groups. This can be summarised as follows:

TABLE 21(i) TRACTOR GROUPS

i) Group purchase and operation of a tractor[1] (Appendix 15 A)

Active/operating groups	-	3 (Tlokweng)
Unconfirmed status groups[2]	-	10[3]
Formerly active, now non-operative	-	1 (Sefhophe)
Planned syndicates	-	3

ii) Group organisation for tractor hire (Appendix 15 B)

Activity reported	-	2 groups (Thabala Taupye)

iii) Group organisation for servicing etc.

For spare parts/servicing (proposed)	-	1 (Francistown)
For bulk fuel supply (proposed)	-	1 (Sikwane)

NOTES ON TABLE 21(i)

(1) In some cases, plus trailer and equipment.
(2) Some of these may be operational small syndicates (2-3 members usually brothers/close relatives); others may just be proposals.
(3) These data are obtained primarily from group data sheets and confirmed field reports. The Dept. of Agric. Field Services Annual Plan for 1980/81 indicates more syndicate activity in Southern Region with 19 farmers reported to be members of syndicates. 1 syndicate is reported in Maun Region and 4 farmers are reported to be members of syndicates in Francistown Region. Until the precise information in group data sheets catches up with such reports it is not possible to state the situation more accurately.

21.2. THE NEED FOR TRACTORS

According to regional data in the 1980/81 Agricultural Field Services Annual Plan, around 930 farmers in the six regions of the country own a working tractor[1]. This is likely to be a fairly accurate estimate as tractor ownership is a much more easily quantifiable variable than, say, the number of farmers in an extension area who own a span of oxen or a

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(1) These data are compiled from ADS reports from the Extension Areas around the country.

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working plough[2]. This means that of the 68000 or so[3] farming families in the tribal areas, about 1.4% own a tractor.

This overall figu · for the country disguises, of course, imbalances between ownership in the areas of the more major villages and that in more remote areas. There are many isolated communities where not a single tractor is owned, whereas in the major villages tractors can be counted in tens.

Tractors are used for a great variety of purposes. Besides ploughing, planting and cultivating arable feeds, on a contract basis to other farmers as well as on the owners' lands, tractors with trailers are used extensively as transport vehicles. In many rural villages people rely on the regular "bus service" operated by at least one tractor operator to the nearest major centre. Tractors are used also as the means of migration from village to lands or cattlepost, carrying household goods and stores. And they are used as a means of access to many cattleposts, taking food and other supplies or spare parts for borehole repair.

Although owned by only 1.4% of farmers, their use is thus spread considerably more widely than this. It appears particularly that increasing numbers of farming families lacking animal draft power or labour to use in exchange relationships are resorting to tractor hire from private local owners. Often using cash remitted from relatives employed in town or in the mines.

But it can be an expensive, inconvenient and often unsatisfactory method of getting the ploughing done. Tractor hire tends to be a "once-over" method often roughly done by a driver hired by the owner without proper attention to plough adjustment for even depth of ploughing. Seed is usually broadcast and the crop weeded only if the rains are good and it germinates well. For a quick ploughing operation at least P12.00 can be paid. Moreover the work may be done at an inconvenient time when the owner has finished work on his own fields.

It is to be freer from these troubles, and to be able to afford to buy a tractor and equipment (at least P10 - 12. 0 at current prices) that syndicates, or in one case a larger association, have formed.

21.3. PROBLEMS IN TRACTOR GROUP ORGANISATION

Details, where known, on the experience and method of organisation of the tractor groups are provided in Append 15. Here just the main problem areas will be highlighted.

21.3.1. How to keep a tractor maintained

The main problem at Sethophe appears to have been organising the maintenance and repair of the tractor. Farmers explained the problem as having been a lack of spare parts and garage repair facilities in the area. Although the Association successfully repaid the NDB loan by 1979

(2) The 1980/81 Plan notes these figures should often be treated with extreme caution.

(3) This figure is taken also from the 1980/81 Agricultural Field Services Annual Plan by adding up regional totals.

(some 10 years after the group formed) the tractor itself had by then broken down and appeared in 1980 still to be unrepaired. It was not discovered exactly how many seasons the tractor had been used or how maintenance had been carried out over the year. The fact that some individual members of the group had gone on to buy their own tractors seems to indicate that repair and servicing of itself could be overcome. The problem with the Association tractor may therefore have been more to do with organising to get it done.

Servicing and spares is, however, a problem in many parts of the communal areas.

In Francistown the fact that an Association was trying to form in 1980 (see Appendix 15 C) indicates that there are problems even in that area[4], served by an established urban centre.

To overcome this problem is a long term task but one which can be assisted by Government. Solutions include:

i) the development of a more effective private sector in tractor maintenance and repair; Government could provide more assistance to Brigades Development Trusts to train more artisans in this field and set them up in business; Trusts could also be encouraged with assistance to set up mobile repair services; encouragement could be given also to commercial dealers to increase their operations in the rural areas, possibly on the basis of annual maintenance contracts purchasable by tractor buyers; Government could assist the owners with part of the cost of such contracts, greater assistance being given to groups.

ii) assistance to servicing Associations
The Francistown proposal caught the Ministry of Agriculture's extension and group development staff very much off guard. The reaction was "what are we doing involved with big tractor owners?" - not exactly the target group of the group development programme. Also the Ministry has no experience with commercial ventures of this kind.
But the need for such organisations does exist. In principle the initiative should be welcomed and encouraged with help. This consultant sees no reason why a Co-operative or AMA of tractor owners and syndicates could not be viable for the aims proposed.
It would clearly have to be an operation managed on commercial lines but with the advantage of the profits being returned to members through dividends.
Management and staff would have to be trained people with relevant experience.

R21/1 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE HELD BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE (CROPS DIVISION, CAMA, CODEC), THE NDB, THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, AND BRIDEC ON WAYS TO ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS ASSOCIATION AND OTHERS LIKE IT.

iii) farmer training in tractor maintenance
Courses or field days have been arranged in most regions for tractor owners or drivers, but there has sometimes been difficulty in getting tractor owners to attend. The reasons for these

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(4) Note - the members of this proposed Association were drawn from a wide area around Francistown.

problems need investigation, and some assessment made of the number of tractor owners who have actually ever received training. The problem with residential RTC courses is that the owner attends minus his tractor and that the courses cannot allow easily for differences between makes. Greater emphasis is needed where possible on field courses and follow-ups. Brigades Development Trust Mobile Servicing Units, if encouraged, would greatly help here.

21.3.2. The economics of running a tractor

To purchase and operate a tractor is highly expensive. The operating costs are mainly fuel, maintenance and repair and the hire of a driver where this is necessary. These expenses have to be paid from some form of income, but it is extremely hard to calculate where this income comes from when tractors are often used for such a variety of purposes, as described in 21.2.

When a tractor is owned by an individual this is not so much of a problem provided the individual can afford to have a tractor (like any other kind of vehicle) or is able to work out how much to charge for its use in providing public transport or other contract services.

But for a group it is essential that the tractor generates an income sufficient to cover loan repayments, operating costs, maintenance, repairs and the cost of a driver's wage. To generate this income the tractor must be used sufficiently and this use paid for.

Information on financing is available for only two tractor groups - the Sefhophe Tractor Association and the Botsalano syndicate at Tlokweng, though it is understood that the two other syndicates at Tlokweng follow the same procedure as the Botsalano group. It is interesting that both the large Sefhophe Association and the smaller Tlokweng syndicate raised money on two systems

a) a flat rate monthly or annual subscription per member to cover loan repayments
b) a charge per acre for work done to cover operating costs

Such a system is fair so long as members are in a position to make more or less equal use of the tractor. The Botsalano syndicate almost certainly works in this way - with only 6 members it is possible to organise so that each member obtains reasonably equal benefit.

The Sefhophe group constitution got around this problem by allowing each member to plough 8 acres only at a time, after which the next farmer's needs should be met. But with as many as 22 members organisation apparently was difficult. A particular problem is where the lands of members are widely scattered. For a smaller syndicate this may still be workable[5], but for a larger group it is clearly inefficient to travel miles from one farmer to another to plough only 8 acres. This was reported to be a problem at Sefhophe.

Although data were not seen for the Sefhophe group, it seems highly doubtful that the operation of the tractor could have been a profitable venture based on arable activity alone. For one thing, the acreage ploughed cannot have been high with so much travelling in between. For another it seems that the tractor was not used to promote improved farming methods (row planting and cultivating). It seems probable, rather, that the main

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(5) At Tlokweng the lands of 3 of the members of the Botsalano syndicate were as far as 10 - 15 km. apart from the rest of the group.

source of income was the annual subscriptions which it is known were extracted with some difficulty from members (the group chairman collecting them in person). These subscriptions eventually paid off the loan. But although some members were reported to have spoken of benefitting from the project it is likely that the cost of the tractor was raised as much from livestock sales as from income from increased crop production. These conclusions are, however, speculative.

R21/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SEFHOPHE TRACTOR ASSOCIATION IS STUDIED BY FARM MANAGEMENT EXPERTS IN THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE IN ORDER TO LEARN EXACTLY WHAT BENEFIT MEMBERS DERIVED FROM THIS PROJECT AND HOW THE GROUP WAS ORGANISED AND FINANCED IN PRACTICE.

The Botsalano syndicate provides more up to date experience. Here the group members pay

P25.00 per month subscription
P84.00 (cost of 1 drum diesel, approx.)
+ P2.00 per acre, for ploughing and planting
P1.00 per acre for cultivating (plus pay own diesel)

This means that for a farmer with, say, 40 acres of land the total expenses are in the region of P520 for one season - just for the tractor. With sorghum prices at around P6.00 (rough figure) per bag it means the farmer must get a total harvest of 87 bags just to break even on this cost, not to mention other costs involved (seed etc.).

Only one of the Botsalano members was reported to have more than 50 acres of land. The rest had between 20 - 40 acres. How viable this is to members is difficult to tell. Members spoke of benefitting (the Vice Chairman, for example, was reported to have obtained a total harvest of 50 bags in 1978/79, and the Chairman 40 bags in 1977 which were considered good results) but the economics seem dubious despite the obvious good organisation and farming methods of this group. For the member with 40 acres the actual cost per acre works out at about P13.00 per acre - a higher figure than what the group charges to non members for contract ploughing (p12.00 - admittedly for ploughing only).

R21/3 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE EXACT OPERATIONS OF THIS SYNDICATE AND OTHERS AT TLOKWENG ARE INVESTIGATED FURTHER BY FARM MANAGEMENT EXPERTS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC ASPECTS, AND TO ADVISE THE GROUP ACCORDINGLY.

21.3.3. Organising bulk fuel supplies

The proposal at Sikwane was the only example found of group initiative in this area. Clearly, with costs as they are any saving which can be arranged is important, and this type of activity should be encouraged.

Basically it involves

- a petroleum company[6] installs a bulk (2200 litre) tank - at the lands or wherever the request is made for a P16.00 charge
- a supply agreement is signed with the same company; the tank should not be used for fuel delivered by another company
- a week's notice is required for deliveries to the tank
- a discount of P5.00 is obtainable on each full tank for "farmer-rate" supplies
- the price per litre is at least 1.4 thebe less than retail price
- cash is required on delivery of fuel

(6) These details were provided by a representative of the BP company.

- The supply point should use at least 1200 litres per month, although less than this demand is tolerated by the suppliers during the non agricultural season

The advantage of a scheme of this nature is tremendous. The fuel is cheaper per litre, a discount is obtainable and the cost and organisation normally involved in travelling to fetch diesel in drums from the nearest retail supply is saved. At Sikwane such a project would have saved each farmer having to collect diesel from Mochudi at a higher price.

As far as quantities are concerned, the 1200 litres turnover per month is easily met when several tractors are involved. One tractor may consume 50 - 60 litres of diesel in a day's ploughing. The 8 Sikwane tractor owners reckoned they used 10 drums per week during the two month ploughing season, or a total of some 16000 litres of fuel.

But the Sikwane project did not get implemented. This may seem surprising because the farmers would be purchasing diesel individually in any case - at much higher cost. Why could they not organise as a group?

It seems that the lateness of the initiative - in September 1979 with the ploughing season imminent - was one factor. Two major organisational tasks were required

- the formation of the syndicate and agreement about method of organisation, by-laws etc.
- application to the NDB as a syndicate for seasonal credit to purchase the bulk supply (P880.00 would be required for 2200 litres); the NDB would almost certainly have required detailed information on the agricultural methods, resources etc. of each member.

It seems that it was perceived that there was not enough time for these organisational tasks to be undertaken between September and the onset of the rains.

Another factor almost certainly was uncertainty on the part of the extension staff concerned as to how to go about facilitating the group's organisation.

Judging from one meeting with the farmers concerned, the author feels that they were keen to organise, though uncertain how to go about it. The role of extension staff was therefore critical - but they had a not much better idea than the farmers.

Group activity in this area would appear to have considerable benefits and potential both to tractor owners, proposed tractor groups and farmers who hire tractors since any saving in costs could be reflected in hire charges.

R21/4 : IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES ARE DEVELOPED BY THE CAMA OFFICE/CROPS DIVISION IN CO-OPERATION WITH SUPPLY COMPANIES AND THE NDB, TO ENCOURAGE GROUP ACTIVITY IN ORGANISING BULK FUEL SUPPLIES.

21.3.4. Group management

Since the economics of tractor use are so difficult, management is all important for viable group organisation in this area.

A glance at the qualifications of the Botsalano syndicate members lends a clue to the levels of knowledge and understanding needed to operate a viable group. The Chairman is an ex-Agricultural Demonstrator and now an RTC Principal. The treasurer of the syndicate is a retired Paying Officer who used to work for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The Vice Chairman works in the Veterinary Department. All the other three members are also Government civil servants.

Clearly farmers of this calibre can be expected to understand the financial implications of their project and to be able to organise themselves efficiently.

Further afield than Tlokweng (just a few km. from Gaborone) everything becomes more difficult. Fuel is more expensive, spares and servicing much more difficult to arrange, and farmers less likely to be as experienced or educated.

Most of the tractor syndicates recorded as existing or proposed have very small memberships - often just 2 members, most likely close relatives, and obviously rich people. With such small membership it becomes easier to arrange financial matters, and to organise the use of the tractor. Much of its use can be in contract ploughing or transportation for other farmers.

To facilitate the participation of more smaller farmers in a larger group will require a very competent management committee. Not only will management training be needed, but the membership of the committee must include farmers with sufficient experience or education. Managing a tractor group is much more complex than an individual simply owning a tractor. Many of the individually owned tractors are used at least as much for convenience (as a vehicle) as for farming. A group owned tractor cannot be operated viably or equitably in that way. All its uses must generate income.

21.4. GUIDELINES NEEDED FOR TRACTOR OWNERSHIP GROUPS

Even individual tractor owners despair at the lack of guidance available to them on the operation of their tractors. A common question asked is "how much should I charge for ploughing per acre?"

For the operation of group owned tractors the need is even greater for technical and organisational guidelines. Guidelines are needed on:

- the acreage required for viable operation of different types of tractors, assuming ploughing, planting and cultivating is done
- how to assess or survey demand in a given area for a tractor service
- how to organise financial aspects.

R21/5 : SPECIFICALLY IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT

i) all groups hire a driver who can be held responsible for care and maintenence, and that continued training courses are arranged for drivers (the Botsalano syndicate operates with one driver)

ii) intensive training is arranged for treasurers and other committee officials of proposed and existing tractor groups

iii) the more equitable system of per acre fees is encouraged, particularly for larger groups, instead of flat rate subscriptions which may penalise smaller farmers. The per acre fees should be set to cover both the loan repayment element in costs as well as operating expenses

iv) the use of tractors should be encouraged in other income generating activities such as - contracting to other

farmers or public transport where needed. Government should assist with incentives particularly to encourage the use of tractors in
- transport for crop marketing
- contouring
- firebreak clearance
- dam scooping

It is considered that only by encouraging such income generating activities can the operation of tractors in many areas be economically viable.

21.5. OTHER MEASURES TO HELP SMALL FARMERS GAIN CHEAPER ACCESS TO TRACTOR USE

Encouraging the organisation of large groups including small farmers may not necessarily be the most effective way to help small farmers obtain draft power or the other uses of a tractor.

Improved assistance in the form of operational guidelines and training for individual or small syndicate tractor owners will also benefit small farmers indirectly through their receiving, hopefully, a better and possibly cheaper service. Private entrepreneurs need to be encouraged especially in remoter areas.

But access to tractors for draft power is most important in the parts of the country where pressures on land are greatest - a point noted in chapters 10 and 11. Although ALDEP's provision of donkey draft will assist those farmers presently without access to draft power, in areas where overgrazing is already serious the greater use of tractors will minimise further overgrazing and leave more space for "more productive livestock". Calculations still need to be done on the relative returns of land used for arable purposes and grazing purposes. It is complex to calculate the effect of additional donkeys using such grazing areas, or compare tractors as an alternative. It cannot be done simply in terms of "a tractor will cost a farmer P250.00 to hire for 10 hectares, whereas a team of donkeys will require so many hectares of grazing which could produce P400.00 worth of beef". Many other socioeconomic and organisational factors are involved.

Whether increased tractor use is to be encouraged in these areas, or in more remote areas where they are needed for a variety of purposes, what is important is that their availability should be as cheap and efficient as possible.

It is here that the experience of the two groups in Appendix 15 B comes in. Instead of organising to own a tractor, groups can organise to hire a tractor. The main source of economy here is in the group's ability to organise itself as a single entity with, as far as possible, a discrete area of lands to be cultivated, rather than many individuals each trying to negotiate tractor hire separately for scattered fields.

This is the area where it is considered the greatest potential exists for group activity.

R21/6 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT BRIGADES DEVELOPMENT TRUSTS ARE ASSISTED NOT ONLY TO ESTABLISH MOBILE SERVICE AND REPAIR UNITS, BUT ALSO TO OPERATE MECHANICAL UNITS FOR HIRE PARTICULARLY TO SUCH FARMER GROUPS. Government should assist in the establishment of these units as well as in subsidising

certain work carried out. The subsidy could be either in the form of direct grants to the mechanical units, or to the groups to assist them in the hiring mechanical units. Projects like contouring, dam scooping, firebreak clearance or marketing should be assisted in this way.

Contract ploughing for farmers groups could be encouraged along the lines piloted by the Serowe Farmers Brigade in the Tsabala/Moiyabana area in 1977/78.

Groups should also be encouraged to arrange contracts with private tractor owners. Extension advice is needed for the groups - in group organisation, measurement of the group's total acreage - and for the tractor owner - in calculating a fair charge per acre for a block contract as well as in tractor maintenance and operation through training courses.

Grants could be considered to assist groups in hiring private tractor contractors for certain projects (contouring, firebreaks, dam scooping, marketing etc.). However the Ministry would have to develop a system for training, testing and recognising approved contractors before assisting groups to hire their services.

21.6. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 21

21.1. Group activity

Available data indicate that there are 3 active tractor purchase and operation groups and 14 unconfirmed, non-operative or planned. There are 2 active hire groups and 2 tractor servicing groups.

21.2. Why are tractors needed?

About 1.4% of Botswana's farming families own tractors. Their use, however, is more widespread because they are hired out for farming operations and may be used for transport. Families without draft power seem to be increasingly resorting to tractor hire but the ploughing done is often rough. Syndicates are forming in response.

21.3. What are the problems in tractor group organisation?

21.3.1. The Association at Sefhophe have a ten year old tractor which is now in need of repair. The problem may be absence of local servicing or difficulties in organisation. Servicing and spares are a problem in many areas. Ways of overcoming the problem include the development of a more effective private sector, perhaps via Brigades; assistance to servicing Associations, and farmer training in tractor maintenance - preferably as field courses.

21.3.2. A group tractor must generate enough income to cover loan repayments and running costs. Information is available for two groups, both of which use a flat rate subscription to cover loan repayments and a per acre charge to cover operating costs. The large Sefhophe group ensures equal benefit from the tractor by allowing each member to plough only 8 acres at a time, which is inefficient as much time is spent on travel. Improved farming is not practised and it seems unlikely that farmers are making a profit from crops. Calculation of payments made by the Botsalano syndicate and the likely income from crops suggest that no profit is made here either. It is recommended that the economics are studied and the groups advised accordingly.

21.3.3. A group at Sikwane proposed organising bulk fuel supplies for tractors - a highly advantageous project. It was not implemented perhaps due to lack of time between the proposal and onset of the rains and uncertainty on the part of extension staff on how to set about the task. It is recommended that guidelines are produced to encourage this group activity.

21.3.4. The finances of tractor use necessitate knowledgeable management. Most syndicates have few, rich members, but for groups of smaller farmers careful training and experience within the group are needed.

21.4. What guidelines are needed for tractor ownership groups?

Guidelines are needed on the acreage required for viable tractor operation, how to assess demand, and financial organisation. One driver per tractor is recommended. There should be intensive training for committees, per acre fees and the use of tractors for income generating activities other than ploughing should be encouraged.

21.5. What other measures can help small farmers to gain cheaper access to tractor use?

Training and guidelines for individual owners will help small farmers indirectly. The problems of draft power are particularly acute in over-

crowded areas and in remote areas and tractor use versus animal power needs careful reckoning. Group tractor hire may be a solution. Brigades Trusts could be encouraged to establish units for hire. Groups could also hire from private owners. They need advice with all aspects of such projects. Grants could help them. Contractors would need training and testing.

CHAPTER 22: POULTRY GROUPS

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CHAPTER 22 : POULTRY GROUPS

22.1. A BRIEF NOTE ON THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

22.2. A SUMMARY OF GROUP ACTIVITY

22.3. MAIN PROBLEMS IN POULTRY GROUP ORGANISATION

22.3.1. Technical and economic factors

22.3.3. Marketing and feed supply

22.3.3. Group management and organisation

22.3.4. Motivation - the aim of a project

22.4. EXTENSION SUPPORT

22.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 22

CHAPTER 22 : List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
NDB	National Development Board
VDC	Village Development Committee
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

22.1. A BRIEF NOTE ON THE POULTRY INDUSTRY[1]

Poultry are kept traditionally by most farmers in Botswana. As with cattle and smallstock, but on an even smaller scale, they are kept for home consumption, gifts, slaughter for small ceremonies and for sale when cash is needed. The traditional Tswana breed is slow growing and a poor egg producer. Kept under free range conditions and left to scavenge for much of their food (insects, left overs etc.) they are tough but still fall prey to predators, disease and starvation. It was recognised in the early 1970s that a programme was needed to improve poultry through improved breeds and management.

The first phase of the Poultry Development Project "Thuo ya dikoko" aimed to improve management through extension advice. Demonstration units were set up at RTCs and SCCs and poultry extension staff posted to regional offices to provide technical support. Also improved breed chicks were distributed at 8 weeks of age[2] at a nominal cost of P1.00 to farmers anywhere. Between 1976-1979 some 50,000 chicks had been distributed to more than 1250 farmers in 150 AD's Extension Areas.

The Poultry project thus reached many farmers including the most remote rural areas. Few of the farmers purchasing the chicks did so for commercial object, however. It is known that many of the chickens were consumed in the traditional way even though they were good egg laying breeds. Very few farmers in the rural areas made any change in their management methods even though NDB loans were available for improved housing.

Only around the main areas of demand - the towns and major villages - have some commercial producers got underway. Recent estimates are that 55 producers are rearing broilers and 1300 keeping layers in the country.

Government policy is to aim for self sufficiency in poultry products by the early 1980's. Current annual imports of poultry products and eggs are about P350,000 and P270,000 respectively. By 1985 the demand for eggs is expected to be 17,500 dozen per week. At present local production accounts for only 4500 out of a demand of 13500 dozen per week.

Phase II of the Poultry Development Project aims to overcome the major constraints facing the industry at present in procurement, marketing and processing. The Project will establish a hatchery and slaughtering and transport facilities to be run by a National Poultry Co-operative Society.

Group activity was not emphasised at all in the first phase of the project, and as a result there is little group activity to report on. However, the experience of the groups which have formed contains useful lessons for the future.

22.2. A SUMMARY OF GROUP ACTIVITY

Information on the groups which have undertaken or proposed a project can be found in Appendix 17. To summarise this information the picture is

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(1) Much of this outline is taken from the Poultry Development Project Phase II Project Memorandum (18 May 1980).

(2) Chicks were imported as day olds, reared and vaccinated by the Poultry Section and then distributed.

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as follows:

TABLE 22(i) POULTRY GROUPS*

i) Production groups			
In operation	-	2	(Sheep Farm YWCA) (Barobadilepe 4B club)
Proposed	-	3	(Hebron, Metlojane, Boipelo womens group)
ii) Input (medical supply)			
Active	-	1	(Kgagodi)
iii) Marketing			
Proposed but now defunct	-	1	(Francistown)

* Note : in Tsabong a poultry group was reported in DAO's 3 month report June 1980. However it seems to be a reference to block ordering of chicks for that District for distribution to individual farmers.

22.3. MAIN PROBLEM AREAS IN POULTRY GROUP ORGANISATION

"Groups of one are the most successful on the production side!" (Outgoing Poultry Officer)

Most of the problems which can be encountered by groups in a poultry production project apply equally to individuals. They include technical factors and the all important areas of marketing and input supply (primarily regular supply of feed) which require either transport or close proximity to where the eggs or other poultry products are to be sold and supplies obtained.

These factors determine the economic viability of the poultry project, for profit is the essential objective in introducing a scheme involving improved breeds and management even though other objectives may be nutritional.

Before looking briefly at these factors a hint may be dropped as to the main additional problem area in group organisation. It is, basically, organisation - or management by the group. We shall see as the other factors are considered how important is group organisation in dealing with the other problems. However, we shall also observe one other important consideration and that is that for target group participation - that is, participation by the poor including some women household heads, non cattle owners - group action assisted through the AEIO programme is the only way of entry into the profitable commercial area. This chapter will concentrate on the implications for the target group.

22.3.1. Technical and economic factors

Various methods of poultry keeping are possible, from some very low capital cost system (the traditional free range system) to a higher capital cost cage system. Free range is the healthiest and cheapest system provided owners pay attention to providing clean water and adequate feed, but it is not commercially feasible as eggs and sometimes the chickens get lost or destroyed. In a village setting the problems are worse than in the lands as chickens and eggs can get stolen as well as lost and can be a menace to neighbours' gardens. The more traditional methods are thus suited only to very small scale poultry keeping for traditional purposes.

An intermediate system - the wire netting poultry run is better from the point of view of losses through straying, predation and theft but requires much higher standards of management in the control of diseases and provision of adequate clean water and feed. It is a step nearer commercial viability but is much more labour and skill intensive.

In lands areas a half way system can be adopted - with water and feed supplied in a run, but the gates left open by day to allow the chickens some free range benefits, though with the attendant risks.

The alternative recommended by the Poultry Section for keeping improved poultry on a more commercial scale is a cage system. A design is available for a 6 cage, 18 bird unit which can be installed on a frame of poles or a brick stand and sheltered under a traditional style roof needing only 2 or 3 bundles of thatching grass. The cost of caging per bird is P1.20. The advantages of this system are its disease freeness (assuming chickens are vaccinated early on) and efficiency in terms of food conversion and minimum waste. It is in other words a reliable simple method of keeping poultry once the poultry keeper understands the importance of ensuring feed and clean water are constantly supplied in the receptacles provided.

Its main disadvantage, apart from philosophical questions about happy hens, is that 100% of the chickens' food must be supplied in stamped or milled form (because the poultry have no stones in their gizzards to grind whole grairs). At the lands or in villages in order to save buying prepared poultry rations, a mixture of sorghum and sunflower seed can be stamped into a suitable home made diet, with household left overs as a supplement. Also, regular supervision is essential to ensure food and water never run out.

When these factors are considered it is possible to appreciate why so few farmers in the rural areas adopted improved management systems for keeping the improved poultry distributed by the Poultry Section. To invest in and then adopt a cage or wire run system requires finance and then much more care in management than the traditional system. Improved management is worth the extra money and the time only if some income can be earned.

The profit which is possible from a poultry enterprise, assuming the easier to manage cage system, can be calculated roughly as follows:

Basic parameters:

- Food consumption per bird per day is 0.12 kg. or 3.6 kg. in a month.
- Rations cost from P9.40/bag (new BAMB formula) or as high as P12.00/bag from Botswana Grain and Milling plus transport.
- Egg cartons cost P7.00 per 144 x 1 dozen cartons.
- Medical costs virtually nil assuming Ministry of Agriculture vaccinated birds.

With a 70 hen unit as at the Sheep Farm YWCA project the gross margin

is just over P30.00 per month if production and costs are as follows:

			MONTH
Cost of feed	- 6 x 50 kg. bags	=	c. P60.00
Value of produce	- 5 dozen eggs per day at 70 thebe per dozen	=	P102.00
Cost of packaging		=	P 7.00
	Gross margin/month		P 35.00

For a group assisted through the AE10 programme, cages and hens at point of lay have been provided free, and enough supply of feed for the first 3 weeks. Were the costs to be met the economics at first are not so attractive. The AE10 grant to the Sheep Farm group was for P450.00. A group making more use of local resources such as thatch and locally available wood for a more simple shelter could reduce this amount considerably - perhaps down to under P100.00 for materials and P210.00 for the chickens (each costing P3.00 supplied at point of lay).

But the project as a whole would be in the red for the first 9 month laying season while the initial P310.00 capital outlay is worked off from the monthly gross margin of P35.00, assuming all goes well. Thereafter the chickens can be sold for the same price, P3.00, as new point of lays have to be bought for, and profit really can become P35.00 a month.

An annual income of over P300.00 is thus possible from a 70 bird caged unit - but only where marketing and supplies of feed can be managed at the optimal prices assumed in the calculation so far, and only if standards of management remain as reliable as the cage system is designed for. These are the areas we therefore have to turn our attention to.

22.3.3. Marketing and feed supply

Unless the point of production is on the market and feed supply doorstep, transport for these aspects becomes the problem. If the distance involved is too far and transport has to be hired the gross margin is drastically reduced. The Sheep Farm project illustrates both the problems and, by lucky chance, how they happened to be solved in this case. Essentially the whole viability of this women's group was dependent on one member's contacts and goodwill - as it happened, the chairlady of the group. Not only was the group dependent on her borehole water supply[3], but for a market and supplies of feed as it happened that this lady also owned a shop at Pitsane and therefore made frequent trips there and to Lobatse to obtain supplies. The eggs were thus transported free of charge to Pitsane where they could be sold at this shop at 70 thebe a dozen, and supplies of feed brought back. Without this link the project could not have succeeded. When the author visited the group in March 1980 the first batch of point of lays had only just arrived and there was considerable doubt over how the marketing and supply problem would be overcome. At Goodhope the demand was insufficient. Lobatse was discussed but transport was feared impossible. It was very fortunate indeed for this group that the chairlady's connections produced free transport.

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(3) This was being charged for at 10 thebe a bucket at the time of this study, members pointed out. Extension staff were about to point out to the chairlady that these charges should be dropped.

In the supply of feed the group members in March 1980 were just as uncertain what they would do. They were aware of the Ramatlabama Co-operative as one possible source, though none of them had ever been there, or Lobatse. In the event when BAMB started producing an improved ration it became available at the main BAMB depot right in Pitsane and the transport link could collect it there. However, even this fortuitous arrangement had its problems. Sometimes Pitsane was reported to be out of stock. Here the group's management becomes important because if a fresh feed supply is sent for when only 25 kg. of feed are left over, and the order cannot be collected, the hens may be left without adequate feed. A period of even 2 - 3 days underfed in this way reduces egg production for up to 2 or 3 weeks before the hens fully recover. The Poultry Officer in Gaborone reported that this had happened already several times at Sheep Farm between March and August 1980, with the group buying just a couple of bags of feed at a time.

In most parts of the communal areas local markets for poultry produce are totally insufficient for a viable project even of the modest size as that at Sheep Farm. Regular transport for marketing and supply of feed, preferably in bulk is therefore vital.

It should be noted, though, that if small scale grain milling facilities are developed in rural areas, operated by Farmers Committees, VDCs or Co-operatives (see chapter 21) then the problem of feed supply could be overcome.

Marketing is then the main constraint.

Here the phase II Poultry Development Project may provide the answer for many areas as it is proposed that the National Poultry Co-operative Marketing and Credit Society will have transport and be able to collect produce (and deliver supplies of poultry rations). Initially this Co-operative will be unable to reach many areas, but will concentrate on overcoming these constraints for the main commercial producers in the vicinity of the main centres of demand. But, in time through the establishment of branches it may be possible to extend this service quite widely.

There is no reason why small or larger groups as well as commercial individuals should not become members of the National Co-operative.

The outlook in the future is thus considerably brighter than the picture of problems painted so far.

22.3.3. Group management and organisation

The main remaining problem, then, is in group organisation although as has been pointed out it is through group organisation that the really poor can hope to participate in commercial poultry

The problem is that commercial poultry keeping requires reliable management. One day of underfeeding can affect production seriously. Contaminated water can adversely affect health, as can no water should this duty be neglected.

Thus both the advantage and the possible disadvantage of group organisation is the same thing - shift work. For a poor woman household head with many heavy responsibilities, the chance to share in the income of a poultry project is made possible by being able to share too the workload. Knowing that it is another member's duty rota to feed and water the hens and sweep clean the area under the cages, and check that all is well relieves the other members and allows them to get on with other tasks.

But the problem is to ensure that all members carry out their duties. A keen member may do her duty well only to be followed possibly by neglect on the next shift.

At Borobadilepe the success of this 4B club project was due almost entirely to the dedication of one school teacher wh ensured that the club members did their tasks properly and rallied also for parental support. The results demonstrate the potential viability of a poultry project, but the difficulties encountered during the school holidays illustrate too the importance of management.

R22/1 : TO TRY TO OVERCOME POTENTIAL ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO THE CAREFUL ORGANISATION OF WORK ROTAS IN THE PREPARATION OF GROUP BY-LAWS, AND THAT ADEQUATE TRAINING OF ALL GROUP MEMBERS IS CARRIED OUT TO ENSURE THAT DUTIES ARE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD.

22.3.4. Motivation - the aim of a project

Motivation is what organisation and management ultimately depend on. The Boipelo women's group in Serowe have that motivation as demonstrated by their success at horticulture. Situated in the centre of Serowe the market is on their doorstep. They are almost all very poor people. Their proposed poultry project could contribute significantly to their income.

At Sheep Farm the motive for the project was an interesting one. It was not for personal income, but to raise funds towards a community clinic. Various efforts had been made for some time to motivate the 80 - 100 households in the area to contribute towards this project. The members of the YWCA were thus taking action where the VDC had failed. They were strongly motivated and had succeeded even in getting a promise from the VDC for help in erecting a storeroom next to the AEIO provided poultry house. It is questionable, though, whether the poultry project should have been needed for this purpose at all, as the clinic programme is a Council responsibility.

R22/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE YWCA AT SHEEP FARM IS ADVISED TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY, THROUGH FORMULATING SOME BY-LAWS, HOW THE BENEFITS FROM THE PROJECT WILL BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG MEMBERS, AND MANAGEMENT CARRIED OUT, once the initial objective of raising funds towards the VDC project is achieved.

22.4. EXTENSION SUPPORT

The Poultry Section, possibly more than most specialist technical sections in the Ministry, has done much to develop technical guidelines and demonstration facilities to help extension workers and producers. Frequent simple bulletins have been issued regularly on "Thuo ya dikoko" (meaning Poultry extension/education) headed paper - often timed appropriately so that husbandry advice coincides with when it should be heeded.

Technically the advice a poultry project group needs should be within the capability of an Extension Area AD although many ADs may need a practical hint on how to set about helping with the design and construction of housing for accommodating caged birds.

R22/3 : A BRIEF PRACTICAL INSERVICE COURSE FOR ADs WITH POULTRY PROJECTS PROPOSED IN THEIR AREAS IS RECOMMENDED.

It is important that ADs should be willing as well as able to assist

in a practical way - particularly when groups of really poor people are to be helped. At Sheep Farm it was reported that the former AD stationed there was either confused or not willing to help. He was "not a builder" type. The Poultry Section gave him instructions how to construct the cages etc., but no progress was made and the materials had to be repossessed by the Ministry. Eventually this AD was replaced and the incoming AD was shown a demonstration poultry house at Gaborone, and took some rough notes on how to help the women's group at Sheep Farm to build it. He was willing and committed to helping the group. As it turned out the group with his help built the house a little too high and the materials supplied became insufficient. The group found a few extra roofing sheets and the Poultry Section had to come and help with some alterations to the walls so that the cages inside should not be too exposed in the higher building. But in the end it was successful.

With bigger projects the design and construction of housing becomes more difficult and requires still more expert advice or the presence of a skilled builder in the group.

On the technical side, then, competent support is important although with a brief inservice course it should not be beyond the capability of ADs.

On the organisational side support is equally important. The Poultry Section believes in fact that the AD's role is more to advise on group organisation than there is technical advice needed, as the cage system once installed is so straightforward.

A poultry project involves everything from organising feed, managing the poultry from day to day, to marketing. There is not a single group to report on which has thought this entire process through, and from which lessons may therefore be learned in developing organisational guidelines. At Sheep Farm the group had no by-laws, and all funds raised were earmarked as we have seen for the VDC clinic project. Exactly how a group, particularly of target group members in great need of income from the project, manages all aspects of the project is the main challenge of poultry group organisation.

R22/4 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GROUPS ARE PROVIDED WITH A RECORD KEEPING SYSTEM AND ARE TRAINED IN USING IT TO ASSIST WITH PROJECT MANAGEMENT.

Now that the marketing and feed supply constraints are being resolved, a major reorientation in extension staff attitudes towards helping the low income target group in poultry production seems to be necessary.

R22/5 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT INSERVICE TRAINING IS DIRECTED TO ACHIEVING THIS ATTITUDINAL CHANGE.

Even in areas where, initially, the National Co-operative may not reach, group organisation in marketing and bulk ordering of feed for small production groups or individuals should be encouraged where a project could be viable.

In the major villages and communities bordering the main urban centres group poultry production projects should be encouraged through assistance from AE10, aiming particularly at the low income target group.

22.5. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 22

22.1. A note on the poultry industry

Most farmers in Botswana keep poultry for food, traditional needs and occasional cash. The Tswana breed is tough but a poor producer, so in the early 1970s an improved breeds programme was implemented. Demonstration units were set up and poultry staff posted to regions. Over 50,000 chicks were distributed at nominal prices. Many of these were consumed; commercial producers only got underway around the main demand areas. Government is aiming for self sufficiency in poultry products and Phase II of the programme is to tackle problems of marketing and processing.

22.2. What group activity is there?

There are few poultry groups : 2 production groups are operating and 3 are proposed, 1 input group is active and 1 marketing group was proposed but is now defunct.

22.3. What are the main problem areas in poultry group organisation?

Most problems encountered by poultry groups apply equally to individuals. Groups also have the problem of group organisation. The target group need financial assistance to enter commercial production.

22.3.1. Traditional free range methods are unsuited to commercial production. A wire run avoids free range losses but requires more skill. A cage system, as recommended by the Poultry Section, is potentially the most profitable system, though it demands careful management. Few farmers have adopted this system. It is only worthwhile if an income can be generated. A 70 hen unit can earn P35.00 per month. Without grant support a project even using minimum cost materials, would require a 9 month period to repay the loan.

22.3.2. A major problem for producers any distance from markets and the point of feed supply is the cost of transport. The viability of the Sheep Farm project is dependant on the good fortune of a free transport link for marketing and supply collection. Problems have arisen, however, when stock runs out at the supply centre. Small scale mills in rural areas could overcome the supply problem. Phase II of the Poultry Project should answer many marketing problems.

22.3.3. Shift work is the key to a successful group project, but it is necessary that all members are equally efficient. At Borobadilepe problems were overcome by a dedicated leader. Training and by-laws which cover work rotas are needed.

22.3.4. Motivation is crucial. The Boipelo Serowe group members are well motivated, as are members at Sheep Farm. The questions of management and the distribution of benefits at the latter project need consideration.

22.4. Extension support

The Poultry Section has done a lot of work on guidelines and demonstration facilities to help extension workers and producers. ADs would benefit from a short practical inservice course. Competent and willing technical support from ADs is vital if groups of poor people are to succeed in building poultry projects. The Sheep Farm group had difficulties because of this.

Organisational support is also required. There are no groups with experience to help develop guidelines here. A record-keeping system is needed. A re-orientation of extension staff towards the needs of the low income target group should be encouraged in inservice courses.

CHAPTER 23: GROUP HORTICULTURE PROJECTS

CHAPTER 23 : GROUP HORTICULTURE PROJECTS

23.1. GROUP ACTIVITY IN HORTICULTURE - A MICROCOSM OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT

23.2. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITY GOING ON

23.3. THE AIM OF HORTICULTURAL PROJECTS

23.4. THE ADVANTAGES OF GROUP ACTION IN REACHING THE LOW INCOME TARGET GROUP

23.5. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN HORTICULTURE GROUP ORGANISATION

- 23.5.1. Project viability - water, marketing and soil
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- 23.5.3. Attitudes
- 23.5.4. Competing activities and demands
- 23.5.5. Social and institutional problems

23.6. MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION - THE VARIETY OF POSSIBILITIES

23.7. SUPPORTING GROUP ACTIVITY IN HORTICULTURE

23.8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON GROUP ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HORTICULTURE

- 23.8.1. Horticultural development through group action
- 23.8.2. Subsidisation
- 23.8.3. Group formation
- 23.8.4. Group organisation

23.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 23

CHAPTER 23 : List of abbreviations

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
BAC	Botswana Agricultural College
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations
CODEC	Co-operative Development Centre
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DO(L)	Distric' Officer (Lands)
FC	Farmers Committee
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
KRDA	Kweneng Rural Development Association
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SBDT	Serowe Brigades Development Trust
VDC	Village Development Committee
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

23.1. GROUP ACTIVITY IN HORTICULTURE - A MICROCOSM OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT

The activity going on in horticulture is one of the most interesting areas of group activity. It is an area where through group activity attempts are really being made to reach the low income target group. Some of the attempts are succeeding and from them deep insight can be gained of what is involved in doing so. Many attempts have also failed from which different lessons can be learned. The activities range from small clinic gardens and self help women's groups with a few plots inside a bush fence, to allotment schemes run by Brigade Development Trusts and, largest of all, the horticultural estates being set up under AMA management by the Ministry of Agriculture. Organisation too varies from independent groups, through Red Cross, YWCA, BCW, 4B to VDCs and Farmers Committees, with one Co-operative and some developing AMAs. Some projects have been supported by missionaries of different denominations, others by Development Trusts, others by clinic staff, Family Welfare Educators, Social Welfare Officers, ACDOs, and ADs. It is an area of group activity in which the interaction of technical, management, organisational, social and cultural factors can be clearly seen, along with implications for approach and support needs.

23.2. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITY GOING ON

Appendix 18 contains the information available on horticultural groups. For the few cases visited personally by the consultant this information is provided in some detail.

Altogether at least 57 projects can be listed as existing, having existed at one time or as being in various stages of planning or implementation. The breakdown in terms of project status and management type is given in table 23(i) below:

TABLE 23(i) HORTICULTURAL GROUP PROJECTS

Number of projects	Type of management	
1. In production 1980 - 20 projects	Independent unregistered group	- 11
	Clinic	- 5(1)
	4B	- 2(2)
	Trust allotment	- 1
	Co-operative	- 1
2. Being implemented/fenced but not yet in production - 18 projects	Independent unregistered group	- 6
	4B	- 1
	VDC	- 6
	FC	- 3
	AMA estate	- 1
	Co-operative/AMA	- 1

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TABLE 23(i) HORTICULTURAL GROUP PROJECTS cont.

Number of projects		Type of management	
3. Proposed/being planned	- 11 projects(3)	Independent group	- 5
		VDC	- 2
		FC	- 2
		AMA estate	- 1
4. Currently defunct, though once in production	- 8 projects	Clinic	- 1
		Brigades Trust organised	- 5
		Independent group	- 2

Notes on table 23(i)

1) It is believed this figure is an underestimate and that more clinic and health post gardens exist than this. Records on these projects are not kept by ADs as the gardens are not normally organised as "group" projects.
2) Many more 4B gardening projects exist than this, though most are very small scale and often not organised as "group" projects. As 4B is a separate programme from the group development programme, 4B club projects are not listed by ADs under "groups" except occasionally where AEIO support has been applied for in the case of more permanent production projects. it is a slightly anomalous situation needing clearer definition.
3) The author is aware of some tentatively planned projects in addition to this figure. A 4 hectare allotment scheme is proposed on plot 911 in Francistown. Also KRDA may redevelop the former horticultural project into a scheme for 60 families along lines which sound similar to the Mahalapye Development Trust project.

23.3. THE AIM OF HORTICULTURAL PROJECTS

Horticulture is not a traditional activity in Botswana. Instead certain crops such as melons and beans are interplanted in maize and sorghum, and some wild plants are gathered at certain times of year. But the notion of cultivating and irrigating a separate plot for the production of vegetables to add to the diet is a new one.

It is important, at the outset, to be clear about the aim, in this context, of encouraging a horticultural project. Is it to improve the diets of those encouraged to produce, or is it to produce for sale and thereby earn some additional and possibly much needed income? Or is it some combination of the two aims?

The approach necessary in encouraging and supporting activity could be quite different depending on what the aim is.

But which of these three different aims is more appropriate in a given situation is often not understood by those trying to encourage activity. It seems in fact that extension and other workers are sometimes confused in defining the aim. Vegetable garden projects are "a good thing" to encourage in themselves in whatever the locality from major villages to small lands communities or to the remotest areas in Ngamiland West. There-

fore they are encouraged - by Family Welfare Educators, ACDOs, ADs and Primary School teachers. Sometimes in one village different extension workers failing to coordinate their efforts encourage people to participate in more than one scheme, and duplication results with one scheme poaching members from another and causing its collapse.

Should a village garden project be initiated at the clinic/health post or by 4B children or another club at school, or by the VDC or by some other women's group already existing in the village (e.g. BCW, YWCA, Red Cross) or specially formed? The answer depends on what a project is there to achieve. If the aim is primarily nutritional as with pregnant and nursing mothers attending a clinic, then an approach focussed on nutrition education and centred at the clinic may be called for.

But more often earning income is the primary object, and if this is the case viability in an economic sense enters the picture. For a viable horticulture project three requirements are essential - soil, water and a market for the produce. This applies whether the project is an individual person's garden, a garden for a group of low income people, or a VDC project where the aim is to raise funds by selling produce for the VDC to use in other village projects.

In discussing the problems experienced in the organisation of horticultural groups it will be seen that very often these first essentials - the requirements for a viable project and, even more basic, the definition of project aims and the adoption of an appropriate approach - have sometimes been insufficiently considered. The type of organisation, management and support approach should follow from a clearly defined viable project.

But first - why encourage group activity in horticulture at all? What are the problems in individual action?

23.4. THE ADVANTAGES OF GROUP ACTION IN REACHING THE LOW INCOME TARGET GROUP

In rural areas the efforts of a poor woman household head to establish a small garden for her family's home consumption needs and for the sale of surpluses may be frustrated totally by goat and chicken damage, petty thieving or by the problem of watering. Several of the formerly near destitute women belonging to the Boipelo group in Serowe had, for example, experienced these problems individually in previous efforts to follow the advice of extension and social workers. At Mmaphashalala the same problems were raised. Unless a person is rich enough to be able to afford to fence a garden individually and have water piped to the yard or an alternative private supply such as a haffir or catchment tank on the spot, horticulture on an individual basis is difficult.

In rural areas the local market may often be insufficient to justify economically the investment in fencing or water development necessary for a garden project. Yet on social grounds a project may be desirable - for nutritional reasons (encouraging vegetables in a locally poor diet) or to create a small income earning opportunity for a very underpriviledged group.

Normally in such situations a project might be non viable. An individual with the money to invest would not do so. But in the interest of employment creation and income redistribution Government may still see a worthwhile cause in subsidising a project in such places to tip the

balance in viability by providing the materials a group would otherwise have been unable to afford. The group approach can thus get around what might normally be non viable situations, and reach people at the bottom of the income ladder helping them to overcome constraints which would otherwise preclude local activity in this field.

So far, then, group action is the way by which lower income group individuals may be provided the opportunity to take part in horticulture through overcoming together, and in certain justifying circumstances with assistance, the constraints of fencing and water development cost. There are economies to be gained in developing joint facilities compared with individuals trying separately.

In addition a group project may be more efficient for arranging marketing - particularly from rural to urban areas, but also even within a community. It is much easier to sell produce from a well known group project site than from many small and dispersed individual sites.

Lastly group activity has advantages in terms of convenience in providing technical advice and developing managerial and technical expertise. Irrespective of the greater cost if many individuals were to be assisted to develop facilities separately, the extension work involved in reaching particularly low income individuals independently would be less convenient than where support can be concentrated on one site selected for a group operation.

But it is here, possibly, that the biggest queries may be raised. Is commercial horticulture not better suited to an individual manager situation than group management? Is it in fact more efficient to concentrate technical support through group methods when doing so involves dealing with group organisation problems?

This is a question which this chapter will seek to answer.

23.5. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN HORTICULTURE GROUP ORGANISATION

23.5.1. Project viability - water, marketing and soil

For a viable horticulture project there are, as mentioned above, three essentials - water, soil and a market. In a number of instances the difficulties experienced in organising projects have been due to problems in these areas.

Water supply

Water supply is a major problem in rural areas - the supplies often being unreliable, inconvenient, inadequate or expensive. Examples of group initiatives which have been frustrated by water supply problems include the following:

At Pelotshetlha - 3 women's group affected
Mmalore - Red Cross project prevented
Leitlola Metsemasweu
(Boiteko West - Serowe) - project had to be abandoned

Gardens have sometimes been proposed at the sites of group dams. Often though, fences are not maintained properly, cattle damage is not able to be controlled or the dams are in any case unreliable and dry up. At Mkobeng one 4B garden was situated below a group dam but got destroyed when repairs had to be made to the dam spillway.

For a small group to develop a water source specifically for a horticulture project can, on the other hand, be prohibitively expensive and technically very difficult. The efforts of the Serowe Brigades Development Trust at Leitlolametsemasweu outside Serowe are an example of the technical difficulties. Technicians from the Brigades Dam Building Unit designed a weir type dam which the group laboured at building but which then failed to hold water. This was reportedly due to design problems - other weirs and silt traps would have been required in the catchment area for the dam to have worked. But what alternative form of water development would have been more feasible?

In some lands areas, as noted in chapter 14, borehole development (usually just equipping of existing unused boreholes) is the approach favoured by communities trying to establish themselves more permanently. At Segakwana, south east of Serowe, where a big borehole association was being organised, the Farmers Committee was confident that possibilities for horticulture would be opened up through the development of the permanent water source.

But in many villages Council water charges are far too high for viable commercial scale gardening projects, and the charges of private suppliers can be even higher. At P1.00 per drum of water irrigation is prohibitively expensive. Even the standard Government charge of 30 thebe per cubic metre makes horticulture non viable. Village borehole supplies were not designed for an irrigation load. Many farmers and extension staff are not aware of this problem. One DAO's plan proposed, for example, that horticulture should be encouraged at the District Council run village boreholes.

R23/1 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES ARE DEVELOPED ON WATER REQUIREMENTS FOR GARDENING PROJECTS AND THAT POLICY IS CLARIFIED ON THE USE OF COUNCIL RUN WATER SUPPLIES FOR SMALL SCALE HORTICULTURE.

It should be possible for small scale group projects to be irrigated from most village water supplies at a nominal charge. Alternative water sources would be difficult to develop in many areas. The guidelines will need to cover the feasibility of alternative types of water development suitable for small scale irrigation - such as catchment tanks, haffirs and wells.

Larger commercial projects are virtually ruled out except where surface water exists in sand rivers, perennial rivers or large dams. The Serowe Nethouse Gardens project utilised borehole water - but this was obtained cheaply from the Serowe Farmers Brigade. At Francistown the viability of the proposed allotment scheme on plot 911 would depend on an arrangement to subsidise the cost of water to bring it down from 30 thebe per cubic metre to about 15 thebe.

Marketing

It appears that the lack of local demand has been a factor affecting progress with proposed garden projects particularly in the smaller more remote villages such as those in Ngamiland West. In several villages VDCs have selected a project with the aim of selling produce to raise VDC funds, yet in areas miles from any centre of significant demand. Local demand is usually very slight. For viable projects in such areas the only solution is to gradually increase demand through nutrition education.

The viability of VDC schemes aiming to raise money looks poor. The aim of horticultural projects in these areas should initially be towards nutrition. Opportunities need to be created for individuals to have plots to produce for home consumption rather than for sale. Clinic facilities seem the most appropriate starting place for such initiatives where supervision is possible and where the nutritional aim can be taught most effectively.

In larger villages demand for horticultural produce is greater. At Thamaga, for example, the women's group members were confident of being able to sell locally all that they could produce.

Extension staff are very unaware, however, of how to assess demand and on what scale to advise a project to be planned. For small scale projects where the aim is primarily to produce for consumption and to sell only small surpluses this does not matter. For VDCs aiming to generate income on a more substantial scale, or for low income people to whom a project might represent a major source of income it does matter.

R23/2 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES FOR GROUP PROJECTS INCLUDE METHODS OF SURVEYING HORTICULTURAL MARKET DEMAND so that extension staff are able to advise better on this aspect.

Horticultural projects should be more positively encouraged where the preconditions for viability exist. At Shorobe or Chanoga, for example, horticulture could be a priority extension activity in recognition of the potential of these areas in terms of soils, water supply and the market outlet in Maun. If the Maun Secondary School down river can produce so well - why not nearby communities?

Soil

Soils were not specifically mentioned as a problem for most projects, but in three cases the siting of projects has not been ideal. One is the Mmankgodi scheme which could be sited only at a location well over a mile from the village and on poorer soils than existed just below Mmankgodi also by the Kolobeng river. Two better sites were applied for but were not made available by the Land Board.

The other case was at Thamaga where the group mentioned that their previous site had been on poor rocky soil, but they had been able to find an alternative site on better soil next to a sand river.

The third case is perhaps the most poignant. The Boipelo group in Serowe - a group of women desperately needing an opportunity to earn a livelihood tried to obtain two suitable sites in Mathuba ward near to the village standpipes but could only be allocated a precarious narrow site on some waste land between two deep dongas. Their productively green patch in the midst of this wasteland was very symbolic.

For horticulture, and particularly where group projects are proposed aiming to involve numbers of lower income group people from a community, suitable siting is most important.

R23/3 : IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT PRIORITY IN LAND ALLOCATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO HORTICULTURE, PARTICULARLY FOR GROUP PROJECTS, WHERE SUITABLE SOILS ARE CONVENIENTLY LOCATED IN RESPECT TO WATER SUPPLIES, MARKETS AND PEOPLE'S HOMES. Guidelines may need to be developed on this for Land Boards.

Extension Area ADs should be competent to advise on soil type and on manuring etc. The Horticultural Section is however aware that the training at BAC in the past has tended to neglect horticulture so that many ADs have less technical knowledge of gardening than is needed. It is recognised that inservice courses are needed to rectify this and some have already been carried out.

23.5.2. Security from thieving

Surprisingly, in small rural communities, theft was frequently reported to be a problem against which groups would have to fence securely. It was mentioned in Otse, Borobadilepe, Mmaphashalala and Thamaga where small boys often stole from the group's previous site nearer a playing

field. At Mahetlwe the young women's group project gradually lost the actual fence (a bush fence) as villagers utilised it for firewood. As a result in several villages "security" fences (6 feet high, diamond mesh with barbed wire along the top) were proposed or being installed, as at Mmankgodi, at vast expense.

R23/4 : IT IS RECOMMENDED IN FUTURE GROUP DEVELOPMENT WORK WHERE VEGETABLE GARDENING PROJECTS ARE PROPOSED, THAT MORE ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION TO INCREASE AWARENESS OF AND TO DEAL WITH THE PETTY THIEVING PROBLEMS. The assistance of the 'Kgotla' and tribal police should be sought in achieving this and Community Development and Social Welfare staff involved in trying to discover the reasons why thieving occurs. Is it, for example, a quite conscious activity on the part of undernourished children whose families could be helped to join the project themselves? Expensive security fencing should be a last resort.

23.5.3. Attitudes

The non traditional nature of gardening has been mentioned. It appears that in some cases attitudes (lack of interest) may be caused by this, and affect project progress. This could be a factor especially in projects in the remoter areas like Ngamiland. As discussed above, in such areas it may be inappropriate to aim to generate income but aim instead at changing attitudes. Nutrition education is one way to start on this.

23.5.4. Competing activities and demands

An important management problem is how to keep looking after a garden, which needs constant attention if production is to be kept up, in the face of other sometimes greater priorities. If the garden is in the village, what happens, for example, if members have preoccupations away at the lands? At Thamaga, members affected this way delegated children staying behind in the village to continue watering. At the Khudumelapye clinic, an Industrial class labourer employed by Council tended the garden in the absence of women with plots there.

This problem is likely to affect projects in which members do not rely on the garden as their main income source. Where members depend on the project, they will have less need to leave it.

An implication is that where members of a group project differ in their degree of dependence on the project, co-operative-type management (where resources and the income from production are all shared) is clearly going to be unworkable. Individually managed plots within the framework of group developed facilities is the only feasible way to organise.

Several group projects have been affected by the preoccupation of concerned communities with other projects such as fencing schemes, dip tanks or water development. At Gakgatla action on a women's group garden could not take place reportedly because men in the community wanted household funds to be used in a dip tank project. More effective representation of women (e.g. on an area Farmers Committee or VDC) may be a necessary step if priorities are to be turned in the favour of small scale horticulture projects in such situations.

23.5.5. Social and institutional problems

Community support and leadership can be most important for the successful implementation of gardening projects, particularly where the activity is being attempted by a normally underpriviledged section of the

community. In several instances problems have been due to a lack of effective leadership or to social tensions in the community. Pandamatenga is one example where tensions existed along tribal lines - between Manajuw people among whom the interest in the project was reported to be concentrated, and Ndebele people reportedly not supportive of the project. In the midst of this situation the reportedly weak headman was ineffective, and as a result the villagers did not co-operate on the work and the fence for the women's garden was not constructed as had been agreed by the men.

Another example is Metsemaswou, north west of Serowe. This is a Basarwa community of about 20 families whose inhabitants struggle on with a marginal existence. Selling firewood and the wild fruit 'mogorogowane' is the main source of income for the men apart from migrant labour and occasional piece-work jobs. The women work at shebeens (traditional beer parlours) in Serowe. The community lives a transient life; sometimes families can keep up a form of subsistence on the village margin, sometimes it is better to move off and look after someone's cattle at a cattlepost. A few subsistence crops are hand cultivated in a small field around the households. There is no headman even recognised within the community.

When the "Boiteko"[1] project attempted an outreach, called "Boiteko West", to this and other Basarwa communities west of Serowe, the reaction was very marked. Instead of unifying the community, the communal gardening project promoted by the Boiteko staff actually accentuated the lack of community cohesion, and bigger social rifts quickly developed than had existed before. The Basarwa because of their social history (essentially of serfdom) still have an ingrained employee/dependent mentality and their integration into mainstream Batswana society is progressing slowly. At Metsemaswou these problems became very evident. Interest in the garden project was very half hearted and unconfident. Only half the families ever participated and even then usually only on the weekends when Serowe Brigades vulunteers came out to help labour on the project. With no recognised leadership in the community, when it came to electing a caretaker/representative for the group there was a general lack of interest and a man from a half caste Basarwa/Batswana family was chosen. This family seemed to be generally distrusted by the rest of the community and was selected probably because there was no alternative, no one else sufficiently interested or - most importantly - strong enough to take a leadership position. The family of the chosen leader steadily established a sort of sovereignty over the scheme, working hardest on the clearing and bush fencing of the plot, digging the most beds and clearing a road so that Boiteko staff could bring manure. When the leader himself was away his brother, returned from the mines, would keep up the work and the elderly mother would water the plots. Boiteko staff tended to identify with this energetic clique in the group unaware of many of the underlying social dimensions involved[2]. The leader's family eventually claimed exclusive use of what had been set up as a communal project. As his was the only family in the group with access to donkeys, the cart provided by Boiteko was monopolized by this family and was never used co-operatively as intended. Only when the first leader left to take up a job at Palapye and his position

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(1) "Boiteko" "self help") is the name of a project in the New Town area of Serowe promoted by staff closely connected with the Serowe Brigades. It has separate development funding from the Serowe Brigades Development Trust.

(2) Personal communication from Jenny Evans who was able to report very objectively on what had happened.

was taken by his brother was some fresh attempt made to draw other people in. Food for work was tried to encourage other members to water the communal plots. But the main area of the garden was still claimed by the half caste family. When the produce from the garden was ready for marketing quarrels broke out as the half caste family claimed the whole garden was theirs. Boiteko staff managed to intervene and suggest it be subdivided. The lion's share still went to the half caste family.

In the few months after December 1978 group activities staggered on in a chaotic manner. Fights broke out over stealing from one another's plots, over disagreements about marketing as the one family controlled the cart and about how to set aside funds raised from anything sold. But in a community where life had always been hand to mouth there was no concept of savings, and any small income earned was immediately consumed on food or drink. The feuding eventually brought all watering of the garden to a stop and the vegetables died except for a few tomatoes. Wild stories flew around about the goings on, but Boiteko staff (mostly expatriates were involved) were unable to grasp the details.

After a lull one older Mosarwa man expressed interest in continuing with work by himself and the Boiteko equipment was transferred to him. He managed to establish 15 beds by February 1979 but all his efforts were then dashed by the drought. By September most families at Metsemasweu had disappeared to the cattleposts as life on the margins of Serowe became too difficult.

The Metsemasweu story is illustrative of the problems involved in attempting to reach really underprivileged groups. A garden project may appear to be an ideal income earning opportunity, but involves creating an immense new realm of trust, confidence and authority in a community which, by the very nature of its previous tenuous existence, may have deep social problems.

Boiteko staff now recognise that it was totally unrealistic to have set out to establish the project on communal/co-operative principles - with all resources, activities and income managed and shared on a group basis. Individual responsibility for plots within the project fence would have been a more feasible organisational alternative. These lessons learned will be returned to when considering management below, and later the implications for support approach.

23.6. MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION - THE VARIETY OF POSSIBILITIES

Management has been the greatest problem area in group organisation and, it is considered, the most challenging issue in aiming in horticultural development to facilitate the participation of the lower income target group.

The variety of management systems tried or proposed for different projects is enormous. Brief details on some examples of different methods are given below.

School gardens - the success of these depends usually on the dedication of the head teacher or one of the staff of the school. One frequently hears of gardens which fell into a decline as soon as one teacher was transferred, or since a head teacher became too busy or unable to delegate the responsibility. Leadership and supervision is all important. School gardens are not organised as group projects, though.

4B gardens - these too are often dependent on the commitment of a particular 4B leader in a village - usually one of the school teachers. In no case has a 4B garden been organised as a group-managed project. There is potential for doing so and for allowing 4B projects to expand into community schemes through the involvement of parents or other village organisations. An example is the joint YWCA/4B garden at Kanngwe.

Clinic gardens - these are usually managed and supervised by the clinic staff with individual women from the village encouraged to grow plots of vegetables within the clinic fence. Sometimes a labourer is employed to look after the gardens along with other duties.

The Mahalapye Development Trust clinic/adult education scheme - here the clinic is combined with an adult education centre and over a period of a year succeeded in attracting 60 individuals to a one acre site developed by the Trust with free water available on tap. After 18 months of using a plot the aim is to encourage individuals to carry on producing vegetables in one of three ways

- individually at home
- through small group projects to be assisted by AEIO
- at the proposed Trust commercial allotment

Mahalapye Development Trust allotment scheme - this is a new proposal for the old settlement scheme site. At the time of this consultancy the Trust Secretary explained[3] that ideas for the management of the scheme were oscillating between a Co-operative society taking it over, and management by the Trust. In the latter case plots would be hired by individual producers while the Trust provided water, the other infrastructure and facilities, technical advice and supervision.

An experiment in "profit sharing" co-operative organisation was attempted in the case of the Serowe Nethouse Gardens. Particularly detailed information is provided on this project in Appendix 18.6. Basically the attempt failed because

- the group was never properly constituted as a group; nothing was written down in the way of by-laws to govern the co-operative organisation of the group
- the group relied too much on the personal efforts and dedication of the volunteer horticulturalist who attempted to develop management by working from "within" the group as a member (accepting the same often very low wage as other members, the wage being dependent solely on monthly profit). This method of developing management failed. No one individual emerged as a counterpart because the volunteer himself was not "the manager" but tried to be more a "resource person". However as management training was not attempted in a formal sense, the experiment failed in this area and as the volunteer later withdrew the extent of his support the project collapsed in the vacuum of management in the loose organisational arrangements left behind (see Appendix 18.6. for a fuller analysis)
- the transition from the Brigade trainee/employee mentality to co-operative management could not be achieved partly because of the ineffective approach at developing management, and partly due to the surrounding Brigade atmosphere
- the trainee/employee mentality proved strongest when it came to

(3) Personal communication : Mr. Robin Wild, Secretary Mahalapye Devt. Trust

finances and wages. Participants were not prepared to accept the low earnings their efforts produced by comparison with Brigade workers.

The "Boiteko West" schemes - as discussed in 23.5.5. above the aim of the "Boiteko West" project was for gardening projects to be organised as communal schemes on co-operative sharing principles. Details can be seen in Appendix 18.6. More success was achieved at Leitlolametsemasweu where the small community had more cohesion and leadership. But even here the project collapsed as a communal venture when three of its leading male members were arrested by the Police in a poignant incident right during a Popular Theatre workshop. At a third community, Serokowane, the Boiteko project found that individuals in the community were more independent and had a better lifestyle - making karosses and other craft work, gathering fruit to sell, keeping a few poultry and more livestock - particularly donkeys. Here more than in the other two communities the Boiteko staff realised that a whole community level garden project was not of interest.

The experience of the Boiteko West project makes an extremely valuable case study of the problems involved in assisting the really underpriviledged. It is difficult to extract conclusions simply on management and organisation as so many problems were involved, but essentially Boiteko staff felt that the original aim of raising the livelihood of the communities right across by promoting just one income earning project - the garden - on a communal basis, had been unrealistic. Instead of a communal ownership approach, it was recognised that individual plots within a group fence and with certain other shared resources would have been a more acceptable management approach.

The Kolobeng Co-operative Horticultural Society at Manyana is the only registered horticultural Co-operative in the country. It is managed by a Committee and for the 6 years since its formation in 1975 has had the assistance of a full time missionary horticulturalist as co-ordinator[4]. The Co-operative provides its members with various central services - credit on inputs, ploughing, land and water, tools, advice, overall co-ordination, training and bookkeeping. To operate some of these services the Co-op hires the labour of its own members who are paid a part time or piece work wage.

To pay for the services in 1978 a 30% management fee was charged on whatever income each member obtained from his/her plots, the actual cultivation, planting, watering, weeding etc. of plots being the responsibility of individual members. The 1978 report on the Co-operative[5] showed the following:

Plot size - 600 m^2
Average sales per plot[6] - P154.68
Average payment to the Co-op - P46.40 (per plot)
Average net return to members per plot (sales minus 30% charge minus direct variable costs) - P94.28

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(4) In late 1978 the co-ordinator started turning his attention to supporting in a similar way the proposed AMA at Mmankgodi nearby.

(5) 1978 Annual Report of Kolobeng Co-operative Horticultural Society Ltd., prepared by Kees Dekker.

(6) Cabbage, carrots and spinach were the main crops grown on the plots, carrots showing the highest average sales per plot (P252.84) followed by spinach at P162.49 and cabbage at P133.49.

The problem with the 30% charge system, the 1978 report notes, was that members with the highest productivity paid the highest charges while members with poor results cause a loss to the Co-operative. In 1979 it was proposed to change the system so that each member paid a fixed rent of P35.00 per plot plus a 10% marketing fee and payment of direct inputs.

The Kolobeng Co-operative provides an example, therefore, of real co-operative organisation.

AMA estates

The method of organisation proposed for the horticultural estates is AMA registration. Essentially the move over to AMA organisation rather than Co-operative organisation is to do with management and support. The approach of CODEC is felt to be too rigid and business oriented for what are in effect pilot projects requiring a great deal of flexibility in support. With its experience mainly of dealing with cattle marketing and consumers societies the Co-operative Department has tended to develop fairly fixed ideas on management. Management is entrusted to a manager responsible to a committee of members who are assumed to know what they want done. What can be done must be financially viable. Normally only loan finance is considered for Co-operative Societies. The Co-operative approach has pros. and cons. Clearly it is sound business practice to exercise careful financial control and not encourage non viable activities. CODEC has developed a particularly effective audit section which is able also to give advice on accounting and bookkeeping.

But CODEC is less geared up to provide the more sensitive forms of assistance that are required to develop group management capability for less proven projects like horticultural estates or, for that matter, dairying (compare chapter 12). The group development approach of the CAMA office through AMA organisation is more facilitatory. It recognises that the group needs fairly heavy subsidisation to get projects off the ground and continuous advice and ongoing support of both a technical and organisational nature if it is to be able to manage, as a group, a commercial horticultural scheme. With AMAs, for example, it is possible as was proposed at Mathubudukwane to appoint advisory members on the management committee - such as the DO(L), the Chief, the DAO and a representative of the Kgatleng Development Board. The purpose of this would be to support and advise members of the group who may have little previous experience either of business or horticulture and develop their ability to manage their project instead of heaping reliance on an employed manager. A serious weakness of Co-operatives in terms of group development has been the reliance on the manager approach to run the businesses on behalf of farmers. If a manager transfers the Co-operative can be in trouble.

The Kolobeng Co-operative was reported to be about to re-register as an AMA to take advantage of the more flexible approach in dealing with group organisational problems of the CAMA office.

Organisation under VDCs - this has been proposed for at least 8 projects none of which had succeeded in reaching the stage of producing vegetables at the time this report was done. The aim was usually to raise VDC funds through communal effort by members of the community. The problem usually is that no clear objective exists or is agreed for the use of the funds raised. Villagers in these circumstances are reluctant to work for nothing as they feel there is no purpose in it. Several VDCs such as those at Sikwane and Mokokwane were able to mobilise labour only through food for work schemes available under drought relief. Elsewhere, especially in Ngamiland West, VDC schemes were partly cleared or fenced but then undeveloped. At Sepopa the new AD moved the 48 garden onto the site cleared and fenced by the VDC, with AEIO assistance, in order to make some

use of it.

The idea of allowing individuals to cultivate plots on the VDC garden sites was usually rejected. Only at Sehitwa was the proposal considered. At Mokokwane the VDC proposed to manage the garden communally for the first 1 - 2 years and then hand over to individual users. At Nokaneng the VDC proposed that villagers should labour on the project and that funds raised should be used partly to hire a man to do watering.

The problem with most VDC proposals seems to be a muddle over aims and objectives, sometimes with no regard to market viability, but basically a confusion about management and organisation.

Farmers Committee organisation

4 projects have been proposed or attempted under FC management - 2 in Chobe and 2 in Tutume District. The main issue in organisation by an area Farmers Committee is the extent to which the FC proposed actually to manage the project. The proper role of a Farmers Committee is discussed more fully in chapter 25. Sometimes "Farmers Committees" are no more than project groups with a membership connected to that activity. The term Farmers Committee should not be applied to such groups.

In no case does it appear that FC projects are proposed to be managed in the communal way most VDCs propose. The objective with the FC projects appears, rather, to be to set up a site which can then be used by individuals. At Kazangula the FC acted on behalf of residents to obtain a site (on State Land) for a communal scheme. Several residents had small garden plots at different sites along the Chobe River which were regularly destroyed by wildlife and livestock due to inadequate fencing. So far so good in terms of the FC role. But what when the site is developed? It may be at this point that management by a Farmers Committee is less feasible. Management should instead be the responsibility of those using the site. Possibly this was the problem at Pandamatenga. How can a Farmers Committee organise and manage development on behalf of a few people?

Independent unregistered group organisation and management

As table 23(i) shows by far the majority of projects in production and several proposed schemes are organised and managed by independent unregistered groups. What these groups have in common is:

- membership almost all women, average group size - 18 members
- most members non cattle owners, in some cases very poor people (e.g. Boipelo group, Serowe, Lothakane)
- organisation allows individual members responsibility to manage their own plots within the group scheme, and market or consume the produce individually also
- the projects are not on the whole "community" schemes though in some cases a Farmers Committee may provide background support
- several have obtained and others are applying for AEIO assistance with fencing

Other interesting cases are:

- the sharing of 4B garden by YWCA at Kanngwe
- the joint laundry operation in Tlokweng (washing done for people in Gaborone, waste water used for garden)
- the conservation of women's groups in the Pelotshetlha area also with a variety of other activities going on supported by he IFPP womens' programmes lady AD.
- the extraordinarily successful Boipelo women's group at

Serowe supported by a Catholic nun social worker.

The case of the Boipelo group will be discussed more fully in the next chapter specifically about reaching and helping women through a group approach but there are some important facts which can be noted briefly here - namely:

- the group formed from a number of women who had been contacted individually for some time through the work of the Tlhwafaalo literacy and craft training centre where the centre's garden had served as a demonstration;
- most of the initial members had tried to grow vegetables in their own homes before but had experienced problems of lack of technical know-how, goat damage and water supply;
- the primary initial concern of the members was to produce for home consumption; their families lived at a marginal subsistence level. Only later did their interest extend from cabbages and spinach to the more luxury crop, tomatoes, which was produced for sale;
- the group started both small in size and in scale of operation; 20 needy women were invited by the social worker to meet to discuss a project; 12 came and then 9 to the second meeting. By the start of the project membership was 8;
- the project was oriented to the needs of those in most need; at a very early stage the group was helped to write a constitution by the social worker which protected the interests of the poorer members (this is discussed more fully in chapter 24);
- from the beginning the members contributed $\frac{1}{3}$ of any development costs, the convent assisting with $\frac{2}{3}$ grant. This helped the group to pay for fencing, clearing out an old well and purchasing a second hand pump;
- there was a deep sense of trust both among the initial membership springing from their knowing one another already in the ward, and between them and the social worker advising them; as a group the members developed the garden facilities and water supply, but cultivated and watered plots individually. The trusting relationship allowed group activity to extend to selling for one another from the garden site where the public came to purchase. This was just done informally - funds were never then paid into a central account. When the plot owner returned these monies would be handed over;
- to raise money towards the group's common fund (needed for fence repairs, tools and eventual enlargement of the project) a monthly plot rent of 25 thebe was charged in addition to the initial P1.00 joining fee.

Before we draw any conclusions on the circumstances appropriate for the different organisational and management approaches, we must study briefly the support requirements.

23.7. SUPPORTING GROUP ACTIVITY IN HORTICULTURE

One of the most interesting aspects of the experience with horticultural group development is what can be learned about support. The variety of approaches attempted is great.

At Mahalapye Development Trust we have an approach built around a clinic/literacy/adult education centre. The centre provides close technical supervision for 18 months after which individuals who had plots, and who were recruited from amongst those attending the clinic or literacy classes are encouraged to set up independent group projects, individual projects or join the commercial allotment scheme.

Literacy and other adult education methods (leadership and skill training) have also been important in the way the Boipelo group has been supported by the Catholic social worker at the Tlhwafaalo centre. This social worker has also done much to widen the members' horizons - for example by arranging little field trips to see other private orchard and garden projects around Serowe. Possibly her most crucial role was at the early stages when she helped the members through the difficult step in self awareness of formulating a constitution which would establish how the group would achieve its aims. But her constant vailability to the group and faithful attendance at their meetings were important all along, especially after the group admitted new members in 1979 who being generally younger in age had different expectations.

The attempt by staff of Boiteko and the Serowe Brigades to promote communal projects in the Basarwa communities outside Serowe teaches more lessons. Basically what was learned was the importance of employing group development principles at the start rather than later on, and that a periodic presence was insufficient. Boiteko - 15 km. away at the opposite end of Serowe - was simply too far from the communities concerned for regular support to be provided. The approach was well intentioned but amateurish. At weekends volunteers led by the Secretary of the SBDT and including, at least once, teenage Bridging Course trainees would go out to Metsemasweu and the other villages and help the people through a workcamp approach. Sometimes hardly any members of the community would be present - most having left early in the morning for Serowe to hang around the shebeens and nourish themselves. Only a small number - particularly at Metsemasweu - did any work on the project between one workcamp and the next.

The problems experienced in the Boiteko/SBDT approach were many and it is now recognised that many mistakes were made both of a technical and especially an organisational nature as is illustrated below:

- the siting of the Leitlo garden was too far from the only reliable water source - the Metsemasweu river 15 minutes walk away; the garden was sited next to a well which dried up in the drought under the extra irrigation load.
- to remedy the water problem SBDT advisors proposed a weir type dam across a donga at Leitlo but the design did not work and the dam failed to hold any water; this was reportedly because silt traps should have been built and maintained further up the donga and the whole area fenced to control erosion - none of which was done. Although members of Leitlo worked furiously with the SBDT volunteers in building the dam (by labour intensive methods using rocks and concrete) explanation of the other necessary conservation works to make the weir work was inadequate. Furthermore, it was reported that from the beginning the community had never been properly involved in discussing about the water problem generally and

alternative solutions, or about how the project SBDT proposed should be implemented.

- much of the labour was organised through food for work; this was found to be necessary "because otherwise the people simply had to spend all their available time procuring food"7. This was seen as an inevitable difficulty in trying to assist people so close to the margin of existence.
- Boiteko provided all the tools needed for the garden and a donkey cart, to be the communal property of the group. The approach "if you organise a communal field you can be loaned a plough" (which was literally how one project was started) tends to sum up the incentive methods used.
- although the projects were to be communal, the Boiteko/SBDT approach failed to facilitate co-operative organisation. The only institutional arrangement created was a caretaker/leader post. Property (the tools, cart etc.) were distributed, but the group was not helped adequately with the practical task of working out rules for how the use of the communal resources would be shared. In the absence of any group constitution anarchy developed.

At Leitlo, labour for the digging of 12 - 15 communal plots on the acre site was initially not a problem. Because seeds had been provided by Boiteko "for everybody", communal seedbeds were prepared. But as it came to transplanting participation slacked off until only 3 people were involved. Activity was finally halted when the well had dried and it took 6 - 7 people a whole afternoon struggling to haul 1 drum of water from the river. The cart got broken under the rough conditions. As for the use of the cart, SBDT/Boiteko staff explained that it had been withdrawn from Metsemasweu because just one family with donkeys had monopolised it and that at Leitlo any individual using it for a day should pay P1.00. Boiteko, in other words, was setting the rules. At first the organisation of the cart's use was haphazard; 2 - 3 people started monopolising it on the grounds that they were the only people who fixed it when it broke down. An exercise book was later provided for keeping records of the P1.00 fees but only 2 people each paid once - the other users never paid. At last a rotation of users did develop and the donkeys were rested for a day in between and one man was chosen to look after the cart. But, as was shown in 23.6., the group was virtually left to squabble over the use of the Boiteko equipment and no order developed at all.

In short, the support approach from Boiteko tended to be "we think you should do this...we have this idea - do you agree?" Little attempt was made particularly at the crucial early stages to facilitate any discussion or analysis of problems or the development of any institutional structure or group management capability. At Metsemasweu, this was what was needed to build up the community's confidence to overcome the dominance of the one family (see 23.6.). At meetings addressed by Boiteko/SBDT staff "the members of the communities would talk (or rather, answer) very nicely, knowing that the SBDT officials wanted to hear that they would work co-operatively, but after the meeting there would be nothing like that"7. The fact was that most of the planning, design and actual implementation of the Boiteko West projects were undertaken by Boiteko/SBDT helpers with inadequate involvement from the communities. The gardens

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(7) Jenny Evans - personal communication

were promoted by Boiteko for the communities in pursuit of Boiteko's aim for unifying the communities through such communal income earning projects.

What should have been the first step taken - a fact finding Popular Theatre workshop - was only arranged in April 1979 with the help of the Government Remote Area Development Officer and Adult Educator from Serowe. Much was learned from the workshop and facts which had never come to light before started to be realised.

In general the ideas for what was needed shifted quite perceptibly away from agriculture. Above all a marketing arrangement was needed for the handicrafts the communities produced. The people brought into the open how much they were undercutting one another's prices and wasting so much time and effort with daily travel trying to sell crafts in Serowe. Through two dramas ideas started to be developed for how marketing could be arranged. Links with Botswanacraft in Gaborone were needed, for example. But as the third drama was about to be started the Police arrived and a real life drama took place as 3 members of the Leitlo community were arrested on cattle theft charges.

This episode opened a new chapter in Boiteko's approach to the Basarwa communities. From April 1979 no further progress was made with the original projects as 5 members of the Leitlo community were in gaol until April 1980. Boiteko played an important role assisting in their legal representation and the court proceedings in fact served to maintain the Boiteko ties with the communities.

Boiteko's planned approach after the release of the Leitlo men was very different from before. The main points recognised now are the need for:

- more professional adult education input
- more attention to group development
- more attention to the analysis of problems and needs and social dynamics - including helping the community develop more self awareness
- more regular and dependable technical and organisational support
- more co-operation with relevant Government departments and support through Government channels - e.g. from AEIO

Government extension staff had been noticeably absent from the early Boiteko/SBDT approaches, and the one contact with ADs which was arranged was reported to have been a disaster. The ADs apparently failed to adapt to whom they were dealing with and confused the people by lecturing about row planters, leaving the people wondering whether Government would be providing them with some. Worse still an ideological feud broke out between the ADs and the Serowe Brigades staff with the perplexed Basarwa listening to the anti-establishment rhetoric of the Brigades.

Another support approach was that of the volunteer horticulturalist at the Serowe Nethouse Gardens (documented in Appendix 18.6.). As we saw in 23.6., despite the extreme dedication of the volunteer, the role played failed to develop group management capability. Had the Serowe Brigades Development Trust, or later Boiteko to which the project transferred, provided the group with a more effective back up programme of management, skill and leadership training, the approach could have succeeded. But the project was left largely to fend for itself in the negative environment of the Farmers Brigade.

At Manyana, it has taken 6 years of continuous support from a missionary horticulturalist to establish the Kolobeng Co-operative Horticultural Society, and the Ministry's Horticulture Section has endorsed this extent of support for its own programme of encouraging horticultural estates.

The missionary who has supported Manyana and Mmankgodi is to transfer to Mathubudukwane. Two more Dutch volunteer horticulturalists are to be recruited to work as Advisors at Mmankgodi and Mogobane. In addition each AMA horticultural estate will have an AD assigned to it full time for 4 years. ADs with aptitude will be sent for diploma training abroad and will then return to take up the Advisor posts at the horticultural estates or to be posted as horticultural officers to the regional offices.

To establish the AMA horticultural estates is thus involving a massive initial input of trained manpower. This is the level of support which, it is now recognised, is required for larger commercial level group operations.

At the smaller scale - projects in rural areas less accessible to the major urban markets - what degree of support is required? The experience shows that competent dependable support is of crucial importance in group organisation and in facilitating the development of management capability. Some of the projects granted AE10 assistance in the past have had the vaguest and most confused organisational and management plans - some patently non viable. The Horticulture Section now recognises that AE 10 grants should be approved only where organisational support is known to be adequate. Some projects have been proposed (e.g. the Mathangwane Farmers Committee 12 acre irrigated garden) which are clearly beyond the support capability of the region concerned. But does this mean there have to be missionaries and nuns or volunteers for a project to be viable?

For the promotion of smaller group gardening projects more widely in the rural areas the workload clearly must fall on Government's extension staff. The account in this chapter of what is involved in assisting the lower income target group to participate should make clearer the extent and type of training required for regional and district extension staff, and the importance too of a co-ordinated village team approach combining technical training, adult education, nutrition education, and management and leadership training.

Where technical support has been competent the effect is very noticeable. The Boipelo group in Serowe were tremendously impressed, motivated and helped by the visits they received from the now retired Agricultural Supervisor at the Serowe DAO's office. Not only was his practical advice thoroughly competent, but his attitude to the women involved was gracious. He was concerned for them to succeed and for every detail of their work to be done just right. His pride in his work quickly transmitted itself to the members of the group and his dedication has been deeply remembered. The field courses arranged by the Catholic Social Worker and conducted by an AD from Mahalapye RTC also left a deep impression. The AD used a number of effective teaching techniques and distributed from the start exercise books and pencils for the members to take notes if they could. Several members were still illiterate, but the AD's talks and demonstrations so impressed them that they renewed their efforts at the literacy classes and, worried lest they should forget the advice, some sent their children to the Catholic social worker to copy her notes so that they would have them and their children could read them in future. The training courses greatly increased the group's motivation by bringing them together and making them more confident in their skills.

At the Boipelo group and at Mmankgodi the commitment of the Horticultural Officer from Gaborone was also highly praised.

These, then, are examples of the extent and quality of support required. But many extension areas lack it. In several cases staff had been transferred - for example, from Kazangula, Sepopa and Mahalapye where the former Agricultural Supervisor played an important role helping at the Mahalapye Development Trust scheme. In some areas ADs simply lack the

necessary technical knowledge. Training at BAC has in the past emphasised crops and livestock rather than horticulture. In horticulture each AD has a practical gardening project as part of his training - but only on the scale of a few small plots to look after which are later assessed. This tends to orient them towards very small scale gardening such as what might be undertaken by 4B club members, but nothing on a more commercial level. Most ADs are therefore not trained to cope with projects on the viability of which the life, say, of a woman and her family might depend - let alone bigger schemes on which groups depend.

R23/5 : IT IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL AND RECOMMENDED THAT INSERVICE TRAINING IS CARRIED OUT ON A WIDER SCALE SO THAT MORE ADs HAVE THE CONFIDENCE AND CAPABILITY IN HORTICULTURE TO REACH OUT AND ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF THE TARGET GROUP.

23.8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON GROUP ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HORTICULTURE

It is now possible to return to answer the question posed at the end of section 23.4. Is it efficient to encourage horticultural development in Botswana through group organisation, in what circumstances and how?

23.8.1. Horticultural development through group action

There is little doubt that individual management and decision making is the easier more efficient management system for a commercial scale horticultural enterprise as it tends to be for any business activity. But it assumes the presence of individuals with management ability, technical expertise and resources to invest. There are many Batswana who have the resources to invest - but few have done so. The constraint is managerial and technical expertise.

For Government to promote horticultural development through concentrating assistance on individuals has several drawbacks. It would be expensive in terms of demanding technical and financial assistance to many dispersed sites. But also in doing so an opportunity would be lost in pursuing another key rural development aim - to increase the income earning opportunities and create new employment in the rural (and urban) areas. It might be retorted that every individual manager trained and helped to establish a business will employ those who are said to need a livelihood, but being an employee rather than a partner in a group venture is not so good for the lower income target group. An employee will be paid the minimum the manager can afford in order to make his profit. Also the manager will decide how many employees he wants. Furthermore the employees will have less ability to influence decisions affecting their future. By contrast, a group operation through developing group management ability, can respond to the aims of its membership besides the psychological advantages it has in terms of pride and sense of personal achievement.

In short, more people can be assisted to earn a living from horticulture through group action. But this said, reaching and assisting the very poor is fraught with problems and requires tremendous dedication on the part of extension workers who need to show genuine solidarity with their position and their aspirations. However, it is possible as has been

shown in some of the cases studied in this chapter, and therefore the task now is to summarise some lessons on the way it should be approached.

23.8.2. Subsidisation

Grant assistance is needed at all levels from small scale village efforts to the larger commercial projects. All major projects and most smaller ones attempted so far have received substantial aid whether from non Government sources like the Boitoko Development Fund, the Bernard van Leer foundation (which provided P11,000 to Serowe Nethouse Gardens) or the Botswana Christian Council, or through Government programmes like AEIO for small projects or AEII for horticultural estates.

Subsidisation is needed primarily to hasten the viability of a group organised scheme thereby creating more incentive for a group to organise and manage itself. It can also be looked upon as a measure needed to make the schemes more immediately profitable for the low income target group. It is thus partly a matter of social equity and partly administrative convenience because to assist in this way reduces the expense involved in contacting and assisting individuals separately.

However, financial assistance can be taken to extremes and wasted unless proper attention is paid also to technical and managerial aspects, and to the factors determining project viability.

R23/6 : IT IS RECOMMENDED, AS WITH ALL GROUP ACTIVITIES, THAT SUBSIDISATION IS KEPT TO THE MINIMUM REQUIRED TO MAKE A PROJECT VIABLE.

R23/7 : EXTENSION STAFF SHOULD CONCENTRATE THEIR ATTENTION ON HELPING THE GROUP DEFINE ITS PURPOSE CLEARLY, DESIGN AND PLAN A FEASIBLE PROJECT TO ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE, WORK OUT A CONSTITUTION WHICH ENSURES THE AIMS WILL BE MET, AND DEVELOP ORGANISATIONAL AND MANAGEMENT CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT THE PROJECT ALONG THOSE LINES. If really poor women in Serowe can afford to pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of the development costs of their project it proves that finance is less a problem compared with group organisation. This should be emphasised in guidelines and in field staff training because the predominant approach at present is to propose a project, seek AEIO funds to pay for the entire fence costs but to think little about exactly how the project will achieve its production purpose.

Experience at successful projects (Manyana or Boipelo for example, and for a time, technically speaking, the Serowe Nethouse Gardens) is that very reasonable profits from horticulture are possible if organisation is good.

In the context of financing, the same conclusion is reached as was in the case of fisheries groups - that the figure "10" should be thoroughly erased from the minds of officials at all levels when it comes to providing grant assistance. What matters is group viability - not its precise membership size, and certainly not that a group has to have 10 members before being eligible for a grant. The case study of the Boipelo group is sufficient evidence for this. The group started with those committed to the project even though many others had been invited. It started at the level it could cope with. The wisdom of this has been proved.

R23/8 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GUIDELINES ON FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO SMALL HORTICULTURAL GROUPS INTERPRET THE WHOLE QUESTION OF GROUP SIZE MORE FLEXIBLY, SO THAT GROUPS OF ANY SIZE CAN RECEIVE ASSISTANCE, PROVIDED THEIR PROJECT IS VIABLE.

23.8.3. Group formation

Many projects have experienced a great deal of fluctuation in membership - examples are the Kolobeng Co-operative, the Boipelo group, Serowe Nethouse Gardens and recent efforts in membership selection at Mogobane.

It is important in the formation process with horticultural groups to emphasise that participation involves hard and full time work if the aim is to earn an income from this activity. In the approach at Mogobane and Mathubudukwane in forming AMA groups Horticultural staff let it be known that for the first 6 months members would have to be prepared to put in 60% of their time in site preparation etc. before any production could be started. It is highly probable that in many of the projects promoted around the district by field staff, this kind of warning is neglected and groups are chivied on and funding sought for schemes which "the community" may plainly not have time for.

Initial consultation is very important, therefore, in creating awareness of what is being proposed. The case of the Boiteko West project has been cited as an example of where this was inadequate. It is much healthier if interest arises instead from the community or a group as a result of their awareness. Two examples are Kalamare and Mmaphashalala. At Kalamare the vegetable garden proposal arose after a Popular Theatre campaign had been conducted by the Mahalapye Development Trust. At Mmaphashalala the idea sprang from participation in an MRTC organised field course in the village.

Many villages are characterised by poorly developed institutions through which the necessary consultation can be achieved.

R23/9 : IN THESE CASES INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT MAY HAVE TO BE RECOMMENDED AS PART OF THE GROUP FORMATION PROCESS - as had to happen at Mathubudukwane where a Village Extension Team had to be formed before the necessary consultation and membership selection procedure could be co-ordinated.

There remains the question - on what scale should a project be initiated?

23.8.4. Group organisation

As was illustrated in 23.6. above there are a number of ways by which individuals can be assisted through group methods to start up in horticulture. Some conclusions on these will now be summarised.

Large scale horticultural estates

Firstly it is plain that to join a large scale commercial scheme where, say, 60% of a member's time must be committed to activities in its preparation is beyond the possibility for the really poor who lack this amount of spare labour, and in some cases may physically not be up to it. The horticultural estate approach is limited in fact to fairly narrowly defined circumstances[8]:

- available low priced water for irrigation purposes
- class I irrigable soils
- urban or large village community with good communications within 50 km.
- a local community actively involved in arable production

The tremendous support requirements has also been mentioned. The potential for these schemes is thus limited both in terms of the number of potential sites and the capacity of Government to service them. But they are clearly very important in enabling the low income target group to

(8) From page 15 AE11 Memorandum for the Mogobane and Mathubudukwane Horticultural Estates.

participate in commercial scale horticulture, though membership will have to be selected carefully and cannot easily include the poorest of the poor. The estate system has to learn from the experience of schemes like the Kolobeng Co-operative and the difficulties experienced, for example, at Serowe Nethouse Gardens. A great deal of management, leadership as well as skill training will be needed over a period of several years for these estates to succeed.

Starting on a smaller scale

The estate system cannot be implemented very widely. In most cases projects must be initiated on a smaller scale. What is the most effective way of doing this? A number of conclusions can be drawn from the experience.

i) TO REACH THE REALLY POOR the approach has to be really purposeful. The essentials are:

R23/10 : ALL MEMBERS OF A GROUP MUST BE OF A SIMILAR LEVEL OF NEED, WITH SIMILAR AIMS. The real need of poor people is primarily to produce for home consumption, while gradually aiming to produce an increasing saleable surplus. Combining people whose aims are at this level with others who may have a more prestigious outlook on a project - particularly the more ambitious community minded womens' club leaders or leaders of other village organisations can prove disastrous because the level of the project, starting with the joining fees or other subscriptions and continuing on to the size of the plot etc... may be pitched quite inappropriately to that of the target group.

R23/11 : GROUPS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO START WITH PROJECTS THEY CAN COPE WITH (and which support staff can cope with) and build on later (e.g. the Boipelo group, Thamaga) rather than the other way around (e.g. Boiteko West, Mathangwane, Pandamatenga).

- one of the first steps in group organisation must be the drafting of a constitution.

R23/12 : THE PROCESS OF DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE CLOSELY, SENSITIVELY AND PATIENTLY SUPPORTED SO THAT IT BECOMES THE ACT WHEREBY THE GROUP DEVELOPS A CLEAR SENSE OF SELF AWARENESS AND PURPOSE. The constitution must be perfectly related to and appropriate for achieving the aims of the members concerned. It must clearly define those purposes not in vague generalisations ("self sufficiency of the village by 1986" was one AEIO example) but in terms of what the members are to try to do. All aspects of organisation and management must be thought through - who does what, how the tasks are shared or paid for, how decisions are taken, how marketing is to be arranged etc. The constitution of the Boipelo group is provided in Appendix 26 as an example. This thinking through is to be contrasted with the complete muddle of so many proposed VDC and some other schemes.

R23/13 : THE SOCIAL NEEDS AND DYNAMICS OF UNDERPRIVILEDGED PEOPLE OR COMMUNITIES MUST BE UNDERSTOOD THOROUGHLY before trite solutions (a gardening project is "a good thing") are introduced. The Boiteko West experience particularly teaches the importance of learning first the full dimensions of, in this case, the Basarwa community life and problems.

R23/14 : POPULAR ADULT EDUCATION METHODS ARE USEFUL AS A METHOD OF APPROACH.

R23/15 : SUPPORT HAS TO BE REGULAR AND HIGHLY DEPENDABLE AS WELL AS COMPETENT. The needs as well as for training in technical horticultural skills are particularly for literacy, leadership and management training.

ii) how to organise
Horticulture is a continuous business, not a once and for all project. It requires skill and "tender loving care" to produce the fruits of a garden. Management responsibility is therefore crucial. A number of lessons have been learned on this:

- everything cannot be "communal" - it does not work; even in the large registered Co-operative at Manyana the responsibility for producing was with the individual members. Every attempt at communal plots tended by "the community" has failed.

R23/16 : INDIVIDUALLY MANAGED PLOTS ARE TO BE RECOMMENDED FOR ALL GROUP HORTICULTURE SCHEMES within the framework of the group/community/Trust/Estate developed common resources of land, fence, water supply (not the task of watering itself), and if possible marketing and the supply of inputs.

- as horticultural projects are directly income earning there is every reason why

R23/17 : GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT COSTS SHOULD BE AS HIGH AS POSSIBLE TO ENCOURAGE A GREATER DEGREE OF COMMITMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY.

R23/18 : INDEPENDENT UNREGISTERED GROUP ORGANISATION[9] IS MOST RECOMMENDED FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF SMALL HORTICULTURAL PROJECTS, particularly where the aim is to facilitate the participation of low income target group people.

R23/19 : VDC MANAGEMENT OF HORTICULTURAL PROJECTS IS NOT RECOMMENDED either as a way to raise VDC funds or as an organisational set up for the participation of others.

R23/20 : THE VILLAGE CLINIC OR HEALTH POST IS A HIGHLY RECOMMENDED STARTING AND FOCAL POINT FOR HORTICULTURAL ACTIVITY in a community because it can provide

- a fenced area
- a water supply
- an educational focus on nutrition
- facilities where the village extension team can easily come together and co-ordinate their approach
- often, also, labourers to help with garden maintenance

Moreover the clinic deals on a daily basis with the very target group with which horticultural group development is primarily concerned in rural areas (women - mostly the pregnant and nursing mothers and those with children under five years of age).

It is suggested that the approach of village extension teams is co-ordinated from village clinics and health posts with the aim of setting up plots for individuals to use in a similar way to the organisation of the Mahalapye Development Trust scheme, and with the same purpose thereafter - the continuation of gardening by the participants either at home

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(9) This can include organisation by specific clubs in a village such as YWCA, Red Cross etc.

(if they can afford it) or in groups assisted through AEIO.

R23/21 : IT IS RECOMMENDED, IN FACT, THAT THE APPROACH DEVELOPED AT THE MAHALAPYE DEVELOPMENT TRUST - INCLUDING ITS EMPHASIS ON ADULT EDUCATION - IS USED AS THE MODEL FOR THE EXTENSION APPROACH IN HORTICULTURE. The Ministry of Agriculture is encouraged to liaise with the Ministry of Health's Nutrition Unit and other concerned departments including Community Development in developing guidelines of a practical nature and a supporting development project to implement this kind of approach on a wide scale.

23.9. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 23

23.1. Group activity in horticulture - a microcosm of group development

Group activity in horticulture is really trying to reach the low income target group. Activities are very varied. The interaction of several factors can be clearly seen.

23.2. What activity is going on?

At least 20 projects are in production, 18 are being implemented, 11 are planned and 8, though once in production, are now defunct.

23.3. What is the aim of horticultural projects?

Horticulture is not a traditional activity in Botswana so when a project is set up it is important to be clear about its aim. Is it to improve diet and/or earn money? Workers are often not clear of their aim. Sometimes schemes overlap. Where a project is started may also depend on its aim. Earning income is often the primary object and then project viability is dependent on soil, water and a market. These are often not considered sufficiently.

23.4. What are the advantages of group action in reaching the low income target group?

In rural areas it is very difficult for an individual poor woman household head to establish a small garden because of infrastructure costs and liability to damage. The local market may also be inadequate. But the project may be desirable on social grounds and therefore the Government may still find it worthwhile to support a group. A group project can overcome constraints felt by individuals. Marketing can be more effective. It is easier to advise and train a group. It is arguable, however, that commercial horticulture is better suited to an individual manager than to group management.

23.5. What problems are experienced in horticulture group organisation?

23.5.1. Several groups have been frustrated by water supply problems. Projects at dams can suffer from damage or an unreliable supply. A water supply developed specifically for a project can be too expensive or technically too difficult - as was the case at Leitlolametsemasweu. Some lands groups favour borehole development. Water charges in villages are prohibitively expensive for horticulture. Guidelines are needed on requirements and policy should clarify the use of Council run water supplies. Large commercial projects are only possible if a large, reliable supply exists. A poor market has also hindered some projects, especially in small remote villages. Demand will have to be increased through nutrition education, perhaps starting with clinics. In larger villages there is more demand but extension staff do not know how to assess it - this is important for large projects. In areas where conditions are good projects should be encouraged. In three cases projects have been sited on relatively poor soils. More priority should be given to allocating sites on better soils and also near water, markets and homes. ADs need more training on soils and technical aspects of gardening.

23.5.2. Theft is reported as a frequent problem in small rural community horticulture projects. More attention should be given to why the problem occurs.

23.5.3. Lack of interest in horticulture may be occasioned by its non traditional nature, particularly in remoter areas. Changed attitudes

should be the aim in such cases.

23.5.4. Management may be difficult when members of horticulture projects need to go to the lands. Children or paid labour can be left in charge. Individual plots within group facilities are suitable when members have different degrees of reliance on the project. Projects can also be adversely affected by other priorities for household resources, like dip tanks.

23.5.5. Social and leadership problems may also hinder horticulture projects. The Pandamatenga project failed due to tribal tension. The Boiteko outreach project to a small Basarwa community at Metsemasweu also ran into difficulties because of poverty, social history and a lack of leadership. The project was virtually taken over by one family; there were many disagreements and even fights. Later one man took over the abandonned garden but drought intervened. Boiteko staff now recognise that a different approach was needed.

23.6. Management and organisation

A variety of approaches have been or are being tried. There are school gardens and 4B gardens, both leader-dependent and not real group projects. Individual women may have plots within a clinic garden. The Mahalapye Development Trust clinic/adult education scheme aims for its members to leave the plot, once trained, and start up as individuals or groups. This Trust may be managing an allotment scheme, for which it will provide the infrastructure. Serowe Nethouse Gardens attempted a "profit-sharing" co-operative organisation which failed because the group was not properly constituted, reliance on one volunteer horticulturalist was too heavy, a proper management mentality was not able to develop, and members were not prepared to accept low wages. The Boiteko West schemes were intended as communal schemes on co-operative sharing principles, but there were leadership problems at Leitlolametsemasweu and at Serokowane the community proved to be uninterested in a garden. The communal ownership approach was recognised as inappropriate. There has been a registered horticultural Co-operative at Kolobeng since 1975, run by a co-ordinator and providing various services. Members are hired as labour. A 30% charge system on income has been abandonned as unfair in favour of a flat rate fee plus marketing fee. There are proposals for horticultural estates registered as AMAs not as Co-operatives, for it is felt that support to AMAs will be more flexible and sensitive to help develop group capability, CAMA is geared to giving heavy subsidisation and ongoing support but Co-operatives rely overmuch on managers. Another 8 projects are to be managed under VDCs, with money raised by communal effort. Villagers, however, are often reluctant as aims are unclear. Some schemes have not made progress. Ideas on management and organisation are vague. There are 4 proposed or attempted FC projects of which the objective appears to be to set up sites for individual use. But should FCs manage the sites once set up? How can they do so on behalf of a few people? Finally, there are many independent unregistered groups. Most have poor women members, working as individuals within a scheme and applying for AEIO. There are several interesting cases, notably the Boipelo group at Serowe which involves needy women who had made attempts at growing vegetables by themselves. The group is small, well-organised, has good trust relationships both within the group and with the Catholic sister who helps it, and has received grant aid.

23.7. Supporting group activity in horticulture

A great variety of support approaches have also been tried with horticultural group development.

At the Mahalapye Development Trust adult education has been important. It has also been important for the Boipelo group supported by the Catholic social worker in Serowe. Members were helped with their constitution and the social worker has been available to help throughout.

The Boiteko West community was too far from its source of help for regular support to be provided. The weir dam built to supply water was poorly designed and the community was not involved in discussions. Other things were done for the community but without their real involvement. Not until 1979 was any progress made in this respect when a Popular Theatre workshop was held. A fresh approach was then devised, with more adult education and attention to group development, more regular support and co-operation with Government. ADs had previously only been fruitlessly involved.

The support approach at Serowe Nethouse Gardens failed, as seen in 23.6.

A high input of committed manpower has been found necessary at Kolobeng and for the AMA horticultural estates.

Competent organisational support is now recognised as essential for small projects too, before AEIO grants will be awarded. ADs in particular need to be able to provide the necessary support. The dedicated help of an Agricultural Supervisor, an AD and the Catholic social worker has made a deep impression on the Boipelo group. ADs need relevant inservice training.

23.8. Conclusions and recommendations

Is it efficient to encourage group horticultural development? In what circumstances? How?

23.8.1. Individual management of commercial horticulture might be efficient, but it demands assistance to many scattered sites. Opportunities are lost for well-rewarded employment. Reaching the poor has been shown to be possible, if very difficult.

23.8.2. All horticultural projects have needed grant assistance, which encourages group members by making the project more immediately profitable. It is wasted, however, if proper attention is not paid to technical and managerial aspects. Restrictions should not be placed because of group size if that group project is viable.

23.8.3. When groups are being formed, it should be made very clear what is involved in a project. Members must have a genuine interest. Institutional development may be necessary.

23.8.4. People can be assisted through large scale horticultural estates, though particular physical circumstances and a lot of support are required. Members may have to be carefully selected. Smaller scale projects will have to be wider spread. Here it is essential, if the poor are to be reached, that group members have the same aim, that they start with what they can cope with, that the group begins by carefully drafting a constitution, that the needs and dynamics of an underpriveleged group are well understood and that support is regular and competent. Individually managed plots within a communal scheme are the best way to organise a project. Group contributions to capital cost should be as high as possible to encourage commitment. Independent unregistered organisation is recommended. VDC management is not recommended. A village clinic is a better starting place. The Mahalapye Development Trust approach is a good model.

CHAPTER 24: AGRICULTURAL GROUP WORK WITH WOMEN

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CHAPTER 24: AGRICULTURAL GROUP WORK WITH WOMEN

24.1. WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

24.2. CONTACTING MORE WOMEN THROUGH GROUPS

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24.4. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN WOMEN'S GROUP ORGANISATION

24.4.1. Community support

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24.6. WHAT EXTENSION APPROACH IS NEEDED?

24.6.1. The approach of the Catholic Social Worker in Serowe

24.6.2. Some general conclusions and recommendations

24.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 24

CHAPTER 24: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AO(WE)	Agricultural Officer (Women's Extension)
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
DDC	District Development Committee
FWE	Family Welfare Educator
GDO	Group Development Officer
RTC	Rural Training Centre
VDC	Village Development Committee
VET	Village Extension Team
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

24.1. WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Women play an important role in agriculture in Botswana as in many developing countries, the more so because of the extent of male migrant labour in Botswana from the rural to the urban areas and the mines. The preoccupation of men with the management of cattle, especially where separate cattleposts are maintained, adds to the isolation of women and their families at the lands and villages at certain times during the year.

For a number of reasons, though, women as household heads, whether on a temporary basis (their husbands away) or a permanent basis, have tended to receive less attention from the extension service than men. The reasons are partly social, economic and to do with custom. Many women tend to be in the lower income target group bracket which has always tended to be neglected by extension staff who through the Pupil Farmers or Stockmen's Schemes focussed on farmers with greater access to resources and hence ability to respond to advice. Women again by custom are not so involved in community decision-making and leadership as men. And socially it has tended to be difficult for predominantly male extension workers to contact and assist women farmers. Also they are busier on the whole than men as they have additional time consuming domestic responsibilities. Thus only the more exceptional wealthier women have tended to participate in agricultural extension activities as they have spare labour to perform tasks at home, more free time, and resources to use in adopting recommendations.

But for some time it has been recognised that extension workers should aim to provide more assistance to women farmers, and a post in the Department of Agricultural Field Services was established in order to help facilitate the necessary reorientation in approach, and to develop programmes more specifically for the women target group.

24.2. CONTACTING MORE WOMEN THROUGH GROUPS

With the general move after 1976 in the Department of Agricultural Field Services towards working with groups (described in Chapters 4 and 6), the potential of group work in reaching more women farmers more effectively was realised. The Agricultural Officer for Women's Extension described the possibilities in an article in the 5th May 1977 AgriNews.

The main points made were:

- there are already many established women's groups in the country with most villages having at least one out of Botswana Council of Women (BCW), Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Red Cross and Women's Church groups

- these existing groups represent an opportunity for ADs to contact women by giving talks or demonstrations on a regular basis; many women could thus be contacted in an informal socially acceptable environment

- ADs should liaise with ACDOs and womens' club leaders in arranging to give talks etc.

- the clubs could undertake agricultural projects such as vegetable gardening, poultry, smallstock activities or even work with dryland crops depending on the local situation - water, soils, markets, capital requirements and inputs

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- ADs were encouraged to work in co-operation with Family Welfare Educators in teaching at clinics and helping to establish clinic gardens; the gardens were seen as demonstrations rather than as group projects, though.

- making use of existing women's clubs and the clinics as points of extension contact was advised as an effective way of reaching many women who would normally be too shy to come to a male AD for advice.

Thus the idea was sown for women's group activities. Specific guidelines for how group projects could be organised were not developed - for example - exactly how would women organise group activities to do with dryland crop production? The emphasis was more on the possibilities for developing improved extension contact with women rather than on proposing how specific projects should be undertaken.

24.3. GROUP ACTIVITY GOING ON

With this background outlined we can briefly look at the actual womens' group activities which are going on. The data available are in Appendix 19. The figures can be summarised in the table below:

TABLE 24(i): WOMEN'S GROUPS

Total number of groups reported (1)	48
Number with some kind of group activity (2)	27
Number with projects proposed (only) (2)	8
Number with no group projects (3)	12
Number collapsed (Serowe Nethhouse Garden)	1

NOTES ON TABLE 24(i)

(1) this only includes groups or clubs on which agricultural field staff have information, and usually some contact. It excludes possibly hundreds of women's clubs which must exist in the rural and urban areas many of which though are inactive - certainly in terms of agricultural projects. 13 of the 48 groups are at Pelotshetlha.

(2) the types of group activity include:

- vegetable gardens (18 active, 8 proposed; 6 of the gardens are at clinics)
- poultry (2 active projects, 5 proposed)
- building a clinic facility (7 completed, 1 proposed)
- building a hut for educational activities (1)
- beekeeping (1 project active at Pelotshetlha)
- a maize field (1 project active)

(3) many of the groups or clubs have no group projects being undertaken but members may be active on an individual basis, the group acting as a centre for teaching, training and discussion - supported particularly by ACDOs. The type of activities occurring on this basis include:

- keeping poultry (members of 6 groups)
- beekeeping (members of 2 groups in Pelocshetlha)
- fruit trees (proposed by Biopelo group - trees to be tended on individual basis)
- handicraft work (Knitting, bead work, crocheting, sewing, basket weaving etc.)
- cookery, child care (talks and demonstrations by ACDOs and Family Welfare Educators)
- literacy training

In addition to the areas of activity described above it is important to be aware that women have participated in agricultural group projects outside just the bounds of "women's groups". Women members may be found in other group projects - particularly in smallstock groups, in some cattle husbandry groups, in dam groups and in area-wide community schemes such as drift and lands enclosure fencing. In some groups women were found to have an important influence - as at the Polokwe dam group, for example, where women were the driving force encouraging men in the community to maintain the dam fence because otherwise the women were the sufferers from the much greater inconvenience of fetching water from holes dug in the sand river when the dam dries.

At Dinogeng too, women feature prominently in dam management. There and in quite a number of other areas women occupy positions such as secretary and treasurer on Farmers Committees. The Dinogeng Farmers Committee was in fact started at the initiative of two leading women in Mochudi who were Pupil Farmers Scheme members. The record and book-keeping skills of the lady secretary of the Kgagodi Farmers Committee came in extremely useful in her capacity also as secretary of the Diloro tick control group. There are numerous other examples.

Through the group development programme many women have undoubtedly benefitted both in terms of being members of group activities and in terms of reaching positions of responsibility in communities.

It was beyond the scope of this study to investigate the impact the programme has had in terms of improving extension contact with women.

R24/1: THIS REPORT CAN ONLY RECOMMEND THAT FURTHER RESEARCH IS UNDERTAKEN IN SELECTING AREAS WHERE GROUP AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITY HAS TAKEN PLACE TO ASSESS THE IMPACT MORE EXACTLY AND COMPARE THE SITUATION WITH THAT IN OTHER EXTERNAL AREAS.

24.4. PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN WOMEN'S GROUP ORGANISATION

Many of the problems experienced in the organisation of group projects

are those general to group development and have been covered in other chapters - particularly those on horticulture and poultry where group members have been predominantly women. In the Pelotshetlha area, for example, the AD for women's extension reported problems such as:

- lack of poultry housing for poultry - many chickens getting taken by predators and eggs eaten by dogs
- lack of water preventing gardening projects in the case of at least 7 women's groups, and goat damage and insect pests affecting other gardening activities

But some problems were observed which could be said to be more specifically attached to women's activities.

24.4.1. Community support

To undertake certain projects women may require physical support from the men in the community. Sometimes difficulties have occurred in arranging this support. At Pandamatenga the work of clearing and fencing the garden site was reportedly brought to a standstill by social problems in the community and ineffective leadership. At Gakgatla the women's project could not proceed because "the community", with men in charge, was preoccupied with a dip tank proposal. In Serowe the Boipelo women's group had much difficulty obtaining VDC approval for their garden. The VDC was clearly unconcerned with their aspirations. Allocation of land was also a problem - they succeeded only in being allocated a tiny plot precariously perched between two cast dongas - the general refuse and public toilet area of the village ward.

Women's activities tend not to be regarded as a high priority in many communities. More often the possibility of women's projects is simply not raised.

But signs are that where communities have undertaken projects and a greater spirit and general sense of community awareness has resulted, the position of women in the community has tended to improve. In several instances it was observed that special arrangements were created for women to participate. Smallstock or tick control groups would, for example, permit women to be "non-working" members provided they paid a nominal extra subscription such as 20 thebe (in one case at Pelotshetlha) to compensate for not actively taking part in the husbandry activities. In many cases women household heads were favourably discriminated for in the by-laws for community fencing schemes, requiring them to pay lower joining fees.

What is concluded from the evidence is that the position of women in a community is favourably influenced when women reach positions of responsibility and leadership in community institutions. An outstanding fact noticed in the course of this consultancy was the social conscience demonstrated by those women in positions of leadership. Attitudes towards the poorer sections of the community were greatly influenced by the presence of such women who seemed to show more tolerance and concern, almost of a missionary kind. It is important in group development work to encourage and enable more women to contribute these qualities.

R24/2: IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT EXTENSION STAFF FACILITATE MORE ACTIVELY THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ALL TYPES OF GROUP AND COMMUNAL ACTIVITY, WITH THE ADDITIONAL AIM OF ENABLING MORE WOMEN TO HOLD LEADERSHIP POSITIONS, PARTICULARLY ON FARMERS COMMITTEES

24.4.2. Specific problems in including women in training programmes

To enable women to hold leadership positions, and to participate generally, must involve a very deliberate effort to reach women in the community and enable them especially to participate in training programmes. In doing this, specific problems again arise. Women tend to be more tied than men to domestic duties - caring for children, keeping the home running collecting water and firewood. And at the lands where women spend much of the year, homes are often far apart and women preoccupied with their arable activities are difficult to bring together.

The attendance of women at RTC courses has always been less than that of men - partly for these reasons. It is therefore important for extension workers to attack this specific problem squarely by increasingly arranging special training activities for women. Greater emphasis on field courses may be one method. The use of clinics and health posts as a focal point for training activities may be another. Close collaboration of ADs, ACDOs and FWEs is essential in any approach.

R24/3: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT MORE SPECIFIC ATTENTION IS DEVOTED TO GEARING TRAINING PROGRAMMES TO THE PARTICULAR NEEDS AND SITUATIONS OF RURAL WOMEN

24.4.3. Supporting women's activities

Particularly in the lands areas follow-up support to women's groups can be difficult to organise. In the Maunyele area the Masoke/Mogapinyana women's group collapsed primarily because of the alleged misuse of funds by the women treasurer and chairman. But an important contributing factor must have been the real problem of supporting this group and regularly attending its meetings and helping members and the committee to conduct its affairs. The ACDO dealing with the group was stationed in Kanye - nearly an hour's drive away over a small difficult track, that is, assuming that the ACDO was even able to arrange to use a Council vehicle. Members' homes were widely scattered as they tend to be in lands areas so that arrangements for meetings were difficult to make.

To overcome these problems is very difficult in many areas. Many lands areas still have no health facility which can form a natural meeting place. A solution might seem to be to encourage the formation of more smaller groups so that membership can be drawn from a smaller locality - but this too has its problems. At Pelotshetlha, where an AD is posted full time to support women's activities, several of the 13 groups have been unable to achieve any group project because of the lack of permanent water sources. But the AD herself implied also that it was only through her energy in getting around the Pelotshetlha area that some of the groups were still functioning at all. At least one group which had formed a year or two earlier had dissolved because the previous AD for women's extension at Pelotshetlha had not provided sufficient support for its activities.

In a normal extension area situation where there may be just one extension area AD, an ACDO visiting periodically (possibly based elsewhere and covering 3-4 agricultural extension areas) and a health post in the village, the problem of maintaining contact with women, even through groups, is considerable.

In general it does not appear that the suggestions for increasing contacts with women farmers made by the AO(WE) in 1977 have been taken on board. Village Extension Teams - of the AD, ACDO, FWE, Head teacher etc. - do not seem to be functioning in many areas in a planned positive way. There is an insufficient sense of direction. Few ADs seem to have the confidence to go and address women assembled under the shade of the tree outside the clinic as they wait to be attended. Clinic staff fail to take the initiative to invite them. And if they did - what would the ADs say? Is there a coherent message for women?

24.5. THE NEEDS OF WOMEN AS A SPECIFIC TARGET GROUP

This study did not delve into the subject of women's extension specifically so the comments here are quite tentative. However, to discuss women's agricultural group activities is connected with women's extension generally, and it is felt that the main problem in women's extension is that agricultural field staff do not have a sensitive enough understanding or concept of the needs of rural women which could form the basis of their approach. And, furthermore, women as a target group in rural communities are not consulted specifically enough when area plans and programmes are designed. In extension there is a need to focus more deliberately on women's concerns.

What women are concerned about is illustrated to some extent by the initiatives they have taken in many areas. Women are naturally concerned about the health of their families and particularly their children. Their action in building traditional huts for use as health posts by visiting clinic staff reflects this concern. In some areas (Dinogeng, Sheep Farm for example) the initiative has gone a step further and attempts are underway to get a modern cement block/zinc roof building constructed in order to be able to press Councils more firmly to post a Family Welfare Educator.

At Majwaneng women's interest in the future of their children extended to the idea of building a hut where they could teach their children occupational skills. As women have the primary responsibility for fetching domestic water, they have frequently been instrumental in local action in water development.

With their responsibility as the home maker and provider of food, women show great interest in the whole subject of nutrition, ways to prepare foods such as making preserves from wild fruits or pumpkins and baking. This interest naturally extends into fruit and vegetable growing. Women are also naturally interested in clothes and ways to produce them cheaply - hence their response to classes in knitting, sewing etc. although often the supplies of wool or material are hard to come by in rural areas.

In the past few women went to school, so there is a great need to provide special assistance in literacy training. Related to this is the need to teach women more about how to save money and be more prepared to accept credit.

Then, besides all the women's domestic concerns, they have, as we have seen, a key role at the arable lands, frequently being responsible for the entire operation alone. Draft power has to be procured, a plough and other equipment obtained and many labour intensive tasks performed. And quite commonly firewood supplies are steadily dwindling making this chore yet more time consuming.

In addition, as we have seen in other chapters, poultry and smallstock are of great importance to the lower income target group which includes many women household heads.

Although many of the needs - such as for water, for timber and firewood, for keeping smallstock and undertaking arable activities - are those of the community in general, not just of women, it is important to recognise women as a specific target group in rural development on the basis of their particular concerns and problems in society. The fact that women's clubs exist, and several groups have debated the desirability of including men as members and decided against it, shows the need for this recognition and for action to be taken on such a basis. An important reason mentioned in the previous chapter is that unless this is done in a deliberate manner, the specific problems of the target group risk being overlooked. The Boipelo group is the best example of a group which decided against including men and even had to design by-laws to protect the very special interests of its members (mostly very poor people) against being overridden by more dominant, better off women.

24.6. WHAT EXTENSION APPROACH IS NEEDED?

In a general way awareness does exist of all these needs, and programmes exist to promote action. To alleviate the firewood and timber problem a village woodlot project exists. Community Development staff and Family Welfare Educators are working with women's clubs and at clinics teaching home crafts, cookery and nutrition. Programmes are now available to assist in poultry keeping, smallstock and through ALDEP to help overcome some of the constraints facing small arable producers.

But as the previous chapters have tried to show, many problems hinder the implementation of these programmes, the key problems usually being to do with technical expertise (including the availability of competent support) and institutional development - that is, organisation and management capability in the community. And as has been argued in this chapter, these problems are compounded by the specific situation of women as a target group.

To reach this target group has to involve purposeful action as is the case with all target groups. The existence of technical programmes whether through ALDEP, the Sheep and Goat Development Project, the Village Woodlot project or the Poultry Development Project will not necessarily mean that the power income target group of women will be reached. A special approach is necessary in which solidarity with women in their particular circumstances is practised.

By and large this is not happening at present. Although Community Development staff and Family Welfare Educators are primarily concerned with women, co-ordination with agricultural extension staff tends to be pretty meaningless and certainly it can be said that in very few extension areas is there a sense of strategy in the village extension team

towards reaching women. The reluctance in particular of men ADs in working with women's groups has yet to be overcome and women's affairs have yet to be brought effectively into the open in most communities.

It is recognised that this situation is complex to deal with. It involves social issues and custom. Many constraints hinder what can be done - in particular what is involved in co-ordinating village extension teamwork, arranging for these teams simply to travel around the lands areas and from one village to another. Some workshops have been held to discuss these issues, but somehow the system does not seem to change much.

24.6.1. The approach of the Catholic Social Worker in Serowe

The kind of approach necessary to reach this target group is demonstrated by the supporting role of the Catholic Social Worker in connection with the Boipelo group in Serowe. Details on this group appear in Appendix 18 and were partly discussed in the previous chapter, as the Boipelo group up until 1980 was concerned primarily with vegetable gardening.

Several features of the Catholic Social Worker's approach and aspects of the Boipelo group's experience are worth separate mention here in this discussion.

(i) how the project was purposefully oriented to the needs of the low income target group: This was achieved by:

- starting on a small scale with just what the poorer members could manage

- having a constitution (see Appendix 26) which developed the self awareness of the lower income group; through this constitution one motion put forward by the better off women to increase the monthly subscription from 25t to 50t at the very worst time of year for sales was defeated. Also at an early stage 3 powerful women in the community joined for prestige, one of them even being elected as Chairlady. Subsequently she performed very negligently - expecting other members to work for her, not paying her subscriptions and neglecting her plots. She dropped out of the membership once the constitution was prepared - an act which reinforced the confidence necessary for the others to point out her transgressions

- there was little publicity early on; the approach was low profile but deep. The personal contact from the Catholic Social Worker concentrated on discovering the nature of the problems of the women individually.

- over a year later group members, encouraged by their success, wanted to expand the project, invite more members, and initiate more activities. To reach more women, the Social Worker contacted, on a personal basis, the leading women in all three local wards - Mathuba, Marobela and Chicana. These women then approached the ward headmen to request 'kgotla' meetings to be arranged at which women's activities could be discussed. The Sister supported this activity by making posters to publicise women's projects which women took around the wards the evening before the meetings. Large turnouts were achieved - only 6 men in one 'kgotla', but

40 women, representing about 70% of the women in the ward. The meetings were attended also by the Community Development and Assistant Community Development Officer from Council (both women).

- at the 'kgotla' meeting women were consulted directly and asked to specify exactly what needed to be done and what they did not understand. Many ideas were raised and women subsequently enrolled in various classes and activities at the Tlhwafaalo Centre, including literacy classes, classes on how to budget money, understanding the metric system, knitting, sewing and gardening. Some women joined too many activities at once - a mistake. The membership of the garden group increased to 16.

(ii) how the women's activities were supported

- a commitment of members to the group project was achieved as a result of the initial members knowing and trusting one another closely, and contributing a significant proportion (one third) of all costs. 2/3 of costs were met by the Tlhwafaalo Centre
- members were trained on some aspects of their project as a group, together - e.g. on the functions of leadership, on record keeping and on gardening methods (the latter technical training undertaken by local agricultural staff, the MRTC AD, and on one occasion the Horticultural Officer from Gaborone). Group leaders (skill leaders, group leaders and discussion leaders) had special training sessions.
- many members of the garden group availed themselves of the opportunity of attending other evening and daytime classes in literacy, mathematics (mainly oriented to measurement), and various craft work topics.
- a very effective support relationship was established between the Catholic Social Worker at the Tlhwafaalo Centre and Government and Council Departments - in particular with the GDO and other Agricultural staff at the Serowe offices (through whom contacts were arranged with the RTC and HQ) and with Community Development staff in Serowe. Through the Sisters, technical support staff approached the women's group in a sensitive and effective way. The presence of a few technically very competent and motivated agricultural staff was crucial.

The above account should not imply that no problems were ever encountered, for they were. Difficulties with land allocation and VDC/DDC approval, experienced primarily because this was a women's group, have been mentioned but through the support approach the women gained a sense of purpose and confidence. They went to the Land Board, the headmen and other officials themselves. They found a man to do their fencing themselves, and helped and supervised him and provided him with food while he worked. They got a man to clean out the old well, negotiated a price, and paid him.

In terms of internal organisation, problems began with establishing the initial purpose of the project. But they were resolved by the drafting of a constitution - a process which took a great deal of time. The Catholic Social Worker played a key role in this - drawing up suggested by-laws and promoting discussion during which many changes were made.

When the group expanded in 1979, more problems were introduced as more members joined, generally younger women. The newer members wanted things to be easier. Whereas the original group had a P1.00 joining fee and had saved some group funds, the new group wanted the entrance fee to be 10 thebe. Tensions developed, and still exist (mid 1980) between the older and younger members. These tensions tend to pull the group apart and yet the younger members contribute too in the way of energy and skills. Both the present Secretary and Vice Chairman are younger members. The gap between the different mentalities of the two generations has created problems in organising meetings and training sessions. But as at mid 1980 no major confrontation had developed.

24.6.2. · Some general conclusions and recommendations

Only in the Pelotshetlha area is there a full-time lady AD concerned with women's activities and although much can be learned from her work, supported by the AO(WE) in headquarters, in the rest of the country women's programmes must be developed and implemented by the normal quota of extension staff whose problems were outlined in 24.4.3. The presence of a dedicated Sister as a social worker is also a rare resource.

However, what is suggested below is drawn essentially from comparing what has been achieved in these two unusual situations with the situation elsewhere.

The following recommendations are made (in addition to R24/1 to 3 earlier:

R24/4: WOMEN'S PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED MORE FULLY IN VDC CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS AND IN SPECIAL TRAINING SESSIONS.

R24/5: MORE USE OF PROFESSIONAL ADULT EDUCATION METHODS IS REQUIRED AT ALL LEVELS IN ORDER (a) TO INCREASE AWARENESS OF THE SITUATION OF RURAL WOMEN, BOTH SELF AWARENESS BY WOMEN, AND AWARENESS BY MEN AND BY MALE-DOMINATED INSTITUTIONS, (b) TO IDENTIFY SPECIFIC NEEDS.

R24/6: THE METHODS WHICH SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SHOULD INCLUDE POPULAR THEATRE, CAMPAIGNS AND THE PRODUCTION OF FILMS ON THE WOMEN'S ROLE IN RURAL SOCIETY, ON WHAT NEEDS DOING AND HOW ACTIVITIES CAN BE IMPLEMENTED.

R24/7: ALTHOUGH IT IS IMPORTANT TO CREATE A BIG IMPACT ON ATTITUDES IN COMMUNITIES AND AMONGST EXTENSION STAFF, ACTION WITH GROUPS SHOULD PROCEED WITH CAUTION AND CAREFUL ATTENTION TO ACHIEVING THE NEEDS OF THE TARGET GROUP THROUGH PROJECT DESIGN AND THE DRAFTING OF DETAILED CONSTITUTIONS.

R24/8: IN GUIDELINES FOR SUPPORTING WOMEN'S GROUPS THE EXTENSION WORKER'S ROLE IS ASSISTING THE GROUP TO DEVELOP A CONSTITUTION WHICH CLEARLY SECURES THE GROUP'S PURPOSE, SHOULD BE EMPHASISED.

R24/9: VILLAGE EXTENSION TEAMS SHOULD BE TRAINED, USING ADULT EDUCATION METHODS, TO COLLABORATE TOGETHER IN A CO-ORDINATED APPROACH IN REACHING THE WOMEN'S TARGET GROUP. WORKSHOPS SHOULD BE ARRANGED WHICH BRING ADs TOGETHER WITH WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER EXTENSION DEPARTMENTS DEALING PRIMARILY WITH WOMEN. THE AIM SHOULD BE TO INCREASE AD AWARENESS AND CONFIDENCE IN WORKING WITH WOMEN'S GROUPS. ACDOs AND FWEs SHOULD BE MADE MORE AWARE OF HOW TO INVOLVE ADs IN SUPPORTING WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES AND VICE VERSA.

R24/10: MORE ACTIVE DISCUSSION OF WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AS PART OF THE ANNUAL PLANNING AND 3 MONTH PROGRAMMING SYSTEM, IN AGRICULTURAL STAFF MEETINGS AND IN COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS (CO-ORDINATED BY THE VET) SO THAT PROJECTS ARE PLANNED WHICH REFLECT THE PRIMARY CONCERNS OF WOMEN IN THE COMMUNITIES.

R24/11: ADs SHOULD BE TRAINED SPECIFICALLY IN THE TECHNICAL AREAS RELEVANT TO WOMEN'S PROJECTS SUCH AS POULTRY, HORTICULTURE, FRUIT TREE GROWING, BEE KEEPING AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CATCHMENT TANKS FOR WATER, IN ORDER TO BE TECHNICALLY COMPETENT TO SUPPORT WOMEN'S GROUP PROJECTS.

R24/12: GUIDELINES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED TO ASSIST VILLAGE EXTENSION TEAMS IN PROVIDING SUPPORT TO WOMEN'S GROUPS. THEY SHOULD MAKE CLEAR HOW TO SUPPORT WHAT SORT OF ACTIVITIES AND ESPECIALLY WHETHER TO PROMOTE ACTIVITIES AS GROUP PROJECTS OR THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF GROUPS FOR DEMONSTRATION AND GROUP DISCUSSION BUT AS INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY THEREAFTER

The following roles for women's groups should be considered :

- marketing of crafts
- building of health facilities
- beekeeping
- poultry - for income generating project
- vegetable garden - for income or home consumption
- action as a community pressure group to influence activity in an extension area - e.g. on water development, smallstock management etc
- forum for training and activity in literacy, cookery, nutrition, child care, grain storage, savings schemes, credit etc.
- forum for demonstration/training/monitoring on ALDEP projects - enabling the AD to focus on lower income target group women who might otherwise be difficult to contact
- forum for extension contact on any other areas of concern for women in agriculture

R24/13: THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ORGANISING GROUP ACTIVITY IN LANDS AREAS SHOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER STUDY AND DISCUSSION IN VILLAGE MEETINGS WHEN WOMEN CAN BE GATHERED TOGETHER MORE EASILY. THE PROBLEMS ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO THE GENERAL PROBLEMS OF SETTLEMENT - REVOLVING ESPECIALLY AROUND AVAILABILITY OF WATER SUPPLIES - TOUCHED ON IN EARLIER CHAPTER

24.7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 24

24.1. Women in agriculture

Women play an important role in agriculture, but for social, economic and traditional reasons they have received little attention from extension workers. There is now a post specifically to facilitate extension to women

24.2. How more women can be contacted through groups

In 1977, the Agriculture Officer for Women's Extension described the possibilities for contacting women through existing groups (e.g. BCW). ADs could give talks and help clubs with agricultural projects. No guidelines were developed.

24.3. What group activity is going on?

Out of 48 women's groups reported by agricultural field staff, 27 have a group activity and 8 have projects proposed. Other groups are teaching centres from which individual activities are undertaken. Women are also active in some of the other group projects described in this report, sometimes taking leading roles.

24.4. What problems are experienced in women's group organisation?

Some problems are specific to women's activities.

24.4.1. Arranging needed physical support from men in such things as clearing and fencing can be difficult. Women's activities may be a low priority. Some communities with project experience, however, pay special attention to the position of women. Where women are leaders, a greater social concern is often the result.

24.4.2. The domestic ties of women make it more difficult for them to attend RTC courses. More attention should be paid to the problem - perhaps through more field courses and use of health posts.

24.4.3. In lands areas follow-up support can be particularly difficult if households are scattered. The suggestions of the AO(WE) have not been taken up.

24.5. What are the needs of women as a target group?

There is a need for extension staff to focus more deliberately on women's concerns. They are particularly concerned about their children's health and welfare, water supplies, nutrition and clothing. Many need help with literacy. Women often have a key role in arable farming. Poor women are in special need of recognition as a target group.

24.6. What extension approach is needed?

Programmes which tackle these problems do exist, but many factors hinder them. Nor is attention often concentrated on women.

24.6.1. The approach needed is demonstrated by the Catholic Social Worker in Serowe. The project was purposefully oriented to the needs of the low income target group, by starting on a small scale, having an appropriate constitution, and using a personal approach. After a year the project was expanded through publicity at a specially arranged 'kgotla' meeting. The women themselves provided 1/3 of the costs, the rest was a grant. Members received thorough training. The Catholic Social Worker acted as an effective support link with Government officials. Some problems had been encountered but most had been overcome by the action of the women themselves. The slow and careful drafting of the constitution resolved problems in internal organisation. There is now some tension between the original older members and new, younger members, but there has been no confrontation.

24.6.2. It is recommended that women's problems and programmes should be discussed more fully; through adult education methods (Popular Theatre, campaigns, films) awareness of the situation of rural women should be increased; action with target group women should proceed cautiously with attention to project design and the constitution; extension staff should be oriented to working with women's organisations; women's activities should be included in regional planning, ADs need training in technical areas relevant to women's projects, guidelines should be developed to assist support to women's groups - including the sort of activities to promote and whether as a group or for eventual individual implementation; and the specific problems of organising group activities in the lands areas should be studied and discussed.

CHAPTER 25: THE ROLE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

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CHAPTER 25: THE ROLE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

25.1. INTRODUCTION

25.2. NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

- 25.2.1. Farmers Committees
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- 25.2.3. District Farmers Associations

25.3. THE INTENDED ROLE OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

25.4. THE ACHIEVEMENT - NUMBERS OF FARMERS COMMITTEES FORMED

25.5. THE ACHIEVEMENT - FARMERS COMMITTEE PERFORMANCE OF ROLE AND FUNCTIONS

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25.11. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 25

CHAPTER 25: List of abbreviations

AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BAU	Botswana Agricultural Union
CAMA	Commissioner Agricultural Management Association
DAFS	Director of Agricultural Field Services
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DFA	District Farmers Association
FA	Farmers Association
FC	Farmers Committee
GDO	Group Development Officer
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
MP	Member of Parliament
RLFA	Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
RTC	Rural Training Centre
VDC	Village Development Committee
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

"If there is a trained Farmers Committee in the village, it will worry about problems and developments there; if not, extension staff just continue going there talking about Government grants to try to encourage activities."
(a DAO in Maun Region)

25.1. INTRODUCTION

Much confusion and ignorance was found to prevail as to what a Farmers Committee is or is supposed to be. In particular the distinction between Farmers Committees and Farmers Associations remains unclear in many peoples' minds, and the debate over whether Farmers Committees are really needed at all, or whether area development should be encouraged from the basis of project groups, continues in different regions and has yet to be settled at a national level within the Ministry of Agriculture. Small wonder that outside the Ministry of Agriculture, many politicians, both MPs and District Councillors, traditional village and tribal leaders, other extension staff and key district and village level institutions remain largely ignorant of and uncommitted to the programme to encourage this form of institutional development.

Yet institutional development has been shown in this report to be the crucial need in the rural areas for the successful implementation of many kinds of projects and activities.

Why then this confusion? This chapter will show that the confusion that exists is largely due to disagreement there has been within the Ministry of Agriculture and between regions as to the terms of reference for Farmers Committees and therefore the approach to be taken in facilitating their development.

We shall start this chapter by first trying to clarify the terminology - Farmers Committee and Farmers Association. In the remainder of the chapter we will study the experience of the Farmers Committee programme basing our enquiry on the terms of reference.

25.2. NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

25.2.1. Farmers Committees

A Farmers Committee (FC) is defined by terms of reference. The Ministry of Agriculture has yet to adopt any one terms of reference or set of guidelines for Farmers Committee development. Thus regions have differed in their approach.

Central Region developed the first set of guidelines and terms of reference in 1977 based on practical experience with FCs in the region over the previous year. In November 1978 regional and district staff in Central Region held a full day workshop to review the experience in more depth and produced a revised version which remains valid to date. Gaborone Region is the only other region to have developed terms of reference for the FC development. These are modelled almost word for word on the Central Region guidelines. The Central Region guidelines have been distributed to and used in other regions.

The Gaborone Region terms of reference (the most recent - March 1979) are provided in Appendix 26.

The purpose of a Farmers Committee, as defined in these terms of reference is:

(1) to support the AD in planning, organising and implementing extension activities within a extension area,

(2) to represent the farming community in making the community's problems, needs, opinions and proposals known to the Ministry of Agriculture or other outside organisation,

(3) to plan, implement and manage agricultural development projects affecting or involving the extension area as a whole.

The terms of reference explain in some detail the type of activities a Farmers Committee can manage or support, and how it should be organised and constituted. The important distinction between a Farmers Committee and other agricultural groups or even Farmers Associations is that a Farmers Committee is supposed to represent the community as a whole.

25.2.2. Farmers Associations (FAs)

There has never been an exact definition or terms of reference for Farmers Associations. As was explained in section 3.5, Farmers Associations date back to Pupil Farmers Scheme times. They differ from Farmers Committees in several respects:

Farmers Association	Farmers Committee
Its committee is not elected in 'kgotla' but from among its membership	Elected in 'kgotla' to represent the community
Membership restricted to those who join	Membership - the whole farming community; there is no subscribed membership except when projects are undertaken
Membership usually requires payment of joining fees or subscriptions	No mandatory fees or subscriptions. Funds raised through voluntary contributions except for the implementation of area wide schemes
Role: to undertake projects/activities on behalf of subscribed members	Role: to manage or support projects/activities on behalf of the community as a whole

Farmers Associations have thus tended to develop more as project groups than as area wide institutions. This is inevitable when the right to elect committees is limited to the Association's subscribed membership. The problem now is that in many extension areas the committee of a Farmers Association is taken to be the area FC - a misinterpretation which, as we shall see, has caused a lot of confusion.

25.2.3. District Farmers Associations are on another level again, as was briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.5.2.) We will discuss the role of these Associations separately at the end of this chapter (Section 25.9)

25.3. THE INTENDED ROLE OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

Most of the Farmers Committees which exist now have been elected in 'kgotla' meetings since 1976/77. The drive to form them was initiated in July 1976 with an article in AgriNews by the Ministry's Extension Advisor. Entitled "Why Farmers Committees? How can they help Botswana's farmers", the article emphasised the following:

(1) Farmers Committees are groups of farmers, usually not more than 12, who the AD can work with directly to improve agricultural production.

(2) The members of the FC should be representative of the extension area and therefore include people of all ages, men and women, rich and poor, literate and illiterate.

(3) The FC is a means of carrying out group extension work and making better use of the AD's time, for more people can be influenced and taught than if only individuals are met.

(4) The FC can assist in determining programme priorities by discussing problems and needs and planning solutions with the AD.

(5) The AD can work closely with the FC in tasks involving many people - e.g.

- radio learning group formation
- siting demonstrations
- organising non formal teaching
- selecting farmer training courses and participants
- determining input requirements (seed)

(6) FC members can disseminate information and advice to their neighbours

(7) FCs can help propose the siting and managements of dams and surrounding grazing, group ranches, smallstock groups, soil conservation work, fencing to separate lands and grazing, self help road improvement work

(8) The FC is the obvious starting point for much future development dependent on community action.

- it can grow into or form a Farmers Association which can organise Field Days or Village Agricultural Shows
- it can recommend changes, for example - what items the local co-operative should stock, or that a sub-store should be opened in the village

- it may move towards joint buying of inputs, seed or even staple foods, or joint marketing of produce by hiring lorries
- it is likely to develop "pressure group" activities from pressing for a Livestock Advisory Centre or a BAMB depot, to seek help from Council to improve roads.

The above were the expectations. ADs were exhorted to form FCs in their extension areas and many did so in all regions.

Thus in numerous extension areas 'kgotla' meetings were held in 1976 and a Farmers Committee was elected to replace the former Pupil Farmers Scheme Farmers Association. Frequently, though, those elected onto the FC were exactly the same people as had been the active leaders in the old Farmers Association.

What happened after the election depended on the extension approach and support the FC received, and as we shall see it is here that the main differences in regional approach enter the picture.

25.4. THE ACHIEVEMENT - NUMBERS OF FARMERS COMMITTEES FORMED

Full details on Farmers Committees can be found in Appendix 1. From these Appendix tables it can be seen that the Farmers Committees which have been organised vary tremendously in their state of activity and in the role they have played in their areas. Table 25(i) attempts to summarise the status of Farmers Committees in the different regions.

TABLE 25(i): FARMERS COMMITTEE STATUS, BY REGION

FARMERS COMMITTEE STATUS	REGIONS					
	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
Total number FCs formed	10	24	63	33	11	141
Number of active FCs	9	4	43	11	4	71
Number in formation stage	-	5	5	-	-	10
Number inactive	1	13	12	22	5	53
No data	-	2	3	-	2	7
Active FCs defined as						
a) those directly managing a project/activity (only)	6	1	19	4	1	31
b) those providing indirect support role to other group activities in the area (only)	-	1	5	2	1	9
c) those playing both a direct management AND indirect supportive role	3	2	19	5	2	31

NOTE TO TABLE 25(i)
"Inactive" FCs includes all FCs reported to be dormant, defunct etc. or where there has been no progress with any activity either directly managed or indirectly in the extension area.

In Table 25(i) are included all reported FCs even though some of these are not FCs as defined by their terms of reference. It is difficult from the information available to be precise on this. Some reported FCs are really the committees of Farmers Associations. Others are really no more than project groups. More comment on this will follow below as we study the achievement in terms of the FC terms of reference.

The distinction between "active" and "inactive" FCs should become clearer below. Again it is sometimes difficult to be precise on this. Some FCs classified as inactive may hold or have held the very occasional meeting or even have proposed a project at some stage. But for the purpose here the criterion used for judging their activity is the direct or indirect (through supporting other groups) implementation of some project, rather than mere existence.

25.5. THE ACHIEVEMENT - FARMERS COMMITTEE PERFORMANCE OF ROLE AND FUNCTIONS

We shall study this by reference to the role and functions laid down in the FC terms of reference (See Appendix 261; paragraph 4). Have the terms of reference been followed? What has been achieved? What problems have there been?

25.5.1. A summary of what FCs have done

In the various preceding chapters of this report it will have become clear that FCs have played an important role in many areas and in many different types of project. For convenience an attempt has been made to bring together much of the information in Appendix 1, though the author is aware of some omissions particularly of related group projects going on in the areas over which FCs have jurisdiction.

As was shown in Table 25(i) FCs have been active in two major respects

- directly managing or organising activities or projects,
- indirectly supporting other groups in their activities, usually in the sub areas

The achievement of FCs in these two respects is summarised in Tables 25(ii) and 25(iii).

In addition to the areas in which FCs have been directly or indirectly actively involved, the same and other FCs have also expressed their concern about many problems and in some cases proposed action though this has not yet been undertaken successfully. Table 25(iv) summarises these areas of concern. In a number of cases these concerns or intentions have been raised at FC training workshops.

TABLE 25(ii) TYPES OF ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS DIRECTLY MANAGED OR ORGANISED BY FARMERS COMMITTEES BY REGION.

	MAUN	F TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
WATER DEVELOPMENT:						
Borehole equipment/ renovation		1	2		1	4
Dam building			2			2
Dam group formation			2			2
Fencing of dams			3			3
Dam maintenance			1			1
FENCING:						
Drift fencing		1	8	4	1	14
Enclosure fencing		1	12			13
Land application for group lands area			1			1
Organisation of tractor hire			1			1
Bulk purchase/resale of seeds	3		9	1		13
Grain storage/input supply	1		4	1		6
Bulk order of fertilizer					1	1
Crop collection/marketing			4			4
Organisation of field days, demonstrations, tours	1	3	9	1	1	15
Organisation of 4B days			2			2
Planning farmer training/ selecting participants	1		2	2		5
Attendance at RTC courses and report back to farmers		1				1
Vegetable garden	2	2				4
Woodlot/conservation			1			1
Firebreaks (including along fence lines)			7		1	8
Smallstock dosing		1	2		1	4
Cattle husbandry (purchase and use of dehorning iron, syringe etc.)		1	4			5
Order of livestock remedies	1		1			2
Tick control (knapsac, motorised spray pump, dip tank)	5		4	1		10
Planning/organising District Show			2			2
Construction of ADs quarters			2			2
Collection of money to pay private school teacher's salary					1	1
Total number of projects	14	11	85	10	7	127

TABLE 25(iii) TYPES OF GROUP PROJECT/ACTIVITY INDIRECTLY SUPPORTED BY AREA FCs, BY REGION

(figures = number of FCs playing type of support role)

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH	WHOLE COUNTRY
WATER DEVELOPMENT:						
Borehole groups	1		2			3
Organising groups for old dams		1	1			2
Selection of sites for dam groups		2	2			4
Support role in dam group formation/organisation			6	3	1	10
Livestock watering contingency (1)			1			1
FENCING:						
Drift fencing	1		4	2		7
Enclosure fencing	1		5			6
Smallstock group formation		1	6		2	9
Ranch group	1					1
Tick control (dip tank/ spray race)			6	3	1	10
Recruitment to establish or support Marketing Co-op			4			4
Horticultural project			2	1		3
Support to 4B clubs (2)			4			4
Support to clinic groups				1		1

NOTES TO TABLE 25(iii)

(1) At Serule the FC helped to co-ordinate contingency arrangements for livestock watering in the area when FMD restrictions on cattle movements were imposed.

(2) Support to 4B clubs includes: acting as local advisory committee, organising the digging of a plot for a garden, fencing 4B club garden, building a 4B club wokshop/storeroom.

TABLE 25(iv): PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES PROPOSED/PLANNED, AND AREA PROBLEMS FARMERS COMMITTEES HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH
WATER DEVELOPMENT					
Borehole development			1	2	
Dam building		6	2		
Fencing of dams		3	1		
Water - generally			1		
DRIFT FENCING	1		2	1	
Drift fence firebreak maintenance			1		
Tractor hire		2			
Tractor maintenance/repairs			1		
Supply of agricultural inputs/seeds		3	5	2	
Crop marketing/collecting centres			7	5	
Hammer mill		3			
Grain storage		1			
Woodlot			1		
Vegetable garden		3	1		
Poultry		1			
Orchards (fruit) at dams or borehole			2		
Smallstock dosing				1	
Tick control		5	2	3	1
Cattle crush			2		
Bull and weaner and fattening camps			1		
Livestock marketing		1			
Supply of vet. requisites		1	1		1
Bridge across river	1		2		
District Showground proposal	1				
Building AD's quarters			1		
Clinic			1		
Upgrading lands area school to standard 4					1
Farm management/bookkeeping training			1		
Bringing local problems to attention of national policy level			1		

25.5.2. Planning agricultural extension activities

This role is not usually mentioned on group data sheets as a project. However, several ADs interviewed mentioned consulting their area FC in the preparation of 3 month programmes or Annual Plans, particularly in Central Region. Some ADs meet regularly with their FC. The AD for Dinogeng, for example, made a point of meeting the FC after monthly meetings or whenever he had office business to discuss.

What can be concluded here is that it is possible for ADs to develop a meaningful planning relationship with FCs. However, in many cases, FC organisational problems have prevented this function from being accomplished. These include problems in achieving area wide coverage, unorthodox FC election so that its members are not representative of the community (this is particularly the case with FCs that are really FAs), lack of attendance at meetings and the interference of social and political factors. Where these genuine problems have affected the performance of FCs in planning, continued efforts are needed to facilitate better organisation.

In some cases, though, it is more a question of the AD and the FC establishing a meaningful planning relationship. Terms of reference may state that the FC should be consulted in planning. But developing the habit of doing so may not come easily. In order to encourage this relationship,

R25/1: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ADs ARE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN THE WRITTEN APPROVAL OF THE FC ON ALL 3 MONTH PROGRAMMES AND REPORTS AND ON ANNUAL PLANS AND REPORTS. Approval could be simply by signature, or the FC encouraged to add comments.

It is important though that FCs should play a dynamic planning role rather than a passive one - merely approving an AD's programme. This will only be achieved through systematic training and education programmes. In many areas FCs were elected but then left without direction. FCs can only be expected to generate plans if they are given ideas to consider. Many of the ideas listed in Table 25(iv) are ones raised at training workshops.

R25/2: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT TRAINING WORKSHOPS ARE ORGANISED AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF FC FORMATION TO ASSIST FCs IN IDENTIFYING AREA PROBLEMS AND IN PLANNING FUTURE ACTIVITIES.

25.5.3. Supporting the AD in organising group extension methods and publicising special programmes

This function is perhaps the best understood and established one, as it dates from Pupil Farmers Scheme times. The main task of the Farmers Associations of those times was to assist the AD in organising Field Days, demonstrations and tours for the FA members. In the recommendations for broadening extension coverage (Chapter 4) the use of Farmers Associations for this purpose continued to be encouraged.

Many of the presently existing FCs trace their origin back to the FAs of those times, sometimes even with the same office bearers. Examples are Mmaphashalala, Mmankgodi, Metsemaswaane, Dinogeng, Tsetsejwe and Thabala. As a result this area of activity goes back several years. At Dinogeng Field Days have been held annually for some years (the occasion now used for FC re-elections). And at Thabala annual Field Days date back over ten years, and many additional demonstrations and tours have been organised as well. FCs have often been useful in Central

Region for helping to organise demonstrations by visiting support staff - e.g. on tick control equipment, smallstock dosing. The figures in Table 25(ii) on the organisation of demonstrations etc. are thought to under-estimate, considerably, the number of FCs which have been active in this area. The same goes for FCs which have been involved in planning farmer training topics and selecting participants. Specific records are not maintained on these areas of activity.

Farmers Committees, particularly in Central Region, have been very involved with District Shows. The organisation of the Bobonong and Maunatlala Shows was based largely on FCs as the institutions through which all areas in the Districts were represented. The Maunatlala Show was in fact pioneered by the Maunatlala FC with the Palapye DAO assisting in the transport to enable representatives from all Palapye District's FCs to form a District Show Committee. In Serowe and Mahalapye the Show Committees have been less representative of the Districts, but area FCs still played an important communicating role.

If the full potential of FCs in organising group extension methods is to be realised, however, they need to understand better in what cases such methods can be applied appropriately to individual action. Earlier in this report it has been stated frequently that group extension methods may be important even where group action has been found to be inappropriate. Examples are in dairying, poultry keeping, and in many aspects of ALDEP, like ALDEP catchment tanks.

R25/3: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE MINISTRY DRAWS UP GUIDELINES FOR EXTENSION STAFF WHICH CLARIFY THE VARIOUS TECHNOLOGIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH ARE MOST APPROPRIATE FOR INDIVIDUAL FARMER ACTION AND SHOW HOW EXTENSION STAFF CAN STILL MAKE MAXIMUM USE OF GROUP EXTENSION METHODS IN INTRODUCING THEM.

For FCs to perform all their supportive functions properly, several things are required:

- the FC must be representative of the community and all sub areas,
- FC members need training
- the community needs education in order to be able to respond to the role the FC performs
- the AD and the FC need to understand and respect one another very well

There have in fact been misunderstandings about the respective roles of ADs and FCs.

Quite a number of ADs who are unfamiliar with the role of an FC, develop a poor relationship. Some ADs resent the FC idea - fearing that it is a scheme for supervising their activites and reporting their laizness to MPs. Nothing is in fact further from the truth. At present complaints made by individual farmers to MPs about an AD's performance are much more irrational and dangerous. The presence of an aware FC in an extension area can instead help to cure the ignorance of some farmers (and politicians) about the AD's role, and by establishing a known procedure can safeguard an AD's reputation. Any farmer with a complaint should first discuss it with the FC and then take it through proper channels to DAFS or the Permanent Secretary instead of notifying politicians immediately.

It is very important if FCs and ADs are to work co-operatively together, that misunderstandings of the roles of either should be overcome.

R25/4: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE TAKES STEPS TO PUBLICISE FC TERMS OF REFERENCE BOTH AT A POLITICAL LEVEL (PARLIAMENT AND COUNCILS) AND AT A COMMUNITY LEVEL THROUGH APPROPRIATE CHANNELS - the media, seminars and the issue of guidelines etc. This emphasises the need for the Ministry to come to some decision on FC terms of reference.

There can also be a problem on the FCs side, and it is one which should not be neglected. It needs to be remembered that the participation of people on a Farmers Committee is entirely voluntary. The terms of reference were developed largely out of experience in areas where a good relationship had been built up between extension staff and Farmers Committees. This implies the presence of village leaders and others whose primary motivation is the welfare of the community and not their own personal prestige. These are the people on which successful institution building depends. Is the Ministry really aware of what some FC leaders have done to support the Ministry's extension activities? This particular aspect of the terms of reference imposes considerable demands on people in the communities. They are being asked to travel miles by bicycle or donkey cart, or on foot, to attend meetings in order to hear what the Ministry wants other farmers to learn.

Some FCs have not performed these functions well - particularly since the Pupil Farmers Scheme was disbanded. When these activities were undertaken in the old days it was on behalf of members of the Scheme. Now FCs are exhorted to help on behalf of the community. Even at Pelotshetlha where Government has saturated the community with extension advice through the IFPP, the Farmers Committee has not been performing this function satisfactorily. ADs reported that unless they pushed the FC members right to the last, they would not of their own accord inform people in sub areas of FC discussions with IFPP.

The Mmadinare North FC is an active one with an excellent relationship with a motivated hard working AD. Together in the AD's presence, FC members impressed upon the consultant the problem for the FC in supporting ADs who covered such vast areas. The Ministry, the FC remarked, should not burden FC members with instructing other farmers when the committee members themselves were busy at their lands. Seniors in the Ministry do not realise how inadequate AD coverage of some areas is, the FC said.

If FCs are to be expected to perform these functions well, very good relationships with Ministry extension staff have to be developed. Recommendation R25/18 would be a gesture in this direction. Sensitive training and adult education programs must be an important part of developing the sound relationships needed.

25.5.4. The FC's role in community education to overcome social problems

The terms of reference speak of "setting an example to the community". This is thought to refer to the FC's educative role in the community - convincing and demonstrating to others the benefits of change.

In one sense this too is a conventional role of the FCs/FAs formed during Pupil Farmers Scheme times. In those times "FCs"(really the committees elected from FA membership) used to be taken on tours and to RTC training courses. According to a report from a member of the Nkange drift fence committee, this is about the only function the Nkange FC performs even now, and little impact appeared to result from this activity.

It is certainly important that those elected onto an FC should receive training to equip them with the knowledge, skills and awareness needed in order to be able to convince others in the community. But the phraseology of the terms of reference is misleading. It reads "An FC composed of successful, progressive, interested farmers can set a fine example...". This is not really the point of an FC. Demonstration can be carried out on any farmer's land. Indeed if it were to occur too often on the land of FC members there is a danger of the FC becoming elitist rather as in the Pupil Farmers Scheme times.

R25/5: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE TERMS OF REFERENCE IS DROPPED AND A ROLE IS SUBSTITUTED WHICH GIVES MORE EMPHASIS TO THE FC's PUBLIC EDUCATION ROLE. FCs should continue to be taken on tours to be shown new ideas, to learn and to become more aware. But the FC role is not to return and "set an example". Any farmer can do that after attending training. Instead FCs need training and support to return and facilitate change through intervention and solidarity with the target group.

As a member of the Mmadinare North FC said, "the problem is that the farming public is very ignorant and easily influenced and led astray. It is important for FCs to be trained to lead the right way and to educate the public."

It is only through public education that many of the social problems affecting community and group projects can be overcome. Whilst there are numerous examples of projects hampered by social problems, there are plenty of cases too where FCs have overcome them. At Lerala progress with the drift fence was hindered for a long time by subversive behaviour among the 'bokgosi' or relatives of the headman. Actions decided upon in 'kgotla' from the initiative of the FC would not be followed up. The FC was able to discuss these problems with agricultural staff and with the Senior Subordinate Tribal Authority in Palapye. Eventually after various messages had been relayed a 'kgotla' meeting was called at which the Bangwato Tribal Authority, representatives of the Ngwato Land Board, agricultural staff and the Councillor were all present. The 'bokgosi' problems were brought out into the open and solved.

Mogapi was similarly affected by leadership rivalry. The former VDC Chairman was a member also of the Maunatlala Sub Land Board. Both he and the former Councillor were against the local farmers committee. This found its expression in the way the enclosure fence line was allocated. As described in section 10.1.9. the FC was not consulted in the allocation and a long period of inconvenience and extra expense resulted. The headman, meanwhile, was totally ineffective in dealing with the situation. But the FC trained and supported by agricultural staff won the situation in the end. The FC was an area institution recognised for what it was achieving in the interests of the community. The FC Chairman, a genuine, unassuming person, was chosen to act as village headman after the farmer headman was gaoled for cattle theft. And neither the Councillor nor the VDC Chairman were returned to office.

As members of the Lerala FC observed, the community, if more aware, had the power to complain to a political party about a particular councillor or other politician. The education of the community is an important part of the process of political as well as institutional development.

It would be an oversimplification to suggest, though, that such changes can be accomplished just through the public education which should be part of the FC election and training process. In reality situations are very complex and solutions can be long term. Not always is it possible to tackle them head on through FC development. In Serowe West Extension area, the AD was working towards FC development through project group activity because attempts in the past to organise one FC had failed due to tribal differences in the area. Similarly, in the Makaleng area the AD saw this approach as the only possible road towards the development of an area-wide institution as the outlying village populations were deeply suspicious of the "regrouping policy" with its emphasis on Makaleng as a centre. Although an FC was being organised at Makaleng to make arrangements for a Field Day to include all the 7 surrounding villages (see Appendix 1.5) this initiative was not expected to have long term success. An approach more likely to succeed was the encouragement of project groups in the outlying villages and a possible eventual umbrella-type area committee forming from them. Even at Makaleng, though, opinions were expressed that FC development, with the training and education that goes with it, was what was needed for the communities in the area to resist the influence of the Makaleng leadership which apparently even continued to enforce the traditional 'letsema' practice by which no farmer was allowed to plough or plant before the chief's word.

Leadership problems can be overcome. Through community education institutional development does take place, and sometimes remarkably fast if the right methods are used. In Central Region the use of Popular Theatre in several villages achieved dramatic results. In villages where rivalries had gone on for years, communities brought the problems to an end by electing one headman where previously several had fought for influence dividing the community and hindering the activities of an FC. Examples are Majwaneng and Rathlo where there were 4 rival headmen.

In the areas where such problems continue to disrupt institutional development and progress, forms of community education like Popular Theatre are required. Examples of problem areas are:

- Matsalatladi (tribal rivalry Bakwena/Bakgalapadi)
- Segakwana ('bokgosi' attitudes of Mmaloswana ward; non co-operation with the FC; no representation on the FC or contribution to FC funds; refusal to manage Rramajaalela dam)
- Mmamarobóle (lands area where headman from Bokaa ward in Molepolole not recognised by people from other wards)
- Mopipi (tribal problems affecting support to the FC)

R25/6: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GREATER USE IS MADE OF PROFESSIONAL ADULT EDUCATION METHODS IN BRINGING ABOUT THE AWARENESS NECESSARY IN COMMUNITIES TO OVERCOME SOCIAL AND LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS AND DEVELOP MORE EFFECTIVE INSTITUTIONS.

25.5.5. The FC role of stimulating, supporting and sanctioning other group activities by farmers

Table 25(i) tends to indicate that fewer FCs have played only this

indirect supportive role, while more FCs have been involved directly in the management of projects and activities or have performed both roles. This is slightly misleading because included in the figures for FCs which have played just a direct role are a number of FCs which are not constituted according to the FC terms of reference. They would be more correctly termed Farmers Associations or project groups.

When this is taken into account a more balanced picture can be seen. Properly constituted FCs have in fact played an important role in supporting other group activities. Some 32 FCs which have played this role have assisted in this way a total of 100 group projects - an average of 3.1 group projects per FC. Several FCs have supported as many as 5, 7, 9 or even 15 other groups.

The types of group activity which FCs have played an indirect role in supporting were summarised in Table 25(iii). In this table the figures refer to the number of Farmers Committees performing the said function/role, not to the number of projects undertaken or supported. In some extension areas one Farmers Committee may provide support to as many as a dozen different group activities. In Serowe East, for example, the one FC oversees 9 dam groups, 3 dip tank/spray race groups, and the formation of 3 borehole groups as well as the revival of smallstock groups. In its role of stimulating action the same FC sent two delegates to Lobatse to negotiate with the Geological Survey Department in handing over of the 3 boreholes at Janyane, Mmantshadidi and Kgaswe. The FC also wrote the letter of application to the Ngwato Land Board. It also held the funds for the 3 dam/dip groups in its account, keeping separate records.

The Thuni FC presented the project memorandum for the lands enclosure fence to the Bobonong VDC. The Mmadinare North FC was actively concerned with the problems of the Madiba dip tank group and the Manatsane fence enclosure scheme. At the Kgophathate cattlepost area the Mogapi FC chairman was present at the meeting the author attended with people concerned with a dip tank project. His contribution was most important in setting the group's problems into perspective, explaining how they should go about continued consultation and organisation.

At Segakwana the FC was instrumental in the organisation of dam groups with equal membership and in continuing to support them in the management of their dams. The dam groups at Thabala were likewise initiated by the FC, as were smallstock groups for which the FC purchased the dosing gun. The Thabala FC also purchased the portable motorised spray pump which the sub area tick control groups use, and when social problems disrupted progress at the Motshegaletau woodlot, the FC intervened to organise a necessary re-election of sub committee leaders.

The co-ordinating role of the Lerala FC is perhaps an outstanding example of the effect a strong FC can have in stimulating and supporting group activity. Details of this can be seen in Appendix 1.7. Of particular interest is the way a fence leader and a dam groups leader are included as office bearers on the Lerala FC. The Fence leader toured sub areas to check on the progress of different groups, calling sub group committees together when necessary. The FC's assistance to sub groups with their record keeping was also important. The Thabala FC also had office bearers with such specific functions.

In the presence of a strong trained FC, even the prolonged absence of an AD may be survived. The Khumaga FC, firmly established by one AD, continued its area-wide role for 4 years while the extension area was vacant.

As can be seen from Table 25(iii), the most significant areas where FCs have successfully supported group activity have been in water development, fencing and livestock husbandry. Several FCs in Central Region have initiated developments leading to the registration of Marketing Co-operatives and have then continued to support their recruitment.

But, with a few exceptions, FCs have been less successful in providing support to areas of activity like poultry or horticulture, especially when target groups such as women are concerned.

At Mahetlwe the initiative towards a women's garden was actually discouraged by menfolk of the village as the Farmers Association was concentrating on a spray race project. This kind of example serves to emphasise the difference in role between FCs and FAs. An FA is concerned with what its members want to do. An FC, by its terms of reference, is there to encourage activity in the community as a whole. At Mmaphashalala the FC was managing a fencing enclosure, supporting a spray race group initiative and encouraging a women's garden. Likewise support of a practical kind to 4B clubs seems to be limited to Central Region's FCs. The remarkable set up of the Dinogeng FC and its support to the clinic groups seems due to the leadership of women in that lands area.

The evidence suggests that genuine institutional support to target group activity is only likely where FCs have been developed and oriented towards this role, or where village leadership is otherwise oriented in this way as at Mmankgodi.

R25/7: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE ROLE OF THE FC IN STIMULATING, SUPPORTING AND SANCTIONING ACTIVITY AMONGST THE TARGET GROUPS IN THE COMMUNITY IS EMPHASISED MORE STRONGLY IN THE PROCESS OF FC FORMATION, ELECTION AND TRAINING

25.5.6. Initiating and managing area wide projects

As Table 25(ii) shows, well over 100 different projects have been directly managed or organised by FCs, some FCs having undertaken as many as 6 or 7 projects. Over 50 FCs have been active in the direct management role, the average activity per FC being about 1.9 projects.

The most activity has been in the management of area wide projects such as drift or lands enclosure fencing, water development and cattle husbandry.

There has also been activity, mainly in Central Region, in the area of bulk purchase of seeds, the building of grain stores and in crop collection and marketing.

There has been no action yet in the management of communal ranches although the Thabala FC has proposals, and action in conservation projects (firebreaks and woodlots) has been limited almost entirely to Central Region.

The organisational and technical problems involved with these different types of project activity have been discussed in the chapters concerned. What matters here are the implications for FCs as institutions. Are they more or less effective than other forms of organisation? Where are they more or less appropriate? Various points can be made, although final conclusions on FCs as compared with other

forms of organisation will be left until the end of this chapter.

(i) all chapters which have been concerned with area-wide and whole-community activity have reached the same conclusion - that area-wide institutional development is vitally important. In fencing it is important for all interests to be heard and heeded. In livestock husbandry and management the efficiency of measures is dependent very much on full participation. The ongoing management of fences (the control of cattle movement) also requires unanimity of purpose. In all these areas, and in water development and aspects of conservation, a spatial strategy has been recommended. Properly constituted and trained FCs have performed the managerial role required for these kinds of development.

(ii) the concentration in Central Region of what activity there has been in conservation is significant. As Chapter 17 showed, conservation tends to be perceived as a low priority compared with other concerns. The training which FCs in Central Region have received appears to have increased awareness in this area.

(iii) action in crop collection and marketing and in the bulk order of seeds has been virtually limited to FCs, again mainly in Central Region.

(iv) several FCs have attempted to initiate operations to purchase and redistribute inputs and store grain. Most of these ventures have been entirely unsuccessful. The conclusion reached in Chapter 20 was that this is an area requiring greater managerial resources than FCs have and therefore an activity more suited to registered commercial groups such as Co-operatives. The main problem with proposals so far, apart from management, has been constitutional.

(v) the management involved in communal ranching has been found to far exceed the capacity of most communities. Farmers Committees are unsuitable for the managerial role for such projects, though the presence of a Farmers Committee in any communal area planning, consultation exercise is very important.

(vi) horticulture is also an unsuitable area for FC management. Experience has shown that individual plots within the framework of a group managed scheme is most viable. The FC role is in facilitating the development of such groups.

The above is but a rapid sketch of conclusions on the areas appropriate or inappropriate for direct FC management. As can be seen, FCs are not suitable management organisations for everything. In particular they are inappropriate for the management of any type of production enterprise - whether ranching, poultry or horticulture. Group activity in these areas is best left to the group of those concerned - not representatives of the whole area.

Another important point to make is that the managerial capacity of an FC is limited. Many FCs remark on the problems involved in trying to undertake more than one activity at one time. Thus at Maitengwe the proposed vegetable garden[1] was left pending the completion of the drift

(1) It appeared that the Maitengwe FC intended managing this vegetable garden. It may be, and this would certainly be wiser, that the FC proposed helping to initiate and support a gardening group rather than manage it.

fence. At Mogobane a dip tank project was shelved in favour of a drift fence. At Thabala the FC's proposals for bull,weaner and fattening camps were left aside while the FC concentrated on the management problems of the Motshegaletau woodlot, and on its indirect support to various fencing and other groups. Similarly the Lerala FC had simply neglected action on building a concrete slab as a crop collection point as it was so preoccupied with other schemes.

Sometimes the very establishing of priorities proves beyond an FC's capacity,as at Medie where a decision between a spray race project and a crop collecting centre was proving difficult.

The solution to these problems can only be long term, and essentially involves one thing - training. One possibility is that as projects are initiated, management is transferred to sub or even independent committees. This is what the Serule FC did for the Palamaokuwe lands fence. In the areas of fencing, livestock husbandry and water development this has occurred frequently. The role of the FC is to provide management in the early stages and encourage separate management as the project gets underway. The group development support function is to facilitate this process by helping to train more and more management. If such support is lacking FCs will become stuck with perhaps one project and be unable to generate further activity.

It must be emphasised that support is a continuous and never ending process. Some extension staff appear to have been unaware of this. In some regions FCs were elected, following the directives from HQ around 1976, and then left totally without guidance or support. Even where training has been done systematically for some time, as in Central Region, field staff tend to be unable to see what further training needs there are. The fact is that training and education must never end. It will always be necessary for community institutions to have the capability to manage to cope with their problems.

25.5.7. The FC's co-ordinating role in area-wide consultation related to communal area planning and development

This is potentially the most important FC role and is one which has been constantly alluded to in this report. The reason is the vacuum of effective institutional structures in the communal areas. As was discussed in chapter 8, traditional leadership is often weak or non existent in these situations. Populations are of mixed origin. The needs are many - for water, for communications, health and educational facilities, and for the management of the communally used resources of grazing and arable land. Cattle mix with one another and stray. Crops are damaged in unfenced fields. Labour is short for herding.

In the absence of effective leadership and organisation, the problems continue and get worse. Even the better off start to suffer more as the pressures on land affect them and the alternative of escape to the sandveld becomes ever more distant, expensive and even no longer available in those districts where cattleposts and boreholes have taken up all available space in the now commercial areas.

The introduction of systems of management of livestock on the communal grazing has been dreamt of for a number of years. But as Chapter 11 has shown, the achievement has been minimal. Whether the approach is to be total or partial, area wide consultation through instituions which can really reach and involve the entire population

is required. It is this which has so far precluded any further physical and organisational progress. After over 5 years of official recognition of the gradualist approach and emphasis on group development, there are still institutions available in few places for consultation as the experience with introducing APRU communal cells has shown. Consultation in 'kgotla' has been shown to be ineffective. Even after repeated return visits - to Kubung, for example - misunderstanding continues. People are only able to voice their opinions, not those of others not attending the 'kgotla'. If people from sub areas fail to attend a 'kgotla' meeting they are missed out and those present are tempted to press ahead with ideas (or not, as the case may be) without others ever having been involved. Different people attend different meetings. There is often confusion. Progress is very slow.

The various chapters of this report have pointed to the need for spatial strategy and therefore land use planning and consultation in a number of areas of area-wide group activity:

- cattle and smallstock husbandry and management
- water developing
- fencing
- firebreaks

What is needed is for these forms of communal area development, and also others such as crop marketing and seed supply etc., to be linked together within a land use plan and within a settlement strategy.

The role which FCs can play in communal area planning and development can only be seen in a few localities where FCs have received systematic support for some time and have already managed a number of area-wide projects or supported group activity in other ways.

The fact is that for the kind of consultation and planning required for communal area developments, representative institutions have to be formed, trained and supported first. For these institutions to be effective and truly representative community education is also required. All these processes are very long term. This is why there has tended to be little recognition of Farmers Committees as an appropriate institution. In some regions FCs have not been given a chance. They have not been elected or trained according to any terms of reference. If they have achieved little this is hardly surprising. It does not mean that FCs as a type of institution are generally not useful.

But are there any better alternatives? Areawide consultation cannot be undertaken by an unrepresentative project group or by a Farmers Association with a subscribed membership. VDCs, it is generally accepted, are village institutions only. They do not usually cover or represent the surrounding communal areas. AMAs and Co-operatives are but registered types of group with subscribed membership. Government opted back in 1972 not to link Agricultural Resources Conservation legislation with the development of area responsible "Intensive Development Associations" (See Chapter 5). The only route open at present, therefore, is to work through education and voluntary response.

Farmers Committees are currently the only form of representative institution being developed at the village and sub-village level. It is at this level that land use planning and consultation has to occur if the communal areas are to be developed and managed according to a rational strategy. It cannot be done by Land Boards, or even Sub Land

Boards, for their areas of jurisdiction. They too have to consult. And so would Councillors, though Council in any case lacks the technical expertise. The responsibility and expertise required is beyond the capacity too of one person - the village headman. And as has been mentioned earlier in this report, the structure of the traditional leadership hierarchy of ward headmen and 'badisa' (communal grazing overseers) has in most areas broken down through the increased mixing up of land use, so that this traditional system is by and large outdated. Where it still exists, however, any form of area wide institutional development should incorporate it.

R25/8: THIS REPORT THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT FARMERS COMMITTEES, TOGETHER WITH THE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP HIERARCHY,[2] ARE RECOGNISED AND PROMOTED AS THE KEY LOCAL LEVEL INSTITUTION IN COMMUNAL AREA PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT. This is expanded upon in Chapter 26, Section 26.20.

25.5.8. Liaison between FCs

This item of the terms of reference is closely related to the FC's consultation role in communal area planning and development. As was described in Chapter 10, FCs have been particularly concerned with the co-ordination of fencing schemes which involve adjacent communities. An example is the role played by the Lerala FC in negotiating the extension of the drift line fence by neighbouring Majwaneng.

The difficulties which can occur in the absence of such liaison were described in Chapter 10 (Section 10.1.3.) At Kopong where there was no effective FC, liaison with neighbouring Bokaa was completely confused. The Bokaa FC was also disorganised. One man from Kopong reportedly discussed the Kopong drift fence with the VDC Chairman at Bokaa. But the matter appeared to progress no further at Bokaa. Even the headman denied knowledge of the Kopong project.

25.6. THE OPERATION OF FARMERS COMMITTEES

The terms of reference for FCs[3] provide guidelines for FC operation in four areas - meetings, project administration, FC relationship with the VDC and FC relationships with other agricultural groups. In this section the problems which have been encountered in these areas will be studied.

25.6.1. Attendance at FC meetings

This was a problem reported in at least 14 cases (see the notes in Appendix 1). Simply assembling FC members together proved difficult, especially during the ploughing season when the population was scattered at the lands areas. The Bobonong North and Molalatau FCs did not meet

(2) It should be noted that FC terms of reference provide for the inclusion of traditional leadership in any case.

(3) Terms of Reference for FCs; Gaborone Region version March 1979; section 3.

between about November 1979 and May 1980 for this reason. In some cases as at Radisele, the problem was due to the difficulty of one FC covering too wide an area - a point we shall return to below.

Most frequently the problem has been, though, the lack of guidance and support FCs have received coupled with insufficient attention to their initial constitution. FCs can only be expected to meet regularly and function properly if they are formed and supported as they are meant to be - i.e. along the terms of reference. The GDO for Francistown reported finding most FCs in the region inactive upon her arrival because all that had been done had been to hold an election after which some ADs had been unaware whether the FC was active or not. Where FC inactivity has existed it has usually been for this reason.

Some ADs have managed to establish the kind of working relationship with their area FC that the guidelines speak of. More attention is needed to implement the terms of reference if viable FCs are to be facilitated.

25.6.2. Project administration

This item applies to the FC role in project management which was discussed above. The important factor to be aware of is that administrative capacity in rural communities is very limited. For the FC to undertake a heavy burden of administration management training is absolutely necessary. The alternative of transferring management responsibility to sub committees where possible also means management training.

The support available to FC administrative development has been quite inadequate in some regions, at least until very recently. Not only are many extension areas vacant (the absence of an AD has affected at least 18 FCs - i.e. the primary problem in their development) but a systematic programme of training has not been undertaken. Support is discussed below.

25.6.3. The relationship of the FC to the Village Development Committee (VDC)

This relationship has long been recognised as a potential problem area, and it was due to difficult experiences initially in Central Region that the FC/VDC relationship became an item in the terms of reference for FCs. The terms of reference state quite clearly that the FC should work closely with the VDC, keeping it informed of FC activities and routing project grant applications through the VDC. The FC should be represented on the VDC like other community organisations, and the VDC should be consulted before FC elections are held.

Where these guidelines have been followed, good FC/VDC relationships have been developed in many areas. The nature of the relationship is influenced most by the characters of the Councillor, and to a lesser extent the Headman, AD and VDC Chairman.

The classic problems with the operation of VDCs are to do with village level politics and the general lack of leadership and management qualities and capability at this level. Straightforward leadership rivalry is a common cause, for which Councillors are most often blamed by farmers organisations and extension workers. Certainly this report found plenty of cases of these problems. The complaints against some Councillors were that they

- do not involve themselves in projects or activities carried

out by farmers (and sometimes by VDCs)

- fail to take action such as reporting problems to do with water supply to Council (e.g. in the event of borehole breakdowns causing havoc for dam groups)
- never consult the residents of small lands areas about their problems
- never visit or call meetings in some smaller villages or lands areas, but stay in the main villages
- dominate the VDC and dictate and try to control events generally in the village
- belittle the traditional village leaders; assume a more "senior" status in the community because they are elected and therefore "know better"
- treat extension workers as their own "just hired to do work in 'their' village".

There is no doubt that certain Councillors as a result of these tendencies have slowed progress, hindered co-operation in communities and sometimes influenced people directly to undermine what other leaders are attempting to achieve. The most common symptom is the leadership rivalry between the Councillor and the headman. Where such rivalries exist, if either faction is given the slightest cause to suspect he has been left out in some planning or activity he will be jealous of the other and may be unco-operative. In certain isolated cases Councillors have been corrupt - misappropriating group funds or sabotaging FC efforts by,an FC reported in one case, stealing some equipment.

VDCs have tended to be particularly prone to disruption and inactivity due to leadership problems. But Councillors are not always the problem. Sometimes the headman has been at fault and has used the VDC for his own ends. In one case the village headman's wife was a VDC Secretary and funds raised were misappropriated. Here the councillor sided with the village extension team and manoeuvred events so that a new VDC was elected in 'kgotla'. This kind of corruption (mentioned in Chapter 3) has affected the confidence of many communities in the VDC and the village leadership generally. VDCs often fail to motivate the community into action as a result. Several cases were observed where group projects had received no support from the VDC - the Boipelo womens group is one example.

Thabala - a village which has become well known from its connection with the Range and Livestock Management Project, and the record of its FC and other groups since 1976, has not been immune from these problems. FC members described how village affairs were poisoned by the influence of two individuals on the local BDP Committee on the VDC and involved with the Motshegaletau FC sub committee. They were reported to be seeking leadership nominations in the community, jealous of any success in the FC and anti the headman of the village. Through their positions on the VDC they had excluded the headman from its meetings. They were quick to condemn ideas or projects initiated outside their sphere of influence. But as they also lacked understanding and any positive ideas of their own the VDC was a total failure. And the young lady ACDO in the village was ineffective in combatting such difficulties.

There are, of course, plenty of communities where the situation is unlike the scenario painted above. Some Councillors have played a

positive valuable role in development. At Mmadinare North, for example, the Councillor is involved in most activities going on, attends the 'kgotla' and co-operates with the FC. At Lerala the former Councillor backed the FC and the Palapye District agricultural staff, and was instrumental in arranging matters in Serowe so that the Tribal Authority and Ngwato Land Board should attend 'kgotla' at Lerala to deal with local leadership problems. Unfortunately this Councillor did not do so well in the VDC or in his relationship with the headman and after two incidents (one a technical matter concerning the village water supply about which he should have sought advice) he was removed from office.

Many VDCs in Botswana have achieved a lot. Some have built small schools in smaller villages or lands settlements like Mmamarobole and Kanngwe. Others have built community centres. Others have built traditional huts used for health posts or storerooms for drought relief food.

Their achievements have been mostly limited to these kind of small construction projects. Few have ventured into agriculture, and the attempts that there have been have been mostly unsuccessful - see chapter on vegetable gardens and conservation. Rarely a VDC has been involved with area wide development. One example is Nkange where the VDC was performing virtually an FC role in encouraging the formation of dam groups and supporting the efforts of the drift fence committee. The relationship between the VDC and the headman at Nkange was close. Also - an important factor - the link between village wards and lands areas was still strong. Ward headmen were members of the fence committee.

In the circumstances described above, the move to introduce a new representative institution at farming community level has sometimes been treated with suspicion. However, agricultural staff have found that the advantages of encouraging FC development can be great. The main advantages are:

- avoiding local political and factional problems
- area and whole community representation
- the possibility for a specialist institution to be trained and focussed on agricultural development

FCs are by no means totally immune from social and political disruption as the Thabala case above showed, and as has been described in the case of Mogapi (10.1.9) and elsehwere. But there is no doubt that where the guidelines in terms of reference have been systematically followed, and positive support of an organisational and technical nature has been provided by agricultural staff, FCs have succeeded in overcoming the sort of difficulties which have rendered many VDCs ineffective.

Where the FC/VDC relationship remains confused tends to be where the least systematic strategy in introducing FCs has taken place, or where it has yet to be started. In Ngamiland West the greatest confusion was reported regarding FCs and where they fitted in with the existing VDCs (few of which had achieved much). Regional staff explained that the problem was chiefly the lack of people to play leadership roles in the communities. VDCs were already there. If an FC was also elected, the same people would be chosen. This appears to be a problem of awareness which can only be solved by persistent education on the role of FCs.

Still in Maun Region, a very different attitude was taken by the Matsaudi VDC Secretary. He described the wonderful progress the Matsaudi VDC had made since its formation in 1979. Already a clinic

and a storeroom for drought relief rations had been built, and contributions were being raised for a school. And a visitors' house was planned. But, without prompting, the Secretary emphasised the need for an FC at Matsaudi too. Several sub areas were not represented on the VDC. The VDC was concerned with village developments. For training in agriculture an FC was needed.

What needs to be done to reduce confusion where it still exists is to publicise the FC terms of reference more effectively with full Government commitment. The FC terms of reference make the FC/VDC relationship clear and without controversy.

R25/9: SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS FOR VDCs, TRADITIONAL VILLAGE LEADERS, COUNCILLORS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STAFF TOGETHER WITH FCs AND AGRICULTURAL STAFF ARE RECOMMENDED in order to improve awareness of the FC terms of reference and thereby improve working relationships.

25.6.4. FC relationship with other agricultural groups

The valuable role which many FCs have played in supporting other agricultural groups was described in 25.5.5. Thus FCs, where properly constituted, have had a mostly effective relationship with other groups.

Only two areas of confusion stand out and these are the position of Farmers Associations and Marketing Co-operatives with respect to FCs.

One aspect of the problem with FAs is constitutional and will be discussed below (25.8.4.) where FAs have been encouraged, with their subscribed membership system, instead of representative area wide FCs, this can be corrected in future group development work.

The other aspect which concerns both FAs and Marketing Co-operatives, is what happens when community or area wide schemes are initiated but fail to get full community support. The most common instance of this has been in connection with crop collecting centres/input supplies stores. How can these be managed by an area wide FC when only part of the community is involved? Should they be managed by a Farmers Association on behalf of members? Or should Marketing Co-operatives be encouraged as has sometimes been preferred by factions within the village (e.g. Mopipi, Seleka an Kopong)? In Central Region several Marketing Co-operatives have indeed been formed as the direct result of FC initiatives. At Thabala, ten years ago, the FC proposed a grain store project and initiated contributions some time later. Over P1800 was raised through cattle sales, crop sales, parties and subscriptions. Even this amount proved, however, to be insufficient to enable the FC to purchase a store building in the village, and aware of the FC's limitations in this respect and in management, the solution reached was to form a branch of the Serowe Marketing Co-operative Society. It finally opened in 1979 with a Thabala man with previous experience working in the Serowe Co-operative as branch manager.

It took Thabala 9 years of patient effort and negotiation to organise a Co-operative branch. Is this not a lesson to many communities at present in a confused state of affairs? The fact of the matter is that marketing, grain storage, and ordering and retailing agricultural inputs are activities which even if they are not to be business oriented, still require management.

Few FCs have this kind of management capacity. The management has to be trained for whatever organisation it will work for. At this stage it is only feasible for operations of this kind on any scale, to be

managed by registered organisations such as Co-operatives or AMAs, or by parastatals such as BAMB. Close scrutiny of any proposals for organisation outside these structures is essential. An organisation which works on behalf of subscribed members only must be commercially viable and should not receive subsidisation if its constitution allows profit to be gained from charging non members excessively. This is the basic problem, and is why FAs are potentially divisive as compared with FCs.

R25/10: POLICY SHOULD BE TO SUPPORT ACTION BY FCs ON ANY SCALE WITHIN THE FC's MANAGEMENT CAPACITY (e.g. the operation of a crop collecting activity as carried out by FCs in Central Region, or the bulk order of seeds - both "on -off" type of activities not requiring continuous management) AND ENCOURAGE FULL PARTICIPATION. LARGER SCALE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES THAN THIS SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO REGISTERED ORGANISATIONS.

25.7. FARMERS COMMITTEE ORGANISATION

25.7.1. Membership

The FC terms of reference provide guidelines on membership which require that there should be sufficient members elected to the committee to fill the various office-holding posts (Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer etc.) and represent both village residents and those living in all sub areas of the extension area. Guidelines for the inclusion of various ex-officio and co-opted members are also given.

The workings of the terms of reference in practice are much affected by the area of jurisdiction of the FC - to be discussed below. But where difficulties have been experienced in obtaining area wide representation tends to be confined to regions or districts where the terms of reference have not been systematically introduced. The Pelotshetlha FC, for example, is not representative of all sub areas for the reason that FC elections have not been carried out on this basis.

At Dinogeng the FC, though very active, has also been formed and constituted in a rather unorthodox way. The FC membership is composed simply of two members elected from every group in the extension area. As there are now 11 dam and clinic groups, there are 22 FC members.

R25/11: ALTHOUGH THIS REPORT IN NO WAY UNDERVALUES WHAT THE DINOGENG FC HAS ACHIEVED, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE GDO STUDIES THE EFFECT OF THIS SYSTEM OF ELECTING MEMBERSHIP ON FARMER REPRESENTATION IN THE EXTENSION AREA.

As is discussed below under elections, membership, particularly of FCs which have been unchanged since Pupil Farmers Scheme times or those elected in an area for the first time, is often weak. Re-election accompanied by active community education is the only way to remedy this.

25.7.2. Problems in area-wide coverage

Many Farmers Committees are constituted so as to cover all the sub areas of an extension area. Examples include:

Taupye - 6 representatives from 2 lands areas

- 9 representatives from 3 cattlepost areas

Khumaga - representatives from 4 sub areas

Manoko - 2 representatives each from 5 sub areas

The organisation of one extension area-wide FC has proved a problem, however, in many situations. The extension areas are often too wide for one FC to cover. Committees formed in these situations fail to meet regularly and the organisation of any activities is thus made difficult. The Matlage FC, for example, only meets regularly between August and October in Mochudi because the 4 lands sub areas at Matlage are 15 km apart. Farmers at Toteng in Ngamiland likewise give as their reason for not meeting, their widely scattered settlement pattern.

In situations such as these a solution which has developed has been the dissolution of the previous area-wide FC and the formation in its stead of more than one sub area FC. Examples of this are:

Nkange FC split into 3 FCs for Nkange, Serete and Changate

Palapye FC split into 3 - Dikabeyana

Setlatse - Masuakoloi

Dikabeya - Lechana

And at Radisele it was proposed that 2 FCs should be re-elected to replace the one previously inactive one.

R25/12: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GROUP DEVELOPMENT STAFF IN THE REGIONS STUDY THE AREA JURISDICTION OF FCs WITH CARE, IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PROPER REPRESENTATION WHICH FC ORGANISATION MUST BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ACHIEVE.

A particular problem seems to beset the larger villages. Mmadinare used to have one village FC which failed to cover the needs of the two extension areas. Two FCs were therefore elected instead - the Mmadinare North FC subsequently functioning very effectively. At Shoshong this has yet to be done. A combined FC for both the East and West extension areas still exists, but is quite inactive. In the major villages like Serowe, Mahalapye and Bobonong, Farmers Committees only seem to function if they are based at lands areas. Around Serowe by mid 1980 there were 5 lands-based FCs according to Central Region GDO's report for 1979/80. The FC at Malepe (Mahalapye West) covers only part of Mahalapye West - basically the farmers from Tshikinyega ward. When FCs are organised this way they are able to meet more easily at the lands, or in the village. The Serowe East FC meets either in Serowe or at Kgaswe lands.

To have one extension area-wide Farmers Committee is thus impractical in many situations. It has been recognised for some time that a flexible approach should be adopted on this issue. The terms of reference for FCs developed in Central Region in 1978 make this most clear. Basically one FC was recommended for each permanent community with sub committees formed as necessary at lands and cattlepost settlements. In extension areas containing two or more adjacent villages one combined FC with representatives from both villages was considered appropriate, the decision depending on

(a) social and tribal background of the residents in each village,

(b) physical distribution of each village's lands and cattlepost areas - whether clearly distinct or whether the residents of the different villages share adjacent lands, grazing and water sources,

(c) the history of interaction and co-operation in activities of the two villages,

(d) the distance between the villages.

The development of new institutions takes time and reaching the best arrangement in certain situations may be difficult all at once. The process may be assisted if there is greater awareness of the purposes of institutional development. Popular methods of adult education have been successful in some areas in creating this awareness.

Area coverage is crucial to the role of FCs in communal area planning and development. It has not been possible in this report to study this question in anything like the depth required.

R25/13: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FURTHER RESEARCH IS INITIATED INTO THE QUESTION OF AREA COVERAGE. The experience of FCs should be looked at closely to find out how they have operated in practice in this respect, what are the best organisational arrangements and support requirements (should transport be provided in certain circumstances, for example)? And what in particular has been the pattern in terms of village ward - lands/grazing area communication through FCs? Can ward headmen be better involved in FC development?

25.7.3. Farmers Committee elections

The Farmers Committee terms of reference require the election of the committee in 'kgotla' so as to be fully representative of the community and its sub areas.

In Central Region a systematic programme to facilitate FC elections has operated for about 3 years although in some extension areas and districts it took longer to catch on than in others. The value of these elections has been demonstrated very clearly. Even such well known Farmers Committees as those at Lerala and Thabala had problems in the past. The original FC at Lerala was a failure. The office bearers elected in 1975/76 were weak, apparently only elected "because they were too weak to refuse" - as farmers put it in an interview. But the 1977 re-elections brought in new more active members. The 1971 elected FC at Thabala was likewise much stronger than the previous two. At Thabala there have been six re-elections over the years. Generally speaking the quality of those elected tends to improve as re-elections take place and members of the community become more aware of the Farmers Committee role and performance.

But many FCs have neither been re-elected nor even properly elected in the first place. At Bokaa the FC was completely disorganised; in fact it was not even possible to know who was on it. Reshuffling had apparently taken place without any election or consultation in the community or knowledge of the headman. Even at Pelotshetlha the membership of the FC has been unchanged since it first formed in 1972. It was formed from the same 22 elders and headmen chosen to represent the 7 sub area sections of the Pelotshetlha drift fence. Some sub areas of Pelotshetlha are not represented on it. ADs at Pelotshetlha were

quite unaware that it would function better as a Farmers Committee if new more representative members were elected to it.

Getting the right people elected can be a problem in itself though. In the first election or two, weak people tend to be elected or else the very same people - often the wealthy and influential - who are already on most other village institutions. Neither outcome may be satisfactory. Just as the initial FCs in places like Lerala were weak, so are some FCs still persisting now still weak as they have never been re-elected since their formation. At Otse, for example, the FC achieved nothing. A spray race had been planned, but since the Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association had a much more dynamic committee and proposed renovating the dip tank at Rankoromane, the RLFA drew off any support the FC had into its ranks - including FC office holders. This left Otse without a representative FC. Similarly at Ranaka the elected FC was weak and two years elapsed before a stronger sub group formed to undertake the Kwahu dip tank project the FC was supposed to have organised.

The other problem - domination of the FC by influential people involved in virtually all other village affairs is equally liable to happen, and was reported to be particularly prevalent in Ngamiland.

Overcoming these problems may not be easy, but the election process is vitally important if the FC is to play its proper role. Quite practical matters enter here. Experience has shown that elections may fail if held in the village at an inappropriate time of year. An attempt to re-elect a more active FC in Sefhophe failed, even after a Popular Theatre campaign, because people were away at the lands at the time. Elections attempted at Chadibe and Kalamare in May 1979 likewise failed. But in August 125 people attended the 'kgotla' election at Chadibe. Support may be needed in the form of transport to collect people. The DAO at Mahalapye planned in his July-September 3-month programme to provide transport to enable people from the cattlepost areas at Taupye to participate in elections. These practical aspects should not be overlooked.

It was through a systematic programme of this kind, with much preparatory publicity, that over 45 FCs in Central Region were re-elected or elected for the first time in 1979.

The terms of reference provide clear guidelines on elections, the need for regular re-elections and on handing over procedures - even the need for an outgoing FC to provide a full report on its activities and finances.

R25/14: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A DETERMINED EFFORT IS MADE TO INTRODUCE A SYSTEMATIC PROGRAMME OF FC ELECTION AND TRAINING IN THE REGIONS WHERE THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN DONE. The experience in Central Region should be case studied to assist staff in other regions in becoming more aware of what institutional development on this scale has to involve. It is not just a matter of the AD announcing a 'kgotla' meeting in order to hold an election. It must involve a consistent dynamic educational effort. The launching of an effort of this kind will be impossible while the Ministry of Agriculture remains ambivalent on Farmers Committees.

25.7.4. <u>FC constitutions - an area of confusion</u>

The terms of reference provide very clear guidelines for FC constitutions (see Appendix 26.1 section 2.9). But a glance at the FC data in Appendix 1 will reveal how few FCs have drafted constitutions to govern

their activities. Even in Central Region where a copy of the Maunatlala FC constitution was included in the 1979 FC training handbook, it appeared that by mid 1980 few FCs had drafted similar by-laws.[4] Where by-laws had been drafted they mostly covered rules for the implementation of a specific project, as for the fencing schemes at Mogobane, Sefhare, Masoko, Lerala and Mmadinare North, the firebreak project at Mogapi, the dam groups at Segakwana or the grain store at Mopipi. At Lerala the by-laws had been misplaced at the Palapye DAO's office for two years and had therefore not been enforced. Only at Mmaphashalala did the FC acknowledge that it had ' laws governing its meetings as well as the implementation of the fencing scheme.

The Maunatlala by-laws remain virtually unique, therefore. Even these by-laws fall short of those recommended in the terms of reference. They contain no provisions regarding area representation, for example, and little detail on financial control, powers and duties of the committee election procedure.

In most other parts of the country it appears that, as would be expected in the absence of a systematic programme of FC development based on the terms of reference, there are no properly constituted FCs.[5]

The Chobe District FCs are, according to the GDO, no more than project groups. Their by-laws simply cover the joining fees and rules for cattle husbandry activities. In Francistown Region most of the development has been of Farmers Association with subscribed membership. And in Gaborone region also, Farmers Associations have been encouraged and FC development totally confused in the process. At Kopong a former GDO was unaware that the "FC" was really a Farmers Association, and did little to facilitate matters by presenting the Bokaa Farmers Association constitution (designed for the implementation of a dip tank) as the model for the Kopong "FC" to copy in planning its crop collecting centre project. Elsewhere in Gaborone Region the Mmankgodi FA constitution was widely used as a model.

Kopong, though, is an example of the utter confusion which has resulted due to the unsystematic proach to FC development in that region. Following the original directives in 1976/77 on FC formation, the Kopong AD succeeded in getting an FC elected in 'kgotla' in 1977. This was no mean feat in a village with a reportedly indifferent, rough and usually drunk headman who provided little leadership or support for anything, and with a Councillor based in Molepolole who also rarely visited the village or involved himself in its affairs. But the following year a new DAO for Kweneng North started promoting Farmers Associations throughout the District. So in Kopong in 1978 another meeting was held by this DAO, at which members of the community were told to register their membership in a Farmers . sociation with the AD and pay a 50t subscription. 43 people registered. The Farmers Association had, at this stage, no defined purpose. From its formation in 1978 until 1980 when the author visited Kopong no 'kgotla' meeting was even held by the Association. Somehow the previously elected FC was left to fade away and the committee of the Farmers Association was assumed to be the FC for Kopong - at least by regional staff. The AD was clearly never asked in detail about the election process or other organisation questions concerning the FC.

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(4) It is believed that more may now have done so in Central Region following the 1980 workshops

(5) Maitengwe may be an exception to this unless it, too, is really a Farmers Association

At some stage the committee decided upon a crop collecting centre as the project the Association should undertake. No community consultation occurred in making this decision; in fact, the community was not even informed. In 1979 the subscription was raised to P3.00. No new members joined and few paid the full subscription.

The problems the Kopong FA got into with the collecting centre project were described in Chapter 20. As has been mentioned above (25.5.8) the absence of an effective area-wide FC in Kopong had not eased the implementation of the Sasakwe-Kopong drift fence, and, coupled with complete disorganisation in neighbouring Bokaa, meant that no consultation or co-ordination had occurred between these two villages.

It is both damaging and unnecessary that extension staff should still be unclear over the difference between a Farmers Committee and a Farmers Association. The confusion that still prevails over this has been the major factor responsible for the absence of FCs in those regions where a systematic development programme has yet to be introduced. The confusion is essentially a constitutional one. A Farmers Committee is an elected committee. Its "membership" cannot be more than those elected. Yet in many group data sheets "FCs" are recorded with memberships of 28, 35, 36, 30, 42 or even 50. No farming community level committee (or any for that matter?) can function with a membership of this size!

R25/15: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMA OFFICE TAKES STEPS TO CLARIFY TO ALL CONCERNED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONS OF A FARMERS COMMITTEE AND A FARMERS ASSOCIATION

R25/16: IT IS FURTHER RECOMMENDED THAT ALL FCs SHOULD DRAFT CONSTITUTIONS ALONG THE GUIDELINES PROVIDED IN FC TERMS OF REFERENCE. Constitutions will differ from one FC to another in order to provide for particular local conditions such as the geographical sub areas to be represented, or activities to be undertaken.

R25/17: GUIDELINES FOR DRAFTING CONSTITUTIONS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED IN THE FORM OF QUESTIONS AND REMINDERS such as "Which sub areas must be represented on this FC?"

R25/18: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE RECONSIDERS THE QUESTION OF FC RECOGNITION IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROPERLY CONSTITUTED (NOT REGISTERED) FCs THROUGH THE ADDED INCENTIVE[6] THAT RECOGNITION WOULD PROVIDE. Such recognition should be linked to:

- properly constituted election of members
- the attendance of a minimum number of FC members at an RTC training programme
- full representation of sub areas
- the drafting of an approved constitution
- holding of regular meetings as an initial test of organisational capability

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(6) Recognition along these lines was recommended in Central Region in 1978 (savingram GDO Central 28 November 1978)

R25/19: IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH THIS REPORT FOUND IN REACHING TARGET GROUPS, PARTICULARLY WOMEN, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CONSTITUTIONS OF ALL FCs SHOULD PROVIDE FOR A CERTAIN MINIMUM NUMBER OF WOMEN TO BE ELECTED.

25.8. THE PURPOSE OF A FARMERS COMMITTEE

So far in this chapter we have reviewed the experience with FCs, noting what has been achieved and the problems there have been, and all the time using as our basis the terms of reference which have been developed as guidelines for FC organisation and operation. Furthermore, we have worked from the premise that the purpose of an FC is as defined in the terms of reference (see Appendix 26.1 or section 25.2.1). But to assess the impact of FCs properly, various questions remain. Can the purposes defined be achieved any other way? Are FCs essential? For what function are FCs the most appropriate institution? What functions can be performed as well or more effectively by other forms of organisation? What should the policy be on FC development and should this necessitate any further revision of the terms of reference?

25.8.1. The need for more research to assess FC impact.

To answer the questions posed above and to assess FC impact properly requires careful comparison with the experience in parts of the country where FC development has been less emphasised. Unfortunately the kind of comparative research necessary for this proved beyond the scope of this study. Although as complete as possible an inventory of group activity was attempted, it is considered that the data base of this report is insufficiently detailed to enable an objective comparison to be made between the experience in areas where FCs have been developed and areas where they have not.

25/20: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT HIGH PRIORITY IS GIVEN TO AN IN DEPTH RESEARCH ASSIGNMENT SPECIFICALLY IN THIS AREA BECAUSE THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR FARMERS COMMITTEES CLAIM that Farmers Committees have a key role to play in communal area planning and development as well as in other functions, and it is therefore highly important that this area of institutional development is appraised fully.

A factor to be aware of in any further research is that FC development even in most parts of Central Region (where it has been systematically supported for longest) is still in its infancy. Many FCs have only been functioning 2 to 3 years and have received one or perhaps two training courses. In terms of the process of development of rural institutions this is nothing. Taking account of the state of FC development at the same time as comparing what it has achieved within a control situation (no FC development) will be a complex research exercise.

25.8.2. What alternative forms of group organisation can and cannot do

A belief seems to have developed in some circles that Farmers Committees are one alternative approach in group development. Regional differences in approach have been highly pronounced; those regions

which have not emphasised Farmers Committee development justified their approach with the argument that development can occur just as effectively through the encouragement of group activity around particular problems and projects. The proponents of FC development argued on the other hand that the election and training of representative area wide FCs formed a useful basis for group activity generally.

In order to avoid being caught in the midst of the two arguments it is important to recognise more clearly the types of activity more suited to particular forms of organisation, but also the limitations of these organisational alternatives. Some examples can be given:

(i) Co-operative Societies

Co-operative Societies can and do organise a variety of projects and activities which FCs have also proposed. These include:

- hammermills
- crop marketing
- grain storage
- supply of agricultural inputs
- building and operation of dip tanks/spray races
- construction of handling facilities (usually related to their normal livestock marketing function)

In most of these areas a Co-operative Society is generally much better established to manage the activity than a Farmers Committee. The significant point is that all these activities can be performed as services to Society members (and in some cases membership of the Society is not considered too closely so that non members may also benefit) but managed on behalf of rather than by the farmers concerned. Where a community is sufficiently large to justify a Co-operative organisation and to pay the wage of its manager and other staff, a Farmers Committee may as well keep out of the management of such activities.

The functions which Co-operative Societies cannot claim to perform though, are the planning, consultation and decision-making functions for a community. There are areas, though, where the committees of Co-operative Societies are virtually engaged in this representative role. It was reported at Gweta and Gabane that the Co-operative Societies were far stronger institutions in those villages than the FCs. Some regional staff were strongly supportive of the Co-operative movement, believing that extension staff should devote more attention to working through Co-operative Societies as an extension medium. This is certainly true.[7]

But so long as in Botswana membership of Co-operative Societies is voluntary and based on subscription, the committee of a village Co-operative Society cannot be a representative institution for the area-wide community as a whole.

R25/21: THIS REPORT MUST THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT GROUP DEVELOPMENT STAFF SHOULD SEEK TO STRENGTHEN FCs AS REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS EVEN WHERE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES HAVE BECOME LOCALLY POWERFUL, whilst being mindful of the functions which the Co-operative Societies can still be encouraged to perform.

The two institutions should, in other words, be complementary.

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(7) Chambers and Feldman also recommended the use of Co-operatives as a medium for group extension: see "Report on Rural Development" section 76.1.

(ii) Project Groups

Farmers Committees have organised and managed well over 100 projects (see 25.5.6) and have indirectly supported the implementation of about another 100 projects undertaken by project groups (see 25.5.5). Whilst this achievement is considerable, it remains a fact too that still more projects have been implemented or attempted by project groups unconnected with an area FC. As table 25(i) showed - there are only about 70 active FCs in the country out of about 140 reported to exist.

Group activity has by no means been confined to the extension areas where there have been active FCs. Also, as Table 25(v) below shows, project activity has occurred in areas where FCs exist, though reportedly unsupported by those FCs. This is mostly the case where the FCs concerned are not constituted according to the FC terms of reference.

TABLE 25(v): PROJECTS PROPOSED OR UNDERTAKEN BY GROUPS IN AREAS WHERE FC EXISTS, BUT WITHOUT FC SUPPORT/ INVOLVEMENT

	MAUN	F'TOWN	CENTRAL	GAB.	SOUTH
WATER DEVELOPMENT					
General	Rakops	Toteng			
Dam groups		Nkange		Matlage	Ranaka
Borehole groups	Rakops Mopipi	Tonota		Matlage	
Mogau fencing group		Chibangabiya			
Drift fencing		Nkange	Mmatshuno		Gathwane Maunyele
Tick control		Matenge Tonota Matsiloje Thalogang	Makoro	Bokaa Rasesa Kumakwane	Maunyele Ranaka
Smallstock		Mosojane Sechele Gulubane			
Hammermill projects:					
Co-ops		Moroka Mapoka			
VDCs		Tanota Goshwe			
APRU cell AMA		Ntimbale			
Fisheries	Mopipi				
Molapo bunding	Rakops				

NOTE ON TABLE 25(v)

This table is probably not a complete picture. It was not possible to reconcile all available information on existing project groups with areas with FCs.

Outside the areas of jurisdiction of FCs projects and activities of all kinds have been undertaken or attempted. Many, particularly drift fencing schemes, have been area-wide and in some cases, such as the Macha fence, have crossed boundaries between extension areas. Furthermore, the phenomenon of multi-project activity within one extension area is not limited to areas where FCs have been formed. The examples below are evidence of this:

TABLE 25(vi): MULTI-PROJECT AREAS - NO FC

Region/Area	Types of project/activity undertaken/proposed
SOUTHERN	
Mmalore	Drift fencing (Macha) (+ firebreak proposed) Cattle and smallstock husbandry Dam groups
Kanngwe	Drift fence (Macha) Cattle and smallstock husbandry Borehole syndicate 4B/YWCA vegetable garden
Moshupha South	Drift fence (Polokwe-Kgotla-Sobe) Dam management Smallstock groups
Mokatako	Drift fence Smallstock and cattle dips (pending fence)
Kgoro	Smallstock management Cattle spray race planned
Hebron	Borehole (reticulation from Council LH) Fence Dip tank pending fence
Ntlhantlhe	Drift fence (joining Magotlhwane and Lekgolobotlho) Dip tank proposed
GABORONE	
Thamaga	Spray races and crushes/hand pumps at Tsorogwane, Diphephe, Seokangwe, Manametse (all planned/being started)
Kubung	Old 'ipelegeng' dam 4 recent dam groups Tick control proposed APRU cell proposed

There are many other areas besides the above mentioned where several different activities have been proposed or attempted, and even more where single projects or types of activity have been undertaken. The collating of a total picture of activity by areas in this way should be the initial task of the further research recommended (R25/20 above).

To what extent, though, can the experience be compared with that in areas where properly constituted FCs have been active?, Brief observations can be made on the different types of group.

Communal ranch organisation has been attempted in various parts of the country and was the subject of an in depth account in Chapter 11. The importance of institutional development emerged as the overwhelming need throughout the experience. Interestingly, FC development seems to have been weakest or non existent almost everywhere where communal ranch proposals have been made with the notable exceptions of Thabala and Tsetsejwe. At Morale there has been no effective area FC development because of the difficulty of organising FCs out of major villages. The result was complete lack of communication between the cattlepost owners proposing the ranch and their neighbours. At Tlhagasanong, although internal problems were the primary factor constraining progress, here too FC organisation was weak (it is believed due to social problems in Kgagodi/Mogapinyana villages) and a consultation exercise to establish the ranch proposal in the context of the surrounding communal area situation was never undertaken. In the Barolong, the membership of the grazing enclosures is believed not to be fully representative in a situation absolutely demanding a "total" approach. There are no representative institutions in the Barolong to utilise for the consultation and planning required. At Thabala where there was a representative FC, the Range and Livestock Management Project failed to utilise it initially in planning and consulting on the approach to be taken. When the FC was finally consulted the "total approach" suggested was more than the Ministry of Agriculture was equipped to support. Since the RLMP the Thabala FC, as Chapter 11 described, has come up with proposals for camps which the FC certainly could implement once it has spare capacity freed from managing other projects.

Chapter 11 showed how difficult progress has been in the absence of effective area institutions, and where such institutions were not purposefully developed as part of the planning and consultation process. Even the introduction of APRU communal cells has foundered over this problem.

Much has still to be learned concerning the institutional needs for action in this area. As consultation is required area-wide it implies the need for better definition of areas. The whole question of partial or total area development rests on this. What area is Morale a part of? In the Barolong, how can total areas be defined? Somehow the population of every lands and cattlepost settlement has to be represented effectively so that their representatives can receive the training necessary for the planning, consultation and other management functions involved in the process of area development. Even where FC development has been emphasised there remain corners like Morale difficult to cover.

R25/22: FURTHER RESEARCH IS RECOMMENDED STRONGLY INTO REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THIS CONNECTION.

Drift and lands enclosure fencing is an area of activity where a great deal has happened both outside the jurisdiction of FCs as well as through their direct management and indirect support. Specific observations on organisation were made in Chapter 9 (section 9.3.2). This shows that area-wide organisation for the purpose of constructing a drift fence is possible without there being an area FC. But the principles for area-wide organisation have to be identical with those incorporated in the FC terms of reference if projects are to be designed, implemented and managed successfully. Without area-wide representation, consultation with all sectors of the population affected may be inadequate. By-laws

are made by fence committees which overlook possible difficulties for small herd owners. Water development is not co-ordinated where it is needed for a fence design to work. Some of the major drift fences have not worked as was planned - cattle are still kept inside the lands. Difficulties have been experienced in soliciting the collaboration of neighbouring communities. The experience generally confirms that for area-wide projects, representative area-wide institutions are needed. Even if they have not been elected, trained, or called "FCs", many committees, especially in Southern Region, have attempted to perform the same project management role. The main differences between these committees and FCs encouraged through a programme of FC development, is that the drift fence committees have received less support and training, have performed no role other than that of fence project management, and are probably less representative (judging from the Pelotshetlha drift fence committee which became the area FC).

The chapters on both water development and cattle and smallstock husbandry and management (Chapters 14, 15 and 16) all emphasised the importance of area-wide (spatial) factors. A common problem in tick control and smallstock dosing has been the failure to establish area-wide support for projects. In some cases the problem has been that action by one community has not been reciprocated by neighbours who share common grazing areas. A difficulty is to plan at what level activity should take place (small handling facilities distributed in separate localities, or larger central facilities like dip tanks). Institutional development on an area-wide basis was seen as an important solution to these planning, consultation and participation problems. The spatial distribution of livestock husbandry and management facilities was also linked to that of water development. And in water development the lack of attention to spatial considerations has resulted in extreme difficulties in the management of water sources - particularly dams. By-laws are unenforceable and dams unmanaged. These problems continue without solution so long as there is no institutional forum through which the problems can be discussed and area-wide action taken as has occurred in some areas where FCs have been active.

In most cases the groups which have managed activity in water development and livestock husbandry have yet to undertake roles beyond that of their project objective. But in some of the "multi-project areas" listed in Table 25(vi) above, there has inevitably been some overlap in membership between those involved in the drift fence and those involved in livestock or other activities, all within the same locality. Some of those elected onto the management committees for different activities were also the same people.

This study could not look closely at the social dynamics involved here. But it is recognised as an important area which should be studied in order to answer properly the question - should institutional development start with area-wide FCs or with project oriented groups?

R25/23: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FURTHER RESEARCH IS UNDERTAKEN INTO THE INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN MULTI-PROJECT AREAS WHERE THERE IS NO FC. How representative are the project committees which have been set up? How have they been constituted? How effectively do they "cover" the area when several committees exist for different activities, often with some overlap in membership? And most importantly, how does this institutional structure deal with the co-ordination necessary for multi-project activity within a spatial plan? How can development be planned,

consulted about, organised and implemented according to a spatial plan in the absence of an area-wide representative institution?

25.8.3. What is a Farmers Committee essential for - some conclusions on FC purpose

This report cannot, unfortunately, provide answers to the questions just above on institutional arrangements in the areas where FCs have not been developed. It is hoped, though, that the data provided in this report will form much of the data base for the further study which is recommended.

But some conclusions on Farmers Committees as a form of area-wide institutional development can be made.

Supporting the AD in planning, organising and carrying out extension activities

This supportive FC role was discussed fairly fully in section 25.5.3. As that section showed, FCs are being asked to do a lot in their terms of reference, and training is required to produce an FC with this capability.

In areas without FCs, ADs have no representative committee to consult or work with. Project groups, which can still be formed and supported, cannot perform this function. The AD is left with the 'kgotla', the VDC and various community leaders to consult. This is the way extension work has been managed all along, and its drawbacks were discussed in Chapter 4. It should be recalled that Farmers Committees were encouraged by the Department of Agricultural Field Services as part of the general reorganisation of extension and the creation of a new management system. The aim was to broaden outreach and reach target groups.

In the areas where FCs have not been emphasised, this component of the Ministry's approach, in other words, is missing.

The need for an area FC, in this respect, has to be seen in terms of the management of agricultural extension. The preparation of extension area Annual Plans can be a meaningless exercise when there is no communication between the AD and the community(ies) concerned - which is still sometimes the case. In this respect the ability of the AD, the quality of management and the degree of institutional development tend to go together in the regions where there has been a systematic attempt to develop them.

Policy on FC terms of reference must come clear on their connection with the Department's Management system. Is it policy to facilitate FC development for this purpose (as it was in 1976) or not?

R25/24: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DAFS CLARIFIES THIS POLICY AREA. A number of considerations should enter in this. The management requirements have developed considerably since 1976. In several chapters this report has concluded that extension work has to focus on individual action (e.g. in poultry, ALDEP packages etc.) but through group extension methods. A single FC may not be the most appropriate institution for carrying out extension in several specialist fields. Possibly separate or sub-committees representing farmers concerned with certain programmes should be encouraged. This is a management issue for which it is considered that specialist management advice should be sought.

Representing the farming community in making the community's problems, needs or proposals known to the Ministry of Agriculture

This function was recognised as needed at the time when an alternative to the Pupil Farmers Scheme was being developed. One savingram[8] described the needed function as "group pressure action to present proposals for change or attention".

In theory any group can exert pressure. But the tendency is for real pressure to be exerted only by those with the confidence, contacts, ability to articulate, and economic power. Thus big arable farmers in the south do influence BAMB. And borehole owners have formed associations, such as the Kgatleng Syndicates Association and the S.W. Ngami Farmers Association, to exert pressure or protect their interests.

But less powerful groups are less able to make their problems known. Dam group committees, for example, were able to talk for hours during this consultancy on the intractable problems of managing their dams. But they had been unable, for example, to voice the difficulties that occur when a neighbouring Council or private borehole breaks down and cattle flood into their area destroying their grazing and making control of the use of their dam impossible. And these and many other types of group involved in communal area development (fencing, cattle husbandry etc.) have great trouble enforcing project by-laws.

In practice, therefore, the pressure groups which have formed tend only to represent the more articulate and powerful. The target group especially is unrepresented. This was, of course, the problem with Farmers Associations formed under the Pupil Farmers Scheme.

As members of the Mmaphashalala FC observed, the FC there dated from 1972 under the Pupil Farmers Scheme, but in 1976 when the Pupil Farmers Scheme ended a new FC was elected for the first time in 'kgotla' after the AD introduced the idea and now "represents everyone in the village without discrimination". Where FCs were not elected through a careful process, "discrimination" continued. At Palapye, the earlier FC represented only the "big shots" who farmed with tractors at the Setlatse lands nearest Palapye and then returned to the village. Those residing more permanently at sub-areas like Dikabeyana were "looked down upon". In order to be self reliant the sub-areas had to form their own area FCs.

Without an institution to advocate on the behalf of poorer farmers generally, how could issues like the Palla Road lands area application be handled? Although the Palla Road FC had yet (1980) to succeed in its case, the FC role had been crucial in establishing the resolution of the farmers of that village to seek an allocation from Land Board. And at Mathathane land issues were again an FC concern in the face of pressures from the Bobonong Sub Land Board on farmers to vacate any fields in areas the Sub Land Board designated as grazing. Social/leadership factors entered here - the Mathathane people being more recent immigrants in a sub-district "ruled" by the Babirwa. The headman of the village, it was reported, was unable to intervene in this situation, though whether this was due to weakness, appeasing the Babirwa, or to his being in favour of lands and grazing segregation, was unclear. Whatever the case, the need for an area-wide institution representing all interests was vital if any rational approach to the problem based on land use planning was to be taken.

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(8) "Development of Farmers Associations/Committees" by the Acting Director of Agric. Field Services; 24 March 1976.

The great variety of farmer concerns raised by FCs was presented in Table 25 (iv), though a perusal of the Appendix 1 tables provides a better "feel" for the FC role.

What an FC can be, that other groups cannot be, is totally representative of the farming community. It is an institutional function desperately needed at the stage Botswana has reached in its rural development efforts if the country's mineral wealth is to reach the stated target groups.

The poor tend not to show up or speak up at 'kgotla'. They are less articulate and less aware of the pace of change and the implications of developments. "Rules" are made by the elected committees for projects. Sometimes, as with some drift fence and dip tank projects, the rules penalise late joiners who tend to be the poorer members of the community. A small herd owner may find that when a drift fence is built, it causes him great inconvenience and that to keep cattle inside the lands now contravenes the by-laws.

What Farmers Committee development is all about is implementing Government policy concerned with broadening outreach, reaching the target groups and representing those who have tended to get left behind.

But to actually do this requires a positive determined effort, a systematic programme of public education, training and support and a state of commitment to and solidarity with the target groups. These things do not just happen. They have to be worked at hard. The support and training needs will be outlined below.

Planning, implementing and managing agricultural development projects affecting or involving the extension area as a whole

What must be recognised is that all area-wide development needs the same management functions performed for it to be successful. There has to be a creation of public awareness and understanding (i.e. consultation); there has to be an appropriate project design, in which spatial planning often needs to be involved; by-laws need to be worked out as the operational aspect of the project design; labour and funds have to be organised; ultimately the scheme has to work as time goes on which means ongoing management, decision making and action. A lot of co-ordination is required whether between sub-area working groups, between one area and the next, or between the communities concerned and other agencies and local authorities.

Farmers Committee development, where a programme is systematically pursued, is a way of building up the area-wide representative institutions necessary. FCs are constituted and trained purposefully for the management functions we are talking about. Where there has not been such a development of institutional infrastructure, some of the essential functions have tended to be missing - particularly a spatial planning approach (in Southern Region, for example, there are virtually no maps of anything and no concept of development according to any local land use plan), public education and full consultation.

It can be concluded that:

(i) what is important is that the necessary management functions outlined above for area-wide development are performed, and that training and support develops the required capacity,

(ii) a specific project committee can perform these functions as regards the project concerned provided that the necessary support is received, and that the committee is constituted in a manner

similar to an FC in respect of these management functions (but not taking in other FC roles). Where local social or political factors make the overt FC formation task very difficult, an approach through area project groups can therefore be a valid one. However, overt intervention can be the very medicine needed in some situations; social problems can be overcome through the introduction of new blood in the form of a freshly elected institution. But this process is one which requires a professional adult education approach.

(iii) It is important that the types of activity appropriate for FC management (i.e. area-wide or whole community schemes) are clearly distinguished from types of activity better managed by project groups or other forms of organisation (cf. section 25.8.2). It is believed that much of the ignorance about the purpose of FCs stems from confusion in this area.

25.8.4. Policy on FC development

The need for the development of representative area-wide institutions through which extension activities can be promoted, developments managed and consultation achieved cannot be questioned. Institutions are needed - particularly in the mixed lands/grazing areas, and particularly in order to effect an outreach to target groups. Social and political constraints presently hindering development in many localities also have to be overcome.

Policy on FC development dates from the early 1970s when the Ministry intended Farmers Associations to develop in such a way as to broaden extension coverage. However, as we have seen, FAs have failed to develop in such a way as to embrace the needs of the communities and areas as a whole. It seems that although institutions were recognised as necessary, guidelines for how they were to be constituted were never developed. A savingram from the Acting Director of Agric. Field Services dated 24 March 1976 illustrates the state of thinking. It was entitled "Development of Farmers Associations/Committees" from which one can infer the distinction between the two was not clearly drawn. It went on to say

"I believe that in the present situation some guidelines are needed for extension staff....

"Experience shows that although in the initial stages members may have restricted ideas as to what their aims are, in forming a Farmers' Association, in the long run their interests are likely to expand to cover the following items:

(i) Extension contact and information communication

(ii) "Group pressure action" to present proposals for change or attention.

(iii) Joint buying of inputs

(iv) Joint marketing of production. "

The savingram noted that Co-operative Societies were primarily interested in the joint marketing and buying functions and considered that they were unable to meet the aspirations of small communities and not always adaptable enough to allow for full extension contact. But concern was expressed as to whether Farmers Associations would develop

"too little structure for effective and continuing action but just enough to contravene the regulations of the Societies Act".

This vague state of affairs was never really remedied. As a result Farmers Associations carried on their undefined existence and more were formed even as recently as 1978 in Kweneng North. As we have seen, this has caused considerable confusion, particularly in Gaborone Region where both a Farmers Committee and a Farmers Association have been formed in some communities, the role of neither of which has been clear. Most of them are quite dormant. None received any formal training or guidance as to what they are there for. The Farmers Associations tend to be quite unrepresentative of the community as a whole, with weak leadership and no terms of reference, and therefore their attempts at initiating community projects have been mostly unsuccessful. The only exceptions to this have been a few villages with unusually active and co-operative leaders - such as Mmankgodi. Such villages have a strong institutional base in terms of leadership, although the further training of representatives of the community would still do nothing but good. The fundamental issue of the committees of FAs being representative only of subscribed members remains, though.

This report considers that the main hindrance to the development of the area-wide representative institutions needed at farmer level is the lack of clear policy in the Ministry of Agriculture. This is a situation which should be remedied without delay. There is no longer any reason for there not to be an agreed policy. Earlier indecision at Ministry level was the result of disagreement between regions on approach. But there is now sufficient evidence to show that the terms of reference developed and adopted in some regions have had positive value. Moreover, in those regions which earlier on were opposed to FCs as the primary institutional development effort, staff have since had more experience in group development and now have a greater awareness of the purpose of FCs. Whereas FCs were initially formed in obedience to a directive, and then left unsupported and unguided, field staff through the work of GDOs between 1978-'80 now increasingly recognise what the process of group development involves, and why the FCs not formed under any guidelines failed. In Maun Region the GDO reported (April to June 1980 3 month report) that "since the most interest in groups projects has come from areas where we already have FCs, we regional staff have decided to encourage every AD to promote an FC in his extension area". And in Francistown Region the GDO wrote "we are trying now to do more follow up to find out why FCs failed. We hope to improve our program through these follow-ups and subsequent strategy".9

What has to be faced is that institutional development of the kind needed at the farmer level in the communal areas requires dynamic facilitation, no matter what the institution is called. It is a long, in fact never ending, process. Extension staff can never consider the task done - not after one election, not after three elections, not after three or four successive years of training. Thabala is perhaps a lesson. Staff in Central Region thought "they" had developed an FC which could go on from one success to another, steadily developing and managing the Thabala communal area. But events in 1979-80 with the woodlot, and the lack of capacity in the community to embark on a bull, weaning and fattening camp project proposed for over a year, served to underline the constant support and the long term perspective required. The effect of divisive socio-political factors in Thabala on activities

(9) K. Rick, personal communication, August 1980

at Motshegaletau and on the stability of the FC generally, in 1980 after several years of work in that community, emphasise too that it will be a long time before FCs will be strong enough to continue alone without the intervention o. extension support. The methods of facilitation will be briefly outlined under support and training below.

R25/25: THE CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THIS STUDY OF FCs IS THAT THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE SHOULD FORMULATE A NATIONAL POLICY ON FCs WHICH EMPHASISES CLEARLY THE AREA-WIDE ROLES DEFINED IN THE ALREADY EXISTING TERMS OF REFERENCE. As recommended earlier (R25/18) the policy should include recognition for this will serve as an incentive for the terms of reference to be pursued more strictly. The terms of reference allow flexibility where it is needed (e.g. in constituting each FC's area coverage), but need to be followed and supported strictly in other respects for the purposes to be achieved.

25.9. A NOTE ON DISTRICT FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS (DFAs) AND THE BOTSWANA AGRICULTURAL UNION (BAU)

Data on District Farmers Associations are presented in Appendix 3. Currently only the Ngwaketse, Kgatleng and Bamalete Farmers Associations are at all active - the latter two being only in formation stages.

Farmers Associations at this level have to be registered under the Societies Act in order to be eligible for membership of the Botswana Agricultural Union. The BAU meets 3 or 4 times a year in the Ministry of Agriculture conference room. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, its membership is mainly "white"- mainly the representatives of the Ghanzi, Tuli Block and Molopo Freehold Farming Farmers Associations.

The potential role of the BAU/DFA structure is considerable. These institutions are recognised at a political level as a medium for direct communication between Government and farmers. Farmers can raise issues (examples are quoted in Appendix 3) and Government can consult farmers and disseminate information on new policies. There has been some pressure from the BAU and the Farmers Associations for representation on the managerial boards of the parastatals and certain consultative committees such as BAMB, BMC, the Livestock Industry Advisory Committee and the Crops Consultative Committee.

The current initiatives in the Districts to form DFAs is encouraging because it is local initiative in action, interested farmers demonstrating that they do not want just to be "told this or that" but want to be more aware of and involved in national policy decision making.

25.9.1. Some problems in DFA organisation at present

But there are a number of problems.

1. The membership of the DFAs, like that of FAs at extension area level, tends to be the elite - although the constitutions allow any interested farmer from the Districts concerned to join. At Mochudi comments from the floor voiced this situation. Some openly criticised the fact that the prime movers of the Association were "example farmers" and tractor owners. One farmer doubted whether "the small man" would receive any help.

An old man described how a previous initiative to form an Association had died out. Where would this one lead?

2. A specific problem raised at Mochudi was the lack of area representation from around the District. Only about 30 farmers attended the meeting at which the constitution was discussed. These were mostly those able to be in Mochudi - a few from one or two more distant areas, but most from the Matlage and Dinogeng lands nearby. Although this was partly due to the date of the meeting (15th March 1980) when most farmers were at the lands away from the village, area representation remained an issue.

3. No system of District-wide representation has been developed in practice. In the theory the constitution speaks of the Association's Executive Committee having the power to "appoint sub-committees where such are deemed necessary" and to "supervise the overall performance of other committees".[10] Such sub-committees would be formed from among Association members. They would not in themselves be representative of sub-area populations.

4. In respect of this system (sub area representation) and in other respects there is no uniformity among the Districts around the country. The Kgatleng Association is modelled on the Ngwaketse constitution. But in the Bamalete, the DAO made a much more positive effort to link the formation of a DFA with the FC system. Further north (Central, Francistown and Maun regions) there has been no action in this area at all. Were this to remain the case, the BAU would be representative only of freehold farmers (mainly big farmers and mostly white) and "interested farmers" in the south of the country.

25.9.2. Recommendations on DFA development

That initiative is taking place among interested Batswana farmers in certain southern districts in forming political pressure groups of this kind is an encouraging sign, and a development which should receive positive support. However, in supporting, Government must ensure that it is not just helping those who can help themselves anyway and continuing not to have contact with other target groups. It is clearly essential for Government to communicate effectively with major agricultural producers. Equally though, it is vital for the voice of those with less economic or political power to be heard, and the main weakness of DFA development at present is that there is no provision for broadening their outreach. One old man at Mochudi asked whether he had to join the DFA because he was already a member of a Co-operative Society. Or if some one joined the DFA would they no longer need to join a Co-operative? This is the level at which the poorer section of the community are. When the question of affiliating area FCs with the DFA was raised, to enable the participation through FCs of those who would be unable to contribute the DFA membership but who were already members of projects in their own areas, the idea was literally laughed off the floor by the District Agricultural staff at Mochudi. Yet in Ramotswa this was precisely the approach. Furthermore, it is to be wondered how a system of DFA sub committees is to be supported in a District like the Kgatleng where up until now there has been little success or effort in FC development. Attending DFA meetings and arranging support(in the form

(10) Constitutions of both the Ngwaketse and Kgatleng Farmers Associations - para. 7(c) and (b).

of the RTC providing food for a meal afterwards) is an easy option compared with establishing a system for representation around the district through a positive effort in public education and the training of FCs.

R25/26: THE MAIN RECOMMENDATION FOR DFA DEVELOPMENT WORK IS THEREFORE THAT IT SHOULD BE BASED UPON THE BROADER AND MORE DIFFICULT TASK OF AREA LEVEL INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

R25/27: IT IS THEREFORE RECOMMENDED THAT THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE DEVELOPS CLEAR POLICY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FCs AND DFAs. It is suggested that this should be encouraged through a system of affiliation (FCs recognised as constituted, elected and trained according to the terms of reference by the Ministry of Agriculture, being able to affiliate with the DFA through payment of a special joining fee, and represented by elected office bearers). The aim should be to develop FCs at the area level so that the affairs of the DFA are increasingly participated in by FCs.

This cannot be done without investing in education and training programs. It is interesting, in this respect, that the only move toward District Farmers Associations further north has been discussion at FC workshops. The logical approach to DFA development, where leading farmers themselves have not taken the initiative, is to facilitate their growth from the meeting of FCs representing all the areas of a District. This, it should be recognised, will have to be supported in a similar way to the role played by the Palapye District Agricultural Office in the organisation of the Tswapong Show Committee (centred at Maunatlala). The provision of transport to assist area FC representatives in meeting as a District Farmers Association is a justifiable Government expenditure, and the form of logistical support which a DFA development program should receive.

25.10. PUBLIC EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR THE FARMERS COMMITTEE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

25.10.1. The case for an FC development program

Various key arguments from this and previous chapters can be summarised so as to clarify the case for a programme for FC development.

1. Institutional development generally at the farmer level requires major intervention to facilitate the development of aware, representative, area-wide institutions with planning and management capacity sufficient for today's needs in the communal areas.

2. FCs may not be the only form of institutional development but (a) the option discussed in Chapter 5 of legally recognised bodies responsible for defined land areas has not been pursued; therefore the only route available currently is through democratically elected voluntary bodies - the emphasis being on a persuasive educational approach rather than a legislative approach by Government; and (b) without some kind of recognised model backed by a supportive development program, there tends not be to any systematic development in this area at all.

Experience has shown that associations of subscribed members, and project groups cannot perform the same representative area-wide functions needed if current rival development aims (regarding target groups etc.) are to be achieved.

3. Further research is necessary to assess more critically the role and impact of FCs and to compare with alternatives. The relationship especially between forms of institutional development and settlement pattern should be studied; how should all areas be represented in a consistent way taking into account permanent settlement in some sub-areas and seasonal migration between others and villages. But in the meantime, on the basis of experience with the Farmers Committees' terms of reference it is recommended to press ahead with a nationwide programme of FC development aiming to create an actively functioning infrastructure of FCs and sub committees, elected, constituted and trained according to terms of reference and covering all corners of the communal areas.

The process of public education, training, elections and joint FC/other institutions workshops, is itself a necessary exercise and at the same time a learning experience during which the problems of institutional development in the communal areas can be studied closely. This process, the dynamic experience of development, should be seen as a critical component in the research necessary in this area. The study of a static situation is of much less value than the monitoring of change

R25/28: IT IS THEREFORE VITAL AND RECOMMENDED THAT CAREFUL RECORDING IS DONE OF PROBLEMS AND ISSUES RAISED AND EXPERIENCES IN FC TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT, AND THAT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS THERE IS DISCUSSION OF CRUCIAL AREAS SUCH AS THE LEADERSHIP SITUATION IN MIXED LANDS AND CATTLEPOST AREAS AND ITS CONNECTION WITH INSTITUTIONS IN THE VILLAGES (ESPECIALLY THE MAJOR ONES).

25.10.2. The need for more consistent support

The evidence of this and other chapters is that if the needed area-wide representative functions are to be performed effectively, the terms of reference for FC development should be followed and implemented as far as possible to the letter. A half-baked approach simply causes more confusion and achieves little. Ineffective support or the complete lack of it has been the major factor in FC failure so far. Where FCs have been promoted according to terms of reference the experience has generally been very positive. Various points can be made on this.

1. The differences between regions in approach and 'philosophy' have been responsible to a large degree for the weak support FCs have received in some regions. In the absence of a consistent program, FCs formed in 1976/77 in some regions were left without any subsequent guidance. Field staff then thought FCs were a waste of time because nothing was achieved, and incoming GDOs in 1977/78 had a very uphill struggle to alter attitudes. Even now some ADs still give a confused explanation of the role of FCs, and FCs form with just vague ideas that by doing so Ministry of Agriculture funds can be obtained (as reported at Semetwe).

2. In 18 cases around the country FC development was reported to have been brought to a standstill by the sheer absence of an AD (in vacant

extension areas).

3. Even in regions where an active FC development program has been attempted, in areas where ADs are inactive, FCs, if they are elected at all, tend to be inactive.

4. An FC is there to perform many functions - to do something (the terms of reference make this clear) if not supported in an activity, just like any group, a project may fail discouraging and discrediting the FC. The Matobo FC is an example where its one initial priority (fencing dams) was not achieved because the Land Utilization Division went back on an assurance that materials would be supplied.

5. Complaints were made at regional level in several regions and districts about the quality of ADs leaving BAC at present, in respect of their understanding of FCs and of how to work in communities generally. The importance of understanding the social dynamics operating in communities, and then having the skill to work in these situations making allies and friends of different factions and leaders, working through those in authority even when they are stubborn, rather than behind their backs, need greater emphasis in AD training at BAC.

6. Finally, a hindrance to FC development has been the sheer ignorance at many levels, of what FCs are for as defined by terms of reference. The author talked with one MP, for example, who showed great public interest in agriculture and whose speeches on subjects such as ALDEP received frequent press coverage - yet this MP was not even aware of what Farmers Committees were. This lack of knowledge is present at all levels, particularly where no program of FC development has been consistently introduced.

25.10.3. What is needed - points to observe in FC development

1. Political/Official Recognition

As recommended earlier (R25/18) it is essential that there should be official and political recognition of Farmers Committees and that there should therefore be a programme to publicise their terms of reference at all levels - from Cabinet, Parliament, Councils, Land Boards, Conservation Committees to other village level institutions and, very importantly, the tribal administration. A consistent system for recognition of FCs, based on terms of reference, is essential - not least to add credence to promoting the political and official recognition of FCs.

2. The use of professional adult education methods in FC formation

In the formation of FCs, the initial emphasis should be on public education in communities (villages and sub area settlements). Since the FC development program is trying to promote a new institutional structure its function must be understood in order for the right kind of people to be elected and trained, and for its future activities to be supported. It is important for the FC not to be developed in a threatening way; the terms of reference allow for the necessary tying in with existing traditional leadership and other institutions and public figures. Where difficult social conditions, factions etc. exist, the approach should be all the more professional and skillful.

R25/29: POPULAR THEATRE IS RECOMMENDED IN THESE SITUATIONS. It should be attempted only by people trained in its proper use as a method of adult education. More extension staff need such training so that resource people with these skills are available in every district. Examples of its use specifically in FC development and in overcoming leadership and social problems in specific communities appear to be limited to Central Region. Examples include: Tsetsejwe, where leadership problems and factional rifts were revealed in the community; Sefhophe, where community awareness of the role of the FC, and in particular the inactivity of the former FC, was increased; Ratholo and Majwaneng, where communities were so convinced that they selected leaders to replace previous rivals. In Bobonong District, a Popular Theatre program was carried out in a number of villages with FC development and pre-selected theme. A great deal of preparation was necessary for this effort. Field staff in Bobonong District first identified the problems of Farmers Committees, as they saw them; these were:

- lack of co-operation (in the community as a whole)
- lack of understanding of Farmers Committee role
- lack of financial trust
- poor attendance at meetings
- general poverty (lack of resources and capital)
- illiteracy
- Farmer Committee office-holders don't know duties
- distance/scatteredness between settlements
- lack of achievement (i.e. completion of projects) by local Farmer Committee
- membership of some Farmer Committees is not fully representative of extension area residents (large cattle owners and well off residents are more often elected to Farmer Committees than the "small" man or woman).

(from: savingram to Central District Popular Theatre Committee by GDO Central; March 1979).

The actual Popular Theatre campaign in the villages was a one-week exercise of community consultation (including many individual interviews to discover more about "hidden" as well as better known community problems), training, discussion and brainstorming sessions, drama, public discussion in 'kgotla' and evaluation. The focus all the time was on agricultural problems and the role of an FC and group action in solving them.

This educational campaign in May 1979 preceded the program of FC elections in July/August and training in September.

The formation of FCs is not, however, a matter only of campaign style publicity. It is essential also for diplomacy behind the scenes. Extension staff should work <u>through</u> traditional leaders, VDCs, Councillors and other influential people and organisations in order to reduce ignorance and confusion - the main causes of suspicion, jealousy and lack of co-operation.

3. <u>Care in the use of financial incentives</u>

Although the availability of Government grants is important in facilitating project actions, the approach in FC formation should advertise such sources with care. The emphasis should be on promoting the analysis of area problems, not on the advertisement of sources of grant

finance. In some regions staff have literally stepped into 'kgotla' meetings using AE10 and AG15 as incentives for group development. Training, not funding, should come first.

4. FC Training

Details on training programs carried out for FCs are provided in Appendix 2. There has been plenty of experience which the CAMA office can utilise in developing training guidelines for an FC development program. The experience in the Francistown and Central Regions is the best documented for this purpose. It is important that the experience with different approaches in training in the different regions is shared in the development of guidelines. The role of the CAMA office is to bring together lessons learned in the different regions. Central Region has quite obviously had the longest experience and has done the most training, but in Francistown Region in 1979/80 a great deal of experience of a different kind was gained in working closely and sensitively with just a few FCs in their areas and in smaller more informal training groups.

Much of the training has been at an initial level - "the role of an FC" - often not involving elected or constituted FCs at all, but only selected people or leaders from villages as one way of introducing awareness of the role of an FC. Often this has worked, and an FC has eventually been elected where previous attempts in 'kgotla' meetings have failed. But as outlined above it may be necessary to get to the root of community problems through more overt public education campaigns.

The points which follow are those which particularly struck the author from observations in the field. They are by no means a comprehensive list of points which need to be observed in developing training guidelines. As the data in Appendix 2 show, considerable expertise has been developed. The future task is to bring this expertise together for the benefit of all regions.

(i) the training should aim to prepare and equip FCs to carry out the functions defined in the FC terms of reference. This is a long term exercise which can only be achieved through several years of successively more comprehensive training. If FCs are to perform the role as defined in the terms of reference, training should include areas such as:

- the concept of 'target groups'; the need to reach these people and ways in which target groups can be helped to participate
- leadership training
- public accountability (the importance of public trust and the practicalities of developing it through bookkeeping, regular meetings, financial and other reports etc.)
- the types of project FCs should consider managing, and how, on the other hand, to support other project groups. As previous chapters have constantly urged, guidelines are needed for every area of activity
- rural development issues and key policies and programmes
- the organisation and structure of Government - so that FCs can more effectively relate to Government at a national, district and local level.

(ii) R25/30: THE INITIAL COURSES SHOULD AIM TO ACQUAINT FCs WITH THE BROAD AIMS OF THE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND AT THE SAME TIME ASSIST EACH FC TO IDENTIFY THE MAIN PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN ITS AREA, AND SELECT AND AS FAR AS POSSIBLE PLAN ACTION ON ONE FEASIBLE PROJECT

(iii) training should continue less formally through follow-up visits to FCs in their areas in order to assist FCs in the early achievement of projects planned.

R25/31: SPECIAL TECHNICAL TRAINING COURSES SHOULD BE ARRANGED TO ASSIST FCs IN THEIR CAPACITY AS "PROJECT MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES". Examples of this having been done include:

- Nswazwi - training planned for hammermill project
- Lerala, Bikwe, Tsetlhong - training in crop collection
- Lerala - fencing course
- Mogapi - fencing course
  - Fire Ranger training
- Tsetsejwe - training in cash crop - production planned
- Thabala - training in firebreak clearance and woodlot
- Mmaphashalala - fencing course and firebreak training

This is no more than the normal training which should be arranged for project groups. However, it is surprising how few FCs have received technical training of this kind, and not surprising how many FCs have lapsed into inactivity as a result.

(iv) R25/32: FORMAL TRAINING SHOULD INCLUDE AS MANY FC OFFICE-HOLDERS AND MEMBERS AS POSSIBLE; several FCs in Central Region expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that only 2 or 3 FC members had been trained (in some cases, one or none - though this was usually due to FC organisational problems such as where a funeral prevented anyone leaving for training). It is clearly easier in smaller regions than in large regions for courses to be arranged for an entire FC membership, preferably on the spot (field courses in an Extension Area). There is no avoiding the fact that in larger regions more group development staff are needed, together with vehicles, in order to conduct training and follow-up visits to the same depth that is possible in smaller regions.

(v) R25/33: IN LARGER REGIONS, THE SYSTEMATIC PROCEDURE, PIONEERED IN CENTRAL REGION, FOR TRAINING FCs DISTRICT BY DISTRICT IMMEDIATELY AFTER A SPECIFIED PERIOD DURING WHICH ELECTIONS ARE HELD, IS TO BE RECOMMENDED. In 1979 through this system 45 FCs were elected in June-July and 149 office-holders from 48 FCs were trained in September (see Appendix 2.3). In smaller regions a programme as rigid as this may not be necessary although there are undoubtedly management advantages in co-ordinating the elections and training programmes for FCs in this way. (ADs can receive guidance on the preparation for FC elections all at the same time; transport can be co-ordinated if necessary; training materials can be prepared, staff involved, and the training exercise mounted in one co-ordinated effort rather than in many separate efforts).

(vi) even if not organised through a massive campaign
R25/34: TRAINING SHOULD STILL BE RELATED TO FC ELECTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE REGULAR as the terms of reference suggest.

(vii) R25/35: PROFESSIONAL ADULT EDUCATION METHODS SHOULD BE USED IN TRAINING IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE DISCUSSION OF THE SENSITIVE ISSUES INVOLVED IN LEADERSHIP/AREA REPRESENTATION

- there should be informal discussion sessions where FCs are able to discuss local problems of this kind with resource people on hand
- case studies, drama, field trips and films need to be used to illustrate vividly the issues involved and the FC role.

(viii) in order to help increase awareness of the role of FCs and assist in their development,
R25/36: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FILMS ARE PRODUCED TO ILLUSTRATE THE PROBLEMS IN THE RURAL AREAS WHICH REQUIRE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THEIR SOLUTION, THE PROBLEMS OF INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN DIFFERENT SITUATIONS (e.g. THE MIXED LANDS/ CATTLEPOST AREAS), THE PROCESS OF FC FORMATION, ELECTION AND TRAINING AND THE IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS AND PROVISIONS OF THE TERMS OF REFERENCE.

(ix) "The role of an FC" should be taught to farmers attending other RTC courses; in Central Region this has become the most popular topic farmers request in their courses, even when they are attending for other technical subjects. This opportunity should be exploited to increase general awareness of FCs.

(x) R25/37: FCs SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN LITERACY TRAINING PROGRAMMES. Illiteracy was frequently reported as a problem in FCs, although most had been able to recruit literate members for the Secretary and Treasurer positions.

(xi) financial bookkeeping and record keeping skills are crucial aspects in training FC management capacity; where training has been done the effort is noticeable as at Lerala where the FC helps subgroups with their records or at Kgagodi where the Secretary is able also to be Secretary of the Diloro tick control group, maintaining excellent, clear records of fees paid, cattle dipped on different days etc. Where no such training has been done there are real problems. At Kopong it was hardly possible to see which Farmers Association members had paid how much over successive years. The list of contributors each year was a confusing muddle - hardly likely to inspire confidence in the community.

R25/38: IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT ADs ARE TRAINED MORE THOROUGHLY IN BOOKKEEPING AND RECORD KEEPING SKILLS BOTH AT BAC AND IN IN-SERVICE COURSES IN ORDER TO PROVIDE FCs AND OTHER GROUPS WITH CONTINUOUS ADVICE. FCs should be encouraged to bring their records to the regular training workshops so that their books can be checked and additional guidance given.

(xii) as mentioned in section 25.9, FC training workshops where organised on a District basis are opportunities for promoting the development, in time, of District Farmers Associations.

R25/39: IT IS RECOMMENDED, HOWEVER, THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED FIRST ON GETTING FCs TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AT AREA LEVEL BEFORE SCARCE SUPPORT RESOURCES (MANPOWER AND TRANSPORT) ARE EMPLOYED IN DFA DEVELOPMENT. It is better that DFAs grow naturally from a viable FC base than the other way around.

25.11. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 25

25.1. Introduction

There is confusion about the purpose of Farmers Committees. The debate over whether they are needed still has to be settled at national level. Farmers Committees cannot be developed properly until terms of reference have been agreed. This report believes that institutional development is crucial in the rural areas.

25.2. Farmers Committees, Farmers Associations and District Farmers Associations - what are the differences?

25.2.1. A Farmers Committee is defined by its terms of reference and these have only been developed in Central Region and in Gaborone Region. FCs support ADs in extension activities in their areas, represent the farming community to outside bodies, and deal with agricultural development projects affecting the whole area.

25.2.2. Farmers Associations have a restricted, fee-paying membership and are elected from among those members to deal with projects on their behalf. They are project groups, not area wide institutions.

25.2.3. For a discussion of DFAs see section 3.5.2., and the end of this chapter, section 25.9.

25.3. What was the intended role of Farmers Committees?

Farmers Committees were formally initiated by the Extension Advisor in July 1976. They were intended to be groups of about 12 farmers from a cross-section in the community, who could work with ADs by planning, disseminating information and initiating projects. In many areas FC members were elected but their future depended on the extension approach

25.4. How many FCs have formed?

There are 141 FCs in Botswana, 71 of which are active, 10 forming and 53 inactive. There are no data on 7. Of those active, 31 FCs are managing projects directly, 9 are only playing a support role, and 31 are performing both functions. Included in these numbers are some so-called FCs which are really FAs.

25.5. What have FCs achieved?

25.5.1. FCs are directly involved in 127 projects. A breakdown by nature of project and region is given in Table 25(ii). Group projects which are indirectly supported by FCs are given in Table 25(iii). Proposed projects are detailed in Table 25(iv).

25.5.2. Several ADs do involve their FCs in planning agricultural extension activities. In many cases, however, the organisational problems of FCs prevent this. ADs need to develop a relationship with FCs so that they play a dynamic role. FCs need training.

25.5.3. The FC role of supporting ADs in organising group extension methods and publicising special programmes - activities like demonstrations of equipment, Field Days or District Shows - has quite a long history and is generally well understood. But ADs and FCs do need to be clearer about how group extension methods can be appropriate even for individual actions. Sometimes there is mutual misunderstanding of AD/FC roles. Some ADs fear FCs. The demands made on FC members, who are voluntary, are not appreciated, and the Ministry may ask too much of them. More attention should be paid to good FC- extension staff relationships.

25.5.4. FCs have a role in overcoming social problems through community education. This is not just "setting an example": it should involve real facilitation of change. There are cases where FCs have successfully solved social problems, as at Lerala, where progress on a drift fence was held up by 'bokgosi', and at Mogapi, where there were leadership rivalries. Of course problems cannot always be solved by forming FCs. In Makaleng the AD feels that a better method is to form an umbrella-type area committee from several project groups. Public education including Popular Theatre has nonetheless had great success and its greater use is recommended to tackle social problems.

25.5.5. Properly constituted FCs have played an important role supporting other group activities. In some areas one FC has supported several activities. In Serowe East the FC has been involved in dam groups, tick groups, borehole groups and smallstock groups. Thuni FC helped in the fence proposal. Mmadinare North FC helped in diptank and fence schemes. FCs have been active in Kgophathathe, Segakwana, and Thabala in tick control and dam groups. Lerala has an outstanding example of a successful FC. At Khumaga a strong FC helped in the absence of an AD. FCs have done best helping water development, fencing and livestock, but poorly with poultry and horticulture, especially for women. It seems that the best support is provided when FCs have been specifically oriented in this role.

25.5.6. FCs have directly managed over 100 projects, mostly concerned with fencing, water or cattle. How effective have FCs been? Properly constituted and trained FCs have provided the right sort of management for area wide projects. The well trained FCs in Central Region have seen the need for conservation and been able to handle crop collection, marketing and bulk order of seeds. FCs do not have the managerial capacity to cope with redistributing inputs and grain storage, nor are they appropriate to manage communal ranching schemes, or horticutural projects. That is, they are inappropriate for production enterprises. It is difficult for FCs to undertake more than one project at a time. FCs can provide early management and then transfer it to other committees. Supporting FCs should be a continuous and never ending process.

25.5.7. The most important role of FCs is in area-wide consultation related to planning and development. Effective institutional structures are essential in the present environment in the rural areas. Their absence has delayed progress in developing management of the communal grazing. Consultation in 'kgotla' is not enough. The need is for a spatial strategy, but FCs have only been able to play a role in some localities. Forming FCs is a long process and in many places they have not been given a chance. There are no better alternatives to FCs -

Farmers Associations, VDCs, AMAs, Co-operatives, Land Boards, Sub Land Boards, and Councils are all inappropriate. Traditional structures have mostly broken down. FCs should be promoted.

25.5.8. FCs have been concerned with co-ordinating fence schemes between communities. In the absence of liaison difficulties occur.

25.6. The operation of FCs

25.6.1. Attendance at FC meetings may be difficult for members if their homes are far apart, but the main reason for the problem is that the FCs do not have proper terms of reference and support.

25.6.2. Lack of support and training has resulted in problems in project administration by FCs.

25.6.3. Close links between FCs and VDCs are part of Central Regions's terms of reference for FCs because this is a potential problem area. VDCs themselves may not be operating well due to leadership rivalries related to the poor behaviour of Councillors or of headmen. FC activities at Thabala, for example, were hindered by some people on the VDC. In other cases Councillors have had a positive influence and VDCs have been constructive. But they have rarely been involved in agriculture or area-wide schemes. Where rivalries etc. exist, introducing FCs may be difficult, but if properly done the problems can be overcome. Publicising the FC terms of reference will help to reduce confusion over the FC/VDC relationship.

25.6.4. Problems have arisen in the relationship between FCs and FAs and Marketing Co-operatives where schemes do not get community wide support. It is not appropriate for FCs to manage crop collecting centres/input supplies stores if profits accrue to only some of the community. Marketing Co-operatives have undertaken the job at Serowe and at Thabala. It should be made clear what is within the scope of FCs.

25.7. The Organisation of FCs

25.7.1. Difficulties have been experienced in obtaining area-wide representation on FCs if the terms of reference on membership have not been introduced. Some situations need reviewing and require fresh elections.

25.7.2. Some Extension Areas are too big for one FC. At Nkange and Palapye, sub area FCs have been formed. The larger villages often need more than one FC. In certain circumstances it could be suitable for adjacent small villages to have one FC. The building up of institutions takes time and area coverage is crucial. The question of how FCs have fared needs further researching.

25.7.3. Committee members need to be elected in 'kgotla'. A systematic programme has operated well in Central Region where it has been observed that the quality of the committee improves after one or more re-elections. In some places elections are disorganised and members not representative. The first elections often produce a weak committee. Alternatively the committee may be dominated by very influential people. It is vital that elections are held when most people are in the area. Transport may be needed. Publicity helps. Re-elections should be regular.

25.7.4. Few FCs have proper constitutions. Even where by-laws exist they often just cover implementing a specific project. Maunatlala has good by-laws though these too fall short of what is recommended. In Gaborone Region FA constitutions have been mistakenly used as model for FCs. At Kopong an FC was elected in 1977 but a year later a Farmers Association was formed. It was not active. Later it was assumed that its committee was the FC, and problems resulted with both collecting centre and drift fence projects. The distinction between FAs and FCs needs clarifying and FCs need to draft constitutions. Guidelines are recommended to help them. The Ministry of Agriculture should reconsider the question of FC recognition. Women should be included on FCs.

25.8. The purpose of FCs

25.8.1. Research on the impact of FCs is recommended, comparing areas with and without FCs. It must be remembered that many FCs are still young.

25.8.2. There is argument about the need for FCs, some areas considering them just one of several alternatives. What activities are suited to other organisations? Co-operative Societies can undertake projects which FCs undertake, especially when a community is large enough to justify a manager, but they cannot properly represent a whole community. At Gweta and Gabane, however, they are reported to be strong and worth using as an extension medium. Many projects have been implemented in areas with ineffective FCs or with no FCs at all. Some have been area-wide projects. or multi-purpose projects. An important conclusion on communal ranch projects, however, was the need for institutional development. Problems arose through lack of consultation and planning. Much still has to be learned about institutional needs for communal ranches. The experience with drift and lands enclosure fencing has been that, even if an FC is not involved, an equivalent area-wide institution must be. These are the drift fence committees, which suffer, however, from less training than FCs and do not play other roles. Water development and cattle and smallstock projects have also been found to need area-wide institutions to tackle a variety of problems. Further research is recommended into the institutional arrangements in multi-project areas without FCs to help answer the question of how institutional development should begin.

25.8.3. Although this report cannot answer that question, some conclusions on Farmers Committees as institutions can be drawn. FCs are important in supporting ADs so that they can carry out their extension work; DAFS should clarify whether FCs are still to be facilitated for this purpose. Perhaps another system is appropriate, for some specialist fields. Representing farmers' needs to officials requires confidence,

ability and power. In practice many pressure groups do not represent the "small man". At both Palla Road and at Mathathane, however, FCs are busy on behalf of the poor. It is a crucial role if development is to reach the whole country, and one which requires effort to effect fully. A lot of management is needed for on-going area-wide development and FCs can provide this. Although area project groups can sometimes do the tasks, FCs are usually better. The activities best suited to FCs and those best suited to other forms of organisation should be clearly distinguished.

25.8.4. In the early 1970s FAs were expected to develop to embrace the needs of whole areas, but guidelines on their constitution were not developed, and affairs remained vague. As a result there has been confusion between FCs and FAs. FAs have remained untrained and weak, except in a few villages. The Ministry needs to remedy matters promptly. There is now enough experience to know what is needed and what is involved. Dynamic, continuous support is required. Experience at Thabala has underlined this. The Ministry should formulate a national policy on FCs.

25.9. DFAs and BAU

Two DFAs are forming and one is active. They can be represented on BAU, which discusses agricultural policy directly with Government.

25.9.1. Some problems are that members tend to be richer farmers, whole areas are not represented, and representation is not uniform between Districts - freehold farmers and "interested" farmers in the south dominate.

25.9.2. The development of DFAs should be encouraged, but the poor farmer must also be heard. A system for proper District representation is needed, related to FCs. FCs could be affiliated to DFAs. This requires education and training and logistical support.

25.10. Public education, training and support for FCs

25.10.1. What are the key arguments for a programme of FC development? Major intervention is needed to facilitate area-wide institutions; FCs are the best available form of institutions - without them, there is no systematic development of institutions; although further research is needed, there is experience enough to press ahead with FCs. Monitoring the process of building up FCs is itself part of the research needed.

25.10.2. FC terms of reference should be followed to the letter. Where this was not done FCs were weak and extension staff had a poor opinion of them. FCs may fail due to the absence or inactivity of ADs. They may be discredited if not supported. ADs need to be helped to a better understanding of FCs and of how to work in communities. A final hindrance to FC development has been general ignorance about them.

25.10.3. Some special needs in FC development are that FCs require official, political recognition; FC formation should be very carefully done and with the help of professional adult education methods (especially

Popular Theatre by properly trained staff, as used at Tsetsejwe, Sefhophe, Ratholo, Majwaneng and in Bobonong District - the areas problems were first identified; the campaign took a week and included training, drama and discussion, and of course behind-the-scenes diplomacy was also an ingredient); care should be taken in the use of financial incentives; and FCs should be trained. There is a lot of experience to draw on for training, notably in Central and Francistown Regions, and CAMA should bring this together in guidelines. Much experience has been in initial training. Some particular points for guidelines are: training should be long-term and equip farmers to carry out FC terms of reference; initial courses should introduce the terms of reference and encourage problem recognition; follow-up training should be less formal but include technical courses; a many FC members as possible should be included - more staff are needed in larger regions; the systematic training approach of Central Region is recommended in larger regions - it should in any case be related to regular FC elections; professional adult education methods should be used to facilitate discussion of sensitive issues; films should be produced to illustrate problems needing FC solutions and the processes of FC formation; the "role of the FC" should be taught at RTCs; FCs should be included in literacy training; they should be taught bookkeeping skills and so should ADs in order to be able to help them; FC workshops could be used as a starting point for promoting DFAs - but not until FCs are themselves effective.

CHAPTER 26: OVERALL CONCLUSIONS - WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED? WHAT HAVE BEEN THE MAIN CONSTRAINTS? WHAT IS GROUP DEVELOPMENT? HOW CAN THE GOALS BE REALISED?

CHAPTER 26 : OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

26.1. THE SCOPE OF AN ASSESSMENT

26.2. HOW MANY GROUPS HAVE FORMED ALTOGETHER?

26.3. HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE PARTICIPATED?

26.4. IMPACT - HAS EXTENSION OUTREACH BEEN BROADENED?

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26.6. THE PRINCIPLES OF GROUP ACTION : WHAT ARE THEY - ARE THEY BEING FOLLOWED?

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26.11. TECHNOLOGY FOR GROUPS

26.12. MAKING AVAILABLE COMPREHENSIVE EXTENSION SUPPORT TO GROUPS : THE MANAGEMENT OF SUPPORT

26.13. DEVELOPING GUIDELINES FOR GROUPS AND EXTENSION STAFF

26.14. CONSTITUTIONS - RED TAPE OR PEDAGOGY?

26.15. CONSULTATION IS DIALOGUE

26.16. UNDERSTANDING LOCAL SITUATIONS

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26.18. TRAINING STAFF IN GROUP DEVELOPMENT

26.19. RANGE AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS - ARE WE ANY NEARER?

26.20 RURAL INSTITUTIONS FOR TODAY'S NEEDS

26.21. GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND CAPAD

26.22. HAVE THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES BEEN INSTITUTIONALIZED? A FOCUS ON THE GDO/CAMA ROLE

26.23. A FINAL NOTE

CHAPTER 26 : List of abbreviations

ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD	Agricultural Demonstrator
AgInf	Agricultural Information
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO(LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
APO	Animal Production Officer
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
BAC	Botswana Agricultural College
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Association
ACPAL	Communal Area Planning and Development
CODEC	Co-operative Development Centre
DAFS	Director of Agricultural Field Services
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DAS	District Agricultural Supervisor
DNFE	Department of Non Formal Education
DO(D)	District Officer (Development)
DO(L)	District Officer (Lands)
DRTP	Department of Town and Regional Planning
FA	Farmers Association
FC	Farmers Committee
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
GDO	Group Development Officer
HQ	Headquarters
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
IDM	Institute of Development Management
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
MRTC	Mahalapye Rural Training Centre
OSSCA	One Stop Service Centre for Agriculture
PFS	Pupil Farmer Scheme
PTA	Parent Teachers Association
RAO	Regional Agricultural Officer
RDU	Rural Development Unit
REO	Ranch Extension Officer
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management
RTC	Rural Training Centre
SALO(FT)	Senior Agricultural and Livestock Officer (Farmer Training)
SCC	Short Course Centre
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
VDC	Village Development Committee
3MP	Three month programme

26.1. THE SCOPE OF AN ASSESSMENT

Anyone who has read through this report this far will readily appreciate that the group development programme is highly complex to evaluate. "Institutionalising the processes by which replicable economically and socially viable smallholder community groups and communal operations can be encouraged and supported...."[1] embraces the design of appropriate technologies; the development of institutional infrastructure at the farmer or communal area level which can receive, organise and manage the technology; the development of supportive capacity which can deliver the forms of assistance required, respond to farmer needs and facilitate the implementation processes; and co-ordination with all involved authorities and related agencies which should either directly or indirectly play a role in removing impediments to action. It is a vast area. The processes may involve special project design, land use planning, consultation, election and training of a management committee, leadership and management training, literacy, various professional adult education methods, campaigns or demonstrations, technical farmer training, fund raising, application for grant or loan financing, approval procedures, land allocation or even arbitration, formulation of a constitution, legal registration for some projects, liaison with other agencies for marketing, input supplies, soliciting the sanction and support of traditional village leaders and other village institutions and sometimes first having to resolve social problems before progress can be made. Institutionalising means creating a working structure and system of organisation which will achieve the object of all this. It does not just mean forming a committee. It includes everything necessary to realising the goal of increasing productivity and income of rural smallholders on a sustainable basis through group methods. It includes creating awareness of what is being attempted, of the need to safeguard the interests of those target groups Government is concerned about, of the ways these less privileged members of the community can be better represented and assisted to participate. Primarily it is the self-awareness of these people themselves which should be the objective. But that objective cannot be realised before there is awareness and acceptance of this objective by those who should be helping the target groups to become self-aware and to gain confidence and management and technical capability. Therefore training is needed - of ADs, other extension workers, DAOs and Regional staff, Councillors, Headmen, VDCs and all who should have a role to play. Above all, a national political commitment to the processes of achieving the goals is needed so that policy throughout Government consistently promotes and supports the development of viable groups activity. This national commitment is the critical level of institutional development.

In this final chapter an attempt will be made to review the key elements of institutionalising the group development process. It cannot possibly be a full treatise on the subject. Any reader who has studied chapters 10 - 25 should already be very aware of what group development involves in practice. As far as possible the treatment here will avoid lengthy analysis of "why" the approach should be of a particular kind, but will concentrate on "how". It will start with what has been achieved. Thereafter the format will be a series of discussions on key questions.

These discussions will be critical in nature in several areas. It is important that constraints facing the programme are not glossed over. In this respect it must be emphasised, however, that the period of four to five years (from 1976 to 1981 during which there has been an emphasis

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(1) RLMP Amendment project purpose - see 5.6.2.

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on group development in Botswana) is a very short time in terms of the processes being facilitated, with specialist expertise in group development provided first through Peace Corps and then the Amended RLMP for even less time. What has been achieved in this short period is indeed remarkable. But to overcome the constraints still facing the programme will take time and will require tremendous additional effort and commitment.

26.2. HOW MANY GROUPS HAVE FORMED ALTOGETHER?

Statistics, unless they are very precise, can be very misleading. In the chapters so far, this report has tried to be precise. An attempt has been made to sort through the numbers and to assess objectively how many of the groups have been successful, how many projects are still in the planning stages, and to distinguish actual results from mere intentions or even inactive and defunct groups.

In this brief section just broad total figures will be given for the number of group formations and actions reviewed by this report. They include all groups at all stages of development, from groups with proposals only to ones which have successfully implemented projects. The purpose is to provide a sense of the potential impact of the group development programme. Another reason for presenting the data in this way is to save duplicating material already provided in previous chapters. It is stressed that the figures in this section are not equivalent to the number of active viable groups in Botswana. For more precise assessment the subject chapters (9 - 25) must be referred to. In order to be brief here it is impossible to be precise also. This would involve accounting for the criteria determining viability and activeness in every area of group activity. Finally, the data are constantly changing: by the time this report is issued the data will be a year out of date. The precise status of groups surveyed here will have changed. In a general overview here there is therefore little purpose in attempting to be too precise in this way.

Table 26(i) therefore summarises the data from the subject chapters and shows that a total of at least 1128 groups have formed.

The notes which follow the table point out some of the data limitations. It is impossible to be very exact at present for reasons explained in chapter 2, in the introduction to the Appendices volume, and in some subject chapters.

A few further points need mention. This figure of 1128, besides including many unsuccessful groups and some which are now absolutely defunct, includes another element of overestimation : in a few cases there is overlap in that projects are counted twice - once as a type of project and once again as a Farmers Committee. On the other hand it is an underestimate in that data are lacking on some groups - particularly borehole syndicates, women's clubs, and small horticultural projects.

Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the 1128 statistic, it is at least an indication of the scale of group formation in Botswana.

TABLE 26(i) THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GROUP PROJECTS AND TOTAL PARTICIPATION

Type of group/project	Total number of groups	Total (1) participation
Communal fencing of lands areas	109	4000 (67)
Fenced livestock management in communal areas (2)	35	863 (31)
Dairy ranching	2	65
Ranching groups in the commercial areas	40	300
Cattle husbandry (tick control)	120	1979 (58)
Dam groups	232	4400
Borehole groups (3)	130+	1600+
Smallstock groups	110+	1500
Firebreak projects (4)	9+	c.100 (2)
Woodlot projects (5)	17	c.50
Molapo bunding	20	730 workers
Fisheries groups	3	30 (2)
Crop storage, marketing, processing (6)	24	N.A.
Tractor purchase, hire, servicing	21	53 (10)
Poultry groups	7	72 (4)
Horticulture	57+	594 (24)
Women's groups	48+	547 (27)
Farmers Committees (7)	141	1000+
District Farmers Associations	3	60+
TOTAL	1128	17943+

Notes on table 26(i)

(1) figures in brackets are the number of groups for which participation is known

(2) includes the proposed Barolong grazing enclosure groups

(3) as is explained in chapter 14, the data on borehole syndicates in incomplete; many more exist than this

(4) chapter 17 explains that more firebreak projects exist or have been proposed than this, mostly along drift fence lines; data are incomplete. Participation tends to involve entire communities or villages

(5) as chapter 17 explains, few of these projects can really be described as group projects. Participation on some projects has been organised by VDCs through drought relief inducements

(6) excludes several FCs which have organised bulk seed supplies

(7) membership figures include data on 70 Farmers Committees (820 members) and estimates for another 20 FCs assuming an average membership of at least 10 members. Excluded is the membership of Farmers Association groups.

26.3. HOW MANY PEOPLE HAVE PARTICIPATED

Table 26(i) also provides data on total participation.

Participation is even more difficult to account for accurately with the data available. Table 26(i) would seem to indicate that at least 18000 farmers in Botswana have been involved in group projects at some time. But this figure is quite misleading in a number of respects.

- it does not account for participation in many projects for which there are no data (e.g. it accounts for only 67 of the 109 lands fencing schemes and for woodlot projects where VDCs organised villages through drought relief no membership figures exist)
- a significant proportion of the 18000+ farmers must have been counted more than once since membership of more than one project is very common.

It is therefore impossible to say at this stage how many farmers have been involved in group projects. One can only guess that perhaps between 10 - 20,000 farmers have been involved. The group development programme has facilitated the participation of a large proportion of this total. Included are rich and poor, men and women, literate and illiterate. The participation of different target groups in different areas of activity is discussed in the chapters concerned. The next two sections assess briefly the two aspects of impact and target group participation.

26.4. IMPACT - HAS EXTENSION OUTREACH BEEN BROADENED?

A fundamental aim of group development was to broaden extension outreach (see chapter 4). The impact of the group development programme is measured by the product of participation and benefit. Who has participated and how or to what extent have they benefitted?

The answer to this is complex because so many different types of activity have occurred, each with varying degrees of success and involving different types of participant.

In ranch development group action was considered the only way for smaller stock owners to participate in both the communal and commercial areas[2]. In practice small owner participation has so far been difficult to facilitate. Those benefitting from ranch extension and AMA organisation in the commercial areas are the medium to large cattle owners. In the communal areas the development of replicable viable range and livestock

(2) See "Groups and Ranch Development"; Rural Development Unit : 1st June 1976.

management systems has yet to happen. TGLP has not had an impact for the smallholder in the way that was expected. Far greater intervention on the smaller owners' behalf will be necessary if present trends are to be countered. This is returned to below (26.19.).

In some other areas the impact has been broader. Both smaller and larger farmers have participated and benefitted from group and communal activity in tick control, smallstock husbandry, the fencing of lands areas from grazing and water development. Through action in these areas many more people in communities have been assisted than would be the case through individually oriented extension work. The programme has succeeded in facilitating smallholder participation. But when assessing impact care is needed. In some cases project designs and rules appear to have discriminated against the smaller herd owner or the poor. This can only be safeguarded against through painstaking consultation, education and involvement of all sections of a community in by-law preparation.

Water development in communal areas is mostly arbitrary and inadequate. It is the small farmer target group who need and tend to stay most permanently at smaller settlements in the mixed communal areas. Although many groups including these people have had dams built, the resulting distribution of water supply is still unreliable and inconvenient. A few borehole group initiatives are starting to be helped which may provide more reliable permanent supplies, but the processes involved are not straightforward. In general, improved, more reliable, convenient water supplies are still the privilege of the more wealthy. There is a long way to go before a broader cross section of rural dwellers have improved access to water on which so many other aspects of life depend.

The development of crop infrastructure has been very limited. There have been a few successful initiatives in the construction of storerooms for bulk order of seed supplies and the installation of hammermills. Group activity in crop marketing has been limited to a pilot exercise in Central Region. A number of small farmers were assisted, selling just one or two bags, together with some larger producers. Crop collection to central points has been locally organised. But beyond that the level of management of commercial organisations has been needed for transport, long term storage and processing.

There has been only isolated impact in conservation. Conservation projects rate very low in priority at the present state of public awareness. Bunding 'molapo' areas may benefit a cross section of farmers if in the future management of the 'molapo' areas, the allocation of fields is carefully controlled and effective representative management organisations are promoted. Up until now genuine participation has been difficult to distinguish from beneficiaries of drought relief. In Fisheries the impact of group development is measured by just one formed group with a project of uncertain viability. A difficult way lies ahead in organising a viable fishing project in an infant industry.

Tractor syndicates are more widespread though data are lacking to indicate how many there are, whether they really operate as syndicates or not, and how many farmers participate. Membership certainly includes just the cattle owning and/or educated wage earning class. One Association may have involved a broader membership for a time but is now defunct. The wealthier of its membership each bought their own. If participation is taken to include those hiring tractors, then the impact of tractor groups is wider. However it appears that for a small farmer it is as economic to hire from as to join a tractor group. And in practice it may even be as convenient too unless group management is much improved.

Group activity in poultry has had a very small impact, but in

horticulture there has been greater success. Most of the success with vegetable gardening groups has, however, been due in large measure, to efforts of non-governmental organisations including church missions.

Impact should not be measured only in terms of the benefits participants in group projects have received. Group development aims also to broaden extension outreach through the greater use of groups as the forum for extension methods. It is very difficult to assess impact from this. There is no doubt that in some regions, districts and extension areas, more emphasis on these methods has taken place. Broader outreach appears to have resulted where, through systematic effort, representative area wide organisations such as FCs have been formed, trained, and supported. In extension areas with an effective FC-AD relationship effective planning and organising with the people has been possible, and well attended Field Days, demonstrations and group meetings have resulted. It can be assumed that more people in the community hear a message this way than when such events are less well planned and organised. This study could not look closely enough to account for what factors affect extension outreach. What influence, for example, has the nationwide programme of campaigns had, carried out by Aglnf working from HQ? Have campaigns been more effective where there have been elected and trained FCs, or is their success dependent mainly on the ability of an AD to select an appropriate topic and publicise in advance through more traditional forums like the 'Kgotla'? How is their success measured in any case - just by numbers who attend, or by what happens afterwards?

As noted in chapter 25, in many extension areas, particularly in certain regions, there has been a marked failure to create new institutional forums for facilitating broader extension contact. It seems that the Ministry has been ambivalent on this policy.

R26/1 : WE SHALL RETURN BELOW (26.20.) TO THIS QUESTION, BUT HERE IT CAN BE RECOMMENDED THAT FURTHER STUDY IS DONE TO ASSESS THE IMPACT OF GROUP EXTENSION METHODS. This should be part of a general study of extension management; farmers need to be asked how they receive information and what changed methods result. Is it just participation in group <u>projects</u> which is having an impact (and on whom) or are more farmers benefitting from group extension methods (which farmers, and how)?

It is hoped that this report may be of assistance in terms of setting the scene for further research on a micro-level within communities - the level at which the impact of group development (the precise nature of the benefit farmers get from participating) can be studied.

This report shows that achieving an impact is much more complex than is imagined. Group formation data are definitely impressive. Much has been achieved - of that there is no doubt. Many of the projects have been a success. But close study of the experience reveals that in only a few types of activity has there been major impact and even this has not always been optimal or as broad as the programme goals specify.

In some communities satisfaction and sense of achievement is plainly seen. Farmers, apparently rich and poor, are aware of benefits - e.g. from a fence enclosing their lands, from a spray race or from a new water source. To a certain extent it has been possible in this report to identify the benefits fairly precisely (as in chapter 9, for example - the reasons for fencing). To some extent though, benefits have to be assumed - what are <u>all</u> the effects of a drift fence on crop and livestock production?

In general it is hoped that this report may help clarify what technology is feasible and viable, and therefore beneficial, for group action (see 26.11. below).

26.5. HOW CAN THE TARGET GROUP BE REACHED?

In a 1980 Group Development seminar one GDO declared that an "honest evaluation of the group development programme is that we are not reaching the target group but that group development is just another extension approach". Another observer had found that ADs had no clear concept of target group.

The target group concept is indeed muddled. The group development programme's target is "the rural smallholder" - not a precise definition. As discussed in chapter 13, the target group for the commercial group ranch extension programme are owners of 30 - 100 cattle, certainly not "the rural poor". And Government defines various other target groups in rural development - remote area dwellers, women household heads, non cattle owners. Most group development staff argue logically that because through group development the extension outreach was intended to be wider, this means that the target is the smaller farmer with less wealth and resources. The Pupil Farmers Scheme tended to reach only the better off. The question of which target group the CAMA office should deal with is discussed later under the role of CAMA (26.22.).

Taking "the small farmer" as the target, there is a certain amount of truth in the view that the programme is not reaching the target group, and that where it is, it is only as the indirect result of the extension approach. AMA organisation in commercial ranching is, by the definition of the subsidy scheme, involving relatively larger owners, and generally speaking, not the small owners from the overcrowded communal areas. In theory the AMA legislation was designed for groups of small owners[3]. In practice larger owners are faster to take advantage. There is nothing in the legislation to stop the faster men from acting first - only controls on land use can do that. Smaller owners need more time - for learning, becoming more aware and confident. Only a great deal of patient help, encouragement and teaching can speed that process. Looking at the country as a whole the prospects for small owners in commercial ranching are bleak unless Government chooses to intervene in a major way to influence the direction things are moving. Possibilities for this were discussed in chapter 13.

In the communal areas the small farmer target group has benefitted along with the community as a whole in certain projects. Although there is the opinion that this impact for the target group is purely incidental - that is, the result of group action as an "extension approach" - it is nevertheless to be regarded as a successful achievement of the group development programme. After all, the target group is part of a community of rich and poor, men and women, old and young, cattle owner and non cattle owner all sharing the same communal resources (although the rich may have other alternatives like a separate cattlepost, or a private water source in the communal area). This diversity can be a problem. In a mixed community it is not possible to single out the underprivileged for special projects on communal land; this would be "partial closed" development (see chapter 11 for a discussion of the problems of this). Either the target group has to be reached along with everyone else, or the diversity in the population should be reduced as TGLP originally intended by the larger owners removing to commercial areas. Either course of action is difficult. Ways of creating more space for smaller owners in the communal areas were discussed in chapter 13. Incentives would be needed to assist larger owners to go commercial. There are definite advantages in group

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(3) Note that in horticultural development small farmers including women are participating in proposed AMAs.

organisation for people of the target group if all participants are of similar economic status with similar problems and needs. This applies as much to communal area livestock projects as it does to womens' vegetable gardens (see chapter 24.).

Reaching the target group through their inclusion in area wide projects can involve problems. This study has found evidence that area wide projects are not always designed or constituted to suit the needs of small farmers. Their situation may even be worsened. There may be penalties for late joining of a dip tank project, penalties against continued keeping of cattle around the lands after a fence is constructed, or uncontrolled overgrazing in the mixed lands area around a new dam caused by the influx of large herds from broken down boreholes. Sometimes farmers have remarked that a project has created more problems than there were before.

Reaching the target group must mean ensuring that their situation is considered in the planning of communal area developments. This means consultation - even by visiting with such people individually. It means intervention on their behalf, solidarity with their position, not just a vague assumption that benefits will trickle down to them. It must mean the creation of awareness on communities of target group needs, and the creation of institutions which will represent them.

The process of reaching target groups has been grossly underestimated so far, it seems. Few ADs have an idea of the kind of commitment required. Even in village extension teams there is little experience; the work of ACDOs with the poor has involved little more than interviews with destitutes for deciding whether they qualify for food rations. There are just a few Community Development staff and Clinic staff with a sensitivity to what facilitation means. Chapters 23 and 24 in particular drew out lessons on this. We shall discuss facilitation separately below (26.10.), but here let it be said that reaching the target group has to involve the development of a deep trust relationship between those being reached and the extension worker; support has to be dependable and technically expert; and it is essential for the extension worker to understand fully the situation of those concerned, the alternatives that are really open to them and the many constraints which will affect the process of introducing change[4].

These remarks are not levelled in a critical way. Many extension staff are hard working and dedicated - remarkably so when conditions of service in rural areas are considered. The problem is capacity to perform the role required in assisting target groups. The time and effort involved is illustrated by the few examples of church social or technical workers assisting horticultural groups. A tremendous reorientation in extension approach would be required to emulate these examples. Not only would this necessitate a great deal of technical re-training (in the past technical packages designed for projects for target groups have not existed) but this role would have to be accommodated in terms of the already exhausting work load ADs have, given the size of extension areas, farming populations and the demands of more progressive farmers.

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(4) The Enterprise Analysis technique is a simple method of doing this. In Central Region at least (see savingram RAO Central "Objectives of inservice training course II" May 31st, 1977) Enterprise Analysis was specifically taught as a method identifying poor families' problems and developing solutions. Enterprise Analysis seems to be rarely part of the language in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1980.

In short, discussing target groups in Gaborone is one thing. Actually spending the time and having the necessary skills to assist them successfully in the field is quite another, when an AD has just a bicycle, many miles of sandy or muddy paths to travel, many other demands and just 12 - 15 available working days a month in the extension area[5].

We shall return to this in discussing the management of support, for it is through management of the manpower available that any hope of realising the goals lies.

But for management there has to be commitment to the goals. Commitment is needed from the top for it to be expressed at the field level. In the field it is needed not only for the patience and respect required in helping a group of poor women with a vegetable garden. It applies to development generally in the communal areas if the needs of all are to be catered for. It means that in the planning and implementation of developments - whether an APRU cell, a fence, a crop collecting centre or a borehole - an unrepresentative group should not be promoted. Would the Rolong Land Board be wise, for example, to work with the members of Barolong grazing enclose groups in developing a land development strategy (see chapter 11)? Should just the interested farmers in a District Farmers Association be taken to represent the inhabitants of the communal areas of a District when at a more local level there is no FC development?

R26/2 : TO INCREASE THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING TARGET GROUPS THIS REPORT RECOMMENDS THAT THERE IS A MORE CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO FACILITATE THEIR REPRESENTATION ON AREA-WIDE AND DISTRICT FARMERS ORGANISATIONS. If this is not done the particular concerns - of women or non cattle owners, for example - will continue not to receive the attention they need. This requires intervention by extension staff to influence democratic election processes. There is nothing un-democratic in this. Lobbying is a natural part of democracy. The problem in a developing situation is that the very sections of the population who need a lobby most are least articulate in doing it. The group development role is to provide this influence.

26.6. THE PRINCIPLES OF GROUP ACTION : WHAT ARE THEY - ARE THEY BEING FOLLOWED?

A wealth of literature has been produced over the last five years contributing to group development philosophy. A few key references are provided in Appendix 27. A recent pamphlet issued by the CAMA office[6] lists 10 principles as follows:

1. Initiative for group formation must come from the people themselves.
2. Groups must establish an organisational structure.
3. Groups must develop competent leadership.

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(5) After monthly meetings, leave etc. are accounted for.

(6) "Helping to develop agricultural groups in Botswana" Office of CAMA; 1980. Note: this is a slightly briefer version of the same 10 guidelines for groups which appears in the CAMA office publication, entitled "Agricultural Management Associations"; Second Edition, July 1980. The latter is a better reference.

4. Responsibility for decisions and actions must remain with the group.
5. YET, comprehensive extension support must be available to the group.
6. Technical information must be sound.
7. Group projects must be well planned.
8. Consultation must be thorough and continuous.
9. Members should contribute a portion of total project costs.
10. Financial arrangements must be equitable, well managed and accurately documented.

There are many more principles which could be added to these ten; reference to the training documents used in 1976/77 gives a fuller picture. Regional and District field staff were exposed to these principles in training at that time, although because AD training was carried out by regional staff the quality of training did differ from one region to another. Training has continued, however, in an informal way through the GDO presence in the regions since late 1977. At Ministry of Agriculture HQ level the exposure should have been massive through the ongoing impact from 1976 of the "Groups Group" (see chapter 6) and the Senior Agricultural Officers' Workshop in November 1976. In this and the following sections we shall assess how these principles have been internalised in the extension approach to groups. In this section we shall discuss the subject generally, and in the next section comment on the first of the 10 principles - where group initiative has come from.

Looking at group development broadly, there is still much confusion. One GDO (now no longer in the country) reported that "group development is thought of as AE10 and AG15 and AMAs only. It is only a programme in the minds of a few Gaborone people". ALDEP and CAPAD only confused the picture still further. Did they "help or hinder group development"? At the Regional Staff Meeting in Lobatse, a long discussion took place on how to approach a borehole group in Ramatlabama. Only 16 out of 65 members had contributed anything. Fees were set at P24.00 - far too high for most residents to afford. Were the 16 a group or not? Were the 65 the group? The APO had shown the courage to reject this AG15 application (and several others) because the 10% raised came from less than a quarter of project members. On the application forms the AD had explained nothing about the reasons for non-contribution by so many members. ADs and certain DAOs were reported to just approve and send on applications without thinking or analysing problems or viability. The APO felt that such groups should never even have been permitted to get as far as making a grant application. Problems should have been looked into first instead of by an APO who had then to return the forms and discourage the AD and the farmers. The GDO should have been called in to encourage at an earlier stage. There was no constitution. The P24.00 fee was flat rate regardless of stock ownership. 'Kgotla' meetings at Ramatlabama were reported not to have been representative - some people did not attend - were they to be left behind? There were no guidelines available on this, or on management or future maintenance. Regional staff expressed contradicting views - one DAO saying "let the group go ahead; it's no use waiting for people who don't attend meetings"; other staff were worried that the installation of water reticulation on this basis could be socially divisive. The 10% guideline was considered misleading; it was more important to have "an established group than to go ahead just because grant money is available". The discussion was spirited and typical of the state of understanding of group development principles in much of the country.

Although some group development activities are going well, many

mistakes are being made. Some examples can be highlighted here although the main series of chapters provides the fullest account.

The confusion between Farmers Committees and Farmers Associations was explained in chapter 25. In some parts of the country farmers and extension staff are still unclear how an FC relates to and differs from a VDC. In Western Region reports showed that FCs were confused with AMAs. There has been a total lack of policy regarding crop collection centres. Aims for VDC communal gardens are confused. In ranch development controversy exists between certain REOs and GDOs on providing transport for prospective members of AMA ranch groups to get out and see what their commercial ranch site looks like; some do not even know where the ranch areas are. An RAO thought providing transport would create dependency.

At one village a GDO[7] handed out application forms for AMA registration to a random collection of people in 'Kgotla' in connection with an APRU cell project. There had been no agreement about the project. No area-wide consultation or land use survey had taken place. No evaluation of project viability at this location. The form filling procedure was way beyond the understanding of farmers present even if there had been agreement. Neither the AD or ACDO had ever received instruction in the AMA registration procedure. The AD in any case lived in another village and was rarely able to get out to the area concerned to assist the process. As a guide to what a constitution was, the constitution of a Farmers Association dip tank project was handed out. The same constitution was handed to what was thought to be a Farmers Committee in another village as a model for drafting by-laws for a crop collecting centre. The only rules the members[8] were able to draft covered penalties for bad conduct and level of subscription. Yet the group had not the slightest idea of what the project would cost, how it would be built, to what plan specifications or how it would be managed. Vague impressions of some contact with OSSCA at Molepolole were the only extent of organisation negotiated.

At IFPP ADs reported that they had received no specific training in group development. The GDO was totally uninvolved in group activities going on at Pelotshetlha. Some of the principles adopted there do not conform with those in the rest of the country. For example, livestock handling facilities were being built under IFPP staff supervision for future group activity at places where no organised group has formed. In one case just 4 farmers were practising cattle husbandry methods on an individual basis at an IFPP built crush using an IFPP double action spray pump. Whether a viable group would form around the handling facilities could only be hoped[9]. None of the existing groups had constitutions.

Appalling delays have occurred in the process of formation of some groups. It took 4 years for the Thamalakane dairy group to be funded - ultimately the group registered as an AMA hardly aware what registration meant, simply to qualify for a loan far greater than what the group had wanted. Interest waned during this long ordeal. The group spoke of being "tired" of fruitless meetings. The Committee of the Mmadinare Co-operative was also exhausted with Government (see chapter 12). The GDO at

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(7) Now no longer in post.

(8) In fact the Kopong FC was an FA (see chapter 25).

(9) This criticism in no way denounces the basic strategy at IFPP of a progression in methods from smallstock activities to cattle management activities, or the attempt to set up a sound distribution of facilities and water points in the project area.

Francistown reported[10] how initiatives at Goshwe and Matobo had dragged on for 2½ years with no result. There had been real interest in hammer-mills, cattle dips and fencing of dams. But instead of action there seemed just to be vague ideas. Extension staff failed to really focus on priorities; nothing happened. It took a group at Malokaganyane 10 years to get a water reticulation project implemented (chapter 14). And in Southern Region delays of months and even years in land allocation have prevented progress on drift fences (chapter 10). The Mabozo FC had to wait from August 1979 to March 1980 for SLOCA funding for a hand sprayer.

There is some irrational action taking place . Due to provisions in the SLOCA project, some straightforward tick control groups have contemplated and even applied for AMA registration in order to get a larger grant[11]. At Gweta an AgInf campaign broadcast that group contributions for SLOCA projects should be 10% and that tick control groups should register[10]. Yet the GDO for that region was trying to pursue a policy of encouraging a maximum group contribution, and CAMA's policy was not to allow tick control groups to register. Some regional staff find they never have time to think what they are doing. One REO spoke of always being busy with jobs and pushing ahead with day to day action on programmes "sent down from above". An RAO spoke to trying to help farmers but wondered "if we are really understanding their problems, or just rushing into projects".

This leads us to the question of where the initiative in group development is coming from.

26.7. GROUP FORMATION - WHERE IS THE INITIATIVE COMING FROM?

The art of a truly facilitatory extension approach is to produce results where it is almost impossible to distinguish at what exact point initiative was taken by farmers. Through skilled extension, awareness in a community or of an individual develops, first of a situation or a problem, then of alternative solutions and then of an appropriate course of action. This report could not analyse at a micro-level the state of this art. But at the risk of being over simplistic it can be said that initiatives are being taken in three ways. First there is a considerable amount of group development taking place at the initiative of people themselves. This includes many fencing schemes, water development projects, livestock husbandry groups, and vegetable gardening projects. Some group initiatives have failed - for example in crop collection and marketing. Some dam groups have formed entirely at group initiative.

But most dam groups fall into a second category - groups which have formed as a response to Government programmes. These can succeed, but only if the analysis of a situation is right and the Government project is an appropriate viable solution. Experience generally shows a lack of proper assessment. Returning to dams, many have formed in an arbitrary manner, have had dams built and have then "not managed them". The subsequent organisation of some of these groups is virtually non existent. Reasons for this are complex (see chapter 14) but a major cause is the

(10) Personal communication, K. Rick.

(11) Grants of over P2500.00 are limited to registered AMAs.

Government approach.

In ranch group organisation - both in commercial areas and in communal areas - there have been dramatic failures too in approach. At Selebalo (chapter 13) there was scarcely any group initiative at all. At Mabeleapudi (chapter 11) all the initiative came from the Serowe Brigades Development Trust. Signs are that with the APRU communal cell programme some of these mistakes are being repeated (chapter 11). Regional staff speak with anxiety of national projects (Livestock Project II) generated at higher levels with donor agencies anxious to spend. At Mogwalale in the Barolong it was reported that an APRU official had said "the money is there, we can supply an AD (to manage the project), we want to do it". In many areas no analysis of the socio-economic conditions in an area was being done. A Councillor supported the APRU cell idea because "if this area doesn't get it another area will". Local people were quiet. An REO feared that this sort of approach could lead to projects being built only to find local people then complaining that Government had taken their grazing. Extension staff with experience of the Selebalo group ranch spoke of the feeling that members there were waiting for a Government official to make just one small blunder in addressing them in order then to be in a position to try to manipulate the project their way.

To initiate an APRU cell at Ntimbale, 13 visits were made by the GDO, 15 by the REO, 9 by the APO, 2 by APRU and 3 by CAMA. The AD was rarely involved at any stage and was sometimes informed of meetings after they had taken place. Most of the formation procedures were done for the group in January 1979. Regional support staff took care of Land Board negotiations. The REO drafted the AMA application. Consultation with the Makaleng village authorities was done by regional staff (June 1978) and also in May 1979 with the Sechele and Gulubane headmen. The GDO noted in her conscientious records of the group's formation process that she "hopes they (the group) will be involved in the process of registration". The time schedule for implementation of the project was planned in an HQ strategy meeting. Over a year after initial group formation efforts the GDO had to stress in HQ "the need to explain how fees are calculated and...the need for APRU to meet the Committee". "Group involvement is important" it was said at this late stage. The GDO noted on 28 September 1979 that "it is necessary to involve the committee in (these) major decisions so that they are aware the project is ultimately their own". At the registration ceremony a meeting was planned "so as to be certain that everyone understands the project". That kind of understanding was needed at a much earlier stage - not on the day of registration!

This hurried account misses some of the factors involved in the APRU cell programme which can be appreciated more fully by reference to chapter 11. However, it is clear that group development principles are being turned upside down by certain Government initiated projects. This compromises the credibility of group development staff. Recommendations are made on this in the chapters concerned.

Mistakes have been made by non government organisations in other areas, such as horticulture. Communities have been virtually forced into a communal form of organisation for vegetable gardens. "Do this and you will get the use of this equipment". In the development of horticultural estates for AMAs there are grave risks in the "top-down" approach proposed currently. However, signs are here, as with AMA ranch extension in the south, that extension staff are aware of the need for an approach which results in the selection of people with a clear appreciation of the commercial nature of their venture and of their role in it.

The third category includes projects in which people participate

apparently with little motivation other than rewards received for working. The 'molapo' bunding projects would not be happening were it not for P1.00 a day drought relief. Some extension staff had assumed the role of "boss" in charge of labour group paysheets. A number of VDC projects - the clearing of communal gardens and some conservation projects depend on the same form of incentive. This report found evidence also of some groups which appeared to have formed directly from an anticipation of receiving a grant. And some smallstock groups survived only so long as remedies were provided free by the Smallstock Unit or the local AD.

It is within the scope of this report only to point out that inconsistencies in the application of group development principles are occurring. Awareness of fundamental principles such as this one of group initiative appears to be being compromised in certain cases. In FMD drought affected areas the resort to financial or food incentives may be unavoidable for some projects (see 26.8. below). But some of the inconsistencies are avoidable. Pressure to form AMA ranch groups too fast should be resisted. If there is political pressure, let it be channelled rather into land allocation policies for reserving ranches for future AMAs.

The role of the CAMA office is to work to reduce the contradictions and promote a consistent national approach.

26.8. VARIATIONS BETWEEN THE REGIONS

There is a diversity of experience between regions. Some of this is a reflection on staff personalities and approaches - partly GDOs but to a greater extent RAOs. It is the management of support which is most critical and this is out of the GDO's control. The diversity in approach to Farmers Committee development was established as a result of different RAO approaches in 1976/77. GDOs arrived in the different regions and found that attitudes and approaches were already quite set. Central Region systematically promoted the FC form of institutional development along with the management system to support it. The 3 monthly programming system evolved as a direct component of this effort. The concept of a cohesive regional support team programming its activities to meet extension area needs is weak in some regions. In considering management of support (26.12 below) we shall observe that in some regions support staff rarely attend ADs meetings at all. Some GDOs have been totally frustrated by this situation where there is no real commitment to management in the region. Some ADs made the consultant aware that in their districts discussion never really reached the heart of problems or analysed how groups should be supported. The consultant attended some monthly meetings where the DAO aimed to get the meeting over before lunch time. In Central Region districts have found that two day meetings have to be scheduled simply to allow time for the volume of project activity to be discussed.

The overriding cause of different regional performance is technical support : partly the management of technical support and partly whether support staff are in post or not. Southern Region has had no Land Use Officer or AO(LR). This explains to a great extent the delays with fence projects. In Central Region the team of AO(LR) and Land Use Officer have dramatically influenced progress. Land use planning was introduced to the group development process. Staff from the Dam Building Unit remarked that in Central Region there was some sense of strategy and organisation in the dam building programme. Success with smallstock groups is confined largely

to Southern Region - a reflection on the performance of the AD for small-stock. With no REO little progress with ranching groups has been made in Central. One exceptionally competent APO was responsible for the achievement with tick control projects in Gaborone Region.

Group Development staff have obviously had different qualities. Some have been more outgoing. Some have devoted greater attention to a quiet low key facilitation role with other staff and with farmers. Some have handled training programmes for ADs more dynamically. Training in some regions does not appear to have been so effective. But what GDOs have been able to achieve has depended primarily on the technical staff they have had to work with and on the RAO-DAO-AD management relationship.

The other factor is variation between parts of the country in natural resources and social conditions. There are regional differences in settlement pattern and social organisation. The most distinct form is that in the Bokalaka (Francistown Region). Scattered homestead arrangement precludes major divisions between arable and grazing, so no communal fences are possible.

Maun Region is perhaps the most difficult area for group action. The region is remote. There is little local employment. Labour migration to the mines and the impact of hunting safaris and tourism have produced a "labour mentality". The region is backward. There is distrust of Government and therefore of ideas for projects. Even with the drought relief scheme to pay farmers to destump more land farmers expressed their suspicion that Government would then take the harvest. Marketing either of livestock or crops has always been difficult. Prices are low. There is therefore little motivation to increase agricultural production. With FMD marketing restrictions farmers have been unable to sell at all. Coupled with drought there has been no money available even for livelihood, paying herdboys or running boreholes, let along new projects. The GDO could therefore expect only a labour contribution towards projects, not even 10% capital contributions. But even the chances for this have been confused. The P50 scheme advanced farmers P50 in return for an animal pledged to BLDC for marketing when FMD restrictions were lifted. Many farmers became confused between this and other schemes. Then food rations and P1.00 a day were introduced for VDC and other projects such as 'molapo' bunding. There was no question that people did not desperately need the P1.00 a day. But the Council Secretary along with many others wondered what the effect of drought relief would be on long term self reliance and local initiative[12]. Village teams and VDCs were weak. Excessive dependence on Central Government and on Council had developed. It was most difficult to build up local level participation in development and alter attitudes amidst such big obstacles.

Government has to assist in difficult times. But these are the very times when a strong mature Council and competent village institutions are needed to take decisions on the best way of directing assistance to appropriate projects - water development, for example, in times of drought.

Maun Region is an exceptionally difficult case. However it is significant that in a joint tour the GDO and CAMA found "lack of understanding" to be least in areas where Farmers Committees had been formed and trained. And there were initiatives in the region - despite all the difficulties. Interest was greatest in self help schools and in health. Education as a means of getting out of agriculture?

In a meeting of agricultural staff the importance of recognising and dealing with the constraints was realised. The situation served to underline all the more the need to facilitate the development of representative

(12) Personal communication : O. Pitso.

institutions - FCs and District FAs - to pressurise for the changes needed, such as better markets.

A marked difference between some regions has been the interpretation of % group contributions to matching grants. Chapter 10 discussed this in connection with fencing. The "10% minimum" has been interpreted quite differently between regions in connection with SLOCA also. In Maun Region the special circumstances outlined above clearly justify the use of discretion. However opinion differed even within Maun Region on the GDO's approach. One DAO was critical of the way the GDO had toured villages publicising AE10 and AG15 in order to motivate farmers to form FCs and groups. The GDO's action stemmed, it seemed, from pressure from the DDC to form groups ("Ngamiland is falling behind other Districts" one District Plan monitoring report noted) and to get money and projects - especially water and fencing - into the rural areas. The DAO, however, considered that "before talking of funds, extension staff should concentrate on creating awareness of viable projects so that farmers realise what they need to do". Training, in other words, was the primary need.

Although conditions vary between regions there is still a need for consistent principles to be followed. The role of the CAMA office must be to draw together a coherent programme. This is happening slowly but contradictions have been allowed to prevail in the past. There has been a tendency for GDO meetings to fail to reach a common philosophy on some issues. With the CAMA office so newly established this could be understood. In one report CAMA stated "In all, Central District and Southern are quiet. I have so far not heard anything from these areas concerning AMA formation. However they are busy with other group activities such as drift fencing, Farmers Committees and dam groups. And this is why I say emphasis differs from region to region"[13]. Such an analysis can now be explained. With no REO in Central - there was no emphasis on ranching or AMAs. The group ranch pilot project in Southern had only just got underway. In Central Region there were three Dam Building Units (including Serowe Brigades). In Maun Region there is none. But it is necessary, now that the office is more established, for consistent policies to be developed. To do this must involve deeper enquiry into different regional experience. The experience in particular of the two original GDOs whose contracts were renewed should be listened to and evaluated. Above all staff from HQ need to experience more the situation in different regions. Genuine constraints (no REO, no dams unit) need to be distinguished from situations which can be changed through the introduction of more purposeful policies (e.g. on Farmers Committees).

R26/3 : A MORE UNIFORM MATCHING GRANT POLICY IS NEEDED. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMA OFFICE FACILITATES THIS.

26.9. PROBLEMS WITH THE GRADUALIST EXTENSION APPROACH

The thinking behind this principle, upon which the group development approach was initially based, was explained in chapter 6. To a great extent extension efforts based on this approach have been effective. Management capability and confidence as well as technical skill has devel-

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(13) "AMAs and related matters" by I. T. Matenge; paper presented to RAOs meeting 11 October 1979.

oped so that farmers have become less a loose network of neighbours, and more used to coming to agreement through interest in solving common problems. Many groups have started small and then successfully progressed to greater endeavours. Quite a number of tick control groups have done this (chapter 15). And even at a very small scale it has worked - the 'Boipelo' women's garden group, for example. Most striking has been the achievement of a series of communal area projects in the same area; data on this are most clearly seen in Appendix 1 on Farmers Committees. In places like Metsemaswaane (South East), Segakwana, Serowe East, Thabala (Serowe), Lerala (Palapye District) or Mmankgodi (Kweneng South) Farmers Committees and sub- or independent but related groups have undertaken as many as a dozen or more activities in 4 or 5 years.

In discussions with farmers in these groups the principle of "one step at a time" was continuously and forcefully brought home. Often the groups (in particular the Farmers Committees) were quite clear as to their priorities and felt needs. These were their preoccupation. They wisely insisted on completing one undertaking before being pressed (yes! by extension staff) into action on some other proposal. In some cases, hopes were expressed that success at one project would result in improved management over another. At Ranaka will management of the Kwahu dam develop if the dip tank group succeeds? Certainly in some areas management capability has spread in this way.

But the approach has not always worked. Various weaknesses can be identified. The main one is the criticism levelled at group development generally - i.e. that it is ad-hoc. There is some justification for this viewpoint. Almost every chapter of this report (i.e. from 9 - 25) has come to the conclusion that a lack of technical strategy has resulted in projects being non viable. A lack of strategy can be dangerous. Around Moshupha the introduction of dams may have improved the accessibility and convenience of water sources to some of the lands residents, but as several farmers complained, the solution to one problem had led to worse problems of uncontrollable overgrazing in the area. Local farmers felt powerless to act. There was no overall water development strategy for the area and farmers had no idea how to articulate their problems or communicate to authorities like the District Council. In other areas dams have been rationed out at 4 per extension area in an arbitrary way.

In fencing the lack of land use planning and care in project designs has caused problems in participation and subsequent management. In cattle husbandry guidelines have been totally inadequate and groups and extension staff unclear what type of project to undertake. In almost every area of group activity this has been a problem. The importance of proper technical planning has been underplayed. In regions where technical support has been stronger there has been a striking difference. The comment of the AO(LR) for Central Region captures this, where he referred to developing "a systematic response to land use problems and issues as opposed to the confused ad-hocracy of the past"[14].

A very serious assessment of technical strategy is necessary in every area, and an appraisal of the strengthening of support needed. If significantly improved progress is to be made, technical support is the key. More posts, more training, more skills are needed. Skills can come from outside Government (through Development Trusts or special consultancies) as well as from within.

Another point to be clear about the gradualist approach is that it is gradual. There has been excessive impatience in some circles about the

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(14) 3 month programme Jan - March 1980 by J. C. A. Hobbs, Serowe.

speed at which management capacity is being developed. It must be appreciated that new institutions take time to develop. Capability in village and lands communities to manage projects is very limited. Activities must not be pushed. Priorities should follow one another (within a sound technical plan). Criticisms were heard of the achievement of certain FCs. "They are not as great as they are made out to be". In one case (Thabala) over a year had elapsed since the FC had proposed a bull, weaner and fattening camp project. This delay was due to the preoccupation of the FC management with a woodlot and other projects. It must be remembered that management capability and leadership is only as strong as the people taking part. Many of these people are not literate. The projects are new and technically demanding. In some cases even Government has failed to provide adequate strategy for them. Management requires time and energy. It is costly. The institutionalising process is a long one.

The difficulties mentioned above under section 26.7. have weakened the gradualist approach principle. With participation in some VDC projects taking place only on days when drought relief supplies are handed out, and with initiative in some cases coming from Government, the principle of starting small with felt needs is confused. Policy in these areas needs clarification.

Finally gradualism has been interpreted by some as "laissez faire". Let communities get on in their own time in their own way while Government stands by and hands out grants to help. In some regions there has been a tendency to wait for village initiatives with little attempt at preparatory development of institutions which can be trained to analyse, plan, consult, and ultimately manage.

Group and institutional development should be dynamic. Impediments of every kind should be removed to assist the development process. An environment should be created for action. Creating awareness and developing skills and management means time, patient but firm intervention, demonstration, adult education techniques and competent technical support. This may then lead to success and confidence to manage more. This is "facilitation".

26.10. THE MEANING OF FACILITATION

Facilitation is a relatively new word in Botswana. It was certainly not in use around 1976/77 when group development started. It is used in a professional sense by adult educators to denote the learner-centred system of education as opposed to the traditional teacher-knows-all approach. It is a definite technique in adult education whereby people are assisted to move from the familiar to the unfamiliar; it is the process of creating awareness - of self-awareness and awareness of a person's or a community's situation; it involves analysis - what are the causes of problems, why are events not progressing, how can we help to move things forward. However the word also means more simply "to make easy, promote or help forward an action or result"[15].

In group development both interpretations are clearly important. The traditional meaning of the word is essentially what is meant when the word support is used, but support can cover a whole range of forms of

(15) Oxford Dictionary

assistance. It would be useful if there was greater awareness of the distinction between the different forms of support. Extension staff in direct contact with groups (primarily ADs) have to perform at least three support roles. One is facilitation in the professional sense, to which we shall return below. Another is the "helping forward" role which may include such functions as liaison or co-ordination with local authorities. The third is technical support. It is complex for one official (the AD) to wear these different hats. The different roles are not mutually exclusive but can easily be misunderstood by farmers if an AD is not skilled particularly in the professional facilitation art. Early training programmes (around 1977) did focus on the role of the AD, but the word facilitation was not in use and this report finds that as a result the real professional meaning was not taught. ADs were taught to encourage, advise and assist groups, and not to make decisions, not take a leadership role, not allow the group to become dependent on him and not to press his own ideas. Most of the principles taught were and still are sound. The "helping forward" support role is therefore generally the best understood and performed role in most regions.

Technical support is the support weakness most commonly identified in this report. It is a weakness at the AD level, but also the role and sometimes the expertise of specialist support staff working out of regional offices is unclear and weak. These constraints are discussed in 26.11 and 26.12 below.

The need for professional facilitation as well as other forms of support is quite readily appreciated by farmers. At Mmathethe one elderly farmer in the company of several village leaders declared that

> "dilo tsa morafhe ke dingalo"
> (meaning : group things/communal efforts are tiresome).

He went on to say that group work was good but that it was a new thing requiring education and discipline. In another area farmers explained how committee organisation was a new concept; new committees had little idea how to work. How people should be organised, how groups should be constituted, how responsibilities should be shared in new projects all needed to be explained. At Mmadinare the Committee even of an experienced Co-operative were absolutely tired of battling with the organisation of the dairy ranch (chapter 12). Even arranging a contract with a man to fence the ranch in the way Government demanded was alien : members described it as a "kontrac tsa sekoowa" (white man's system). The members declared Botswana had yet a long way to go before rural people understood such things. They were sensitive at the way Government blamed their management for problems. Yet they found it impossible to discuss problems openly with Government officials - including CODEC.

CODEC was criticised also by officials and others involved in horticultural development. "Projects cannot be perfect from the beginning". the approach needs to be more supportive - facilitative. The dedication of horticultural staff from HQ is getting out of Gaborone and patiently and competently teaching group members and discussing problems was commended by the farmers.

One Land Board official felt that groups in his District needed far more help. Fencing groups were just left, ignorant of consultation and other procedures and technical matters.

A District Commissioner put it bluntly:

> "people who have been to school can start anywhere; others must start from where they are".

Some would expand such a statement to take account of cattle ownership. There are Batswana with no cattle and no education, some cattle and some education, and many cattle and (often) more education.

In group development, particularly where target groups are concerned, we are dealing with people who have to start where they are. Often their perception of Government is unclear. There is confusion between different schemes of assistance. The poor especially lack confidence compared with the greatness of Government they see. In many areas of activity this report found that a special effort is needed to promote and help forward these people. Consultation may need to reach them individually to avoid their being left behind by the more articulate who tend to get elected to committees. Or problems need to be brazenly brought in the open through popular methods of education.

Facilitation must mean creating awareness. Awareness of Government, of the cause of problems, of the capacity for action, of what solutions involve, of responsibility, initiative, factors to consider in planning, accommodating different needs, and of assistance available. To be effective support must come from a position of knowledge and sensitivity to problems of existing situations and social and other factors. This report found some groups with confused priorities and field staff proposing inappropriate projects. Enterprise Analysis seems to have been forgotten.

Technical support must be dependable and expert. Where they were this almost always accounted for outstandingly successful activity. But mistakes are continuing to be made by some support staff. One virtually supervised farmers on their projects. Others cannot give expert advice. Some seem hardly to know the meaning of reliability.

Is the meaning of facilitation really understood in practice? The conclusion of this study is that there is a long way to go. Through GDO efforts, understanding of what it means has spread, and more extension staff are possessing the skills involved. It is emphasised that facilitation is a skilled art. It is easy to talk of village social and political problems. It is quite another matter to be in their midst and to have the tact to know how to deal with situations, remove such obstacles, create understanding and help people to define a way forward. Extension staff have to be confident themselves. It would help perhaps if the adult education term facilitation was clearly distinguished from the more general meaning of support. Support is becoming understood. But as yet there is much less awareness and knowledge of, and certainly skill in facilitatory adult education methods.

R26/4 : <u>THERE IS A NEED FOR FAR MORE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN THIS AREA.</u> New (Batswana) GDOs would benefit particularly from training at the Institute of Adult Education. Courses should be arranged also for other regional and district staff - particularly for ADs, Agricultural Supervisors and DAOs.

26.11. TECHNOLOGY FOR GROUPS

"Technical information must be sound" - principle no. 6.
"Group projects must be well planned" - principle no. 7.

The need for viable, feasible and acceptable technology is implied in the purpose of the Amended RLMP. It is part of "institutionalising the processes....". There is no "ad-hocracy" in the RLMP Amendment Purpose - viz:

> "to institutionalise the process(es) by which replicable economically and socially viable ...groups...can be encouraged and supported so as to ensure the use of land resources in manners intended to protect the resource base and improve rural income".

From the early origins of group development (described in chapter 4), group formation or the use of group extension methods was never divorced from technical goals and strategies. However the main weakness in several areas of group action has been a lack of technical strategy. Technical information has often not been sound. Projects have sometimes been extremely poorly planned.

It is not proposed here to document these areas. It is hoped that in most chapters technical factors will have been adequately explained, although the author is acutely aware that the analysis will have its flaws. An attempt was made to get right information from technical specialists at HQ, in the field and at special projects like IFPP. But the scope of this study has been so wide that there are bound to be points which have been overlooked and misinterpreted. It has simply not been possible to provide more than a superficial treatment of the technology in most cases. Range and livestock management, for example, is a complex subject. It is hoped at least that the analysis is a step in the right direction in most cases. Some answers to the question "which technologies are suited to group action" are hopefully to be found, then, in preceding chapters.

Much work remains to be done, though, in developing viable small farmer technology. ALDEP projects are still in a pilot stage. No-one can give a clear answer as to whether a small farmer should borrow oxen, get donkeys through a credit subsidy scheme or hire from or join a tractor group. There is controversy over whether support and assistance programmes for small farmers should give more or less emphasis to arable production, smallstock, cattle or other income alternatives. From a flock of 20 smallstock it is said that P60.00 income can be earned per year by selling two, and that this equates with the production from 2 acres of crops. Similar arguments are put forward to justify investment of land or other resources in arable or cattle. What can the communal areas support? There are only hypotheses in answer to these issues.

The point to get really clear is that in every area of activity there should be a sound technical basis for group action. Where a technical division has a firm recommendation or management package, policies and programmes of assistance to make it acceptable and worthwhile for farmers to adopt the innovations need to be worked out, and policy needs to be clear on whether programmes are geared to individuals or groups.

Not every innovation is appropriate for group action. Water development should be partly through group and partly through individual action. Various aspects of smallstock management should be adopted on an individual farmer basis. There is no suggestion that farmers should be organising kraal management together. And no-one is telling farmers to produce crops communally. Vegetable plots, even in group gardens, need to be individually managed. It will be a long time before cattle are ever owned by Co-operative ranches.

Most activities suited to group action are services and infrastructure development. Even some of these require levels of management beyond the capacity of unregistered groups. Crop collecting centres may end up mostly built and managed by BAMB and Co-operatives. Production activities (ranches, horticultural projects etc.) can be organised by groups, but the support required to facilitate the levels of group management involved is immense. Impact in these areas will only be measured over years.

The confusion which ALDEP has caused amongst extension staff, including some GDOs, needs to be cleared away. Fresh discussion is needed on the potential for implementing the technologies concerned through group or individual action. The packages designed for individual adoption can still be extended as much as possible by means of group extension methods. ALDEP participating farmers should be treated as a group, and demonstrations, training, monitoring and even certain administrative functions (like filling NDB applications) can be carried out in groups.

It is through greater effort in the development of technical and organisational guidelines that the two principles (no. 6 and no. 7) of group action can be achieved. The management of technical support on which sound information and planning depends, rests on the availability of guidelines.

26.12. MAKING AVAILABLE COMPREHENSIVE EXTENSION SUPPORT TO GROUPS : THE MANAGEMENT OF SUPPORT.

This is principle no. 5 for group action (see 26.6.). On support management hinges the whole process of facilitation, the provision of sound technical information, planning and group organisation. What has replaced the Pupil Farmers Scheme? Policy in 1973 was that the PFS "will be re-modelled. Extension will combine group extension .... and individual farm visits. Details of a more broadly based extension scheme to replace the PFS are being worked out"[16]. Has an effective system of channelling support been produced for reaching more farmers?

The structure of the supporting services was described in chapter 7. The Ministry of Agriculture underwent drastic reorganisation between 1973 - 1975 to produce the present Agricultural Field Services Department structure. The whole concept of this reorganisation was to produce an organisation through which support could be channelled efficiently to the AD in contact with farmers. Radical developments took place in management also, and in the rationalising of new regional, district and extension area boundaries. See chapter 4, section 4.3.5. for an account of these changes.

Some observations on management in practice

How has the structure and management system worked out?

Firstly, the provision of technical support to groups has been a real problem in many cases. This was mentioned in 26.8. and 26.9. above. It can be said, therefore, that a major constraint to group development is the institutional one in terms of institutional capacity in Government to service farmer groups. It is real in the sense that there is just insufficient manpower for the tasks required. There are no Land Use staff in one region, no ranch extension in another, and no smallstock in another. Some of the best trained people in range management are engaged in demarcating commercial ranching areas, when several regions are without these skills for communal area development. Many extension areas are vacant. And where ADs are in post, areas are often very wide, despite the 1975 restructuring of boundaries. Logistical problems in supporting groups are real. To organise and hold one meeting or demonstration may tie up an AD for several days with only a bicycle for miles of difficult travel. To facilitate area wide consultations or undertake land use plans, or to publicise and arrange FC elections may take weeks rather than days. Sometimes roads are impassable. Transport cannot be arranged. Meetings set up long in advance may fail.

The purpose of a management system is to try to minimise the effect of such constraints. It is to make the best use of manpower available[17]. But in practice there are many problems.

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(16) National Policy for Rural Development : Government Paper No. 2 of 1973.

(17) It must be emphasised that management alone cannot solve everything. improved conditions of service, provision of transport etc. are critical also.

ADs are overloaded with responsibility for the implementation of activities emanating from HQ. There is a tendency for staff at many levels to be buried in day to day actions and to be unable to spare the time to think about and discuss freshly what they are doing. Meetings in particular seem dead. They happen with great regularity, but from ADs to DAFS there is a sense of disillusion with them. HQ specialists find District monthly meetings an unhelpful medium for training, discussion or monitoring of programmes. "ADs don't listen". One GDO described how monthly meetings were not for management at all. There was never enough time allocated for regional support staff to plan or discuss their programme responsibilities. Several ADs despaired at their DAOs over this. Extension Area problems are never discussed systematically, area by area, project by project in some Districts. ADs complained of no depth of discussion. Meetings seemed to consist of a series of directives and correspondence. When the last item "miscellaneous" appears on the agenda everyone wants to go home. No ideas or help seem to come from the DAO's office. ADs are often quite aware what is causing the hold up with a project yet for months and months no action is taken. It takes a solid discussion to move from awareness of a cause to the design of a solution, especially where social problems are concerned. From several sources (farmers, ADs and a GDO) a strong impression was reached that, in many areas, the Ministry's approach does not encourage dialogue, argument or analysis. There is talk of commitment to planning, programming and management, yet it seems not to happen. A DAO who did try to manage his work in a positive way spoke of hopeless problems in his region with co-ordinating support staff inputs from the regional office. Who was to do what, when? The regional team never seemed to really meet to discuss these problems; staff did not plan together: they were too involved in their separate activities to make time to discuss. The GDO spoke of technical staff pulling in different directions. And some technical support staff carried on using totally inappropriate support methods. Progress with one drift fence, for example, could not happen unless the Land Use Officer was there each day to transport farmers to the site and survey and supervise cutting the line.

One GDO said that meetings were always so poor that no-one even knew that a meeting <u>could</u> be productive. Some district monthly meetings are over in a few hours. If they start on time the aim is to be through by lunch-time. No systematic discussion of 3 month programmes takes place - either at the time they are supposed to be prepared or reviewed, or in the two months in between. One RAO in response to this situation just replied that "it was up to the DAOs how long they made their monthly meetings". The GDO felt totally alone in the midst of a situation where other staff were reluctant to discuss and never reached real issues.

The conduct of management in a region and in a district totally governs the organisation of support. If a DAO handles a meeting constructively, regional support staff can use the meeting for informal inservice training, monitoring progress, and planning and programming support to groups. Some regional staff get around the problem by working with ADs and groups direct. But it is impossible to provide region wide cover in this way. As a result of poor co-ordination between regional staff and ADs, groups suffer ridiculous delays. How is it that a communal fencing scheme can be proposed, the community raise over P1000, and be delayed over two years waiting for Land Board to allocate - all because the fence line is not surveyed, although a DAO and a DO(L) are available to do the job. What is the AD doing all that time? Yet the Land Board frequently visits the area to allocate lands. In Southern Region many fencing projects are held up in this way. The RAO declared that a DAO or DAS, or an APO could do the necessary survey even while the region had no Land Use Officer. A region should try to make use of all the manpower it has. But when support staff from the region attend district monthly meetings so irregularly how is this to be arranged? One AD in Southern Region reported that most support staff only visited the district meetings to do Annual Plans. The smallstock AD was singled out as the regional staff member who visited extension areas most regularly.

In four regions the consultant heard complaints from ADs and regional staff about DAOs not providing enough field support and remaining uninvolved in group meetings. Often support staff were called out unnecessarily to find a situation which could have been resolved by the AD with a DAO's help. Some DAOs were reported to be very insensitive to the process and problems of group formation.

Then, in contrast, there were instances when support staff received bitter criticism from ADs and DAOs for their performance. This tended to be particularly the case in Central Region where the introduction of the 3 month programming system had created a much sharper sense of management performance. Meetings in this region regularly took 2 days, the agendas of programme activities were so long.

In conclusion, an ADs own perception can be used. The AD for Mmadinare North remarked that "expectations on groups are so big, but the work involved requires a lot of analysis, support and commitment". This AD had 500 farming families to cover, a wide area, and transport problems. He had many commitments. Several groups including fencing and dam groups. He had visited a dip tank group about 15 km. from Mmadinare on every Tuesday for ten months. He knew what he was talking about.

When the way support continues to be managed in some regions is taken into account, it is not surprising that confusion and lack of commitment can be found in some extension areas. Some ADs have simply never been convinced either from the training they have had, or from their practical experience of the way extension is managed.

The need for better management

To use the expression of one GDO, the achievement of the aims of the group development programme is impossible unless the management style encourages evaluation, planning and discussion. A system of management at least ensures that a basic minimum of management is done. In one region where the 3MP system had only recently been introduced (though sporadically) an AD welcomed the innovation : whereas before the DAO and regional support staff could not be held accountable for failing to provide follow-up, and it had been hopeless to programme the necessary help groups needed in an orderly reliable way, now if an AD was let down on an arrangement in the 3MP he could complain - pointing to what had been programmed.

In most regions GDOs have been the only staff from the regional

office who regularly attend AD monthly meetings. Several spoke of dragging other support staff out from the regional office. One GDO's Annual Report for 78/79 reported "tried to facilitate co-ordination among staff; initiated a revival of regional meetings". In another region, a regional staff meeting was actually cancelled one quarter because of a lack of agenda items. GDOs have played an extremely important role by their example. They have been dependable and dedicated. They have promoted analysis. While some support staff have just not turned up at engagements arranged with ADs, GDOs have almost always made it somehow; and if they could not - they have managed to send a message or a letter. Seemingly small matters like this make a big impression.

The GDO role has in this way helped. In some regions, GDOs report that there is greater understanding of the support role due without doubt in part to the GDO presence. But where regional and district staff still have a limited perception of what management is all about, a system helps to crystallise what it means. The 3MP system evolved precisely to facilitate the necessary discussion, analysis, planning and monitoring which supporting group projects required. In the absence of a system, as we have seen, time is just not created for these processes, and the roots of problems are just not reached. Where the system operates effectively it eases the workload, not the reverse.

The 3 month programming (3MP) system

The 3MP system was not part of the original management system developed for the Department of Agricultural Field Services through the work of the Extension Adviser[18]. The initial focus was on a monthly management system - involving monthly management meetings, reports and programmes (the Daily Activities Record sheet prepared for each month). Only ADs and DAOs were required to prepare reports on each month. After two to three years experience with this system it was found in Central Region that the monthly reporting system had several weaknesses in respect to the management of support to groups. The design of the monthly report forms did not provide adequate space for reporting on progress and problems with group projects. The reporting system did not involve regional support staff at all (it was up to the RAO or HQ sections to demand reports from specialists but these could be totally unrelated to DAO and AD reports). The monthly interval was found to be too short for planning support to group projects. A longer perspective was needed. As support staff were uninvolved in the reporting system they tended not to attend monthly management meetings in the districts; their absence could be unnoticed : most support staff were (and still are) reluctant to attend every month; in the absence of a programming system for their support they could get away with it. There was little concept in fact of management of technical programmes at all. But most important, the monthly system contained no method for carrying out an "enterprise analysis" approach to group projects. It was just up to the DAO what to put on the meeting agenda. The system did not promote the necessary analysis of group project situations, discussion of solutions and programming of extension activities and supportive visits.

For these basic reasons the 3MP system evolved slowly, through an ongoing evaluation in the region of extension performance in relation particularly to supporting group projects. Firstly, a format for AD 3MPs was developed. This was followed by formats for DAOs which collated the

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(18) For a thorough description of the basic management innovations see "The Organisation and Management of Agricultural Extension and Farmer Assistance in Botswana" by Alan Kingshotte : published by ODI, London : 1980

essential information from Extension Area 3MPs concisely, so that the DAO had a check list of project activity and support required (both from his own office and from regional support specialists). Later, similar formats were developed for support staff to use. Ultimately, within the region, it was possible to correlate progress and extension activities at the AD, DAO and Support staff levels and for the RAO at regional meetings to monitor all that was going on. Meetings both at district and regional level became forums for heated debate and sometimes fierce argument over the approach to be taken in tackling the problems with projects, and the performance of ADs, DAOs and technical support staff whose different roles became more district.

Rather than document precisely the full details of the system here, Appendix 28 contains a selection of documentation which illustrates the development of the 3MP system, what it involves, together with some actual examples of 3MP plans and reports from Central Region in 1979/80.

After discussions in RAO meetings in 1978, DAFS directed that the 3MP system be adopted throughout the department and in all regions, and in 1979 the monthly reporting system was simplified to facilitate 3 month programming. Since the 3MP system was specifically designed to improve the management of support to groups it is an important area to evaluate. In 1980, then, what was the picture around the country?

Firstly, in Central Region where the system evolved, it was continuing to be followed systematically. Most ADs produced thoughtful programmes, using the straightforward format to express the situations and problems of their various group projects and propose extension activities and support needed. All the DAOs in Central Region were continuing to use newsprint in the main quarterly meetings when 3MPs were prepared so that the District 3MP was built up literally in front of everyone's eyes and with plenty of staff participation. In some Districts, the newsprint remained on the wall of the meeting room throughout the programme quarter and could be referred to in monthly meetings in between. Some excellent DAO 3MPs were being produced. Examples are given in Appendix 29. For the purpose of this consultancy, it was possible to look through back copies of 3 month programmes and reports for a year and a half, and to see the progress of specific group projects from one quarter to the next, and how support was provided. The District 3MPs in Central Region were an important source for this report - a source completely unavailable in other regions.

It was also possible from studying 3MPs to see patterns of experience which could be used in the development of guidelines for supporting group processes. For example, in Central Region all the work in facilitating FC formation, election and training fell in the April - June and July - September 3MPs. Sometimes it could be seen that an election had failed in May and had to be re-programmed for July. Sometimes transport was programmed in a DAO's 3MP in order to support an AD collecting people to participate in FC election meetings. At certain times of year, certain activities frequently failed because farmers were busy at the lands. Dam group activity in the January - March 1980 3MP for Mahalapye District failed, for example, in Shoshong, Letsokole and Mokobeng. And no progress was made in the formation of a tick control project in the July - September 1979 3MP because farmers had left the area for Mahalapye village. Or again, the Serowe DAO reported at the end of Jan - March 1980 3MP that "not much work was achieved (in tick control) this period due to the heavy commitment of the ploughing season". Guidelines can take this experience into account.

The 3MP system was allowing much closer monitoring of support. By

reviewing a series of 3MPs it was possible to notice, for example, that an APO(ss) had failed to keep engagements for demonstrations which had been programmed. In some cases demonstrations were held but follow-up meetings programmed by the AD were not supported.

Another area of monitoring possible is the progress with group contributions : it was possible to notice where contributions had halted because of FMD marketing restrictions. Sometimes changes in priorities or project designs are made from one 3MP to the next. During 1979, at Chadibe, a proposal to fence a dam was changed to a lands fencing project which also enclosed the dam.

Support staff in Central Region had settled down into the system of attending the quarterly 3MP meetings in each district. All the district monthly meetings lasted a full two days. Agendas regularly included periods during which each support programme was discussed. Support staff could fix dates for some engagements in the spot. Depending still to some extent on the DAO, ADs were each asked in turn about projects in their area as each type of activity was discussed (tick control, dams, fencing etc..) with the support staff present. Some support staff, particularly the GDO, attended meetings in between the 3MP sessions.

Generally speaking management was happening as it should. Discussion, analysis and co-ordination were taking place.

In other regions the situation was a sharp contrast. This is not to say that the people themselves working in other regions were not as capable. The quality of staff across the country as a whole was the same. The consultant found committed, dedicated, competent hard working ADs, DAOs and regional staff in every region. The difference was in the way available manpower was managed. And these differences quite definitely affected achievement and the capability of a region to formulate sound strategies and follow them up. An Annual Plan period is a very short time space, and what is planned and what then happens in that period has to be watched closely. The observations made earlier in this section are illustrative of what happens in practice in some regions. The 3MP system has been only scantily introduced. In Southern Region 3MPs were only being prepared by ADs. DAOs and regional support staff were not involved; therefore there was no guarantee of support to the ADs requests. In Maun Region there was no 3MP system at any level, though this was partly because one district, due to remoteness, met only once every two months in any case. In Francistown it was introduced again only at the AD level. DAOs did not produce 3MPs after quarterly meetings. Support staff, if they followed the system at all, just scribbled notes if they attended the district meeting. In Gaborone Region argument was going on as to whether district quarterly meetings should be more than one day duration. Consensus had not been reached. There was still no agreement about the scheduling of district monthly meetings on successive days; without this support staff could not be present in every district each month (or even for the quarterly 3MP sessions) because meetings clashed. Only one DAO (transferred from Central) had introduced the 3MP system as practised in Serowe and was producing a District 3MP. Some DAOs were starting to use newsprint though. At a Regional Staff Meeting in Gaborone the same problems and arguments were raised that had been raised in Serowe 3 years earlier. Support staff queried the need to attend monthly meetings. DAOs wanted them there every month right through the meeting "in case they were needed for some item". Support staff said it was up to DAOs to inform them when they were needed. They complained that ADs and DAOs misunderstood their role. An APO would be called out to find that he was working alone, direct with farmers. The AD had not

prepared for his input in any way, or thought out the group's situation at that point or what precisely the APO was needed for. Support staff ended up doing spadework. In Southern Region also some ADs were criticised for this - they were said to rely too much on the support staff and were unclear how to support groups.

The Gaborone RSS came out in strong favour, though, of the 3MP system. It was just a question of getting it into practice. It was concluded that much training was needed so that support roles were clearer.

Improving management - getting the system to work

A management system will not be made to work simply by making a resolution in an HQ meeting or even by issuing a directive. It is in fact uncertain what directives have ever been issued on 3 month programming or whether RAOs have been left with little guidance to introduce the system in their regions themselves. No systematic training in 3 month programming has been done by DAFS. Formats for AD 3 month programmes have been printed and distributed, but none developed for DAOs or support staff.

But the experience from Central Region should indicate that much more than this is necessary for the system really to work. In that region a series of regional staff workshops were held to discuss management. Management was discussed at length in informal and formal training programmes for ADs. ADs were themselves involved in the design of the system.

To introduce the system effectively throughout the Department will require much training.

R26/5 : IT IS RECOMMENDED FOR THIS PURPOSE THAT CASE STUDIES ARE PREPARED WHICH SHOW CLEARLY THE RELATION BETWEEN EXTENSION AREA, DISTRICT AND SUPPORT STAFF 3MPs. In workshops staff at all levels (HQ included) should come together to discuss how their programming should tie up.

The development of project guidelines should be closely related to the 3MP system. With guidelines which more clearly document the group formation process for different types of project, the steps and support roles involved can be made clearer. This should assist the preparation of both 3 month programmes and Annual Plans. Extension support activities can be programmed at appropriate stages in group formation and at appropriate times of year.

R26/6 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT, AS PROJECT GUIDELINES ARE DEVELOPED, ANNUAL PLAN AND 3MP FORMATS ARE REDESIGNED AS NECESSARY SO THAT SPECIFIC SUPPORT REQUIREMENTS FOR DIFFERENT PROJECTS CAN BE MORE EASILY EXPRESSED. At present, particularly in the Annual Plan forms it takes a sharp eye to check whether an AD or a DAO has entered the support required for objectives and projects planned. An Annual Plan should be a coherent document. For each Aim and set of Objectives, extension activities and support should be systematically thought out. Where a group project is planned, necessary inputs, farmer training courses, demonstrations, support visits, election meetings, campaigns, land use surveys, consultation exercises, grant applications or whatever else the project should require should appear in the plan. Guidelines would help this process.

It must be emphasised that a management system is not foolproof. This study found that it significantly assists management. But personal qualities, competence and commitment are still crucial. In Central Region the 3MP system failed to deal with some support problems. Little can be done where a technical specialist is simply ineffective as an extension worker and cannot communicate with farmers or other staff. The solution to this may be supervision and in some cases discipline. Sometimes it is better to transfer staff who are patently incapable of field work. The

system failed to reveal the mistakes being made by one APO in Central Region. The consultant heard from farmers that this APO had never visited the site of their project or held a meeting with the group. He would arrive in the village late in the evening for a daytime meeting after group members at the project site had long dispersed, and would then expect the AD to hunt for farmers in the village. Complaints were made about the reliability of this APO's information. At a different place another project was built to a wrong plan because of this APO's advice. It is disturbing that these problems did not come to light either through the 3MP system or in another way.

Supervision from HQ is needed as well as supervision within the region. This should be provided to the regional specialists from the technical divisions. An example of a constructive support relationship (the dialogue between the Land Development Officer and the AO(LR) in Central Region) was given in chapter 17. But often the communication between regional staff and their HQ sections is far from adequate. In HQ it became clear that the 3MP system was virtually disregarded. Some sections required their regional specialists to submit monthly itineraries and nothing else. Several specialists in HQ divisions denied having received instruction on 3 month programming, and one specialist officer said he had only seen the system going on in Serowe. Only one of his support staff was producing a 3MP (and a monthly report and itinerary).

It is absolutely vital that there should be a more uniform commitment in the Department, and right through the Department, to 3 month programming and planning and management generally if group development is to be supported effectively. The importance of support and technical strategy has been constantly emphasised throughout this report.

R26/7 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SERIOUS ACTION IS TAKEN IN THE DEPARTMENT TO RAISE THE COMMITMENT TO PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT. A management training consultancy is suggested as one line of action in order to identify weaknesses and facilitate improvement. A contract advisory post to continue the work of previous extension advisers should be considered.

Management of group and individual extension

Much confusion already exists about ALDEP and whether its aims contradict those of group extension. There is also anxiety about increasing the workload on ADs (and districts and regions) through an additional major programme assisting farmers on an individual basis. The AD workload is heavy. The work involved in supporting groups is very demanding. All this has developed in the past 3 - 4 years. Before that extension followed the traditional FFS pattern. Now ALDEP is introducing a major new demand.

R26/8 : IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS OF THIS HAVE NOT BEEN FULLY APPRAISED, AND IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS MANAGEMENT AREA IS LOOKED AT PARTICULARLY CLOSELY IN A CONSULTANCY. The Annual Planning, 3MP and monthly management systems should be able to handle ALDEP work, and as has been pointed out (26.11.) the ALDEP workload can be reduced through emphasis on group extension methods. But careful thought is needed in the design of planning and reporting systems to make this easy. It is a job for experts. Improved design of planning and programming forms would make all the difference to understanding of the difference between planning and supporting group projects and planning and undertaking group extension methods. It is not proposed to suggest how this could be done here, but the impact that the design of 3MPs and the re-design of the front page of the Annual Plan forms had proves the point. The new designs provided a format which facilitated clarity of

thinking and stimulated an AD or a DAO to set out a logical train of ideas and proposals.

Managing farmer training

Farmer training should be part of the same Annual Planning and 3 month programming system for supporting groups. There are special problems, though - the advance preparation of curricula for courses and the advance bookings that are needed for accommodation at RTCs and SCCs.

What is worrying is that not nearly enough training is being arranged specifically for groups. The training needs are discussed briefly below (26.17.). But there is a tendency for farmer training to carry on in the same old way with general agriculture courses for collections of farmers brought in from extension areas, although some progress is being made towards more specialised courses for farmers with specific needs and interests.

In terms of management there are problems in some regions of communication between RTC/SCC staff and staff in the districts they serve. It is considered that this is caused mainly by ADs and DAOs paying insufficient attention to training they are requesting. RTC staff have to prepare course schemes on the basis of bookings made in AD/DAO Annual Plans. The information given in these plans is often hopelessly inadequate. Courses are requested on "internal/external parasites and vegetable gardening" or some equally strange combination. Between the time when a course is requested and booked in the RTC programme, and the time when the course occurs there may be no more communication to the RTC on the training emphasis required. The RTC may possibly know that a farmer group is involved, or it may be just a random collection of farmers. If it is a group what stage are they at with their proposal or project? How much do they know already? What level should the RTC prepare for? Often the RTC has no specific information as a basis for preparing materials.

In Francistown, a smaller region, the SCC Principal toured monthly meetings regularly to check on course plans. Central Region's MRTC Principal also started doing this whenever possible and joined the rest of the regional office support team to attend the quarterly 3MP meetings in the districts.

R26/9 : TO IMPROVE THE PLANNING OF FARMER TRAINING IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FARMER TRAINING STAFF PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE REGIONAL 3MP SYSTEM[19].

R26/10 : IT IS ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT ANNUAL PLANNING AND 3MP FORMS ARE MODIFIED SO AS TO PROVIDE A BETTER LAYOUT FOR MORE SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON FARMER TRAINING TO BE PROVIDED. Especially there should be a close link in the layout between pages dealing with group projects planned and farmer training required for these projects[20].

R26/11 : MORE TRAINING IS RECOMMENDED FOR STAFF AT ALL LEVELS IN THE REGIONS IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF GROUPS, SO THAT TRAINING REQUIREMENTS CAN BE MORE ACCURATELY PREDICTED. This is basically what is involved in "potential problem analysis" - part of the Enterprise Analysis

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(19) It is agreed, however, that the system of monthly reporting to SALO(FT) should not be interrupted, as it is recognised that reporting on the complex administration of RTCs would suffer if done less regularly.

(20) There should be greater flexibility in the programming of farmer training courses; at present the advanced booking system can be too rigid. As Annual Planning improves and training needs are anticipated better, the advance bookings should become more reliable. In fact it is likely that pressure on RTCs will increase considerably.

technique.

R26/12 : GUIDELINES ON GROUP FORMATION PROCESSES AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE OF ASSISTANCE HERE, AND SHOULD INCLUDE CLEAR GUIDANCE ON TRAINING NEEDS WHICH SHOULD BE PLANNED AND PROGRAMMED FOR.

Monitoring group development

Monitoring is an important management function. But it is a difficult area in the group development programme because the responsibility for supporting groups is divided between so many people, indeed between different sections. Who should be responsible for following-up group developments - the AD, the DAO, the GDO or concerned technical support staff? Technical strategy has been emphasised in this report. If that is the case, is it the responsibility of the Division of Animal Production and APOs in the regions to monitor progress with tick control projects?

A problem is that different support staff are involved at different stages of implementation. And there are very practical problems : at present GDOs are the only staff keeping systematic visit-logs on groups (these are recorded on pages attached to group data sheets which are gradually being compiled for all groups). But what happens when an APO or the Land Use Officer visits the group? How are his reports (if any) on what he did or problems/progress with the group to be recorded? At the moment there is a real problem just reconciling AD, DAO, GDO and other information, let alone any data in HQ - on dam groups, for example, or records kept in DAFS office on AE10 or AG15 grants awarded.

In the regions filing systems fall way behind what is required. Some support staff maintain their own - usually out of distrust and frustration with the regional office system. In Central Region files were created to fit in with the 3MP management system. This has yet to be done in other regions to the consultant's knowledge. Without files for the 3 month programmes and reports of the different DAOs and support staff it must be hard work using them.

This report is unable to recommend an overall management system for monitoring group development.

R26/13 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS IS AN AREA WHICH RECEIVES EXPERT ATTENTION IN THE MANAGEMENT TRAINING CONSULTANCY SUGGESTED AT A DEPARTMENTAL LEVEL. What can be done here is to point out some considerations.

It is considered absolutely necessary that the responsibility for the development of group projects is shared by those who are concerned, and not dumped on the GDO. An APO should be completely up to date with the needs and activities of all animal production groups in his region. An AO(LR) should be able to pinpoint exactly which fencing projects have been surveyed, how long they are, how many dam groups there are and the progress of dam building. The AO(LR) in Central Region developed an impressive bar chart for recording the stages of implementation of all the fencing projects in the region.

R26/14 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SIMILAR MONITORING AIDS ARE DEVELOPED FOR OTHER GROUP ACTIVITIES AND THAT TECHNICAL SUPPORT STAFF HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING THAT THEIR INPUT IS PROVIDED AND RECORDED. Once again it will be the development of guidelines for different types of project which will enable such monitoring devices to be developed more easily.

Although good 3 month programmes and reports provide a useful record of the progress and problems with supporting groups, and need to be encouraged, it is considered necessary for an additional record-keeping system to be developed in regional offices.

R26/15 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT FILES ARE KEPT SEPARATELY ON EVERY GROUP PROJECT, ORGANISED UNDER EXTENSION AREAS AND DISTRICTS. The filing system should be established and situated in the GDO's office, but accessible to all regional staff. Records of all visits by regional staff to the groups should be entered into the appropriate files. The group data sheets would be kept in each file. The CAMA office would need to spend funds to set this system up properly, but it is considered that such investment in improving management is justified. Encouraging support staff to enter reports to these files and to use them when making field visits should help create more sense of the teamwork necessary in supporting groups. Some support staff are at present unable even to say how many group projects there are.

Whilst it is important for records to be kept at the office of the regional support team, it is equally important that DAOs and ADs keep records. One AD visited by the consultant who in every other respect had a very firm grasp of what management involved, was not maintaining back-copies of his 3MP reports. Without these it is difficult to look back over and be aware of progress. The AD found it hard to unravel information from his diary. ADs need to keep better records - of group data and of their support work. And so do DAOs, who are the key managers involved in co-ordinating support to groups. It is considered that the existing 3MP forms are adequate if well maintained, but group data sheets need to be regularly kept up by ADs with copies sent to DAOs and GDOs. It would be advantageous, eventually, for data sheets and Annual Planning and 3 month programming forms to contain information quite specifically related to guidelines. It is hoped that the kind of data arrangement provided in the Appendices to this report, when seen in the context of the related chapters, may be useful in developing both guidelines and improved monitoring aids.

The GDO role should be to assist in the setting up of the record keeping system. However it cannot be overemphasised that the Department as a whole needs to be committed to the management system.

R26/16 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DAFS INITIATES THE NECESSARY TRAINING IN THE SYSTEM IN A FORMAL WAY, STARTING WITH HQ DIVISIONS AND RAOs. DAOs are not responsible to GDOs, but to RAOs. It is RAOs who must need to be able to see the system works.

As regards the other important monitoring area - the assessment of the achievement of programme goals - additional studies need to continue. The availability of improved data in the regions for such studies is of course a pre-requisite. But to check how the programme is reaching target groups and what kind of problems are affecting group developments will require assistance beyond the immediate capability of the CAMA office. Studies by the Rural Sociology section will be important. Some areas where further research is needed have been suggested in this report.

Another technique which should be used increasingly is the Action Research Unit method of investigating knowledge, attitudes and practices. This is considered especially applicable to the group development programme. This is discussed below under "developing guidelines".

The broader institutional support structure

In chapter 7 the bare bones of the immediate support structure of the DAMA within the DAFS were laid out. In this chapter section, a fuller picture of support management has been given. But awareness is needed that support to group development is not just a matter for the main stream DAFS set up. As well as all the sections within DAFS (including Action Research, Campaigns, Broadcasting, Graphics - all in AgInf.) co-ordination of certain support inputs is required from many

other sources. Rural Sociology has just been mentioned above. Group development is very much a process of adult education : for popular theatre campaigns and other media and training techniques to be used effectively professional help from Adult Educators in the Department of Non Formal Education is needed. The Institute of Adult Education should be approached in more experimental exercises - such as in the development of group organisational and training guidelines. The Development Trusts have demonstrated a potentially valuable role in providing certain technical and educational services and inputs and need to be encouraged to do so since they represent a much needed source of manpower and skill outside Government. DO(L)s and DO(D)s can provide important planning skills. Then there are Land Board technical advisers and administrative staff, planners in Council, Community Development staff, Family Welfare Educators, school teachers and - yes - headmen and politicians. All are involved. It is the CAMA and GDO role to facilitate their involvement in the programme to the point where it can be said that it is an institutional structure.

Broader solutions to institutional constraints

This section has been about managing support - an area which has been identified as a constraint. But it must be pointed out that if Government is really committed to helping small farmers, removing impediments to their development, and facilitating support to farmers in groups, more than management and planning forms is needed. The management of extension work is the management of extension workers. Those to whom Government gives the responsibility for a difficult priority development area, should be managed with equal priority. ADs conditions of service need attention. Better housing is needed and field staff should be consulted in planning it. Most ADs prefer to have a couple of pleasant, thatched, cement block rondavels as accommodation; housing which could be built and maintained by village craftsmen - creating employment. Attention is needed to transport and more generous salaries and allowances.

R26/17 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIT CAPAD OFFICE ASSISTS THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE IN ATTENDING TO THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF AGRICULTURAL STAFF, FROM ADs UPWARDS.

26.13. DEVELOPING GUIDELINES FOR GROUPS AND EXTENSION STAFF

The need for guidelines has been emphasised in almost every chapter in this report. It has been shown in many cases that technical strategy has been lacking, or that quite fundamental errors are being made in facilitating the group development process. ADs are trying to fill AE10 forms in some regions without any idea of project viability; situations are inadequately analysed; constitutions are rarely drafted, or where attempted rules sometimes cover joining fees and fines for misbehaviour only and disregard completely the more vital project management aspects. Project plans and designs are sometimes inappropriate.

Guidelines are needed urgently to provide a firm, strategic basis for group development approach. They need to provide a clearer basis in the following areas:

1. technical strategy; criteria for project viability : a basis for project appraisal - to help ADs, other extension

support staff and groups themselves to analyse situations and develop viable solutions

2. planning and programming support to groups particularly in relation to Annual Plans and 3MPs (see 26.12.)

   - if a group project is proposed, what support needs should be anticipated and planned e.g. campaign, demonstration, various media, land use survey, mapping, consultation, farmer training etc.
   - how should the various support requirements be programmed within the Annual Plan period : roughly in what order should they be scheduled; how should it be ensured that they complement one another and "dovetail" - for example the scheduling of a popular theatre or technical campaign at an appropriate stage in the formation process of a group

R26/18 : - THE POTENTIAL PROBLEM ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE IS BASIC IN THE ANTICIPATION OF SUPPORT AND SHOULD BE SPECIFICALLY UTILISED.

3. to ensure that all dealing with the development of particular types of groups use a consistent approach; RTC and AgInf staff need to be reinforcing, not contradicting, what GDOs and other regional staff are saying
4. designing farmer training schemes and courses
5. procedures to be followed in group formation - e.g. how and when to conduct consultation
6. drafting of constitutions; this report believes that the process of preparing by-laws is central to developing awareness and to planning - thinking ahead how a project is to be managed amd how it will affect everybody
7. clarifying the support role - at what stage different support staff are likely to be needed and to perform what role
8. for management/monitoring of support and group progress
9. clarifying group and committee organisational and management functions
10. AD and other staff training
11. training of other related staff, departments

Some initiatives have been made in developing guidelines. In the immediate wake of TGLP and the launching of group activities in 1976/77 Group Activity Sheets were hurriedly prepared by HQ sections. But insufficient training accompanied their distribution to field staff and as a result little use was made of them. In many cases the ideas the sheets contained for "what groups could do" were virtually unimplementable at that time. AE10 and AG15 were not yet available. Field staff found some of the suggested technology non viable.

The first set of guidelines to be developed for group development based on field experience were the Farmers Committees terms of reference (see chapter 25). These have been gradually improved to the point where, in Central Region in 1979, an FC training handbook was developed. The work still needs to be taken much further. A comprehensive, well illustrated handbook needs to be produced for national use.

Other initiatives include:

- Central Region's Communal Fence Planning /Approval Procedure (see table 10(v) in chapter 10)

- smallstock group formation guidelines prepared by GDO Central in 1978
- "Points for ADs to keep in mind when completing 1980/81 Annual Plans with reference to Groups" by GDO Central (see Appendix 27)
- APO Gaborone Region's guidelines for spray race operation (see chapter 15)
- bar charts developed for drift fence monitoring by AO(LR) Central
- R. White's "Handbook for Village Woodlot Planning and Management in Botswana" (see chapter 17)
- smallstock management handbook produced by the SSU in 1980
- guidelines for tick control (2 pages) - see chapter 15.

In addition some HQ sections have issued technical bulletins - but not designed specially for group implementation.

None of the initiatives quite approach what is needed. Much more than a short drab technical circular is needed. And group organisational and procedural guidelines are insufficient unless based on technically sound strategy. Practical guidelines are needed based on experience; there is a steadily increasing body of experience now for this, much of which has been documented in this report. Groups themselves provide basic case study material - for example the way certain tick control groups (the Mmamaereng spray race, for example) have worked out management systems for sub-dividing total cattle into area based herds (see chapter 15). Many components for guidelines are now available.

The following recommendations are made for producing guidelines:

R26/19 : THE PRODUCTION OF GUIDELINES MUST BE A TEAM EFFORT INVOLVING CLOSE COLLABORATION BASICALLY BETWEEN TECHNICAL STAFF (AT HQ AND IN THE REGIONS), GROUP DEVELOPMENT STAFF (CAMA AND GDOs), DISTRICT STAFF WITH CASE STUDY EXPERIENCE (DAOs AND ADs), THE ACTION RESEARCH UNIT IN AGINF, THE INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION, AND OTHER AGINF SECTIONS (GRAPHICS, BROADCASTING, CAMPAIGNS).

R26/20 : TECHNICAL DEPARTMENTS MUST BE MADE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE in setting out their technical strategies and innovations with clear policy on areas where group action is to be encouraged or group extension towards individual action.

R26/21 : THE CAMA/GDO ROLE IS TO CO-ORDINATE THE PROVISION OF TECHNICAL INPUT AND CASE STUDY EXPERIENCE FROM THE FIELD, AND TO PROVIDE GUIDELINES ON ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS.

R26/22 : THE ROLE OF THE ACTION RESEARCH UNIT MUST BE STRONGLY EMPHASISED. The techniques already developed in the Action Research Unit are perfectly suited to the basic study of problems, of the acceptability of technical solutions and the field testing of guidelines. Several excellent relevant studies have been done already (on APRU cells in the Kgatleng, on soil conservation programmes, on tick control and other subjects). Studies involve basically:

- meeting technical specialists to get full technical information
- meeting staff and farmers in the field to get an overall picture of what is happening
- undertaking a systematic KAP sample study (knowledge, attitudes, practices) - what do farmers understand/know about the technical package, what are their attitudes, is anything put in practice
- documentation study of all relevant papers, technical guidelines

- analysis of the KAP questionnaires and group discussions (notes taken, interviews recorded in the field); card index system used
- production of report and recommendations.

R26/23 : IT IS STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT THE ACTION RESEARCH UNIT IS STRENGTHENED WITH THE ADDITION OF MORE STAFF AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR THEM. THIS IS AN EXTREMELY URGENT NEED WHICH SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED DURING THE REMAINING TIME THAT THE RLMP AMENDMENT RUNS. The investment in Action Research is needed now as a resource for the CAMA office while the experienced USAID personnel are still available otherwise the opportunity of putting together guidelines in this way will be lost.

R26/24 : THE EXPERTISE IN THE INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN WORKSHOPS AND FIELD EXERCISES. IAE is interested in this precise area of improving the capacity of existing support institutions. It is in a position to help with developing training materials and procedures which regional and district extension teams (including Adult Educators from the DNFE) can then replicate. The original Popular Theatre workshop was sponsored by IAE in this way. At an experimental level IAE would be concerned to help with projects like establishing clearer roles in group development of the AD, support staff, the group, and village institutions and leaders. It can help to analyse what the implications may be of new programmes or approaches on the AD's workload. IAE expressed keen interest in participating in collaborative research with the Action Research Unit in developing guidelines focussing on activities like experimental field testing. It can advise on training needed to develop management capacity for the implementation of new guidelines.

R26/25 : WHEN BASIC MATERIALS FOR GUIDELINES ARE DEVELOPED, AGINF SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PUTTING TOGETHER A FINAL MEDIA PACKAGE. The guidelines should be presented as vividly and convincingly as possible. Visual aids have been hopelessly lacking up to date.

R26/26 : IN SEVERAL CHAPTERS IT WAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE PRODUCTION OF MOVIE FILMS SHOULD BE VERY SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED. So many of the concepts the group development programme is promoting are very new : the development of new rural level institutions such as FCs; the participation of smaller herd owners in commercial ranching schemes; the development of communal area infrastructure (fences, water, livestock handling and marketing facilities, crop inputs and marketing facilities, conservation projects); the reaching out to target groups whose concerns need greater representation and attention in planning. Neither farmers nor extension staff often have much idea what is being talked about. Farmers themselves are the first to admit how new all these ideas are and how much they wish to be taught more clearly what it all means. It is considered that both case study experience and technical knowledge are adequate now for use in this way.

R26/27 : ADDITIONAL SPECIALIST CONSULTANCIES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED TO ASSIST IN THE PREPARATION OF TECHNICAL STRATEGY IN CERTAIN AREAS. The consultancy which provided the Handbook for Village Woodlot Management in Botswana is an example. The Water Points Survey will doubtless have produced comprehensive guidelines for water development. However, further inputs of expertise may still be needed to translate this and technical information existing in other areas (e.g. cattle management and husbandry) into readily utilisable guidelines for action in the communal areas.

The process of developing guidelines will be a continuous one,

requiring constant improvement as experience and technical knowledge is gained. The CAMA/GDO role will always be to co-ordinate this process. The increased capacity of the Action Research Unit recommended here will, it is considered, never be underutilised.

R26/28 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT CARE IS EXERCISED TO ENSURE THAT ALL THE NEEDS OUTLINED AT THE START OF THIS SECTION ARE COVERED IN GUIDELINES, as applicable to different project types. Hopefully the layout in the Appendices to this report and material in the relevant chapters will provide a starting point.

26.14. CONSTITUTIONS - RED TAPE OR PEDAGOGY?

This study found a lax attitude in some regions to the subject of constitutions. Constitutions seemed to be rarely prepared, and a distinct controversy existed about the importance which should be attached to them. In one seminar, one GDO was heard to say that constitutions were a "western" idea inappropriate to groups of farmers in Botswana.

The need for constitutions has been discussed in several chapters in connection with the requirements of certain types of project, and Appendix 27 provides examples of some constitutions which have been prepared. Here some brief general remarks will be made.

It was observed that in several regions the approach to developing constitutions was empty and routine. The implication was that it was up to the group. No firm policy or guideline existed in some cases. In any case it was "the GDO's job". By-laws were modelled by one group on another group's, often without thinking. There was a tendency to concentrate on penalties for misbehaviour and on the collection of fees, but little emphasis on the design and management of the project. As a result most by-laws simply did not work and were ignored : contributions were sometimes not raised according to plan; group leaders often found that in practice there was no power to enforce committee decisions. Chapter 10 discussed examples of these problems in the greatest depth.

This report considers that by-laws should be given far greater emphasis in group development. It is plain that, when people with relatively little education or experience are moving into a new endeavour, it is the role of the facilitator to create awareness of what lies ahead and to be responsible for ensuring that people are prepared. As chapter 3 observed, and as the account in other chapters supports, group development has to be seen in the context of attitudes and past experience. In many communities there is a great deal of suspicion of new initiatives, and community funds have been misused before. Moreover, all communities in the communal areas have a diversity of population with different interests. Great care is needed in consultation and in planning and project design to ensure that target groups do benefit.

The formulation of by-laws for any project can, through skilled facilitation from group development and extension staff, be turned into the key organisational stage for the group. A group is, after all, defined by its constitution. During this crucial step, potential problems should be raised and discussed and all organisational considerations, set in an area context where necessary, should be anticipated.

In saying this, the point made in chapter 10 that technical design is the first priority is not contradicted. Rules and organisation

will follow most straightforwardly from a sound technical plan. However, in practice the facilitation of a genuine constitutional exercise will help a group and its advisers to be more sure of design.

The questions which should be asked, then, in the formulation of a constitution must include

- the effect of the project on the wider community
- who is benefitting and who is left out
- what to do about those who feel they are not benefitting
- consultation on the proposed project design, management
- internal organisation of the group

It was good to see in the Francistown GDO's April - June 1979 3 month programme report the following:

" - looked over constitutions from various groups and made suggestions for improvements

- talked at AD meetings on the purpose of constitutions and suggestions for what should be included

- talked with groups at ..... on their constitutions"

This is the role which GDOs need to emphasise much more. Guidelines (see 26.13.) should include clear suggestions for what by-laws need to cover for different types of group activity.

R26/29 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT NOTES PREPARED BY GDO GABORONE[21] AROUND 1979 ARE USED AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION ON THIS.

26.15 CONSULTATION IS DIALOGUE

The tendency was found quite widely for approval procedures and consultation to be regarded as an interference to pushing projects ahead. Where this is the case, it usually reflects either a lack of capacity, competence or understanding of what is meant to be accomplished through the process of consultation. These factors were analysed in chapter 10 section 10.4. with respect to communal fencing, but reappear in most chapters, where communal area development activities are involved.

Frequently, one heard that "it was agreed in 'Kgotla'" yet when problems were analysed more deeply it would be found that certain fundamental questions had not been discussed - for example, the position of owners of small herds in fenced lands areas or how exactly arrangements would be made to remove cattle when some farmers wanted to plough early. Consultation between neighbouring communities sharing grazing areas is necessary for effective animal husbandry programmes. Consultation is needed in the planning of water development. In any initiatives towards the management of communal grazing areas (chapter 11) consultation is a pre-requisite. Consultation in some form is needed for any group project to take place.

However, the processes of consultation are sometimes glossed over. For communal area development the impression still seems to prevail that to hold a 'Kgotla' meeting is sufficient. It is the impression of this

(21) These may be found in GDO files; Gaborone Regional Office

report that farmers become far more tired and impatient with a series of inconclusive 'Kgotla' meetings with months of inaction in between, than they are when real effort is put into a more dynamic area wide, people centred exercise. Consultation should be seen as an adult education exercise; it should involve training and methods of popular education; it should also not be divorced from the development of representative institutions with greater planning capacity.

A fact which should cause anxiety is that during the course of the field work for this consultancy, people informed the consultant that never before had they felt that they had discussed in such depth the difficulties they were facing in their activities. This was said by individual farmers, committees, committee chairmen, headmen, group meetings and a number of ADs, DAOs and regional staff in many places. A GDO felt that real dialogue never seemed to happen normally and reported that technical specialists tended often to talk at people rather than thoughtfully listen and let ideas evolve. This is a reflection on the way the management system is operated by the Department in practice (see 26.12.). It is also a reflection on the extent to which GDOs and the CAMA office have succeeded so far in promoting the right approach in group development. The Committee of the Mmadinare Co-operative felt that there was a total communication breakdown; there were gaps between the Dairy section and CODEC and between CODEC and Committees and Managers. ADs, DAOs and other DAFS staff in the regions were by-passed in the affairs of the Co-operative. Sometimes CODEC staff went direct to farmers without first informing the Committee, or brought the Committee together with the Manager, the Manager "a sa itse sepe" (not having been consulted at all beforehand).

The group development role must be to see that all concerned appreciate the importance of genuine dialogue in project planning, and are trained in how to promote it. This necessitates a thorough understanding by extension workers of local situations and social dynamics operating there.

26.16. UNDERSTANDING LOCAL SITUATIONS

It is sincerely hoped that through this report readers will have steadily appreciated that groups are not just statistics, but collections of individual people investing their time, energy, money, skill and hopes in activities which sometimes demand a lot, involve certain risks and the possibility of frustration or even failure. To participate, people obviously must feel confident, competent and reckon it is worthwhile.

The purpose of this short section is to show how important it is for the extension worker to be aware of who is involved, of the fact that groups are groups of individuals - of persons with different abilities and motives. Understanding local situations and in particular the "social dynamics" in operation can make all the difference between success or failure.

It is interesting to be aware of the influence that individual personalities can have in groups. Many cases have been cited in previous chapters, but here some can be seen together.

How important peoples' experience can be. The Chairman of the Mmankgodi FA was an ex-South African Policeman, an experienced builder

and now the Chairman too of the Co-operative and treasurer of the PTA. A member of the Ntlhantlhe AMA ranch group was the manager of the local Co-operative, a Land Board member and a local shop owner. At Malokaganyane a blacksmith was the reservoir group's treasurer, and did the water reticulation work. The Sheep Farm women's poultry group depended on its Chairlady for water supply, transport, inputs and the market outlet for eggs. The VDC Secretary at Matsaudi - a bright energetic capable leader also of the 'molapo' bunding project - had been a messenger at the Education Office in Maun. At Mogapi the FC Secretary was a local businessman, with his wife the FC treasurer - a woman with standard 7 schooling. An educated young woman was also the Secretary at Diloro tick control group, and Secretary of the Kgagodi FC; the Diloro "pump officer" (in charge of the Knapsac sprayer) was a VDC member at Kgagodi and an FC member. Sometimes the experience which has led to group action in rural Botswana - like at Mmamaereng or at Seribotsane (the Mogotswana Ikage livestock group) - has been that of burial societies in Johannesburg. Elsewhere one dedicated old man can literally hold things together in an isolated lands area, as at Polokwe south of Moshupha where the dam group Chairman was also on the drift fence committee, the smallstock group, and allowed the Red Cross group to use his house to store drought relief food. Similarly at Metsai, Moshupa west, the dam group Secretary was the FC Chairman, allowed the local clinic to operate in his yard and ran a hawkers licence shop. His ability as a small businessman was important in the record keeping for the dam group. The same was the case at Dinogeng where the Secretary of the Mmilo dam group also ran a small general dealer's shop; her husband was a local blacksmith.

Women often played an important role in group committees, as was discussed in chapter 24. The presence of girls with standard 7 education was important in the Thamaga and the Boipelo women's garden groups.

It is vital to the success of projects to find people with aptitude and talents. Literacy is important. The Secretary of the fencing group at Kanngwe was a literate man with experience in the mines. The treasurer was also literate. But at Xhaugwe in a remote part of Ngamiland there was no-one literate on the FC; neither was the headman literate. The village was just starting a school under a tree. In many situations developing local leadership and management capacity including literacy is the essential priority.

In some villages ex-leaders from TGLP radio learning groups have become office bearers in project groups, as at Metsemaswaane in South East District where the FC Secretary, Treasurer and one other member were leaders. As these people said, though, even in an accessible area like the Bamalete, there are a limited number of people at village or lands area level available to lead. Those who are available tend to get elected to all the local committees - the PTA, the health committee, the VDC etc. They are often the more educated elite in the village. As was discussed in chapter 3, there is often suspicion over the motives of individuals reaching new leadership positions. It may be thought that the project will be the property of the chairman. One Motswana warned against the "spirit of chieftainship" in Botswana whereby people aspire to get to positions of control, but are then lazy and desire nothing but that others should serve them. Such people squash real progress. Others are most suspicious of people who attempt to progress in this way; if someone prospers or even mixes with Government officials, or especially expatriate advisers others are jealous of that person's self importance.

This may not be a problem everywhere, but explains some difficulties with group developments particularly where leadership is in a state of

confusion and rivalry anyway, or at lands or mixed cattlepost areas where there is no recognised headman.

The Thabala case was particularly interesting. This was discussed in chapter 17 and chapter 25 in connection with problems with the woodlot management and with the FC. The jealousy in the community caused by leaders in the BDP committee pervaded almost all institutions - right to the extent of causing a split in the village football team. It affected the VDC, the PTA and even the BCW where the lady office bearers had been known to walk out of meetings with frustration. Another interesting slant to the situation was the position of a white trading/cattleposting family at Motshegaletau. The BDP leaders were from this lands area and were leaders of the FC sub committee there. In the usual spirit of non-co-operation with the FC they had failed to inform or encourage farmers at Motshegaletau with the woodlot. But the problem had been aggravated by the tendency for people who had settled in this sub-area of Thabala to disregard authority at Thabala. It was reported they liked to go to Moiyabana, the next village, to drink. "They had become confused at the meaning of 'ipuso' (self government)" people in Thabala said. And an important factor causing this had been the role of the white trading family which, according to farmers in Thabala, had tried to win popularity for many years by contributing excessively to local developments, donating food and using their own shop employees to encourage VDC projects, providing their trucks as transport and generally pushing all the ideas. Although they had undoubtedly intended this help sincerely, farmers in Thabala explained that it had led to a "baas" attitude at Motshegaletau. People had followed without thinking. It had spoiled the development of local leadership.

Although the Motshegaletau case is unusual, it illustrates one important thing - the need to understand what is going on. None of these "social dynamics" were appreciated between 1974 - 1976 when the RLMP was active at Thabala. How little was really understood about that community! How many projects have been undermined by social and leadership problems. The family feuding at Tlhagasanong complicated by Sub Land Board connections (chapter 11); the distrust of Serowe people leading affairs at the mixed Kgophathate cattlepost area. How much work was wasted at Tlhagasanong - land use surveys - when it was social attitudes and dialogue which needed attention.

How important it can be when extension staff do realise what is going on, as the Lerala AD and the late Palapye DAO did in connection with social/leadership problems affecting the Lerala drift fence. Or when the late Palapye DAO delved into village leadership troubles at Majwaneng and got them solved through a popular theatre campaign. This is what facilitation must involve at times - bold intervention.

It requires great sensitivity to people, though. Group development, or many aspects of it, are new. Some of it is "traditional" (see chapter 3). But beyond close family or friendship ties sudden co-operation cannot be expected. One is reminded of the "group" butcher's shop at Shoshong. The author was told of two men; apparently they had invested in it together. But one slaughtered one week and the other the next week because they had been unable to combine running expenses and returns.

Another Motswana cynically said that group participation was the art of "dodging" your responsibility. Members do not co-operate out of willingness, but out of force of circumstances. If a borehole syndicate breaks down members would rather depend on one member who is said to have money (i.e. earning a salary) than contribute equally. A member who tries to be straight and suggests sharing on a "modern basis" is suspect. Is he trying to run things? Does he want to control this group for himself?

There is a long way to go in creating more confidence. And group development means dealing with people and with everything that happens to them. People get sick - a key committee leader may be in hospital (as happened at Manoko), and people die removing someone on whom hopes were set. Funerals can suddenly cause the cancellation of meetings or training programmes arranged weeks or months in advance, and set back the whole process of group development. Such difficulties have to be patiently contended with.

26.17 FARMER TRAINING FOR GROUP DEVELOPMENT

The consultancy found a variety of training programmes going on. Examples of valuable training could be seen in all regions. A dynamic programme for Farmers Committee training was underway in Central Region, together with an emphasis on specialised training for project groups. Quieter, but sensitive, training was being carried out in Francistown Region, with more emphasis on field courses of several days duration with regional staff involved. In some regions GDOs had worked more directly in the field with groups providing informal training; sometimes this was due to weaknesses in regional management which precluded the organisation of regional training programmes.

Observations on farmer training needs can be found in most preceding chapters. Some comments specifically on the management of farmer training as a support input were made in 26.12. above. Here a few loose ends will be tied up.

There are three basic areas of training needed in the group development process. The training of Farmers Committees needs to be distinguished from the training of independent project groups and the more general training of farmers in order to create awareness which may or may not lead to group action. Farmers Committee training can overlap of course with project group training where the Farmers Committee is the management committee of a group activity.

Dealing first with training for project groups, the point has been made in several contexts that training of all kinds (technical, organisational, management) has often been inadequate. The majority of groups, particularly in Gaborone and Southern regions, have in fact had no formal training of any kind[22].

This is a reflection on the general way farmer training is planned. There have been several alterations in the system in recent years. At one stage RTCs based their training on a system of topics from which ADs could select what suited the needs of their farmers. Then RTC staff were taught how to prepare course schemes themselves based on various packages of topics. A systematic method for preparing courses has still really to

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(22) In Central Region 10 courses were undertaken in 1978/79 specifically for fencing groups, 2 for dam maintenance, several one-day field courses for dam groups, many short courses for smallstock groups; no formal training had occurred for tick control groups although many courses, demonstrations and campaigns were arranged for general audiences. In Francistown several field courses had been organised for smallstock groups. Data were unavailable in other regions but RTC/SCC staff could not cite information other than for FC training (see Appendix 2).

be finalised and approaches vary from one RTC to another. The bulk of farmer training is aimed at collections of farmers often from several extension areas. Flexibility is available in the selection of topics, but RTCs often receive odd requests. One course booked for May 1980 for 55 farmers from Seleka and Lerala was for "smallstock diseases, management, vegetable production and firebreak construction". When a course is requested for "the role of an FC; dip tank building as a group" what exactly is the RTC to prepare? In this case were the farmers from 4 extension areas in Serowe District members of dip tank groups? Members of FCs? Or just farmers? Did FCs already exist? Or were the farmers about to embark on a definite project but the ADs felt they were all not quite aware what was involved? Sometimes just "FCs" was a topic included in a general agriculture course booking - yet it is such a wide subject to cover in ½ a day available in the course. Should the emphasis be on FC formation, by-laws, certain functions, or organisation?

The specific needs of a project group should be made clear in course bookings for helpful courses to be prepared. And it should be clear whether the course is to be designed for a group with a definite project or for a collection of farmers who need a course to increase their awareness or understanding in some field in a general way.

It is important that technical specialists from the region are involved in course preparation, or at least that there is co-ordination between the support they are providing and the training the RTC provides. At Mahalapye the RTC had no idea whether the APO had been involved in the formation of the Serowe East dip tank groups. Was a dip tank the appropriate project for these groups in the first place? In Francistown Region the APO and GDO together visited ADs and sometimes the farmers concerned beforehand in order to prepare for the training. In larger regions this kind of preparation must be ensured more through the 3MP management system. Training needs should be discussed carefully at monthly meetings in good time for RTCs to prepare materials. In this respect the success of farmer training depends greatly on the regional management system (see 26.12.).

Training needs to be seen as one of several educational inputs including demonstrations, campaigns and the use of other media. It is important that the most appropriate forms of training should be arranged for the stages of the group formation process. An AgInf campaign at Kamgwe strengthened understanding in the community over a crucial organisational stage in their drift fence and helped the group to resolve how to develop an accompanying firebreak. A number of groups reported that it had been a convincing demonstration which had spurred them into action - e.g. the Rebone ("we have seen") smallstock group at Kgoro. Would a SLOCA demonstration help to convince farmers around Tlokweng of the need for a firebreak? There is a need for an imaginative dynamic use of the SLOCA programme to develop demonstrations in the communal areas. The demonstration effect of IFPP, for example, is widespread throughout Southern Region.

The specific training needs which should be planned should be outlined in guidelines. It is hoped that the various chapters of this report may provide an indication of the material needed. Effective, consistent training for groups is dependent on sound technical and organisational guidelines being developed; suggestions were made for the process of developing guidelines in 26.13. above.

Training in project administration, record keeping and accounting has been very lacking in the past. Few groups - again especially in the south - had received any guidance in this. Specific cases where records

were studied included Mmankgodi, Kopong, Mmilo, Metsemaswaane, Maunyele and Metsai. Sometimes a group was lucky - a member had schooling or business experience - and record keeping was better. But even in some of these situations the introduction of a system would have been most helpful. It must be recalled that accounting for public money is one of the most contentious issues in group organisation - so many communities have had past disappointments. The simple book-keeping system developed by the CAMA office in 1980 is excellent. It should be introduced through informal AD training at monthly meetings, and all groups assisted and trained in turn to keep their books in this orderly sustem. Materials should be provided by the CAMA office to groups for this purpose.

When to train? It is never too late to start training activities. Even groups which have survived four years and completed their fence projects will benefit. However, common sense indicates that training is needed as early as possible in the group formation process. It is necessary for guidelines to make clearer what kind of training should be arranged at what stage. In the case of registered groups the consultant feels that formal training of some kind is definitely advised before AMA registration. At Ntimbale the AMA was registering without having received any formal, and little informal, training of a technical kind[23]. How can a group be encouraged to register while the majority of its membership remain confused over the project purpose? The same applies to AMA ranch groups in the south.

With FC training there has been considerable experience and this report needs to stress few points, the main one being that all regions need to learn from the experience of others. In particular, the experience in the north needs to be transferred to the south. This should be facilitated by the transfer of the former GDO Francistown to support the newly appointed Batswana GDOs in Gaborone and Lobatse.

Details of past FC training are provided in Appendix 2. The main observations on this include:

1. Planning of FC training must start months in advance. Ideally it should be related to the process of FC elections for which campaigns of popular education may in turn be needed beforehand. The preparation of the September 1979 FC workshops in Central Region started the previous January with workshops in AD meetings to discuss FC terms of reference. In March ADs agreed to a schedule of elections. In March - April the GDO held discussions with ADs, MRTC, the RAO, DAOs and other regional staff independently and in regional meetings. In April workshop objectives and dates were set. In May discussion continued at AD meetings on the specific problems and topics to be covered - this allowed for slightly different emphasis in the different districts. In June the course programmes were agreed. In July planning sessions were held for the steering committees for each district course and responsibilities assigned. In the August monthly meetings ADs prepared the Popular Theatre

(23) One reportedly very successful training programme was arranged by the CAMA office from 9 - 12 June 1980 for Treasurers of registered and proposed AMAs (and ADs, GDOs dealing with them) from around the country. The course concentrated on AMA procedures and book-keeping.

dramas and other items on the schedule. The Principal at the RTC assigned the various lectures. The GDO had prepared the training handbook based on material agreed in the Districts, briefed visiting speakers, planned field trips and organised films. DAOs arranged transport and notified FC participants after elections were held. The CAMA office assisted in the preparation of training materials and liaised with Farm Management specialists to talk on book-keeping.

2. Planning must involve district staff. ADs in each district should participate in preparing objectives and training activities. Courses should be designed to suit district needs. However, training guidelines are needed to promote the consistent FC development policy recommended in chapter 25. The terms of reference must be the basis of this.

3. Many resource people need to be involved in FC training. All need to be aware of FC terms of reference themselves. The kind of resource people who have participated can be seen in Appendix 2.

4. Professional adult education methods are important. The kind of methods used can also be seen in Appendix 2.

5. The logistics involved in organising FC training can be immensely difficult, particularly in large regions. Practical experience and FC opinion points to the value of field courses although more formal RTC courses are still useful, enable more areas to be covered by limited teaching staff and resource people, and provide an opportunity for exchange of ideas between FCs. Consideration should be given to arranging field courses for entire FCs in combination with popular adult education in 'Kgotla' in areas where understanding of the FC role is less. The advantage of field courses is the greater involvement possible of other village leaders and the village extension team. At one 3 day course at Tati Siding the Councillor, Headman, Headteacher, VDC Chairman and Family Welfare Educator attended. Clearly the more people that can be convinced the better. In larger regions this will only come about through attention first to staff development (more GDO posts, more training of regional and district staff).

6. Very useful evaluations have been carried out at the end of FC training programmes in Francistown and Central regions. The findings will not be repeated here. They provide valuable guidelines for the planning of future training.

The main general conclusions about farmer training are as follows:

i) The main reason why farmer training is not planned better by ADs in contact with groups is the lack of guidelines; guidelines as recommended in 26.13. will prompt field staff to anticipate and express training needs.

ii) RTC staff are in equal need of guidelines for training project groups (in contrast to collections of farmers coming to learn something generally); RTC staff appealed for better training materials, visual aids and demonstration facilities; training

guidelines need to be practically oriented and project specific.

iii) RTC staff had not, until July 1980[24], received any inservice training themselves in group development; they complained about being left out on departmental training programmes, and about not being supplied with circulars - e.g. on AEIO, AMAs, tick control, SLOCA, FC terms of reference, the results of smallstock research etc. Yet as RTC staff observed - they were expected to give farmers a better explanation!

R26/30 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT PRIORITY ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO THE TRAINING AND EQUIPPING OF RTC STAFF IN GROUP DEVELOPMENT.

iv) But there has been some excellent training done. It is important that this experience is carefully recorded. The former GDO Francistown's training notes should for example, be suitably reproduced. Some of her records would provide excellent case study material which the Institute of Adult Education, the Farmer Training section and the CAMA office could utilise in preparing training guidelines, or material for training trainers. There is a great need for what facilitation involves to be more widely understood.

26.18. TRAINING STAFF IN GROUP DEVELOPMENT

Support approach and technical competence have been identified as important constraints facing the group development programme. There are weaknesses at all levels. These can be seen within the regions at AD level, DAO level, RAO level and among regional support staff. But in HQ also there is a need for greater awareness of the support groups require and how it has to be managed. More broadly still, training is needed outside the Ministry of Agriculture.

Since the group development programme is located in the Department of Agricultural Field Services, training has been limited so far mainly to staff in this department. A few initiatives have occurred in the regions to include district or village extension teams. Some announcements (e.g. on AEIO, AMAs) have been made to other audiences, such as Councils, Land Boards and to the National Assembly. The need for broad education on the group development programme (not just on AMAs or other components of it) cannot be overemphasised.

This section concentrates on training within the Department of Agricultural Field Services.

Training has been done in every region (except the newly established Western Region). The first regional courses specifically on group development started in 1977 following the November 1976 Senior Staff Workshop. RAOs were responsible for organising early courses. Later GDOs provided the expertise. It is important to be aware that training covered other fields as well. The Enterprise Analysis technique was taught, and staff

(24) One representative each from Maun, Mahalapye and Donman RTCs attended a GDO seminar. Some Principals did not attend. No other training of RTC staff has been done in group development.

received instruction in the new departmental management system and in map reading. A number of technical subjects were also covered - mainly related to TGLP. How effectively this training was done depended entirely on the abilities of regional staff - and primarily the RAOs in managing the training programmes. Limited help was available from HQ. In some regions Adult Educators were available and RAOs/GDOs solicited their help in planning training. But most of the responsibility rested with the regional agricultural office teams.

During the same period, the BAC curriculum has included teaching on the TGLP, the Departmental management system and group extension. ADs should all, therefore, possess awareness, understanding and skills required for group development. As far as the consultant is aware, specific training in these areas is not provided for diploma and degree level staff in their training at Swaziland. They usually receive a two week general briefing from DAFS just before taking up office, but this tends to concentrate on Departmental administration. There are, as a result, many diploma and degree level staff now working in the regions and districts who qualified since 1976/77 and therefore missed out on the initial training programmes (which have not been repeated) and have received very little specific orientation, towards the goal or purpose of the group development programme. The expertise in regional teams has thus become diluted.

R26/31 : TO RESTORE A GREATER SENSE OF PURPOSE AND GREATER EXPERTISE IN THE REGIONS, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A MAJOR REPEAT PROGRAMME OF SENIOR STAFF TRAINING IN THE BASIC AREAS O GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND SUPPORT MANAGEMENT IS ARRANGED WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE APPLICATION OF THE ENTERPRISE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE. It is accepted, however, that there would be most point in undertaking this when further progress has been made in the development of project guidelines. In future training at this level, it will be essential to focus upon support relationships and therefore include staff from all disciplines (RAOs, DAOs, APOs, Land Use, Farmer Training etc.) together with HQ programme heads; professional expertise from the Institute of Adult Education and IDM should be sought in helping to prepare training activities which will achieve the training objectives (understanding of support roles, awareness of approach and goals, skill in techniques etc.).

Turning to the situation in the field, this consultancy must emphasise that although weaknesses in approach and expertise do exist and require attention, in no way is it intended to imply that tremendous progress has not been achieved in many areas. When it is considered that group development was new to extension staff only 4 years ago, the achievement is remarkable. Many ADs and staff at other levels have performed effective support roles. But the weaknesses in approach mentioned earlier in this chapter, the confusion that still persists over the definition of FCs in some regions, the inability to plan adequate farmer training, the failure in some cases to provide sufficient help to groups with book-keeping, constitutions, consultation, and various forms of technical advice are all evidence that much still needs to be done. Training is needed in managing support so that AD/support staff roles are clearer. Some DAOs and RAOs were critical in particular of newly trained ADs from BAC. ADs had a poor idea of how to appraise project viability, prepare AE10 application forms, estimate the lengths of fence projects, draw sketch maps, estimate project costs, or deal with village social problems. The latter requires considerable skills in communication and adult education methods.

Many of these training needs are well recognised. Some, it seems,

are less well acknowledged. The key training needs should be obvious from this report. There must be more awareness of what is involved in reaching target groups. Attitudes have to be changed in this area. Skills have to be developed - partly in facilitation, partly technical in order to be competent in assisting such groups (for example women's poultry, gardening, smallstock husbandry). In planning and programming there is a need for greater understanding of the need to anticipate potential problems and skill in problem analysis. It is clear that many staff still have difficulty in seeing their Annual Plans as live working documents, and do not appreciate how 3 month programming is a way of dividing the year into four graspable periods during which the processes involved in supporting groups can be phased realistically. Here guidelines for group projects which clarify the steps in the formation and support process will help field staff to see the relation between their quarterly programmes and the stages of group development. And guidelines will help in the preparation of a coherent Annual Plan.

Training in this is not easy. It takes skill to design training activities from which participants will pick up the skills etc. intended.

R26/32 : FOR TRAINING IN ANNUAL PLANNING IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT CASE STUDIES ARE PREPARED FROM REAL EXPERIENCE OF PLANNING. How an AD's plan was prepared and implemented can be studied in depth; the relation between the ADs plan and the DAOs plan and those of involved regional support staff can be clearly portrayed. How the year was broken down into 3 month programmes can be shown. The way these were all implemented in practice, and what was involved in making the support arrangements can be illustrated, together with problems. The relation between all this and HQ needs to be made clear. As with many difficult areas illustration may best be achieved through the medium of film.

The main other area of training needed is the technical area. A lack of technical strategy has been pinpointed as a weakness in many areas of group activity. The training for this is again dependent on the production of sound guidelines (see 26.13.).

Some points can be made on the organisation of staff training. It has been mentioned above that great skill is involved in inservice training. This is a difficult area and there are no short cuts. The responsibility for training has to lie somewhere, and clearly to train ADs has to be basically a regional task. The consultant observed that skills in training are still lacking in the regions, and for that matter in HQ. There should be a systematic approach to preparing training programmes. Deficiencies in staff performance have to be accurately identified and causes analysed. Then training objectives can be set. From there great skill is involved in designing training activities to achieve the objectives. There is a tendency for trainers to jump too quickly to conclusions; decisions are made to use case studies or to arrange talks in certain subjects without first thinking through carefully what is to be achieved. The preparation of case studies in particular has to be skillfully handled so that lessons clearly appear when participants study and analyse the cases.

The preparation involved requires a team approach in the region. But organising this has often been a problem. Unless regional staff (RAO, DAOs and others) are really aware themselves of how to go about training, there is reluctance to devote the time to the necessary preparation. In Central Region the preparation has been achieved through special regional staff workshops, involving RTC staff, DAOs and support staff. The workshop atmosphere was extended to monthly meetings where ADs themselves participated in the preparations. DAOs and ADs and some support staff, or the RTC staff team were assigned certain areas of

responsibility for the programmes such as the preparing of case studies, dramas or field trips.

But it is necessary to be aware that in training ADs, often problems have to be cleared up first at a higher level. ADs are not impressed at being taught management when support staff themselves do not participate in the 3MP system and can never be relied upon. To get around this in Southern Region a GDO did not involve DAOs or support staff at all, other than when a technical lecture was given (mostly by HQ staff). It appeared that this GDO planned to give ADs a test at the end of the course and was afraid that some DAOs would come off worse than ADs. The GDO therefore put the whole programme together with no involvement from other regional staff. The same happened in Gaborone Region though for different reasons. DAOs were entirely uninvolved. The result was that after the AD training was over, the approach and skills learned were not followed through by some DAOs on when co-ordination of support and the management of extension approach depends.

This once again emphasises the importance of the RAO as regional manager. Honest, constructive analysis of extension support performance has to be facilitated in the region. But in one region the GDO reported that at AD workshops antagonism broke out between ADs and support staff. An awkward atmosphere prevailed; again regional staff had not worked together to prepare the training; DAOs looked to the GDO to be the lecturer on everything; it was "the GDO's course". There had been no course where staff had willingly been involved, no matter how much consultation the GDO had attempted. Even during training, support staff had tended to drift around between small discussion groups of ADs but their lack of real participation only antagonised ADs.

These real problems must be tackled in training of RAOs and their regional teams. One approach is to give GDOs expert training in adult education methods. Some GDOs have already received training at the Institute of Adult Education. An alternative is for Adult Educators from the Department of Non Formal Education to assist in the preparation of regional training workshops. However the DNFE is very tied up with adult literacy and other programmes at present and has little spare capacity. In either case it is necessary for RAOs, DAOs, RFC Principals and other support staff to receive more training in training.

R26/33 : THE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT HAS PROVIDED SOME EXCELLENT TRAINING OF THIS KIND IN THE PAST AND IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IDM AND IAE ARE APPROACHED WITH THE PROBLEM ONCE MORE FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE WITH FURTHER COURSES FOR REGIONAL STAFF.

Staff training must be professional and serious. One REO criticised a training programme a GDO had arranged as a "freedom square". Concrete education is needed - not an arena for general anarchy. Although the two week course the REO was referring to contained a packed programme of talks (itself a mistake - there was no room for discussion, and participants became bored and impatient) the atmosphere was reportedly ruined by an ill-timed, badly conducted complaint session with the Staff Training Co-ordinator. There is always this risk in the arrangement of regional training, unless genuine care is taken to facilitate constructive discussion of conditions of service preparatory to the regional workshop, and schedule adequate time properly for such meetings. Where this is not done complaints and antagonism can arise in any session no matter what the subject. "How can an AD survey a fence line with no transport?" - an argument on why motorcycles are not provided can immediately be sparked off. The only real solution to this issue is for the Department to actually achieve more in improving AD conditions of service and to promote more genuine opportunities for dialogue on a regular basis.

R26/34 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE DEPARTMENT GIVES MUCH MORE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE REPRESENTATION OF FIELD STAFF INTERESTS IN THE BOTSWANA CIVIL SERVANTS ASSOCIATION. The formation of a representative Union would help ADs more than concessionary sessions at training workshops.

Another practical aspect is the timing of training courses. In one region a GDO remarked that training always seemed to be arranged at bad times : a 3 day course immediately following a Public Holiday weekend, for example. Training requires concentration with no diversions.

The planning of training needs more direction. There is a tendency for ADs to be asked what they want to be trained in. Consultation is important. But in some regions training has been based literally on AD requests and on nothing else. It is impossible for people to be totally aware of their weaknesses. These have to be judged by those managing their performance. In some regions the experience with group development has been poor; there is plain ignorance about the role of FCs and how to facilitate their development. Many ADs have never tried to form an FC and have never seen what can be achieved. Training needs to create awareness and knowledge, not the other way around. There is advantage in soliciting support from outside a region in some cases and for transferring experience from one region to another.

The input of various resource staff can be important. It was exciting to see, for example, the DO(L) in Tutume preparing maps of Extension Areas for each AD in the district and for use in training.

R26/35 : IN REGIONS WHERE STAFF FROM THE RAO'S AND DAOS' OFFICES HAVE STILL FAILED TO PROVIDE ADs WITH MAPS OF THEIR EXTENSION AREAS[25], IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT DAFS APPROACHES THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS TO SEEK THE HELP FORMALLY OF DO(L)s.

Staff training can be effected less formally at monthly management meetings. This was part of the intention of the monthly management system. As noted in 26.12. the management style of some DAOs sometimes inhibits constructive analytical dialogue. Some DAOs provide little field support. This destroys the faith of ADs in the planning/management system. All GDOs have devoted much time to monthly meetings trying to use them for training; their facilitator expertise can be important in promoting a training approach. However, as emphasised in 26.12. the efforts in training are meaningless unless there is a commitment throughout the Department to management.

Finally it is poignant to know that at BAC there have been very negative reactions to attempts by BAC staff to teach on group development and TGLP. This led BAC staff to arrange a special workshop in mid 1980 inviting a number of senior officials in Government who were connected with the subject.

Young people in training as Government's future agricultural staff were clearly not convinced that TGLP was succeeding in helping the small farmers and others whose futures would not depend on cattle ranching in the commercial areas. What needs to be stressed in the training of field staff is that it will be their task, within the framework of Government policy (the 4 national principles - see chapter 4), to show solidarity with the target groups they say they are concerned about. Change will then be brought about from these levels; it cannot be expected to be pioneered by those with vested interests in maintaining the status quo.

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(25) RAOs and DAOs were instructed to provide ADs with maps in 1976/77. In several districts the consultant noticed this had not been done.

26.19. RANGE AND LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT IN THE COMMUNAL AREAS - ARE WE ANY NEARER?

Part of the original aim of the group development programme was to work towards TGLP implementation in communal areas by the "gradualist extension approach"; what indications are there anywhere that this approach is leading in the direction as defined in the RLMP Amendment - i.e. towards management of communal land resources "so as to maximise productivity whilst protecting the grazing"?

This is of course a complex question. An attempt was made in chapter 11 to analyse thoroughly the experience with efforts at introducing fenced management systems and a number of conclusions were reached. These were further developed in 13.8. - an overall assessment of the experience with group ranching. Attention then turned in the next series of chapters to see the direction things were moving as a result of less comprehensive projects. What does it all amount to?

Everyone who has been involved would agree on one point - that Botswana has learned many lessons about what not to do in tackling major change in the development and management of communal areas, and that much is involved in facilitating change even through the incremental gradualist approach (see earlier 26.9.). Also, horizons have widened from what now appear the relatively limited objectives of TGLP, to the realisation that development for the small farmer target group means more than grazing and cattle. The emergence of other programmes of assistance, the need for their co-ordination, and an awareness of the social, institutional constraints on their implementation in the communal areas led to the CAPAD concept centred in the Rural Development Unit. The group development programme has been an important influence in the establishment of CAPAD. And what CAPAD means is that the communal areas are becoming a zone of focus. Until very recently there was little recognition that anything was going on in the communal areas at all. Even now officials can be found at all levels who are only aware of the commercial ranching aspect of TGLP.

Before CAPAD, the awareness of what the low key group development programme was all about, was limited. The programme was managed by DAFS field staff, but collaboration from other agencies involved in rural development (Land Boards, Tribal Administration, Council, VDCs, Community Development etc.) was often a constraint. Now the picture could change dramatically. CAPAD, for a number of reasons, should be a major surge for group development. In turn, group development will be the key to much of what CAPAD should involve.

Before we assess where Botswana has reached in pursuit of the RLMP goal, let us return briefly to some assumptions in the original RLMP[26].

The 1974 RLMP document anticipated a number of constraints the replication of feasible management systems throughout the small livestock holder areas. These included limited trained manpower, limited financial resources and social/cultural inhibitions to accepting certain solutions. The social/cultural constraints were anticipated as the greatest potential difficulty. The RLMP noted that "systems must be designed to suit varying conditions and take into account the general practices and land use patterns of the communal areas"[27]. For this reason an agreement was reached that the services of the Rural Sociologist would be provided on a $\frac{1}{3}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ time basis to ensure that "the systems developed reflect the wishes of the small

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(26) For background on RLMP, see 5.6.2.; for results see 11.5.2.

(27) All quotations in this section are from the May 1973 Range and Livestock Management Project PROP document.

stockholders". Noted was the need to "observe existing systems of livestock management", determine "the technical/physical characteristics of systems in full consultation with tribal, village, local government and small stockholders" and reach types of organisation and management which were "acceptable, practical and economically viable". The RLMP talked of "identifying small stockholder groups with similar production problems and social ties to form a close knit group" and "identifying leaders, assure recognition by traditional authorities and organise into legally viable groups to do business". The RLMP recognised that there were different communal land use situations : "heavy communal" with many owners of 5 - 15 cattle and with crops predominant, "fringe areas" where livestock owners had larger herds and crops were secondary to cattle, and the western sandveld. There was, in other words, a clear concept of land use strategy. Recognised too was the need to "develop management systems which linked producers in a tenure relationship with range land". In management plans the intended approach was gradualist but comprehensive : "systems should try to coincide with traditional practices" and "rotational grazing should be as simple as possible".

All the institutions involved were noted in RLMP I. The need for co-ordination was recognised. The basic goal was the same in the interest of Botswana's long term political stability - to improve the economic position of the smaller owners. Recognised was the need to reserve land for future communal and co-operative systems in the context of land use planning, and in the meantime solve organisational problems (basic recommendations of Chambers and Feldman - see chapter 5).

The failure was in three main areas[28]. The first was in solving the social organisation problems. The RLMP I warned that it "may take time to ascertain (the wishes of smallholders) but all concerned must realise that excess speed in formulating systems might have high subsequent costs if stockholders do not fully understand what is happening or are not fully committed". This mistake was made - and how right the prediction was.

Secondly the RLMP assumed that the technical package was there and that APRU work, land and water development, animal health, a co-operative programme for marketing, livestock extension and breeding and fattening ranch development could all be co-ordinated by the Deputy Permanent Secretary. This co-ordination proved beyond the Ministry's capacity[29].

Thirdly the RLMP assumed that certain changes were taking place which created an environment for developments in communal management. With the Agricultural Resources Conservation Act passed in 1972, RLMP assumed "the electorate was prepared to see changes in current practices". The concept of fencing was just starting to be accepted - "traditionally an abhorrent idea". It noted that specific individual or group control of water points was developing fast. It assumed owners were recognising range deterioration. And it assumed that an increase in livestock production was viewed as a means of income and that cash marketing of livestock was substituting for the traditional exchange value of cattle. As we have seen in this report there is still a long way to go before most of these assumptions can be made with more conviction. RLMP was in many respects ahead of the times in 1973.

From RLMP were learned many practical lessons. Apart from questions

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(28) This is a substantial simplification; for a more in depth analysis, see 11.5.2.

(29) This was before DAFS was created bringing together key technical and service divisions.

such as the need for consultation, dialogue, proper diagnosis of situations, understanding felt needs from sociological surveys, participation in planning, the whole area of the cost of communal area development and the methods to use in funding groups, and the extension approach needed to transfer the technology - the main lesson was replicability. Finding replicable systems was the whole purpose of the RLMP. How could this colossal process, the provision of technical expertise, the co-ordination, the land use planning and the development of institutional management be replicated?

When the experience of the last four to five years of gradualist extension approach is evaluated against the background of the first RLMP, it is possible to begin to grasp the dimensions of the RLMP goal.

The problems with the gradualist extension approach were discussed above (26.9.). Perhaps the crucial lesson has been something which the 1973 RLMP was quite clear about - that there needs to be sound technical strategy set in a spatial land use plan context. We have seen this throughout the chapters on communal area activities - water, cattle management and husbandry, conservation, fencing, the reserving of grazing, the development of crop infrastructure. The pendulum has in some ways swung in two directions. Botswana has experienced results from both swings. One was an approach which set out to develop full ranch management systems but failed in practice to deal with all that was involved; the other has concentrated on what are believed to be the processes involved, but which has tended to neglect technical strategy. What should the thinking be now? What middle ground is there?

Technically, progress is without doubt being made. There are striking examples now of multi-project activity in extension areas. There has been a snowball effect with projects leading on from one to the next. In a number of localities a definite strategy is discernable; out of a number of related projects is being constructed a coherent area infrastructure. An example close to Gaborone is Metsemaswaane in South East District. The most common combination of projects is water development, fencing and cattle husbandry facilities. Sometimes several different water sources are developed in one locality.

R26/36 : THERE IS A NEED TO CONDUCT CLOSER RESEARCH ON THIS EXCITING TREND IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND BETTER HOW TO FACILITATE SUCH STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT.

After four years experience, the Division of Animal Production adheres firmly to the gradualist extension approach and to the principles of group action. A progression of activity is supported, starting from small beginnings such as the basic handling unit. Such units are the key to improving most aspects of livestock management and husbandry. It is a practical first step. From this step can be taken further steps - improved range meanagement through water development and firebreaks, and fencing, paddocks to market cattle etc. The Division believes the RALOM components can be adopted piecemeal, starting with whichever is the local priority[30]. The Division is aware that extension in cattle management is very long term; this is an unavoidable fact because the responses in livestock are long term. But are these developments protecting the grazing? Here there is still a long way to go. The immediate benefits of projects are seen. The concept of range management, however, is still hazy. The

(30) Stephen Sandford also makes this point in "Keeping an eye on TGLP" - i.e. that the 1975 White Paper concentrated too much on group ranches and that Communal TGLP cannot be accomplished through a single jump to ranching".

resistance to APRU cells is one indication of the state of awareness of communal area farmers[31]. Attitudes to the fencing of the Barolong grazing enclosures are also indicative[32]. But it is believed that awareness is growing here and there. Awareness seems to be greatest where communities have invested in projects which improve "their" area. A sense is developing from this that their area or their asset should be protected from exploitation by non participating neighbours. There is frustration of one community with its neighbour. For example - having to share grazing with a community not involved in your tick control project; the same with smallstock projects; the chaotic use of dams and destruction of grazing caused by lack of management by neighbours of their water supplies. Where water supplies are inadequate farmer frustration is intense. Ambitious schemes are being implemented in some areas to establish more permanent reliable supplies. But elsewhere conditions remain hopeless. In these areas awareness is keen that if water could be developed nearby, the grazing situation would be relieved. This is a form of awareness of range deterioration. It is a perception which should be capitalised upon in future approach. Water development is an essential step in improving range management. Even if it is immediate needs which are perceived most clearly by farmers, it would seem possible to attach range management criteria to programmes for water development. It is believed that in some areas progress would be made through such an approach.

Basically, awareness is greatest where pressure (particularly on shared grazing and lands areas) and frustration is greatest. A fertile ground for further investigation on this would be the Rankoromane - Metsemaswaane - Mmankgodi triangle. The awareness and the action existing now needs amplification, support and encouragement.

The second main observation concerns institutional development strategy. The RLMP assumptions about range law to enforce stock control are no less invalid now than they proved to be in 1973. Botswana is not ready to enforce stock control. The TGLP, the Agric. Resources Conservation Act, the Tribal Land Act and AMA legislation are all there, but all these "acts are not together" in this key respect. More ground has to be trodden. If the country cannot cope for the moment with the alternative of legislative control on organisations responsible for defined areas of land, the other option is persuasion[33]. Persuasion depends on education. Action following persuasion depends on the organisation in some way of people using defined areas. There has to be the development of institutional capacity for consultation, planning and executing activities even if they are voluntary. Every area and locality has to be covered in some way. The institutional structures have to be replicable, responsive and responsible. Here it is believed that major progress has been achieved through the group development programme, and particularly through FC development. Overall conclusions on institutional development are discussed in the next section.

Other constraints noted in the original RLMP still apply. The land use planning necessary for comprehensive development in the communal areas is demanding of scarce expertise in this area. Manpower in range management remains short. Much of the available expertise has been absorbed in the commercial ranch demarcation exercises. Most main Land Boards have also been preoccupied in with commercial zone development.

Legal organisation is no longer the constraint as it was in the

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(31) see 11.8.

(32) see 11.5.4.

(33) see para. 4.1.; the 4 National principles

original RLMP. AMAs could be registered. But in the communal areas the registration of groups for the management of communal land resources is still a long way away. Other constraints are likely to prevent this for some time.

Even compensation is not an immediate constraint as some Land Boards still believe[34]. Two sources of funds (LG 31 and LG 36) are available - earmarked for Land Board development and specifically for the implementation of integrated land use plans. The constraint is rather the lack of planning and technical skills in the districts to put these funds into use.

One final assumption the RLMP made which is still invalid is that attitudes to cattle marketing have modernised. This has been discussed elsewhere[35]. Attitudes are basically static. The small owner's aim is to increase his herd to a safe, useful, viable size. There are "emergent capitalists" (see chapter 8), but these are people above the target group level. Only a radical alteration in Government policy to the cattle industry as compared with attention to other areas of the economy is likely to effect a significant change in attitudes. This is another vital area for CAPAD.

26.20. RURAL INSTITUTIONS FOR TODAY'S NEEDS

Looking back at the opening of chapter 4, we saw that the late President, Sir Seretse Khama, once spoke of "marrying the new institutions.. with the old traditional methods of government". How can this be done in practice? What institutions does rural Botswana need?

An institution is defined in The Oxford Dictionary as an organisation for the promotion of some public object. Every society needs institutions for stable government of its way of life. Every community requires a local political decision-making body. Botswana, like many Third World countries, is undergoing drastic and rapid political, economic and social change. Institutions must keep abreast of this dynamic situation.

This report, however, has documented numerous instances where progress with development projects has been constrained by the lack, weakness, incapacity or instability of local traditional institutions.

Numerous complaints were heard from extension staff, during the course of this study, that headmen were weak, not interested in development, ineffective in resolving problems, or delaying progress. The explanation for this is very complex. It is more complex, certainly, than being simply because a headman is unpaid, the assumption being that he is therefore not committed to his responsibilities, or that headmen are weak and corrupt, though undoubtedly this is sometimes true and a reason for difficulties.

It is the view of this report that the performance of traditional leadership is closely connected with settlement issues. Over the years the population of Botswana has increased and become far more mobile. Pressures for land have grown. Villages have expanded. New communities have appeared as kinship groups hived off and established separate

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(34) see discussion on the Morale case, 11.9.4. and R 11/50.

(35) see particularly 8.5., 11.2. and 13.5.

settlements. These too have expanded. Under the Tribal Land Act, farmers have been freer to select where to farm. But although smaller, more permanent settlements are advantageous to farming, the trend has been accompanied by a breakdown in traditional authority. There are now hundreds of settlements without recognised (gazetted) headmen. In the Kweneng, for example, only 26 out of 450 settlements have recognised headmen[36]. The rest are unpaid, usually elders, who try to preside over a local 'Kgotla', but whose power is very limited.

Additional problems are created when the new communities are heterogeneous. Increasingly, people of different origins and even different tribes find themselves sharing the same communal grazing or ploughing adjacent lands areas. They are not used to working together. They do not recognise the authority of each other's village leaders. A headman appointed for a lands area may not be recognised by a faction of the locality who originated from a different ward or village. At Metsemotlhaba the unpaid headman has no power over most of the people in the surrounding lands because they come from Thamaga and Gabane : they only plough at Metsemotlhaba, but owe allegiance to their village chiefs. The same applies at Kubung. The Thamaga chief reportedly discouraged his people ploughing near Kubung from contributing to a Kubung project. At Nshakgazhogwe, the lands community was intent on developing a hammermill project in the area, but the village headman was determined that any project should be in his village, and his position was reinforced by the politically controversial village regrouping policies in North-East District.

The stage is thus set for rivalry and power struggle. Chiefs of more major villages may not like to see more headmen recognised for surrounding smaller communities, because their effective power over people from the bigger village who move out to reside permanently in the smaller settlements would be reduced. But in the interests of development, headmen at places like Kubung need recognition. If headmen are not gazetted, effective power may reside in a chief who is many miles away and does not understand or is not really concerned about problems in the mixed lands area.

Uncertain situations, fraught with potential rivalries, are also created when small villages have basic services, a VDC and representation by a Councillor, but their traditional leaders are unpaid. Some headmen are accused of being autocratic, but it is the impression of this report that a lot of the autocracy stems from the insecure state of the tribal administration. In the Kweneng, for example, DTRP found that 33 settlements had all the basic facilities used to define a village, yet only 26 had a gazetted chief's representative.

This report, on the other hand, does not wish to exaggerate the situation, for it is not in a state of total disarray. Some villages and their surrounding communal areas have been less disrupted than others, and, with gazetted headmen, affairs are conducted in an orderly way. Here and there the old structures still work and there are still connections between some 'usually older' lands areas and village wards. And, most significantly, the role of the headman is still deeply and fundamentally respected. It is still advisable, and often essential, for a farmer to consult a headman, even if ungazetted, when seeking a land allocation. If he fails to do this and establishes his cattlepost or lands through the authority only of the Land Board, he can find himself isolated from his neighbours as an outsider.

Besides the weak position of headmen in many areas, however, there

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(36) Personal communication, Agathe Lapointe, DRTP.

is a second reason why local traditional institutions are ineffective in dealing with development projects, and that is that the 'Kgotla' is simply not a developmental institution. It cannot cope with all the functions which need to be performed now. It has an important role in consultation, ensuring community cohesion and encouraging participation, but it does not necessarily represent all the residents of a communal area where action is to take place. The 'Kgotla' may be unrepresentative for economic, ethnic or other reasons. To ensure effective consultation, it is necessary to go further than holding a 'Kgotla' meeting. Effort is required to get out and seek the views of those who did not participate.

Moreover, while the 'Kgotla' may be able to tackle certain administrative problems and solve disputes, it cannot cover all the management functions necessary for development. The decision-making and planning necessary for communal area development are complex and technical. This study has shown that a spatial land use planning approach is needed in several areas of group activity. Technical strategy is involved. Water development, for example, cannot go ahead properly on the basis of a response to officials asking "who wants a dam?" in 'Kgotla'. Sometimes inappropriate projects have resulted from a lack of attention to technical planning. For the technical planning and management functions, this study has found that a core representative group of trained, aware skilled members of the community is needed. Complex technical questions cannot be fruitfully discussed in 'Kgotla' unless there are a few such people present, with a clearer understanding of why certain strategies are proposed. For subsequent management and implementation of projects a (preferably trained) committee has been found to be essential.

There are, then, two needs. There is no question that the 'Kgotla' is important. When Batswana define what a community is, they unanimously give priority to the existence of a recognised 'Kgotla' and headman. The observations of this study about the organisation of group projects strongly supports this recognition for effective traditional leadership if a community is to function, and indeed endorses Stephen Sandford's view that the responsibility for ensuring that a community obeys rules should rest with one man, and not with a committee37. One need is, therefore, for a strong, local, traditional authority. The other need is for management capacity of a different kind. Expertise in this area is as lacking in many communities as is recognised authority.

The question is now - at what level and in what way should these two needs be strengthened and developed?

The findings of this study of group development correspond very closely with those of the Sandford report (his chapter 3) and with current thinking on settlement strategy in the Department of Town and Regional Planning. The DTRP was commissioned at the 1978 National District Development Conference to provide guidelines for planning the provision of facilities in the districts. This is an exciting new initiative, but not a new policy. Paragraph 55 in the 1973 National Policy on Rural Development spoke of investigating "the provision of social services in small lands areas to encourage people to stay there permanently" and in paragraph 79 it was stated that "Community Development Assistants (now ACDOs) will be alerted to identify where a community has emerged either in a small village or in the lands area which is sufficiently permanent to justify the forum of a VDC or any other appropriate organisation".

There is widespread awareness currently that, for communal area planning and development, it is essential to identify more clearly areas of land and settlements, and aurhorities with jurisdiction over those

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(37) Stephen Sandford, "Keeping an eye on TGLP"; 1979, para. 3.12.

areas. Sandford advises that for range and livestock management the community and its land area should be small so that everyone can see that the resources are finite and that the same rules bind them all. This report may hopefully add a further body of practical evidence to ideas developing currently in Botswana. What has emerged strongly from this study is that there is a need for three basic elements of settlement strategy to be seen, planned and facilitated consistently together.

These are:

1. the development of various agricultural infrastructure, facilities and services in a spatial approach
2. the development of competent management for these projects
3. the development of traditional authority which will support, encourage, sanction and enforce the management of the group activities.

It also happens that these three elements of strategy correspond closely with trends and needs in settlement and the provision of other services. Maps from a recent draft report by DTRP on settlement strategy in the Kgatleng District (July 1980) are provided here (pages 284-287) to illustrate the DTRP approach. It is considered that DTRP, CAPAD and the group development programme are dealing with one common problem. In the Ministry of Agriculture the question that needs to be considered is "where do we want to see what facilities/infrastructure?". In several chapters an attempt to answer this question has been made in pointing to the need for a spatial approach. The next question is what type of management is needed for organising and running those activities. In some cases unregistered independent groups can manage. In other cases a representative area wide institution is needed. Or again, an AMA, Co-operative or even BAMB or a Development Trust may be the only kind of institution with the capability.

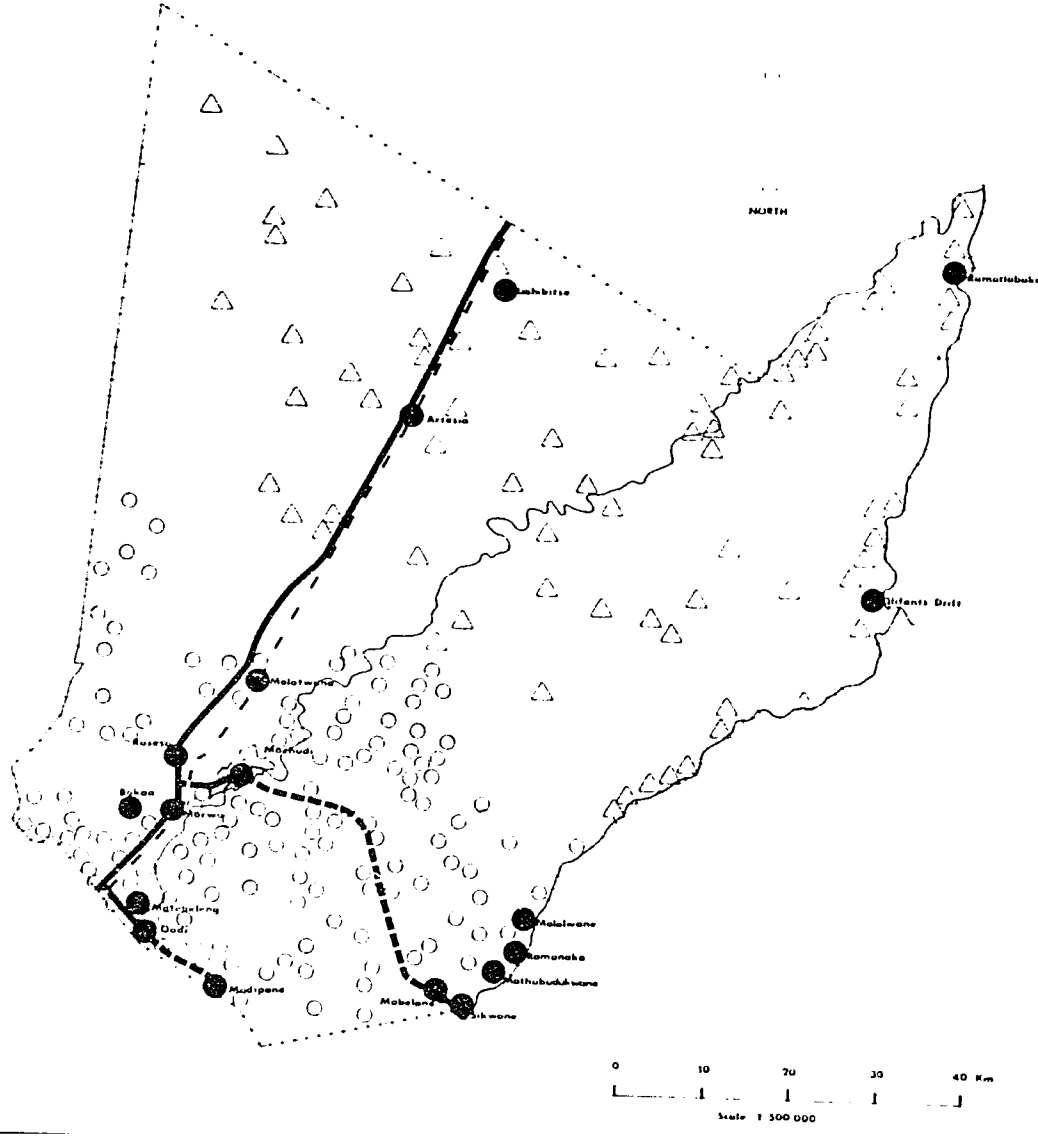
The choice of strategy for developing agricultural infrastructure should be essentially technical. Dams and boreholes should be sited according to land use planning and technical criteria. The need for guidelines has been emphasised in respect of all areas of group activity.

The group development programme has been developing management institutions. A considerable amount of experience has been gained in facilitating the formation of project groups and area-wide representative FCs. The conclusion of chapter 25 is that the FC development programme should be pushed ahead on a recognised basis (see 25.10.). However, it is important that FC development is part of a coherent settlement strategy, and not just a sideline being explored by the Ministry of Agriculture, often out of frustration with the inadequacies of other local government institutions. This report is convinced that FCs are of value and should be recognised. But it is equally convinced that the ideal situation is where an FC operates according to its terms of reference in relation to a VDC and the traditional institution of the headman and 'Kgotla'.

This report cannot specify a solution to the institutional problems in the communal areas. But drawing on the experience of the group development programme and the practical problems constraining progress in many areas, THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS FOR APPROACH CAN BE MADE:

1. All must accept as the starting point that there is a mixed-up situation in the communal areas which is the legacy of history, economic and social changes and increasing pressured on land. It is a situation in which tension is inevitable. Some social groups may be tempted to secede and not co-operate. But the

MAP 8



VILLAGES AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS
IN KGATLENG DISTRICT

- Village
- Other settlement/locality in lands area
- Other settlement/locality in cattle post area

Source 1971 census

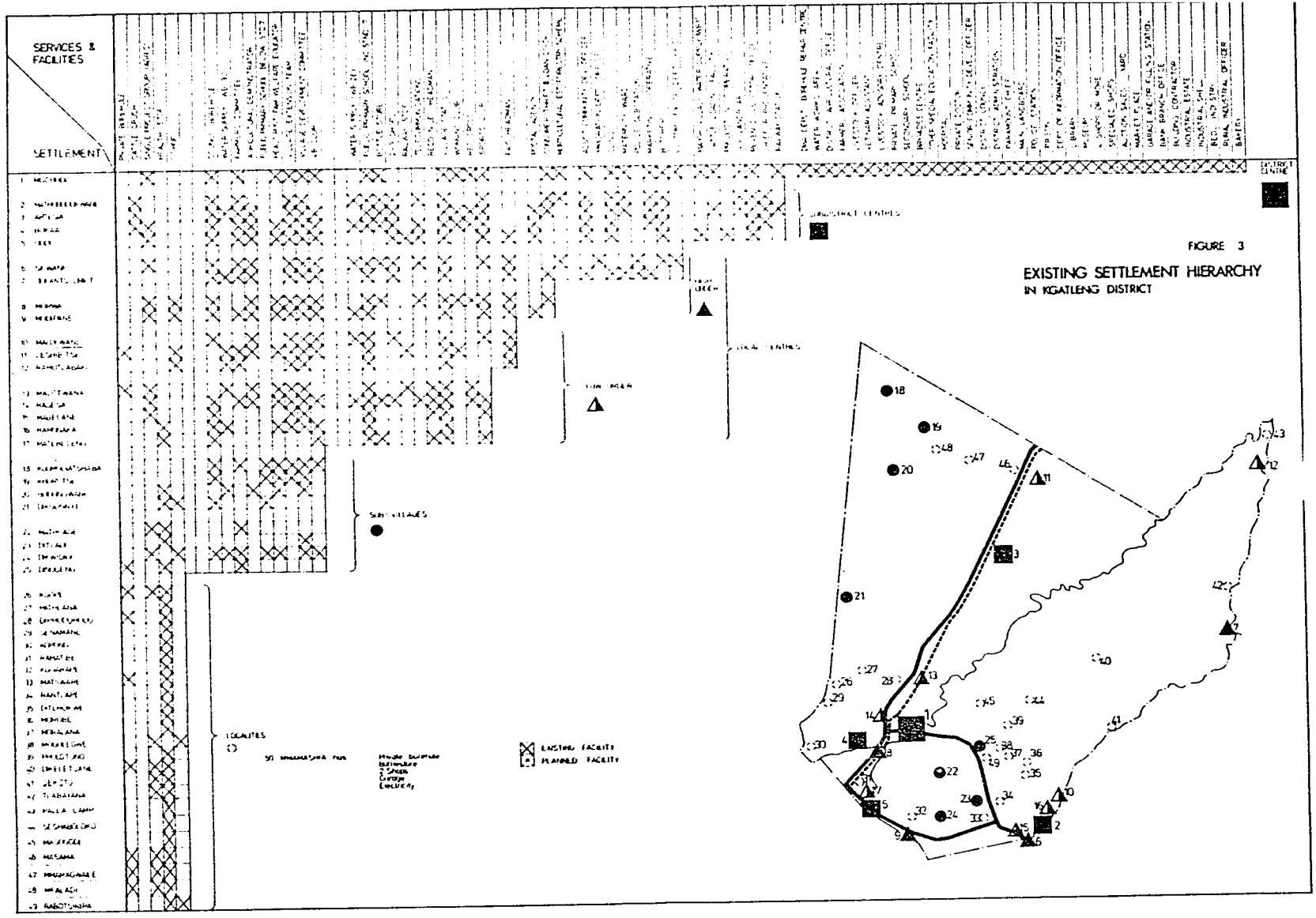
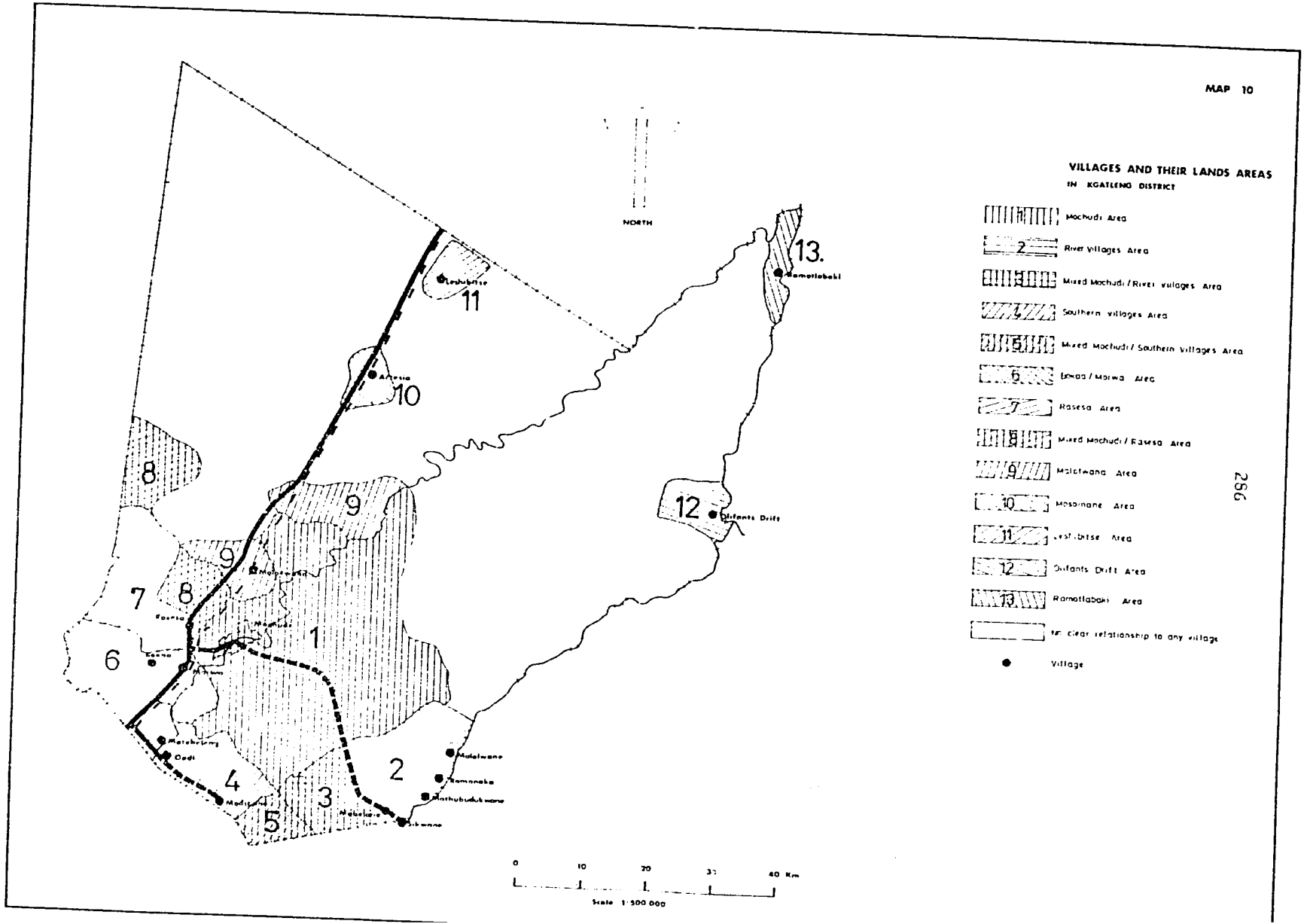


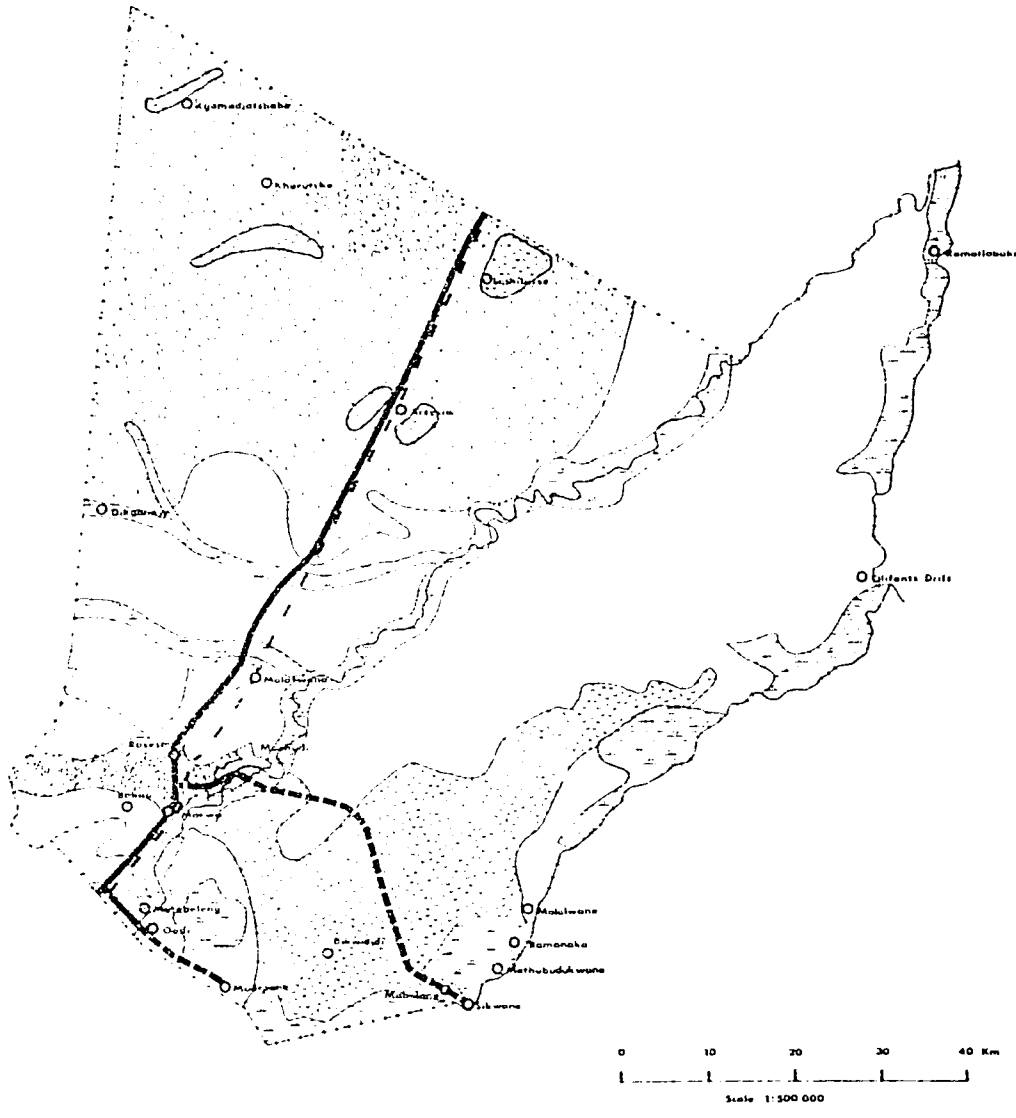
FIGURE 3

EXISTING SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY
IN KGATLENG DISTRICT

MAP 10


VILLAGES AND THEIR LANDS AREAS
IN KGATLENG DISTRICT
Mochudi Area
River Villages Area
Mixed Mochudi / River Villages Area
Southern Villages Area
Mixed Mochudi / Southern Villages Area
Bakwena / Malwa Area
Rasesa Area
Mixed Mochudi / Rasesa Area
Molatwane Area
Mosimane Area
Lesetlhatse Area
Dutfants Drift Area
Ramotlabaki Area
Not clear relationship to any village
Village
NORTH
Lesetlhatse
Artesia
Ramotlabaki
Dutfants Drift
Molatwane
Ramnoka
Mochudi
Oodi
Rasesa
Mosimane
Mokgomotsi
Mokgomotsi
Mochudi
Molatwane
Ramnoka
Mothubudukwane
Mokgomotsi
Mokgomotsi
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
9
10
11
12
13
0
10
20
30
40 Km
Scale 1:500 000

MAP 5



LAND USE CAPABILITY
IN KGATLENG DISTRICT

- Land primarily suitable for cultivation under natural conditions
- Ditto but with irrigation potential
- Land suitable for both cultivation and managed grazing
- Land suitable for managed grazing with only limited prospects of pasture improvements
- Land unsuitable for cultivation
- Land suitable for extensive grazing based on natural veld pastures provided there are adequate water supplies

subjugation of one people under a leader of a different origin can be just as unproductive. The development of institutional solutions in many areas is going to be a long and difficult task.

2. From the experience studied in this report it is considered that the approach in the difficult mixed areas will have to come from four angles:

   a) the specific experience of project group activity
   b) a broader process of public education
   c) the development of area-wide committees
   d) the strengthening of traditional leadership

3. There is much evidence to show that project group experience does lead to increased confidence and reduced tension. Even in communities of mixed origin, residents have come to realise often that it is worth co-operating. Factions which opposed collaboration have frequently been defeated and left behind; but more encouraging - they have sometimes later joined in.

4. The support of project groups can continue alone, but where tensions exist the process can be frustrating. Ideally support in this direction should be accompanied by action in all three other areas (b, c and d).

5. FC development should be pursued within a background of public education, and with sensitive reference to other institutions. Where there is a permanent settlement there should be a VDC. Council staff should be brought in on this. The role of the FC in relation to other institutions and leaders should be made very clear. The FC is not traditional. It is a modern institution which may threaten the headman, worry the Councillor, and is alien in other ways. But new institutions are needed to deal with today's world of returning unemployed miners and other problems.

6. The development of new management institutions should be accompanied by the strengthening of the old. This must mean:

   a) Much more training should be arranged for all levels in the tribal administration. It is vital that headmen are brought into the picture, not by-passed.
   b) Some headmen should be replaced if they cannot perform their duties effectively; this is done at times (the consultant heard of new appointments at Moshaweng, Motokwe, Khudumelapye and Lethakeng all in the Kweneng; and at Mogapi and Sefhare in Central District). But there are still many villages ruled by irresponsible, incompetent leaders. Sometimes these problems can be brought into the open. Public education is important or people are unaware of either the problem or what could be done. The efforts of the group development programme are very important in training project leaders who may be suitable for community leadership positions.
   c) More headmen need to be upgraded. The Ministry of Local Government and Lands has this power. The evidence from group development experience is absolutely clear -

> that more recognised gazetted leadership is needed in order to support community initiatives away from the big villages. It is recognised that this is a sensitive issue. But it is an inevitable political development need. It cannot be done all at once. In many localities difficult area jurisdiction problems will have to be broached. Also there is the question - who to appoint? Often there is already an elder performing the headman role. But will be be recognised throughout the locality? Upgrading new traditional leaders needs to be seen as part of a broad educational process.

In conclusion, all these processes need to be seen together. The CAPAD office in the RDU has an important role to play here. CAMA's group development programme should not attempt to skirt leadership problems by creating rival institutions. Politicians and traditional leaders should be the extension worker's allies. There should be workshops bringing headmen, politicians and the leaders of modern institutions together. They should be shown case studies to make them aware of their respective roles and relationships. None should be alienated in any approach. Both the headman and the Councillor should be involved in the village extension team - not one or the other, leading to confusion and rivalry. Above all, attention should be directed at tribal administration. Headmen should not be left out, left behind, not paid, with no allowances, no training and unaware. They should be promoted along with other developments. There should be more, better trained, recognised traditional leaders to reflect present day settlement realities and development needs.

26.21. GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND CAPAD

> "CAPAD is what everyone should be doing anyway"
> (a Senior Planning Officer)

It is nearly two years since the CAPAD acronym emerged from small beginnings - an informal discussion in mid 1979 between the then RAO Central and Rural Sociologist[38]. The idea for CAPAD sprang from the need to conceive a replicable approach to communal area land use planning (the Matsheng Land Use Plan was the major initiative) and communal area development (being pioneered through the group development programme). It was thought that elements of both approaches, if combined, would result in a replicable way forward for all districts.

The concept was supported by Sandford[37], though at the time of his consultancy the CAPAD acronym had not been thought of. His paragraph 3.50. called for a Co-ordinator of Communal Area Programmes inside the Rural Development Unit, following a recommendation of the outgoing TGLP Co-ordinator. A post of CAPAD Co-ordinator now exists.

The relationship between CAMA, the Co-ordinator of CAPAD and the Co-ordinator of Rural Development (the head of the RDU) is now a most important one. This report has frequently emphasised two things - that

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(38) see Central Region Annual Report 78/79 and "Institutions and Procedures in Communal Areas"; RAO Central; 6 December 1978.

the activities of the group development programme, i.e. the development of new rural institutions and agricultural infrastructural projects, are key components of CAPAD; and secondly that the progress of group development depends fundamentally on CAPAD. In the last sense the role of the Co-ordinator of CAPAD is to facilitate the formulation of broader policies and actions in order to remove impediments to group development. There is no reason any more why confused areas referred to in chapter 1 should persist. As the last section (26.20.) pointed out, group development strategy and settlement strategy should be one common approach. But much needs to be done to effect this. The role of the RDU is to co-ordinate, to bring everything together, to create links and contacts between Ministries and Departments, to facilitate the exchange of ideas and remove inconsistencies and bottlenecks. It is an immense role : this study put together a huge file of over 170 field observations of relevance to CAPAD and collected over 60 relevant documents. Unfortunately, time and space just does not permit thorough analysis of all this information. Many of the essential ideas can be found through thorough reading of this report. Here only a brief list of some of the key role areas for CAPAD will be mentioned.

1. Promotion of the settlement and institutional development strategy discussed in section 26.20.
2. Formulation of employment and land use strategies. This refers to the problem of meeting the different needs of all the rural population groups (large cattle owners, small owners, large arable farmers, small farmers, the various target groups) in the communal areas. How can land use planning resolve the problems of competition for land between arable and grazing uses in terms of the objectives of ALDEP on the one hand, TGLP on the other, and of other programmes. How can various developments - water, fencing, marketing, other infrastructure be co-ordinated.
3. Co-ordination and organisation of the immense inter-departmental training and public education programmes necessary for a reorientation of approach in the communal areas. Publicity on a large scale is needed for Farmers Committee terms of reference to be widely understood and if other institutions, leaders and politicians are to perform their roles and responsibilities effectively. The need for periodic seminars and short courses for Members of Parliament and Councillors was recognised in the 1973 White Paper "National Policy on Rural Development" (paragraph 77.). Apart from the publicity over TGLP, such seminars have rarely been organised in the past. How TGLP is to be implemented in the Communal Areas has yet to be explained to the public. On a broader level, when policies at the Centre are clearer (in the areas of settlement, institutional development strategy etc.) a major public education campaign will need to be mounted. Much more is involved in training than is commonly realised.
4. Advising the Ministry of Local Government and Lands on the reforms needed in tribal administration (see last section) and on Land Board development. Here the CAMA office has a primary role in creating awareness of the land issues affecting group development (suitable sites for horticulture projects, the reservation of commercial ranches for AMAs or ways of expanding the communal areas - see chapter 13). But the co-ordinating role of the RDU will be essential in initiating necessary

policy action.

5. Facilitating the solution of manpower constraints in Government. This ranges from lobbying on behalf of concerned departments to ease the clerical staff situation (administrative work absorbs RAOs, DAOs, DO(D)s and other key officials at District level), to lobbying for more technical or professional posts. It may also include pressurizing departments to post staff to priority areas (e.g. range ecologists to the communal areas; ADs to vacant areas etc.).

6. The districts lack sufficient planning skills to develop projects which would overcome some of the present constraints. Many districts still have no ADs maps. Air photography is out of date. Efforts at surveying water sources have failed (for example in Central District). Consultancies and projects could be designed to deal with some of these problems. If DAFS capacity (Land Utilisation Division) cannot cope with the production of air photo mosaic maps of ADs areas for the country, it could be done on contract. New air photography could be flown. P3 million is available under LG31 for investigations, detailed surveys, training programmes, institutional development and land use planning initiatives. The easiest way to get more manpower is through consultancies. The RDU may be able to advise and assist departments obtain such consultancies through LG31 and other sectoral grants.

7. Another source of manpower, skills and services are the Development Trusts. The Ministry of Agriculture has little constructive policy for co-ordinating the actions of the Development Trusts in with its own programmes. This is an incredible wasted potential. The Development Trusts can play a valuable role in adult education, experimentation, the provision of services, and training. The Trusts should be encouraged and guided to assist in filling the manpower gap (especially of technically and managerially skilled people). Instead Trust efforts are often criticised by Government officials while Government provides a vaccuum of policy guidance. Trusts can pilot difficult areas - reaching target groups. Adult literacy programmes could be arranged for FCs or other groups which would complement group development efforts - e.g. in the preparing of constitutions, record/book keeping. Trusts could be assisted to develop demonstration facilities (SLOCA projects, ALDEP catchment tanks etc.). At Palapye a smallstock dip/kraal unit was planned and a stud flock of rams was kept for breeding with farmers' sheep. At Mahalapye the Trust was developing a horticultural allotment scheme and running supply store. KRDA was running OSSCA. Other schemes in which Trusts have been active range from forestry, ranching, dairying, water development to hiring and servicing tractors. Enormous possibilities exist. The RDU/CAPAD office needs to co-ordinate the development of a more facilitatory, supportive Government policy towards the Development Trusts.

8. A most important area was mentioned in 26.12. and 26.17. This is the conditions of service for Agricultural field staff. At present many young school leavers look down on the idea of becoming an AD. It is seen as a poor option. From this report the importance of the AD's role should be abundantly clear. The AD is one of the most important Government officers. The

brightest, motivated young people need to be attracted into the service if all the goals and developments proposed are to be achieved. It is considered the CAPAD/RDU offices have an important role in pressurising for action in this area.

The above are just some key areas where the RDU/CAPAD offices have an important role in relation to the group development programme. Essentially it amounts to a centre in Government from which the needed commitment springs. For CAPAD or for the group development programme there has to be a national commitment. Someone in the field asked the consultant "who is Government? Who is committed to all this group development - all that it really involves? At what level? Is it just CAMA or DAFS who has to be committed? Or the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, or the Minister? Or even wider?". Political commitment is needed for anything major to happen - like controlling Foot and Mouth Disease, the development of commercial ranching, building Jwaneng, or an international airport. For the planning and development of the communal areas, the facilitation of group formation, for support to be programmed, for balanced rural institutions to be created and confidence and co-operation built up, an equally major national commitment is needed. Otherwise the target group will not be reached. This national commitment still has to be built up. There is not yet a sufficient unity of purpose. One Land Board said to CAMA "is that the law that we should reserve ranches for AMAs?"[39]. Each Land Board can at the moment interpret policies the way it likes. The Animal Production Division can only send out circulars suggesting sites are reserved. GDOs can only plead the case at LUPAG meetings for AMAs which may form in the future. At the time of this consultancy there was even disagreement between the Ngwato Land Board and CAMA over the registration procedure. The Land Board said it could not allocate an "unregistered group". CAMA could not register a group without a Land Board allocation. A simple problem? Apparently so - yet very important because in a case like Morale (see chapter 11, section 11.9.4.) if CAMA first registered the group it would strengthen the group's case in court over the land issue. And the Morale group would certainly go as far as the courtroom. So land allocation pending registration should be completed first (as the AMA Act provides). Even over relatively small problems like this one there are difficulties.

To produce a national commitment so that the goal of the group development programme is achieved much still has to be done. The "institutionalising" purpose of the Amended RLMP is not complete until this is assured.

26.22. HAVE THE GROUP DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES BEEN INSTITUTIONALISED? A FOCUS ON THE GDO/CAMA ROLE.

The Amended RLMP specified the following major areas of activity concentration or outputs

1. develop and test communal formation process(es)
2. develop Government institutional infrastructure and trained manpower for doing (1.)

(39) Personal communication; I. Matenge.

3. develop Government policy/regulatory requirements in the areas of institutionalising groups, range law and subsidy issues
4. provide technical support

This final chapter has attempted to draw together much of the experience with institutionalising the processes of group development and to assess where it has reached. Generally speaking it would be objective to state that although much has been achieved over the last 4 - 5 years there remains even more to be done. Far more is involved than tends to be imagined if the goals of the programme are to be reached - broadening outreach and developing and managing new infrastructure and innovations in the communal areas. In the broadest sense the programme is by no means institutionalised yet. All are not yet working in unison or following a consistent purposeful strategy. Areas of ignorance and confusion persist. In this chapter a sketch has been given covering most of the "what it must involve/how it is done" areas mentioned at the start of the chapter. We have looked at various areas - from the training of group members, to the management of support through to the vital need for a national policical commitment to the goal and purpose of the programme. We have observed that we can talk of facilitation, but the programme will achieve little if support manpower itself is not managed skillfully. Managerial expertise and technical skills are the greatest constraints to rural development in Botswana. Whatever aims there are, those activities must be managed. That management has to come from somewhere - whether through DAFS field staff training the management committees of unregistered groups, new institutions like FCs, or registered AMAs, whether through the development of Co-operatives, whether through Councils and VDCs, or through Development Trusts and parastatals like BAMB. There can be talk of new rural institutions or of strengthening the old. Either or both will require training and other forms of support. The RDU/CAPAD office can try to achieve a balance in all this. The basic need is to appraise carefully the functions or services to be performed and to develop whichever form of management best meets those needs.

In this last section we shall concentrate on the progress that has been made in the stated outputs of the Amended RLMP which supports the group development program, focussing on the role of the CAMA office and its group development staff. It cannot possibly be a comprehensive assessment. It is hoped that the preceding chapters of this report and the foregoing sections in this chapter serve to point out the group development role in most situations.

Developing and testing communal formation process(es)

This study has found that a great deal of work has been done in certain regions in terms of this output. Terms of reference for FCs and procedural guidelines for certain projects and activities have been developed. However almost all this activity has been achieved by GDOs and regional staff operating independently from one another, and much of the basic work was done before the Amended RLMP commenced early in 1979 with the creation of the CAMA office. Section 26.13. has shown that in the area of technical and organisational guidelines little has been done. The Ministry has not yet agreed on FC terms of reference or on a national policy for their development. Section 26.13. suggests ways of approaching this output area. It is emphasised that a great deal remains to be done and it is very doubtful whether it can be achieved without an extension of the Amended RLMP support to the CAMA office, or a large additional input of consultancy expertise.

Developing Government institutional infrastructure and trained manpower for doing output (1)

As mentioned in 26.12. GDOs have had an important impact in the regions. Despite the difficulties they have had some success in introducing facilitator education methods both in staff and farmer training. They have helped other staff to learn what group development involves. But more than one CDO admitted feeling very alone in this task. It has been an uphill battle. Section 26.12. explains why. It is hoped that this report has shown that the institutional infrastructure which has to be developed to support the group formation processes is much more than the mere existence of the CAMA office. This will be recognised outside the CAMA office only if the CAMA office presents a dynamic profile.

The role of the CAMA (and GDOs) in the registration of AMAs is but one function, and at present an exceedingly small one, in the context of a much broader programme. Reference to duty (f) in the GDO job description (Appendix 23) sets this duty in the full context. Yet CAMA's job is seen officially as AMA registration[40]. In the Establishment Register GDOs appear as AMA Officers and the actual title still used for CAMA's chief supporting adviser is Senior AMA Officer. So long as misunderstanding still prevails over the CAMA role institutional problems will continue for the group development programme. While the CAMA office continues to admit feeling under a certain pressure to register more groups from higher levels both inside and certainly outside the Ministry of Agriculture, the necessary understanding of what group development really involves and demands will elude the programme. This is why it is suggested that a strong alliance between the RDU and the CAMA office is needed so that CAMA's efforts to educate other departments and Ministries as to the broader CAMA office role are supported. Otherwise CAMA will continue to be queried out of ignorance by Members of Parliament, Ministers and others.

One initiative the CAMA office has taken - the publication of a newsletter called "Group Developments" - is strongly supported.

R26/37 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT GREAT ATTENTION TO PUBLICITY SHOULD CONTINUE, AND THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A WEEKLY RADIO SERIES SHOULD BE EXPLORED in which group activities and progress can be reported on; case study problems can be analysed and discussed; group development principles, FC terms of reference and project guidelines can be explained; various policies - e.g. on funding, and the roles of rural institutions can also be clarified.

The CAMA office is the formulative centre for group development. Although this chapter has pointed to CAPAD as a crucial institutional ally, CAMA is where the pressure must come from. In problems with Land Boards, ensuring that policies to group development are consistent and securing Land Board co-operation the initiative in alerting the concerned Ministry or the RDU if necessary has to come from CAMA. It is important, though, that CAMA is supported by DAFS. It is hoped that this report will help reveal some of the areas where greater commitment in the Department is needed for the CAMA programme to succeed. Examples include - the management system, action by the technical divisions in preparing guidelines, co-ordination between the CAMA office and the rest of the

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(40) The AMA Act specified some of CAMAs functions in relation to AMAs; but the CAMA job description does not derive only from the AMA Act. This is partly the cause of the confusion.

Department - e.g. in policy making on ALDEP and funding policies for groups. It appeared that the CAMA office had not been involved in various consultations on ALDEP. CAMA was not consulted when policies were formulated on the areas of activity which the MLGL labour intensive works programme would cover - a potentially major threat to group development approach[41]. Neither is CAMA involved in practice in the administration of AEIO. CAMA is a member of the AEIO Board but this is called only to decide on grants of over P3000. In view of the considerable inconsistencies which have come to light in the administration of matching grants it is considered that there is a need at this time for CAMA to be more involved with the process, or at least to discuss very seriously with GDOs their role at the regional level in the interests of promoting a more coherent approach.

R26/38 : IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE CAMA OFFICE PRESSES FOR A MEETING, INITIALLY WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT, TO DISCUSS THE ADMINISTRATION OF GRANTS. Some careless activity has occurred in the past with AgInf campaigners reportedly advertising 10% criteria while GDOs work quietly to promote higher group contribution. If Councillors hear 10% broadcast over the radio what hope is there? The CAMA office has not been entirely successful to date in producing a consistent programme in these and some other areas. At a June 1980 GDO meeting agreement could not even be reached on whether forms or project memoranda should be used in AEIO application procedures. Some GDOs were critical of the approval procedure for AEIO (the routing through VDC, DDC etc.); it is hoped section 26.15. makes the opinion of this report clear on this issue. Consultation is not a waste of time - it is part of the institutionalising process.

But what is unfortunate is that GDOs have reportedly disagreed on areas of philosophy and approach and the CAMA office team has sometimes been unable to resolve the differences. In some respects this has stemmed from the fact that group development approaches became established in different regions before the CAMA office was established at HQ in 1979, and The Groups Group Committee could not provide the needed direction prior to this. Thus negligible direction, particularly in terms of facilitator adult education methods, was received by GDOs until 1979/80. Not until the July 1980 GDO seminar were materials developed on key areas such as facilitation, leadership roles, communication skills. Before this one GDO commented that the main source of guidance was coming in practice from Adult Educators from the Institute of Adult Education. In some respects this is as it should be, as the IAE is there for this purpose (see 26.13.). But it is important that the CAMA office increasingly provides direction, and creates a coherent approach through drawing together the experience from the regions. This report supports the conclusion of the independent May 1980 USAID evaluation that specialist training expertise in the facilitator process is needed in the CAMA office. It is considered that this will be a requirement for a considerable period. It is understood that former GDOs from Francistown and Central Regions are now effectively performing this role together with the Evaluation/Communications Officer.

A difficult area for CAMA is the question of target group. The CAMA office sees itself in a definite dilemma here with various target groups,

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(41) No suggestion is made that labour intensive works are not needed. Government does need to spend, to create employment and develop infrastructure in the rural areas. However care is needed to select carefully the areas of activity for this and to distinguish which are to remain areas for self help.

but with action inevitably being taken first by the wealthy in commercial cattle ranching - an equally inevitable area of focus due to perceptions of the AMA programme. As the resource division both for AMA registration and for broader group development the target group situation needs clarification. Is CAMA there to provide assistance to any group, or to concentrate on specific target groups? There may be a need for the RDU to assist CAMA in defining more clearly the target group of the programme. Obviously CAMA is there to register and support whoever become AMA members. But this study has pointed to the need for greater awareness of different target groups in different areas of group activity. The view of this report is that the CAMA office should identify itself more specifically and publicly with the small farmer target groups. If it does not, technical programmes will not reach them. Other parts of Government - the RDU, for example - are receptive to ideas for effective new ways of achieving rural development goals. The innovations in approach must come from the CAMA office - the institutional centre for group development.

CAMA has a clear pitch, a budget and field staff (the DAMA has received high priority at a time of severe manpower limitations). The DAMA has the wherewithal to expedite training programmes and to organise workshops. To get things to happen does mean pushing for them to happen. CAMA must spearhead any measures necessary to facilitate the participation of the target group in other programmes. For example, in ranching, the MLGL are unlikely to promote a land use strategy which safeguards the position of smaller owners in future AMAs unless CAMA intervenes (see 13.8.2.).

Developing Government policy/regulatory requirements in the areas of institutionalising groups, range law and subsidy issues.

In this area significant progress has been achieved in terms of the establishment of AMAs under law. Attention is currently turning to the law as regards syndicates. There are areas where confusion still remains, however.

One such area concerns the registration of groups. What kind of group should be registered as an AMA? There is a view that the AMA Act was developed to benefit small farmers but that this target group is being missed in the present AMA registration approach. To be an AMA demands much higher literacy and numeracy skills than are found among most small farmers, it is said. Are the standards too high?

CAMA's response to this is that it would be folly to register groups which had no clear management plan or strategy, and that to restrict registration to viable groups with viable projects will act as an incentive to groups to consider management seriously. CAMA in fact purposefully visualises a long road ahead before AMAs will be seen managing the communal areas. Single purpose project groups such as borehole development groups and dip tank groups are not to be registered. Registration is to be reserved for groups engaged in commercially productive activities such as horticulture or ranching. This report considers that CAMA is interpreting the AMA Act accurately. The Act addresses itself to groups who wish to be associated "for the purpose of undertaking a collective agricultural venture" (section 5) and defines an agricultural venture as concerned with horticulture, fruit growing, seed growing, dairy farming, the breeding and keeping of livestock, and with various uses of land. The popular version[42] defines venture more specifically in terms of "profit oriented agricultural production". This is a correct interpretation of the word venture which the Oxford Dictionary defines as a "risky undertaking"

(42) see "Agricultural Management Associations"; CAMA office; July '80.

implying a business or commercial aspect.

The interpretation of legislation is not just a narrow splitting of definitions, though. It must of course be related to reality. Here too the interpretation is consistent. The fact is that AMA legislation, the process of registration and the various provisions for the conduct of the affairs of legally registered groups (annual management plans, auditing accounts etc.) correspond with the requirements of a commercially oriented venture - not with the requirements of a single activity group.

It is considered that the CAMA office should be able to safeguard small farmer interests in non-commercial group activities (the development and running of a borehole, dip tank or hammermill etc.) through auditing, training and advising such groups on constitutions etc. It is true that AMA registration provides more assurance that auditing will be done; the AMA Act requires, not advises, that books will be kept. CAMA's approach in this area is sound provided that his division really does protect small farmer interests in practice even if this protection is not assured through legal registration[43].

A second area of confusion is the apparent duplication of the CODEC supporting Co-operatives and the DAMA supporting AMAs. Interviewed separately, both the Commissioner of AMAs and the Registrar of Co-operatives acknowledged that this was a waste of resources in some respects. And is it not confusing to farmers to be faced by different departments both registering agricultural groups? It is not within the scope of this report to provide an answer to this confusion. It is understood that there are slight differences between the AMA and Co-operative legislations. But the main difference appears to be in attitude. As a Co-operative Officer is reported to have said "AMAs are there to handle the groups that might fail". In a sense this is true. And in a sense it is a reflection on the way CODEC has developed. The consultant met farmers highly critical of CODEC. It was felt that CODEC had forgotten the original ideas of co-operative development and liked to run societies' affairs in its own way. Co-operatives were no longer a group effort. Struggles were reported between management, committees and members. Managers lacked a sense of purpose. Committees seemed to get no advice. These criticisms were heard; they are not necessarily a reflection of the general view of this report. However their existence does indicate that the facilitator approach to group learning is lacking in the CODEC approach. CODEC has become entrenched in a particular kind of co-operative development (much of it very successful). It would be well worth studying the CODEC experience further in terms of group development. But to be fair to CODEC its own position with respect to group development was made very clear around 1976 (see chapter 6, section 6.6.2.). And the position is the same now. For CODEC to launch into new directions would require a major reorientation of approach as well as additional technical expertise in those areas. An important reason why Co-operatives have been less successful in dairying (see chapter 12), horticulture (see chapter 23)

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(43) Opponents of CAMA's approach argue that AMA legislation is there to safeguard small farmer interests, through limited liability and legal status applied to each member's share investment (at whatever level the member can afford). But when a large proportion of the capital outlay is grant, and profits are not being made (they should not be being made from the running of dip tanks, boreholes or other services for members), there is less argument to support the complex registration process. It should not be advocated as a method of ensuring correct group development principles are followed; this should be the case anyway.

and ranching (see chapter 11, section 11.6. on Mabeleapudi) is that CODEC is a separate organisation outside DAFS which has all the technical expertise. It is considered that the existence of CODEC and the DAMA should not be a cause for concern provided that each concentrates on the areas where it has expertise. The Ministry could do more, however, to clarify the reasons for the existence of its two Departments, and also to promote the maximum degree of co-operation between them e.g. in the sharing of a common audit unit (which would have to be strengthened) rather than developing two separate audit departments.

The confusion which still persists between the various other forms of group organisation (FC, FA, VDC, project group) has been discussed elsewhere - see chapter 25. Generally speaking in the area of this output (no. 3) it can be said there has been some progress although it tends not to be perceived clearly. It is hoped parts of this report will help clarify certain areas - for example the strategy for development of rural institutions is the absence, that has been explained, of developments in range law.

In terms of subsidy policies, many new areas have opened up (SLOCA, AEIO etc.) but as observed above there is a need for more consistent policy in their implementation.

Provision of technical support

In this output area, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, there have been major problems. It is the responsibility of DAFS to ensure that technical information is developed (see 26.11. and 26.13.) and that support is managed. In this respect the Amended RLMP can be said not to have progressed as far as could have been hoped.

26.23. A FINAL NOTE

It is hoped that although this chapter (particularly) has had to bring to light many problem areas affecting the group development programme, the achievements will not have been lost sight of. What the CAMA office and group development staff are tackling is one of the most difficult, yet exciting and rewarding areas in development - developing the capacity of people in their communities to introduce change themselves. Facilitating group action is much talked about. But in few parts of the world does a Government have a programme dealing specifically with this function. This report has produced an overwhelming number of recommendations addressed at certain needs. That so much needs to be recommended is a reflection on the enormous scope of this programme and the immensely challenging goals it seeks to achieve. It is difficult to put the recommendations into perspective, to say which has priority. This report is clear on one thing though - that is the need to have both wide and narrow horizons. There is a need to think big in terms of political commitment. But there is a need to work very quietly to facilitate the action that we all wish to see. The principles of group action must be adhered to. This report will end with one simple example : in efforts to assist one smallstock management group at Sebina, the GDO and APO from Francistown Regional Agricultural Office made at least 9 visits between June 1978 and November 1979, mostly to facilitate the process of developing a constitution for the organisation of the group, and also to discuss AEIO funding. In February 1979 the GDO

noted[44] "the group is disorganised - had planned to talk on AE10 - but instead listened to problems".

This is essentially what group development is all about.

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(44) GDO records : K. Rick.

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Agricultural Group Development in Botswana

Volume IV
Appendices

A. B. J. Willett

Agricultural Management Associations
Ministry of Agriculture
October, 1981

AGRICULTURAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

A preliminary survey of the experience of the Group Development Programme of the Division of Agricultural Management Associations within the Department of Agricultural Field Services, Ministry of Agriculture, Botswana.

For USAID/Botswana

By
A. B. J. Willett

October, 1981

Volume IV: Appendices

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SECTION I : GROUPS DATA

Explanation of tables

Sources of data

The following tables summarise the most relevant available data and observations on each group project investigated by the consultant. The data were drawn from a number of sources - the consultant's own field notes from group meetings, information supplied verbally by field staff in interviews or AD monthly management meetings, GDO group data sheets, District or Extension Area 3 monthly programmes or reports, Annual Plans and Reports, Project memoranda and constitutions.

Due to the great volume of the data and the many different sources of information which were used for even one project, the actual sources are not usually given. Only where the data are questionable, or where the only available data are not outdated, is the source mentioned under "further information".

Reliability of data

The data are the latest available at about mid 1980. In most cases the information is a synthesis from the sources mentioned above.

Unfortunately the information is not uniform. As can be seen from Appendix 22, the consultant only visited a sample of groups and their projects personally. Moreover, it was only possible in the four months spent in the Districts to meet with some of the field staff either in their Extension Areas or in the more hurried atmosphere of District monthly meetings.

The documentation was also of a varied nature. Regions differ in the extent and detail which they have been able to make and update their records. Some on the group projects are not yet recorded as "groups" by the GDOs and the only available data on them are from other documents like AE10 project memoranda or DAO or AD reports.

The information, therefore, from a research point of view, is frustratingly inconsistent. There are many gaps; information of a critical nature which is available for one project is missing for the next.

Another obvious limitation of the data is how quickly changes take place. We are observing and analysing a dynamic situation, projects and activities which people are engaged unpon now, next week and in the months to come.

The data are thus no more than a benchmark, valid as at mid 1980.

Completeness of data

Whilst every effort was made to obtain as complete as possible a survey of the groups existing in 1980 (as well as some which have at some time attempted a project but which is currently not functioning), it is regretably inevitable that many must have been overlooked.

Some groups, for example borehole syndicates, operate in parts of the country not covered by Agricultural field staff. Many Extension Areas

are vacant. Some ADs are recently transferred and thus not yet familiar with their areas.

As has been mentioned above, Regions have not always caught up with the documentation even of all known groups.

Method of Study

Detailed explanation of how the survey was undertaken and data obtained is given in the text of Volume I of the report, Chapter 2.

Layout of Tables

The tables are ordered from north to south of the country, normally by District. Where there are no groups of a particular type in a given District (e.g. there are no dam groups in Ngamiland), then that District is omitted. The section on dam groups thus begins with Table 5.1. on Tutume District, Tutume being the most northern District where dam groups are found.

In a few cases the tables are ordered by Region. This is either where the number of groups are very few or where for other reasons it is more meaningful to list by Region, as in the case of the Regional Training Programmes for Farmers Committees, Appendix 2.

Column headings

The headings of the tables for the different types of groups (i.e. from one Appendix section to the next) do vary. This is because the interesting criteria for one type of project differ from those relevant to another. As far as possible it was attempted to follow a consistent pattern, starting with the Area or the name of the group and moving onto the date of group formation, membership and Committee details, cattle or smallstock numbers where applicable, details on the projects or activities undertaken, fees and funds raised, assistance, support, training, by-laws, and ending with further miscellaneous information and comments.

KEY TO THE APPENDIX TABLES

* means that there is a note under "further information" relating to the information marked; usually a number, e.g. *(2) is placed in brackets by the asterisk; this number refers to the number of the note in the column.

Numbering

Information in the columns relating to a group is often numbered; e.g. where different steps or activities took place, or where more than one training course, demonstration, form of support, or fund raising activity occurred. The numbering on each column is usually independent from that in other columns. Occasionally it is linked, for example in Table 1.1. the two activities building a crush and buying a spray pump of the Mabozo FC are related directly through the same numbering system to two forms of support, 1. the Vet Dept. poles and 2. AG15 grant towards the spray pump. It is hoped that the distinction is obvious.

ABBREVIATIONS IN APPENDICES

AAO (LR)	Assistant Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
ACDO	Assistant Community Development Officer
AD or A/D	Agricultural Demonstrator
AE10	Small Projects Programme
AG15	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas;
AGInf	Agricultural Information
AI	Artificial Insemination
ALDEP	Arable Lands Development Programme
AMA	Agricultural Management Association
AO (LR)	Agricultural Officer (Land Resources)
AO (WE)	Agricultural Offices (Women's Extension)
APO	Animal Production Officer
APO (SS)	Animal Production Officer (Smallstock)
APRU	Animal Production Research Unit
ARB	Agricultural Resources Board
A/S	Agricultural Supervisor
ASSOC	Association
BAMB	Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board
BCC	Botswana Christian Council
BCW	Botswana Council of Women
BDA	Bamangwato Development Association
BH or b/h	Borehole
BLDC	Botswana Livestock Development Corporation
BMC	Botswana Meat Commission
BW	Binding Wire
BX	Botswana Government Vehicle registration
c.	Circa
CAE	Chief Agricultural Economist
CAMA	Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations
CAPAD	Communal Area Planning and Development
CDCC	Central District Conservation Committee
CDO	Community Development Officer
Chair.	Chairman
Co op.	Co-operative
C/post or c/post	Cattlepost
Cttee	Committee
CTO	Central Transport Organisation
DAMA	Division of Agricultural Management Associations
DAO	District Agricultural Officer
DAS	District Agricultural Supervisor
DC	District Commissioner
DDC	District Development Committee
DEMS	Department of Extra Mural Services (now the Institute of Adult Education)
Dev	Development
DO (L)	District Officer (Lands)
DRTC	Denman Rural Training Centre
(E)	East
EA	Extension Area

FA	Farmers Association
FC	Farmers Committee
FDA	First Development Area
FF	Farming Family
FMD	Foot and Mouth Disease
FWE	Family Welfare Educator
GDO	Group Development Officer
GSO 9	Geological Survey borehole drilling programme
ha	hectares
HH	Househould
HQ	Headquarters
IFPP	Integrated Farming Pilot Project
indiv.	individual
JN 15	Ranch gazetted numbers in Southern District
JN 16	" " " " " " "
KBDT	Kanye Brigades Development Trust
Km	Kilometres
KRDA	Kweneng Rural Development Association
LAC	Livestock Advisory Centre
LB	Land Board
LG 17	Village Development programme (of MLGL) in NDP
lsu	Livestock unit
LUO	Land Use Officer (now equivalent to AAO (LR))
LUPAG	Land Use Planning Advisory Group
m	metres
MDT	Mahalapye Development Trust
mgt	management
mkt	market or marketing
MLGL	Ministry of Local Government and Lands
3 MP	3 monthly programme
MRTC	Mahalapye Rural Training Centre
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
(N)	North
NDB	National Development Bank
NDP	National Development Plan
NED	North East District
NFE	Non Formal Education
No.	Number
NWDC	North West District Council
NW	North West
ONVI	Dutch volunteer programme
Orig.	Originally
OSSCA	One Stop Service Centre for Agriculture
P	Pula
PWD	Public Works Department

RADO	Remote Area Development Officer
R/O	Regional Agricultural Officer
RE	Range Ecologist
REO	Ranch Extension Officer
RLFA	Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Association
RLG	Radio Learning Group
RLMP	Range and Livestock Management Project
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RSS	Regional Support Staff
RTC	Rural Training Centre
(S)	South
SBDT	Serowe Brigades Development Trust
SCC	Short Course Centre
SDA	Second Development Area
Sec.	Secretary
SED	South East District
SFB	Serowe Farmers Brigade
SLB	Sub Land Board
SLOCA	Services to Livestock Owners in Communal Areas (see also AG15)
SNG	Serowe Nethouse Gardens
STD VII	Standard VII
SSU	Smallstock Unit
SWO	Social Welfare Officer
t	thebe
TGLP	Tribal Grazing Land Policy
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Veg	Vegetables
VDC	Village Development Committee
Vaccn	Vaccination
(W)	West
w/	with
WE	Women's Extension
w/e	Weekend
WFP	World Food Programme
w/o	Without
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
1.1. CHOBE							
Satau			1. Tick control project (knapsac)		Proposed		
Mabozo	1977	Over 20 in group	1. Built crush 2. Bought spray pumps for cattle tick control/ Senkobo disease	78/79 1979	- Purchased 1980	P115 raised	
Mabele	1977	15-20 in group	1. Double action spray pump for tick/senkobo disease control	1978	Purchased 3/80	Over P70 raised	
1.2. NGAMILAND WEST							
Xaukwe	1976		1. Drift fence	1976	Complete	P300 raised + grain sales (79)	NDB loan (note)
Mowana	?		1. Purchased burdizzo and dosing gun. 2. Plan to build crush		Purchased Planned		
1.3. NGAMILAND EAST							
Khumaga	1974	Reps from 4 sub areas	1. Selling seeds 2. Plans farmer training courses 3. Order livestock remedies from Maun 4. Coordination of other projects		Ongoing " "		
Mopipi	?1976 1978		1. Store building for crops storage, sale of "vaccines, insecticide and agric. equipment"	Early 1979	Applied site 3/79 Action pending DDC/AEIO evaluation	P30 reported so far 4/80 Planned to raise P300	FC members collected sand, planned to mould 10,000 bricks and provide labour
Rakops	1979		1. Sold seeds 2. Showground proposal	? 1978?	Proposal*		
Komana	1977		1. Knapsac spray 2. Spray race 3. Sold seeds	1978 1979	Purchased 1979 Proposed	1. P60.00 2. 5 cattle contributed *(2)	
Toteng	1977	-	1. Organised farmers for demonstrations on destumping/ row planting, dehorning and castration	1977 only	Non active	-	

GOVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	9-13 Oct.78 FC training				
1. Vet. Dept. supplied poles 2. AG15 2/80 P65.00	FC training 9-13 Oct. 78	P5.00 joining fee			1. It is more like a livestock group/Farmers Assoc. at this stage.
P65.00 from AG15 2/80	FC training 9-13 Oct. 78	P5.00 joining fee			
Support unreliable- AD transfers; remoteness	-	-	-	-	1. 1979 group in arrears of P1032 repayment to NDB. Selling spare wire and grain to raise money. 2. Problem of remoteness and no income. 3. Tawana Land Board use project as CAPAD example for Ngamiland project.
	FC training 9-13 Oct. 78				1. Sub area of Sepopa EA.
3. Supplied through DAO	1. FC training 3-7 Sept. 79. 2. May 1980 (planned)		1. Drift fence - 2 sub sections 2. 2 BH syndicates 3. Nxangu ranch group/well		1. EA was without an AD for 4 years but FC remains active.
	1. FC training 3-7 Sept. 79 Ngami. RTC. (3 attended) 2. May 1980 planned	Drafted for grain store project	1. Fisheries group of 8 - not functioning. 2. 2 syndicates proposed to equip old BHs. 3. Machana lands fence enclosure project - FC indirect role	One faction in village reported to favour starting a Mkt. Coop.	1. Social problems in village affect support to FC. 2. Project under review by Serowe DDC with queries on by laws regarding membership from community, registration, lack of management plan.
	1. FC training 3-7 Sept. 79 2. May 1980 planned	-	1. Drift fence planned since 78/79. 2. Smallstock 1978 now inactive. 3. Molapo bunding	1. 2 wells, 2 BH syndicates proposed projects 1979	1. CDC decided for showground at Lethakane - sub District centre for Boteti.
	FC training 3-7 Sept. 79 2. May 1980 planned	-			1. Tick control-communal activity run by FC for any farmer. 2. Cattle contribution towards Kgantshang bridge project.
	Did not attend 1979 FC training 2. May 1980 planned				1. Next AD (after 77) did not follow up FC. 2. People now claim too scattered and unable to attend meetings.

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
1.4. TUTUME Marapong Sebina W)	3 June 1979	12	1. Smallstock dosing 2. Borehole equipment project at lands area	1980 Early 1979	Dosing Being negotiated	P356(8/80) towards P2000 for HH	
Semotwe	7 April 1979	10	None			? amount	
Selolwane	1976	8	None		Inactive	Lacks funds P61 in 1976	
Matobo	1974 1978	15(78) 18(79)	1. Bought dehorning iron, oil 2. Were to fence Matobo dam 3. Were interested in hammer mill	? 1978 1978	? No action Proposal	P1.00 subscription not being collected	Were to build a shelter as 10% contribution to hammer mill
Mathangwane "Boiteko"	1976	About 30	1. Field day - 28 April 1979 2. Vegetable garden	4/79 11/79	- Planned	P1.00 annual subscription	
Nata	pre-1978 1979 *2		None		Still trying to organise information meetings		
Gweta	26/3/79	36	None		Current effort going on at planning, improving FC role	No funds	
Nkange + Senete Changate (SEE NOTE)	1978	13	1. FC members attend MRTC/ Impala farmer training courses and hold kgotlas on return			Little funds raised	
Maitengwe	1965 1976	About 35	1. Drift fence 2. Vegetable garden	Mid 79	Ongoing Allocated and cleared *3	P293 (11/79) (by wards)	1. Will clear line. 2. Garden fenced.

GOVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC-PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
APO/GDO/DOL negotiating W. Affairs	1. 12-13 June 79 Impala SCC. 2. Oct. 80 planned	P5.00 joining fee to BH project			1. Covers N part of extension area; helps AD in planning. 2. BH project - old roads BH for lands water supply. 3. Constitution entitles subscribed members only to elect committee.
	1. 12-13 June 79 2. Oct. 80 planned				1. Covers southern part of extension area/the village. 2. Reported fund raising parties 1979
	14-15 June 79 (Impala) Oct. 80 planned (MRTC)		1. Mogau fencing group at Chibangablya- going on 2. Old bush drift fence	Water, ticks-problems. Priorities - dam building; veg. garden	1. Problem - meetings not attended. 2. Efforts to revive this FC in 1978 so far unsuccessful; FC plans to revive itself 1980/81.
Were to apply AE10 for hammer mill	14-15 June 1979 Impala	P1.00 annual subscription - not collected.	1. 8 old (1971) dams (including at Goshwe) need groups for fencing	Interested in getting help towards (1) dip (2) dam scooping - cattle water a priority	1. Extension Area currently vacant - seems to be no progress; GDO attributes this partly at least to failure of LUD to provide "promised" fencing materials, combined with transfer of AD.
Plan AE10 application	12-13 June 79 Impala Oct. 80 MRTC planned	Yes (9/79) Membership restricted to subscribed persons.	1. Encouragement to form small-stock group to renovate old smallstock dip	1. Agric implements 2. Dip tank	1. Reported at FC training course - problem of attendances of FC meetings.
	-	-			1. Reported not to be functioning much despite reorganisation effort 1979; further effort at reorganisation planned. 2. FC not really formed yet.
	12-13 June 1979 Impala Oct. 80 planned	GDO provided sample constitution Oct. 79 and more info. 6/80	1. Gweta Coop - planning holding ground; FC Members within the Coop trying to strengthen it.	Problems raised - livestock market, distance to LAC; Interest in veg. garden.	1. Reported lack of interest/ attendance at FC. 2. Gweta Mkt. Coop has strong Cttee., which may affect functioning of FC; FC acts more or less as a sub committee of the Co-op.
	14-15 June 79 Impala Oct. 80 MRTC planned	-	1. Drift fence - separate cttee (NB-old bush fence). 2. Senete sub group of Mogau fence (Tjitangabiya)	Main concern - water (dams) and tick control.	1. Poor attendance at meetings noted at FC training course; 1978 efforts to get central Mkange FC to cover Mkange, Senete and Changate failed, so AD had to form 3 FCs separately (no data on these). 2. Mkange VDC strong, performs FC role re drift fence and dam groups etc.
AE10 for fence	14-15 June 79 Impala Oct. 80 planned	Yes	1. Selection of sites for dam groups (1979)	Main concern - dams for water at lands. ? interest in Co-op.	1. Collection towards drift fence organised by wards; VDC involved in organisation. 2. Problem of lack of attendance at meetings. 3. Veg. garden progress pending priority to drift fence.

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Mosetse	1978 (discussion on formation)	10	None		No progress		
Goshwe	1974	13	-		Non existent		
1.5. TATI							
Tati siding	April 1979	8	1. Farmers day	May 1980	"Struggling" (GDO 8/80)	Lack funds	
Tonota West	No elections held yet		1. None as yet	-	No progress		
Nswazwi	1978	21	1. Interested in hammer mill	1979/80	Proposal		
Makaleng	(1978)* 1980	Previously 2 inactive FCs existed (GDO 1978 baseline)	1. Organisation of Farmers Day	Early 1980	Planned 5/80		
Kalakamati	1979		-	-	Early formation stage		
Masunga							
Moroka	Early 1978	10			Non active		
Mapoka	1973 Sept. 1979	50	None as yet		Recently re-elected		

GOVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	Did not attend 6/79	-			1. Formation in 1978 got as far as discussions with VDC, headman; no further progress. 2. AD transferred.
	-		1. Old dams need groups for fencing 2. VDC hammermill proposed	1. Interest in fencing dams and in hammermill	1. AD transferred as attempt made to revive FC 1980.
	21-22 June 1979 at Tati siding Oct. 80 planned			Interests(at training): Dip tank, dams, tractor hire, poultry through NDB; veg. garden, seed supply, grain storage store	1. Raised problems (at training) of poor meeting attendance and lack of financial support.
	2-3 August 1979 at Impala (4 farmers only) - introductory course)		1. Dip project a seperate group. 2. BH development group of 60 (1978) 3. VDC hammermill	1. Toneta Coop plan holding ground	1. FC included people from one cattlepost area (Seawa); all involved in dip group. 2. FC activity appears to have been discouraged by non-registration of dip project. 3. Organisational problems prevented more farmers attending training course. 4. AD transferred.
	Planned - for how to organise project				
			1. Ntimbale AMA communal cell. 2. Totong water devt. at village and grazing. 3. Matenge small-stock and cattle husbandry group.	1. Sechele) 2. Gulubane) potential smallstock groups	1. AD long term strategy to form groups in sub villages and then bring them together to a Main Exec. Cttee; currently sub villages suspicious of Makaleng initiatives due to fears of village regrouping. 2. Current 1980 Cttee hopes to combine Makaleng, Totong, Gulubane, Masingwane, Matenge, Mmambo, Botalaote, Sechele - for purpose of organising first ever Farmers Day held there.
			1. 3 dam group being organised 1978	Wanted Gvt. to buy FC a tractor (8/79)	1. In early formation stage - not clear on role. 2. AD retirement halted progress.
			1. Interest in dam groups 2. Mata ranch syndicate (8)	Buying seeds and spares for resale to farmers	
			1. Coop. hammermill		
	May 1980 Impala SCC		1. Coop. hammermill planned		1. EA vacant until March 1980 from 9/79 when FC re-elected.

Best Available Document

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Mosojane	1978				Not functioning		
Matsiloje	1976	28			Not functioning		
Tlhalogang	1978	13			Not functioning		
1.6. BOBONONG							
Mmadinare N.	1976/77 Oct. 78	8 active; includes all ward headmen	Manatnane lands area enclosure fence (46 km) (4 sub groups)	1978 idea	Line cleared with provisional SLB approval 9/79	Started fund raising P20/fee April 1980	
Sefhophe	Nov. 78	Only 3 members at home (rest away working)	1. Major initial activity was establishing Mkt. Coop.	1978			
Bobonong N.	1978	Includes Sen. Sub. Tribal Authority	None				
Bobonong S.	Jan. 1979	22*					
THUNI - Bobonong S.	1976	10	1. Fence enclosure Thuni lands 2. Firebreaks along fence 3. Field Day	7/77 1980 May 1978	1. Completed Oct. 1979. 2. Planned 3. Organised	P416	1.+ 17 rolls wir labour 2. Local support
Molalatau	1976 June 1979		None				
Mathathane	1978	10					
Tobane	1979		None				
Serule			1. Initiated Palamnokuwe lands fence (6 km)	1979	Mapped; IB approval		

GOVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
			1. Old LUD dam needs group for fencing	1. Smallstock group potential (since 78/79)	1. Was trying to organise itself 1978
			1. Dip tank group (1979) proposed		
				1. Potential dip group	1. GDO baseline 1978 reported 2 FCs in area "of questionable existence".
-	1. Popular theatre 1979. 2. MRTC Sept. 79 FC workshop	For fencing project	1. 6 dam groups formed 1977/78. 2. Active encouragement to Madiba dip tank project (1978). 3. Mmadinare Mkt. Coop. Dairy and ranch	1. HH project alternative/water development in Manatsane lands being discussed by 2-3 dam groups. 2. Bridge across Motloutse river.	1. FC previously covered whole Mmadinare EA but was inactive.
	1. Popular theatre May 1979. 2. Did not attend Sept. 79 MRTC FC course		1. Tractor Assoc. 2. Drift fence project - indirect sanction 3. APRU cell planning (1979-80) 4. Mmadinare Mkt. Coop Dairy & ranch. 5. 2 dam groups 1978	1. Dip tank group proposed in c/p area	1. May 1979 Popular Theatre campaign increased community awareness of FC inactivity; intention was to re-elect Committee but farmers scattered at lands so failed to hold Kgotla for election. 2. FC little role in APRU cell discussions.
	1. Popular Theatre May 1979. 2. Sept. 79 MRTC FC Workshop		1. 2 dam groups 1978. 2. Livestock group (1980) raising funds	1. Smallstock group starting 1980	1. Members scattered at lands since 12/79 to 5/80. No meetings held.
	1. Popular theatre May 1979			1. Crop marketing/ seed supply with BAMB at S. Pikwe	1. Includes members from Bobonong N.
P810 AE10 GDO/APO/DAO visits May, June 78.			Mainwe sub group contributed towards Thuni fence	1. Cattle crush planned 1980	
	Popular Theatre May 1979				1. Last meeting Nov. 79 - people at the lands.
Several meetings with GDO	Funeral prevented any attendance at Sept. 79 MRTC training			1. Distance to BAMB and transport problems for marketing etc.	1. Inactive - only 3 members with real interest; difficult social problems.
	1. Popular theatre 1979. 2. MRTC 9/79 workshop		1. Mmadinare Mkt. Coop, Dairy and ranch.		1. EA vacant.
	Popular theatre 1979		1. Project has Mgt. Cttee now for fence. 2. Smallstock (78) inactive		1. EA vacant after AD's death 1979.

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Kobojango	May 1979	8	None				
Tsetsejwe	Early 79s July 79	12	1. Groundnut production - seed supply, equipment, marketing (negotiation with Tuli Block farmers initially, then bought trucks and organised transport by farmers	Early 70s	Production collapsed 78/79 - see note		1. Trucks, shellers etc. all bought by farmers
			2. Organisation of LB days, Field days, demonstrations	Early-mid 70s	Ongoing		
			3. Range and Livestock Mgt. Project; meetings, tours etc.	1975-76	Abandoned 1976	-	Much time spent by FC.
			4. Establishment of Mkt. Coop.	1976	Established		
			5. Bulk marketing of groundnuts to Serowe Food Processing (SFP)	1978	Planning/ negotiation only	-	-
			6. Discussion of cash crop production problems	Oct. 79	-	-	-
1.7. PALAPYE Palapye EA 1977 1. Dikaboyana	1978/79	Original EA Cttee. splitting into 3 sub-EA FCs, an Extension Area too wide for one FC based in Palapye	1. Dikaboyana fence enclosure (20 km)	78/79	Completed March 80	P1080	All fence materials and labour
2. Setlatse- Masuakoloi	1979/80		1. Setlatse East fence 2. Setlatse West	Late 1979 1978	Early stages Underway	- P367 April 1980	
3. Dikaboya-Lechana	1980		None as yet	Just formed			
Tamasane			1. Some involvement with "related projects"		Inactive		
Kgagodi			None				

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
				1. Dip tank group proposed Semolale c/p area.	1. Elected in kgotla with attendance of 56 men, 62 women.
Tuli block farmers and AD played crucial support role	Farmers learned technology from Tuli block				1. FC originally of PFS members; groundnut producers increased to a peak of 50 in 1977 but dropped to 3 in 1979 due to border closure for marketing, drought, internal village social problems and transfer of AD.
Dynamic AD support for long period					2. Present FC formed from same core group of old PFS farmers.
Heavy input from RLMP team, RAO, DAC, AD, and Central District authorities over one year period.		Communal Co-op proposed			1. RLMP abandoned 1976 due to multiple factors primarily reflecting inadequate consultation/ planning with local community.
			Marketing Co-op.		
GDO and Manager of SFP				1978 discussions revealed interest in bookkeeping and farm management training; concern over loss of RSA market, distance to BAMB; diesel supply, lack of tractor spares and maintenance.	1. Groundnuts bought and collected by Swerowe Foods 1977/78 season.
GDO/RIO Organised crop survey follow-up	Field course on crop production cancelled due to 1979 drought				1. Oct. 78 discussions resolved that FC should bring certain matters to national policy level.
	1. Popular theatre campaign May 79 2. Sept.79 MRTC FC workshop		1. 6 dam groups registered 1978/79		1. Popular theatre revealed severe leadership problems and consequent rifts in community directly affecting the FC.
To apply AE10 gates; SLOCA demo. firebreak planned	17-21 Sept. 79 MRTC FC training (3 reps.)			1. Borehole devt. project planned for 1980	1. Initially headman was project leader; then Palapye sub-area FC organised to undertake project.
	17-21 Sept. 79 MRTC FC training		1. Fence projects implemented by sub-committees of the sub-area FC. 2. Masuakoloi dam group		1. Masuakoloi dam group formed 1980; raising funds.
	Sept. 79 MRTC				
	1. One rep. to Sept. 79 MRTC FC training		1. Formation of smallstock group (79/80). 2. Tamasane-Malaka fence (1979).		Problems - inactive.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps)		1. Drift fence 2. Diloro dip group 3. Women's poultry group 4. Tlhagasorong ranch group	1. Diloro spray group planning spray race (80)	1. Secretary Kgagodi FC also Sec. of Diloro spraying group.

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Ramokgonami							
Lerala	1976 1977 1979	10 Office bearers include (1) drift fence leader (2) dam groups leader	1. Area wide drift fence coords. (a) 13 rolls wire per sub group. (b) Established by-laws (c) Assists fencing sub-ctees with record keeping (d) Consulted Majwaneng village about fence extension (e) Firebreak along drift fence 2. Crop collection and marketing to BAMB (208 bags) - organisation/ coordination. 3. Assistance to 4H club - fencing 4H garden - building storeroom/ workshop.	1978 1978 1978 3/80 1978-1980 9/78 1980	47 km almost complete ongoing Line destumped Implemented 9/78 Under construction	Over P1000 raised by sub groups 1(c) to collect funds towards costs P1679 value of crops sold	1. Poles, wire bought, labour 3. Collecting sand, gravel; cutting poles
Soleka	1976	8	1. Traditional mud-brick storeroom. 2. Fenced water point	77/78 ?	Built/ in use		Local materials and labour
Maunatlala (and Lesenpole)	Aug. 75	9	1. Annual field days 2. Showground for Tswapong Show	1979	Built		
Ratholo	Sept. 77	10	None				
Lochong	Feb.76	8	1. Organising annual field days 2. Organised farmers for demo. of motorised spray pump. 3. Drift fence (20 km)	1976 1978 ?	? ?		
Makoro	1967	10					
Gootau	1975	12	1. Kraal manure/row planting demo. 2. Smallstock dosing demo.	? ?			
Majwaneng	Feb. 78	10	1. Drift fence	1979			

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC FC Training (2 reps)		1. 2 dam groups; built 1978	Buying seed and vet requisities in bulk-proposed 1978	
P2,640 AE10 for all groups 1(e) will need machinery from SLOCA/ARB. RAO provided RX 5 ton transport	1. 1977 - fencing courses (field, by MRTC) 2. GDO trained FC in record keeping system for BAMB marketing 3. FC training MRTC 9/79 (2 participants)	By-laws drafted 1978 cover all fencing sub groups	1. Drift fencing by six sub-area groups 2. 4 dam groups (possible 2 more but not built 1978) 3. Makgabo separate group from fence-planning motorised spray pump project (1979); raising funds. 4. Nakatnakgokong spray race group (1980)-planning/ raising funds	1. Maintenance of drift fence fire break. 2. Concrete slab/ lock-up for crop collection and marketing (was planned 1978 but FC since preoccupied with fence). 3. Meanwhile 4B workshop to be used for crop storage. 4. Orchards at dams (planned 1980). 5. Bull camp	1. Drift fence originated with a separate fence enclosure project by Makgabo sub-group which FC discouraged in favour of area wide project. 2. For mobile crop buying BAMB transport did not materialise - hence use of RX. FC kept records of and accompanied crops marketed to BAMB Palapye and re-distributed monies to farmers back at Lerala. 3. 1977 re-election brought in new more active members; re-elected 1979. Original 1975/76 FC was a failure. 4. FC played significant role in overcoming village leadership problems in 1977/78 which delayed fence project.
	17-21 Sept. 79 MRTC FC training (2 reps)		1. 4 dam groups - dams built; one with severe social problems.	1. Cement grain store (lock up) 2. Dip tank	1. First storeroom used to store AD implements though was intended as grain store/collecting centre; 84 members; some reported to favour establishing a Mkt. Coop.
1. Showground site mapped etc. Jan. 79 -GDO/LUO	17-21 Sept. 79 MRTC FC training (3 reps each)	Constitution used as model by-laws in Central FC training Handbook	1. 7 sub area drift fencing groups. 2. Mokokwane VDC garden. 3. 6 smallstock groups (78) now inactive	1. 2 Smallstock groups plan revival 1980 2. Kgophathate dip tank group planning since 1978	1. Women most active in FC; otherwise have problems with attendance at meetings and village support. 2. Lesenepole a sub EA FC undertaking fence project.
	1. Popular Theatre*(1) 2. Sept. 79 MRTC FC training		1. 2 dam groups		1. Poor participation reported; Popular Theatre convinced village to replace 4 former headmen with one headman for village.
1. 1978 - APO demo. of motorised spray pump	1. 17-21 Sept. 79 MRTC training (3 reps)		1. 3 dam groups		
	1. FC training 9/79, MRTC (3 reps)		1. Dip tank group (1978) 2. 3 dams built/ groups	1. Bulk marketing to BAMB planned	1. Poor meeting attendance and lack of cooperation reported.
	FC training 9/79, MRTC (1 rep.)			1. Implement/ storage shed planned 1978.	
	FC training 9/79 Popular Theatre*				1. Extension west of Lerala drift fence; progress held up until Popular Theatre convinced village to elect one headman

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Mogapi	1979	9	1. Firebreak construction organised in two groups for first 5 km and 10 km sections	Sept. 1977	15 km cleared by Nov 77; over 15 km remaining	P29 raised from fines from people failing to work (2)	Destumping and initial clearing
			2. 34 km enclosure fence	1978	Two thirds cleared; one third fenced (4/80) planned completion Oct.80	P 839 raised	43 rolls wire bought
			3. Smallstock dosing (18 members)	June 1977	Dosed twice but smallstock died end 77	4 farmers paid P3.00 registration fee and raised P50 and P61 again towards remedy cost	
Topisi	7/79						
1.8. SEROWE							
Serowe East		2 reps. from each dam group	1. Field Day 2. Negotiating to acquire three old GS boreholes on behalf of 3 dam subgroups (2 reps. went to Lobatse to GS offices.) 3. Coordinating tick control projects by 3 dam groups	1976 1980 1980	Written to Ngwato Land Board Fund raising	Not yet started P490 (4/80) held by FC	
Serowe West	April 1980	Reps. of dam groups					
Paje	July 1979		None as yet				

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
ARE tractor cleared line in 1978	1. CDCC Kgotla Oct. 76 2. Fire Ranger 1977/78	For firebreak project work 50t per day fine for not participating		1. Kgophathate group planning dip tank since 1978	1. Firebreak idea originated from CDCC after 1976 RLG campaign (two radio learning groups out at c/post area). 2. Constitution enforced in Kgotla; 50t fine per day for not working; however these funds alleged to have been misappropriated by former headman; never reached FC for use on future firebreak maintenance. 3. Serious village leadership/ social dynamics problems hindered and delayed fence project for a year. 4. Surplus funds from initial smallstock dosing effort went to FC funds together with remaining remedies. 5. FC chairman elected acting headman 1979 after former headman gaoled.
	3. Two day fencing field course 1978				
			Smallstock activities revived Dec. 79 by SSU under separate project group		
	4. One week FC training MRTC 9/79 (3 reps.)				
	FC training one week, MRTC 9/79 (3 reps).		Trying to assist farmers with livestock watering (severely restricted due to FMD in c/post areas around Topisi) 2. Smallstock group		1. No AD since April 1980. The Smallstock Unit research assistant posted to Topisi has tried to fill in. GDO invited 7/80 to address FC and smallstock group leaders on AE10 and CAMA "group discount cards".
	1. 16th-20th May 1977 4 day FC course at MRTC 2. 3-6 Oct. 78 MRTC FC training 3. 10-14 Sept.79 MRTC FC training (4 reps) 4. June 80 MRTC		1. Oversees 10 dam groups in EA. (since 1977) 2. Three dip tank/ spray race projects to be implemented by Kgaswe, Janyane and Mmantshadidi sub groups. 3. Smallstock groups; FC (Kgaswe sub cttee) encouraging revival.	3. Borehole Assocs. imminent; same sub groups as the 3 dams and 3 proposed dam groups	1. 5 dam groups formed in area since original 5 built 1977/78. 2. The boreholes at Janyane, Mmantshadidi and Mpudule will be managed by dam group sub cttees of FC at Janyane, Mmantshadidi and Kgaswe. Potential AMA groups. 3. The FC meets either in Serowe or out at Kgaswe lands area.
	1. 3-6 Oct. 78 2. 10-14 Sept. 79 (10 reps.) 3. June 1980 MRTC		1. Smallstock (1978) inactive 2. 5 group dams (built) 3. Botepetepe/Sajwe fences 4. Botepetepe and Mmamorontshe dip tank/spray race groups	1. 12 (?) new dam groups in EA 79/80. 2. Smallstock group 1980	1. FC to form from representatives of all dam and other sub groups (fence, tick control) in the EA due to problems of tribal differences which have prevented people coming together so far.
	1. 3-6Oct. 78 MRTC 2. Sept. 79 (3 reps)		1. Mabeleapudi ranch run by SBDT. 2. 6 dam groups 1980. 3. 3 BH syndicates rep. 78. 4. Crush/high pressure pump group (1978) ongoing		1. Reported to be meeting regularly.

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Tshimoy-apula	June 1979		1. Drift fence 2. Firebreak	1980 1980	Planning stages		
Mabeleapudi	1980	Election planned 5/80					
Letlhakane	1977		1. Lands fencing enclosure west of village	1978	Applied SLB 3/79		
Mmatshumo	1978	Needs re-election	-		Inactive	-	People cut 3-4 km fence line (1979)
Mosu	1978		1. Field Day 2. Plot for 4B garden	1976 1977			
(Mmashoro)	-	To be elected	-	-	-		
Bikwe		3	1. AD house construction	?	Never built	P1.00 fee per man	Buckets of corn donated by women to brew beer
			2. Dam groups	?	"		
			3. Crop collection/ Marketing BAMB	1978	21 bags sold	Value P105.70	
Moiyabana	1977 Feb. 1979		1. Bought vet drugs, syringe. 2. Applied for communal plot 3. Vaccinated members' cattle 4. Organised tour to KMC 5. Applied 4B garden site 6. Acts as 4B advisory cttee. 7. Farmer training (selection of courses, participants)	1977 " " " " " "	Ongoing "		
Mogorosi			1. Bulk purchase of seed and vet requisites	1978	Was planned ? status		

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	1. Sept.79 MRTC (2 reps.)				Fence and firebreak first over group projects in what has always been a socially backward area.
	-		1. Mabeleapudi; ranch run by SRDT		
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps) 2. June 1980 MRTC planned		1. 1 Smallstock group 1978 now inactive		1. FC wrote to de Beers Company to consult them about their area. 2. Also sub area FC at Kwabidzane
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC attended by treasurer		1. Drift fencing of lands east of village (1979) 2. Smallstock (1976) never active		1. Drift fence idea introduced by D.O. Orapa and Councillor publicising AE10. 2. FC has not taken initiative on fence project; no project committee formed either (4/80).
	1. May 1977 MRTC FC course		1. Organised smallstock groups (1976). 2. 2 BH syndicates 78-?		1. Vacant EA since end 1978.
	1. June 1980 MRTC planned course		1. Communal lands fencing project (1978)	1. Dip tank proposed awaiting fence implementation	1. No FC; MRTC training attended by 2 farmers.
3. RAO provided 5 ton transport	2. 3-6 Oct. 78 3. GDO trained FC in record keeping for BAMB marketing			? same projects if FC reorganised	1. FC/Chariman/treasurer to have misappropriated collected funds. 2. Dam group forms taken by Chairman but never forwarded.
	1. MRTC May 1977 FC training 2. MRTC Sept. 79 (2 reps.) plus 2 reps. from Mabuo FC.		1. Recruitment of farmers to support Marketing Coop. 2. Dam groups (?no.) formed 1980. 3. 4 smallstock groups (1978) now inactive. 4. Crush group (1979) propose dip tank		1. Mabuo FC - a sub area FC.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps.) 2. May 1980 MRTC planned.		1. FC encouraging dip tank group	1. Dip tank(?) activity being encouraged by FC since 1979.	

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FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Thabala	1969 1970 1971 1972 1976 1979	Originally 7 PFS members	1. Ox ploughing demonstration 2. Farmers Day 3. Bonemeal/salt feeding demo. 4. Tour to Mookane 5. Trip to Gaborone/BMC	1971 " " " "	All implemented	Small contribs.	Participation by PFS members only
			6. Co-op branch; 2 roomed building purchased by Serowe Marketing Co-op Soc. (negotiated by FC and headman)	1971 (idea) 1974/1975 action started	Building bought & opened 1979	P1876 total raised of which P600 sent to Serowe Coop.	Funds raised 1974/75 by crop sales, parties and pledged cattle.
			7. Dam groups at Masoko, Motshegaletau and Lesio	1972	Built by LUD 1978	P120 raised by FC 1972 towards contract building	
			8. Two farmers days Trip to Mochudi, BMC and Barolong farms	1976/1977			
			9. Portable tick control motorised spray pump	1977	Purchased 1977 and in operation	P675.00 used of total P1728.42 raised by that time	
			10. Smallstock dosing - automatic dosing gun	1977	Purchased 1977 by FC		
			11. Supervision of drift fence projects; "Fencing Advisor" member on FC	1979	Under construction	By sub groups	By sub groups
			12. Woodlot/conservation project at Motshegaletau	1978	Fenced, cleared & planted 1979/80. High proportion of trees died (2/80)		Clearing, fencing, planting and watering
			13. Firebreaks a. burnt road to sandveld b. widened 12 km cutline	1977 1978	Implemented "		Over 40 farmers participated
			14. Bull camp, weaner camp and fattening ranch	1979	Proposed		
			15. a. Integrated Farming Pilot Project (IFPP) - negotiations and Rur. Soc. Survey. b. Range and Livestock Management Project	1973/1974 1975	Abandoned early 75 Abandoned Mid 76.	- -	A lot of time spent in meetings/tours/negotiations

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
DAO office transport etc.	AD/DAO	-	-		1. First FC formed out of 10 PFS members. First and second FCs failed due to inexperience and social problems AD not aware of. 2. 1971 elected ctee much stronger. After demonstrations, PFS membership rose to 40 and then 50 after tour to south.
	Local Thabala man, formerly worked at Serowe Co-op, trained as manager	Branch of registered Co-op Soc.		1. Mobile crop buying; FC interested 1978 but discouraged by low BAMB prices	1. Supplies all Thabala farmers inputs. 2. Two Thabala FC representatives elected on Serowe Mkt. Coop Society Cttee. in Serowe. 3. FC and headman negotiated purchase of building with former owner.
Built by LUD 1978	-		1. Groups now separate. Two further dam groups forming 1980. 2. 7 BH syndicates reported 1978		1. FC discouraged from further contribution in 1973 by then RAO in anticipation of MoA's LUD dam building programme. 2. FC had dam sub cttee; dissolved 1973.
Demonstration by APO			1. Now 7 sub groups use machine; two of which planning spray races 1980.		See under tick control.
Demos. by APO (SS)			3 smallstock dosing sub groups inactive since 1978		See under smallstock. FC currently encouraging groups to be revived.
			1. Masoko fence enclosures (3) 2. Losie enclosure		1. See under fencing schemes.
Follow-up by AO(LR) Serowe	1. One-day demo/ training by Serowe Forestry Brigade 10/79 2. Motshegaletau sub area FC sent one rep. to MRTC 1979 FC workshop.	-		Extension of woodlot annually	1. Woodlot management/implementation fell heavily on central Thabala FC due to social problems in Motshegaletau sub cttee. 2. Drought aggravated situation as residents at Motshegaletau scattered leaving no labour force there. 3. See under Conservation projects for full details.
? ARB tractor	Fire ranger	-	-	Total plan was for 60 km of road widening firebreaks	1. Drought scattered farmers 78/79 so no further progress on area-wide plan.
Matching grant basis planned with possible loan for fattening camp.				Bull camp, weaner camp, fattening ranch.	1. Further action being postponed by FC until drift fences and woodlot project completed/ underway.
- -	GENERAL FC TRAINING 1. 12-14 April 1976, MRTC 2. 16-20 May 1977, MRTC 3. 3-6 Oct. 1978, MRTC 4. Sept. 1979, MRTC (3 reps) 5. May 1980 MRTC				1. FC and headman played important role in the year long episode of discussions and field tips with RIMP, after a similar experience the previous year with IFPP. 2. The "gradualist approach" to communal area development emerged as a reaction to these experiences.

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Segakwana	1967 July 1979		1. Raised contributions to pay Govt. diesel for Ipelegeng dam (Matono)	1967	Built	1. R55 raised (R5 fees)	
			2. Fenced Matono dam	1967	Fenced		
			3. Hired BH drilling contractor to deepen an old survey BH	1968	(see note 2)	3. R100 spent	
			4. Bought pipes to equip BH	1968	Bought	4. R94 spent	
			5. Collected thatching grass to raise FC funds	1968	(see note 3)		5. 700 bundles collected
			6. Fenced Bramajaalela dam and hired gatekeeper	1968	Fenced & hired	6. R10 for one month gatekeeper wage	6. Cut poles & built fence
			7. Ploughed communal field & planted beans; sold 5 bags.	1969	Harvested & sold	7. R30 raised	7. See Note 5
			8.) Ploughed again on new	1969	No harvest		
			9.) field but got no harvest	1970			
			10. Repaired Bramajaalela dam twice & hired gatekeeper	1974-1975	Done	10. P20 per month for two months wages	
			11. Organized registration of dam groups	1974-1975	Built 1976/1977		
			12. Drift fence	1977-1978	Ongoing	12. P1000 April 1980	
Taetlhong	1977/78		1. Crop collection and marketing to BAMB	9/78	66 bags sold	Value P413	
Masoko (Thatala)	Early 70s	Sub FC of Thabala	1. Group dehorning of cattle in one kraal	Early 70s	-		
			2. Masoko dam group	1972	Built 78		
			3. Masoko lands fence enclosures (3)	1977	Underway	P165+	24 rolls wire bought
			4. Sub group for motorised spray				
1.9. MAHALAPYE							
Kodibeleng	1979		None		Newly formed		
Mmutlane			1. Bulk ordering of seeds from BAMB (100 pockets)	July 1979	Nov. 79 completed		
Mokobong	Aug. 77 Aug. 79	8	1. Veld fire control	9/77	Oct. 77		
			2. Seed bulk order and distribution (155 pockets)	1979	Implemented		
Monhapha			1. Drift fence 11 km			P383 raised (May 80)	
Taupye	April 77 July 79	15	1. Dehorning & castration group	1977			
			2. Organised tractor hire from Mahalapye owners	1977?	Implemented		

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
2. Materials provided by Govt. 6. Govt. built dam 1968	Sept. 10-14, 1979; MRTC FC training (3 reps.)	Project (11) all dam groups have by-laws covering penalties for fence cutting etc.	1. See FC project (11); six dam groups registered each with 15-20 members and under 400 livestock (see note 6). 2. Presently FC trying to get Mmaloswane ward people to form group for Rramajaalela dam 3. Segukwana syndicate III (3/79 now has P2262 + 3 beasts - April 1980) - separate cttee.	1. FC planning CLINIC DIP TANK FRUIT/VEG GARDEN once borehole developed. 2. Bridge over Digwana river-hope to apply to Council (see note 8).	1. Same FC Chairman since 1967. Some FC members have changed over the years. 2. Deepening III failed - hit rock; only 5 drums water yielded when equipped with hand pump. 3. Thatching grass supposed to be sold by a then Councillor - money never materialised. 4. 1968 - a sizeable sum of money raised was deposited via Councillor to Council for future dam repairs. Now FC reports money cannot be traced. 5. FC organised farmers to bring 18 spans of oxen - finished field in a few hours. 6. 1974-76 FC tried to ensure all residents of the area became members of a dam group. FC is overseer of dam groups though they are not represented on the FC. 7. Drift fence contributions being raised by wards. 8. FC not clear on distinction between FC and VDC - whether necessary to form VDC at lands for Council projects.
RAO provided 5 ton transport	1. 3-6 Oct. 78 MRTC FC course 2. GDO trained FC in record keeping for BAMB mkting. project. 1978				1. For full details see under Crop storage and marketing projects.
Dam built SBDT Unit P2108 from AE 10	Attends FC training with Thabala. (one rep. attended Sept. 1979 FC workshop)	By-laws for fence scheme	1. Mmamapote dam group (1980) 2. Group of 5 organised tractor hire 1977/78	1. Spray race planned 1980	1. Sub FC formed because of distance from Masoko lands to Thabala. Had always been an active sub group from PFS days.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps)		1. Motorised spray group (79) early stages		
DAO transport	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps)		1. One old Govt. dam	Cattle crush project reported possible (1978)	
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (4 members)	-	1. 4 dam groups - all built 1977	1. Input store planned 2. Smallstock group (1980)	1. Firebreak site selected mid 79; ? progress.
	1. May 1977 at MRTC 2. Sept. 79 MRTC (one rep.)	-		1. Smallstock potential since 79. Failed so far	1. EA now vacant
1. GDO visit 4/79 on AE10 and fence organisation	1. May 1977 at MRTC. 2. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps.)		1. Lands fencing by 2 sub groups (1979) under FC. 2. Formation of 2 dam groups (1978)		1. July 79 elections; 6 representatives from 2 lands areas and 9 reps. from 3 c/post areas. 2. dam groups and fence sub groups appear the same/closely related.

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Maaphas-halala	1972 1976 July 1979	10 (one member represented on VDC)	1. Use of AD implements - farmer training 2. Building of ADs quarters 3. Seed distribution 4. Completion of existing lands fence enclosure 5. Lands fence extension 6. Tick control project 7. Firebreak; consultation with Mookane FC 8. Water reticulation towards lands	1972 1976 77/78 1978 1980 1980 Aug. 1978 1980	Annual Built 77 Implemented Nearly complete Applied SLP 1979 Held up* Awaiting Mookane response Applied to Council	3. P243 + 1 boat contributed	
Mahalapye (Malope)	W.May 1977	Represents Tshikin-yega Ward	1. Livestock watering dam 15 km W. of Mahalapye	1978	Planned; awaiting LUD		
Shoshong	1972 6/79	5	None				
Mosolot-shane	1977 7/79		1. Bulk buying of seed and resale to farmers	1979			
Kalamare	1977 8/79	12					
Palla Road (Dinokwe)	8/1977 6/1979	10	1. Woodlot demonstration (1 ha.) 2. Advocating group lands area application to Land Board by 65 farmers	1980 1978	Proposal		
Setsile/ Kidumatse	1971 1976 July 79	24	1. Seed distribution to community. 2. Fencing of lands	1979 1979	- Ongoing	No funds (FMD)	Old fence 3/4 wire 1/4 bush

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/FC - PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
3. AE10 2/80 P395	1. 2 day fencing field course 1978 (MRTC) 2. Firebreak training 1978 field course at Mookane.	June 1978 for fencing and FC meetings	1. Garden group (10/79)	1. Water reticulation planned from Council BH to west part of village closer to lands area	1. FC originally a "Farmers Association" of PFS members until 1976 when FC elected in kgotla for first time. 2. 1979 all members new except for former Chairman and Secretary re-elected. 3. Tick control - only 10 joined so far (5/80) due to FMD halt on cattle sales and present committments on fence. 4. Firebreak training 1978 at request of the two FCs; plan to widen road from Tuli Block backline to Mookane; Mmaphashalala still busy completing fence.
GDO - discussed MoA dam policy	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps.)				1. Covers only part of Mahalapye West Extension Area.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps)		1. VDC woodlot/ donga reclamation (1979) 2. VDC veg.garden (1980) 3. 12 dam groups (79/80) 4. 3-4 old dams, one with group for repair work. 5. 6 BH syndicates (78) 6. Kanye lands fence syndicates 5 members (79)	1. Crush group (planned)	1. Combined for Shoshong E and W. EAs. 2. 1 dam group recently formed for repairs to old dam. 3. BH syndicates all reported to be having orgn. problems.
	Nov. 80 planned		1. 2 dam groups. 2. 3 BH syndicates (78) 3. Smallstock (78) inactive. 4. Motorised spray (79) planned.		
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps.)		1. 2 dam groups	1. Spray pump group potential 1980	1. Original election meeting in May 1979 failed due to poor attendance.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (4 reps)		1. Communal fencing of group lands area (if allocated). (2. Morale ranch group). 3. Smallstock (78) inactive.	1. Possible communal fencing of groups lands area if allocated. 2. Woodlot demonstration. 3. Spray race (1980) group	1. Was inactive until re-elections in 1979. 2. Lands area wanted at Bonwapitse, currently subject of LUPAG Survey.
AE10 explained 4/79	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (1 rep.) 2. Nov. 80 planned		1. Dip tank group (78) underway. 2. Crush group (1979) slow progress	Expansion of fenced area.	1. Fence started late 60s; currently being strengthened and expanded.

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DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY FC	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Makwate	1976 1977 7/1980 (planned)	9 (now 11)	1. Constructing mud-brick inputs storeroom	4/79	? end 79 completed		Moulded bricks Built wall; Door/nails from VDC
Radisele (and Mogome and Twane)	1977		None		Inactive; kgotla proposed		
Chadibe	1978 8/79	11	1. Constructed seed storeroom 2. Ordered/distributed 252 pockets seed	78/79 1979	- -	P60 for storeroom	Door, fence, cement floor & labour
Pilikwe	1977 6/79	9	None				
Sefhare	9/1977 6/79	10	1. 4.2 km drift fence*(1) 2. Storeroom for seeds, inputs vet supplies	8/77 1980	Ongoing Raising funds	P600+raised P32 raised	
Machaneng	1974 6/79	10	1. Built ADs quarters 2. Seed supply to community (60 pockets)	1979 1979	Built	P20.00 raised	Local labour and materials
Mookane	1975 6/79	10	1. Lands fencing enclosure 2. Firebreak	Early 79 1978	Ongoing Planning	P76 April 1980	
Poloka	1975	7	1. Drift fence	1978	?		
1.10. KGATLENG							
Dinogeng	1972 1979	24 plus AD	1. Field Days 2. Field courses (selection of farmer training) 3. Discussion of AD IMP	1979	Annual Annual Regular		

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	1. May 77 - MRTC; FC. 2. Sept. 79 MRTC (4 reps.)		1. Spray race group (1980)early stages.	Building AD house Lands fencing Dam groups	1. Possible future project reported in 1977 FC training
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (1 rep. each- Radisele, Mogome, Tewane)		1. BDA ranch. 2. 2 dam groups (1977) 1 group (1980)	Drift fence Fencing of dam (proposed 1978)	1. Members reported to be disinterested, lack cooperation. AD planning to dissolve FC and re-elect 2 FCs to cover 2 sub areas at Radisele, Mogome and Tewane.
	1. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps.)		1. ? dip tanks to be separate groups 2. Veg. garden project	1. Smallstock group (1980) 2. 2 dip tanks planned 3. drift fence and fencing old dam planned by FC	1. May 1979 election meeting failed - poor attendance; August - 125 in kgotla.
	-		1. BDA ranch 2. 2 dam groups 79 3. 2 BH syndicates (78)?		1. Problems with community support and committee leadership.
	1. May 1979 - MRTC 2. Sept. 79 MRTC (3 reps.)	For fence	1. 5 dam groups at Dikhu, Bobirwa, Makoloboto(3)(1978) 2. Crush group(78) 3. Spray race(1980) - group applied SLB	Storeroom for seeds, inputs, vet supplies planned 1980	1. VDC and sub ward fence groups jointly on FC for fence project. 2. Applying Land Board site for storeroom.
1. AD labour 2. GDO 11/78 meeting with FC	1. May 1977 - MRTC 2. Sept. 79 MRTC (2 reps.)		1. Provides one rep. to Sefhare fence cttee. 2. 1 BH syndicate reported 1978 -? 3. Garden group (1980)	1. Smallstock groups (2) 1980 - formation. 2. Crush/motorised spray group planned 1980.	1. FC very inactive, members fail to attend meetings; AD had to do much of the labour on his house himself. 2. GDO/FC reviewed area and FC problems; used Sefhare as comparison (78).
1. GDO/AOLR meeting 6/79	1. Demo/training in firebreak 78. 2. MRTC 9/79 (3 reps.)				1. Firebreak planned in response to initiative from Mmaphashalala FC.
	-		1. Dam group 1978 1. 1 dip tank group (78) was planned		1. EA now vacant.
			8 dam groups; 1 BH proposed; 7 clinic groups 6+ small fence lands enclosure syndicates		1. FC composed of two members elected from every group in the area - so far dam and/or clinic groups. All groups re-elect representatives annually and new FC announced on Field Day. 2. First started in PFS times by two women founder members who remain the Chairlady and Secretary respectively.

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						FUNDS	OTHER
Sikwane	1975	5	None				
Dikwididi	1975	9	None				
Matlage			None				
Bokaa	?	?	None	-	-		
Rasesa		?	See note				
Olifants Drift		?	See note				
1.11 KWENENG N.							
Medie	1978	12	1. Collecting centre (crops)	1978	Shelved		
Lentsw-eletau (Kgope Farmers Assoc.)	1978	25 Assoc. Members	1. Crop collecting centre	1978	Proposed		
Hatsalat-ladi	1978	8	None				
Suping	1978		None				
Digwagweng F. Assoc.	1978	15	None				
Manoko	1977	10	None		?		

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
			1. Dip tank group (79) 2. VDC garden(1980) 3. Dam group 1976	1. Separate tractor owners group of 8 for bulk fuel	1. Tractor fuel group proposed 10/79. 2. VDC garden being cleared under food for work.
			1. 2 dam groups 76/78 2. Bush drift fence		(Modipane area)
			1. 3 dam groups 2. Smallstock group (1977) Members of 2 dam groups - never active	1. 1 potential HH group from dam group	1. Only meets in Mochudi between August - October, as out at Matlage lands very scattered - 4 sub areas 15km apart.
			1. "Bokaa Farmers Assoc." dip tank -completely separate committee. 2. dam; fenced; group	1. Drift fence to join with Kopong reported by GDO Oct. 78 (Note 2)	1. Disorganised; reshuffling of members appears to have happened without knowledge of A/S for area or kgotla consultation. 2. Bokaa headman and A/S for area not informed of this project (May 1980 discussion).
			1. 4 HH syndicates reported 1978	2 proposed spray race groups in lands areas.	1. Described in GDO 1978 baseline as 2 "FCs".
			1. 10 HH syndicates reported 1978. 2. 2 smallstock groups reported 78.		1. GDO baseline 1978 reported 2 FCs - but no evidence for existence currently.
			1. 3 dam groups 1979. 2. 1 HH syndicate reported 1978 - may dissolve; dams instead	1. Spray race proposal 1980	1. Collecting centre idea shelved in favour of spray race (March 1980) - but Committee seem uncertain of priorities. 2. Problem 1979 - drought scattered population so no meetings/decisions made.
					1. Kgope lands area of Lentsweletau. 2. Committee reported to be weak (GDO-Oct. 78).
					Problems of lack of cooperation - social.
					Reported (GDO 1978) No report 1980.
					Reported (GDO 1978) No report 1980.
			1. 5 dam groups 1 under Makanke VDC. 2. 3 spray race groups (1979/80)	Drift fence to link with Kopong probable.	1. Reported (GDO Oct. 78) to have 2 representatives from 5 sub areas.

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						FUNDS	OTHER
Mmamarobole F. Assoc.	1978	42 Assoc. members reported Oct. 1978	1. Crop collecting centre for crop marketing and implement spares	1978	Drought brought to stand-still	P42.00 by 1/80 from P5.00 fees	
Boatlaname F. Assoc.	Feb. 78	40 members reported Oct. 1978 (CDO)	1. Crop collecting centre (for crop storage and marketing)	1978	Not implemented		
Kopong F. Assoc/FC	June 77 1978	43 members paid 50t joining fee and part subscr. of P3.00 (4/80)	1. Storeroom for seeds, implement spares, livestock remedies etc.	1978	Still being planned	About P80 contributed 1978-80	
			2. Bulk purchase of seed from Co-op.	1979	Purchased	Money collected in advance	
Mahetlwe F. Assoc.	July 1978	12 (represent 6 sub areas)	1. Spray race	1978		P50 March 1980 (50t fee increased to P2.50)	Contributed by 40 members
1.12 KWENENG S.							
Monwane F. Assoc.	1972	? (160 members in F.A.)	1. Borehole development for domestic (village) and livestock at lands area	1978	Approved and to be funded	P1000 by 7/80	
Seribot-sane lands	1975	8	-				

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
Idea was to link with OSSCA (KRDA Molepolole)		-	1. 2 dam groups (1977). 2. 1 BH syndicate reported 1978. 3. 2 Crush groups planned 78.		1. Populated lands area with headman appointed from Bokaa ward Molepolole. 2. Mgt. Cttee. for project (FC) ineffective in face of lack of cooperation between people from different wards.
1. GDO/DAO assisted with 5 ton truck and arranged with Lents-weletau Coop to buy 50 bags			1. 2 BH syndicates reported 1978		1. Idea died out after some farmers had sold their grain to Co-op. 2. Idea was to have linked up with OSSCA Molepolole as supplying/purchasing agent but no firm arrangements ever made.
		Attempted to draft constitution (March 1980) modelled on Bokaa F.A. dip tank	1. DRIFT FENCE - separate cttee combined with Sasakwe sub group. 2. 7 dam groups 1977		1. First FC elected in kgotla in 1977. 1978 Farmers Assoc. formed with 43 members, elected their Committee which became the "FC" still existing now, 1980. 2. Storeroom project decided upon by FA members with no community consultation in kgotla to date (March 1980). 3. Efforts to draft constitution hindered by lack of clear project plan, costs, or management system.
DAO office transport					
			1. Women's garden group		1. AD concerned to have re-election of a FC or project cttee. as present Cttee does not meet. Nor do members. 2. Social problems in community delayed project. 3. AD planning to form 2 other Associations to cover rest of Extension Area, and then form FC from reps. of the 3 Assocs.
PL000 from Council remainder MoA.			1. Syndicate of 9 applied for SDA ranch - N. Kweneng		1. Monwane lands about 30 km NW Molepolole, of about 200 FFs (800 popn.) 2. Some controversy delayed implementation - over whether Monwane should be classified village or lands.
			1. Mogotswana Ikage F. Assoc.(77) burial society, ploughing, crushes, tick control, haffir, smallstock.		1. Lands area 22 km SW Molepolole, 24 km Thamaga; mixed population.

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Mmampaba							
Chaokeng	1978	F.Assoc.	1. Repair of Chaoka dam (see note)	1978	?		
Kumakwane	?		-				
Mmankgodi Farmers Assoc.	1967 Annual since 1976	Cttee. acts as EA FC	1. Pupil Farmers Scheme - administration of loaning of AD implements to members; selection of farmer training	967	Continued up to 1976	174 farmers contrib. total of over P1000	1. Members dug pit for diptank. 2. Council workcamp helped to mould 3000 bricks. 3. Building -see note (3).
			2. Dip tank - idea - contributions - building - in use	1976 1977 4/78 - 9/78 -	 Feb. 79		
			3. Pump and store building	9/78	Mid 79		
			4. "Parent Cttee" role to other EA project groups.				
			5. Woodlot/orchard	1980	Planning		
Thamaga W.	1977	60*			Now non existent		
Gakgatla	1978						
Mmamoagi							
Khudumelapye							

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
			1. Old dam "18" with 96 members (1969). 2. Crush/tick control 78		1. No information; reported 1978 GDO baseline. 2. Tick control group started as burial society 1973/74.
		Copied Mmankgodi F.Assoc.		1. Interest in tick control reported GDO Oct. 78.	1. 120 members reported Oct. 78 (GDO). 2. Were to hire tractor and scoops to repair dam.
			VDC woodlot (1979)	1. Interim Cttee. for proposed spray race.	
1. P625 grant from US Embassy July 78. 2. About 25 GDO supportive visits 4/78 - 10/79 plus regular APO support. 3. BX 5 ton transport of materials. 4. Council Youthwork camp*. 5. LUO measured site/ soil samples for orchard.		Constitution drafted May 1978. Note:- P3.00 annual subscriptions not paid due to drought	1. Ithuteng horticultural group project. 2. 4 drift fencing sub groups. 3. Smallstock group reported 1978; inactive.		1. Originally formed from PFS farmers. The 5 "core group" of farmers including Mmankgodi Kgosi had idea for dip tank. 2. Dip tank implementation delayed initially by transfer of AD. 3. Construction of diptank, store etc. - work fell mainly on one man - the F.Assoc. Chairman - skilled in building. 4. Assoc. members dug the pit for dip tank. 5. Bricks (3000) used to repay Mmankgodi VDC for bricks used on dip project. 6. Mmankgodi FA been used extensively as demonstration to other FCs and dip projects in the Region. 7. FA hoped dip tank revenues would fund forestry project, and P3.00 annual subscriptions. Finances have been a problem in 79/80. 8. Mmankgodi chief plays major active role in supporting the F. Assoc.
			1. One proposed SDA ranch syndicate of 5. 2. Old Govt. dam "21" possible group. 3. Smallstock (1978) inactive. 4. 3 hand spraying tick groups(78)-? status		1. Reported (GDO 78) to be 6 FCs each with 10 members representing 6 sub areas with reps. on a main EA FC.
			1. One old Govt. dam - group of 100+. 2. Womens garden group. 3. Smallstock (78) inactive.	1. 4 cattle crush groups of which 2 built and 2 propose spray races.	1. Reported (GDO 78) in formation stage.
			1. 2 smallstock groups reported 1978; inactive. 2. 2 drift fence groups		1. Reported (GDO 78); no report 1980.
			1. 2 BH syndicates 1979 raising P3000; also tick control/ vaccine store		" " " " "

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1.13. SOUTH EAST							
Ramotswa N.	1972		1. Collecting centre/lock up for crop storage and spare parts. 2. Potsane Bwatlhe/ Segakwana drift fence	1978 1979	Halted by drought Allocated; raising funds	P50 Being raised	
Mogobane	1976		1. Guidance to drift fence	Aug. 78	LB approved	P406 end 79	
			2. Tick control	Aug. 78	Shelved pending fence	P210 3/79	
			3. Discussion of APRU cell	1979	Rejected		
Mmamaereng	1977	6	1. Drift fence (7.5 km)	1978	Ongoing	P644 (10/78)	Old bush fence
Metsemasw-aane Hukwig	1970	8	1. Drift fence (9.8 km)	1979	LB approved. starting	P350 end 79	Poles cut
Tlokweng		2 sub cttees.					
Otse	1965 (original F.Assoc.)	7 needs re-election	1. Spray race	1977	Proposal dropped	P59 from 15 farmers	

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
To apply AE10	1. One day field course on group work 29.2.80 - GDO		1. Drift fence to divide into 3 sub committees. 2. Mokgachawapitso old dam(1972) with group. 3. Segakwana dam (1978) with group-Disana 4. Songoma dam group (1979)-plan by contract. 5. Tsokwane dam group (79). 6. Segakwana spray race (78)	1. Smallstock dosing group 1978 - no activity.	1. 1978 report reported 100 members of collecting centre project.
P2180 from AE10, 3/80	1. GDO tour of S. Region fence projects 1978. 2. One day field course - GDO, 26/2/80.	For fence	1. Mogobane drift fence cttee. guided by FC. 2. Diphala dam group (1980). 3. Horticultural project at Irrigation Scheme.	1. Dip tank project by FC planned 1978 but shelved pending fence priority.	1. Drift fence underway late 1979 after FC decision making between fence or dip-tank priority. About 50 contributed (3/80). 2. 34 farmers contributed P210 by 3/79.
P2173 AE10	1. One day field course - GDO 25/2/80		1. Tladibee dam group (1980). 2. Tlhadibee spray race.	Proposed Borehole in grazing after fence complete.	1. 2 representatives on cttee. from Taung, Kikane and Mmanaereng sub areas.
P3167 AE10	1. GDO tour to Ntlhantlhe fence mid '79. 2. One day field course on group work - GDO 29.2.80.		1. Collaboration with Bwatlhe/ Potsane fence. 2. Tlebogwane dam group; being fenced. 3. Spray race (1977) (Metsemaswaane). 4. Manedi spray race (78).		1. Originally formed PFS times to help AD and NDB teach farmers crop husbandry. 2. 3 of the FC members were RLG campaign leaders in 1976 (TGLP). 3. Membership of fence, dam group and spray race much the same though Committees separate.
	1. One day field course - GDO 29.2.80.		1. Tlokweng drift fence - no role. 2. One ranch syndicate. 3. 3 tractor syndicates		1. 2 sub area committees at lands. 2. Problem of proximity to town/lack of interest in farming. 3. Ranch syndicate applied Kwenong SDA.
	1. One day field course - GDO 27.2.80.		1. Sakutswane drift fence. 2. Rankgoromane ranch (RLFA) repair of dip tank. 3. VDC veg. garden. 4. 2 dam groups. 5. 5 old dams in ranch. 6. VDC repair village dam (79).	Interest in smallstock dosing (1980)	1. Spray race idea dropped as Rankgoromane Livestock Farmers Assoc. started repair work on old dip tank in Rankgoromane tribal ranch - people switched membership to RLFA. 2. FC weak by comparison with RLFA Cttee.

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY MEMBERS	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
Ramotswa S.					?		
1.14 NGWAKETSE N. Pitseng							
Sesung							
Rankaka	1977		None				
Moshupa W. (Tshwaane/ Motsai)	Early 70s	10	1. Organised field days. 2. Collection of money to pay teachers salary for Std. 3 school at lands. 3. Collection from small group of farmers for bulk order of fertilizer 4. Smallstock dosing and vaccination	1974	Ongoing - Stopped 1977	School fees Money collected ? amount P30 from 10 members	
Samane	1979		Drift fence Dip tank Vaccine store	1979	All planned; ? which being implemented		
Mabutshane (Kokong)	July 1979	12	1. Clearing firebreaks		?	P35.00	
Khakea	March 1979	7	-				

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	1. One day field course - GDO - 28.2.80.		1. Dam group (1980) + repair of old dam. 2. 3 HH syndicates reported 1978.		1. 2FCs reported GDO Oct. 78 baseline.
	Both FCs:- 3 day course at Sunnyside SCC ? 1979		1. HH group proposed. 2. Smallstock group (1977-79). 3. 3 dam groups built 1978.		1. No details known on these two FCs other than a training course on FC role etc. run for them ? 1979.
			1. Womens garden (79/80). 2. Seeung drift fence (1975). 3. Smallstock (1975) now inactive		
			1. Dip tank - separate group cttee. cttee. (1979). 2. Kwahu dam (no group) 3. Colonial era drift fence		1. Was elected 1977 to undertake Dip tank project. Took no action till 1979 when project sub cttee. for dip tank formed. Some members joined that. 2. Old drift fence in complete disrepair.
3. AD skotch cart for transport			1. Motsai/Tshwaane dams under sep. cttee. 2. Morule dam - separate cttee. 4. Smallstock group being revived 1980 - separate cttee. 5. Ranch AMA applying	2. Upgrade school to Std. 4.	1. From PFS times. 2. Want to upgrade school to Std. 4.
				Drift fence Dip tank Storeroom	
					1. Not clear where these firebreaks were.
			1. Ranch AMA applying.		

APPENDIX 1

FARMERS COMMITTEES BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE FORMED & SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS	COMMITTEE MEMBERS	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY UNDERTAKEN BY MEMBERS	DATE	STATUS	FC CONTRIBUTION	
						FUNDS	OTHER
1.15. NGWAKETSE S							
Pelotsh-etlha	1972	22 includes reps. from 7 sub. fence groups	1. Pelotshetlha (Ramonnedi) drift fence (27 km) in 7 sub sections. 2. Reference committee for the organisation of the Integrated Farming Pilot Project (IFPP). 3. Some support to AIs in dealing with other project groups.	Late 1960s 1974	Completed 9/75 Ongoing	P2500 NDB loan; P420 annual repay-ments by c.300 HHs.	
Maunyele			1. Discussion of problems; planning of farmer training				
Gathwane			None		Reported dormant		
1.16. BAROLONG							
Pitsane	July 1979	10	-				

GVT. ASSISTANCE/ SUPPORT	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED EA. PROJECTS/INDIRECT FC ROLE	POSSIBLE FUTURE PROJECTS/INDIRECT PROBLEMS/CONCERNS	FURTHER INFORMATION
Continuous regular and intensive contact with IFPP personnel			1. Polotshetlha BH syndicate. 2. Livestock Management Groups in IFPP area. (9 smallstock of which 7 also tick control on cattle). 3. Water devt. 5-6 (dam) groups - FC not much involved in planning these. 4. Women's garden (c.8) with gardens, poultry, bees.		1. FC grew out of efforts of Chairman of Polotshetlha BH syndicate and other respected elders and headmen. 2. FC applied for NDB loan as a "syndicate", repayment efforts strongly backed by Chief Bathoen. 3. FC does not represent all sub areas of Polotshetlha EA. 4. Sub area reps. reported to need strong AD back up to discuss FC matters with people back in their areas. Appears to be need for cttee re-election to introduce a more progressive nucleus of people.
			1. Mohuduhutswe parasite control Association. 2. Drift fence (1976) separate cttee and 2 sub groups.		1. Some members of FC also on cttee of the Mohuduhutswe sub-area livestock group.
			1. Drift fence - separate cttee. with 5 sub sections. 2. 1 dam group 1979. 3. Smallstock dosing/dip tank and cattle tick control.		1. Lands area with most farmers staying permanently at Kanye.
			1. Relemogile SSH ongoing. 2. Reikakantse SSG ongoing.		1. FC members not meeting while busy at lands.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
2.1. MAUN REGION Chobe	9-13 Oct. 1978	5	Chobe	?3-4 FC Chair-man & Secs.	Headmen 2 Chiefs 2 Councill-ors VDC Chair. & Sec. ADs.	RTC staff DAO
NGAMILAND EAST (most EAs)	3-7 Sept. 1979	4	Ngamiland RTC	30	Participants a mixture of FC members and farmers from EAs with no FC.	RTC staff ADs (DAO, GDO present)
NGAMILAND EAST (9 areas)	1. 19-23 May 1980	5	RTC		20 farmers	
	2. 26-30 May 1980	5	RTC		36 farmers	
CHOBE	2-6 June 1980				22	
NGAMILAND WEST (5 villages)	Aug. 1980	4	Gomare			

MAIN TOPICS	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Leadership training			1. GDO not in post at that time.
1. FC organisation and role 2. Evaluation of Molapo bunding project	Metsaudi Molapo bunding project	Dramas (by ADs) Discussion Groups. Case Study	1. GDO worked with RTC staff in preparation of course programmes. 2. FC participants critical of Malopo bunding organisation - i.e. lack of FC, how participation organised.
Role of FC and village extension team			Komana & Toteng areas. Makalamabedi, Ralops, Xhumo, Boima, Toromoja, Khumaga, Moreomaoto areas
FC Role			
FC Role			Sepopa, Kgakge, Nokaneng, Seronga and Gomare areas.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
2.2. FRANCISTOWN REGION						
TATI						
Tati Siding	21-22 June 1979	2	Tati Siding	12	Councillor Head-teacher Headman FWE VDC Sec.	GDO Impala SCC staff
TUTUME						
1) Mathangware Marapong* Gweta Semetwe*	12-13 June 1979	2	Impala SCC	10 from FCs (2-3 each)	3 ADs	GDO RAO DEMS (films) ADs Impala SCC staff
2) Sebina/ Marobela Matobo Selolwane Nkange Maitengwe	14-15 June 1979	2	Impala SCC	15 from FCs (2-5 each)	5 ADs	GDO APO RAO

MAIN TOPICS	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Role of FC/VDC 2. Group Methods 3. Constit-utions 4. Discussion of local problems	-	Case study talks discussion groups Evaluation	1. Course informal enough to allow flexible schedule and discussion of local interests - e.g. organising a Mkt. Coop.
1. Discussion of area problems & FC status 2. Group methods, registration, group extension 3. Project implementation possibilities in areas (discussion by FCs)	-	Group discussions. FC discussions and planning session Films Evaluation	1. 2 FCs from Marapong - one Sebina West, one Senetwe 2. Committees felt village-level course might be more valuable than at SCC, and requested more guidelines for how to implement projects they were interested in. (interest more in projects than FC).
1. Purpose/ need for FCs. 2. Analysis of FC problems/ situation 3. Group methods and extension activities 4. MOA structure 5. Implementation of projects learned at course	-	Group discussions Case Study Talks Evaluation	1. Tendency in discussion sessions for FCs to put Govt. "on the spot" about what assistance/projects "on offer" to FCs etc. 2. Interest was mainly in dip tanks and water development.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
TATI Tonota W.	2-3 Aug. 1979	2	Impala SCC	4 farmers	-	APO Impala SCC Staff member ADO
TATI Mapoka Moroka Tsamaya	April 1980 " May 1980	5 5	Impala SCC " "			
Seviya	June 1980	2	"			
TATI Tati FC TUTUME All 12 FCs in District	Oct. 1980		MRTC		3 members from 12 FCs, plus Tati: Total 40	

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Discussion of area situation, status of FC and Social Welfare Committee 2. Group activities/ extension methods. 3. Committee duties/leader-ship, need for record keeping. 4. MOA structure 5. Analysis of local problems and what projects to implement.	Trip to Francistown abattoir, BAMB, Impala ranch bulls	Case study. Group discussion. Talks. Evaluation.	1. Only four farmers attended due to organisational problems. 2. GDO and SCC staff member prepared course after a visit to Tonata AD.
1. Role of FC in an area; 2. Problems of groups.		On one day used drama and discussion	
1. Role of FC 2. Case Study of problems 3. Other topics cancelled	Whole 2 day course in field		2nd day cancelled due to funeral; follow-up planned.
Role of FC			

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
2.3. CENTRAL REGION PALAPYE All EAs(?) SEROWE 6-7 EAs	12-14 April 1976	3	MRTC	About 60	ADs - all EAs	MRTC staff DAOs (2) RAO CDO AO (WE) AO (inputs) APO (Ranches) ALO (L.Use) ALO (4B) Coop. Officer -Ngwato Land Board Members -Mah. Devt. Trust -Public Health Sister

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Function/ programmes of MoA. 2. FC - basic Committee functions, role, duties, responsibility in community. 3. Organisation of inputs, farmer services; role of LACs, Coops etc. 4. Village team; planning and selection of project priorities. 5. TGLP - role of FCs in leading local discussion and action; RLG campaign. 6. Land use programmes; conservation; Land Board. 7. 4B; Makgonatsotlhe. 8. Role of Development Trust	-Co-op -Vaccine store -Mahalapye Dev. Trust -Morale Demo Ranch	Drama. Discussion groups. Talks. Panel discussions.	1. DAOs Palapye, Serowe acted as course chairmen throughout and organised discussion groups.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
SEROWE All EAs (?) MAHALAPYE All Eas (?)	16-20 May 1977	5	MRTC	About 80	ADs - All EAs	DAO/DAS (4) RAO MRTC staff Vet staff AI Stock Inspector Regional Specialists Serowe Forestry Brigade Sec. ARB
SEROWE Serowe (2) Thabala Bikwe Tshetlhong Paje	3-6 Oct 1978	4	MRTC	30-35	Office holders of small-stock and dam groups also	Rural Soc. Assistant DAO/DAS MRTC staff ADs APO (ss) LUO GDO

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. General role of AD & FC 2. Committee, office bearer duties 3. Input supplies/bulk ordering etc. 4. Group projects and extension methods 5. Farmer training, use of campaigns 6. Livestock management, AI, smallstock dosing and management. 7. Small dam groups (siting and organisation) 8. Forestry; conservation 9. Drawing up an are plan of activities/ projects based on analysis of problems.	BAMB depot. Mkt. Coop LAC Madiba (derelict, conservation area)	Talks: Discussion groups; Plenary sessions; Drama; FCs area by area planning groups. Terms of reference	1. Preparation for course involved a one day Regional staff workshop to analyse FC problems and progress (26.4.77); FC terms of reference had been prepared (Feb/March 1977). 2. Discussion groups - 4 (Serowe) and 3 (Mahalapye).
1. Leadership - AD or group 2. Duties of office holders 3. Guidelines for successful FC, dam or smallstock group 4. By-laws 5. Project planning and organisation	Field trip to Mmaphashalala Fence enclosure project	Drama Panel discussions Distribution of guide-lines and terms of ref. Case studies	1. Participants included office holders of FCs, dam groups and smallstock groups. 2. Case studies used were developed in Region for AD groups training about a real tractor association, and a fictitious fencing scheme and taught importance of appropriate by-laws and project planning

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
BOBONONG (6 FCs)	3-7 Sept. 1979	5	MRTC	19	ADs: 11	Ngwato Land Board Mah. Dev. Trust Pal. Dev. Trust NDB reps. MRTC APO APO (ss) 4B Poultry AD Coops Farm Mgt. Staff (CAE) Mkt. Coop. Soc. Managers GDO, RAO DAOs, DASs ADs (53)
SEROWE (13 FCs)	10-14 Sept. 1979	5	MRTC	38	9	
PALAPYE (18 FCs)	17-21 Sept. 1979	5	MRTC	46	12	
MAHALAPYE (20 FCs)	24-28 Sept. 1979	5	MRTC	46 (from 1-4 members per committee	21 (as facilitators)	
BOBONONG Bobonong Tsetsejwe Sefhophe Molalatau	13-18 May 1979	5	The 4 villages/ Bobonong	All	Whole community	Central District Popular Theatre Committee; GDO, DAO, DAS, ADs, MRTC
BOBONONG Mmadinare Tobane Serule	1979 ? Month	5 days	Mmadinare + Tobane, Serule	FC Members	Whole community	Popular Theatre Committee; ADs, DAO.

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Role of FC/ terms of reference - FC size, membership, elections, area representation. 2. Role of AD. 3. FC/VDC/headman Councillor relationships 4. By-laws 5. Problem analysis in village case study. 6. Project management (organisation, impact) 7. Sources of finance 8. Bookkeeping skills 9. Ngwato Land Board procedures 10. Role of MRTC, and support staff. 11. Discussions of role of other agencies (Coops, LACs, Brigades Trusts).	BAMB LAC, Mahalapye Mkt. Coop. Makoro dip tank project Mmaphashalala lands fence enclosure project	Dramas(4) Talks. Group Discussions. Book-keeping exercise. Panel discussion. Films. Slides on Groups. Displays and project plans. Evaluation discussion. Handbook	1. Format for each of the 4 courses the same, though content differed slightly depending on emphasis of District staff (e.g. AD dramas). 2. Preparation for the month of training went back 12 months to Regional workshops late 1978; much preparation done by GDO over Jan. - Aug. 1979. AD monthly meetings. 3. Terms of reference revised Nov. 1978 after Reg. workshop - formed basis of training package. 4. Training programme scheduled to follow FC elections throughout the Region June - July 1979. 5. Steering committee for each course included MRTC Principal, GDO, 3 ADs and 4 farmers.
1. Analysis of village problems 2. Role of FC and group action in solving communal problems	-	Popular theatre in Kgotla; skits/ dramas/ songs etc.	1. The Popular Theatre was organised specifically to create community awareness of role of FCs/ groups in agriculture.
Role of FC; group activity in solving community problems	-	Popular theatre in Kgotla	1. Organised with pre-selected theme of FC/ group project role.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
SEROWE Thabala Mogorosi	May 1980		MRTC			
Serowe W Serowe E Mashoro Letlhakane	June 1980		MRTC			
BOBONONG PALAPYE SEROWE MAHALAPYE	Oct. 1980	5	MRTC	Any new FCs or members from newly re-elected FCs.		MRTC DAOs/ADs GDO RSS and other resource staff
MAHALAPYE Setsile Mosolot-shane	Nov. 1980		MRTC			
BOBONONG ? which areas	? 1980					
2.4. GABORONE REGION SOUTH EAST Mmamaereng Mogobane Otse Ramotswa S Mokgosi Ram. N. Hukung Tlokweng	1980 25/2 26/2 27/2 28/2 29/2	1 day each area (or group of areas)	Field - at each area.	FC Members (? Numbers) Other farmers not involved in FC Projects were able to attend.	Attendance figures. 80 Nil 25 50 60	GDO APO ADs DAS RTC staff

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
Role of FC and project budgeting. Role of FC and diptank projects			
Not known at time of writing			
Role of FC			
Role of FC and group projects			Popular Theatre campaign planned for other EAs than covered in 1979.
1. Advantages of group work; leadership. 2. FC terms of ref. 3. Bookeeping 4. By-Laws 5. Funding sources (AE10, AG15, NDB) 6. MoA structure/ GDO role	1. Mmankgodi fence. 2. Potsane spray race 3. Tlokweng fence	Handbook with terms of reference. Bookkeeping exercises	1. Note field trips made to one or more of the 3 projects as appropriate to the course participants. 2. Participation affected by farmers business at lands. 3. At Mogobane arrangements disorganised.

APPENDIX 2

FARMERS COMMITTEE TRAINING COURSES BY REGION

REGION AREA	DATE	LENGTH OF COURSE	VENUE	PARTICIPANTS		TEACHING RESOURCE STAFF
				FC NO.	OTHERS	
SOUTH EAST	24 March 1980			FC members	? and group committee members	APO SCC staff Lobatse
2.5. SOUTHERN REGION NGWAKETSE (N) Pitseng FC Sesung FC	?	3	Sunny-side SCC	?	?	SCC staff ? ADs

MAIN TOPIC	FIELD TRIPS	OTHER EDUC. METHODS	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Organisation of dipping projects (dip tank, spray race)			
1. Function of FC 2. Duties of office bearers 3. Leadership 4. Group formation 5. MoA Departments services (BAMB, LAC, SMU) 6. "programme planning".	Mogobane (Tlhadiboe) spray race project	Talks Discussions Practical lessons	1. "programme planning" was the introductory topic; the practical exercise involved planning a village show/District/National shows without dates colliding.

APPENDIX 3

FARMERS ASSOCIATIONS BY DISTRICT

(not including Freehold Farm block Associations)

DISTRICT	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	FEES	CONSTITUTION	REGISTERED
Kgatleng	1979	? less than 20 so far	P5.00 registration and P2.00 annual subscription. P93 raised 15.3.80	Yes-practically word for word similar to Ngwaketse	Yes Society's Act of 1972
Kweneng North	1977		50t joining fee	Drafted by DAO 12/77	-
Bamalete - Tlokweng	1979	Formalised Jan 1980	P5.00 registration plus P2.00 annual subscription	Drafted (end 79)	Yes Society's Act of 1972

MEETINGS ACTIVITIES	ISSUES DEALT WITH	FURTHER INFORMATION
1.March and August (in constitution) 2.Initial meeting held 22.9.79 3.Second meeting 15.3.80	1. Concerns expressed at first two meetings (though not acted upon as yet) included a) income tax b) need for credit to help with big expenses of arable farming c) query over buying and selling prices of both BMC and BAMB d) BMC policy on use of by-products e) ALDEP, AE10, AG15 policies f) representation on Boards of BMC, BAMB	1. About 50 farmers attended first meeting called by some leading farmers; 30 at 2nd meeting. 2. Elected committee confirmed most members of interim committee (9/79) which had drafted constitution. 3. March 1980 meeting revealed concern by some farmers over whether Association would represent small farmers (non tractor owners) problems; this initiated discussion on system for sub-District area representation, particularly the connection with area FCs.
	None known of.	1. Currently non active and no details on past record
Interim Committee in operation;	Consulted on areas for implementation of ALDEP pilot projects (1980)	1. Constitution similar to Ngwaketse with registration fee and annual subscriptions etc. 2. To be linked to the District's area Farmers Committees.

APPENDIX 3

FARMERS ASSOCIATION BY DISTRICT
(not including Freehold Farm block Associations)

DISTRICT	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	FEES	CONSTITUTION	REGISTERED
Ngwaketse (Kanye)		25 (12/79 GDO survey) NB-note (1)	P3.00 registration and P2.00 annual subscription	Yes - see appendix	Yes Society's Act No. 19 of 1972
Barolong	1979			Not yet drafted	Not yet registered

MEETINGS ACTIVITIES	ISSUED DEALT WITH	FURTHER INFORMATION
March and November (in constitution) Special meeting 2/80 to discuss (4)	1. Land Board levies charged on sales of grazier scheme cattle (1979; no follow up). 2. Land Board interference in syndicates by not allowing grazier scheme cattle (1979; no result). 3. Holding ground for bulls for sale in order to reduce dependence on Bull Subsidy Scheme (applied L.B: no response yet; 3/80). 4. Petitioned Minister re diesel subsidy (2/80) due to high BH expenses. 5. Approached Water Affairs Dept. to station BH machanics adjacent to areas densely populated with BHs (Successful). 6. BMC called to hear complaints about prices allegedly not catering for value of by-products /internal organs (1979). 7. Approached PWD Roads Dept. to improve trek routes to BMC (1979). 8. Bonuses for groundnut production as RSA producers get (planned 1980). 9. Income Tax Dept. called to explain methods. 10. Complained to BAMB about prices.	1. Reported (1980) that attendance at meetings usually about 100 farmers. 2. Invite Land Board/Council representatives to meetings. 3. One member is a member of the BMC Board of Directors. 4. Current Secretary of Barolong Farmers Association used to attend at Kanye to represent Barolong. 5. DAO at Kanye usually organises catering (food) for meetings but plans to cease this function in 1981. 6. Some leading farmers/members organise transport for collection of other members to meetings.
Has not met since August 79.	1. None as yet.	1. Used to delegate Member(s) to Ngwaketse. 2. Minister of Agriculture informed meeting of the need to register before their views could be heard.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECT/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.1. CHOBE										
Mabozo	1977	FC	P5.00	Over 20	Over 20	P115(11/79)	1. Spray pump 2. Crush	Labour for crush	1. Purchased 3/80 2. Built	Vet Dept. supplied poles
Satau		FC				None as yet	1. Spray pump			Vet Crush available
Mabele	1977	FC	P5.00	15-20	15-20	Over P70	1. Spray pump			
4.2. NGAMILAND (E)										
Komana	1978	FC	None as such	Whole Community	(Most)	P50 plus 5 beasts pledged	1. Knapsac spray 2. Spray race	Some farmers contributed nothing	1. Bought; operating 2. Planned	Use Vet crush
4.3. TUTUME										
Nshakgaz-hogwe Coop		Coop		Over 300	Coop funds	Plan to raise P1000	1. Dip tank	Coop. to contribute P127 to hire labour to dig pit		
Gweta Coop							1. Holding ground			
4.4. TATI										
Seviya (Senyawe)	Feb 78	Yes *(1)	P10.00	Over 40		P60 (12/79)	1. Renovation of old dip tanks built by Tati company (a) want engine/ pump (b) handling facilities	Internal ctteo. Problems have hindered progress*	Dip tank in operation. AG15 application hindered	
Makaleng Matenge	1978	Yes	P5.00/ man P3.00/ woman *(1)	34 - whole farmer population		Fund raising at initial stage	1. Built crush 2. Spray race	Labour Few contributed funds yet	1. Crush built. 2. Spray race proposed	Vet. Dept. supplied poles *(2)
Matsiloje (1) (dip tank May syndicate)	79	Yes	P10	11	-	Nothing	1. Dip tank	Group to dig hole and labour in construction	Proposed *(1)	
Matsiloje (2)	1979			17					No progress *(1)	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
AG15 - P65 Feb. 1980 *(1)		Using excess from joining fees					1. AG15 funds applied for 8/79, received Feb. 1980; equipment purchased 3/80. 2. Tick control in Chobe important to control senkobo disease.
P65 AG15 allocated *(2)							1. Problem with contributions and no market for cattle. 2. AG15 release awaiting fund raising by farmers.
P65 AG15 Feb. 1980	Few cattle						1. AGINF campaign reported to have confused people at one stage by recommending dip tanks rather than hand spraying.
	Over 1000 in area	Farmers take turns to buy dip	No records kept on dipping, as done individually				1. Knapsac - communal property for any farmers' use. 2. Main problem FLIES rather than ticks.
To apply AG15					Members and non members to pay dipping fees *(3)		1. Contract to build dip tank being made with Tutume Brigades. 2. Plan to use Sebina water supply. 3. GDO to suggest project bylaws (9/80)
*(1)							1. APO encouraging AG15 project.
Applying AG15 for a) and b)	800	Plan to charge per head fees	1. AD reports group dips on Sundays. 2. Group reported to be mixing dip/ replenishing etc. in proper way	Several attempts by APO/ GDO to help organise since 1/79			1. Part of problem with Committee is that members are scattered - live in different places. 2. Presently fill dip tank from drums. Need to pump water from river, and to be able to change dip.
Applying AG15 for spray race	780	So far remedies provided free		2 free demonstrations by APO of double action spray pump		Same membership as small-stock group	1. Joining fees cover smallstock as well, but fees only recently introduced. 2. Before built crush used to drive cattle 15-20 km to Makaleng crush.
	512 (range 12-93)	By-laws state 5t/beast; 10t/beast/ non-member	-		Yes - see appendix		1. GDO reports working on initial organising stages (8/80)

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECT/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
Thalo-gang	1979						Dip or spray		Potential group	
Jacka-las No. 2	1979						High pressure pump		Interested group	
Tonata East	1979			10 (?)	?4	Whole cost of dip tanks so far	1. Dip tank 2. Pump to pump water from river	1. Built by group	Almost complete 4/80 Pump to be requested	
Tonota West (Seswe)	Jan. 1979	Yes		18			Dip tank or spray race		No progress at present - see note	
Tonota Coop	1978	Coop					1. Demonstration centre/ handling facilities 2. 170 ha holding ground		Allocation of site delayed* VDC approved	
4.5. BOBONONG										
Mmadinare(s) (Torone)	1979	Yes	Not yet set	20			1. Spray race		Action awaits tour outcome	
Semolale (Mabole c/pa)	1980		"	Not yet final			1. dip tank		Proposed	
Bobonong N	April 1980			32		P25.60	1. Purchase of livestock remedies			To use vet crush
Mmadinare N (Madiba)	May 1978	Yes (10 members)	P20	30	Less than 20	P128 (April 1980)	1. Dip tank	Pit dug by group (only 10-15 work regularly). To labour in construction and mould bricks	Pit nearly complete; Site allocated 7/78	
Sefhophe c/p area	1980			10			1. Dip tank		Proposed	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
				5/79 and 6/79 2 demos.			1. Demos by APO & GDO on spray equipment. AGINF film strip used.
				July 1979 - demo by APO			1. 16 men and 10 women attended demonstration.
AG15 wanted to help finish tank and buy pump						Dam group	1. Group reported to be linked to dam groups. 2. Project started by group of 4 brothers.
AG15 explained Jan. 1979 Applied 1980					Yes		1. Intended to register as AMA 3/79; application rejected by CAMA 4/79. 2. Non registration appears to have discouraged group. 3. EA now vacant.
Intend to apply AG15							1. Reported to have been delay of over 1 year in Ngwato Land Board site approval - 1 km from village.
AG15 plan 80/81		-	-	May 1980 tour planned	To be prepared after tour	-	1. Group tour to Topisi, Tonota to see dip projects, then to select site etc.
					To be drafted June 1980		1. Have had 2 organisational meetings 1980
			Not yet started				
To apply AG15. SLOCA demo. of crush/kraals offered by APO	Over 3000	-	-	APO demo 4/78 of tick control equipment. FC training course (indirect benefit)	Prepared April 79. P2.00 fine for not working - not implemented as some cttee members do not participate themselves (see note 4)		1. Waiting now to negotiate with builder, estimate costs and apply SLOCA. 2. One contractor quoted P600 (excluding materials). 3. Progress and contributions very slow due to lack of understanding among many of the members, and some ineffective cttee officers. Drastic group reorganisation required and cttee re-election. 4. Due to this, no records kept of participation.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS RECD. PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECT/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.6 PALAPYE									
Makoro (Madinela)	Aug. 1977		P400 per dam cttee. (2 dams)	70	P800	1. Dip tank (a) site cleared and fenced. (b) dip tank partly built but to wrong design. (c) handling pens/crush	- by group - by contractor		
Kgagodi (Diloro)	1977	Cttee. of 9 incl. pump operator	P5.00 inc. to P8.00	7 at start; 2 x P5 11 x P8 11 4/79; 13 by 12/79 and 13 reported interested	P89 by end 1978	1. Knapsac spray pump - bought P75 LAC Palapye 2. Spray race (due to potential membership now of 26)		1. Bought April 1979 -operating 2. Proposed but no progress due to FMD	Use vet crush
Mogapi/ Maunatlala (Kgophathate c/posts)	1978	Yes	Not yet set	About 15	Not yet started collecting	1. Dip tank		Proposed	
Lerala (Makgabo)	Dec. 1979	Cttee. separate from fence group	P5.00	15 more expected to join	P75.00 April 1980	1. Motorised spray pump	Each member to cut 10 poles for crush/kraals	Proposed	
Lerala (Nakatsa-Kgokong)	1979	Yes	P5.00	20 - more expected	Over P30 April 1980	1. Spray race	Each member to cut 10 poles	Proposed	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
b) AG15 grant P864 allocated c) SLOCA to provide pens/crush as demo.	1562(range Nil x 6 Under 10 x 7 10-19 x 18 20-29 x 17 30-39 x 9 40-49 x 1 Over 50 x 5)			1. Poor technical support led to wrongly designed construction 2. New APO to meet builder and group 8/80 to draft 9-12/80 plan of work	Yes - but reported to be inadequate	2 dam groups	1. Highest cattle herd in group was 79 head. 2. Group members reported to have 890 smallstock (34 members had under 10, 8 with nil, highest flock 60). 3. Completion of group's project held up for 1 1/2 years due to inability of technical support staff to correct design and rewrite amended project memorandum
SLOCA application planned by APO for 80/81	350-400 cattle dipped (range - 13-75 herd size dipped)	Bought P8.00 worth of TRITEX with surplus initial funds, then introduced 5t/beast/month for members; 20t/beast non members	Started Aug. 79. Knapsac used on 26 days between Aug.79-April 80 by 11 members. Average use per member is 3.7 times over the six month period.		Yes - see appendix. Was written before knapsac purchased	Originally group formed for smallstock dosing - then changed to tick control priority	1. Membership open to whole Diloro village. Increased fee from P5.00 to P8.00 in order to reach amount needed to buy knapsac with only few members. 2. Knapsac used by individuals or smaller groups of members at their convenience. During six month period of use, the range of use was from once only (1 member) to 9 times (1 member). Activity quickly falling off after Dec. 79 due to FMD cattle sale restrictions and poor harvest, hence no money.
SLOCA explained 4/80	About 2000		5 farmers have spray pumps. Most dip by hand methods when ticks get bad.			1. Formed from two 1976 radio learning groups. 2. Fire-break project	1. The group previously undertook firebreak project under Mogapi FC. 2. Are some internal group dynamics problems confusing/delaying progress at present. 3. Some private BHs, mostly hand wells in Kgophathate river. Very mixed cattle post area - Serowe, Mogapi, Mauratlala, Kgagodi, Mogapinyana, Loserepole.
Likely to apply.	454 (10-60)						
"	About 400						

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.7. SEROWE										
Thabala	1977	FC + Sub cttees using pump (7)	P10.00	65-70	All members supposed to repay FC	P675 used from FC funds	1. Motorised spray pump bought 1977 (P675)		Purchased 1977, ongoing	Vet crushes used by sub groups
(Thabala) Kamokwa	1977			5+			1. Planning spray race. 2. Spraying with motorised spray pump		1. Planned 2. Ongoing (1977)	
Kgasme (Serowe E)	1979	Yes * Same as dam group	P40	20		Total for all 3 groups is P490 (April 80) held by Serowe E FC	1. Dip tank/ spray race		Early stages of implementation	
Janyane (Serowe E)	1979	* Yes "		15			1. Dip tank/ spray race		"	
Mmantsha-didi (Serowe E)	1979	* Yes "		20			1. Crush 2. Dip tank/ spray race		Crush being built	
Mmamorontshe (Serowe W)	1979	"	P15 man P10 woman	Over 30	Most paid	P927(8/80) (from fees and fund raising parties)	1. Dip tank	Site destumped and cleared	Site allocated 1979; work to start late 1980	
Botepotepe (Sewwe W)	1979	"	-	20-25	-	-	1. Spray race		Proposed	
Mogorosi	Early 1979	FC*	-	Not yet organised		-	Not decided ? dip tank		Proposed	Borrow AD stirrup pump individually
Moiyabana (Mabua) (Kosjoena)	1979			"			1. Dip tank 2. Crush		Proposed ? built	
Paje	1978	New Cttee. 3/80	-			P43 March 80	1. Crush 2. High pressure pump		In progress	
Mashoro	1979					-	1. Dip tank		Interest	
Thabala (Masoko)	1977	FC Sub Cttee.	P1.00 at present	17	17	P17.00	1. Spray race 2. Spraying with motorised spray pump		1. Planned 2. Ongoing since 77	Use Vet crush

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
	? total for all groups	Each sub-group raises its own funds for spraying (dip, oil, petrol)	Data obtained only on Masoko group (see Masoko)		Being drafted - those who haven't paid P10 fee pay 10t/beast sprayed until FC calculates P10.00 paid		1. Some farmers still owing full P10.00 joining fee - some only P5.00 paid. 2. 7 sub-committees use machine - Masoko(17 members), Kamokwa (5), Sanakoma (1), Rramogononwane (2), Xhwakao(2), Thabala lands (20-30) and Motshegaletau (new group).
To apply AG15			No data				1. Out at Thabala headman's cattle post. 2. One of the Thabala FC sub groups.
	345 at registration of dam; now over 400					Each group same as dam group; all under one FC; planning boreholes at each area (2)	1. All 3 groups same as dam groups, same committees - sub committees of Serowe East FC. 2. Same groups planning equipment of boreholes for permanent water supply - coordinated by FC.
	Over 400						
AG15 discussed 4/80	136 at registration; now over 400						
To apply when contractor estimate known	About 700			New APO visited site & group 8/80		Same members as dam group	1. GDO and APO to discuss SLOCA April 1980.
	Under 400			APO demo Feb. 1980			
			Farmers currently use tick grease or do hand spray	Two meetings with APO, GDO, DAO			1. Problems of lack of cooperation. 2. FC is trying to encourage the project. 3. Further support/assessment of viability planned 5/80.
In APO 80/81 plan for SLOCA				APO demo held Feb. 80; further support planned May 1980			1. Not clear if same group as "Koajeena" crush. 2. 15 people attended Feb. 80 demonstration.
Applied NDB loan 3/80		To be covered by loan*	-	APO inspecting site; 5/80			1. NDB loan applied for, covers high pressure pump and 40 litres ALTIC.
						Drift fence	1. Group wants to complete drift fence first.
Plan AG15 application	400	50t-P1.00 contribs. towards purchase of dip	1979-3 times at end of year. 1980-Jan & Feb (100 sprayed)		Specify spraying every 3 weeks, but drought interrupted fund raising and dipping schedule		1. Spray race planned due to transport problems bringing portable machine by sledge from Thabala (very dusty). 2. Dipping fees, record and by laws refer to motorised spray project run by Thabala FC.

APPENDIX 1:

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.8. MAHALAPYE										
Mmaphash-alala	1979	FC " - no project cttee.	P30.00	10 so far		See note	1. Spray race or motorised spray pump	-	Proposal	-
Chadibe	1978	FC		15			1. Dip tanks		Proposed	
Mosolot-shane	1979			30		P50	1. Motorised spray pump		Planned	
Palla Road (Dinokwe)	March 1980			8		-	1. Spray race			
Palla Road	1978			20			1. Renovating old dip tank.		? progress	
Setaile (Monate)	1978			3	3	P500	1. Dip tank	Bricks, cement, piping	Pit dug, awaiting builder	
Chadibe (Molapong)	Nov. 1979	Yes		88			1. Crush-built	Labour + 213 poles	Built 1980	
Makwate (Mnikwe)	Feb. 1980			16		P50	1. Spray race		Planned	
Poloka	1978			9			1. Dip tank		Planned 1978	
Sefhare	Feb. 1978			50			1. Crush			
Kalamare	1980			Not yet formed			1. Motorised spray pump		Interest stage	
Shoshong	1979						1. Crush		Planning stage	
Kudumatse (Moralane)	1979						1. Crush	Materials contributed		
Machaneng (Thokole)	1980						1. Crush 2. Motorised spray pump			
Sefhare (Kudumane)	1980						1. Spray race		Applied SLB	
Kodibeleng	Late 1979					P50 March 1980	1. Motorised spray pump			
Lecheng c/ps	Late 1979						1. Spray race		Proposed	
Takadibe	Mid 1979					Lack funds reported 9/79	Spraying cattle		Planned	To use DAO office spray pump
Mmutlane (Tlapala-kgomo)	Early 1979			2			1. Crush	To buy timber	Proposed	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
-	No data	-	-	-	-	Fenced lands	1. Had hoped to start contributions Feb./March 1980 - but FMD halted cattle sales. Also waiting to complete fencing project. 2. FC pushing idea; no committee yet.
							1. 2 dip tanks proposed.
Plan to apply AG15							
APO planned AG15 80/81							
-						Borehole allocated by LB	1. Pit dug 8/79; awaiting builder 5/80. 2. Plan to pump water from river - ?originally planned borehole project
							1. Vet staff scheduled to assist April - June 1980 3 month programme.
AG15 in APO 80/81 plan				Meeting with APO, 4-6/80 3 month prog.			
							1. EA vacant; ? progress
				Demo. by APO, 4-6/80 3 month prog.			1. Demonstration attended by 12 farmers.
				APO to provide plan			1. Reported originally to have proposed dip tank. 2. Need sketch plan April 1980.
							1. Farmers busy at lands when materials ready - 3/80.
				APO demo planned 4-6/80			1. Cattlepost area
				APO demo. planned April - June 1980			1. Cattlepost area 2. Group members reported busy at lands March 80; SLB not yet allocated.
							1. No progress since farmers left lands for Mahalapye Sept. 79.
				DAO transport planned 4-6/80 3MP			1. Initiative failed as water shortage forced farmers to move cattle to areas away from Mmutlane.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITY	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.9. KGATLENG										
Ranana(1) (and (2) - see note)	Oct. 1979	Yes		10-20		P30 March 1980	1. Spray race at village		Proposed; making progress	
Sikwane	1978	Yes *(1)	P10.10	Not established		Only the 10t part of fee collected (1980) to purchase stationery	1. Dip tank or spray race		Proposed and site allocated 2/80 by Land Board; No progress (8/80)	
Bokaa Farmers Assoc.	1977	F. Assoc. Mgt. Cttee.	P10.00	Over 100	39 (1978)	P390 - 1978	1. Dip tank - built Oct. 78-March 79; leaked; repaired by same builder late 79.		Complete and in use	
4.10. KWENENG (N)										
Manoko Gakutlwe	Sept. 1978	Yes	50t at first then P10	84 (40 at start)	11 paid 1979	About P100 (3/80)	1. Spray race		Proposed	
Manoko sub area (2)	1979	Yes		35		?amount	1. Spray race		Proposals	
sub area (3)	1979	Yes		16		None as yet	1. Spray race		"	
Mmamarobole	1978	F. Assoc.		42			1. Crush		Planned (Oct.78)	
Mmamarobole (Sokwang)	1978			30			1. Crush		Planned (Oct.78)	
Mahetlwe	July 1978	F. Assoc.	50t inc. to P2.50	43 (end 79)		P50 April 1980	1. Spray race		Proposed	
Medie	1979	FC					1. Spray race		Idea stage	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
	500-600 (Most herds 20-50)						1. AD originally chose committee covering whole EA, but farmers split into 2 groups. 2. Group (2) has participation problems apparently women elected to committee as few men attended kgotla, now little support.
				Tour organised by GDO to Mmankgodi dip tank and Masedi spray race 9/79			1. Combined committee of Sikwane and Mabalane elected late 1979. 2. No progress 1980; one meeting of committee selected site next to Mablane Borehole but farmers since busy at lands - scattered in different areas.
P928 from US Embassy		-	Dipped for first time March 1980	Mgt. cttee taken to Mmankgodi for demonstration	Drafted Sept. 78 No dipping fees stated. See appendix.		1. Problem of water supply; sited away from wells/river; farmers originally agreed would haul water; council to be approached to reticulate water from BH, but never organised. DAO office Mochudi hauled water in the end. 2. Group has organisational/leadership problems with its Management Committee. Several reshuffles attempted with support of chief. Very difficult to obtain any data - on cattle numbers, membership, funds etc. 3. Problems aggravated by transfer of AD 1979 - replaced after several months. No continuity of staff or leadership. 4. GDO made at least 14 supportive visits 1978-79. 5. Bokaa chief concerned to avoid Association splitting his village - wanted full participation rather than independent group.
	About 1000						1. Problem was drought year 1979 and difficulty convincing more than a small group to contribute. 2. Water shortage in area hindered progress.
							1. Reported Oct. 78 (GDO)
							1. Reported Oct. 78 (GDO)
			Some farmers use crushes individually				1. Headman supporting project. Social problems in community have delayed progress.
						Crop collecting centre	1. FC undecided on priority between tick control and crop collecting centre.

APPENDIX 4

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DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES/ EQUIPMENT USED
4.11. KWENENG (S)										
Seribotsane (Mogotswana Ikago F. Assoc.)	1977	Yes	P1.50	30 now 36 (8/80)		P80 - from contract ploughing (1)	1. 2 crushes built *(2) 2. Double action stirrup pump 3. Tick control	8 spans oxen organised; total value labour/cash and materials P1245 (GDO:8/80)	1. Built 2. Planned 3. Ongoing	
Kubung	1980						? project type		Interest reported	
Dikgwagweng	1978						Spray race		Proposed	
Kumakwane	1978	Interim P10.00 at 3/80; then 6 officers elected		14 inc. to 30	30	P300	1. Spray race		Proposal	
Mmankgodi Farmers Assoc.	1976 (idea)	F. Assoc. Cttee.	P2.00 1977 plus P5.00 1978 + P2.00 1978 =P7.00 Now P13.00 for new members	184 April 1980	174 paid P7.00 plus 10 joined at P13	Somewhere over P1000 cash (as original full P7.00 fee not paid in full by all 174) -see(1)	1. Dip tank plus crush, yards and roof etc. 2. Storeroom for pump, equipment, dip. 3. Pump		Complete and in use	-
Thamaga E. (Tsorogwane)	Feb. 1978	Yes 8 officers	P10.00	40 April 1980 40 in 1978 also	Must be over 40 8/80	About P400 3/80; inc. to P1750 8/80	1. Spray race (by Metsemotlhaba river)	Group contribution to total cost estimated at P1750	Proposed and site allocated; building started 8/80	
Tharaga E (Diphephe)	1978/ 1979	Yes 7 officers		Few members of one family plus neighbours		P70 (April 1980) plus some beasts)	1. Crush 2. Spray race/ dip tank	Crush built-local materials	1. Crush built 1978 2. Site allocated for spray race	
Thamaga E (Seokangwe) ?"Mmametse"	1979	Yes		? 35		P75 raised	1. Crush 2. High pressure pump		Planned (slow progress)	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
AG15 P127.00 March 1980 for pump. P83[illegible].00 May 1980 for new crush- granted P1052	400-500 (range 4-30; highest 40)	P3/member	3 up to 1980 have been using hand methods at crush		Yes (On file with GDO)	1. Burial Society 2. Small-stock dosing proposed. 3. Hafir dam dug and bush fenced	1. Group organised their oxen together to form spans and do contract ploughing annually to raise funds - at Rammidi lands 22 km SW of Molepolole. 2. First crush built at one member's kraal - to be taken down and rebuilt at group site when LB allocated.
To apply AG15							Reported GDO 1978. Confirmed GDO 1980, though no further details available.
			Some farmers dipped cattle at Mmankgodi for 20t non-member fee- but not possible in ploughing season		Drafted; being corrected by GDO (3/80)		1. Social/leadership problems have discouraged action and contributions. Group has problem to raise a significant amount either by increasing fees or expanding membership. 2. Some Kumakwane people dipped cattle at Mmankgodi dip tank. Their cattle mix on grazing hills between the two villages, but cannot pass through lands to Mmankgodi during ploughing season.
P[illegible]25 from US Embassy July 78	Under 1000 -excluding neighbours (non-members) (numbers brought to dip falling -see (2))	20t/beast for non-members 5t/beast for members Only P47 in account March 80	1. Started 3/79 2. Dip every 2-4 weeks depending on tick infestation 3. Using Carbaspray; about to empty tank and change to ALTIC (4/80) 4. tank emptied once- Oct. 79	1. Group received about 25 supportive visits from GDO 78/79 plus AFO regular support. 2. Since used extensively as demo project for other interested groups	Detailed constitution covers full aims and activities of Assoc. - see Appendix 26.3(11)		1. Still a few members who have only paid either P2.00 or P5.00 but not the whole amount. 2. Problem of falling participation in dipping: cattle numbers brought to dip dropped to 240 by March 1980 reducing income from dipping, and hence capacity to buy dip for replenishment or for tank change. 3. Committee anxious to obtain bulk supplies at cheaper rate. 4. Problem of non participation, and of cattle mixing with cattle from other areas (Kumakwane) on hills, results in re-infestation of ticks).
AG15 P1[illegible]24 2[illegible]/5/80	Over 1000						1. Lands area of over 60 households; anticipate many more members once project underway - possibly from neighbouring areas (Mmasebele, Diphele) through separate projects in those areas are advised - see text. 2. Group originally wanted dip tank and dug pit - then decision taken quickly to change in anticipation of higher costs of dip tank as group having difficulty raising funds.
					To be drafted when more funds raised		1. Lands area near to Tsorogwane. 2. Similar problems encouraging membership, slow progress as people suspicious about money (GDO report 8/80).
							1. Drought caused people to disperse to different villages 1979- so no progress made.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MOT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD. PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITES/ EQUIPMENT USED
Gakgatla (Mmanebelo)	1976/ 1977	Yes 9 officers	P5 for new members	Combination of two groups (was 40, now-52 (8/80)	P30.00	1. Crush 2. Spray race	1. Built 2. Proposed	1. Built 2. Proposed	
Gakgatla	1979	P2.00 original idea	Not established		-	1. Spray race		Planned	
Gakgatla Gamokele Kamenakwe Semarule				40 35		Crush crush + spray race*(1) Crush		Built (see note)	
Thamaga E. (Manametse)	1978			32		Crush		Planned 1978 Not functioning	
Thamaga W Sepena Sefatlhare Mmakgomo-yakgosi	1978 1978 1978			15 15 15		Hand spraying methods		? present status	
Chaokeng	1978	F. Assoc.		120* (1978)	-	? project type		? progress	
Mmampaba (Rammidi)	1973/ 74	Yes		Over 30		1. Crush built 1978. 2. Hand spraying		Built ?progress	
Gabane Coop	1979	Coop	P10.50	311	Total value Coop. contrib. P1355	1. Diptank, crush handling pens	Labour to be provided by members	Proposed; site allocated	
Khudumelapye	1979	Yes	P100.00 plus 1 beast	20 *(2) 30 paid difft. amounts P30, P50 etc.	P2149 (8/80)	1. Borehole 2. Vaccine store-room 3. Crush and spray pump		1. Raising funds 2. Planned	
4.12. SOUTH EAST									
Hukung (Manedi)	Sept. 1978	Yes (6)	P10	50 (45 at start)	P400	1. Spray race built May-July 1979	Labour for construction	Built 79 In use	
Mmamaerong (Tlhadibee)	Oct. 1977	Yes (8)	P9.50	55 (3/80)	P340	1. Spray race built April-May 1978	Labour for construction (51 members originally)	Built 78 and in use	
Mogobane	Aug. 1978	PC	P5.00 inc. to P10.00	34 34 (1979)	P210 (3/79)	1. Dip tank		Proposal now shelved	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
	About 800	5t/beast/ day fee to use crush if non member			No written constitution		1. Now used for Vet. Dept. Vaccinations. 2. Used mainly by farmers individually - hand pumps. 3. Crush kept locked.
							1. Could be up to 60 members, from area. 2. Drought has delayed progress - no money. Realise that contribution will have to be increased to perhaps P10.00
	250 300 -						1. Kamenakwe built crush - potentially viable spray race group (GDO report 8/80). 2. Other 2 groups - no up to date information (8/80)
							1. Reported GDO Oct. 78. AD reports now not functioning (8/80)
							Reported GDO Oct. 78. ? present status
						Dam repair	1. Reported by GDO Oct. 78. as a planned project
					Constitution on file 8/80		1. Started with burial society/ mutual assistance in fields.
AG15 P1885 28.5.80					Coop. Society with project constitution		1. 1979 drought reported to have slowed down contributions.
						Borehole syndicate -name members	1. Group having difficulty getting support from chief to organise meetings. 2. 9 members in borehole syndicate.
P1100 from US Embassy					Constitution on file with GDO		
P660 from BCC	Two sub areas 1,[illegible]-1[illegible] 2,[illegible] dipped on consecutive days	P2.00 per member everytime dip gets finished. 10t/beast non members	Every 14 days if tick infestation bad; Every month if not so bad		If member fails to contribute P2.00 - not allowed to dip. See Appendix 26.3(v)		1. Total cattle number divided into (1) those that come from SE side of Mogobane valley (lands and grazing) (2)those from Ramaeneng and Kike lands areas. This is done to protect grazing, and to avoid cows and calves from different areas getting mixed up and losing one another. 2. If all members contribute P2.00, group buys 1 tins ALTIC which lasts about 2 months.
						Drift fence	1. Project shelved 3/79 by PC in favour of concentrating on fence. Funds transferred to fence account. Site had been allocated.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGD.	MEMBERS PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES	GROUP PARTICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES EQUIPMENT USED
Metsemaswoane	1977	Yes (5)	P10.00 inc. to P14.00 plus annual fee of P2.00	About 50	50	P300	1. Spray race built 7-9/78	Labour for construction	Built for construction	
Rankoromane Livestock Farmers Assoc. (Otse)	April 1979	RLFA Cttee.	P10.00	48	Most from Otse, Ramotswa, Mokgosi inc. to 50 (8/80)	P300 - some members paid fully. Plan P500 cash	1. Renovation of old DIP TANK - removed 3ft deep silt - cleaned bush - collected sand	Labour (only 10-15 active) tractor transport	In progress	
Ramotswa N (Segakwana)	Sept. 78	Yes	P10.00	Over 65; 40 at start		P650	1. Spray race - built 3-4/79	Labour for construction, moulded bricks, collected sand and gravel	Complete and in use	
Otse (Sakutshwane)	1976	F. Assoc.		35			No details on project type		Idea-1978	
4.13. NGWAKETSE (N)										
Ranaka Kwahu	1977-1979	FC then Project Cttee.	P10.00	17		P136-end 1979	1. Dip tank		Planned	
Ntlhantlhe Masenyetse	1980					In process	1. Dip tank		Planned	
Magotlhwane	1978			6		P75(12/78)	- possible joint project with Masenyetse		Planned	
Samane		FC		40			1. Dip tank		Planned	
Rakhama				46		P150 (12/78)	1. Crush		GDO report Dec. 78	
4.14. NGWAKETSE (S)										
Gathwane (Ratlhaping)	1978	Yes	P5.00	18		-	1. Spraying 2. Dip tank		Planned	
Kanngwe	May 1977	Yes	P10.00	15			1. Knapsac spray *(1) 2. Dip tank (cattle)		1. Operation 2. Planned	

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
P799 from CUSO	400-500	5t/head introduced March 1980. Beer brewing raised P32-1979	1979 sprayed 3 times 1980 - 3 times between Jan. - March		Yes - see appendix. NB P2.00 annual subscription not implemented	Tlebogwane dam group Drift fence	1. P14 fee increased for later joiners. 2. Problem of water supply - at dam 5 km distance fetched by drums/ skotch cart when Tlebogwane dam and sand river dry in 1979. 3. P100 left over CUSO grant used to buy dip 1978/79; thereafter brew beer parties for fund raising (bought 2 bags BAMB Sorghum).
P1692, 3/80 AG15; total cost estimated P3317 including labour, contractor, pens and crush		Agreed on 5t/beast for members; 25t/beast for non-members	-		Full constitution drafted for ranch development; being simplified for dip tank.		1. Renovation of dip tank first project undertaken by RLFA Cttee. as part of a plan to make further improvements to the Rankgoromane ranch - a communal grazing area purchased by Malete tribe in 1965. 2. This group has superceded the OTSE FARMERS ASSOC. which had also planned a dip/spray race project in 1978 (had 35 members) but which lacked dynamic leadership.
P1035 from US Embassy (2/79)	600-800		No information obtained		Yes - see appendix; dipping fees not mentioned		1. Group formed after had seen Metsemaswaane spray race successfully built. Close neighbours - just over the hill east of Metsemaswaane dam/spray race. 2. Dec. 78 AD took idea to FC and kgotla. 3. One member qualified builder.
						Drift fence	1. GDO report 1978 indicated interes No prog ess since due to engagement on drift fence.
AG15 planned 80/81	Range 10-40	2t/beast or 2 5t for non-members	-		Covers fees proposed for dipping		1. FC elected 77 for project, but weak - no progress till 79 when project committee formed. 2. Problem now raising either membership or contribution - very slow despite committee active.
AG15 planned 80/81			Some farmers using hand methods				1. May join with Magotlhwane people at site near river.
						Drift fence	1. Active 1978 (GDO report), but presently still busy with drift fence.
					Reported - Yes	Vaccine store and fencing	1. Reported to be planning drift fence and store room.
	3-400	Raise funds to buy dip	No data			Smallstock	1. P5.00 fee covers smallstock project also.
Knapsac from AE10*(1)	786 at syndicate borehole	1. 15t/beast per month dipping. 2. 20t/beast Botulism.	Spray on monthly basis		-	Smallstock group - same members; dip project	1. Knapsac - from AE10 smallstock grant; have raised P120 towards smallstock dip. 2. Drought has held back contributions to date.

APPENDIX 4

CATTLE HUSBANDRY PROJECTS BY DISTRICT (mainly tick control)

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	JOINING FEES	MEMBERS REGL. PAID	TOTAL FUNDS RAISED	PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES	GROUP PRATICIPATION/ MATERIAL CONTRIBUTION	PROJECT STATUS	OTHER FACILITIES EQUIPMENT USED
Mmalore	End 1977	Yes	P5.00 * covers SSC also	20 20	P40 in account 3/80	1. Spraying cattle		Ongoing active	1. Use AD stirrup pump at vet crush
Maunyele (Mohudu-hutswe parasite control Assoc.)	1976	Yes	40t	30 at start; incr. to 83; 83 now 22	P33	1. Bought hand spray pump			Use 3 vet crushes
Pelotshetlha Dibajakwena	1978	Yes	-	9 inc. to 17 now	-	1. Spraying of cattle. 2. Crush, pens; catchment tank and draining floor; 1000 litre reservoir for use with spray pump	2. Labour for construction - all members	1. Ongoing 2. Under construction (4/80)	1. Use IFPP crush and double action pump.
Pelotshetlha Ramonnedi E.	1978	Yes	-	9	-	1. Spraying of cattle		Ongoing	Use Vet Crush and IFPP pump.
Pelotshetlha Lokala	1977	Yes	-	10		1. Spraying of cattle		Ongoing	Use Vet crush and IFPP pump
Pelotshetlha Mmasetnwana	1977	Yes	-	9 -	-	1. Deworming of calves - use kraals.			
Taupone	1979	Yes	-	12 -	-				
Malau	1979	Yes	-	9		" "			
Diabe	1977	Yes	-	13		" "			
4.15 BAROLONG									
Kgoro (Rebone)	1980	Yes*	P10.00	28 28	P350 pledged (almost all raised)	1. Spray race	Labour pledged	Planned	
Hebron	1980		P10.00	Few people (see note)		Dip tank or spray race		Planned	
Marojane (Logagane)	Aug. 1979	Yes	P10.00	40	P300 reported end 1979	Dip tank		Proposed	
(Phirit-shwane)			P10.00	35	P70				

GRANT ASSISTANCE	CATTLE NOS. INVOLVED (+ RANGE)	DIPPING FEES/ FUND RAISING	DIPPING RECORD	SUPPORT/ DEMOS. TRAINING	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
-	800	Covered from P5.00 fees	Every 2 weeks in 1979 before harvest time		Not written up	Smallstock group - same members.	1. Group divide cattle into 3 sub groups of 2-300, sprayed on consecutive days to avoid cattle waiting too long without grazing. 2. P5.00 covers purchase of SS dosing remedy.
		5t/beast dipped 3t for vaccination	No data	AD reports need for committee training and field course	-	Smallstock dosing	1. Membership fell sharply partly due to widely scattered settlement in the area and partly, allegedly, due to some committee members making use of equipment. 2. Need field course on group work.
All materials provided by IFPP	400 biggest 50; most herds 15-20	Not yet decided	Have been spraying individually, but on regular basis (4 members). Now to start as group		-	Smallstock dosing, dipping and vaccination	1. Main group activity up to now has been smallstock. 2. Group work with cattle to start once handling facilities completed.
	310	Take turns to purchase ALTIC	No information obtained				
		P5.00 per member for spraying P5.00 for DYLOX etc.	"				1. Vaccinate pastemella indiv. basis. 2. Deworm calves and cattle as individuals though DYLOX and HELMATAC purchased on group basis.
		15t/calf for worm treatment	"			All 4 groups are small-stock groups	1. Spraying of cattle and smallstock is done on individual/smaller group basis
Applying AG15	Over 750		-		Covered by SSG constitution	1. Smallstock group - same members. 2. Water development	1. Plan kgotla to invite more members though most cattle owners already involved. 2. Borehole/engine planned as Kgaro pan dries up very quickly.
		-				Fence enclosure	1. 41 contributed to fence enclosure allocated by Land Board. However ticks reported to be very bad so dip project may be done first? by smaller group.
							1. No further progress reported 1980.
							1. GDO report December 1978.

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAM	FEES
5.1. TUTUME Matobo/ Goshwe 8 communal dams SC 3T and SC 5T	1978	197[illegible]	By LUD	One FC at Matobo; VDC at Goshwe	No formal groups as yet, except Motobo FC		Communal	
5.2. TATI Mosojane SC 5F	Aug. 1978	1971 *(1)	LUD (recon-struction)	- *(2)	No formal group		Communal	
Makaleng Toteng NE/8	Oct. 1979	See note (2)	See note (2)	Small non-elected committee	Group not formally organised		1. Water in grazing 2. Domestic village supply (see under borehole)	Not fixed
Kalakamati 3 groups	1978							
5.3. BOBONONG Mmadinare N 1) Mewanapedi 2) Monatsane 3) Mmatau	1977 78/79 78/79	- - -	All have Land Board approval; LUD Survey		80 55 20		Water supply at lands-domestic, draft oxen and milking cattle	
Mmadinare N 4) Marulamabedi 5) Mookoso 6) Mkgagaripane	78/79 78/79 78/79	- - -	" " "		13 11 5		Water supply for cattle in grazing outside lands fence; but also for domestic supply for nearby lands	
Mmadinare S Mahunwane					13	398		
Mmadinare S 2 groups					25+			
Bobonong 1. Unnamed group					15			
2. Phokojwe					20	326		
Sefhophe 2 groups								
Tsetsejwe 6 groups								

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
	Farmers want dams fenced		RAO office hopes desilting of dams possible through SLOCA			1. Dams deteriorating, fences in disrepair. 2. Farmers reported to have been assured fencing materials by LUD in 1978 then informed no funds available. 3. VDC at Goshwe - potential management committee for village dam.
	Fence broken (7/80) according to LUD Report (*2)					1. First built by community - ipelegeng 2. Suggested farmers should form Committee and apply to Government for fencing materials; said to have been re-fenced June 1980, but already broken by July.
P300 including two P100 donations (primarily towards domestic project)					None	1. Water development needed to prevent cattle damage to crops that occurs now as cattle pass through lands to water at Shashe river. 2. Two old dams and one old well appear available possibly for deepening. 3. See Also Tables 4.1B,
						Nothing at present (8/80 GDO)
				Drift fence		1. Originally wanted to contribute money and construct for themselves at Mkwanapedi. 2. Mkwanapedi, Monatsane, Mmatau - inside lands area drift fence. Others outside. 3. Between Monatsane and Mmatau another group should form at Mhatane to make 4 groups inside lands. Some farmers are still not members of any groups. 4. One additional dam at Rabapela is also needed for farmers - outside lands area. 5. Mmadinare North EA was limited to 6 dam groups by Bobonong District Agricultural Office due to uncertainties of Dam Building Unit schedule and capacity. More groups would have otherwise formed.
			Reported (5/80) 2 or 3 of the groups discussing Borehole project instead of dams.	Drift fence: Borehole project under discussion		
						Reported by AD 1980
						Have LB approval GDO report May 78
						Have LB approval GDO report May 78
						Have LB approval GDO report May 78

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAM	FEES
5.4. PALAPYE Seleka 1. Mohudiri CPA/10		1979	LUD		19	515		
2. Rasesa/ Serokolo			LUD		20	530		
3. Mmamonyopi CPA/9		1979	LUD		26	562		
4. Malete CPA/8			LUD					
Lorala 1. Makomole Lephaneng CPA/16		1978/79	LUD		15	300	More permanent water source in lands (domestic)	
2. Mmamahututu Nawane CPA/18		1978/79	LUD		15	300	Water source for lands and some cattle	
3. Sepanepoleke Nawane Segulela CPA/17		1978/79	LUD		16	330	Water in grazing area for people without IHs	
4. Telefoni Kakuje Motobetso CPA/19		1978/79	LUD		15	267	Domestic/livestock inside lands area	
SEE NOTE: 35 Boipopo					15	367		
Palapye Masuakolol	1980	-	Still selecting site	Yes			Domestic and livestock at lands	
Ramokgonami 1. Maditlhotlha CPA/3 2. Sekgarapara CPA/4	1974 1974	1978 1978	LUD LUD	Yes Yes	16 11	401 312	Livestock Livestock	
Makoro 1. Chakanyane CPA/2 2. Motsemaswaane CPA/1 3. Ramherware CPA/7	1978 1979 11/1979	1978 1978 1978	LUD LUD LUD	Yes Yes Yes	20 11 9	150 193 ?		
Lecheng 3 groups								
Ratholo Sekgarapana CPA/20		1980						
Nokayagatecha CPA/21								

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
						1. Dam constructed in communal pan in lands area of Ramesa people. Has ignited social tensions between the two groups, and Seleka and Ramokgonami villages. Still to be resolved.
	Fenced by group					
P50 pledged towards orchard	Fenced by group		Pump to trough not working	1. Orchard proposed 2. Drift fence		1. In inside drift fence (Lands) 2. Water in lands area lasts very short time.
	Partly fenced - drift fence to form part		Pump to trough not working	1. Drift fence 2. Orchard proposed		1. Outside lands drift fence; next to west fence
				1. Drift fence 2. Orchard proposed		1. Outside, east of east drift fence. 2. Acts as cheap source of water to reduce having to run Ella part of year
	Unfenced-no materials yet			1. Drift fence 2. Orchard proposed		1. Inside fence (lands)
						These could be (a) same dams going under different names (b) additional groups with dams not built. Data not reconciled.
? amount raised						1. Presently water in ephemeral springs or at Palapye river.
	By group By group					
	Bush Being) bush) fenced)		Walls grassed			1. AD reported lack of cooperation amongst members in Makoro dam groups, and failure to attend meetings.
	Not yet fenced					
	Not yet fenced					

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
5.5. SEROWE								
Serowe East								
1. Mmantsadidi CE/14			LUD		20	136	Domestic and livestock/ lands	
2. Janyane CE/7		1977	LUD		15	over 400	"	
3. Kgaswe CE/5		1977	SRDT UNIT		20	345	"	
4. Mogatsapoo	1977	Old Ipelegeng rebuilt 1978 by SRDT			Under Council	400+		
5. Morupule	1980				20	Under 200		
6. Hulwane	1980				20	267		
7. Kakamane	1977/80				20	Under 400		
8. Matsholwane	1977				20	300		
9. Masuabetsetse	1977				20	Over 300		
10. Thema CE/9	1977	1977 by SRDT			15	Over 300		
11. Tsetlheng	1977	1977						
Serowe West								
1. Mmamorontshe CE/11		1978	SRDT			Over 400	Domestick/lands based livestock lands area	
2. Shakge CE/10		1978	SRDT		14 (but used by over 22)		"	
3. Mabdawa CE/12		Rebuilt 1980	SRDT		16	395	"	
4. Botepetepe		78/79	LUD		14	Under 400	"	
5. Mmaothole	1980	-				Under 400	"	
6. Masuoku	1980	-					"	
7. Mathatha	1980	-					"	
8. Sajwe	1979					Under 400	To water lands-based livestock	
9. Mokgorosane	1979/80						"	
10. Masikara	1979/80						"	
11. Matowerwe	1979/80						"	
12. Sepalamoriri								
13. Matshapa								
14. Bojelakudu	1980						"	
15. Phate								
16. Khutswe								
17. Modimwana								

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
	Bush: wire supplied 1980			1. Serowe East FC 2. Borehole equipment planned 3. Dip tank projects		1. All three groups planning under FC coordination to take over old Geol. survey boreholes. 2. All three groups planning dip projects.
By Council	Fence not complete-some material missing					
						Awaiting construction
						Awaiting construction
				Group also interested in tick control		1. Awaiting construction 2. Site between Kgaswe and Masama
						1. Awaiting construction 2. Site west of Mogatsapo
	Fence wire provided 1980					
						? records lost
	Wire		Spillway slightly broken		Yes	
P111	Bush: wire supplied		To purchase gates(planned)		Has constitution	1. Dam holds little water
P176	Bush				Yes	
					"	
						NB. See also list of other dam groups; altogether 12 new groups 79/80 in addition to the 5 original dams built 1978/79
					Proposed	Incomplete; cattle move to Council BH, wells, Motetsewhane BH in Serowe when no water available locally
					Proposed	Applied for construction
P125					Proposed	1. Applied for construction 2. Farmers have wells at Hulwane
					Proposed	1. Applied for construction 2. Water cattle at Motlolodam
					Proposed	1. Applied for construction 2. All 4 groups water at Khutswe river up to September, then move and hire water at Shakge wells.

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
18. Rantseng			Old dam requiring repair work				To water lands-based cattle	
Molyabana ?No. of groups	1980							
Pajie 6 new groups	1980							
Thabala								
1. Masoko CE/16	1972 idea of PC; 1976 registered	1978	SBDT Unit	PC sub-committee	49	300	Domestic/stock mixed lands/ grazing areas	
2. Losie		1978	"	"	10	293	"	
3. Motshegaletau CE/15	"	1978	"	"	15	Small numbers (+ small-stock and donkeys)	"	
4. Lekotopo	3/80	-	-	Yes	40		"	
5. Mmamapoto (Masoko II)	1980	-	-		Forming		"	
SEGAKWANA (Bikwe)								
1. Matono	-	1967	Ipelegeng	PC	No group - used by 6 wards lands*(3)	?	Domestic/lands based livestock at lands	R5.00 per family
2. Rramajaalela SC 55	-	1968	Govt.	PC	No group-used by 8 wards lands*(1) (2)	Small number according to PC	" "	R5.00 per family collected by PC
3. Mmatshosa-dikgang CE/2	1974	1976	LUD	Yes	15	133	To water lands-based livestock	Only water rights
4. Lekwapa CE/1	1974	1976	LUD	Yes	15	224	"	"
5. Marukuru CE/3	1974	1976	LUD	Yes	15	342 (new 400+)	"	"
6. Kamotaka CE/4	1974/75	1977	LUD	Yes	15	179	"	"
7. Masuduakgopo CE/9	1974/75	1977	LUD	Yes	20	440	"	"
8. Botapakolobe CE/6	1974/75	1977	LUD	Yes	15	206	"	"

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
					Proposed	
						DAO 3MP report 3/80
						DAO 3MP report 3/80
P120 raised in 1972 by FC dams committee. Funds transferred to to FC main account when dams committee dissolved 1973	Bush: wire supplied April 1980 " "	2 old men	Committee wants dam enlarged Reported to be leaking, needing repair Holds little water, dries up very quickly	Drift fence Drift fence Woodlot contouring		1. All 3 dams originally were to be built by hired contractors - hence collections in 1972. Efforts discouraged by 1973 Ministry dam building policy. 2. Masoko - original 49 members, now over 100 users as lands area expanding; forming new dam group at Mmamapote (see below) 3. Moiyabara/Motshegaletau farmers opened Masoko bush fence for water; thereafter committee elected 2 gatekeepers - but problem may recurr when Motshegaletau dam dries up.
				Drift fence		New group as Masoko lands expanding fast - over 100 users now at original dam
R55.00 for diesel *(1)	Wire fenced 1967 (Materials from Govt.)		Bought gate (FC)	Segakwana Borehole syndicate being planned and organised 1979/80 by FC. Also proposed by FC 1. Dip tank 2. Orchard 3. Veg. garden 4. Clinic		1. Government provided machinery 1967, people contributed towards fuel. 2. Dam holds water up to Sept./October every year. 3. Mapoka, Masilo, Matsho, Sebina, Chichara, Ditimamodimo wards.
Amount raised (?) deposited with Council for maintenance (but allegedly misappropriated)	Wire - 68 Repaired-74 Again 75/76 Broken since 77	Employed for one month at R10-1968 Two months 1975				1. Used by above Serowe wards lands plus Morokwena, Mmaloswane 2. FC presently trying to get Mmaloswane (nearest) ward people to form group for this dam, as up to now no specific group. 3. Cattle from many neighbouring areas break in. 4. Dam dried up 1968 - gatekeeper dismissed. Employed again 1975 after fence repaired, but fence broken after 2 months - dismissed again.
	Bush: wire short*(1) (5/80)	-	No gate supplied		All have by-laws covering fence cutting etc.	1. All dam groups at Segakwana were allocated only 3 rolls of wire initially, but more wire supplied (1980) so that each group will have 4 rolls barbed, 2 HS. 2. Segakwana FC organised membership of all the dam groups to be equal numbers and within livestock numbers limit. 3. Marukuru fence cut often; tried to case 7 people 1978
	Being wire fenced (1)	-	"			
	Fence not complete 3-4 strands(1)	-	" (Dam silting)			
	"	-	"			
	"	-	"			
	"	-	"			

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
5.6. KGHALAPYE Shoshong 1. Kapye	-	1956	Government	-	No group membership	Thousands	Domestic/livestock mixed lands-grazing	-
2. Ikongwe	-	1950s	Government	-	-	-	"	-
3. Phuduhudu	-	1950s	Government	-	-	-	"	-
Mokobeng 1. Ngwapa CPA/14	July 77	1978	LUD		11 registered	197 registered Far over 400 reported (AO LR;79)	Domestic and livestock	
2. Konkriti ?CPA/13	July 77	1978	LUD		15		Domestic and livestock	
3. Mmamodijana	1977	1978	LUD			Under 400	Domestic and livestock	
4. Mmabotshabelo CPA/15	1977	1978	LUD					
Kalamare 2 groups					20 20			
Mosolotshane Mojatau					17	115		
Mosolotshane Ramantswe					15	131		
Shoshong E Letshomo					20 ? now 30	148		
Shoshong E Phutselerengwa	78/79				2[illegible]	2 9		
Koditeleng 2 groups	1979							
Mmutlane	-				-	-	Village and cattle watering	
Shoshong 1. Tobela 2. Tlapaneng 3. Kgwamathe	7-9/79				Total of about 37			
Shoshong 1. Khuduyabaeng 2. Moshabi 3. Magaba	mid 1979							
Letsokolo	1980							

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
-	Dam wall partly fenced	-	Destroyed by recent floods	-	-	1. Kapye dam caused major disruption at lands with thousands of cattle roaming for water and destroying crops (Shosh. SLB. 4/80) 2. Phuduhudu still exists (see also Mmutlane, Phutselerengwa)
-			"			
-			"			
P17* reported 5/80 by AD; not clear to which dam each figure refers	Partly wire partly bush	-	Spillway walls eroded by 79/80 rains. AO LR reports need for some rebuilding, grassing. Needs pipe & trough	Woodlot potential reported by AO LR 11/79	-	1. Problem of indiscriminate use of dam by non member neighbours. Trampling of dam wall. 2. Fence only partly built due to fear that non-members will cut it if constructed; also busy at lands. 3. Some design problems of spillways. 4. Local school established vegetable garden next to wall, but SDC repair crew scraped it away when doing spillway repairs.
P7* reported 5/80	Partly bush/ wire	-	Wall protected with thorn bush Spillway walls need extending*	-	-	1. Dam little used while nearby pans full of water. 2. Spillway walls need grassing and fence needs moving.
P5* reported 5/80	Fenced across communal pan	-	-		-	1. Dam built adjacent to communal pan. Dam fence runs right through pan (in water) due to SLB ruling that dam group cannot include pan within fence. 2. Thus many more cattle congregate at pan than just at the dam. 3. A case of poor land use planning/consultation
						Reported not to hold any water
						1. Lands areas 2. Sites identified, but not applied yet.
						1. New group formed 2. Old government dam, ? needs repairs
						Allocated by Shoshong SLB
						Old government dam, built 1950s
						1. Reported 9/79 DAO BMP 2. Sites to be surveyed 5/80 3. At Dihate lands
						1. Old dams broken; no water at lands. 2. Surveyed by AAO (LR) 3-5/80
						1. Meeting 3/80 failed - farmers busy at lands. 2. Water shortage at lands

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
Shoshong E 1. Simitwe 2. Konowa 3. Lebeule	1980							
Poloka	1978				5		To provide water at lands	
Sefhare 1. Makoloboto 3 groups 2. Dikhu/Ikuti 3. Bobirwa	Jan 78 1978				20(1978)			
1. Taupe group 2. Makobelo	Early 79				25 25		Related to lands fencing project	
Pilikwe 2 groups	June 79				25			
Radisele 2 groups	? 1977							
Radisele 1. Mojumo	1980							
2. Tewano 3. Mogome	Early 1979							
Mahalapye Malepe	1978			PC			To provide water for cattle at lands	
Chadibe	Sept. 1979.						Group formed to fence it to prevent influx of cattle from other areas; to be incorporated	
5.7. KGATLENG Bokaa Molongwane KG1			LUD	Yes			Domestic at lands	
Malotwana KG2		1974	LUD					
Matlagu Ntsekeletse	1976	Not yet built		Yes			Multi purpose at lands area 12 km SE of Mochudi	
Matlage 2 other groups	1976	Not yet built		Yes			Multi purpose at lands	
Oodi Kgalapitse SC GM	1979/80	Early 1970s	LUD	Yes	Group still forming			P3.00 + P1.00 annual

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	HER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
				Also plan animal husbandry activities		1. Formation stage, but farmers busy at lands 3/80 2. No water at lands - DAO 3MP report 3/80
						Proposed 1978 - GDO Report 5/78
Raising funds 3/80 P7.00 3/80						1. GDO report 5/78 on first group at NW Sofhare lands 2. SW Sofhare lands
						Applied to SLB 1980
						1. Applied to SLB 1980 2. GDO 1980
P25 P28						Applied SLB & LUD
P14 P18 towards future maintenance						Approved by SLB 8/79
						Awaiting LUD
						Old dam
	Wire		Has trough etc.			1. Reported not to hold water; group applied for repairs to be done by LUD
	Wire			Borehole syndicate adjacent		1. Dam appears to have been constructed at a communal pan with some resulting social conflict
P200 by 1979 towards future maintenance	-	-	Interested to drill borehole and equip with windmill	Borehole and windmill		1. Group has waited for dam construction for over 4 years, and now want to transfer funds to BH project. 2. Most farmers have small haffirs which dry up after July
? amount						1. Awaiting construction
	Group forming for fencing to be done					1. Group consulted all surrounding villages to encourage membership - only from Oodi, Morwa and Matebele so far

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
Dinogeng Rrabotsirope KG4	1974	1975	LUD	Yes	22 now 60	Excluded	Domestic at lands, cattle excluded	P15 joining + P5.00 annual
Dinogeng Mmilo	June 1976	1978	Hired contractor at P9.00 per hour = P668	Yes, committee of 11	50	Excluded by constitution	Domestic, calves, small-stock, draft oxen at ploughing time in lands area	P20 joining + P10-1976 P 5-1977 P10-1978 P1/month per beast non members
Dinogeng Mmakgopong	1976	-	To hire contractor	Yes	28	500	Domestic and livestock at lands	Yes
Dinogeng Ditlhogwe	Sept. 1978			Yes	22	c.400+ 140 s-stock 50 donkeys	Domestic and livestock	Yes
Dinogeng Koba	1978	1978	Self help	Yes	21	c.150 + c. 60 s-stock	Domestic and livestock	P5.00 joining
Dinogeng Mambane			To hire contractor	Yes	20	c.160 + 35 small-stock 18 donkeys	Domestic and livestock	
Dinogeng Moologo KG3	1975	1975	Self help	Yes	50		Domestic and livestock	P2.00 joining
Dinogeng Matlhakara	1978	1978	Hired contractor	Yes	36	300+		
Mathubudukwane Ditsopotla	1976				20			
Modipane Kgwarape Segakwana KG/7	1978 1976				21 16			
Sikwane	1976							
5.8. KWENENG (N) Manoke 1. Rrapalane KW/8	1977		LUD	Yes			Lands area	P1.00
2. Mogobewanelega	1977		LUD	Yes	20+		"	10t/ head/ year
3. Mmamhiko KW/7	1977		LUD	Yes			"	P1.00 plus 10t/ head/ year
4. Montsho KW/4	1977		"	Yes			"	"

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P510 (P289 spent 76)	Bush - wire planned	Voluntary	P289 spent on trough, gate, poles and fencing - 1976	FC	Yes	1. Hand pump reported broken 2. LUD installed separate pipe and trough 76 3. Dam kept locked; water drawn by drum and sledge
P738 up to April 1980	Bush - wire planned 1980	Yes	Fence, pipe, pump, trough, planned 1980 from further contributions after harvest	FC	Drafted Oct.77 allows no stock inside fence and limits use of dam (see "purpose" of dam)	1. 2 members of committee elected to Dinogeng FC 2. Dam completely closed to livestock after ploughing time. 3. Group needs AE10 or other assistance to complete fencing and equipment.
? amount	-	-	-			
? amount			Want to change to borehole	Borehole proposed		1. Cattle numbers range: 4 members with nil; highest herd 47; smallstock - 11 with nil; highest flock 30
P33						
				Clinic-same committee		
						1. Same contractor as at Mmilo
						Had Committee
	Wire	Yes	Have pipes and troughs			1. P1.00 subscription used to pay gatekeeper P8.00/month
	"	"	"			
	"	"	"			
	"	"	"			Mmatmakgatli is the sub-locality name

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
5. Motloletsetsega KW/4 6. Mamasilwane KW/3	1976		LUD	Makanke VDC		Cattle excluded from one	One for cattle; other for domestic, calves etc. only	P1.00 plus 10t/head/year
Medie 1. Dikgonnye 2. Dikolakolane 3. Mokotswane	 1979 1979 1979							
Mmamarobole 2 groups Kopong 7 groups Ditshukudung 2 groups	 1977 1976							
5.9. KWENENG(S) Kubung Zambia ?SC/19	1979	1965	Ipelegeng	Formed 1979	100		Communal lands/grazing	P1.00
Chaokeng	June 78	?	Old LUD "dam 20"	F.Assoc.	120			
Gabane Sakaladiphiri	1974	1979 dam repair	Ipelegeng	VDC	20			P5.00 fee
Kubung Dikutlana KW/19	1978	1979	LUD	Yes	20			P1.00
Molepolole (S) Mosinki KW/15	1977	? 1978	Old dam - repaired by LUD		20		Lands area	P2.00
Kubung 1. Mapelego 2. Morale 3. Tlolamololo 4. Okhudu	 1978 1978 1978 1978	1979	LUD		76			P1.00
Mmampaba Ramala	1969		Old LUD "dam no. 18"		96			
Molepolole S Boditsane KW/16	1978	1978	LUD		20			
Gakgatla SC/20 or SC/18					100+			
Thamaga W 1. Sefatlhane KW/20 2. 3 other groups? SC/21A	 1977 1977				Total 160			P2.00 per month

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
	Wire fence well maintained	"	"			1. Gatekepper/fee collector paid from fees. 2. Well organised group; Makanke is the sub-locality name.
						All 3 sites approved by Land Board
						Applied LUD - GDO report Oct.78 - not confirmed 8/80.
P105	Fenced July-Sept. 79		Group wanted further repairs done?		Planned to have watering fees.	1. Farmers all members of one or other of 4 new dams built by LUD in the area (1978/79)
	Bush		Desilting needed			1. F. Assoc. formed to organise hire of tractor and sloops to repair dam.
	Needs fencing		Needs major repairs			1. People reluctant to contribute to VDC as other groups obtain dams free.
P20.00	LUD to provide fencing materials		Dam broke 1979 and needs repair			
	Bush-awaiting wire (end 79)				Drafted but P2.00 fee not implemented	1. Problem that non group members still regard dam as communal; has resulted in organisational problems. 2. EA vacant since March 79.
P126.00						
						Report needed.
	Fencing needed					Groups applied 1977 according to GDO report Oct. 78.

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
Thamaga W 3. Mmakgomo-yakgosi SC/21	Not yet formed		Old LUD "dam No. 21"					
Sepeno KW/18	1978				20+			
5.10. SOUTH-EAST Ramotswa N Mokgachawapitse	1972	1972	LUD	Yes	50	250	Lands/communal grazing water source	
Metsemaswaane Tlobogwane SE/9	1979	1979	LUD	Yes	30	400-500 dipped at spray race	Water source nearer lands area for livestock	Not yet decided
Segakwana Disana SE/10	1978	1979	LUD		40-50		Lands area	P2.00 joining
Otse	1979	?	Ipelegong	VDC	Whole Village		General-village, lands/ live-stock	P1.00 per family
Otse Rankgoromane ranch (5 old dams)	1978	?	Old - built by ranch developer	RLFA	48 - but communal ranch	?-many	Livestock watering in communal grazing	P10.00* towards dip tank.
Mmamaereng Tladiboe	1980							
Mogobane Diphala	1980							
Ramotswa S 1. Rratavyagae 2. Lesetlha	1980				100			
Ramotswa N 1. Senyoma 2. Taokwane SE/2	9/79		LUD		40			P1.00 joining
Otse 1. Ledutlelaladinku 2. Matlapana								

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P80.00						P10 reported missing, GDO 8/80
P25.00				Tlobegwane dam	Yes	1. Dam 5 km NE from Metsemoswaane lands/village; holds water throughout year.
P30.00	Being fenced by group 3/80	Yes	1. Buy longer pipe to extend to trough	Spray race; drift fence	Being drafted 3/80	1. Same committee members as spray race and drift fence. 2. Committee members concerned that LUD return to deepen and extend barrow pit area. 3. Some problems with LUD's plan for fence line
P38.00	Materials delivered 1979; fencing beginning		? farmers want to equip 2 boreholes	? Borehole development		1. Fencing delayed by farmers busy at lands. 2. Borehole development reported GDO Oct. 78.
P206 by June 79			Hired Gaborone contractor to scoop/de-silt dam - 1979			1. P106 used to hire contractor-unsuccessful - tractor too small. Raised further P100.
P330* (4/80) - dip tank	-	-	RLFA intend to renovate the old dams	Dip tank renovation (first)	Yes	1. Ranch communally owned and used by Bamalete tribe; RLFA (Rankgoromane Livestock Farmers Assoc.) formed 78/79 with 48 members so far; renovating dip tank with plans to repair dams.
						Old dam needs repair
P100						Group aims to hire private contractor No details

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
5.11 NGWAKETSE (N) Moshupha W 1. Morule 2. No number	1970	1966 Rebuilt 1974	Ipelegeng-hand labour took one year; Govt.built spillway	Yes Elected 1970	72 in 1978-last count done	1208 + (officially) Most members have 10-20; many 20-40; some 50-60 plus other stock	All purpose lands/grazing communal area	P1.00 per year since 1970; initially 50t in 1969
Moshupha W 3. Metsai Dam No.1 SC/1	1968	1967	Govt.	Yes -also covers Tshwaane	101-1968 59-1973 23-1978 (who paid fees)	August 1973 - 1587 recorded of 59 members who paid. November 1978 range - largest 74, 98 most 15-20 few herds 5-10 plus 1196 smallstock (8/73 of 59)	Communal lands-grazing area livestock watering	P2.00 in 1968 + 10t/beast per year started 1973 - 20t/beast per year from 1978
Moshupa W 4. Tshwaane SC/1A	1968	1974	LUD	Same committee as Metsai		Excluded	Domestic, calves and smallstock	
Moshupa W 5. Lwale SO/2	1968	1975	Ipelegeng					
Ranaka 1. Kwahu SO/1		Early 70s	LUD		No group ever formed		Cattlepost area (50-60 c/posts)	

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P458 raised 1970-75 P311 in balance 1977 -still there now 1980	Wire fence built 69/70 from family subscriptions - repaired periodically	Yes - hired until 1978/79 drought			Not written- but non-members not allowed to water	1. Problems: spillway low so much water lost before dam holds enough; no pipe/trough 2. Influx of cattle from neighbouring areas when their water supplies break down or dry up.
1968-P202 1973-P90.10 74/75-P122.20 1978-P129.80 1978-P24.80 Balance 1980 = P65.40	Wall only 1967 (Govt.) Whole dam by group but fences broken since 1978	1973-75 at P5.00 per month. 1976/77 P10/ month Laid off '78	Need water development outside lands to relieve grazing in the lands area. Committee suggests water development in LEGOGO grazing area between Metsai and Pitseng	Need water development in grazing away from lands	Yes - but constitution has not been followed; members supposed to water only if fees paid; if refused to be sent to kgotla or Council	1. Metsai dam very big, holds water throughout year even 1978/79 drought. 2. Serious influx of cattle caused when Boreholes of Molapsowabasadi (Council) or Kralekgetho syndicate breaks down. Very difficult for Committee to make owners pay, though P24.80 was raised 1978 from fees charged to Molapowabasadi owners. 3. During rainy season Metsai cattle water in streams etc. locally; some out at Makgabaneng cattlepost area 5-10 km west of Metsai. 4. Group nor committee met since 1978 due to people scattered by 78/79 drought. No fees collected since Nov. 78
	Fenced	Voluntary				1. Wall damaged by rain
			Repaired 3 times by LUD but gets washed away			1. Terrible eroded area with nil grazing even in March 1980; dam gets washed away by floods.
				Dip tank		1. A/S for Ranaka trying to encourage group formation- possibly may be catalysed if dip project successful.

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS IN DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
Moshupha S 1. Polokwe dams "No. 12 + 13" 2. SC12 Ditsobotlhane SC13 3. Galetlhokwane	1969 after dams built	1969	LUD	One committee for the 2 dams - elected by community	2-300 people registered	Over 4000 (largest herds about 50; majority 20-30; few farmers have none) + donkeys/smallstock - ? number	Domestic and livestock in communal/lands-grazing area	P2.00 1969 reduced to P1.00
Pitsong 3 dams	1976	1978	LUD		50			
Sehudi SO/7	1977	1977	LUD		14			
Matebele SO/9	1977	1977	LUD		14			
Lothakane Mokgalwana SC/3	1978		Old "Dam No. 3"		72			
Magotlhwane SO/3		1974						
Dithakadu SO/8	1979				18			
Rantseane		1976	LUD		[illegible]			
Mmamonkge SO/6					[illegible]			
5.12 NGWAKETSE (S)								
Gathwane Digawana	1979	-	Applied LUD	Yes	14			-
Tsubue/Mmalore								
1. Gamokope	1978	Colonial era	Govt.	Want to form Committee	21	37	Livestock watering in communal lands/ grazing area	
2. Gamonang	-	"	"	"	-		"	
3. Gasegopolo	1978	"	"	"	-	"	"	
4. Lokgajane	1978	"	"	"	-	"	"	

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P34 spent 1969 P44 spent 1977 on fence repairs + initial material bought 1969	No:13 - fence in better repair but loose No: 12 - fence broken from the start	Voluntary at No: 13 only	No: 12 wall broken Dec. 79 needs repairs; due to trampling of base dam wall by cattle	Drift fence and small stock groups	1.P1.50 fine on people who failed to come to dig holes for fencing 2. P2.00 annual subscription for membership 3. People who cut fence and water cattle to be cased in kgotla - none implemented	1. Dam No. 12 bigger than 13 - doesn't dry up - no two dams run as one group as No. 13 dries up in winter 2. No.13 looked after more carefully because only alternative domestic water source(before or now) in digging holes in Ditsw-abotlhane river. At No.12 - near SOBE there are ever flowing springs from hills. 3. Problem of influx of cattle from towards Thamaga as there are no dams built in that area. 4. Subscription reduced from P2.00 to P1.00 because people were not contributing. But even now - same problem.
						By 1979 not filled with water, so reported that group activity not ascertainable.
	Fenced 78 (GDO 12/78)					
						Active group reported by GDO 12/78
						GDO report Dec. 78
	Fenced 1978 by group (GDO 12/78)					
P60 in account 12/78	Fenced 1978 by group (GDO 12/78)					
-						1. Applied Land Board 1979; LUD water engineer survey awaited.
	Fence now broken " " "		Farmers want repairs done by Govt. " " "	5-6 other groups Applied for new dams to be built 1978		1. Old dams silted up; only hold water for short periods; no management at all at present. 2. Problem - many other people in the area makes group control difficult

APPENDIX 5

DAM GROUPS IN DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	WHEN BUILT	METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	PURPOSE AND USE OF DAMS	FEES
Lothakane Mokgalwana SC/3	1979?	1967	Govt.	Yes	60		Mixed lands/ grazing area	
Pelotshetlha IFPP 5-6 groups	1976/77							
Mmalore 7 groups	1978							
5.13 BAROLONG Metlojane	1978				46			

FUNDS RAISED	FENCING	GATE KEEPER	OTHER DEVELOPMENTS	RELATED PROJECTS	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
Have bought 2 rolls wire	Purpose of group to repair fence				Yes	
						Being built 5/80
						2 of the groups want old dams repaired
						GDO baseline 12/78

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

(derived from reports dated July 1980 of the surveys conducted I.M. Phometsi of Land Use Division, Small Dams Unit)

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
6.1. TUTUME Survey July 1980				
Lesego	SC/15	1972	Dry	Whole year for first three years but then silted up.
Lesego	SC/25	1973	Dry	For 6 months
Matobo	SC1T	1969	Dry	A few months, silted
Mathandobe	SC2T	1969	1/4	Whole year, but silting is causing lower capacity
Goshwe	SC3T	1969	1/2	Whole year, but silting is causing lower capacity
Nswazwi	SC4T	1969	1/2	A long time, but silting is causing lower capacity
Goshwe	SC5T	1970	1/4	Whole year but much reduced capacity due to silting
Nsuswane	SC6T	1970	3/4	Whole year
Mathandobe	SC7T	1970	1/4	A long time but now silted
Karane	SC8T	1970	1/2	A long time
Chilak-wane	SC9T	1970	Dry	Always a short time - silted

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUPS DATA
Good	O.K.	Fair-poor	Some	A bit loose and broken	No
Good	O.K. except 3:5/2:3 slopes badly eroded	Poor	None	"	No
Trampled and eroding	Eroding	Poor	Much	Completely destroyed	No
Cattle on it, but O.K.	Eroding badly	"	"	"	"
Trampled and eroded	"	"	"	"	Yes
"	Earth - O.K.	Fair-poor	Some	"	No
"	Rock & concrete - O.K.	Poor	Much	"	Yes
O.K.	O.K.	Poor	Some	A bit loose and broken	No
Badly eroded due to trampling	Rock and earth - eroded	Poor	Some	Completely destroyed	No
O.K.	A bit eroded	Poor	Some	Wood fenced	No
Good	3:5/2:3 slope eroded	Fair	None	Loose and broken in many places	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
6.2. TATI Survey July 1980				
Makaleng	NE/1	1976	1/4	Quite long
Masing-waneng	NE/2	1976	1/4	Never held water for more than 6 months
Mmambo	NE/3	1976	Dry	Poor - leaks always, porous soil
Mmambo	NE/4	1976	Dry	Never held water for long
Matibikwe Sechele (1)	NE/5	1976	1/2	For a long time
Kombani Sechele (2)	NE/6	1976	3/4	"
Poo-pan Bosodi	NE/7	1976	1/2	"
Toteng	NE/8	1976	1/2	"
Impala	GN	1971	Dry	Originally held water for 6 months but now silted so only holds water for a short time
Jackalas No. 1.	SCIF	1971 (rebuilt)	1/2	Can hold water for a long period, but is now very silted.
Ramaquebane	SC2F	1971 (desilted and rebuilt)	1/4	"
Moroka	SC3F	1960s, rebuilt 1971	1/2	"

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUPS DATA
O.K.	Earth eroding	Poor	Some	Rather loose and broken	No
Good	O.K.	Poor	Little	Good	No
Good	O.K.	Poor	Some	Broken and loose	No
Badly trampled and eroded	Earth eroding; 3:5 wall eroded	Poor	Erosion	Broken	No
Good	O.K.	Fair-poor	Some	Loose	No
"	"	Poor	None	Broken and loose	No
"	"	-	-	"	No
"	"	Fair-poor	Some	Good	Yes
Haffir-no wall	O.K. except 3:5 slope eroding	Fair	None	O.K.	No
Badly eroded	Rock and concrete, badly eroded	Poor	Much	Never fenced	No
Good	Eroded	"	Some	Broken and loose though said to have been rebuilt 6/80	No
Good	"	"	Much	Fence erected 6/80 but already down	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Moroka	SC4F	1971	1/4	Can hold water for a long time
Mosojane	SC5F	1971 (rebuilt)	1/2	Can hold water for a long time, but is now very silted.
Seviya	SC6F	First built by Tati Co. Rebuilt 1972	3/4	Can hold water for a whole year, but silting has reduced capacity a lot.
Jackalas No. 2	SC7F	1972	1/2	"
6.3. PALAPYE Survey end of June 1980				
Metsemas-waane	CPA/1	1977	-	Never had rain to fill. Some leakage
Chekanyane	CPA/2	1977	1/2	-
Maditlh-otlha	CPA/3	1977	1/2	Quite a long time
Sekgana-pana	CPA/4	1977	3/4	All year
Lekur-waneng	CPA/5	1977	1/2	Quite a long time

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUPS DATA
Eroded	O.K.	Poor	Some	Fence erected 6/80 but already down	No
Eroding	Rock and concrete eroding badly	"	Much	Fence said to have been erected 5/80 but broken.	Yes
Good	Rock and concrete eroding	"	Very high	Broken and partly down	No
"	"	"	"	Refenced 5/80 but already down	No
O.K.	O.K. except for 3:5 slope	Good	Good	Not fenced, but poles are up.	Yes
Cattle causing some erosion	O.K.	Fair	None	Bush fence, but wire one underway	Yes
Incompletely built	O.K.	Poor	Some	Bush fence; poles lying	Yes
Good	Eroding and loose; wall washed away	Poor	Some	Fenced	Yes
Good but cattle on it	O.K. except 2:3 slopes	"	None	Loose - no droppers	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Mokgachawa - Dinokana	CPA/6	1978	1/2	Quite a long time
Ramherwana	CPA/7	Early 1960s, rebuilt 1977	"	All year
Manoga/ Malete	CPA/8	1978	3/4	Quite a long time
Mamonyapi	CPA/9	1978	1/2	Improving, leaked in first year
Mohudiri	CPA/10	1978	1/2	"
Morale	CPA/11	-	1/2	"
Metsemaswaane	CPA/15	1978	Dry	Leaks badly
Makomela	CPA/16	1979	1/4	Never had water since built
Sesulela/ Sepanepoleke	CPA/17	1979	1/2	First year ?
Mmahututu	CPA/18	1979	"	"
Kakuje/ Telefoni	CPA/19	-	Little	Too small - most water lost
Sekarapana-Ratholo	CPA/20	1980	"	Still new

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUPS DATA
Badly cracked, poor compaction	Some erosion	Poor	Little	Incomplete-part without droppers	No
Badly built	O.K.	Poor	None	Loose, unrepaired but there is also a bush fence	Yes
Good	O.K.	"	"	Bush and wire, some droppers missing	Yes
Breached, poor design, needs repair	Eroding	"	"	Not well formed. Also a bush fence	Yes
"	Eroding, wall washed away	"	Erosion	No droppers	Yes
Good	Eroded	"	None	No droppers; incomplete	No
"	O.K.	Fair	Some	None	Yes
"	"	Poor	None	Incomplete, no droppers	Yes
"	"	"	"	O.K. except no droppers	Yes
Good but cattle on it	Eroding - poor design much water lost	"	Much	"	Yes
O.K.	O.K.	"	None	Good	Yes
"	"	"	"	Not yet	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Nokayaga-techa	CPA/21	Still under construction 1980	-	-
Leupane	SC65	1935-by tribe '50-60s breached 1968 - rebuilt 1970 - improved	3/4	Did not hold water long
Leupane A	SC75	1921-by tribe 1968-spillway washed away 1970-rebuilt	1/4	A long time
6.4. SEROWE Survey June 1980				
Lekwapa	CE/1	1976	1/2	Quite a long time
Matsoda-dikgang	CE/2	1976	"	Fair, but leaked for 2 years
Marukuru	CE/3	1976	3/4	A long time
Komotaka	CE/4	1976	"	All year
Kgaswe	CE/5	1976	1/2	A long time
Botlhap-akolobi	CE/6	1977	1/4	6 months; leaks
Janyane	CE/7	1977	1/2	Failed to hold water for 2 years, but improving

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUPS DATA
"	"	"	Some	"	Yes
Good	O.K.	Fair-poor	None	A bit loose and broken	No
Cut by animals	O.K. but wall gone	"	"	"	No
Good	Good	Fair-poor	None	Underway	Yes
"	"	Fair	None	None	Yes
"	"	Poor	"	Partly broken	Yes
"	"	"	"	Loose, no droppers	Yes
"	"	"	A lot	Underway	Yes
"	O.K., but 3:5 & 2:3 walls badly eroded	"	Some	"	Yes
"	Good	"	None	"	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Thoma	CE/8	1977	1/2	Improving
Masudua-kgopo	CE/9	1977	Full	Good
Shakge	CE/10	1977	Dry	Leaks
Mmama-rontshe	CE/11	1977	1/2	A long time
Mabolawa	CE/12	1978	Dry	Not long: poor catchment
Matebesu	CE/13	1980	-	Built 1980
Manstsha-didi	CE/14	1978	3/4	A long time
Motshe-galetau	CE/15	1978	Dry	Poor catchment
Masoko	CE/16	1978	1/2	A long time
Radit-shipi	SC35	1970	Dry	A short period
Ditlh-arapa	SC45	1970	Dry	"
Ramaj-aalela	SC55	1970	1/2	A long time

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Cattle on it, but O.K.	O.K.	Good	None	None	Yes
Eroding (poor soil)	O.K. but 3:5 & 2:3 walls badly eroded	"	"	Partly fenced	Yes
Good	O.K.	"	"	"	Yes
"	Eroding badly	"	Some	Incomplete - without droppers	Yes
"	O.K.	"	Little	Underway	Yes
"	"	"	None	Bush	No
"	Completely eroded	Poor	Erosion	Materials available, but not yet built	Yes
Eroding	O.K. but 3:5 & 2:3 walls badly eroding	Good	None	Bush fence	Yes
A little erosion	O.K.	Fair	-	Underway	Yes
Cattle on it, but O.K.	O.K. except for 3:5 slope	Poor	Some	Completely broken	No
"	O.K.	"	"	Broken and loose	No
Cattle on it, but O.K.	O.K.	Poor	Some	Broken and loose	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
6.5. MAHALAPYE Survey end June 1980				
Mmamodijane Mmadipoo	CPA/12	1978	3/4	Leaked first year, but improving
Mokobeng	CPA/13	1978	1/4	Improving a bit, none held 1st year due to leakage
Ngwapa	CPA/14	1978	1/2	"
6.6. KWENENG N. & S.				
Manyelanong	KW/8	1978	Little	Lasts only 6 months, even when it fills, due to leakage; in poor years does not fill due to poor catchment
Kgope	KW/9	1976	1/2	Used to leak and dry up after 3 months, but improving and now holds water 5-6 months
Segomotlhabe	KW/10	1976	1/2	All year
Letswa-tswa	KW/11	1976	Dry	Poor catchment - doesn't fill
Ngotshwane	KW/12	1977	1/2	Holds water 6-8 months
Galetlhokwane	KW/13	-	Full	Backing up 1/2 km
Digwagwa	KW/14	1977	1/2	Leaks due to porous soil, but fills
Mosinki	KW/15	1970, washed away 73-74, rebuilt 1977	1/2	Can hold water all year, but will fill with sand quickly

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Good	Eroding: wall washed away	Poor	None	Bush only, poles lying	Yes
"	"	"	"	O.K.	No
"	O.K.	"	"	Part wire, part bush	Yes
Poor material eroding	Eroding 5:3 slope, otherwise O.K.	Poor	-	O.K.; gate kept closed	No
"	"	"	-	Bushes	No
O.K.	O.K.	Fair-good	-	Broken at one end	No
"	"	Good	-	O.K.	No
"	"	Poor	-	O.K.	No
"	"	Good	-	Good, locked	No
"	"	Poor	-	"	No
O.K., but will not last - hollow in middle	O.K.	"	Much	Destroyed by cattle on one side	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Bodit-sane	KW/16	1977	1/4	Leaked at first but now better, but does not fill due to poor catchment
Thaone (Mole-polole)	KW/17	1933- by tribe breached 1974 KRDA request rebuilding	Full	A lot of seepage
Sepene	KW/18	1978	1/2	Filled for the first time in 1980; catchment not very good
Dikhutlane	KW/19	1979	-	Breached by first rains because of wrong design
Sefatl-hare E.	KW/20	1980	Full	Backing up 1/2 km
Gakgatla	SC/18	1960s 1970 rebuilt 1976 breached 1977 rebuilt	Dry	Held water throughout the year before drought. Only water in area
Kubung	SC/19	1970	Full	Has held water through-out the year, but now silted and spillway lowered by erosion; capacity reduced from 10 to c. 4 million gallons
Gakgatla	SC/20	1970, rebuilt 1974 after breaching and washed out spillway	1/4	Could hold all year, but overstocked
Makgon-oakgosi	SC/21	1970	Full	Whole year but silted so capacity reduced from 17 to c. 6 million gallons
Sefat-lhare	SC/21A	1970	Dry	Used to hold water for over 6 months, depending on rains (3 million gallons)

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
O.K.	O.K.	Fair	None	Very well maintained and locked	Yes
Poor design, will erode	"	Poor	Problem	Very good	No
O.K.	"	-	-	Bush	Yes
Breached	"	Poor	Much	Not yet	Yes
Bad - rained on before complete	"	"	"	Not yet, but planned	Yes
O.K.	"	"	-	Broken and trampled in places	Yes
Badly trampled by animals	Badly eroded, so reduced capacity	Poor	Erosion	Broken	Yes
Completely destroyed by animals	O.K.	Poor	Some	Broken - replaced by bush fence	Yes
O.K. but animals trampling may erode it.	Eroding	Poor	Very bad	Broken	Yes
O.K.	O.K.	"	Little	Partly broken, reinforced by bush	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Diphephe	KW/1	1974	Dry	Never over 6 months; leaks badly due to lime soil
Mamok-gethi	KW/2	1974	Full	Holds water throughout the year, but can fail due to overstocking.
Mamasil-ware/ Manok-wana	KW/3	1975	1/2	Can hold water all year, providing good rain and not overstocked
Motlol-etswe-tshega	KW/4	1975	1/2	"
Rapalane Makanke	KW/5	1975	Full	Can hold water for c.6 months providing good rain and not overstocked
Gakutlwe	KW/6	1975	Full	Can hold water for whole year, providing good rain and not overstocked
Mmamhiko	KW/7	1976	Full	"
6.7 KGATLENG Survey mid June 1980				
Bokaa/ Molong-wane	KG/1	1974	Dry	Only fills for 3 months due to very poor catch-ment; some leakage. Needs replacing
Maganong/ Malotwane	KG/2	1974	Some water	Leaked 1st 3 years; can hold for over 6 months

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
O.K., no animals; grass growing	O.K.	Good	None	Partly broken	No
Ruined in part by trampling	Earth - O.K.	Poor - very overgrazed	Much	Broken one side, repaired by bush	No
O.K.	O.K.	Poor - heavy overgrazing	Some erosion	Gates locked. Fence broken here & there	Yes
O.K. but many animals on it	"	Poor	-	Loose & broken in places; gate poles broken	Yes
O.K.	"	"	-	Maintained and locked	Yes
Starting to erode - poor material	"	"	-	Loose and broken one end	No
O.K.	O.K. some erosion 5:3 slope	Poor	-	"	Yes
"	O.K., except 3:5 and both 2:3 slopes eroding	Fair	None	Good	Yes
Good, nicely covered with grass	O.K., except 3:5 slope eroding, concrete	"	"	Loose on one side	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Moologe	KG/3	1975	Some water	Can hold water all year if there is enough rain.
Rabots-iripa	KG/4	1976	Dry	Can hold water all year, but did not fill 78/79.
Belabela	KG/5	1975	1/4	"
Dithejane	KG/6	1975	Little water	"
Segakwana	KG/7	1976	Dry	Leaked badly every year due to porous soil and lime
Monannye	KG/9	1976	Dry	Leaks badly, very poor catchment, lasts only 3 months
Bantlape	KG/8	1976	Dry	Lasted whole year once, but rain not filled it since
Morwa/ Tshwere	SC1M	1967	1/2	All year if good rains otherwise half full
Bokaa	SC2M	1967	1/2	"
Mopipi	SC3M	1938 by tribe: 1967 improved and repaired	Mud only	Used to hold water for a long period
Motlopi	SC4M	1938 by tribe; 1967 repaired	Dry	Never held water for long
Borejane "No. 7"	SC5M	Late 30s; rebuilt 1967	1/2	Whole year, but dries up after 8 months in poor year

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Good, nicely covered with grass	O.K.	Fair-good	None	Good	Yes
Good	"	Fair	"	"	Yes
"	O.K. except for 3:5 slope	"	Little	Broken and loose at one end	No
"	O.K.	"	"	Good	No
"	"	Good	None	Broken at one corner	Yes
Good covered with grass	Earth; O.K.	Fair-good	None	Good	No
"	"	Good	"	Damaged at one point, loose at one end	No
Cattle trampling is becoming bad.	Eroding a bit	Fir-poor	Some	Never fenced	No
O.K. but being trampled	"	Poor	"	"	No
Trampled	Earth-O.K.	Fair	Little	"	No
"	"	"	"	"	No
Eroding and trampled	Concrete, rock & gravel - a bit eroded	"	Some	"	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Kgalap-itse	SC6M	1970	Some	Used to last all year, but now silted.
Trie Kpie	SC7M	1970; breached 1971; rebuilt 1971; breached 1978; rebuilt 1979 by locals	None	-
Bodumatau	SC8M	1970	Dry	Can hold water for a period
Lephala	SC9M	1970	Dry	Can hold water all year if rain is good
Ditloung	SC10M	1970	Some water	Can hold water for over 6 months
Thagale	SC11M	1970	Dry	Could hold water for a long period
6.8 SOUTH-EAST Survey early June 1980				
Sefoka	SE/7	1977	1/2	Can hold water all year
Sefoka	SE/8	1977	Dry	Leaks badly, has never held water for more than 3 months
Tlebegwane	SE/9	1979	3/4	Holding water for first time 1980
Disana	SE/10	1980	Some	Still under construction

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Good	Earth and gravel O.K.	Poor	Little	Fence is completely destroyed	Yes
Wall breached by water pressure	Earth - O.K.	"	"	"	No
Gullied from trampling	"	Fair	None	Mostly broken	No
Good	"	Good	"	Loose and broken on one side	No
Cut by trampling	"	Fair	"	Completely destroyed	No
"	Earth is eroding	Poor	"	Now fenced	No
O.K. but many animals on it	O.K. - earth	Poor	Little	None	No
O.K.	"	Good on South side, but poor on North west	-	O.K.	No
O.K.	O.K.	Poor	Not much	O.K.	Yes
-	-	Poor	Much	-	Yes

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Maokam-atshw-aane		1970; breached; rebuilt 1971 and 1972; breached; 1973 rebuilt by locals; breached	Dry	Breach
Mabyea-dikgok-ong		1970; breached	Dry	None
Metsemas-waane	SE/1	1973	1/2	Can hold water all year; little silting
Tsokwane	SE/2	1974	1/2	Can hold water all year if good rains
Egepeto	SE/3	1976	Full	Holds water all year
Mamogofu	SE/4	1976	1/2	Can hold water all year, but poor catchment
Maratad-ibe Rampot-sanyane	SE/5	1976	Dry	Leaks badly - only lasts 3 months
Matlokana	SE/6	Rebuilt 1976	Little water	Only filled once; poor catchment

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Breached	Eroded	"	Erosion	Never	No
Breached	"	Good	-	Completely broken	No
O.K. but some cattle on it	O.K.; concrete & gravel	Poor	Not much	Broken	No
Cattle on it - becoming bad	Rock or gravel; badly eroding	"	Erosion	Broken, gate down for 2 years	Yes
O.K. but many live-stock on it.	O.K. - earth and rock	"	None	Completely destroyed	No
"	"	"	"	Completely destroyed; gate down for 2 years	No
O.K.	Concrete; O.K.	Fair	Little	Loose and broken at one end	No
O.K., but livestock on it	Earth; O.K.	Poor	"	None	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
6.9 NGWAKETSE N & S Survey May 1980				
Gampudi	SC/8	1968	Full	Original capacity 15-17 million gallons, silting has reduced it to 5-10 million
Moshana	SC/9	1968	Full	-
Gasegog-wane	SC/10	1969	Full	-
Garamorai	SC/9A	1969	1/2	-
Mmase-hudula	SC/7A	1969	1/4	-
Moshupa	SC/11	1968	Full	17-20 million gallons, reduced to 9-12 million. Used to back up 8 km, now 3-4 km.
Ditsob-otlane	SC/12	1969	Dry	Bad seepage after first rains caused breach, possibly due to siltage raising water level
Galetlh-okwane	SC/13	1969	1/2	Badly silting
Matlhakola	SC/14	1969	Very little	Completely silted; holds water - just spills over
Mmolutso	SC/15	1969	Dry	-

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
O.K. but being trampled	O.K. - concrete	Poor	-	Broken	No
O.K.	O.K.	"	Bad	Fair	No
"	"	"	Over-stocked	Bush fence	No
Animal trampling -losing shape	"	"	-	None	No
O.K.	Eroding	Fair	-	None	No
O.K. but cracked	Concrete-O.K.	Bad	Very bad	Completely destroyed-long stretches down, especially upstream. No maintenance	No
Breached Jan. 1980	Concrete-O.K.	Fair	Bad	Broken	Yes
O.K. but being trampled	Concrete, but broken at one end	Fair	"	"	Yes
Fair	Eroded	Bad	Eroded	Destroyed	No
O.K. covered with grass	Completely eroded	Fair	Extremely bad	Loose	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Manyane	SC/16	1970	1/2	Badly silted and ball valve leaking
Saakar-wane/ Dialane	SC/17	1970	1/2	-
Bikwane		1970	Mud	-
Fikeng (A)		1970	Full	-
Sehudi	SO/7	1977	Dry	Held water for 7 months, but has not filled since drought
Dithakadu	SO/8	1978	Dry	Never filled - drought
Matebele	SO/9	1977	Very little - mud	Half filled after construction - lasted 9 months, then drought
Metsae	SC/1	1967	Full	Whole year; 7-10 million gallon capacity reduced to 3-5 million due to silting
Matlhot-shana	SC/2	1967	"	Original capacity 9-15 million gallons, reduced to 4-7 million due to silting
Mokgal-wana	SC/3	1967	3/4	Capacity of 5-10 million gallons reduced to 2-5 million by silting; much loss of water by leakage through holes in hose to trough
Taveshele	SC/5	1968	Just mud	5-7 million gallons capacity reduced to 1-3 million gallons by silting
Tletlisi	SC/6	1068	Dry	No water for last 2 years

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
O.K. but trampled	O.K.	"	-	Completely destroyed	No
Being trampled and losing shape	O.K.	Poor	Extremely bad	Broken at one point. Gate closed	No
Trampled	Completely eroded	Bad	"	Broken down	No
Completely trampled	O.K.	Poor	Fair	"	No
O.K.	"	Good	-	O.K. gate closed	Yes
"	"	"	-	"	Yes
"	"	"	-	Broken and loose. Gate closed	Yes
O.K. but livestok on it	Eroding due to silting	Very poor	High	Broken & fallen; no control of livestock	Yes
Animal trampling will reduce wall life	Concrete-still good	"	Overstocked	Broken all over	No
"	O.K.	"	-	Broken and loose	Yes
O.K. but being trampled	"	Very poor	-	Completely destroyed	No
"	Badly eroded	"	-	"	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Ngangale	SC/7	1968	Dry	No water for last 2 years
Makapane		1969	1/2	-
Fikeng (B)		1970	1/2	-
Mogonnye		1971	1/2	-
Matsibidiki	SC/22	1970	1/2	-
Rankwakwa	SC/23	1970	Full	
Tshwaane	SC/1A	1967	1/4	Breached due to high siltage or possibly animals burrowing in the wall
Molapowa-basadi		1969	1/2	-
Morule		rebuilt 1974	Full	Much silting
Ranaka,/ Kwahu	SO/1	1974	1/2	-
Lwale	SO/2	1974	1/4	Has no catchment - poor siting so never fills
Lwale	SO/2A	1978	None	Breached - due to wrong design, poor material or compaction

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
O.K.	Completely washed away	"	Bad	-	No
"	O.K.	Poor	-	O.K.; gate locked; cattle watering controlled	No
O.K.	O.K.	Fair-poor	-	None	No
O.K. but being trampled	"	Bad	Some	Broken down	No
"	Little eroded	Poor	Very bad	"	No
"	O.K.	"	"	Completely destroyed	No
Breached	"	"	Some	Broken and loose	Yes
Good	"	"	-	O.K.	Yes
O.K. but animals on it	O.K.	"	Heavy	Loose and broken in pieces	Yes
Animal trampling eroding wall	"	Fair	None	Broken - many openings	Yes
O.K. but being trampled	O.K. but eroding on 3:1 slope	Poor	Much	Broken in places	Yes
Breached	O.K.	"	"	Broken near gate	No

APPENDIX 6

CONDITION OF DAMS BUILT

DISTRICT Name of Dam	DAM NO.	DATE OF CONSTRUCTION	FULLNESS OF DAM	WATER HOLDING CAPACITY
Magotl-hwane	SO/3	1974	Full	Pump/float not working
Kgomok-asitwa	SO/4	1974	1/4	Leaking badly as ball valve broken
Ntlhantlhe	SO/5	1977	3/4	-
Mamonkge	SO/6	1977	1/2	-

CONDITION OF WALL	CONDITION OF SPILLWAY	GRAZING CONDITIONS	EROSION	CONDITION OF FENCE	REPORTED IN GROUP DATA
Free of cattle	O.K.	Poor due to 1979 drought	Over-grazed	Properly maintained and locked; inside of fence good grass cover	Yes
O.K. free of cattle	"	Poor	Heavily grazed	Broken all over; gate valve leaking - cracked. ? hit by hammer	No
O.K.	O.K.	"	"	Well kept; gate closed	No
"	"	Bad	"	Partly broken; gate kept closed	Yes

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
7.1. NGAMILAND(WEST)						
S.W. Ngami Farmers Assoc. (Sehitwa/ Maun)	1978	26		P10.00 joining	-	Asked Govt. for help finding a driller
7.2. NGAMILAND (EAST)						
Phuduhudu (Nxangu) Well	1978	10		1 beast per member pledged	None as yet - cattle cannot be marketed	
Rakops (2 synd-icates)	April 1979	10 10 (but not organised)		None		
Rakops well Makalam-abedi well	1979 1979			None		
Mopipi (2 BH synd-icates)	1979	2 5				
Motopi	1979					
Rakops (Maabe)	1979	25				

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
Cattle watering in L. Ngami/ Hainaveld areas	1) Awaiting NDB approval to buy drilling rig. 2) FMD calle sale restrictions prevent group buying new rig for cash	1. Membership includes four smaller syndicates of 2,2,3 and 5 members each; have constition. 2. Second hand rig was avalabile in Ghanzi but NDB loan application (early 79) not approved for 2nd hand equipment.
Cattle watering	Old hand dug CDC well in use - to be machine equipped	1. Group formed to escape drought situation at Khumaga and establish cattlepost 2. Problem for future permanent settlement as the area is presently State Land and disputed between Central and NW Districts
Cattle watering away from overgrazed Boteti river	Were hoping Government would come and drill	1. Group applied for borehole, engine, powerhead, reservoir, trough and fence. 2. Reported that groups hoped borehole and equipment would be provided free.
Cattle watering away from Boteti "	Were proposing either well equipment or water reticulation	1. Both groups not very organised. Propose either (a) equipment of wells with engine/handpump or (b) pump and piping to reticulate water from Boteti out to better grazing.
Cattle watering away from Boteti	Old colonial boreholes: - proposed stage	1. Proposal to have boreholes equipped.
Cattle watering away from Boteti	Wanted LG17 to pump and reticulate water from Boteti	1. Reported that some opposition to the project arose during VDC he -aring reflecting community leadership problems
Cattle watering away from Boteti river and lands	Want funds to assist well blasting or equipment	1. Need well for watering cattle away from lands after lands fenced

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DSITRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
7.3. TUTUME						
Marapong	Early 1979	60		P5.00 joining	Over P2,000	GDO and APO assisting negotiations with Dept. of Water Affairs
7.4. TATI						
Tonota	Late 1978	60				GDO helping drafting of constitution
Makaleng (Toteng)	Oct. 1979	Group not formally		Not fixed	P300 including two P100 donations	(Want AE10)
7.5. PALAPYE						
Dikabeyana FC	1980	34 - same as fence		Not yet started	-	
7.6. SEROWE						
Segakwana	1979	65 so far contributed *(1)	Estimated c.1000+ (most households own only few cattle, some none)	P75 raised to P100	P2262 plus 3 cattle (April 1980)	Hope to apply AG15 grant; may apply to register as AMA; drilling quotation P4000 incl. full equipment

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
Domestic and Livestock at lands area	Existing roads BH to be equipped; still negotiating take-over	1. Have Constitution
Communal	Proposal stage	1. Group concerned about newcomers to area after BH developed; Constitution to cover the situation re rights of new residents
Domestic village supply	Planning ongoing though nature of project still undecided (see also under dam groups)	1. Village wishes either to reticulate water the 2 1/2 km from Makaleng, or develop a borehole or even deepen some existing old well/or dams. Intentions confused by lack of clear water development policy and by village regrouping policies in NED which Toteng strongly resists.
Domestic/ livestock at lands (outside fence)	Proposed - group just completed lands enclosure fence	1. Presently water at local open wells or at Palapye river when megobi dry.
To provide permanent water when dams dried up - for domestic/ livestock *(2)	Approved by Land Board - 79	1. About 100 households in area - most expected to join; so far only 21 paid P75.00; others smaller amounts except for 5 beasts donated. 2. Segakwana FC in 1968 raised R194 towards an attempt to deepen and equip an old survey BH. The contractor hit rock. The aim was to secure a reliable all-year water source in addition to Matono and Rramajoalela dams.

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
Paje (3 syndicates)						
Thabala (7 syndicates)						
Mosu (2 syndicates)						
Serowe East (3 associations)	1980	Same as dam groups	About 1000 altogether	-	Not yet started	Possible AMA registration
7.7. MAHALAPYE						
Mojakubu					P400 (12/79)	
Pilikwe 2 syndicates						
Machaneng						
Mosolotshane 3 syndicates						
Shoshong 6 syndicates						
7.8. KWENENG (N)						
Boatlaname (2 syndicates						
Mmamarobole	1978	26				
Medie	1978	48 farm families			P1000	Group thought Govt.would come & drill

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
? communal/sandveld cattle watering		Reported GDO baseline 5/78
? mostly sandveld cattleposts		Reported GDO baseline 5/78
		" " " " "
Permanent water in addition to dams	Applied Ngwato Land Board	1. Kgaswe, Mmantshadidi, Janyane dam groups plan to equip 3 old GS boreholes. Serowe East FC negotiating.
	-	From DAO 3MP report 12/79; reported lack of cooperation among members.
		Reported in GDO baseline 5/78
		" " " " "
Sandveld cattleposts		Reported GDO 5/78; all having organisational problems.
Assume - sand-veld cattleposts		
	No information	Reported GDO Oct '78 baseline No AD in post 1979/80 - no up to date report
		Reported GDO Oct '78 baseline AD new in area 1980 - report not confirmed.
Communal water supply for live-stock watering	Interested in AMA registration (GDO 8/80)	1. Reported group may dissolve itself - possible link with 3 dam groups recently formed. (AD, 3/80)

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
7.9. KWENENG (S)						
Monwane Farmers Assoc.	1972 - 1978	About 160* with committee of 5 and constitution		P10.00	P1000* (radio Botswana July 80) originally intended towards loan deposit	LG 17; P4000 from Council and remainder MoA.
Letlhakeng (Mmadiaketso) (plus 3 others - Tshwabi, Rasehihi and Setshe)	March 79	7	450	-	P4500 loan to equip BH	
(Boikago BH Syndicate) Thamaga/ Molepolole		9	500+	P200		
Khudumelapye (Mothathe)	1979	10	480	P100 + one beast	P3774	
(Mokhutla)	1978	9	508	P100 + one beast	P2249	

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
Domestic (village) and livestock water at Monwane lands area 30 km NW Molepolole	Being implemented with recent Council/ Govt. approval; out to tender (7/80) Borehole drilled 7/80	1. Manwane - productive lands area with population of about 800 in area (200 FFs). Current water sources - wells in pan and one low yielding BH with hand pump (broken 9/79 report). 2. BH project suggested by DAS. 3. Has been controversy over funding in terms of definition of Monwane as "lands" or "village". (Council up till recently gave it a low priority for village water). 4. Fund raising progress reported difficult (late 79) due to social divisions in community (Bakgalagadi reluctant)
Communal area livestock water	Equipped 3/79	1. These 4 syndicates reported 1980 compare with GDO 1978 baseline plus 2 which were reported to have applied to Land Boards
Cattlepost water; now commercial ranch allocation	Allocated SDA ranch in North Kweneng	1. Members from Thamaga and Molepolole with lands at Monwane and Mereatswe - using hand equipped council B/H. 2. Planned to drill B/H in what was zoned communal area. Allocated commercial site 4 km from original site.
Cattle posts "	Sites allocated	1. GDO in 1979 was in contact to encourage drafting of constitution allowing for contributions proportional to cattle nos. 2. ? 3rd syndicate of 12 interested in SDA.

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
Gabane (Kopano synd.)	1975	12		P200	P2300	
Takatokwane (Lekgwabe)	?	Over 20	Very large number	P2/head year		
7.10. KGATLENG						
Dinogeng (Ditlhogwe)	1978	22	400	?amount		
Matlage (Ntsekeletse)	1976			P200		
Rasesa (4 syndicates)						
Mathubud-ukwane (2 Synd-icates)						
Olifants Drift (10 synd-icates)						
Malotwana	1980			-		-
Tomosi	1960	12		P2.00/ year		
7.11. SOUTH EAST						
Ramotswa S. (3 Syndicates)						
Ditsotswane				P200		Possible ALDEP supp-ort or SLOCA

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
	Long awaiting allocation by Land Board	1. Reported GDO baseline 1978 2. Has constitution 3. Currently reported that group discouraged by time taken for land allocation (GDO 8/80)
Cattle watering;		1. Reported (?) disputed between headman and community. 2. Reported broken down most of 1979; cattle moved to nearby private BHs.
Domestic and livestock at lands	Proposed	1. Group reported to want to change from dam project to BH.
Domestic and livestock at lands	Proposed	1. Group wants to change from dam to BH, after waiting 4 years for a dam.
		Reported GDO baseline Oct.78
		" " " " "
		" " " " " (No AD 1980 - report not confirmed)
Communal lands/ cattle watering	Proposed	1. Group next to Malotwana dam.
		1. Group contribute to pay workers
		Reported GDO Oct. 78 baseline (one confirmed by GDO 1980)
Communal lands/ grazing/domestic	Proposed	1. Want BH re-equipped with windmill

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
7.12 NGWAKETSE (N)						
Pitseng	1979					
Nhane						
7.13 NGWAKETSE (S)						
Pelotshetlha BH syndicate	About 1968	20		P10/year + P1.00 per head per year	Ongoing -pay expenses including pumper	-
Kanngwe BH Syndicate		Over 125 FFs at Kanngwe	786 cattle 120 donkeys 1253 small-stock (1980)	P1.40/LSU per year + P3.00 house-hold annual fees	Ongoing -pay expenses including pumper	-
7.14 BAROLONG						
Sheep Farm BH Syndicate		60		P10.50/ HH/month	P150 as deposit towards engine 1979	Assisted by BCC to purchase engine (DAO;1/80)

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
	Proposed	
		Needs AG15 for water reticulation and trough (DAO Report 3/80)
Domestic and livestock at lands	Old Council BH leased to syndicate for use of Pelotshetlha residents	1. Council trying to encourage wider membership to raise more funds for repairs and maintenance. 2. Most HHs in Pelotshetlha use BH except those having wells in Western side. 3. P1.00/head/year fees same for members and non members.
Domestic and livestock at lands/grazing	Old Council BH	1. P3.00 household fee increased to P5.00 if have hired labour. 2. Watering fees annual - cow P1.40, donkey P1.20, calf 55t, Smallstock 35t.
Village/lands/ livestock	Old colonial BH equipped by Council: ongoing	1. Pumper paid by Syndicate. 2. Group re-equipped engine originally supplied by Council

APPENDIX 7

BOREHOLE DRILLING, DEVELOPMENT, EQUIPMENT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE FORMED	MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK	FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE
Malokaganyane (reservoir group)	1970 started collecting	68 inc.to 72 (Committee of 11)	Over 1000 cattle + 100 donkeys 800 small-stock	2. P6.00 joining paid by 48. Some others paid part fee. 2. P1.00 per month started 1979. 38 paid P176 so far (3/80)	P420 P362 used on project 1979. P42 in balance (3/80) Total includes P5.00 fees paid by 12 who did not labour. (see by-laws appendix)	Tried Council 1974; AE10 1978 rejected as water to be used for cattle watering. AG15 is not available 78. Group finally assisted by US Embassy
Borobadilepe BH Syndicate	May 1979	50		P40 now P60	P750 approx. (4/80)	Applied AG15 1979 for P2231 towards BH repairs: to reapply 1980
Bethel	1979					Applied AG15 - rejected
Ramatlabama	1979	65		P24 joining fee		Applied AG15 for pipes, trough, reservoir. Rejected as only 16 members contributed
Hebron	78/79	28		P25/ member		
Metlojane						

PURPOSE OF BOREHOLE	PROJECT STATUS	FURTHER COMMENTS
Reservoir used for domestic, livestock at mixed lands/ grazing/village area.	Early 1930s borehole: group dug trench (1.4 km) installed pipe; reservoir built by group treasurer (a blacksmith) who was to be paid P372. Completed reservoir (P20 ft diam. 6 ft deep) in use 1980	1. Reservoir operator paid P30/ month from monthly subscriptions. 2. Members also from Bethel, Kgaro. 3. Group sent P358 to Council 1974 requesting matching grant. No action ever reported. 4. Water free of charge from Govt. Bull Camp/AI centre as compensation because Govt. sank BH at site of Malokaganyane hand well and dispossesed people of its use after tribal ranch taken over. 5. Trench digging and other labour provided by 30 members; 4 provided tractors to haul sand etc. and were reimbursed diesel. 6. Group has unwritten constitution and is currently (4/80) planning kgotla to try to implement them.
Livestock + domestic/ communal area lands - grazing	AG15 rejected. To reapply 1980. ? still out of order.	1. Some people have joined neighbouring syndicates at Sheep Farm and Papatlo. 2. AG15 rejected 1979 as contribution too low - P400 from few members.
Communal	For BH equipment	1. AG15 rejected due to low contribution.
? communal village/ livestock/ lands	To equip BH & reticulate	1. Still under discussion whether BH is to be a communal village project or restricted to fewer members who can afford. 2. Controversy over whether meeting was representative when P24 agreed fee.
Communal lands/grazong	Reticulation proposed	1. Want to reticulate water to livestock away from Council BH (DAO, Jan. 80).
	No details	1. Reported to exist (DAO Jan,80)

APPENDIX 8

COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBER OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP		GRANT ASSISTANCE	
					(A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	(A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
8.1. NGAMILAND(W)								
Mohembo (Xhaugwe)	1976	FC	?Whole community	Varied P1-P4	P300 1979	Bought all materials with NDB loan of P1,400	-	-
8.2. NGAMILAND(E)								
Khumaga (Botloko) (1)	1979	(FC) - sub group	12	-	-	100 poles cut by Feb. 1980	P970 AE10	Wire to be supplied when poles cut. LAC out of stock.
Khumaga (2)	1979	- sub group	11	-			P880 (2/80)	" 24 HS; 5 BW
Machana (Mopipi)	1979	Cttee/ FC	72	P5.00	-	Cutting poles Dec. 79	P2,200	Wire delivered March 1980. 60 HS; 8BW
Madikola (Boona)	1979	VDC	12					
Toromoja (Madidiba)	1979	One Cttee over 5 Sections	Not yet listed	-	-	Cutting poles	AE10 needed for wire and transport for poles	(wire)
Rakops	78/79	FC/VDC	-	-	Awaiting SLB allocation			
8.3. TUTUME								
Nzuzwane - Magapatona (TUTUME)	March 1976	-	140* subdivided into three groups/ fence sections	By some*		Bush Fence		
Nkange (Sonete)	1977	-	Whole community			Bush Fence		

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
-				Complete	-	-	1. Group in arrears of P1,032 to NDB. Had excess of 13 rools wire to be sold to repay NDB.
DO(L) Serowe	Applied 3/79 Approved 11/79	9	9	-	-	-	2 SUB GROUPS 1. Poles cut quite a distance from village. Wire to be supplied when poles cut as no storage available. 2. 5 members dropped out of Khumago group over misunderstanding on where fences should go. 3. Both fences are perimeter enclosures of about 2 km by 3km/2.5 km with 200 metre passage between for cattle to move to Botletle river.
"	"	8	-	-	-	-	
"	7/79	20	Being cleared	Being erected	-	-	1. New lands area site away from old Molopo lands liable to flooding. Problem is lack of water supply at Machara - need transport to haul drums. 2. Delivery of wire March 1980; truck broke down so unable to haul water or poles to site.
Not yet	Applied 1979						1. Want to plough at Mabe.
GDO + A/S	Rakos SLB thought area was State Land*	22 total	-	-	-	-	1. 5 separate fence enclosures of lands along Botletli river with open spaces of c.1-2 km inbetween for cattle access to river. 2* so group referred to DC Serowe. The area was changed to tribal in 1976. LB approval still to be finalised. 3. Very serious overgrazing and erosion and tree shortage. May need to include poles in AE10 request if local cutting impracticable due to transport. 4. Group proposed to cut poles 25 km away - but transport problems.
Not yet	Applied 78/79						1. Waiting 1 1/2 years for SLB approval - no transport available. 2. May be many members along a new line of lands areas.
		10		10			1. People originally wanted wire fence, but advised by Land Board in 1976 that TGLP meant they could not erect permanent fence at that stage. 2. Grazing to the east of fence; lands between fence and Tutume village - reported to be successful with possibility of renewal with wire fence. 3. AGRINEWS Sept.76 reported 108 farmers actually worked on building the fence, others working away from home contributed money. Headman strongly supported project. 4. Wire fence planned for 81/82.
							1. Runs North-South, starting south of Mkango with lands West, between it and the Selolwane fence, and grazing east of fence. 2. Wire fence planned for 81/82.

APPENDIX 8

COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBER OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (A) FUNDS	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (B) MATERIALS	GRANT ASSISTANCE (A) CASH	GRANT ASSISTANCE (B) MATERIALS
Tutume (Selolwane)	1977	-	Whole community			Bush Fence		
Nkange (Changate-Nkange)	Mid 1979*	Cttee. includes all 5 headmen of Nkange wards *(1)	Almost all members of community have contributed in their wards	P100 per ward P3-P5 per person depends on size of ward	P500	Some sections have started cutting poles	P3,350 estimated COST to be sought from AE10 (excludes P500 raised) (Approved 7/80)	-
Maitengwe	Aug. 1979	FC/ VDC	Same basis as Nkange	By wards	P293 (Nov. 79)		To apply AE10 8/80 Estimated cost P4,757 total	
8.4. BOBONONG Serule (Palamaokuwe)	1978	Yes (but initiated by FC)	15 members of 40 families at lands		P467 (7/80)			
Bobonong 1. Thuni lands enclosure	1976	Cttee. formed 1977 after most funds raised and 8km complete	Total 106 (88 from Thuni)	Variable	Members contributed rolls wire or P2,P5 etc. cut poles, erected fence, cut and fitted droppers.	17 rolls HS wire + ? rolls of Binding wire, tools etc.	P810 Oct. (1978)	Purchased 33 rolls wire

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
							1. Runs north south starting south of Nkange with grazing to the west of fence, and lands to east. SENETE and SELOLWANE bush fences form the east and west sides of an enclosure. 2. Reported that WIRE FENCE being planned 1981/82.
LUO Francis-town office	SLB approv. 8/79 Ngwato 12/79	43.5	West section from Maitengwe road clearing started 4/80	-	2 km SLOCA fence demo. by APO	Yes - See appendix on fencing by laws	1. 5 wards involved - MABUA, NDZONGA, Changate, Ipungu, Lesokwane, 6th ward in Nkange has separate lands on Southern side of Nkange river. 2. Line of fence approximately follows line of an older bush fence started in 1977. 3. Constitutuion not yet applied to any case. 4. Two sections; one east of Maitengwe road to border (Changate) one west over to Mazonga, Mabua, Sokwane. 5. No permanent water in c/p areas results in cattle congregating along Nkange river near lands after April/May. 6. Also no perm. water at lands - fetch from village by cart/bike. 7. Have raised P40.00 from fines levied on loafers, but not yet collected - still to go to kgotla. 8. Joins Maitengwe fence in NW of lands area to make enclosure.
LUO F'town office	As for Nkange	53	Not started	-	(Nkange SLOCA fence demon-stration)	-	1. Also based on old line of bush fence built around 1977. 2. Joins Zimbabwe border fence on SE side of lands. Narrow strip of communal grazing up Eastern side of fence between fence and Maitengwe river. 3. Joins Nkange fence on NW side to make complete enclosure of Nkange-Maitengwe lands area.
AO(LR) Serowe	Approved	6		-	-	-	1. Lands area 5 km long - mixed lands and grazing with one cattle post. Area 10 km south of Serule village. 2. Present status unknown due to death of AD leaving EA vacant (10/79). 3. AD replaced 3/80 - now working with Mgt. Committee.
AAO (LR) 1978	1977	17	All cleared	17 complete Oct. 79			1. Thuni Cttee. split into two sub. cttees after AE10 funds received in order to organise remaining work better. 2. AD upon arrival in EA 1977 facilitated formation of cttee to manage project as membership had reached 100, even though project was half completed. 3. Thuni lands area meets Maiswe lands at Bobonong-Sefhophe road. Maiswe farmers have more cattle which were damaging Thuni lands on their way to water at Thuni river - hence they also contributed. Some from Maiswe also plough at Thuni.

APPENDIX 8

COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBER OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	GRANT ASSISTANCE (A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
2. Maisve lands/c/posts	1977		25 (of the 106)	-	Rolls wire towards Thuni fence; as they plough there		-	-
MMADINARE NORTH - Manatsane Nkwanapedi Mmatau Mhatane lands - enclosure	1978	FC with 4 sub cttees	Not yet registered; whole lands community c.500	P20.00	50 poles per member. Started fund raising April 1980. - but lack funds due to FMD.	Not yet started cutting poles (April 80)	Not yet applied	-
Sefhophe	Feb. 1979	Cttee.	40	P10/man P5/woman if no husband	Over P3- (lack of contribution due to drought/FMD)		Will need Govt. assistance	
Mmadinare South	1979	Yes		P20.00	P40.00			
8.5. PALAPYE Locheng Dikabeyana lands	78/79	FC*	34	Various	P1,080	All the fence materials	P347 received 7/80	5 gates 4 rolls of binding wire
Setlatse East	Late 79	FC						
Setlatse West	1979	FC		P15 or 30 poles	P367			
Tamasane - Malaka	1978	Yes				Over 10 rolls wire	Applied 8/80 for P1693	

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
-	-	Fields fenced indiv-idually		-			1. Want cattle grid between Thuni fence and their fences to stop cattle moving up Bobonong road into their lands. 2. Need water devt. in their lands. Want dam group.
AO(LR) Serowe 1979	Applied Aug.79 SLB approved in principle *	46 (12500 ha enclosure)	Each group nearly completed sections (4/80)	-		See appendix - fence by laws (Printed 8/80)	1. Initial consultation in Mathabi ward Mmadinare since most farmers at Manatsane from there. Then VDC and main kgotla. 2. SLB allocation still pending all the 4 groups to complete cutting fence line. 3. Constitution finalised in Kgotla April 1980. 4. Delay in cutting line and establishing constitution due to leadership problems in Mathabi ward. FC has not had support from headman. 5. Main problem of lands area is water supply - for oxen and domestic - hence dam groups registered in same area.
Survey planned for 7-9/80 JMP	To apply after survey	Not yet surveyed	-	-		-	1. Serious crop damage due to there being no reliable water sources in grazing areas. Dam and wells very close to lands. 2. Progress severely hampered by drought and FMD cattle sale restrictions.
Not yet	Applied 1980						1. Group has applied VDC (consultation).
Not yet mapped (4/80)	Yes	20 (Enclo-sure)	All 20	20 built 3/80 (4 strands)			1. Initially headman was project leader. Then Palapye sub-area sub FC organised to undertake project. 2. SLOCA firebreak demonstration planned by APO. 3. Group also planning Borehole project.
	Yes						1. To join up with Lecheng Tswapong hills fence. 2. Sub committee of Palapye/Setlatse FC.
	Yes	18				Yes	1. Sub committee of Palapye/Setlatse FC. 2. To be a lands enclosure between railway fence, road fence project fence, and Loupane ranch fence.
GDO measured 11/8/80	Yes	27 initial proposal (possibly 45 ultimately)		9 km			1. Committee based at Tamasane/Malaka lands area. 2. Contributions slow, though chairman reported to have donated 10 rolls. 3. Had serious conflicts with owner of cattle at neighbouring borehole.

APPENDIX 8

COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBER OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP		GRANT ASSISTANCE	
					(A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	(A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
MAUNATLALA a) Seolwane	End 78	Cttee. for 2 sub area groups	(350 families in the lands area-proj. memo)	P10	P1,080 spent on wire	Bought 20 rolls 1979 10 rolls 3/80 2200 poles 6600 droppers	Applied P1,368	Applied for 30 rolls + 5 gates
b) Chalaole	End 78	Yes	"	P3	P550	In addition 10 rolls wire donated	-	-
c) Mototswane	New 1980	?	"	P3	Raising funds	Cutting poles	"	"
d) Kobale-Mabake	1980	New group	"	P3	"	"	"	"
e) Mokokwane Monweu	1980	Yes	"	P3	"	Poles cut + some wire donated	"	"
Lesonepole	1980	Yes	"	P10 man P5 woman	Over P80 (4/80)		"	"
MOGAPI Lands Enclosure	1978	FC	Whole community divided into 2 sections/sub groups	P30 or 1 roll wire	P839	43 rolls wire 5000 posts 22000 droppers	P2450	33 rolls wire bought for P1200. 5 gates to be bought (AE10 request covered 66 rolls HS 4 rolls BW 6 gates)

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
AD rough sketch for SLB	Applied May 79 Approved Aug. 79	22	1?/22? Firebreak planned	16 (4 strands)			1. Two groups have completed 4 strands wire fence without receiving AE10 assistance. If AE10 approved hope to help other groups with surplus wire. Two fences meet and continue north and west the ends of the Lerala (Makgobo) fences. See "CAPAD" resource book.
"	"	20	20	-			1. 10 rolls wire donated by 7 farmers - 1 farmer 4 rolls. 2. Fees are P2/man + P1/woman. 3. See CAPAD resource book.
Not yet mapped	"	"quite long"	Whole line	-			
"	"		Being cleared	-			
"	"		Whole line	party			All cleared, poles cut, holes dug, have started straining wire using rolls donated even though contributions not finished.
-	Not yet applied 4/80		-	-			
	Applied 78 Alloc. 3/79 *	34 (in two halves of 14.75 19.00) km	1. 10 2. 14 km all to 12 metre fire-break width	1. 5 2. 6 km planned comp-letion by Oct. 1980 (people presently busy at lands/ collecting phase)	1. FC two day MRTC field course 1978 on fencing. 2. FC training at MRTC Sept. 1979 (5 days)	By laws drafted 9/78	1. Delayed until June 1979 by Maunatlala SLB which alleged consultation inadequate, and misallocated southern boundary line across one farmer's field. All difficulties were due to one SLB member - the former Mogapi VDC Chairman who was against the project: full details "CAPAD" resource book (Dec. 79). 2. Two sub area groups - split area NE/SW. Membership of sub area group according to proximity of lands to fence line. 3. Whole fence line clearing is to 12 metre firebreak width. 4. More gates needed than the 5 planned. May be bought from the AE10 grant. 5. Need 2 road grids where N and S fence lines cross Bobonong-Palapye road. Becoming urgent problem as cattle move into lands along road on southern-side.

APPENDIX 8

COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBER OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (A) FUNDS	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (B) MATERIALS	GRANT ASSISTANCE (A) CASH	GRANT ASSISTANCE (B) MATERIALS
LERALA 1. Makgabo	1977	Cttee. under FC	45	P10/man F 2/woman	P414 941 poles 5240 + 21000 droppers	21 rolls wire bought	Total for whole Lerala fence of 6 groups P2640 which bought 80 rolls HS wire and 10 rolls Binding wire	15 rolls
2. Pakame	1978	"		"	P150 420 poles 12000 droppers	5 rolls bought for East section only		11 rolls
3. Nawane	1978	"		"	P81	5 rolls bought for East section only		13 rolls
4. Lewale-maake	1978	"	19	"	P80 plus 490 poles 1776 droppers	- Used AE10 rolls only		11 rolls
5. Motobetse	1978	"	45	"	P635 645 poles 3294 droppers	P434 spent on wire (12 rolls) + 3 gates		12 rolls
6. L phareng	1978	"	50 (less than 1/2 the sub area population)	P10/man only	P968 1518 poles 5680 droppers	P289 worth of fence wire (12 1/2 rolls contributed)		14 rolls
MAJWANENG	1979	FC						
8.6 SEROWE Mmashoro	1978	Yes	Whole community	-	Nil as yet	Cutting poles (80)		
Tshimoy-apula	1979	FC						
THABALA Masoko enclosures 1) 2) 3)	1977 with indiv. NDB fence loan. 1979 as group	FC Mgt. Cttee. with reps. of each 3 sub group	49	P20	P165 from 14 members	23 rolls HS 1 roll BW bought from P165. 3400 poles 10200 droppers.	P2108	82 rolls HS 4 rolls BW
Thabala Lesie enclosure	1979		Over 60		P800	7 rolls wire	Will apply.	

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
DO(L) NOTE: LUO is currently re-mapping and surveying length (8/80); 47 km total subject to correction (*)	Approved between Jan. 78 and April 78 after intervention by Ngwato Land Board	9	Whole length cleared to fire break width	E + W complete	1. 1977 - Fencing course	Yes	1. Total Lerala fence contribution 3564 poles, 15960 droppers and P1117 raised (AD's records). However, calculation of funds raised and wire value = P2880. 2. Motobetso contribution includes P106 from sale of 1 beast donated by one farmer whose cattle were causing crop damage. 3. Makgabo, Pakane, Nawane fences have two sections each - one on west side (under Tswapong hills) and one on east side of lands. Motobetso group covers the southern most section of the east fence only meeting the Palapye-Sherwood cordon fence. Lowalemaake and Lephaneng groups cover the southern end of the west fence as it follows the Tswapong hills round to meet Majwaneng village fence. Makgabo fences meet the southern ends of Seolwane fences to the north. 4. Completed sections of fence are complete except for droppers. 5. 1977-1978 one year delays caused by village leadership problems which FC, Agric. staff and Councillor finally managed to overcome. 6. Same leadership problems delayed contributions at Pakane, Nawane and Lowalomaake, now aggravated by FMD and stop of cattle sales. 7. Nawane people have 2 dam groups outside fence but near Makgabo lands - one on east side, one west side. Makgabo - no dam Lephareng and Motobetso groups each have one dam inside fence. 8. Full early details in "CAPAD" resource book (Dec. 79)
		9.5		East complete West starting	2. Lerala FC trained at MRTC - provides assistance to group sub. ottees with record keeping		
		7.5		"			
				Only partly fenced			
		10		All complete			
		10 * TOTAL 47					
	Approved	11 km	Whole length				1. Progress held up by Leadership problems in the village until Popular Theatre convinced people to elect one headman. Fence forms continuation of Lerala (Lephaneng) fence westwards along S.side Tswapong hills).
	Allocated		-	-	2 farmers attended FC training	-	1. Have not elected FC in village.
							1. At initiation stage - first group project in area. 2. Firebreak also proposed.
AAO(LR) Serowe	Approved 1979	34 total of original single enclosure of all 3 areas	1) All cleared + 2) 6 3) 5 km	1) 9km April 1980 2) 12 km (8/80) 3) -	1. Field course by MRTC 1979	Yes	1. New lands area, expanding in former c/p area. 2. Project divided into 3 working sub-groups for 3 separate enclosures. 3. Started with NDB loan in 1977 for fence for Masoko headman's field. 4. Held up by drought - no water supply, and no money. 5. FC plan fire break around fence. 6. In Masoko, 127 people now allocated lands; 70 ploughing (1979/80).
LUO to resurvey	Approved 3/80 after over year delay			-	1. Field course on fencing by MRTC, 1979		1. Same committee covers Itsokwane lands area. lands of Mogorogi people, and Masoko III, due to split of Masoko into 3. 2. Land Board delay may be connected with some confusion between Mogorosi/Itsokwane people and Thabala (Masoko) people over lands expanding into Mogorosi/Itsokwane grazing. Situation unclear.

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COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBERS OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP		GRANT ASSISTANCE	
					(A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	(A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
Segakwane	1977/78	FC	6 wards lands areas	P300-400 per ward	P1000 April 1980	-	-	-
Segakwana Mapoka	1979	Ward	25 women	-	Brewed beer	Husbands cut bush fence		
Mmatshumo	1979	None*			-	Poles cut (1979)	-	-
Letlhakane	1978	FC	25 contributed			-	AE10 to be discussed May 1980	-
Sajwe	1979	Same Cttee. as dam group	45 contrib. so far*		P1050 plus 2 oxen	Plus 3 rolls wire	Applied AE10 P966	-
Botepetope	1979		6		-		-	-

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
Fence + dams mapped 5/80	Not yet 4/80	About 14 3 km		- 2	- -	-	1. Each ward has 1-2 reps plus headman or FC. 2. Two wards not yet consulted as don't attend FC meetings. These wards will have to decide what to do as if fence ends at their lands their crops will get worst damage. 3. Dams are inside lands side of fence to prevent cattle coming to dams from outside areas like Mmantsadidi. 4. FMD problem - no cattle sales - holding up contributions. 5. Mapoka Ward fence was to protect their lands from nearby dam.
AO LR planned 5/80	-		3-4 km cut	-	-	-	1. Initiative to clear fence line taken in kgotla after information about AE10 presented by DO Orapa and Councillor. 2. No survey done. No organisational Committee formed to handle project. Serowe District Agric. staff plus Regional support staff now involved (April 1980) in project planning and organisation. FC needs re-election before capable of administering project.
To be mapped 5/80	Applied 3/80	Reported to be a large enclosure	-	-	-	-	1. Project will involve about 1/2 Letlhakane community who have lands on west of village. Includes headman. 2. Progress delayed by consultation with de Beers Co. on their territories/marks. 3. After fence cattle will still have to pass from grazing west of lands to Letlhakane village wells for water.
DO(L) 6/79		20 enclosure	c.10 (4/8	-	-	-	1. Group agreed to clear 12m firebreak. 2. Many more members to contribute than 45 so far. 3. Fence will leave dam on grazing side. 4. Sajwe lands is for Serowe and Palapye people about 40 km NE Serowe.
-	Yes	Enclosure	-	-	-	-	No progress yet.

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					(A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	(A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
8.7 MAHALAPYE								
Mmaphash-alala (lands enclosure)	1977	FC	40 contrib-uted so far (May 1980) of 98 FFs	P5.00 + P3.00 annual subs.	1979/80 P243 + 1 beast (full P5.00 fee paid by 32)	Bought 7 rolls wire 1979 Plan more contributions after 1980 harvest to buy gates	P400 (AE10-delayed 4 months)	9 rolls HS 2 rolls binding (Feb. 80)
Moshupha (Mabeleapudi lands)		FC		P5.00	P383 May 1980			
Sefhare (Tshiriletso group)	Aug. 1977	FC/ VDC/ sub ward fence groups reps.	60 (May 1980)	P5.00 per family	P650 June 1980	+ 3 rolls barbed wire (March 1980) Cutting poles (3/80)	AE10 memo prepared by DAO 6/80; P1625 approved 7/80 (phase I)	
TAUPYE 1. Mokgacha*	April 1979	*Cttee of 8 elected 7/79	31 (7/79)	Funds raised by parties	P185* and			
2. Tlhakole			About 20		P75 (May 80)			
KUDUMATSE Setaile	1979*	FC	35 (?20 contrib-uted) (of 70-80 FFs)		No money contributed since 9/79 - FMD	Old fence BUSH & WIRE	AE10 explained by GDO 4/79	

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
AAO(LR) Serowe	Old area allocated New extension applied for 1979	27 (includes 20 km built 1970/71)	All cleared except new lands ext.	20 plus 2 1/2 km (1979) Last 4 1/2 planned after 1980 harvest	1. 2 day field course 1978 by MRTC included tour to Sefhare fence project. 2. Sec. of FC attended Sept. 1979. FC irrig. at MRTC. 3. See note(5).	Yes - see appendix 26.2(iv)	1. 1979/80 effort represents the fourth fencing, maintenance or fence extension project in Mmaphashalala. In 1940 and again in 1969 bush fence enclosures were built. 1970/71 saw the first wire fence of about 1/2 the 1969 enclosure. The 1978/79 project completes the wire enclosure fence of 1800 hectares of lands (7 km x 2 km) 2. Mmaphashalala is currently applying to Land Board for an extension northwards of the lands area, and if approved, a fifth fencing phase of the extension will follow. 3. 1970/71 wire fence - VDC project - people contributed 2 rolls wire through NDB loan; building done and poles cut by those who did not buy wire. 4. Contributions 1980 slow due to drought and FMD. 5. Project used as field trip training case study for Sept. 79 and Oct. 80 MRTC FC training courses.
AO (LR) Serowe	Not yet approved (May 1980)	24					1. Fence is 11 km extension of Sefhare fence. 2. Contributions supposed to be by wards. Had difficulties with this system due to village leadership problems which retarded progress. 3. EA now vacant.
AO (LR)	July 1978 (see Note 3)	42	Over 10 km cleared, holes dug 3/80	-	1. Technical fencing field course by MRTC - 1978 2. Toured Lerala 1979	Yes	1. Related dam groups at Bobirwa, Dikhu lands. 2. Village population about 1600. 3. Most crop damage in Sefhare lands previously caused by cattle from adjacent Machaneng cattle posts. Project approved by SLB without consultation with Machaneng people. A dispute emerged which was settled Jan. 1979 by joint kgotla meetings and an alteration of southern fence boundary. Full details in "CAPAD" resource book published end 1979.
AAO(LR) plan to survey 6/80	Will apply after Survey		Line* cleared 12/79	-		By laws drafted by FC March 1980	1. Two lands areas - separate sub groups under Taupye FC 2. Mokgacha group has made more progress. 3. The two groups appear to be the same as 2 dam groups. 4. Progress delayed by village leadership problems.
AAO (LR) to map 6/80	-	600 hectare area = entimd. 14 km.	All	3/4 wire; rest old bush			1. Communal lands area of about 600 hectares originally bush fenced in late 1960s, plus wire from one cattle owner. 2. About 3/4 is now wire, and FC is strengthening and expanding the remainder. 3. Problem of support/ interest from non members reported.

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Mookane	April 1979	FC			P62 inc. to 4/79	P74 May 1980		
Dinokwe Palla Road (Ronwapitse)	1978	-	65 farmers registered names 1978 (village population c.1000)					
Shoshong (Kapye)	1979		5			Farmers bought their wire	-	
Morale Associated Cattlemen	1978	Yes	17 cattlepost owners (registered in constitution)	P50 joining fee	P272 at April 1980			
CHADIBE	1979	FC						
POLOKA	1978	FC						
8.8. KGATLENG								
Bokaa		FC*						

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
AAO LR Survey Planned 5/80	Applied for extension						1. FC initiating repair of old lands enclosure fence with expansion planned. 2. Delays up to 3/80 by birdscaring at lands.
AO (LR) for LUPAG	Complex land issue - see note	500 hectare enclosure = estimd. 12 km fencing					1. Farmers applied to Shoshong SLB through AD and DAO. 2. Referred to LUPAG/Ngwato Land Board; detailed soil and land use surveys carried out 1979/80. No decision reached yet due to conflict with grazing needs of c/post owners in the area applied for (Bonwapitse/Setlhage). 3. Farmers at Palla Road complain of shortage of arable land available in Serorome valley, and wish to establish new lands area as a group, fence it and encourage other group activities
-				Fence built			1. 5 farmers fenced their lands as a group following individual example of one Shoshong SLB member who fenced his field though originally having tried to encourage others to join him.
AO (LR) Serowe	See notes	Approx. 12	Line cut 1978	-	-	AMA constit. drafted, but no specific by-laws for fence	1. The drift fence forms the northern boundary of a proposed communal ranch the group want to make as an AMA 2. Progress has been halted by both Ngwato and Mahalapye SLB pending full technical land use appraisal of the area (5-10 miles SW of Mahalapye) and kgotla consultation in Mahalapye of neighbouring lands residents. 3. Further group contributions are awaiting project approval.
							1. Plan drift fence which will also enclose a dam (original proposal of farmers was to fence the dam).
Not yet	Applied 1980						1. No data - vacant EA
							1. Kopong fence (Sanakwe) needs extension along hills by Bokaa community. The fence project was reported to exist by GDO (June 79), but there is currently no action in Bokaa. The FC is disorganised, and both the headman and A/S for area had no information on the project (April 1980).

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OODI-MATERELE-MODIPANE-MABALANE (Segakwana)						Old Bush Fence		
DINOGENG fence syndicates	(1)1978	Syndicate 3 brothers			NDB loan repayable over 4 years			
	(2)1979	"	5					
	(3)1978	"	12					
	(4)1978	"	5					
	(5)							
8.9 KWENENG (N) Kopong (Sasakwe)	1978	Cttee. formed Feb. 1980	All with cattle on Makantshe hills, or lands to south	P10.00	No funds (March 1980)	Sasakwe section previously HUSH fenced		
Ditshukhudu	1978	F.Assoc.	15*		No data	To apply AE10		
8.10 KWENENG (S) MMAMOADI Sebisanare	1980?		11	P30.00	P90.00			
Masweabanadi	1980?		10	P20.00	P40.00			

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
				17 (Bush)			1. Old bush fence built along northern side of Segakwana cattlepost area, involves lands communities from Oodi, Matebele, Modipane, Dikwididi up to Mabalane. 2. Reported to have been maintained regularly, but burnt (?1979). Possibility of a new wire fence project being discussed - but both AD Extension Areas concerned are vacant. Interest at VDC conference and LUPAG in potential communal land use project.
-				Wire fenced			1. Syndicate brothers also contemplating tractor project.
-		-		Wire fenced			
-		-		Bush			1. Membership includes Dinogong FC chairlady. 2. Plan wire fence.
-		-		Bush			1. Plan wire fence
-		-		-			2 Other fence syndicates definitely forming and others likely to follow according to FC and AD (March 1980).
DO(L)		15			Course for cttee planned by AD for June 1980	None as yet (March 1980)	1. Committee formed Feb. 1980 combining reps. from Sasakwe with Kopong. 2. Idea started at Sasakwe (Molepolole lands) - from RLG campaign. 3. Chronic village leadership problems and social problems between Sasakwe and Kopong have hindered progress. 4. Fence will require extension westwards by Mancko lands people, and eastwards by Bokaa all along base of shared grazing in Makantshe hills.
-							1. First reported GDO Oct. 78 baseline; is still at early stage.
	Not yet					None	1. Slow contributions; not yet applied Land Board
	"					None	1. Same problems as Sebisane

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MMANKGODI KODISE HILLS (a) Rankepe Lands Group (eastern side of hills)	1977	Yes	30	P20.00	P580 Aug. 1980	Cutting poles; (labour and materials valued P2320)	Applied AG15 6/80; P2938 SLOCA fence demo value P330	SLOCA grant fencing demonstration (700 metres)
THAMAGA KODISE HILLS (b) Dineko Marotse (continuation west and south round western (Thamaga) side of hills)	1979		About 20 farmers in agreement					
MMANKGODI (Tlwareng Phirabokwete Papalwe)	1979/80							
LETLHAKENG (Ditshegwane lands)	1979	Yes	30		P40			
8.11. SOUTH EAST								
Tlokweng Two main fences	1928	Chief and Ward headmen One sub-cttee. formed 1979 at Matlakana on initiative of present chief	Whole community originally	-	Fence paid for by sale of Matimela cattle plus use of fined cattle from kgotla cases	All wire, poles etc. locally contributed		
Matlakana/ Mafatshwa sub-group *(note 2)	August 1979 to 9/80 memo	Cttee. of 4	105	P15 per family	P395 (9/80)	Labour valued at P5850 plus P200 materials	Applied P5410 AE10 (1980)	
MOGOBANE	197[illegible]	FC	About 50 contributed (March 80)	P5.00 plus 20 poles	P500 (9/80) Labour valued P3000	470 poles 41[illegible] droppers 7[illegible] strainers and anchors	P2180	54 Barbed 5 BW 9 Plain wire 2 Anchor wire (delivered)

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
APO (but no maps yet) Not yet measured		7.9 (8.7 if include SLOCA section)	Line to be cleared May 1980	-	1. SLOCA demo. 700 metres built Feb. 80 (fencing types & firebreak)	Not yet drafted	1. Group planned to clear line after weeding and birdscaring operations over at lands. 2. Mmankgodi group fencing the north and eastern boundary of Kodise hills. Problem is the need for Thamaga people and a section of Mmankgodi people with lands on western (Thamaga) side of hills to continue fence around the western side of Kodise hills - a shared grazing area. Lands areas involved are Mramaphatha, Diseko and Marotse. Social and local political problems appear to be hindering cooperation at Mramaphata. At Diseko and Marotse (Thamaga) agreement was reached. 3. Another reason for delay has been priority of the Mmankgodi Farmers Assoc. to the dip tank project. 4. Southern end of Mankgope group to meet with Manyana fence (Kgosing Ward section). Consultation has been done.
							1. Three more fencing groups in process of formation to fence hill grazing areas on eastern and northern side of lands areas around Mmankgodi.
By GDO no map						To be drafted	1. Enclosure of lands reported to depend on cooperation of Letlhakeng residents on Letlhakeng side of lands.
		About 40 km (est'd.)	40	40		Unwritten laws were enforced by Tlokweng chief-covered participation and cattle movement Has constitution	1. Fence from Tlokweng south of road - meets RSA border fence; in 7 sub sections each about 3 km SEPOKE, MABUTSWE, LEPIARA, MARADITABA, RADIPOTSANE, MMAMOGOPU, RATSEBE. Encloses lands between it and the border and freehold farm to south. 2. Second fence starts a few kilometres further north at border fence and continues NW to meet freehold farm fences near Ocdi; 5 sub sections MABOWANA, MATLAKANA, MAFATSWA, LEFATENG, PAPUDI to MATOTWANE about 15 km total. Lands areas lie between fence and freehold farms (new Tlokweng grazing) to north. 3. Before the fence project the lands areas were around Tlokweng village. The fence follows the Chief's decision to move lands to the two areas of better soils to the SE and NE of Tlokweng and make the area between the grazing. 4. Condition of fence sub sections varies; Sepoke to Maraditaba sections very broken down. Ratsebe and Mabowana better due to leadership of Chief and related ward headmen. Matlakana people organized by Chief and A/S for area due to serious cattle damage in lands during 1979 droughts. 5. Proposed to incorporate firebreaks along northern section though real problems anticipated in getting public participation (LUPAG-Feb. 1980).
LG(L) GDO	Yes 1979	9.4	Line cleared (?/?)	- (Holes dug)		Yes	1. GDO arranged visit to see Southern Region fence projects. 2. Is the southernmost section of Manyelanong hills fence continued northwards to Mmamoroong. 3. Meets. Bankgoromane communal grazing ranch fence at southern end.

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MMAMAERENG	1976 (Bush fence)	FC	66-91	P5.00	P644 (? Oct. 78) P455 (8/80)	Started as BUSH fence after TGLP Labour valued at P6930	P2173	56 Barbed 1 Anchor wire 6 BW (delivered)
SEGAKWANA Potsane Bwatlhe (Ramotswa N)	1977	Cttee. to divide into 3*(2)	100	P4.00	Money being collected according to wards in Ramotswa		To apply 1980	
Metsemas-waane	1979	FC	76 contrib. (March 80)	P5.00	P350 (end 79)	Poles cut. labour valued at P7200	P3122	87 Barbed 5 BW
OTSE Sakutswane	June 1978	Yes	30	P6.50	P35		To apply	
8.12 NGWAKETSE NORTH Ntlhantlhe	1976	Yes	120	P6.00/ man P6.00/ woman HH	P734.85 (March 80) (P495 end 78)	All remaining materials P28 balance left 3rd gate-wire	P179 (Oct. 78)	6 rolls HS 49 steel standards 2 wire strainers 2 pliers 2 gates 1 binding wire 1 roll No. 8
Ntlhantlhe (Magotlhwane)	1976 contribs. started Aug. 77	Yes	90 contrib-uted	P6.00	P474 (end 79) (P360 end 78)		P210 (Oct. 78)	9 rolls HS 36 standards 2 wire strainers
Ntlhantlhe (Lekgolo-botho)	March 1978	Yes	201	P5.00	P1287 (end 79) (P800 end 1978)		P429 (Oct.78)	9 rolls standards
Lothakane					BUSH fence			

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
DO(L)	Yes	7.5	Line cleared	7(holes dug materials ready) 8/80		Yes	1. 2 Sub groups according to proximity of lands. 2. Fence separates Mmamaereng lands in Mogobane valley from grazing in hills to west shared as grazing with Ntlhantlhe people. 3. Mmamaereng forms middle section of Mogobane to Ewatlhe-Potsane "Manyelanong hills" fence. 4. Group chiefs raised problem of water in grazing area; propose a borehole in grazing after fence complete.
DO(L) Feb. 1980	Alloc. Feb. 1980			-		Not yet drafted (Feb. 1980)	1. Ramotswa wards correspond to the 3 sub sections of fence. 3. Under Ramotswa N. FC.
GDO DO(L) Aug. 79	Yes 1979	9.8	All	9.8 (needs cattle grid for road)		Yes	1. FC taken to visit Ntlhantlhe FC drift fence by GDO mid 1979. 2. Fence on eastern side of Metsemaswane lands area; are in collaboration with Ewatlhe-Potsane group fencing the eastern side of same range of hills used as shared grazing. Membership of either project is accepted by the other. 3. Same FC/other committee members busily engaged on fencing new group dam and operate spray race. 4. Supposed to connect with MOGONNYE section of Manyana fence at SW end.
		15	-	-			1. Slow progress - hope to speed up after cropping season. (AD-Feb. 1980) 2. Fence will separate off grazing between Sakutswane lands area and the RSA border.
DAO DO(L)	1979	7	-	5 1980	None as yet. Planning for committee to go on course (1980)	Yes	1. Source of wire for fence till 1979 bought in Mafikeng. 2. Despite consultation some people have not contributed, some partly. 3. Some cattle not removed - graze between ploughed lands, destroy crops and utilize reserve grazing for winter. People refusing to remove them. 4. Ranaka community have not demarcated or fenced so cattle enter from that side. 5. Progress to completion delayed by one recent field development and Land Board delay of 3 months to come and investigate.
		5		4 (May 1979)	-	Yes	1. Most people not contributed yet. 2. Original AEIO request included 3 gates - not delivered.
		[illegible]	11	11 (May 79)		Yes	1. AEIO request from group appeared to be for more than what was received. 2. One report (GDO Oct. 78) shows 159 people contributed R6.00).

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COMMUNAL/GROUP "DRIFT FENCING" AND ENCLOSURE FENCING OF LANDS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBERS OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	GRANT ASSISTANCE (A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
RANAKA	Colonial days	-						
(MANYANA) Kwesine Fikeng Bikwe/Xhosa Manyelanong Maronnye	1977	Main cttee. of one rep. from each group cttee.	Total of 132 contrib. (and 79) to whole project	P10 (unconfirmed for all groups)	Total from all groups c. P1447 March 1980 Reported to have reached P2000 by DAO		To apply	
Dialane			Over 1[illegible] (Dialane)	P10 (confirmed)		8 rolls (March 80)		
Pywetlhe Setswamotlhabe								
Moshupa (S) Kgatla Sobe			78 total of all 3 groups	P4 P5	Over P370 total of 3 groups		Applying AE10	
Polokwe	Jan. 1979	Cttee. elected end 78		P10	P209 at Polokwe			
Kgomokanitwa	1978		1[illegible] (Oct. 78)	P5	P450 (May 79)		P1178	
MOSHAMENG (Sesung)	1975		14		P105		To apply AE10	Needs 20 rolls 15 gates
Tlanoro	1975		Small group					
Molapowa-lasadi (Bralek-retho)	1975		5[illegible] (end 78)	P10 proposed 1979				
8.13 MOGAKETSE SOUTH Pelachetlha (Ramonnedi)	Late 19[illegible] Building started 1979	FC plus 7 sub groups	3[illegible] house-holds	P5 per year	P25[illegible] NDB loan P[illegible] deposit P[illegible] annual repayment	All materials bought from group's loan	None	None
Dirwana					P1[illegible] May 1979	P1[illegible] funds used (May 79)	P1[illegible] Feb 1979	5 gates

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
					-		In complete disrepair; was built by Colonial Government, not maintained.
None of Manyana fences surveyed or mapped as at March 1980	Applied 1978 Not yet considered (March 80)			-	-		- Manyana fences all one long line; idea started 1973/74. Committees started 77/78. - unmeasured, no survey. - awaiting LB approval for 2 years. - will also function to protect cattle vs Mogau - information obtained for Dialane sub group from sub ctiee members. March 1980
	Approved but awaiting allocation March 1980			-	-		1. Should be over P370 from total of 78 so far contributed - but some have only contributed P2 or P3. (Out of total 371 FPs). 2. 3 groups are in fact separate, but put together for AE10 application. 3. Their fences join one another.
-	Approved last 4 km 1980	15		11 (May 79)	-		1. Reported to have been held up by Land Board 1979 over 4 km; now have go ahead. But farmers busy at lands (March 1980) till after harvest. 2. Vacant FA.
		7		?			1. 7 km still to be completed in 1980. An old (bush?) fence being renovated.
				Partly completed			1. Ongoing project - no data found.
		36 est'd.					1. 36 km estimate by then RAO - from Makoka to Gamokgosi. 2. Idea initiated by group of 5 farmers at Mmokwe starting as smaller project. 3. This report from the RAO, 1976. ? current status.
RAO (South) IFPP later		27	27	27 Sept. 1975	-	Prepared by FC 1979	1. FC applied for NDB loan as syndicate. 2. FC strongly backed by Chief Bathoen in efforts to get community contributions to repay loan. 3. Project took almost 10 years. 4. Existence of project and FC was major criterion in selection of Pelotshetlha for Integrated Farming Pilot Project in 1974 (IFPP)
		9	9	9			1. Forms SE end of Pelotshetlha fence. 2. Reported to need grid across Lobatse/Mmathethe road. 3. Fence reported to be getting broken; group not holding together.

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DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBERS OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP (A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	GRANT ASSISTANCE (A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
Malau-Seokan-gwane	July 1976		45 from Malau Total c.100					
MACHA FENCE (Mmathethe-Magoria-pitse) (1) see note	1976		c.90 (Feb. 1979)	P10.50	P1490 May 1979		P2000 Feb. 1979	? all spent
MMALORE (Tsubue)	1978	Yes	45 (25 at start)	P10.50	Over P300		P335 Feb. 1979	12 rolls wire + gates
KANNOWE	1978	Yes	45	P9.00	P450 P195 in balance APR.1980	12 rolls (1980)	P574 Feb. 1979	12 rolls wire + 3 gates
KANNOWE (Lokabi-Motlhobo)	1978/79		•	P10.00		Poles cut	To apply AE10	To apply for 30 rolls
Kutokole-Gamong-weotsile - Dikgore-Maolo-Ramonnedi	1978/79	Yes	3 groups not yet fully organised	P10.50 P10.50 P10.50	Group (1)-	8 rolls wire		
Mmabadisa Diponyane*	1976		60	P10.00	P450 May 79	May 79 Poles cut	P502 Feb 1979	
Gathwane	1976 Action 1979	Yes	146	P5.00	P800		To apply	
Maunyele	1976	Yes (1976)	81	P19 or 1 roll barbed wire (P19.80)	P487 March 1980	14 rolls barbed wire included in P487	P758 Feb 1979	20 rolls 3 gates (May 79)

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
		12* perimeter					1. Fence to encircle Malau hills SE of Pelotshetlha. Seokangwane farmers from Mmathethe to join on Mmathethe side of hills. 2. Water development within the fenced grazing area will be needed.
	1979	27		11(1979) ? 23 (Feb. 1980)			1. This section includes sub groups fencing from Kutokole to Moselebe, Mothatshwaana, Gamokopi up to Tsubue. 2. Fence complete up to Tsubue. From Tsubue to Kanngwe partly held up by a Land Board dispute (see under Mmalore). 3. Gaaintsi sub group of 18 members with P100 reported by GDO (Dec 78 baseline survey). Not clear which Macha section this refers to.
	Under dispute	5	4 1/2	5?		Part of Macha fence	1. This section of Macha fence held up by land dispute, a large field having been allocated to one individual on the grazing side of the fence line. 2. Problem of water shortage in the lands area also mentioned.
	1979	5	5	5	Aginf veld fire campaign	Part of Macha fence	1. AD report indicates many farmers not yet joined of [illegible] FFs in area. 2. Efforts to draw up constitution hindered by some lack of cooperation 3. Firebreak to be cleared when fence finished (same cttee in charge).
	Applied *	c.5	-	-		"	1. Not clear if membership of this section and first Kanngwe section all one group. 2. Farmers missed the time when Land Board in the area - not allocated.
	Have all applied ? delay	Total approx. 25 km for the 3 groups.				3 groups all to fall under Macha fence	1. This fence line follows the southern boundary of Pelotshetlha area to join up with Ramonnedi in the NW.
		22	22	11			1. Another extension of Pelotshetlha fence.
Not yet (1980)	Applied end 1979	Over 20				Not yet finalised	1. Land Board allocation awaiting completion of survey. 2. Line of fence to pass through following sub areas - LESWANA, GATHWANE, GAMAJAALELA, TAUIKANYAMA, MACHANA. 3. Many more members of community yet to join (400 FFs).
		12		6-8 km (March 1980)		Have by-laws but failing to deal with non-contributing or participating majority at lands.	1. Of 81 members, 14 contributed a roll of wire, and 18 have contributed a total of P207 cash (owe P149 to make up full fees). 2. Two sections of fence under one Committee. One group NE section are progressing. Southern section - no contribution. 3. Serious problems with participation-mainly from people with lands further "inside" lands from fence line. Lands very widely scattered.

APPENDIX 8

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DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MGT. CTTEE.	PARTICIPANTS/ MEMBERS	FEES PER MEMBERS OR HH	CONTRIBUTION BY GROUP		GRANT ASSISTANCE	
					(A) FUNDS	(B) MATERIALS	(A) CASH	(B) MATERIALS
8.14 BAROLONG (Mokatako)	Idea 197· Action 1979	Yes	60 (March 1980)	P24.00 or one roll wire	P230 (from 20 people) (P1200)-	40 rolls at P29/roll bought in addition = P1200	Applied AG 15 - rejected *	
Ramatlabama			30					
HEBRON	1980	Yes	41 (March 1980)	P20.00	P820			

PROGRESS					TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
SURVEY	LAND BOARD	LENGTH					
		SURVEY TOTAL KM	CLEARED	FENCE BUILT			
APO	1979	13				Aware of need. Not yet drafted.	1. Total households in area - 93 at Makatako + 41 at Molethe. 2. Some members have only contributed part of fees - eg. R2.00. 3. 1285 cattle and 875 ha in area. Only 7 farmers own no cattle but have donkeys. 4. AGIS rejected by Lobatse Reg. Office on grounds that need to raise P3000 minimum towards total project cost of P9129 (as calculated by APO).
	Delay						
		•					1. Lands enclosure fence: group in formation stage.

FENCED GRAZING ENCLOSURES/CAMPS FOR CATTLE MANAGEMENT IN COMMUNAL AREAS (INCLUDING PROPOSED APRU COMMUNAL CELLS) BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF GRAZING AREA	LAND BOARD APPLICATION	DEVELOPMENTS UNDERTAKEN OR PLANNED
9.1. NGAMILAND (E)							
Nxangu	Khumaga	1978	10		Stateland near Phuduhudu	See note * (1)	1. Engine to equip well 2. Camps to protect cattle and allow rotational grazing
Thamalakane Dairy AMA	Maun	Oct. 1976	12	15-20 cows	Teanikuna-E.Bank of Thamalakane river south of Maun	Allocated Aug. 1977, leased at P20/year	1. Hired man to cut demarcation line - P28.00 2. Cut 787 poles 3. Bush fenced fodder production area. 4. Planting lucerne 5. Bunding Molapo for fodder (see note *4)
9.2. TUTUME							
Chibangabiya (1972-75)	Selolwane	1972/73	10 (7 active 1979/80)	c.650	Chibangabiya 34 miles west of Tutume	Applied IN 4/77	1. Already had group crush. 2. Tried to sink new well 3. Planned to develop Borehole. 4. Interested in fencing (1976)
Chibangabiya (1978) MOGAU fence group	Selolwane Senete (two groups)	Jan. 78	7 cattle-post owners from Selolwane; 5 interested from Senete	? now	40 km west of Tutume	Not yet applied	1. Construct 22 km fence around an east-west band of MOGAU infested grazing between Selolwane cattleposts to the south and Senete c/posts; cattle killed from both sides
No name	Marapong		5		Mozathwana Smgyio	Applied Nov. 76	
No name	? Tutume	1976	6	3 - 400	Tutume river cattleposts	-	1. Wanted to develop water
No name		1976	9 - 10		Borehole		1. Sharing borehole, wanted to fence paddocks
9.3. TATI							
Ntimbale AMA communal cell	Masingwaneng Mmambo (open to membership from other neighbouring Makaleng villages)	Idea 1978	25	300 (APRU cell limit of 143 LSU based on carrying capacity of 1:14 ha)	Ntimbale grazing next to Vokwe river	Allocated 1979	1. Management/development plan as per APRU communal cell project. (2000 hectares)
9.4. BOBONONG							
Mmadinare Coop. Marke[illegible] Scie[illegible]d. Dairy ranch	Mmadinare Tobane Sefhophe c/post areas even up to Serule Mogapi Tamasane cattleposts	Ranch planned by coop. 1974/75	400 approx. 53 milk suppliers (peak number recorded)	To start with 60 -build up to 80 cows	5 km east of Botshabelo (Selibe Pikwe)	Allocated c. 1979	1. Poles bought from farmers for fencing first side of ranch. 2. Fence being built by contract. 3. Water Affairs Dept. installing engine, piping, reservoir.

STATUS	CONSTITUTION	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	JOINING AND OTHER FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS
Planned; no progress due to land issue and FMD cattle sale restrictions	None	Negotiation over land status	1 beast each pledged towards engine	None - no cattle sales	1. Problem over permission for Group to use State Land at present disputed between Central and NW Districts; DC wrote MLGL Feb. 1980. 2. No money can be raised while FMD cattle sale restrictions last.
Cut 1978 1977 Finished 12/79 Jan 80 Ongoing May 80	Registered AMA Feb. 1980 (see note* 4)	1. Fodder seed provided by Govt.	P10.00 membership 2 beasts each towards capital. 63 poles twice per member.	P130 plus P10 650 loan repayable over 15 years	1. Ranch is 250 ha in size. 2. Intend to hire manager after ranch developed; cannot yet afford wages. 3. Propose expansion of ranch in future once first project running smoothly. 4. Will run herd cooperatively; sell weaners or use as replacement heifers; upgrade breed; can bring in milk from their own cattleposts to sell from Dairy
Currently planning mogau fence with Senete farmers (See Note)	Proposed to be communal cooperative (1976). Drafted by-laws 1979 for Mogau	See under Mogau fence project			1. Group noted by DO(L) Tutume June 1976. Were trying to develop HH after unsuccessful at sinking well. 2. One member would have been manager of ranch (1976) 3. SEE UNDER CHIBANGAHIYA (1978)
Line cut (helped by LUO/APO); progress held up by lack of group organisation at Senete (*2)	Selolwane group drafted by-laws	1. Survey and cost estimate P4290 for 128 rolls wire and 2 gates. AG 15 discussed. 2. Fence demonstration *(1)	5 rolls wire per member (Selolwane)	P150 + 18 rolls wire bought 77/78 (as at 5/79)	1. Only Selolwane group (active since 1972/73 - see above) formed Committee for project and contributed 1977-78. Members appeared to lose interest 1979 when it came to stage of going out to the area and working; but currently are to send representatives to a fencing demonstration at Nkange (GDO - 8/80). 2. Senete farmers attended combined Kgotla at Tutume but never formed group.
	Proposed cooperative				Data from initial TGLP interest in 1976
Progress halted by TGLP (*2)					1. Report by DO(L) Tutume 1976 2. Advised 1979 to apply for Nata ranch; no up to date info.
Not known of currently (GDO 8/80)					1. Reported DO(L) Tutume 1976 to be interested in group ranch organisation.
Initial stages of planning implementation; APRU still looking for contractor (8/80)	Registered as AMA 1980	APRU to develop all water, fencing of cell, and provide manager	P5.00 joining fees - all paid. Management fees P8.00 per head per year	P90.00 (joining fees paid)	1. Over 100 households in Mmambo, Masvigwaneng 2. Area allocated after consultation by Land Board in all Makalong villages
Fencing very slow at first; ongoing. Engine and piping complete. Reservoir under construction	Registered Co-op.				

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Sefhophe communal cell (proposed)	Sefhophe	Group not formed; only initial stage	30 farmers expressed interest after April 1979 kgotla meeting	No data	7 km north west of village		1. If implemented - as per APRU communal cell programme (LP II)
9.5. PALAPYE							
Tlhagasanong ranch syndicate	Kgagodi	Dec. 75	28	1300 LSU 215 SS	Tlhagasanong cattlepost area 20 km NE Kgagodi	Applied Dec. 75. Left pending during TGLP zoning	1. Planned to rationalise water distribution/development; reticulate from existing BHs; survey additional dam sites. 2. Planned fencing and paddocks. 3. Stock improvement by importing bulls from Tuli Block. 4. Most members practise basic husbandry on individual basis. 5. Tick control project encouraged by MoA as initial group activity - but no action taken.
9.6. SEROWE							
Thabala (FC)	Thabala	1979	Open to whole community	Not yet specified	Sandveld area just south-west of village	Allocated by SLB	1. 8km x 10km area allocated for proposed Bull and weaner camps and fattening camp.
No name	Serowe	Dec. 1976	4	Proposed 150	Area just north of Morupule	Applied Dec. 76	1. Proposed Dairy ranch
No name	Serowe	March 1976	5		Molapowadipitse	Applied 3/76	1. Proposed for dairy cattle and bulls - fenced camps.

STATUS	CONSTITUTION	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	JOINING AND OTHER FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS
Initial discussion stage; REO/ GDO following up (*5)	Have copy of Ntimbale AMA constitution to study				1. Two kgotlas held Feb, April 1979 by AD and then DAO/APRU. 2. No committee elected; farmers unsure how to proceed. 3. Site area grazing only used in rainy season otherwise no water supply. Area long reserved by village for possible Government AI camp development. 4. Problem - FC very new and inexperienced; not very involved in planning or discussion. 5. ?REO transferred out of Region with no replacement 9/80.
No progress on any aspect due to internal social problems	Constitution drafted by one leading member July 1979 but not endorsed by group	Land use survey and consultation 1976/77; frequest supportive visits	None agreed	-	1. Syndicate formed at time of TGLP 1975/76 spurred on by RLG campaign. Were advised by Ngwato Land Board to wait for TGLP zoning/surveys. 2. Attempts to draft constitution, survey and plan developments have been frustrated by internal social problems between earlier (original) cattlepost residents and more recently settled residents who have successfully developed water supplies.
Progress pending completion by FC of other projects *(1)	None as yet	Proposed Bull and weaner camp be funded by matching grant *(2)	-	-	1. FC presently engaged in woodlot project and some farmers on drift fence projects. 2. Fattening camp more likely to be funded part grant/loan. 3. A/D transferred 4/80 with no replacement.
No progress					
No further progress					

APPENDIX 9

FENCED GRAZING ENCLOSURES/CAMPS FOR CATTLE MANAGEMENT IN COMMUNAL AREAS (INCLUDING PROPOSED APRU COMMUNAL CELLS) BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	LATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF GRAZING AREA	LAND BOARD APPLICATION	DEVELOPMENT UNDERTAKEN OR PLANNED
Serowe and District small Producers Livestock Coop. Society (Mabeleapudi Ranch)	Serowe Mabeleapudi Paje and area within 25 miles of Serowe	1974 Coop. regist-ered	Mabeleapudi pre 77 - 4 77/78 - 12 16 Paje pre 77 - 3 77/78 - 1 4 Serowe pre 77 - 4 77/78 - 13 17 TOTAL 37 (mid 78)	Carries 300 LSU Was holding about 250 cattle 1977-1978 of which 1½ owned by Swaneng Consumers Coop. Society (late 1977)	West of Mabeleapudi North of Serowe pan.		The ranch was well managed (technically) in 1977/78 to date by an ex-Serowe Farmers Brigade trainee manager. The manager's salary was paid by SBDT and his responsibilities have included management of other SBDT ranches. Overall planning for Mabeleapudi ranch was done by SBDT Agric. Coordinator/Committee. Ranch was built 1974-75 by Serowe Brigades Dev. Trust with overseas grant of P30,000. It consisted of - 1500 ha - 6 paddocks fenced radially - windmill - water reticulation to all camps. 2. By-laws object 3(a) explained purpose of ranch as "for the raising and breeding of members' livestock; and to buy, own and maintain bulls for breeding purposes" - in 1978 the Coop had 7 bulls plus 3 Brahman bulls on the ranch. 3. In 1977 SBDT proposed a 3500 ha extension of ranch. Dropped due to difficulties encouraging membership of existing ranch. 4. SBDT saw Mabeleapudi as the first of possibly many coop ranches to benefit smaller livestock owners under TGLP.

STATUS	CONSTITUTION	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	JOINING AND OTHER FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS
Ranch in operation	Registered as a Coop. By-laws (15 pages) 10.9.75 3(a) "to establish, own, control and manage ranches". 6(c) - a member "may not own more than 100 cattle" (excepting a registered Coop Society). 14 - Liability of a members for the debts of the Society limited to his subscribed shares. 19(f) "any member may hold up to 50 cattle on Society's ranches ... provided that the member shall have purchased and fully paid for shares to the value of one-fifth of the value of the cattle".	Attempts were made 1977, 78 to assist SBDT and the Coop management committee to clarify project aims etc. One training course run for committee at MGTC Dec. 78.	1. P5.00 joining fee i.e. the value of at least 4 shares of R1.00 2. P1.95 grazing fee per head (mid.78) 3. By-laws specified that members had to raise 10 x P1.00 shares by the end of the first 12 months plus P5.00 p.a. for next four years totalling a minimum of P30 shares held by member after 5 years. 4. By-law 14(f)- 20% value of cattle held on ranch fee (see By-laws).	1. Swaneng Consumers Coop.Soc. paid P1[illegible] share capital Aug. 75. 2. 30 other members reported to have paid P5.00 joining fees = P150. 3. Grazing fees paid monthly by some members.	1. The Coop. was founded by Serowe Brigades Development Trust (P van Rensburg) as part of an attempted Brigades outreach to Mabeleapudi village. Of the various Brigades training projects attempted there, only this Coop. ranch and Consumers Coop branch still remain. 2. Membership in 1977 was 29, of which 11 were from Serowe, 13 Mabeleapudi, 3 from Paje, 1 was "Boiteko" (Womens' organisation promoted by P. van Rensburg in New Town, Serowe), and 1 was the Swaneng Consumers Coop. Society. 3. Of the 251 cattle on the ranch in 1977, 112 belonged to Swaneng Consumers Coop, 72 to Boiteko and only 67 to all other members. 4. Participation by local (Paje, Mabeleapudi) people were negligible until 1977/78 when a membership campaign was launched by SBDT. There was much confusion over origin and ownership of the ranch; people in one 1977 kgotla said they thought it belonged to Mr. van Rensburg. Confusion also existed in people's minds as to the difference between this ranch, the BLDC ranch, and Serowe Farmers Brigade ranch - all adjacent to one another west of Mabeleapidi. 5. Poor participation was found to be due at least in part to (a) there never having been held a Management Committee meeting since the Coop. was registered, or an organised meeting of members (b) total lack of understanding of aims of the project by local residents (c) lack of understanding of by-laws and management fees: in particular members had been made reluctant to join by the share capital deposit of 20% of the value of cattle holding on ranch: however this 20% fee was largely left unmentioned in public meetings of explanation by SBDT. 6. The By-laws regarding payments of share capital by members, and the 20% of value of cattle deposit, were not followed. Only Swaneng Consumers Coop Society had paid more than the P5.00 joining fee. 7. By 1978/79 SBDT had made an (?) informal decision that the development costs would have to be written off, but this decision has not yet been publicly explained. 8. The only future potential of this ranch seems to be as an experiment in "participatory management" of a fattening ranch until major progress is made with genuine involvement of the local communities in the aims and planning of the project.

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DISTRICT: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF GRAZING AREA	LAND BOARD APPLICATION	DEVELOPMENT UNDERTAKEN OR PLANNED
9.7. MAHALAPYE							
Morale Associated Cattlemen	Shoshong Pilikwe Serowe Mahalapye	1978	17 restricted to people having water in the area, or who have agreements to water with someone there	Not specified but estimated in one survey to be well over 2000	Between Morale hills and Bonwapitse river. Centre of 15000 hectare area is 17 km SW of Mahalapye	Land Board ordered against any developments pending full land use/technical appraisal of area and consultation of neighbouring lands residents	1. Resources already existing (privately owned): 7 functioning boreholes 5 wells 1 small dam (old-communal) 1 dip tank 2. Group plan to fence perimeter and build camps for bulls, weaners, AI cows. 3. Water reticulation 4. Crush built already from vet. poles. 5. Northern boundary line cut for proposed drift fence.
Bamangwato Development Association (BDA) ranch	Pilikwe Radisele Shoshong Mogone Ma'cero	1961	No data on number of people trained or participated	1. Used to fatten about 100 head/year up to 1972 2. Herd of c.300 (1980) 3. Herd composition 143 cows and heifers 48 calves 89 yearlings 22 steers 4 bulls (mainly Africander and Brahman crosses) RE8/80	Between Radisele and Pikwe (Central District)		1. Ranch developed 1954 for fattening cattle, and subsequently building up BDA herd. 5 paddocks total 2911 hectares. Fences mostly still in good condition, but no firebreaks. 2. Not clear if any definite ranch management plan. Early on used to feed bonemeal and salt, cut silage and fed baled fodder. Range ecologist 8/80 report indicates no tick control or dehorning practised and a number of cows needing to be culled. 3. One BH, two 10,000 gallon reservoirs and fire troughs developed; only one trough now in operation. 4. Engine, pump and water troughs all in need of repair. In poor state of maintenance and disuse due to lack of money to buy diesel and pay for repairs (RE 8/80). 5. Handling facilities/crush in state of disrepair (RE 8/80)

STATUS	CONSTITUTION	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	JOINING AND OTHER FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS
Still awaiting outcome of Land Board decision on land use, and for consultation to be done in neighbouring areas	Drafted 1978 Applied to register as AMA - registration withheld until group has approved management plan	Land use and soil surveys; land capability mapping to enable Land Board decision	P50.00 joining fees (plus one beast per member if ranch development permitted)	P272 by April 80	1. The area is a several generations old cattlepost area for people from certain wards in Serowe, Shoshong and Pilikwe. 2. Only 2 members of the proposed ranch group plough in the adjacent Shoshong and Mahalapye lands areas which are steadily expanding into former grazing areas. 3. The primary stimuli to formation of the ranching group appears to be loss of grazing land due to arable expansion, and the increasing cost of crop damage cases their cattle were causing. 4. On the northern boundary the conflict was most severe and prompted the group to attempt to make a drift fence separating their grazing from the adjacent Mahalapye lands. This project and all further developments have been halted by Ngwato Land Board on advice of Mahalapye SLB pending land use appraisal and Kgotla consultation which have yet to be concluded.
Latest reports (8/80) indicate BDA is now bankrupt and that MoA has been approached with a view to taking over management of the ranch.	As originally conceived, project open to any Mongwato and aimed to benefit whole of Ngwato area. ? provisions of constitution - reported to be with MLGL presently.	Funds for ranch development; purchase of cattle, ploughing, oxen, shop and tractor - all from overseas donors (African Development Trust)	Fattening cattle fees 75t/head/month	Communal ploughing 1961 - profits to BDA account.	1. Project started by Chief Tshekedi Khama with the aim of training farmers, operating supply/store, fattening cattle. 2. Had arable area - large communal field - started 1961 - ploughed by spans of oxen communally to raise funds for BDA. From 1962 up to 1976, tractor and purchased oxen used, and hired labour. 1977 to date - has had labour problems. 3. Arable project served as an early form of Brigade training of youths; were given allowance, farming equipment and lands to start farming after completion. Scheme eventually abandoned. 4. Ranch profits subsidise the running of the BDA store/shop in Radisele - i.e supplying agric. inputs, milled sorghum from farm etc. Local Radisele residents primary beneficiaries of project. 5. Currently (since 1969) "ownership" of project has been claimed by a group of Pilikwe people, and original governing council replaced by a caretaker Committee - DC, Tribal Authority, Council Secretary and local MP. For the last few years no decision has been reache on the future of the ranch - i.e reviving BDA, handing over to Pilikwe, or any other alternative, but due to recent (8/80) bankruptcy of the BDA more serious discussions involving MoA have started.

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FENCED GRAZING ENCLOSURES/CAMPS FOR CATTLE MANAGEMENT IN COMMUNAL AREAS (INCLUDING PROPOSED APRU COMMUNAL CELLS) BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF GRAZING AREA	LAND BOARD APPLICATION	DEVELOPMENT UNDERTAKEN OR PLANNED
9.8 KGATLENG Masama Ranch	Bakgatla (Mochudi)	c.1940		180 cows (Tuli, Brahman, Africander)	c.100km NW of Mochudi, just west of main Mahalapye road, just south of Dibete-northern Kgatleng border	N/A	1. 4283 hectare ranch.
9.9. SOUTH-EAST Rankgoromane Livestock Farmers Association	Ramotswa Mokgosi Otse Malete trial area	April 1979	50(Only 10-15 have been really active in labour on dip tank)	Heavily over-stocked	Rankgoromane ranch - west of Otse		1. Renovation of old diptank (dug 3 ft of silt out of bottom, cleared bush, collected sand). 2. Future developments proposed - - windmill - repair of 5 dams - repair of borehole - repair of fences with the ultimate aim, if socially acceptable, of developing paddocks, water reticulation etc. Note: SED conservation committee expressed concern at the state of overgrazing of the area, lack of fence maintenance etc.
9.10 NGWAKETSE (N) Ramatia ranch	Ngwaketse (Kanye)			150-200 head	Just north of Kanye village		1. c.2000 ha ranch. 2. To have 5 paddocks including 2 "weaning" paddocks. 3. Fencing, firebreaks, handling unit, spray race reservoir, provided by MoA ranch. 4. KBDT follow MoA recommended ranch management plan.

STATUS	CONSTITUTION	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	JOINING AND OTHER FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS
Since 1969 the ranch has been managed by APRU for the tribe	Run by advisory committee (Chief, DC, 3 members of the tribe, and APRU rep.)	APRU management	-	Revenue from sale of bulls	1. Objective of ranch to produce bulls for sale to members of the tribe. 2. Bulls now sold at commercial rates at public auction. 3. Up to 1970, bulls sold at P60.00 to Bakgatla.
This is not a managed ranch; the area is used as at extension of Bamalete communal grazing. RLFA efforts at initial stages - details in other columns.	Drafted constitution end '79. Advised to simplify to cover initial dip tank renovation project only to begin with on file W/ODO	Applying AG15 grant to help with dip tank renovation (total cost estimated at P3220 if include builder's fee and labour) AG15 P1890 granted 3/80	P10 joining fees towards current dip project. *(1)	P300 Feb.80. Aiming at P500 cash. Value of labour and materials P1125. *(1)	1. Rankgoromane ranch was bought in 1965 for the Malete tribe by means of household contributions of £13 at that time by the whole tribe. Probably less than half the Malete contributed and Government contributed over half the price of P40000. 2. The ranch is now used as a communal grazing area for anyone in Bamalete - in practice people with lands from Ramotswa to Otse find it most convenient. 3. The RLFA would like to encourage all who use the ranch to join. Conversely those who do not join or participate in specific developments (dip, dams, water reticulation) could perhaps be prevented from using the facilities developed which would serve as a means of controlling the use of the ranch as a whole. 4. APRU cell was proposed for Rankgoromane in 1979 but rejected by Otse and Mokgosi as it would leave little space for all the remaining cattle.
Now run by Kanye Brigades Development Trust.		1. Demonstration facilities *(1) provided by ranch extension programme 2. RDO sits on management committee	Farmers pay grazing fees		1. MoA put up internal demonstration fencing, firebreaks, handling unit, spray race and reservoir. 2. KBDT management committee cooperating closely with MoA (Ranch Extension Division).

APPENDIX 9

FENCED GRAZING ENCLOSURES/CAMPS FOR CATTLE MANAGEMENT IN COMMUNAL AREAS (INCLUDING PROPOSED APRU COMMUNAL CELLS) BY DISTRICT

NAME OF AREA	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	DATES MAPPED	DATES LB APPLIC-ATION	NO. OF MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK NUMBERS CATTLE (+RANGE)	CALVES	S/STOCK	DONKEYS	MAFISA	TOTAL LSU	HECTARES GRAZING AREA
9.11. BAROLONG - ROLONG LAND BOARD RECORDS											
Metlojane	Metlojane	1/77		17	c.380 (3 over 30 5 x 20 - 80 6 x 10 - 20 4 under 10)	c.110		10		450	1210
Borobadilepe	Borobadipepe Matsalalo Lohahu*(3)	2/77		38 50	Mostly herds of under 20					1413	1200
Sekokwane	Sekokwane	2/77	10/78	33	Herds mostly under 15		Most in range 10-50			Approx. 500?	1550
Mabete	Mabete		1979	70	472 (most herds under 20; only one over 50)	168	751	165	75	988	1055
Phietswane	Phietswane	2/77		54	751 (7 with nil most 10-120, one of 120)	214	1850	159	34	1240	1150
Marojane	Marojane	2/77	12/76	35	536 (2 with nil; max.64)	138	857	163	51	830	1200 (*2)
Papatlo	Papatlo Moshawane Makckwe		1976	44 18 25	450 178 438	70 70 116	c.800 349 1022	110 41 57	60 30 12	Total over 1500	Total 1200
Matlokeng	Matlokeng	2/77			No data					No data	930+ 155 *(1)
Sheep Farm/ Ngwatsau	Sheep Farm Morokolwane Ngwatsau	2/77		26 9 35	295*(2) 182 366	47	81 LSU 510 193 LSU	20 70	17 43	579 279 672	850 1100
Lokale/ Tswagare	Lokale Tswagare	2/77			No data					No data	1000 950
Bethel	Bethel Malokaganyane	2/77		46 12	c.80 *(1)		range 3-25	range 0-25	10		425 fenced 1000 unfenced

HECTARES PER LSU	KM. FENCE INVOLVED	DEVELOPMENTS PROPOSED BY GROUP	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS/EXISTING SITUATION
2.6	21 *(2)	No information. (cattle crush exists)	-	-	1. 1 private borehole and 1 private well exist in area demarcated grazing but close to owners' lands. 2. In addition 5.7 km fencing exists already (existing camp).
0.8	19	No information	See note (1)	P1000 + P400	1. Group plan to contribute in proportion to cattle numbers. 2. Main area has 4 pans and 1 dam. 3. Lohalu area has 2 dams, 1 non-functioning borehole.
3.1	27	1. More dams to improve water 2. Tick control 3. Rotational grazing (ploughing time - winter time)	P20.00 per HH	Plan NDB loan	1. One borehole, dam, pan, haffir exist in area.
1.0	5.5 *(1)	Water development - no reliable water in area	-	-	1. Part of fence line follows existing freehold fence already existing.
0.9	13 *(1)	1. Entrance gates for access to water 2. Reallocate lands presently within grazing area 3. Borehole 4. Paddocks (Vet. crush exists already)	P4.00 per farmer	* note (4)	1. Excluding length of existing border fence. 2. 1 dam, 4 wells exist already. 3. Several large fields exist within proposed grazing 4. Would share fence costs with beighbouring Papatto and Marojane adjacent grazing areas.
1.4	23	1. Passages/gates to allow access to water points 2. Water development 3. Dip and crush	P20.00 per farmer	-	1. Already 1 dam, 3 wells, haffir and windmill. 2. Grazing area approx. 6 km long but winding between lands and very narrow (500 metres) in places.
0.8	Approx. 12-13 km.	PAPATLO 1. Lands in proposed grazing to be fenced. 2. Develop Boreholes and paddocks MAKOKWE 1. Lands in grazing to be reallocated 2. Develop dams, water reticulation 3. Paddocks to allow 24 hour grazing	1 roll wire + poles	- Makokwe plan NDB loan*	1. Grazing area follows RSA border and is enclosed by Ramatlabama AI centre at eastern end. 2. Want to share fencing costs with neighbouring communities. 3. Makokwe plan to share fence costs in proportion to cattle numbers. 4. Makokwe believe large herds should move to commercial areas as syndicates 5. 1 Syndicate borehole exists at Makokwe + pans + wells.
	14	No information			1. 155 ha. already exists as an unallocated private "camp". 2. 3 major lands (over 100 ha.) exists within popular grazing.
1.4 1.1.	14 15	Sheep farm groups 1. Applied for 2 dams 2. Want 2 paddocks 3. Improved bulls 4. Bonemeal and salt	-	-	1. Sheep farm - already one borehole in camp. 2. Sheep farm - most herds under 10; one over 80. 3. Two separate but adjacent grazing areas involved.
	19 16	No information			1. 2 Separate grazing areas but adjacent
	8	1. One vet crush exists			1. Very low livestock ownership; 90% under 20, most under 10. 2. 2 dams exist in area.

APPENDIX 9

FENCED GRAZING ENCLOSURES/CAMPS FOR CATTLE MANAGEMENT IN COMMUNAL AREAS (INCLUDING PROPOSED APRU COMMUNAL CELLS) BY DISTRICT

NAME OF AREA	COMMUNITIES INVOLVED	DATES MAPPED	LB APPLICATION	NO. OF MEMBERS	LIVESTOCK NUMBERS CATTLE (+RANGE)	CALVES	S/STOCK	DONKEYS	MAFISA	TOTAL LSU	HECTARES GRAZING AREA
Gamokoto	Gamokoto (grazing also shares by Mogwalale and Goodhope lands people) *(3)	1/77	12/76 Alloc. 1978	13 *(1)	318 (2 x nil; largest herd - 64)	85	423	129	34	529	1176
Maditlou Madingwana	Maditlou Madingwana		1976	No data	No data						2000 approx.
Mogwalale	Mogwalale Mogobewa-kgomo Mmadikalong (communities share grazing and water but separated by District Boundaries)*(1)		2/76 *(2)	35 plus 7 joined May 1976	590	139	694	71		783	2967 of which 2765 grazing
Kgoro	Kgoro		Alloc. 1978	50	No data						

HECTARES PER LSU	KM FENCE INVOLVED	DEVELOPMENTS PROPOSED BY GROUP	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	FURTHER COMMENTS/EXISTING SITUATION
2.2	16	1. Lands within allocated grazing to be fenced. 2. Want borehole and reticulation to paddocks 3. Improved breeds, disease control 4. Rotational grazing	P65 inc. to P100 per HH (March 1980)	P400 at March 1980 (*2)	1. 13 contributed so far; 22 households according to Land Board record, but about 50 according to March 1980 interviews locally. 2. Land Board records reported contribution of P1440. 3. Gamokoto want to finance scheme without involvement of neighbouring communities (interviews).
	20 - 30	No data			1. Land Board records show group applied for customary land rights but were rejected.
3.5	35	1. Existing lands in grazing area to be fenced (i.e. 202 hectares) 2. Fencing - see note (3)*	-	-	1. Problem - 570 ha. of proposed grazing lies in Ngwaketse District. 2. Rolong Land Board approved, but not Ngwaketse 3. Group had meeting at Pelotshetlha to discuss communal fencing. 4. Was under discussion 1978/79 for APRU cell, but rejected locally. 5. Goodhope lands farmers likely to need to join this group.
		1. Already undertaken smallstock dip and handling facilities. 2. Plan spray race and borehole development		P350 for spray race	1. Land Board already allocated the grazing area; no further application required for group to undertake any livestock related developments within the area.

APPENDIX 10

TGLP COMMERCIAL AREA RANCHING GROUPS AND AMAs BY REGION

REGION: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF PROPOSED RANCH	CONSTITUTION AMA REGISTRATION	MANAGEMENT PLAN (AND MANAGEMENT FEES)
10.1 FRANCISTOWN							
Masunga syndicate	Masunga	2/79	8	260 (range of 20-80)	Nata Ranch No. 1		
Tsamaya	Tsamaya	1978?	12		?freehold farm	-	-
Sharganni		July 1977	6		Nata ranches or Lepasha or Bahume*(1)	-	-
No name	Sebira	Jan 77	2-3		Lepasha area	-	-
Unnamed	Francistown/ Gaborone	April 1977	3-4		Sebilogae Borehole	-	-
Unnamed proposed company	? Francistown	Feb. 1977	2		Unused BH in Nata State land		
Sechelle syndicate	Sechelle	Feb. 1979	7	500	Nata ranch No. 4	-	
Mabaisa syndicate		Feb. 1979	3	103	Nata ranch No. 6	-	
Tibone syndicate		Feb. 1979	7	293	Nata ranch No. 7	-	
10.2. CENTRAL							
Segombo	Shoshong	Jan. 1978	14		Segombo-SW Shoshong	-	-
Un-named syndicate	Serule	Feb. 1977	3		40-50 miles W of Serule	-	-
Syndicate	Lephephe	Nov. 1977	2		61 miles W of Lephephe	-	-
10.3. GABORONE							
Baitiki syndicate	Molepolole (Kweneng)	?1979	9 (3 families including sons and cousins)	herds - largest 150 smallest 40 total estimate c.700	Kweneng FDA - allocated Feb. 1980	None as yet, though may try to find another member in order to register as AMA	None as yet

DEVELOPMENTS UNDERTAKEN/ PLANNED	STATUS	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Water reticulation, troughs, reservoir. 2. Firebreaks, repair of fences 3. crushes; breeding system	No action as yet; Activities all proposed	-	-	-	1. Group not yet moved to ranch or made management plan.
					1. Two groups reported to exist 1978, but only one in 1979.
					1. Rahume - east of Dukwe fence.
					1. Man together with sons.
1. Fencing of area of borehole was proposed					
1. Borehole and some fencing	Paid for by group		P3600*(1)		1. P3600 paid for initial developments.
1. No info. available			P5000*(1)		1. P5000 paid for initial developments.
1. No info. available			P4000*(1)		1. P4000 paid for initial developments.
	Applied LB 1/78				
1. Proposed fencing of existing cattleposts	Applied LB 2/77				1. ? if area commercially zoned 2. Syndicate included Serule headman and others
-	Applied LB 11/77				
One member sent for ranch management training at Ramatlabama; passed the course; has Std. VII training				Ranch Manager training	1. Part of group membership were running a BH together before. Expanded membership in order to reach 600 livestock figure for commercial allocation. Previous BH was Council owned in Lephephe communal area. 2. All members literate, have experience in Government, Council or KRDA. Reported by RPO to be very aware, motivated and interested in profit from ranching.

APPENDIX 10

TGLP COMMERCIAL AND RANCHING GROUPS AND AMAs BY REGION

REGION: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF PROPOSED RANCH	CONSTITUTION AMA REGISTRATION	MANAGEMENT PLAN (AND MANAGEMENT FEES)
Dutlwe AMA	Dutlwe (Western Kweneng)	Formed 76-77 AMA registration 7.3.80	20 (4 women) membership presently limited by carrying capacity of ranch	960 1 x 100 4 x 60 4 x 70 1 x 50 1 x 40 5 x 30 4 x 20 960	Southern part of "Gunter's Farm" 8-10 miles SE of Dutlwe 10700 ha in size	Detailed constitution registered with CAMA. -max. cattle no. per member - 100 -open membership to Dutlwe, Tswaare or Pitsane -enshrines overall and and annual management plans -finances, role of management committee, manager -limited liability -meetings, amendments, dissolution	Full management plan for overall development/ running of ranch, as well as annual management plan - prepared for group by REO Gaborone. Carrying capacity of 15 ha/LSU* would allow 713 LSU or 1000 head cattle on ranch. (* according to D. Field 1976; no recent range survey done yet)
Mmamatlako Syndicate	Thamaga (Kweneng South)	?1979	5 (man and brothers and a close neighbour at cattle-post)				
Un-named group of brothers	Tlokweng	?1979			Applied for Kweneng SDA ranch		
Un-named syndicate	Molepolole (Monwane and Mereatswe lands)	c.1976	9	Average 60 -70 each; largest herd c.100	Applied for SDA ranch in N. Kweneng		

DEVELOPMENTS UNDERTAKEN/ PLANNED	STATUS	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. House, boreholes and fencing of 2 paddocks - 6700 ha (south) and 2400 ha (north) were intact 1974, but now estimated over 80% of the fencing is destroyed. 2. First year (80/81) plan to equip 2 BHs, repair housing, repair 2 reservoirs, build one crush and repair perimeter fence. 3. Group selected manager, was been trained 1979 at Ramatlabama ranch training centre. 4. 1979-group repaired one BH; mainly 4 members involved in work; involved trips to Gaborone for pipes etc.		P1.00 membership fee per beast. P12.00/beast/ year grazing and maintenance fee (50t/ month). 50t per day wage to members working on the ranch Other fees chargeable to raise funds for specific developments. As at April 1980, 9 members paid full membership fees and 3 moved cattle into ranch	1. Plan to take out interest-free loan from local Marketing Coop to pay land-board P6000 over 5 years for the property 2. Current financial status?	1. Much support from Regional REO/GDO during 78/79 AMA formation period. 2. Chairman and Treasurer attended book-keeping course at Denman RTC 5/80 organised by CAMA office	1. Ranch developed by Gunter - 4 boreholes, house, fencing of very large area; after Gunter's death Kweneng Land Board in 1974 reserved the area for allocation to syndicates with the neighbouring Dutlwe and Takatokwane communities in mind, members of which had had close association with Gunter. 2. Group delayed intitially by introduction of TGLP 75/76 uncertainty over lease arrangements etc. Rural Sociology requested by Kweneng Land Board. 1976 to prepare report on local attitude to TGLP/ implications. 3. From 1977 to date (1980) group progress has been frustrated by lack of clear or consistent lease policy. 1978/79 Kweneng Land Board undertook responsibility for ranch repairs, etc. before group takeover; The group had to sit back until this decision was reversed at end 1979 so that the group would be responsible. 4. Meanwhile the state of repair of the ranch property deteriorated drastically and one BH powerhead was "borrowed" by a Kweneng politician and only returned in a state of disrepair mid 1980 after Land Board threatened legal action. This situation is currently (8/80) causing internal strife within the group (GDO, 8/80).
One member's son sent for ranch management training at Ramatlabama; has Std. VII schooling	-	-		Ranch Manager Training	1. All were using a Council BH as syndicate since late 1960s. 2. Younger brother a Councillor. Oldest brother the largest owner and momentum in group; his son the proposed manager.
Wants to drill BH. Has been trying to arrange contractor.					1. Presently have cattle in Tlokweng and Kweneng communal areas. 2. Appear concerned about income/ profit from ranching.
Applied to NDB for loan to drill borehole					1. Some of the members have been operating a hand-equipped Council Borehole at Mereatswe. Originally group formed to drill Brochole near Mereatswe, but were delayed by TGLP freeze on drilling boreholes, and their site turned out to be communal only 4 km from their SDA site. 2. Group Secretary well informed, works for Ministry of Agriculture as driver.

APPENDIX 10

TGLP COMMERCIAL AND RANCHING GROUPS AND AMAs BY REGION

REGION: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF PROPOSED RANCH	CONSTITUTION AMA REGISTRATION	MANAGEMENT PLAN (AND MANAGEMENT FEES)
Takatokwane	Takatokwane (Western Kweneng)	1974 Kweneng Land Board initiative	18 (10 applied to use one BH; 8 the other) *(5)	No data The six more serious members have c. 470 herd of cattle	Northern half of Gunter's farm - 15-20 miles SW of Takatokwane	None	None
10.4 SOUTHERN REGION							
Itikeng Baruakgomo	Mabule, Sedibeng	Aug. 1979	13	596 cattle pledged	Tlhobolwane CDC ranch (have applied to Land Board BH 3276)	Applied AMA Have constitution	Detailed management plan drawn up 1980, daily fee 10t/head)
Boikago	Mmathethe (Motlobo Lobatse) Metlojane	Aug. 1979	21	826 cattle pledged (range 10-100)	JN 15	Applied AMA Have constitution	Detailed management plan drawn up; daily fee 5t/head)
Tshipidi AMA	Khakea	July 1979	11	418	Western Mmaketse 6[illegible]9 allocated	Applied AMA Have constitution	Has management plan; daily fee 5t/head
Moshupa Group ranch	Moshupa	Aug. 79	12	487	CDC BH	Applying AMA	Drawn up; daily fee 5t/head
Un-named	Kanye						
Un-named	Goodhope						

DEVELOPMENTS UNDERTAKEN/ PLANNED	STATUS	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Ranch already existing though in much deteriorated state of repair since Gunter died 1974. 2. Two boreholes being operated in the southern half of the ranch by Council.		Those already using Phokojo BH in ranch pay 25t/herd/day to Council	P400.00 (8/80)		1. The initiative of Kweneng Land Board to reserve the southern half of Gunter's farm for a syndicate hopefully from Takatokwane was made in 1974 simultaneously with the offer made to Dutlwe community. 2. Rural Sociology survey in 1976 revealed serious internal village problems in Takatokwane emanating from a dispute/court case between members of the community and the chief of the village over ownership of (?) Lekgwabe "syndicate" BH alleged to have been communally developed, but ownership registered in chief's name. An aspect of the sociological problem is that the village only came together in 1967 from a widely scattered population. 3.Besides this distrust of community activity, attitudes to Gunter's farm generally appear focussed on solution to water shortage in the area. Members of the "group" mostly are uninterested and even opposed to grouping to manage cattle and (Oct. 79 meeting) actually stated they preferred to continue having separate kraals, herdboys etc. but just "meet around the water source". 4. An aspect of the problem is land use planning. Takatokwane appears to be surrounded by commercially zoned land, with few alternative water sources. 5. Of the 18 members, at end 1979, 7 were in prison for various crimes. Six members appear to have some serious interest in the ranch, according to the REO (April 1980). Two were sent to Dutlwe to observe the AMA registration.
None as yet	Awaiting AMA registration	P200 joining fee plus P1.00/month subscription	P2800 raised	-	8000 ha ranch
Already developed ranch but in poor condition	Awaiting AMA registration	P100 fee	P1300	-	50t absentee fee per day to be charged against members who do not avail themselves for ranch group work.
None as yet	Awaiting AMA registration fee	P150 joining	P800	-	Absentee fee of P2.00 per day
None as yet	Awaiting AMA registration	P100 fee	P1200		Absentee fee of P10.00 per day
	No longer exists (GDO report 8/80)				
	Group defunct				Group defunct-did not attend meetings. GDO & REO visited 3-4 times but eventually withdrew

APPENDIX 10

TGLP COMMERCIAL AND RANCHING GROUPS AND AMAs BY REGION

REGION: NAME OF GROUP	COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN	DATE FORMED	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	CATTLE NUMBERS	LOCATION OF PROPOSED RANCH	CONSTITUTION AMA REGISTRATION	MANAGEMENT PLAN (AND MANAGEMENT FEES)
Ntlhantlho group ranch "Badisakgomo"	Ntlhantlho	Aug. 79	14	423 pledged Aug. 79, range 30-54	CDC area Sukhutlwane	Have Constitution	Initial plan by Group Nov. 79. Proposed 2t/head per day watering fee
Lepapa ranches	Kanye Gaborone	Applied LB Feb. 1980	10		JN 16	Applied AMA Have full constitution	Detailed management plan drawn up by REO
Tshwarangano	Mmathethe	1979	10	503 (range 30-100)		24.7.79 initial by-laws drafted by group	
Selebalo Group Ranch	Sekhuma (Western Ngwaketse)	Mid 1975	15 increased to 16 members (? 1978)	362 cattle (Dec. 78) included c.195 cows and heifers. Dropped to 215 cattle by Jan.80.	At BH 2870 SE of Sekhuma c.20 miles	Detailed draft constitution: -covered membership, share in labour, share in payment of expenses, livestock quota, meetings, management, role of management committee - joint and several liability of members for group debts.	1. Many attempts made by REO and AD at ranch to assist group to adopt some basic management standards - e.g. rotational grazing, control of breeding season & weaning, feeding bonemeal and salt, dehorning and castration. 2. Management insofar as it ever existed, dropped to practically zero by 1980 - See notes.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDERTAKEN/ PLANNED	STATUS	JOINING FEES	FUNDS RAISED	GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Equip BH, trough, reservoirs, housing, kraals and crush. 2. Perimeter fencing 3. Paddocking 4. Water reticulation	Awaiting proper management plan to be drawn up	P100 per person	Nil		1. Group wanted to increase their stock by applying for grazier scheme cattle and breeding stock. 2. Mostly older people, presently herding cattle in communal hills east of village. 3. Developments planned - each on annual basis. 4. Sent JC leaver for ranch management training, but was rejected, so have to find another candidate
Proposed to drill BH	Group collapsed (GDO 8/80)	To be in proportion to cattle stock holdings			1. Originally Lepapa ranches group applied to Ngwaketse LB for JN16 and JN 5.
	Group long collapsed due to internal disagreements	Unspecified, but according to stock holdings			1. 10 members, though constitution allows more. 2. By-laws allow members between 30 - 100 head of cattle.
1. HB 2870 equipped under GS09 2. Ngwaketse Land Board allocated 6400 ha grazing around BH, Oct. 75. 3. Fencing 37 km of 50 km planned by late 1977, incl. perimeter, bull/weaner paddocks. 4. Cattle moved in July 1977. 5. Water reticulation to bull and weaner camps plus 4 other points in ranch each with reservoir trough. 6. Firebreaks cleared by RLMP but never maintained since. 7. One pumper employed at P30/month to run engine		1. Group signed NDB loan agreement for P18069 at 8% over 20 years. The first 3 years interest being capitalised to allow a grace period. 2. Absentee fees for work defaulters of P1.00/day agreed July 77, but by Oct. 79, P471 owing. 3. Mgt. fee P1.00/head/ month agreed Oct. 78; but by Oct. 79 P200 owing 4. No joining fees	1. NDB loan repayment of Fy51.90 every six months for 17 years starting 1.7.79 2. Only one payment made so far.	1976-77 extensive support and physical assistance in fencing, clearing firebreaks etc. by RLMP team. AD resident on ranch same period. 6 bulls supplied through Bull subsidy scheme. 1977-1980 numerous visits by HQ & Regional Staff (probably over 20)	1. The group ranch was established under the first Range & Livestock Management Project which commenced late 1974. 2. NDB loan was to cover purchase of items for fencing, water reticulation and purchase of bulls. P800 of the loan was unspent and consumed 1977-1978 on running expenses, while internal fencing other than bull and weaner camps was never done. 3. Management committee never ever met. No manager was ever employed. Group relied on AD first two years. 4. No-one in group literate. Treasurer unable to record transactions. No secretary ever elected. AD kept records till posted to Kang 1978. 5. No herd management ever done. All categories of stock run as one herd. Kept at one (north) water point near kraals from July 1977 to May 1979 resulting in severe overgrazing of north of ranch while southern 2 water points and grazing untouched. 6. Fences steadily fell into disrepair. Central gravitational water reservoir collapsed end 1979; BH engine temporarily connected to pump direct to southern and western waterpoints 4 km away. Firebreaks never maintained as group was expecting assistance from Govt. tractors. 7. Only 4-5 members regularly contributed labour in ranch development and operation activities. Other members mostly failed to pay the absentee fees required for not participating. Several members withdrew cattle when management fees introduced. Only two members employed herders on the ranch. 8. It became clear that the management, financial and organisational problems of the group were seemingly insoluble due to their origin in some initial sociological problems as well as members' clear inability to understand financial implications etc. There is presently discussion between MoA, Land Board and NDB re the group's future.

APPENDIX 11

WOODLOT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT/AREA	PROJECT TITLE	SPONSORING ORGANISATION AND MEMBERSHIP	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ACTIVITIES	DATE BEGAN*	LOCAL CONTRIBUTION LABOUR/MATERIALS	CASH
11.1 TATI Malambakwena	Donga reclamation and woodlot	VDC	1. Fenced 8 ha area to reclaim donga. 2. Planted 200 trees	1979 Jan 1980	All labour organised by VDC	
11.2 SEMOWE Thabala	Montshegaletau Donga project reclamation and woodlot	Thabala FC and Motshegaletau Sub FC	* 5 hectare woodlot/ orchard/conservation of Donga project. 1. Cutting poles - M. people 2. Clearing/bush clearing - and fencing (days 2-3). 3. Tree planting* (1)150 gum trees + 36 oranges (2)200 gum trees) to (3)150 gum trees) replace ones that died 4. Watering of trees * figures for trees planted from memory of Thabala A/S at the time	1979 1979 Oct. 79 Nov. Dec. 79 March 1980 onwards	1) Labour from Motshegaletau 2) 3 days labour-participation by people; day: 1 2 3 Thabala 31 28 20+ Motsh. 11 7 - Transport from Thabala provided by FC Chairman and headman 3) Labour for planting -34 people brought over from Thabala -5 4B girls and 7 boys from Motshegaletau 4) Labour for watering - 3 ladies from M.; 2 F.C. members from Thabala plus 10-12 4B girls from Motshegaletau	

ASSISTANCE/GRANT VALUE	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
Trees - Moa Fence - ARB	Land Use Officer present throughout fencing and planting work	No constitution	1. All of the trees reported to have died. 2. Reported that no watering ever done since planting - only rainfall kept the trees alive. 3. Village never took any responsibility for this project (GDO 8/80)
P2422 Soil conservation water bowser provided to FC for hauling water (after Feb. 1980 meeting)	1. FC general training courses 2. Tree-planting demonstration - one day, October 1979, by Serowe Forestry Brigade (SFB) Attended by 20 people (Mostly Thabala) 3. Training by SHDT hoped for again - October or November 1980	-	1. Woodlot idea suggested to the FC for Motshegaletau by Soil Conservation Unit, MoA/CDCC, 1977 and accepted by FC. 2. Implementation problems from 1978-79 due mainly to drought conditions. 3. Problems from Oct 79 still due partly to drought in that normal residents of Motshegaletau lands were not there due to (a) dam dry and local clinic BH broken down so nearest water was at Thabala BH or Masoko wells. (b) because Motshegaletau soils notoriously prone to drying out early in Autumn and therefore planting has to be done early in the season; thus people (due to the late rains of '78 and '79) had adandoned plans of ploughing. 4. Thus labour was not locally available, nor was water apart from at one private dam belonging to local trader - which water had not been negotiated for. 5. Most of the organisation and labour for clearing, fencing, planting and watering came from Thabala central FC members. Some social problems/local politics affected the amount of cooperation from the Motshegaletau area sub committee. These were ironed out in March 1980 by local re-elections of the area FC sub committee. 6. The main problem was watering. Several oversights resulted in no watering being done and many trees dying at the start. Records either from the Brigades, the DAO office, or at local level are not clear. Exact numbers planted or lost not yet known. Oversights were (a) assuming there was a local water source (b) DAO sketch cart was supposed to be loaned to the FC for use in transporting - but never was (c) under-estimate of the amount of watering necessary - SFB said only 4 waterings would be necessary altogether; perhaps this made project sound more straightforward than it turned out to be, whereas in fact (? due to the soils, or drought) much more was required. 7. Further general oversights were (a) FC capacity to implement was over-estimated, considering its other commitments, level of training etc. (b) the Brigades input did not materialise as specified in project plan. The SFB Coordinator, whose experience was relied upon, left before any work was done. Instead of ongoing management supervision and training only a one-day demonstration was done. (c) The GDO, though playing a low key role in writing up plans etc. was on leave (d) the local level A/S for Thabala seemed to lack the authority or insight to see what was happening and get action taken. Only in February 1980 did the AO(LR) Serowe, with no previous woodlot experience, realise the situation, meet with the FC at Motshegaletau, and arrange for the soil conservation water bowser to be used. 8. Ongoing monitoring continues (every 2 weeks by DAS/GDO/AO LR).

APPENDIX 11

WOODLOT PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT/AREA	PROJECT TITLE	SPONSORING ORGANISATION AND MEMBERSHOP	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ACTIVITIES	DATE BEGAN	LABOUR CONTRIBUTION LABOUR/MATERIALS	CASH
11.3 MAHALAPYE Shoshong	Donga reclamation and woodlot	VDC sub-committee of 7 members elected in kgotla 8/80; chairman still to be elected	1. Woodlot - has SLB approval. 2. 1000 trees proposed to be planted on 1 hectare site	1976 11/12 1980	From moulding bricks and sale	P1000
11.4. KGATLENG Morwa	Morwa VDC woodlot	Morwa VDC	1. Woodlot 2. Wier for horticultural project next to woodlot - - proposed	1979	To purchase fence. Poles and labour	P 285
11.5. KWENENG (S) Kumakwane	Kumakwane VDC woodlot	VDC to organise labour, ongoing maintenance and to receive eventual revenues	1. Woodlot 5 hectares (400m x 125m) - to date (March 1980) only clearing done 2. Materials delivered	Late 1979 18/1/80	Labour on clearing (VDC, drought relief activity) Value - P550	No cash contribs. or fees. VDC funds used P385
Mmankgodi	Farmers Assoc. woodlot/orchard	Mmankgodi Farmers Association	1. Woodlot and orchard (no progress as at 8/80)	Idea 1979		

ASSISTANCE/GRANT VALUE	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
Under discussion - Proposed for Nov/ Dec 1980	1. DAO & AO(LR) planning inputs 2. Mahalapye Devt. Trust assisting (new IVS volunteer agriculturalist)		1. First proposed by VDC in its "5 year plan" 1976. 2. Area of dongas reported to be about 10 hectares by AO(LR) - 12.3.80. 3. VDC reported (AO LR 3/80) to have raised P3500 and moulded 30 000 bricks towards a community centre project proposed in 1972, which has yet to be implemented by Council. 4. VDC woodlot intention - fencing poles poles, roofing poles etc. 5. Management committee elected 8/80 includes treasurer. 2 ADs ex-officio members.
			1. Labour being carried out under food for work/drought relief. 2. No AD in the area (1980)
AE 10 grant - P3500 KRDA forestry unit and MoA		VDC developed special project by-laws with help of GDO, 1978. Membership, defined as "giving hands to any work done", entitles purchase of poles produced at lower price than "non-members".	1. Project proposed within VDC 1978 due to flooding, waterlogging of central area of village by a spring caused by heavy rains of 1974-78. 2. Early 1980 VDC succeeded to get people out to clear the site on Thursdays, when drought relief food distributed, otherwise people busy at lands. 3. Membership seems to be limited to able-bodied people, according to by-laws. 4. Some reluctance in community outside the VDC members.
DDO from RAO - office measured site and took soil sample - Feb. 1980		Farmers Association by-laws; none drafted specifically for woodlot as yet.	1. Farmers Assoc. were hoping profits from Dip tank could go towards this project. 2. The Associ. originated in PFS times; present ones elected 1978 to do dip tank; acts as FC for the area. 3. Woodlot site on west side Kolobeng river next to dip tank. Orchard site separate - further downstream on south side of Tlamaga road.

APPENDIX 12

FIREBREAK PROJECTS BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT/AREA	PROJECT TITLE	SPONSORING ORGANISTION AND MEMBERSHIP	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ACTIVITIES	DATE BEGUN	LOCAL CONTRIBUTION	
					LABOUR/MATERIALS	CASH
12.1. PALAPYE Lerala	Drift fence Firebreaks	Lerala FC	1. All drift fence lines cut to fire-break width (12 m) (47 km)	1977/78	Labour for destumping	
Mogapi	Firebreak	FC (initially a special committee of 2)	1. Firebreak by two sub-groups for first two 5 km and 10 km sections. 15 kms cleared	Sept. 1977 to Dec. 1977	1.3 months of labour for destumping and initial clearing - about 60 people 2. Fines for non-participation in the work at 50t per day	P29
		FC	2. Lands enclosure fence - all cleared to 12 m firebreak width - 24 km so far out of 34 km	1978	Labour for destumping	
12.2. SEROWE Thabala	Firebreak	Thabala FC	1. Burning to widen road from Thabala to sandveld 2. 12 km cutline widened by cutting/destumping trees	1977 1978	Over 140 farmers labour - picked by 2 FC trucks	
12.3. MAHALAPYE Mmaphashalala Mookane	Firebreak	Two FCs (1972, 1975 formed)	1. Firebreak - by widening road from Mookane to Tuli Block backline	1978	Discussions still going on	-
Mokobeng	Firebreak	? FC	1. Firebreak - site selected	Mid 1979	-	
12.4 NGWAKETSE (S Kanngwe	Drift fence firebreak	Drift fence committee				

ASSISTANCE/GRANT VALUE	TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
-	FC training Fencing course by MRTC - 1977	Have by-laws covering participation in labour	1. Problem FC anticipates in getting people to do the final grass clearing work, and future maintenance. FC proposes to raise contributions towards the cost, hoping for Govt. assistance.
1. CDCC meeting - encouragement - Oct. 76 2. Fire Ranger Kgotla meetings/support 3. ARB tractor cleared the line in 1978	1. Fire Ranger 2. 2 day field course in fencing - 1978	Firebreak constitution was enforced. 50t fine per day for not working. Unfortunately these funds are alleged to have been misused by former headman, and never reached FC for use towards firebreak maintenance costs	1. The firebreak idea grew out of the 2C members of Kgophathate Radio Learning Group-1976, reinforced by a CDCC tour that year. 2. The FC encountered some social problems at Mokgachawadinama section stemming from the Maunatlala origin of residents of that area. This affected participation. 3. A further 15 km of firebreaks has still to be cleared. 4. The ARB tractor and equipment finally arrived 8 months after the FC had destumped the firebreak line. Jan. 78 FC had planned to hire a tractor but funds alleged to have been misused by headman. 5. FC presently concerned about ongoing maintenance in future. Realise the expense of trying to hire a tractor to plough/brush the line, or the labour cost. FC interested in Govt. assistance towards this.
AG15 request submitted to RAO 8/80	FC training ? training by CDCC Fire Ranger	-	1. Original FC plan was to clear 60 - 70 kms of firebreaks including the cutline, the road to Masoko (cleared by the FC 1975/76) and the Thabala - Serowe Road. 2. Plans foiled by 78/79 drought which scattered farmers.
-	August 78 - field course by CDCC Fire Ranger	-	1. Field course planned at request of the two FCs after Mmaphashalala FC had gone twice to consult Mookane FC about cooperating on the project. 2. The two communities share a common grazing area; veld fires tend to start in the south (Mookane area) where the grass is usually very high.
Mapped by LUO 8/80	-	-	1. Reported in DAO SMR for July - Sept. 79; Land Board was to be consulted.
-	AgInf campaign on veld fir control 6/79 Committee training planned - 1980		

APPENDIX 13

MOLAPO BUNDING PROJECTS IN NGAMILAND

AREA (Site)	DATE STARTED	PAYMENTS	NO. OF WORKERS	NO. OF FARMERS	TOTAL MOLAPO HECTARES
SHOROBE					
Gabamochaa	1980	P1.00/day	60		800
Shorobe A	"	P1.00/day	40		1000
Shorobe B	"	P1.00/day	40		700
MATSAUDI					
Sekapane	2/1980	P1.00/day NB. VDC propose to organise cutting of poles if Govt. supplies materials for fencing the bund	40 (4/80)	16	
Mazanga	March 79	Started with food for work 3-7/79, then interrupted. 12/79, P1.00/day introduced	60 (4/80)	20-25 (3/79)	80

NO. OF BUNDS	STATUS 4/80	COMMITTEE/ LEADERSHIP	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
5	Nearly complete	Local leader chosen for each project	-	None available
3 } 4 }	Ongoing		- -	
8	Half finished	1.Plan to organise committee under VDC; 2.Current VDC Secretary is the BUNDING leader. 3.Committee will want training	Planned by VDC/head-man (note 3)	1. Matsaudi VDC acting as overseeing Committee concerned to see sub group committee established. 2. Farmers scattered to dryland fields since 1975 floods. 3. By-laws planned (a) any-one with field in Molapo must join group (b) must contribute to fencing etc. Headman ruled that people who did not work on BUND would be barred from plough-ing in the Molapo. 3. Further developments planned by VDC include - fence and gates for bund, drift fence of molapo, bund maintenance and irrigation piping.
7	Nearly finished, being made higher	As for Sekapane except different leader.	Planned as for Sekapane	1. Very slow progress 3/79 to 7/79; kgotla 7/79 tried to encourage farmers to go and sleep at site (5km from Matsaudi) but none went. Work interupted until launched afresh end 79 under P1.00/ day drought relief. 2. Project visited 1979 by Ngamiland East FCs and ADs as case study and received criticsm for lack of FC in charge of project and poor participation at the time allegedly due to decision over which Molapo to be bunded first. The situation may have been misinterpreted by the visitors.

APPENDIX 13

MOLAPO BUNDING PROJECTS IN NGAMILAND

AREA (Site)	DATE STARTED	PAYMENTS	NO. OF WORKERS	NO. OF FARMERS	TOTAL MOLAPO BECTARES
SHOROBE					
Tsirets-yamba	1980	P1.00/day	40	15	150
Xanas-ane	1980	P1.00/day	40	-	1000
Goroku	2/79	P2.80/day		6-7 None ploughed 1980(3)*	25
Xdoo	1980	-			
Rakops					
A		P1.00/day	60	26	50
B		"	20	5	30
HABU					
1		P1.00/day	-	9	
2		"	55	3	
3		"	30	12	
4		"	30	5	
Xekedau		"			-
TUBU					
Xoroja		"	60	21	700
Kandal-ajodi		"	55	12	400
3		"	40	7	20
4		"	40	5+	40

NO. OF BUNDS	STATUS 4/80	COMMITTEE/ LEADERSHIP	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
11	Ongoing		-	
1	Ongoing			Still in preparation 4/80
2	Completed 5/79	Failed to get committee elected due to lack of interest and follow-up (NB note 5)*	-	1. Cost of bund calculated at P15.00/metre length. 2. Bund 2 metres high, 6-7 metres wide at base. 3. Farmers at Goroku not ploughed Molapo since 1955; air photos indicate never much use of Molapo. 4. Tawana Land Board demarcated 18 x 1 ha plots for farmers; some still vacant. AGRIC. RESEARCH allocated two plots for research/demonstration. 5. Farmers cut some poles for bund fence at one stage.
2	In prep-aration			
3 1		No committees - only leaders	-	1. Project announced locally by Research after air photo interpretation revealed Molapo potential
7 3 5 2 Bridge	Starting Ongoing " " Finished	Leaders " " " "	-	
9	Ongoing	"	-	
6 4 3	" " "	" " "		

APPENDIX 14

CROP STORAGE, PROCESSING AND MARKETING, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	SPONSORING GROUP	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STATUS
14.1 NGAMILAND (E)					
Makalamabedi	VDC	Early 1979	-	1. Grain storage hut planned for crop storage	No progress. Site delayed over 1 year by Sub. Land Board
Mopipi	FC	Early 1979	Any resident of the community	1. Storage building design and estimates made by NWDC Works. Intended to "store grain, sell livestock remedies, vaccines, insecticides, and agric. equipment" Possible use as BAMB collecting point was mentioned. NB Builder's quotation P1260 Materials P1690	Site applied for - 3/79 Allocated 8/79 Applied for AE10 - submitted to Serowe DDC July 1979 - not yet approved (April 80) - see notes
14.2 TUTUME					
Nshakgazhogwe	Group committee	?1979		1. Hammermill at lands area	Held up,*(2) pending 5 LB Sebina approval
Nswazwi	FC	1980	15	Want hammermill	Applying AE10

FEES	FUNDS & MATERIAL CONTRIB.	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
P1.00 men 50t women	Nil, but goats pledged	-	1. Idea came about in drought that storeroom could be used by BAMB to bring supplies, and as a collecting point in times of plenty. 2. No funds raised due to drought, no market for smallstock due to FMD.
P4.00 joining fee plus P1.00/ month subscr-iption	P30. Planned to raise P300. FC supposed to mould 10 000 bricks. FC members organised transport to collect sand (July 1979)	1. Joining fee P4.00 2. P1/month after completion 3. P2 fine on members who fail to work. 4. Any FC member to contribute labour 5. Any FC member failing to pay P1.00 subscription will be charged. 6. Residents entitled to store bags for 30t/bag. 7. Storekeeper to be paid monthly by members.	1. Original FC plan was to contribute P300, mould bricks, dig foundation, and hand water from dam - only 50m away. Hoped to pay contractor - but FMD situation prevented any raising of funds. 2. One faction in village against FC project; want a co-operative instead. Local village politics have affected progress. 3. Main query at present is from Serowe DDC over FC's constitution and management plans. Also raised whether project should rather be a Coop or AMA. 4. Meanwhile the sand collected has been stolen by members of the community.
			1. Reported to be some local opposition to group undertaking project at lands - against "village regrouping" policy. 2. Group disbanded (7/80) due to allocation problem.
	Still organising funds	In process of writing constitution	First FC project; new AD helping (posted at Nshakazhogwe).

APPENDIX 14

CROP STORAGE, PROCESSING AND MARKETING, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	SPONSORING GROUP	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STATUS
14.3 TATI					
Tonota	VDC	1978	-	1. Shelter for hammer-mill 2. HIPPO No. 1 mill plus engine	1. Built by VDC 2. AE10 funds P2100 approved to buy mill but insufficient (3*)
Moroka (NED)	Co-op	1978	-	1. Co-op built shelter bought hammer-mill and engine (Feb. 79)	1. All installed and operating since mid 1980. 2. P500 allocated from AE10 for fence & roof sheets.
Mapoka (NED)	Co-op	1978	-	1. Hammermill project	Co-op Manager to discuss with committee their contribution
Matobo	FC	1978		1. Hammermill project	Not yet started
Goshwe	VDC	1978		1. Hammermill project	"
14.4 PALAPYE					
Seleka	FC	1977	84	1. Mud brick store-room built - 1977/78. 2. Cement block - "Lock-up" proposed.	Used to store AD implements. Proposal stage.

FEES	FUNDS & MATERIAL CONTRIB.	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
-	Bricks, Sand, Stone, Building Materials	GDO planning to encourage drafting of management plan and by-laws (8/80)	1. VDC originally estimated their contribution towards shelter at P242. No figures available on actual cost. 2. Hammermill and engine estimated at P3000. 3. P2100 insufficient; some misunderstandings over how application was done presently being resolved.
-	Moulded bricks, built shelter, P3000 approx. for mill & engine		1. AE10 allocated August 1979 after the Co-op had partly finished shelter and purchased mill and engine.
-	-		1. Co-op applied for AE10 for hammermill etc. RAO office discussed with Management the level of contribution the Co-op should raise (i.e. at least build shelter). No response as yet (April 80). 2. New AD posted 1980 to Co-op.
	See note "		Both groups agreed to build shelters as contribution towards AE10 for mill and engine.
-	Local materials		1. Mud brick building originally intended for grain storage. Not clear whether due to drought or other factors it has never been used for that purpose. 2. Reported that some people interested in Marketing Co-op.

APPENDIX 14

CROP STORAGE, PROCESSING AND MARKETING, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	SPONSORING GROUP	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STATUS
Lerala	FC	1978	43 farmers	1. Mobile crop buying operation	208 bags marketed
14.5 SEROWE					
Tsetlhong	FC	1978	17 farmers		66 bags
Bikwe	FC	1978	11 farmers		21 bags
Thabala	FC	1971 grain store. 1974/75 idea to form Co-op Branch	15 contributed cash (1975) + others cattle and crops for sale; ? current membership of Coop Society	1. Grain store - original idea in 1971. As years went by and funds were raised, the plan became to purchase a trader's store, but finally due to exhorbitant price asked for the store - FC decided to form a Branch of Serowe Marketing Coop.	Co-op bought building and opened as branch 1979.

FEES	FUNDS & MATERIAL CONTRIB.	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
BAMB prices	P1679.42 value sold		1. This was a pilot exercise organised by RAO/GDO office in cooperation with Palapye BAMB depot manager. 2. Bx 5 ton transport was provided. 3. FCs were assisted by ADs/GDO in how to keep records of crops collected, transported or sold at BAMB, and the subsequent payment of farmers back at the village. FC representatives accompanied produce to BAMB, received payment and distributed payments on return. 4. At Lerala the FC expressed interest in building a concrete slab collecting point for 1979 but the project was dropped due to drought and pre-occupation by FC with drift fencing project.
	P413 P105.70		
No constant fees: 1971 2 bags maize per farmer 1975 P20.00 fees + some cattle	P1876 by 1975 (see note) Of which P600 was sent to Serowe Marketing Coop	Branch of Serowe Marketing Coop Society. - Coop By-Laws	1. Fund raising: 30 bags maize contributed 1971/72 sold for P140. Parties raised P96 in 1971. 2. The idea to build a grain store followed a tour the FC made to Mookare in 1971 where they saw a store. 3. The Co-op idea followed the 1974/75 year of good harvest but then farmers had no market for their crops.

APPENDIX 14

CROP STORAGE, PROCESSING AND MARKETING, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	SPONSORING GROUP	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STATUS
14.6 MAHALAPYE					
Sefhare	FC			1. Storeroom for seed inputs, vet supplies	Completed
Chadibe	FC			1. Storeroom for seeds	Completed 3/80
Makwate	FC	1979		1. Mudbrick input storeroom	Under construction
Mmutlane	FC	7/79	Open to community	Bulk buying of seeds from BAMB	100 pkts. purchased by 11/79
14.7 KWENENG (N)					
Kopong	Farmers Association	1978	44 (April 1980)	1. Storeroom for seeds, implement spares, livestock remedies etc.	No progress pending further consultation in kgotla, and classification from MOA on Lock-ups.
Mmamarobole	F. Assoc.	1978	42	1. Crop collecting centre (for crop marketing and implement spares)	Drought brought it to a standstill

FEES	FUNDS & MATERIAL CONTRIB.	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
	P32		
	P60 (door frame, fence, cement)		1. FC helped by VDC in provision of roofing materials (DAO 3MP 3/80)
-	Farmers paid in seed costs in advance	-	1. Seed prices announced 9/79 in kgotla. 2. FC assisted with DAO transport. 3. After 11/79 farmers continued to purchase individually. (DAO 3MP report 12/79)
50t joining P3.00 subscription	About P80 1978-1980	Attempted to draft constitution (March 80) modelled on Bokaa F. Assoc. (dip tank)	1. Storeroom project decided upon by F. Assoc. members - not by community as a whole. 2. Efforts to draft constitution hampered by lack of project plans, costs or management system. Needs clarification from MoA. 3. Possible link up with OSSCA proposed.
P5.00	P42 (Jan 1980)	-	1. Populated lands area with headman appointed from Bokaa ward Molepolole. 2. Management Committee for project (FC) ineffective in face of lack of co-op eration between people from different wards.

APPENDIX 14

CROP STORAGE, PROCESSING AND MARKETING, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	SPONSORING GROUP	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION	STATUS
Boatlaname	F. Assoc.	Feb. 1978	-	1. Crop collecting centre for crop storage and marketing	-
Medie	F. Assoc.	1978		1. Collecting centre	Idea shelved
Lentswel-etau (Kgope)	F. Assoc.	1978	25	1. Collecting centre	Proposal only
14.8 SOUTH EAST					
Ramotswa (N)	FC	1978	100 reported - GDO Oct 78.	1. Collecting centre for crop storage and implement spares	Project cancelled during 78/79 drought

FEES	FUNDS & MATERIAL CONTRIB.	BY-LAWS	FURTHER INFORMATION
-	-	-	1. Idea died out after some farmers had sold their grain to Lentsweletau Co-op (assisted by DAO transport). 2. Possible link with OSSCA Molepolole - but no firm arrangements ever made.
-	-	-	1. Committee uncertain over priorities. Shelved collecting centre idea in favour of spray race. (March 1980).
-	-	-	1. Committee reported to be weak (GDO Oct. 78) - out in lands area near Lentsweletau.
-	P50	-	

APPENDIX 15

TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS FOR OWNERSHIP, HIRING OR SERVICING

DISTRICT Area Name	TABLE 15A: TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS				
	MEMBERS	DATE STARTED	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	FEES/ SUBSCRIPTIONS	FUNDS RAISED
15.A.1. TUTUME Marapong					
15.A.2. TATI Mosojane					
15.A.3. BOBONONG Sefhophe Tractor Assoc.	35 originally dropped to 22 (1968) Now 21 (1980)	1968	Management Committee elected 1968. Now meets irregularly. Chairman made final collection of fees 1979 in person	P1.00 registration fee. P30.00 annual subscription increased to P42.80 when membership dropped - to repay NDB loan	Loan fully repaid 1979 (? amount)
15.A.4. PALAPYE Gootau					
15.A.5. SEROWE Mosu					

PROJECT/ACTIVITIES	CONSTITUTION	FURTHER INFORMATION
		1. Reported by GDO 1978 2. Does not exist according to new AD 1980 (GDO 8/80)
1. Purchase of MF 135 with trailer, 3 disc ploughs and harrow	1. All members to pay P1.00 registration fee. 2. No refund if member resigns. 3. 25t fine for failure to attend meeting without reason. 4. P5.00 fine for using abusive language in meetings. 5. Tractor to plough 8 acres per member at P1.00/acre before next member gets turn. 6. Annual subs. P42.80.	1. At the start the total destumped acreage of the 35 members was 305 acres. 2. Membership dropped to 22 as soon as constitution drawn up showing fees. Fees increased to P42.80 when members failed to pay first contribution and dropped out. 3. Group now non-operative; tractor broken down. CTO Selibe-Phikwe offered to advise on repair costs but group failed to provide transport. 4. Problems mentioned by Committee recently included (a) scattered lands (b) lack of spares for tractor, no garages nearby. 5. Members felt they had benefitted by (a) buying livestock from crop production profits (b) some members have since bought their own tractors.
		Reported by GDO 5/78
		Proposed GDO 5/78

APPENDIX 15

TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS FOR OWNERSHIP, HIRING OR SERVICING

DISTRICT Area Name	TABLE 15A: TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS				
	MEMBERS	DATE STARTED	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	FEES/ SUBSCRIPTIONS	FUNDS RAISED
15.A.6. MAHALAPYE					
Kalamare	2				
Mookane (2 groups)	2 each				
Shoshong	2				
15.A.7. KGATLENG					
Dinogeng	3 brothers				
15.A.8. KWENENG SOUTH					
Khudumelapye					
Letlhakeng	2				
Mmamoagi (2 groups)	2 each				

PROJECT/ACTIVITIES	CONSTITUTION	FURTHER INFORMATION
		GDO baseline 5/78
		GDO 5/78
		Proposed, GDO 5/78
		Proposed Already syndicated in fence project (3/80)
		Reported GDO 10/78
		Formed 77, reported GDO 10/78
		Reported GDO 10/78

APPENDIX 15

TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS FOR OWNERSHIP, HIRING OR SERVICING

DISTRICT Area Name	TABLE 15A: TRACTOR SYNDICATES/ASSOCIATIONS				
	MEMBERS	DATE STARTED	MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	FEES/ SUBSCRIPTIONS	FUNDS RAISED
15.A.9. SOUTH EAST					
Tlokweng (Botsalano tractor syndicate)	6 all Government civil servants, one retired (treasurer) Lands scattered around Tlokweng area 10-15 km apart	1970	Group works as Committee. Chairman an ex-AD now Principal of an RTC. Treasurer an ex-Paying Officer in Ministry of Commerce and Industry	P15/month 1970-1977 P25/month 1977-1980	1. Original NDB loan repaid in 3 years. 2. From contract ploughing (charge P12.00 per acre 1979) 3. Sale of first tractor P1 600 in 1977, used as deposit for second NDB tractor loan
Tlokweng (Boithuso ploughing syndicate)	6		Family group	No data collected	-
Tlokweng (Ithuseng)	6 all working in Government	Early 1970s	Have committee	No data collected	-

PROJECT/ACTIVITIES	CONSTITUTION	FURTHER INFORMATION
1. Bought John Deere tractor and plough 1970 with NDB loan. 2. Bought trailer 1971. 3. Bought planter with Barclays Bank loan. 4. Old tractor traded for new one 1977; NDB loan of P7000. 5. Group interested in poultry project for Tlokweng.	1. Not allowed to use tractor unless subscriptions paid up. 2. If resign - cannot claim any share of syndicate property. 3. Pay P2.00 per acre for ploughing and planting, and each member buys one drum of fuel. 4. P1.00/acre for weed cultivation; contribute own diesel in addition.	1. NDB loan repaid after 3 years by P15 subscription per month per member. 2.Trailer bought from profits from contract ploughing 1970-71. 3. Group has its own hired driver. 4. 2 members employed in Francistown; most of supervision of farming done by wives of members in Tlokweng or by correspondence with Chairman and Treasurer who make arrangements/supervise driver. 5. 1979/80 bad year - members could not reach subscription target; agreed with NDB to reduce annual repayment from P1500 to P700 for 1980.
Data not collected. Group does contract ploughing.	? if drafted, but were advised by Botsalano Chairman	1. Two most active members are a Tlokweng headman and his son. The headman had previous experience working in Government Central Stores.
Bought plough and planter	1. Not allowed to use tractor unless subscribed fully. 2. Copied Botsalano Constitution with help from Botsalano Chairman	1. One member withdrew - has his own second hand tractor.

TABLE 15B: TRACTOR GROUPS FOR TRACTOR HIRE

DISTRICT Area	DATE	MEMBERS	PROJECT DETAILS
SEROWE			
Thabala (Masoko)	1977/78 season	5 farmers	1. Hired Serowe Farmers Brigade tractor at reduced rate of P8.50/acre ploughing charge. 2. Financed by farmers individually through NDB loans. 3. One farmer ploughed 36 acres.
MAHALAPYE			
Taupye	1977/78	FC	1. FC organised tractor hire from Mahalapye for an unknown number of farmers.

TABLE 15C: TRACTOR OWNERS ASSOCIATIONS FOR SERVICING

---

1. Sikwane (Kgatlena) (proposed September 1979 though no action taken as yet).

   Membership: 8 tractor owners at Sikwane.

   Proposal: was to organise installation at Sikwane of bulk 2200 litre diesel tank by supplier (BP) in order to reduce inconvenience and expense of getting retail price fuel at Mochudi.

   Comments: possibly due to lateness of the idea in terms of ploughing season, no action was taken. BP was approached and were willing to install the tank for a P16.00 charge. Farmers would have had to obtain NDB loan for the cash on delivery of the fuel when supplied. NDB syndicate forms and BP agreement forms were available.

2. Francistown Tractor Owners Association - 1980.

   Goal of the Association was initially to set up a comprehensive spare parts/repairs/service centre for all makes of tractor in the region. Membership not known, apparently reached from Tonota to Maun.

   Contribution suggested initially at P1,000 per member.

   When stage was reached for drafting a constitution it became apparent how over-ambitious the project was. Presently discussion is on-going around the possibility of wholesale spares operation.

APPENDIX 16

SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT CTTEE	NUMBER OF SMALL STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT/ ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRI-BUTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
16.1. NGAMILAND EAST										
Makalamab-edi (Central)	1978	27		Over 800	50t to buy remedies	Dosing - 1t	Used AD equipment	Inactive now due to drought FMD		
Makalamab-edi (NW District)	1979	21	-				Used AD equipment	No progress now (1980)		
Goroko	1977	?	-		-	Farmers bought dosing remedy	Used AD equipment	Non exis-tant now	Raised funds for dosing	-
Rakops	1978	15			50t to buy remedy	- (ALTIC supp-lied by AD)	Used AD equipment	Non exist-and now	-	-
16.2. TUTUME										
Sebina (Batanani)	June 1978	27	Yes	350	P1.00	25t Subscrip-tion per month when needed to buy dip	1. Kraal for small-stock dosing 2. Dosing equipment(*1) 3. Small-stock dip	1. In use 2. Applied AE10 3. Thinking about it	-	Applied AE10 6/79
Marapong FC (plus 2-*(2)	1980	Initial Stages	FC (see note 2)	-	-	-	(Are dosing)	Progress dependent on lands water supply first	P2 000 towards bore-hole*	-
Mathang-wane (Boiteko)	Nov. 1979	- see note	FC		P1.00 Annual subs.	-	1. Rehabit-ation of old (1946) smallstock dip tank	Planned		
Marobela	1978	19	-		-	-	No activity	Group not function-ing (Note 3)	-	-
16.3. TATI										
Sechele	1979		-				-	Potential group		
Gulubane	1979		-					Potential group		
Makaleng (Matenge)	1978	34	Yes - Elected 6/79	About 300	P5.00 per man P3.00 women *see note (2)	P1.00 per member to buy HELMATAC	1. Bush kraal made for dosing 2. Dosing with dosing gun provided by APO	Ongoing/ active	All members contributed P1.00 to buy helmatac. P5.00 fees not fully paid up (few paid) see note (2)	Applying AE10 for equipment

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
One demonstration by SSU	Dosed once 1978 once 1979	-		1. Had difficulty obtaining remedies - sending money to Maun. 2. Very wide area along Boteti river. 3. SSU dosed all goats in village free of charge
One demonstration by SSU	Dosed once 1979	-		Same problems as Central side of river; drought and FMD situation - so no money in area.
-	? number			Depended on visits from Maun AD; AD now transferred.
By A/S for area 1978	Dosed once 1978 once 3/79	-		1. Group bought remedies once only. LAC was out of stock of remedies and was then temporarily closed. 2. Now FMD/ drought problem.
1. Aug. 78 field course - by APO & GDO 2. SSU demos 3 & 5/80 3. Sept.80 field course planned	By-laws allow for 4 dosings per year	Yes - similar to Matenge (Note 2)	Group plan cattle activities also	1. Equipment wanted - dosing gun, syringe, fence kraal, storeroom, high pressure pump and burdizzo. 2. Constitution introduced and finalised between Nov. 78 and July 79.
SSU demos: 17.4.80 12.5.80		-	Equipping borehole first *	1. Group has raised funds to equip an old roads borehole - use of borehole not yet negotiated. 2. Two other committees in Maropong also still organising (GDO 8/80)
		FC const-itution		1. If implemented the project would be for use of a seperate group of interested farmers - not yet identified.
1. Course 1978 2. Note (1) 3. 9/80 planned	-	-		1. Members failed to attend Sebina 1979 field course. 2. Poor attendance at meetings. 3. Reported to be conflict between village and lands dwellers.
1. APO demo. Oct. 79 2. Sebina course				1. Headman sent one farmer to observe dosing at Malonge Group. 2. Farmers attended Sebina course
1. APO demo. 1979				1. Group meeting addressed by Matenge Group Chairman.
1. Free demonstration by APO 2. SSU to do 1 more demo. 3. Office demonstrated use of tick grease 4. 5 members attended field course at Sebina	- Dosed 152 - Dosed 300 second time 3 months later - October 79 dosed 880	Yes (6/79)	Cattle husbandry activities. - same group membership	1. Membership includes all 34 farmers at Matenge. 2. Joining fees only established recently - combined fee covers cattle projects also. Few members have yet paid. 3. Committee and constitution suggested by APO/GDO May 79 and introduced June 79.

SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL-STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIBUTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
Mosojane	1978	8	-	-		-	-	Were trying to get organised 78/79		
16.4. BOBONONG										
Bobonong N (Matsaganeng lands)	1980			-			None as yet	Formation	-	
Serule	1978						-	Not existing now		
16.5. PALAPYE										
Maunatlala	1978	6 groups of 10-15 each	-		-	1t/dosing	1. Dosed once each. 2. Wider management package	1. All non-functional 2. 2 groups plan revival 1980	-	-
MOGAPI 1. Attempt (2)	June 1977	18	FC	201	P3.00 paid by 4 only	P5.00 per member	1. Built 2 kraals 1/2 km from village		P50 for first dosing (5 litres) P61 for second (bought 7 litres)	-
2. Attempt (2)	Dec 1979	28 now inc. to 32 (4/80)	Group cttee	Over 400 to 567 highest number dosed	P2.00 per year	To come from P2.00 annual subscr-iption: tick grease etc. free from SSU so far	1. Dosing 2. Building permanent kraals	Ongoing Next stage planned	P44 (4/80) From June 1980 onwards group to pay all costs of dosing	1. SSU provides dosing gun. 2. SSU to provide weigh scales
Tamasane	1980	15	-	180-300	-	-	-			
Topisi	Oct. 1979	32 (only one farmer not joined) *(1)	Yes	313 (Most in the area) *(1)	-	10t/head covers all treatments (was 5t before) *(3)	1. Dosing gun provided by SSU 2. Dip tank 3. SSY rams for cross-breeding 4. Cross-breeding at Palapye Dev. Trust *(6)	1. Ongoing 2. Planned - site allocated 3. Planned 4. Completed June 1979	1. SSU equip-ment *(4) 2. Labour to dig pit 4. P9.50 fees contri-buted to PDT	To be assisted by SSU with materials

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
Demonstrations held 1979 by new AD				1. Not yet organised. 2. GDO report for 1979. 3. Present AD feels farmers not yet ready to form a group but were "organised" by former staff as strategy to form a FC
Demo. by APO 4/80				1. ? if related to group; reported in GDO baseline 1978
				1. Reported in GDO Baseline Survey 1978
	Each group dosed once using Loxon			1. 5 groups in lands areas, one in village. Complained that after dosing all smallstock died; blamed Loxon. 2. 2 of the group met 3/80, interested to revive activities possibly with wider management package.
-	1st dose 6/77 2nd dose 11/77	-		1. Surplus funds and remedy transferred to FC funds. 2. Shortly after dosing small-stock all died. 3. Group had problems obtaining remedy from Palapye LAC.
1. Free demo by SSU 2. Free demo by SSU 3. 1/2 free demo 4. SSU to attend 5. Committee training May 1980 6. SSU field course Sept. 1980	1. 8/1/80 - over 400 2. 10/2/80 - 567 3. 19/3/80 - 480 4. 10/6/80 - 553			1. Membership of revised group includes all 18 from previous group. 2. SSU suggested per head dosing fees, but group had already agreed on P2.00/member. 3. Third SSU demo/dosing Committee paid P10.00, SSU paid P10 towards remedy costs. Smallstock numbers reduced due to rainy weather. 4. SSO encouraging similar groups in neighbouring villages, Mogapinyana, Kgagodi, Tamasane to try to organise batch marketing from the area to BMC.
SSU demo 1980	Series of free SSU demos. ongoing			1. Demos by HQ SS Unit for all smallstock - village. 2. 15 farmers have expressed interest to form group but SSU doubtful whether interest will extend as far as contributing and working towards project.
1. Series of SSU demos. 2. Field course planned for 9/80 by SSU, APO(SS) and research assistant based at Topisi	Have dosed in Oct. 79 Jan. 80 March 80 * (2)			1. Group includes most smallstock in area. Only 1 farmer not joined. 2. Following SSU guideline of 5 times per year dosing. 3. Committee increased fee from 5t to 10t/dosing to build up funds. 4. SSU helps with dosing gun, burdizzo, syringes, spraya, terramycin, foot trimming, tick grease and pulpy kidney vaccination (October) 5. Problem of FMD(1) no marketing possible (2) group cannot dose at one site. March 1980 dosed in 5 separate places on consecutive days. 6. Some farmers sent 19 sheep to Palapye Devt. Trust for cross breeding with Darper ram - June 1979 sent 50t fees as a group

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SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL-STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIBUTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
16.6. SEROWE										
1. Kgaswe	1976	Varied 10-20	Yes	200	-	50t/ member for dosing	Used AD dosing gun	Inactive since 1978/79	-	-
2. Mmantsadidi	1978	10	Non-functional		-	-	Dosed once	Non functioning	-	-
SEROWE WEST										
1. Botopotsepe	1980	21	Yes	501*	-	P1.00 per member for dosing	None as yet	Initial stages	-	-
2. Mmamorontshe	1978	20	Yes	?	-	50t/ member for dosing	-	Non functional	By 2 members only	-
Mmatshumo	End 76	12		75	-	-	-	Non functional	Farmers never contributed	-
THABALA										
1. Thabala 2. Masoko 3. Motsheg-aletau	1976 1976 1976	30 3	FC " "	100+	- - -)	10t/dosing also fund raising parties	Dosing gun - bought by FC 1977	Inactive since 1978. Revival planned 1980	Problem raising contributions since 1978	-
MOGOROSI										
Moiyabana (4 groups) Paje Lethakane								All now non functional		
16.7 MAHALAPYE										
Chadibe	1980	21					None as yet	Initial stage	-	
Mokobeng	1978/ 1980	4 ? now	-	-	-	-	None as yet	Formation stage	-	-
Matlhako	1980						-	Formation	-	-
Machaneng (Thokolo Leswareng)	1980						-	Formation	-	-

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
1. Demo/field course APO(SS) 1976 2. Field course MRTC 1978	Very irregular 1976-77 No dosing 1979/80	-		1. 2 members are members of FC. FC tried to encourage activity 1980. 2. Problem was with irregular contributions, hence irregular activity. 3. Group lacks initiative unless prodded by AD.
One free demonstration	Dosed once 1978	-		
Demo by APO(SS) 2/80	Dosed again (free) 3/80 - 501 SS	-		1. 501 smallstock includes those of non members at free dosing.
APO (SS) demo 1979	Only 2 members dosed once, 1979, 21 smallstock			
APO (GD) demo 1977	Never dosed	-		Chairman eventually left group, bought his own remedy to dose his smallstock by himself.
Demonstrations by APO(SS) 1976-77	Dosed several times 76/77	-		1. Lack of smallstock market discouraged contributions. 2. FC members plan to revive project 1980 by electing new committee special for project.
				All reported to have been formed/ planned. (May 1978, GDO baseline survey).
Demonstrations by SSU 14.4.80 29.4.80				
Demo. planned				1. DAO 3MP report 3/80
Demon. held 4-6/80				1. DAO 3MP for Apr-June 1980. 2. Demonstration of dosing, hoof cutting, pulpy kidney vaccination etc.

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SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL-STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIBUTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
Makwate	1978/ 1979	-	-	-	-		-	Formation stage	-	-
Moshopha	1979	-	-	-	-		-	No progress	-	-
Tshikinyega	1980							? current status		
Pilikwe	1978	15						? status		
Palla Road	1978							Proposed 1978 - no progress		
Monolotshane	1978	9						No progress		
16.8 KGATLENG										
Matlage (2 groups)	1977	Members of ? dam groups	-				No project undertaken by "group"	No longer functioning	-	-
Olifants Drift (2 groups)								Now not existing		
16.9 KWENENG SOUTH										
Mmamoagi	1978							Not functioning		
Mmankgodi								"		
Thamaga W (Sepana)	1978	40						"		
Gakgotla		5								
16.10 SOUTH EAST										
Potsane	1978	About 20					Dosing and breeding	Planned 1978 No activity		
16.11 NGWAKETSE NORTH										
Loherwane	1978	20						? status	P33 raised	
Sesung	1975	17			-			Now inactive	Had problem raising funds	

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
1. APO (SS) demo 4-6/79 failed; 2. SSU demos: 11-4-80 30-4-80				1. 2 groups were proposed in 1978 (GDO report 5/78) 2. No follow-up since June 1979 to failed demo. (DAO 3MP) until 4/80
APO (SS) demos 5/79 and 12/79 failed	-			1. Original demo. planned 5/79 failed. Farmers reported to lose interest. 2. Meeting held 11/79 and demo. planned for 12/79 - postponed. No follow-up since. (DAO 3MP).
Demo. held 8/79	-			1. 9 farmers and 22 goats at demonstration. (reported DAO 3MP report 9/79).
				Reported GDO baseline survey May 78
				Reported GDO May 1978
				Reported GDO May 1978
SSU demonstration 1977 followed by field recording	Regular programme of SSU field recording scheme	-	-	1.No group formation or initiave ever shown. Smallstock brought to be treated by herdboys - owners not involved. All treatment - dosing,supply of drugs etc. depended on SSU.
				Reported (GDO Oct. 78; now not existing.
				Reported (GDO Oct 78) baseline survey but now no activity.
				" " " " "
				" " " " "
				" " " " "
Wanted demonstration				1. All information from GDO report Dec. 78.
				1. Reported by GDO Dec. 78 - baseline survey

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SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL-STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIB-UTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
Moshupha (S) (Sobo)	1979	12	Yes	About 300					Nil (end 79)	
Moshupa (S) (Polokwe)	1979	16	Yes	Over 300	P2.00	P1.00 per member to purchase more remedy, Loxon, pulpy kidney vaccine	1. Dip-ping - use split oil drum. 2. Dosing -use plastic syringe supplied with remedy	Ongoing-use kraal of leading member	P32 plus P16 second time funds raised	-
Lothakane	1974	12	Yes						P13 raised	
Pitseng	1977	20	Yes			*(1)	Dosing		P35 to buy remedies	
Moshupa West (Metsae)	1974	10	FC	Over 100	P3.00	3t per goat (Dosing) Vaccine from group funds	1. Dosing with syringe belong-ing to one member. 2. Used Secretary's kraal	Original group dissol-ved 1977 Now project being revived	P30 raised	-
10.12 NGWAKETSE SOUTH										
Maditse	1978	16						? status		
Sedibeng	1978	18						? status	Had problem raising funds	
Mokgosi	1978	12						? status		
Kgelwe	1973	100					1. Dip tank	Proposed 78 ? current status		
PELOTSHETLHA 1. Lokala	1977/ 78	5 now 10	Yes re-elected annually	525	-	Dosing 3-5t Vaccn. 1-2t Dipping P5.00 per member	1. Have spray pump 2. IFPP handling pens	In oper-ation	Pens built by group	IFPP provided materials
2. Gamaro-tshwane	1978	9	Re-elected 79	300	-	Dose 1-7t Vaccn. 3t Dipping - ?	1. Use IFPP handling pens			"

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECT	COMMENTS
		Yes		
				1. Water available close by in private haffir belonging to group member.
		Yes		1. Only 4 members reported to be continuing activities. Reported that previous treasurer disappeared with funds
Trained at SCC, 1979				GDO (1979) reported dosing fees not being paid by some members.
AD has 2 dosing guns for demonstration to new group	Active up to 1977 but 3t fees not paid by some members so FC ran out of money 1977	-	"	1. After 1977 group dissolved partly because funds got finished, partly due to 78-79 drought which scattered members. 2. Project presently being revived with same membership, fees etc. but to have special project Committee rather than FC.
				1. Reported by GDO(Dec.78) baseline survey.
				1. Reported by GDO (Dec. 78).
				1. GDO report Dec. 78 (baseline survey).
				1. Report by GDO (Dec. 78) - baseline survey.
Constant IFPP input	Dip fortnightly	None written	Cattle tick control	Do tick control on cattle also. Borrow dosing gun & syringe from IFPP. * P5.00/member collection covers purchase of dip for use on small-stock and cattle. Collect every time dip getting finished.
"	No data obtained	"		Have few cattle - activities done individually. Smallstock - group dips, doses and vaccinations for pulpy kidney.

SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIB-UTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
3. Tswidi	1979	11	Yes	415	-	Dosing-8t Vaccn.-from same 8t fee Dipping -see(2)	1. Handling pens 2. Use to use kraals	Being built. Ongoing	Labour	IFPP provided materials
4. Rramonn-edi East	1978	9	Yes	291	-	Dose-5t Vaccn.-3t Dip-buy in turns	1. Handling pens at Tswidi	Ongoing	Labour partic-ipation at Tswidi	"
5. Mma-setswana	1977	9	Yes	490	-	Dosing + Vaccn. 10t	Use own kraals	Ongoing	-	-
6. Taupone	1979	12	Yes	365	-	Dosing + Vaccn. 10t	Use own kraals	Ongoing	-	-
7. Malau	1979	9	Yes	310	-	Dosing + Vaccn.-10t	Use own kraals	Ongoing	-	-
8. Diabo	1977	13	Yes	625	-	Contribute per member	Use own kraals	"	-	
9. Dibaja-Kwena	1978 (see note)	9 inc. to 17 now	Yes	300 inc. to 411 now	-	Dosing + Dipping - 15t Vaccn.-4t	1. Use IFPP dosing gun and double action spray pump. 2. Dip tank, footbath, handling pens being built - March 1980		Labour in con-struction of facilities	IFPP paid for cost of all equipment
Maunyele Mohudu-hutswe Loruo Group	1976	30 inc. to 83; now 22	Yes	No data	40t	Dosing-5t	1. Use AD equipment		P33 from joining fees	-
Mmathethe(S) (Kgonkwe)	1979			300			Dipping and dosing	? No progress	P25 raised 1979	P155 AE10 allocated 1979
Kanngwe	1977	15	Yes	351	P10 P5 for new members of Dip project	Dosing and Dipping and Vaccination covered from 10t fee	1. AE10 dosing gun, syringe and knapsac 2. Dip tank	1. In use 2. Planned 79/80 but drought stopped contri-butions	P120 raised (1980) towards dip tank. Problem drought, no money	P155 AE10 - knapsac - syringe - dosing gun
Mmalore	End 1977	20	Yes	462	P5 per member	Covered from P5 fee	1. Dosing and pulpy kidney vaccination 2. Dip tank	1. Ongoing 2. Under construc-tion (3/80)	P200.00 pledged for AE10 P40 in account March 1980)	P849 AE10 - dip tank Feb. 1979

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
Constant IFPP input	No data obtained	None Written	Cattle tick control	1. Started with 3 members 1979. 2. Also do cattle tick control. Each member takes turns to buy 5 litre tin ALTIC. Use same ALTIC for smallstock.
"	"	"	Cattle tick control	1. Used to have many members 1978 - most dropped out. 2. Also treat cattle. But only 5-6 members have cattle.
"	"	"		Groups at Mmasetswana, Taupone, Mala., and Diabo all have cattle and treat calves/ weaners for worms. Tick control of smallstock and cattle tends to be done individually or in smaller groups. No collective contributions. Diabo - as group plan to charge to per head smallstock fee.
"	"	"		
"	"	"		
"	"	"		
IFPP Livestock AD - continuous support. Free dip provided for first year. IFPP scales provided for weighing.	Pulpy Kidney vacc. twice/year. (December - 1st dosing and September) Dip fortnightly for 30 weeks. Dose 3 times/year - Beginning, mid, end of rains.	Only cover fees		1. IFPP livestock to provide continuous support; helped group to calculate fee to cover cost of dip and dosing. 2. Remedies available at Pelotshetlha Co-op. 3. Group originally started 1976 with members of another group but pulled out due to confusion over contributions at fixed rate/member. More members joined this group when established fee per head/as system. 4. Same group doing cattle dipping/vaccinnation.
-	No data	-		1. Group also do cattle dipping and vaccination. 2. Membership fallen due to wideness of area/distances people have to travel and also, allegedly. due to suspicion members may have of some cttee. members making use of group equipment for themselves.
				1. Extension Area vacant. No up to date report - appears no progress.
1. 198 as used for demos. during 79/80 plan. 2. AD reports committee needs training	Regular treatment of 1060 smallstock dosed over 79/80 period. (AD report 3/80)	Not yet drafted - being discussed (3/80)	Cattle tick control and vaccination	1. Group also work together with cattle-tick control & vaccination. 2. Cttee. anxious to try to pull in all other farmes in area for dip project-but so far only one farmers has contributed P2.00. 3. AD reports cttee would benefit from training. 4. 551 less than half total small stock population recorded at syndicate borehole.
	Twice - 1979 April - 1980	Not yet drafted	Cattle tick control	1. Group also dipping cattle at vet crush, P5.00 covers this as well. 2. March 1980-group digging pit for diptank and constructing holding pens.

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Gathwane (Batlhaping)	1978	18	Yes	200 (1300 reported Feb 1979*)	P5.00	P1.00 for dosing per member	1. Dip tank	Site allocation reported held up Land Board	P200 pledged for AE10 P60 raised (end 79)	P849 AE10 for dip tank Feb. 1979
16.13. BAROLONG										
KGORO (Rebone)	Aug. 78	22 now 28	Yes	700 now 978	P5.00 now P10.00 (see note)	Dosing 10t now 5t Dipping 5t	1. Diptank, footbath, kraals. 2. Dosing with small syringe (supplied with remedy) 3. Automatic dosing gun-purchase	1. Built 3-8/79 - in use 2. On-going 3. Planned	P179(Nov.79) P200 balance (March 80) Contrib. labour (all funds raised savings from fees only) Group collected sand & gravel - tractor owners reimbursed diesel	P849 AE10 Feb. 1979
SHEEP FARM (Malokaganyane)	Not yet	68 for reservoir	Same as for water reservoir	7800	N/K	-	Dipping and dosing	Proposed	Have P42 saved from reservoir water fees	-
Mokatako (Thuseng)	May 1979	15	Yes				No project as yet	No progress	P20.00	
Borobadilepe	July 1979	25	Yes				"	"	See note	
Mokatako	1980	15	Yes	875 in area	P5		1. Small-stock dip	Planned; No progress	P15 so far (1980)	
Pitsane Potlokwe (Relemogile)	Feb. 1977	32 ? now 27 (DAO report 1/80)	Yes	500	P2.00 + P2.00 for ram	25t/beast - covers all treatments	1. Group wants small-stock treatment centre package (dip tank, footbath, dosing etc. 2. Boer goat ram purchase 3. Already have knapsac spray, syringes, 2 dosing guns from AE10-Feb. 1979	1. Planned 2. Purchased* 3. Ongoing	P64 raised (early 1980) P11.90 raised Feb. 1979	1. Applied for P400 AE10 early 1980. 2. Received P155 AE10.
Pitsane Maiphitshwane (Reikakantse)		22	Yes	246 dosed	P2.00		1. Holding kraal 2. Smallstock dip. 3. Footbath. All planned.	Planned		AE10 application planned

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DOSING/ DIPPING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
	No data	Yes	Cattle tick control	1. No funds/materials released from DAO office yet as site allocation held up by Ngwaketse Land Board. 2. Group also dipping cattle. Plan cattle dip tank. 3. AE 10 project memo records as numbers as 1300 (2/79)
1. By DAO 1978 (used office dosing gun and remedy) 2. By APO (as)-1979. 3. By DAO, AD(ns) on dipping-'79 (dip provided)	Dosed once '78 4 times '79 Once '80 Dipped twice 1979, 80. (944 smallstock)	Yes Prepared by Goodhope DAO office	1. Spray race for cattle (some members) 2. Borehole and engine - water dovel-opment; some members	1. All original 22 members paid P5.00. Six new members joined at P10.00 - fee raised due to contribution of original members to dip/kraal facilities. 2. Dip tank needs channel and roof to stop rain coming in (planned). 3. Majority of smallstock in area are involved - only 2-300 not involved.
-	-	Unwritten - covers contrib-utions and work on reservoir project	1. water reticulation and reservoir construction	1. Smallstock project could not be undertaken until completion of water reticulation from Bull camp, and building of reservoir.
		Drafted		1. No progress; committee reported to be weak.
			Borehole syndicate	1. No progress made while 45 members of community engaged in major borehole syndicate project - raised P750.
			Drift fence cattle dip	1. Farmers presently engaged in drift fence; also interest in cattle dip. 2. DAO report Jan. 80 indicates fee of P20.00
1. AD reports training needed on committee duties	First dosed October 1979. Plans 4 times per year	Yes		1. 22 of the members contributed to purchase of Boer goat ram.
1. AD reports committee needs training	Plan 4 times per year - dosed twice 1979/1-80	Yes - but copies needed for group members		

APPENDIX 16

SMALLSTOCK HUSBANDRY GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	MGT. CTTEE.	NUMBER OF SMALL-STOCK	JOINING FEES	OTHER FEES (DOSING, DIPPING ETC.)	PROJECT ACTIVITY	PROJECT STATUS	GROUP CONTRIB-UTION FUNDS/ OTHERS	GRANT ASSISTANCE
Gamokoto	Aug. 1978	28	Yes	600 approx.	P2.00 annual subs.	10t/dosing. Other treatment on individual basis	1. Smallstock package - knapsac, syringe, dosing gun etc. from AE10. 2. Plan dip tank.	1. Ongoing 2. Planned	P150 raised (March 1980) towards dip tank.	AE10 P155 Feb. 1979. 2. to apply diptank.
Morokol-wane	Feb. 79	20	Yes	350 dosed	P5.00		1. Dip tank and pens - built Sept. 1979. 2. Footbath -not complete (end 79)	1. Built 9/79. 2. Under-way end 1979	P61 raised P200 pledged Feb. 79.	AE10 P850 Approved Feb. 1979
Ramatla-bama	1980	26	Yes				?	New report	P56	
Metlojane	1980						No details			

DEMONSTRATION/ TRAINING	DIPPING/ DOSING RECORD	BY-LAWS	RELATED PROJECTS	COMMENTS
	Dose on two consecutive days 300 - 400 first day, rest turn up second day.	Yes	Same group as grazing fence enclosure and planned cattle dip.	1. 2 day dosing because not all members turn up on day announced. 2. Membership covers all small-stock in Gamokoto area. 3. Dosing done at herdman's kraal (group leader)
	Dosed once 1979; second interrupted by ploughing.			1. Group reported to have organisational problems and to need extra support. Members reported not to be contributing towards footbath and some not participating in activities.
				1. Reported by DAO Jan. 1980; not known of by SSU.
				1. Group reported Jan. 1980 by DAO, no details; not known by SSU.

APPENDIX 17

POULTRY PROJECTS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ACTIVITIES	STATUS	FEES
FRANCISTOWN					
Francis-town Poultry Assoc-iation	1979		No specific activities ever undertaken	No longer func-tioning	
17.2 PALAPYE					
Kgagodi	?78/79	50+ (women)	1. "women's poultry group" - purchase poultry medicines and other inputs as a group.	Ongoing	-
17.3 SEROWE					
Serowe	1976 as garden group	9 now 16	1. Poultry project proposed by Boipelo women's garden group	Proposed but likely to await completion of garden extension	-
17.4 BAROLONG					
Sheep Farm	1978	12 YWCA	1. Built poultry house - women's labour with AD's help. 2. Building tswana style hut for feed/ equipment store-room, with VDC help 3. Eggs being marketed to shop at Pitsane, selling at 70t a dozen; 3 1/2 to 5 dozen produced per day (8/80)	Completed 3/80 Starting 3/80 (no progress 8/80)	P5.00 joining + P1.00 to raise money to purchase more feed (3/80) (*3)

FUNDS RAISED	GRANT FUNDS	ASSISTANCE MATERIALS	FURTHER INFORMATION
			1. First reported GDO 1979 2. 1980 - group fell apart; GDO reported lack of interest in working together (8/80)
Raise money for bulk purchases	-	-	1. Have committee of 9. 2. No further details
So far only towards garden project	-	-	1. Garden project ongoing since 1976 though 79/80 membership and project expanded. 2. Motivation and market opportunities all promising.
P30 + 2 roofing sheets + 1 packet cement	P450 AE10	Poultry house materials + 72 point of lay hens + 200 kg laying mash (enough for three weeks supply)	1. Water supply available from Chairlady's BH at 5t/bucket. 2. Construction of poultry house delayed by unwillingness of a previous AD to assist in building. Present AD helped (1980) by memorising plan seen at Gaborone demonstration; some errors in design and lack of materials resulted. 3. Problem - lack of reliable transport for supply of feed, and lack of funds to buy in bulk. Rely on chairlady's transport to her shop in Pitsane. If BAMB Pitsane out of stock hens without proper feed for several days. 4. Project viability dependent on chairlady - water supply, transport and market. 5. Aim of project to raise funds towards CLINIC for the area with 80-100 households - VDC previously failed to raise necessary local support.

APPENDIX 17

POULTRY PROJECTS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	DATE BEGAN	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ACTIVITIES	STATUS	FEES
Borobadilepe	1979	36 4B Members	1. Poultry project Housing and cages supplied by AE10 30 layers purchased by group	In production 1979/80; eggs sold locally to school teachers and local small general dealer	P2.00 per member + concerts (? towards current veg. garden project)
Hebron	1980	10 BCW	1. Poultry project	Proposed	P1.00 per member
Metlojane	1980?	BCW	1. Poultry project	Proposed	

FUNDS RAISED	GRANT FUNDS	ASSISTANCE MATERIALS	FURTHER INFORMATION
Group sold eggs, raised funds to buy 30 more hens (1979) P400 cash on hand 1980	P450 AE10 5/79	Materials delivered 6/79 - included c.80 hens	1. Success of project depended upon one very enthusiastic school teacher/ 4B leader who maintained progress during holidays. 2. Group moving on to vegetable garden project 1980 - applied AE10. 3. 4B members well supported by parents
P120.00	Applying for P850 3/80	Want fencing, poles, roof sheets, + 200 hens	1. Plan to sell eggs and chickens.
			No details yet (DAO 1/80 report)

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION - Activities/Developments	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
18.1. CHOBE							
Kazangula women's garden		FC	1. Clearing 2. Fencing of site 3. Cultivation	1978	Fenced July 79 2 plots reported	Poles and labour only	Poles, clearing, labour only
Pandamatenga women's garden		FC	1. Clearing 2. Fencing - 1/2 finished by July 1979	1978	Fence still only half finished (1980)	-	Clearing and collecting poles
18.2. NGAMILAND (W)							
Sepopu VDC	Open Community effort	VDC	1. Clearing site, cutting poles. 2. Fence about complete. 3. New AD decided to move 4B garden into fenced site	3/79 8/79 1/80	No planting done	-	Labour only
Etsha VDC		VDC	Garden	1/80	Still being planned		
Nokaneng VDC		VDC	Garden; cutting poles	1980	Still being planned		Nokaneng VDC has P350
18.3. NGAMILAND (E)							
Sehitwa		VDC	Garden, possibly with individual plots	1980	Still being planned		
18.4. TUTUME							
Mathangwane "Boiteko" FC	-	FC	1. Had planned a 12 acre irrigated garden by river	Nov. 79 (idea)	No action as yet	P1.00 annual FC subcription	None so far specifically for garden project
Maitengwe FC			1. Allocated and cleared garden site	1980	(see note)		
18.5. PALAPYE							
Mokokwane VDC garden	20 members of "VDC project committee	VDC	1. 4 1/2 acre site approved by LB 2. Destumping/clearing of site - 1/2 ha. 3. Cut 20 poles	Early 79 March 1980 March 1980	Site approved. Clearing in progress		VDC organising clearing and collecting poles by FOOD FOR WORK/ DROUGHT RELIEF
18.6. SEROWE							
Metsemasweu (Serowe village margin)	About 8 members on and off from 5 main families	People elected one "case-taker" project leaders	1. Land allocated by LB near river. 2. About 1 hectare cleared and bush fenced 3. Access road cleared 4. 2 long contour beds) 5 ordinary beds/ plots) dug 5. One member tried to establish 15 beds after group breakdown but was defeated by drought	1977 1978 1978 1978 Feb 1979	Allocated 77 Beds in production by Dec.78 July 1979 no more water	None	None other than labour
Ipitlola Metsemasweu (further out from Metsemasweu above)	12 - 13 families all involved 1980 Revival of project - 10 members registered	Elected a leader/ representative	1. Applied Land Board and consulted Thabala Headman Sept. 78. 2. Cleared 1/2 ha garden next to shallow well. 3. Cleared and bush fenced 1 1/2 ha communal field 4. Laboured on wier/dam 5. Dug 12-15 communal plots in garden 6. Cleared access road 7. Garden watering and marketing produce 8. Popular theatre workshop	Sept. 1978 Oct. 1978 Oct. 1978 Oct.78 Oct.78 - Dec. 78 Nov/Dec 78 Dec.78 April 79	Never finalised LB approval In production by Dec.-Jan 79 Never planted - Dec.78 Holds little water Collapsed by Jan. 79. One w/e	None in original group Will have fees in new 1970 group	1. Labour 2. P2.00 worth of vegetables sold Dec. 78.

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P174 from AE 10 - Dec. 1978	5 rolls barbed wire 1 roll BW		None	1. No AD for the area at present 2. Lack of interest from members
P320 from AE 10 - Dec 1978	10 rolls barbed wire			1. Reported (GDO) that men supposed to finish fence to allow women to start gardening, but problems of community leadership/social tensions have halted progress.
P200 from AE 10 June 79	5 rolls barbed wire 1 roll BW 4 watering cans P5.00 of veg. seeds	June 79 GDO did demonstration of fencing and planting vegetables	None	1. Was no AD for the area for long period hence only GDO available to encourage project at intervals. AD now in post. 2. Problem appears to be lack of interest by community to participate in a VDC project when no clear aim for the use of any VDC funds raised through the project
			VDC communal project	Mokaneng to be communal garden; to hire man to water; people to work on plots; VDC to sell and pay gardeners
May want AE10	For fencing		Possibly individual plots under VDC	
Intend to apply AE 10	-	1. Support from GDO & APO 2. AD requested horticulture course (80)	Have FC Constitution	Regional staff at Francistown advised group to start on smaller scale.
				1. Drift fence project has taken FC priority
VDC applied LG 17 for	5 rolls wire and garden tools		Project Committee to manage project for 2 years then hand over to individual/plots - fees not yet decided	1. Aim of project is to raise VDC funds. The first VDC project undertaken.
BOITEKO DEVELOPMENT FUND	Wheelbarrow Cart 2 picks, axes, rake, fork, spades, watering cans seeds. All equipment withdrawn by Boiteko Jan/Feb 1979	1. Community identified and supported by "BOITEKO WEST" project-related to SBDT. 2. WFP food provided for some of the work. 3. SBDT volunteers helped labour at weekends. 4. Tech. advice from SBDT. 5. Boiteko found they were too far in distance to provide regular support.	Boiteko advisers tried to establish cooperative organisation - with work inputs, resource sharing and sharing of produce being divided equally among members.	1. Basarwa community of about 12 families on NW outskirts of Serowe. 2. Communal "cooperative" organisation failed due to deep community dynamics problems. The elected "leader" family worked most, monopolised most resources and claimed lion's share of produce. 3. Fencing brought watering of beds to a stop by Jan. 1979, then drought killed vegetables and by mid 1979 most families scattered to cattle posts.
1. BOITEKO DEVELOPMENT FUND 2. New 1980 revival of project will seek AE10 support	1. Garden tools and cart etc. 2. plough for communal field.	1. SBDT designed and supervised wier-dam. 2. Some weekend help from SBDT volunteers. 3. Popular theatre workshop by Boiteko, RADO, Adult Educator, Serowe. 4. New 1980 group - intend to involve MoA, RADO, Adult Educator etc.	1. Divided labour between projects - e.g. men clearing field, building wier, women watering garden. 2. P1.00 fee per day for use of cart (suggested by Boiteko advisers). 3. Communal ownership of all projects.	1. More stable cohesive Basarwa community with headman. 2. Worked furiously to complete project late 1978. 3. Dam was never fenced or silt-traps built because group never quite clear on its design or purpose - was built by SBDT. 4. P2.00 veg. sales money used to buy rubber solution to fix puncture on cart. 5. By Feb. 79 all 3 projects failed due to drought. 6. Popular theatre workshop destroyed by Police raid to arrest 3 leading men of the group on alleged cattle theft charge. 7. 1980 revival of group - will suggest individual ownership of plots on group garden.

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA (Name)	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION - Activities/Developments	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
Serowe Nethouse gardens (SNG) (initially a unit of Serowe Farmers Brigade - SFB)	Initially (76-77) SFB trainees attached to nethouses for 2 months as part of training routine on farm. 1/7/77 became autonomous unit with 10 'member' employees. Increased to 11(12/77) to 12 (5/78) then dropped to 8(1/79).	Not formalised. Took decisions as a group of all members (included the IVS hortic-volunteer).	1. 0.55 hectare nethouse (30% shade built by Serowe Farmers Brigade; 168 plots developed covering 50% ground area. 2. 1/2 hectare open air garden. 3. Marketing by direct selling at site, Brigade market in Serowe, contracts to hotel, school, constructed donkey cart (1977) to travel village rounds. 4. Plot arrangement in nethouse re-designed to wide beds to increase ground area under production; soil fumigated and manured. 5. Attempt to transfer nethouse to "Boiteko" site by main road after nethouse destroyed by Oct. 78 hailstorm. 6. Closure of project after resignation of members (see notes); SNG reabsorbed into Serowe Farmers Brigade. 7. Purchase of bigger mule cart and mules for faster marketing.	1. Early 1976 2. 75/76 3. 1977 4. Feb.-March 77. 5. Nov. 78 6. Dec. 1978 3/80 7. Was planned for 1980	Built early 76 75/76 developed April 79 - returned to original site Future organisation of project still to be decided (4/80)	-	SALES 1976 Total sales P1937 1-6/77 P859 7/77 P350 8/77 P600 9/77 P600 10/77 P600 11/77 P425 12/77 P400 1-2/78 ? Sales - drastic loss due to cold/rain. Oct. 78 - hailstorm destruction 11/78 - 4/79 ? sales - low. 7/79 - P120 - 240 per week
Boipelo women's garden project. (a) Original 1976-79 group (above line)	9 women, dropped to 6 by 1978	Yes	1. Formation of group 2. Consultation with Mathuba headman re site and Land Board approval 3. Fencing of 20 x 30m site 4. Clearing of 30m deep well 5. Purchase of a used handpump	1976 1976 1976 1976 1976	Garden in operation from 1976-79 with original members	P1.00 joining plus monthly 25t rent per plot	Group raised 1/3 of all costs. P80 raised towards fencing and clearing out old well. P55 for hand pump
(b) New group with expanded membership and site extension. (below line)	Increased to 16 from August 1979	Yes	6. Expansion of garden by an extra 18 x 20 m area to accommodate needs of new and original membership. 7. Extension to be fenced and tool shed built. 8. Whole donga area to be fenced by conservation committee and women's group, VDC and possibly church youth plant trees	1979 1980 Planned for 80/81	1979 - allocation by Land Board. 1980 - to be developed	New 1979 members pay 10t joining fee plus 25t per month per plot	P200 to be raised for tool shed and labour for fencing and shed. New members raised P24 Feb.-March 1980 by beer parties.

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BY LAWS	COMMENTS
P11 000 from Bernard van Leer foundation (through SBDT) - 1976	Total cost of development materials	IVS volunteer horticulturalist attached to SFB Feb. 77. Reorganised nethouse and was instrumental in changing system from Brigade training stints on the garden to autonomous unit (SNG) which gradually developed into profit-sharing group with the IVS horticulturalist as member and providing continuous support and leadership. His support was not, however, backed up by SBDT policies or action; this created a credibility gap between members and the volunteers, leading to project collapse. (see notes). IVS volunteer provided continuous demonstration of techniques and of management aspects - 1. On job training - sporadic formal sessions; taught pests and disease control, spacing, accurate weighing and measuring and packaging. 2. Adult education (classes at SBDT and then Boiteko) one p.m. per week, of devt. studies; English and maths classes cancelled due to teacher shortage. 3. No formal management training done.	Once group autonomy of SNG established, by-laws never developed beyond the idea of a 'profit-sharing' group. Dec. 77 - agreed each month 1/2 sales receipts put aside for expenses etc. 1/2 divided equally as wages. Participation* was ensured only by group meetings and discussion - not formalised in writing. (* in production and selling activities)	1. Autonomy of SNG from SFB designed to ensure permanence of SNG staffing and skill acquisition in horticulture, as well as try to ensure economic viability. Additionally aim was to develop business consciousness amongst members and break away from both "trainee" and "employee" attitudes by group organisational structure. 2. Financially monthly income peaked at P600/month Aug-Oct. 77 and stabilised at P400/month until early 78, achieving objective of minimum member wage of P20/month. This achievement would have been impossible without the constant input of expertise and long working hours and leadership of the IVS horticulturalist. 3. Training and transfer of skills to other members proved very difficult primarily due to the unhealthy effect of SNG being sited within SFB where trainees were slack, yet received higher remuneration from being heavily subsidised by SBDT. Introduction of profit-sharing scheme received severe blow Jan-Feb 78 due to cold damp weather which resulted in drastic losses of sales. 4. Nethouse destroyed Oct.78 by hailstorm. Group tried to move operation away from SFB environment to Boiteko site for reasons of accessibility (main road) and psychological need to escape SFB mentality. Failed to move due to lack of financial support from SBDT, continuing production commitments on first site, and physical difficulty of transfering assets. 5. By July 79 financial status at old site back to former level of P120 - 240 weekly sales, but then hit by severe frost. Members forced to accept minimum P20 support wage at very time when SBDT succeeded in obtaining January back dated wage rises. 6. August - November 1979, morale of group steadily collapsed and IVS volunteer lost all credibility in face of SBDT developments. Members finally resigned after a labour dispute, and after a short unsuccessful attempt at self-management.
Through Ursuline Sisters, Serowe. Grants kept at 2/3 costs (total P300) P110 towards hand pump	Fencing materials provided by Ursuline sisters. Garden tools on loan 1976-79.	1. Sister Zora (social worker) has provided continuous dependable support. 2. Serowe District Agic. Office - former DAS and AD made regular visits. 3. Two 2-day field courses by MHTC instructors July 1979 4. Committee leader training by Sister Zora and Tlhwaafalo centre staff. 5. Literacy classes by Sister Zora and Tlhwaafalo centre staff. 6. AE 10 memorandum by GDO. 7. Field course by hort. officer.	Detailed by-laws prepared with help of Sister Zora (social worker). <u>Appendix</u> 26.4. N.B. garden and water a group project. Plots, production and marketing all individual responsibility	1. Group of women came together after individual contacts through Sister Zora (social worker). 2. Raise money through P1.00 joining and 25t fees and by beer parties. 3. Increased membership resulted from kgotla meetings held in July 79 by Sister Zora and leading women in Mathuba, Marobela and Chicana Wards. 4. If conservation project comes about, women hope to plant trees on individual basis - fruit for home consumption and selling. 5. Some women also interested in poultry. 6. Some cooperation between members with close trust relationship occurs in selling activity. 7. Most original members had 5-10 plots of 1 x 3m area; one woman had over 12 plots and saved over P14 in two months.
AE 10 grant P273 (1980) materials purchased 3/80	To provide fencing material for extension (P168) and tools (P105)			

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION - Activities/Developments	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
18.7 MAHALAPYE							
Baitiredi Scheme (Mahalapye Development Trust Adult Education Centre)	Originally (in early '79) 25 women now 60 including 6 men	-	1. Baiteredi scheme on Mahalapye Devt. Trust, Kalamare road site - combined clinic, adult education and garden project. 2. Garden is over 1 acre. Water is free to members from MDT tap.	1978/79	Ongoing	-	Full development costs paid by Trust
Mmaphashalala garden project	20 (mostly women)	Have committee	1. Formation of group, committee election 2. Planning communal field with individual plots	Oct.79	-	None as yet	-
Machaneng	14 women 1 man	Have committee	Plan a garden project at lands area	March 1980	To apply SLB	-	P6.00 (May 1980)
Mookane Clinic			68 plots dug by members; planted tomatoes, cabbage, spinach (3/80)	Late 1979			P64 (excluding value of produce consumed)
Kodibeleng			Health post garden				
Palla Road							
1) Health post			Cabbage, tomatoes, maize; more beds being prepared 8/80	1979			P20 from local sales
2) 4B garden			Bought 2 rolls wire from local co-op to fence garden	1979			P54 raised from sale of dresses
Shoshong VDC			Village garden - fencing started 3/80	1980			
Chadibe			Debushing site 7 - 9/79	July 1979			
18.8. KGATLENG							
Mathubudukwane horticultural estate (planned AMA)	Not yet identified	-	No development yet; still in initial consultation stages (Kgotla meetings) Site identified for garden and wier	1979 1980	Planned to be underway by 4/81	-	Planned AMA contribution P7137, 81/82 labour and hire charges
Sikwane VDC		VDC	Clearing site under food for work	3/80			
18.9. KWENENG (N)							
Mahetlwe Young Womens Farmers Association	19 (30 reported by GDO 1978)	Group Committee	1. Established garden with bush fence; individual plots. 2. Wire fence projects	1978 1979	Awaiting Land Board allocation	25t	Contributions continuing (8/80)
18.10. KWENENG (S)							
Cabane	14		"Ipelegeng" garden group	1976	?defunct		
Kumakwane Khudumelapye			Clinic gardens		Kumakwane abandoned		

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BYE LAWS	COMMENTS
-	-	1. Mahalapye Dev. Trust adult educator provides training and support in gardening, literacy etc. 2. Former A/S in Mahalapye used to provide technical support. Now transferred.	1. MDT allow members free use of plot for 18 months	1. Most "members" have 1 plot of 4 x 1 1/2 m site. Some original members have 2 plots. 2. Most members recruited from literacy classes and WFP food recipients at clinic. 3. After 18 months people to be encouraged to start in their own homes or form groups to take advantage of AE10 support, or hire plots on MDT commercial allotment scheme.
-	-	Had MRTC field course Oct. 79 - full week	None drafted yet	1. Decided to make group during field course Oct. 79. 2. Aim to supply vegetables for home consumption and well in village. 3. Not sure of Council water changes.
-	-	-	-	-
				Mainly mothers who attend clinic
				No details (DAO 3MP 3/80)
				DAO 3MP 3/80 To apply AE 10 9/79 (? progress) (DAO 3MP 9/79)
Received P100 from BCC (3/80)				
				Land Board approved 9/79 ? progress (DAO 3MP 9/79)
AE11 project-initial capital costs 1981/82 P105 469	All materials transport, equipment etc.	To be from Horticultural section, MoA and later - Manager/AD	To be an AMA	1. Same project organisation as at Magobane, under NDP project AE 11 "Horticultural Estates".
AE 10 planned		AD advice - members were using manure.	Constitution registered 1978 with Societies Act. Members had individual plots	1. Original bush fence destroyed by people in the village for firewood. 2. Members stay out at lands - but close enough to water daily.
				Reported GDO Oct. 78
		FWE/AD	Women have individual plots	Council employ Industrial class gardener who looks after plots when women away at lands

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION - Activities/Development	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
Thamaga young womens vegetable association	34 members originally at old site. New site - 15 members increased to 25 (1980) Mostly non cattle owners- get little from lands 8/80 - now 38	Group Committee	1. Original group had fenced site in someone's yard, produced regularly from individual plots but after 2-3 years site owner wanted use of site. 2. Allocated site on better soil. 50m from sandy river. 3. Women attempted to fence early 1980 but posts fell over when wire strained. 4. Women plan to develop plots individually 5. Water supply - to insert empty drum into sand and draw water by buckets. Possibility of pump - request AE10	1976/77 1979 1980 -	Was in production Fencing not constructed by April 1980	P1.00	P38-1979 by 15 of 25 members
Gakgatla garden group	10	Group Committee	Interest in establishing vegetable garden for home consumption	Oct. 78	No action	-	-
Mmankgodi "ithuteng" vegetable production project	12	Group Committee	1. Cleared and fenced 4 hectares 2. Nethouse built 3. Seedlings started 4. 2 diesel pumps installed 5. Dam made across Kolobeng river 6. Irrigation system built 7. Ploughing begun	June 79	Cleared and fenced 3/80. All other developments done 3-8/80	P20.00 joining fee plus P45.00 to buy a plot	An initial sum of money was raised (? amount)
18.11 SOUTH-EAST							
Otse VDC	Community	VDC	1. Hired tractor to plough field 2. Needs security fence 3. Equipment of unused HH next to garden	1979 - -	Ploughed Planned Planned	Not yet decided	P200 in VDC funds. 40 litres petrol paid to owner of tractor
Tlokweng			1. Clinic garden - individual plots 2. Laundry operation		Ongoing		
Mogobane Baitiredi AMA (proposed)	Plan on 20 members (12 at present) 30% women	Yes	Original idea for project from MoA	1978			
			1. Clearing and fencing 12 ha. site	1980	Completed	Members to supply draft oxen P10.00 joining. P1.00 stationery	Planned AMA contribution first year P6252 for labour on site development and hire of tools
			2. Digging exploratory wells (by hired labour initially)	1980	Underway		
			3. Desilting of Mogobane dam	-	Planned by MoA (1980)		
			4. Appointment of AD to project	9/80	Posted	Tools/equipment to be hired - annual charge	
			5. Appointment of adviser	-	Planned		
			6. Construction of lined, earth reservoir, packing and storage shed, net house 1000m², staff houses	-	Planned		

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BYE LAWS	COMMENTS
P850 from AE10 9/79	Fencing materials	AD helping with fencing 1980	None as yet. (original garden had communal plots, but group has problems with some members not watering.	1. March 1980 many of members reported to be out at the lands so group attendance irregular. 2. With original garden, members used to send younger children to do watering in their absence at lands. 3. Original garden site was too near village centre and playground - small boys stole produce. Soils also rather stony. Were combined with women from clinic but now clinic developed separate garden. 4. Women members seemed very optimistic about market in Thamaga and aim at making income from project rather than going to the lands.
-	-	-	-	No progress reported 3/80 - husbands apparently reserving household funds for proposed tick control project.
Botswana Christian Council loan was P20,000.00 German Fund 11/79	Fencing (security), storeroom, garden equipment	1. Intensive ongoing support from OMVI/CHURCH horticulturist based in Manyana. 2. Training - field courses from horticultural section of MoA	Not yet drafted. AMA registration planned. 4 x 600 m² individual plots planned per member	1. Initiative came from Mmankgodi residents requesting similar project to the Manyana group co-op. 2. Kolobeng river - perennial supply of water. 3. Marketing - Gaborone, Lobatse. plan joint marketing with Manyana Co-op. 4. Site - infertile soils but can be restored through fertilisation. Better sites (closer to village and better soils) not available.
-	-	Will request Council for equipment of BH	Not yet decided on management of garden, and how running costs would be met	1. VDC and BDP youth group with BCW/4B planned to cultivate plots in garden 2. Security fence needed due to theft. Otse shopkeeper offered to donate fence. 3. Project postponed due to 2 other VDC priority projects (bridge to Sakutshwane lands and fencing of cemetery.
		Up to 1979 - BCC/ Lutheran horticultural adviser. Now - MoA		1. Unfortunately no data obtained - though a report describing the work with this group has been published by National Institute of Research
1. P5000 from drought relief funds to hire labour 2. AE 11 project value P86 905 initial capital costs	Govt. project to provide 2 1/2 ton truck (P8815) Housing (P18000) Tools and Equipment (P8000) All capital costs of fencing, roads, irrigation pump, shed, nethouse, wells. (P48000)	Horticultural Section, MoA. Later - project manager /AD Bookkeeping course DRTC 7/80 organised by DAMA attended by Treasurer and Chairman	Applied to register as AMA	1. AD to be assigned full time to project as from 9/80 for 4 years; adviser being recruited/trained. 2. Each member to start with 1000m², increasing to 1/4 - 1/2 ha. subject to availability of water from Mogobane dam. 3. Assume family labour of 1-2 persons per member will result in total employment of 40-60 people. 4. Marketing will be by AMA's own 2 1/2 ton truck. 5. Problem 1979 - delayed progress due to drought. 6. Delay/uncertainty also experienced over decision to register as AMA rather than Co-op, and over administering title to the land.

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION Activities/Development	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
18.12 NGWAKETSE (N)							
Manyana Kolobeng Horticultural Society Ltd.	17 (1976) dropped to 7 by 4/77 8 members (1978) 15 (1979) (12 women 2 young men 1 man over 40)	Co-op Committee	1. Original group garden 2. New site acquired (present site) 3. Total renewal of irrigation system 4. Land levelling for new furrow system (increased no. of plots and membership) 5. Sale of cement (return marketing trips) 6. Construction of storeroom, office, workshop. 7. Production from 21 levelled plots in 1978 P3320.00 gross value*(8) 8. Extension to 15 000m² new additional site to allow for total of 18 members including coordinator	1973 1974 1977 1978/79 1978 1975 Planned	Replaced (1977) Completed Ongoing Completed 1979 Ongoing -	1. Up to 1979 30% charge on gross plot sales 2. 1979- P35.00/ plot management fee proposed + 10% marketing fee + direct costs of inputs	1977 - Some funds raised by Coop towards irrigation equipment
Sesung Women's garden			1. 200 metres square 2. Bush fenced; part planted	1979 1980	Newly developed		
Lothakane Destitutes Garden			1. Bush fenced 2. Some plots planted	1980	Newly developed		
18.13. NGWAKETSE (S)							
Kanngwe 4B/women's veg. garden (YWCA)	12		1. Field 70m x 50 m area 2. Prepared individual plots	1978 1979	Cleared, fenced and in production 3/80	Fund raising at 4B day	P71.00 (Feb.79) P100.00 Feb.80 from 4B day
Mmalore Red Cross				-	Needs water supply		
Pelotsetlha (1) Seokangwane/ Maphadikwe	30		1. Bought Pump 2. Developed garden at haffir	1976	In production		Used to purchase pump, seeds pesticides etc.
Diaka (2) Red Cross Women's Group	40 40		1. Bush fenced small garden next to haffir. 2. Digging IFPP water catchment tank 3. Beekeeping 4. Jam making and baking (*4)	1978 1980 - 1979	1. In production 2. Underway (6/80) 3. Planned (looking for colonies)	P1.00 per year (funds also raised from sale of jam and cakes	P30.00 (part used to purchase beads to make badges and Makhabi for sale)
(3) Diabo Women's Club	24		1. Vegetable garden 2. Fencing of garden	1976 1980	Underway	P1.00 plus 50t per year	Used to buy cement and wire for fencing
(4) Marotswana Women's Group	18		1. Vegetable garden	1976		P1.00 annually	Used for purchase of seeds etc.
(5) Lokhwati Women's Group	12		1. Vegetable garden	1976	Inactive	None	-
(6) Dipotsana	13		1. Clearing vegetable garden	1980	Cleared	Not yet	-

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BYE LAWS	COMMENTS
P3200 from BCC	(towards irrigation)	1. From 1976 - full time support from horticultural advisor to the BCC/ Lutheran church at Manyana 2. CODEC - auditing 3. MoA hortic. section.	1.Registered Coop 1975 2.Selection procedure by committee including "trial period". 3.Bookkeeper paid low part time wage 4.Sales at garden, records of materials used - one member 5.Chairman in charge of ploughing etc. and transport and sales (i.e. individual members responsibilities.	1. Original garden followed example of Lutheran's priest's backyard garden (1971). 2. Drop in membership (1977) followed near bankruptcy of Co-op due to lack of co-operation and some quarrels. 3. Coop provides members with short term credit, ploughing, land, water, tools, advice, training, book-keeping and overall coordination. 4. Co-op lorry provided by BCC. 5. Water - from perennial Kolobeng river. 6. Chairman taught driving - now licensed; cannot write English yet. 7. Each member now can have 4 plots of 600 m^2 with an average net return of P95/ plot. Aiming at net income of P600/member/ year. 8. Gross sales 1978 of P3320 from 15 plots cabbages, 3 of carrots and 4 of spinach.
To apply AE 10 1980				
Need AE 10	For fence			1. Group formed as result of efforts of SWO and ACDO.
AE 10 P80	4 rolls dia. mesh 1 gate UNICEF 4B gardening tools	4B day organised 23.2.80 Spraying pests demo - knapsac; AD 2/80		1. AD's 3MP report 3/80 reports plots producing tomatoes, carrots, onions + rows of maize.
				1. Vegetable garden project prevented by lack of water supply.
	Plan AE 10 application for fencing and tools for garden	Frequent regular support from AD (women's projects) attached to IFPP full time	None at present, but planned by AD	1. Sold quantities of vegetables locally until haffir dried up. 2. Members also engaged in poultry.
	Plan to seek AE 10 funds for fencing garden		None	1. Present haffir, when dries up means have to fetch water over 2 km distance. 2. Pests reported to be problem in garden (AD 8/80). 3. Some members building poultry houses. 4. AD taught members jam making (using pumpkin and moretologa - wild plum - fruit) and baking.
	Applying AE 10 for garden fencing		Yes	1. Members also engaged in poultry. 2. Garden damaged severely by goats - hence fencing.
			Yes	1. Also doing poultry keeping. 2. One member keeping bees. 3. Problem of water shortage for garden and members staying far apart - hence watering garden difficult.
			-	1. Group reported by AD not to be cooperating together at present.
			-	1. New group, also interested in literacy classes.

APPENDIX 18

HORTICULTURAL GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	COMMITTEE	PROJECT DESCRIPTION Activities/Development	DATE STARTED	STATUS	FEES	FUNDS RAISED
18.14. BAROLONG							
Borobadilepe 4B garden	36		1. Garden well developed, bush fenced, near water supply	79/80	In production	P200 per member	Fees + concerts P400 (end 79)

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS	MATERIALS	SUPPORT AND TRAINING	BY-LAWS	COMMENTS
Applied P400	Fencing garden			1. Thieves and goats reported to be damaging garden efforts, hence need for better fence.

APPENDIX 19

WOMEN'S GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS (and fees)	ACTIVITIES	GROUP/ INDIV-IDUAL	COMMENTS
19.1. CHOBE				
Kazangula Pandamatenga		Women's gardens " " "	Group "	1. Details under horticultural groups
19.2. PALAPYE				
Kgagoan	50+	Poultry - supply of remedies	Group	1. Mostly women - order remedies in bulk
Majwaneng (Mafudiso)	15	Handicrafts Building hut - planned	Indiv. Group	1. Formed 1977 from radio learning group. 2. Aims to teach school leavers occupational skills
19.3. SEROWE				
Mathuba Ward Serowe (Boipelo)	16	Garden - in production Poultry - planned Fruit trees - planned	Group " Indiv.	1. Details under horticulture
Serowe nethouse gardens	8 - 12 (varied)	Nethouse garden	Group	1. Details under horticulture
19.4. MAHALAPYE				
Machaneng (1980)	15 (1 man)	Garden at lands area (planned)	Group	1. 14 of the 15 members women
Mahalapye Dev. Trust (Baitisedi)	60 (6 men)	Garden plots (clinic Adult education)	Indiv. plots	1. Details under horticulture
Mmaphashalala (1980)	20	Garden planned	Indiv. plots	"
Mookane Kodibeleng Palla Road		Clinic garden Health Post garden Health Post garden	Indiv. plots	" " "

APPENDIX 19

WOMEN'S GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS (and fees)	ACTIVITIES	GROUP/ INDIV-IDUAL	COMMENTS
19.5. KGATLENG				
Dinogeng Mologe Mmilo Rabotsirepa Sechobologo Magogodi Mmogolegwa		Clinic Clinic house*(+ dam) Clinic (+ dam) Clinic* (+ dam) Clinic Clinic Clinic*	Group " " " " " "	1. FC for Dinogeng started by initiative of two leading women farmers. 2. *Marked clinics built to brick/zinc roof standard; others traditional material. 3. All 7 clinic groups represented by 2 Committee Members on Dinogeng FC. 4. Rabotsirepa clinic group interested to fence and grow vegetables - but water a problem.
19.6. KWENENG(N)				
Mahetlwe Young women's F.A. (1978)	19 (25t)	Vegetable garden	Group	1. Details under horticulture.
Kopong Red Cross				? if garden at clinic
19.7. KWENENG(S)				
Thamaga Young Women's Veg. Assoc. (1976)	38 P1.00)	Vegetable garden	Group	Details under horticulture
Gakgatla garden group (1978)	10	Vegetable garden (proposed)	Group	"
Mmankgodi "ithuteng" (1979)	12 (few men)	Commercial horticultural project	AMA Group	1. Plan to register as AMA. 2. Details under horticulture.

APPENDIX 19

WOMEN'S GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS (and fees)	ACTIVITIES	GROUP/ INDIV-IDUAL	COMMENTS
Kumakwane Khudumelapye (clinics)		Clinic gardens	Indiv. plots	1. Cooperation between AD & FWE. 2. Details under horticulture.
19.8. SOUTH EAST Tlokweng		1. Clinic garden 2. Laundry	1.Indiv plots 2.Group	1. Waste water from laundry used to irrigate garden
19.9. NGWAKETSE (N) Sesung Women's garden (1979)		Garden	Group	Bush fenced 1980
Manyana Coop. (1975)	13 - 15	Commercial horti-cultural project	Co-op Group	1. Details under horticulture. 2. 12 of 15 members women (1979)
19.10. NGWAKETSE (S) Pelotshetlha 1. Diaka(1978) (Red Cross)	40 (P1.00pa)	Vegetable garden Beekeeping(planned) Poultry Jam making) Baking)	Group - Indiv. Group+ Indiv.	1. AD encouraging beekeeping for sale of honey, egg production for sale. 2. Funds also raised from sales of cakes and jam.
2. Maphadikwe/ Scokangwane (1976)	30 (? fees)	Gardening Poultry keeping Knitting Maize production	Group Indiv. Indiv. ?Group	1. Problem - no fence for garden. 2. Members inter-ested in improved poultry housing-use local materials.
3. Diabo (1976)	24 P1.00 plus 50t pa)	Vegetable garden Poultry keeping Beekeeping (interest)	Group Indiv. -	1. Lack of poultry housing a problem - many hens lost through predators.

APPENDIX 19

WOMEN'S GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	ACTIVITIES	GROUP/ INDIV-IDUAL	COMMENTS
4. Marotswana (1976)	18 P1.00pa)	Vegetable garden Poultry keeping Beekeeping	Group Indiv. Indiv.	1. Only one member keeping bees; bees absconded 8/80. 2. Problem of watering garden - members live far apart and water supply a problem.
5. Baitiredi (5/80)		None as yet	-	1. Club dissolved 1978/79 due to lack of support but now newly re-started; members attend RTC courses.
6. Lokhwati (1976)	12	Vegetable garden	Group	1. Poor partic-ipation, co-oper-ation amongst members - no funds being raised.
7. Matlotlathu-to	16 (P1.00 annual)	Poultry	Indiv.	1. Ordered layers 1980. 2. Problem - dist-ance from water source; otherwise keen to work on group project.
8. Dipotsana (1980)	13	Vegetable garden Literacy class	Group Group	1. Garden just cleared. 2. Literacy plann-ed; AD/WE at IFPP to do classes with help from NFE Dept.
9. Molaodi 10. Ramonnedi 11. Taupone 12. Ratshwenyane Matshwenyane 13. Lokala	17 28 12 12 10	No projects " " " "	Indiv. activ-ities only	1. Problem with all groups 9 - 13 is lack of water sources in their areas.

APPENDIX 19

WOMEN'S GROUPS, BY DISTRICT

DISTRICT AREA	MEMBERS	ACTIVITIES	GROUP/ INDIV-IDUAL	COMMENTS
Kanngwe YWCA/4B (1978)	12	Vegetable garden	Group	Details under horticulture
Mmalore Red Cross		-	-	1. Vegetable garden project prevented by lack of water supply.
Mosoke/ Mogapinyana (Maunyele) (pre. 74)		Cookery Child care Knitting	Indiv.	1. Membership from 12-15 mile radius in lands areas. 2. Collapsed after misuse of funds by office bearers.
19.11. BAROLONG				
Malokaganyane YWCA/BCW/Red Cross		Cookery Knitting	Indiv.	1. Activities taught by leading local women. 2. Poultry initiative failed · majority not interested.
Sheep Farm YWCA (1978)	12 P5.00 + other fees)	Poultry project	Group	1. Purpose - to raise money for clinic. 2. Details under poultry.
Hebron BCW (1980)	10 (P1.00)	Poultry project planned	Group	1. Plan sale of eggs and meat. 2. Details under poultry.
Metlojane BCW (1980)		Poultry project proposed	Group	No details available yet

APPENDIX 20

FISHERIES GROUPS IN MAUN REGION

AREA	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ORGANISATION	JOINING FEE	GROUP CONTRIBUTION
SEHITWA Lake Ngami	Jan 79 Current group: Nov 79	4 initially interested but due to AE 10 minimum group size of 10 for assistance, VDC registered 21 members (11/79); currently 22 (4/80)	1. Group plan to erect shelter and operate fishing equipment as a group 2. No-one outside group to be hired; members will be allocated duties - fishing from boat - washing fish - processing - storekeeper/person who checks proper packaging etc. 3. Marketing to be allocated to group treasurer; Fisheries Dept. to help organise marketing initially. NOTE: possibility was observed of current group splitting into two groups of 10-11 members each based on half the AE 10 equipment - for more viable organisation.	P15.00 or equivalent in labour for cutting poles etc. to build shelter	Not yet started collections (4/80)
Mopipi	1977	8 of which 3 are currently inactive (not fishing)	1. Group is using Fisheries Dept. facilities instead of building its own shelter; never cut poles. 2. 5 members have their own individual boats (4 bought at P400 each; one wooden built by Fisheries Dept. at P75). 3. Marketing - independently about 2 bags/week sent to Francistown		Failing to contribute as a group

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS/MATERIALS	CONSTITUTION	FURTHER INFORMATION
P3100 (1980) to purchase 2 boats 2 engines 24 nets 50 salt bins 2 tarpaulines processing equipment (had requested P3383 including fuel, drum, oil and salt)	Drafted with help of Extension Area AD. 1. to overcome money shortage and unemployment. 2. uplift standard of living in area by utilising local natural resources. 3. to improve diet 4. Membership not to exceed 26. 5. Committee functions. 6. Treasurer & Secretary to be trained to ensure proper use of money. 7. Fish sales revenues to be divided (a) some into group project capital/resources. (b) rest divided as income to members. 8. misbehaving members expelled without compensation after three warnings.	1. Original group proposed by 4 interested men after fisheries staff explained AE10 to one fisherman. 3 had previous experience. 2. Fisheries staff prepared AE10 memo for value of P1433 (one boat + equipment), the group to build two traditional huts and other fixed equipment (drying lines, mounting nets) 3. AE10 rejected for group of 4. VDC at Sehitwa approached late 1979 and 21 members listed (Nov. 79), of which 8 have had some previous fishing experience. 4. Some doubt over viability of project with such large membership; most of the 22 presently labouring for P1.00/day drought relief road building (Tsau road). Fisheries staff concerned whether interest in project will continue when FMD cattle sale restrictions end. 5. Constitution provides for group committee training by Fisheries Dept., Agriculture staff and Co-ops Dept.
Were supposed to apply for funds to build shelter. Gave in their names, but never organised themselves as group (e.g. cutting poles)	-	1. All members are Baeyei from Lake Ngami resettled at Mopipi by Fisheries Dept. after L. Ngami dried up 1973. 2. Are not functioning as a group - only listed for purpose of obtaining assistance to build a group shelter. 3. Were encouraged to purchase a boat as a group instead of as individuals. 4. Group members have not agreed on a consistent local price for fish at Mopipi to buyers who come from Orapa etc.

APPENDIX 20

FISHERIES GROUPS IN MAUN REGION

AREA	DATE STARTED	MEMBERS	PROJECT DESCRIPTION/ ORGANISATION	JOINING FEE	GROUP CONTRIBUTION
Lake Liambezi Fish Co-op (CHOBE)	Early '70s		1. Used to market dried fish to Zambia and Rhodesia before market collapsed due to Zimbabwean war of liberation	-	-

GRANT ASSISTANCE FUNDS/MATERIALS	CONSTITUTION	FURTHER INFORMATION
United Nations Special Fund assistance available to revive the project	? if still registered Co-op.	1. Maun Region staff/Fisheries Dept. planning to investigate history and study viability before Chobe DC releases funds for developments.

APPENDIX 21-1: CONSULTANT'S ITINERARY

DATE	PLACES VISITED	TYPE OF PROJECT/ ACTIVITY CONTACTED	OFFICIALS AND OTHER PERSONS CONSULTED WITH
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] committee AFDC cell meeting meeting	ex-Councillor (Mr. Sego) ACDO AD, DAO, APO
[illegible]	[illegible]	Farmers Committee Self Help Clinic/Village Health	AD, DAO
	Bokaa	Farmers Association	AD, Chairman F. Assoc. (Mr. Molomo)
[illegible]	Ditshwene	Dip tank Fence	A/J, Headman (Mr. Mosinyi) Chief Deputy (Mr. M. Gaborone) Headman Kgosing Ward (Mr. Matlhapone) Headman Boitse Ward (Mr. [illegible])
		Tractor syndicates	Tractor syndicate chairman (Mr. Matlhoki)
[illegible]	Molepolole	MH/ranch syndicate	Chairman (Mr. Mokgwentsaithyana)
	Thamaga	Thamaganyane Block Control	members - farmers A/D Economic Growth AD Thamaga, AP Kgosi's Land Board (Mr. [illegible])
	Mmankgodi	YWCA veg. garden Farmers Association	Garden committee members Chief of Mmankgodi Farmers Association Secretary
[illegible]	Otse/ Ramaquabane	WILPA (Pig/"[illegible]" group)	AD, DAO, APO Chief of Otse (Mr. I.M. Tsatsa) Councillor (Mr. Matal) Secretary WILPA (Mr. B. Molefe) Vice Chairman (Mr. Sebokgodi)
[illegible]	Mmankgodi	Chicken veg. garden	MH [illegible] (Mr. [illegible])
		Farmers Association Digtana project Feeding programme	FA Chairman (Mr. J. Mutlayele) Chief of Mmankgodi AD Mmankgodi
[illegible]	Mahalapye (S.E. District)	Farmers Committee	Chairman (Mr. [illegible]) Secretary (Mr. [illegible]) Treasurer, Law (Mr. Tintswe)
		Dam Fence Spray race	Treasurer, fence Treasurer, spray race (Mr. [illegible])
28.2.80	Bokaa	Silo Dip tank	AD

DATE	PLACES VISITED	TYPE OF PROJECT/ GROUP CONTACTED	OFFICIALS AND OTHER PERSONS CONSULTED WITH
3.3.80	Ramotswa	RLFA Dip group	Mr. R. Molefhe
	Potsane/	Drift fence	Bamalete Land Board
	Segakwane/	Spray race	DO(L), DAO, Farmers
	Bwatlhe		
	Mmamaereng	Spray race	AD, APO, Members
		Drift fence	" " "
		FC	" " "
4.3.80	IFPP Dibajakwena	Livestock group (tick control and smallstock)	Members, AD, APO
		Women's Group	Members, AD
5.3.80	Maunyele	Drift fence group	Chairman (Mr. Gabatswaane)
	Mohuduhutswe	Livestock group	Members, AD, GDO
6.3.80	Ntlhantlhe	Drift fence)	A/S, AD, Members of Comm-
	Magotlhwane	Drift fence)	ittees , headman
		Tick control project	GDO
		AMA ranch group	
	Ranaka	Fence	A/S, farmer
7.3.80	Kopong	Farmers Committee	AD, FC members
		Collecting Centre	VDC Chairman
	Dinogeng	FC	Chairlady (Mrs. Lentswe)
			Secretary (Mrs. Thebe)
		Clinic Group	AD
		Mmilo Dam group	Chairman (Mr. R. Moeng)
		Fence group	Secretary (Mrs. S. David)
11.3.80	Manyana	Drift fence	Bafurutshe kgosi (Mr. Mosielele)
	Manyelarong	Fence subgroups	Chairman Fence Committee (Mr. Lejaga)
	Dialane		Other members
	Manyana	Horticultural project	
12.3.80	Metsae)		Secretary and members of
	Morule)	Dam groups	dam group
	Tshwaane)		AD Moshupha West
	Metsae	Smallstock group	AD (SS)
		FC	FC Chairman (Mr. L. Thupane)
	Polokwe	Dam group	Dam group chairman and
		Fence	fence committee member (Mr. Tshimologo)
		Smallstock	AD
13.3.80	Mmathethe	Macha Fence	Fence chairman (Mr. Marigane)
		Ranch group	Chief of Mmathethe
		Ngwaketse F.A.	(Mr. Bome), Kgetse Ntebolang, R. Raepane, DAO, DAS, ADs, member of Ngwaketse FA (Mr. Sebogodi)
	Mmalore	Livestock group	Member of livestock, drift
	Tsubue	Drift fence	fence and smallstock groups
		Smallstock	(Mr. Sebogodi) AD, DAO

DATE	PLACES VISITED	TYPE OF PROJECT/ GROUP CONTACTED	OFFICIALS AND OTHER PERSONS CONSULTED WITH
13.3.80 (cont.)	Kanngwe	BH syndicate Fence Smallstock	AD
15.3.80	Mochudi	Farmers Association	Members of Kgatleng Farmers Assoc. Bokaa FC (Mrs. L. Sefhako)
	Sikwane	Tractor fuel supply Tick control	AD, kgotla meeting and tractor farmers
17.3.80	Gamokoto	Grazing enclosure group Smallstock	Marumo headman and group members AD, DAO
	Kgoro	Rebone SSG Spray race	Chairman (Mr. M. Kelobonye) and 2 members AD, DAO
	Malokaganyane	Reservoir/BH equipment group BCW/Red Cross Smallstock proposal	Chairman (Mr. L. Rakereng) Secretary (Mrs. T. Mosetlhi) Treasurer (Mr. J. Ntshupetsang)
18.3.80	Hebron	Fence Dip	Members DAS
	Mokatako	Fence	Headman (Mr. Manyeneng), DAS, AD, Secretary group and deputy headman (Mr. S. Seleka) kgotla meeting
	Sheep Farm	YWCA poultry group BH syndicate	Chairlady (Mrs. G. Dinku) and members VDC Chairman, members, AD, DAS
19.3.80	IFPP	Dibajakwena SS dosing	Members, AD
	Moshupa	Morule dam group	Chairman (Mr. M. Malepa) Vice Chairman (Mr. B. Baitshoki) A/S, AD.
25.3.80	Gomare/ Nokaneng	Molapo bunding	Air trip (Mrs. Rigby)
28.3.80	Shorobe	Molapo bunding	VDC secretary and bunding leader
	Matsavdi Sekapane Gabamochaa	VDC	(Mrs. S. Nyoke), farmers, Ag. research staff, ACDO
30.3.80	Nxangu	Well/BH/ranch group	Leader (Mr. T. Sankawa) GDO
	Thamalakane	AMA Dairy ranch	Chairman (Mr. S. Moyenga) Vice Chairman (Mr. S. Matlhakala), Treasurer (Mr. K. Mogowadibe) AD Dairing
31.3.80	Sehitwa	Fisheries Group (Mopipi fisheries Assoc.)	Fisherman (Mr. J. Ntloyathuto) Fisheries AD, Chairman of group (Mr. D. Mokenane)

DATE	PLACES VISITED	TYPE OF PROJECT/ GROUP CONTACTED	OFFICIALS AND OTHER PERSONS CONSULTED WITH
10.4.80	Masoko	Fence Dam Tractor Hire Tick control	Chairman (Mr. Dumelong) Treasurer (Mrs. Tsegetshang) Vice Chairman (Mr. Obelegeng)
	Motshegaletau	Woodlot	
11.4.81	Thabala	FC Woodlot Bull camp proposal Smallstock Tick control Dams Coop branch Fencing (Lesie) Firebreak Crop Marketing	A/S (M. Keatimilwe) Headman (Mr. K. Lerumo) FC Chairman (Mr. P. Lerumo) FC Secretary (Mr. K. Jalee)
14.4.80	Mathuba Ward, Serowe	Boipelo women's garden	Ursuline Sisters Social Worker (Sister Zora)
15.4.80	Segakwana/Bikwe	FC Dam groups BH Association Drift fence	LUO, AD (U. Nfakose) Chairman (Mr. Ntsambiwa) Secretary (Mr. Kelapile) Vice Treasurer (Mr. Nthobutseng) Members (Messrs. Nthobatseng, Mookodi, Mokalake, Ndubo, Ramokomisi) + 4 other members
17.4.80	Lerala	FC Drift fence Dam Tick control Crop marketing	FC Chairman (Mr. Mokone) Fence Chairman (Mr. Molefhe) Dam Chairman (Mr. Malete) A/S (V. Leshona)
	Maunatlala	FC Drift fence Veg. garden Smallstock	FC Secretary AD (P. Mmipi)
18.4.80	Kgophathate c/posts	Tick control group RL Group	APO (M. Mpenya) kgotla meeting of committee and 20 members, ADs
	Mogapi	FC Firebreak Lands fence enclosure Smallstock	FC Chairman and headman (Mr. Baipedi), Treasurers (Mrs. Motlhagodi and Mrs. Seromola), Vice Secretary (Mr. Kelekang) AD (E. Phili) Chairman (Mr. Mooketse)
19.4.80	Kgogodi	FC	FC Secretary (Mr. C. Montswantweng)
	Diloro	Tick control	Chairman (Mr. L. Motswantweng), Vice Chairman (Mr. B. Kebarileng), Secretary (Miss C. Motswantweng), Vice Secretary (Mr. B. Sebopeng,

DATE	PLACES VISITED	TYPE OF PROJECT/ GROUP CONTACTED	OFFICIALS AND OTHER PERSONS CONSULTED WITH
19.4.80 (cont.)	Diloro (cont.)	Tick control (cont.)	Treasurer (Mr. K. Motsabi) Pump officer (Mr. E. Kebarileng), Assistant Pump Officer (Mr. K. Kgaretso), 3 others, AD
	Tlhagasarong	Communal "ranch"	AD (Mr. Ncube)
	Madiba	Dip group Dam groups	Chairman (Mr. K. Disang) AD (Mr. O. Mokobi)
22.4.80	Mmadinare N.	FC	FC Chairman (Mr. P. Makone) FC Vice Chairman (Mr. L. Nokaneng)
		Manatsane fence	Jekele Ward headman (Mr. M. Ntsaygwa) A/S, AD
		Mmadinare Coop Mkt. Soc. Dairy Ranch	Chairman (Mr. G. Kgari) Manager (Mr. K.M. Maano) Members (Messrs. Serero and Mathaka), AD Dairying (N. Phije)
22.4.80	Sefhophe	APRU communal grazing cell Drift fence FC	AD (Ms. Mdojwa) Members (Messrs. Makgoloto, Seomile, Rramaphane)
23.4.80	Toteng	FC Water Development	Chief Toteng, farmers, AD, GDO
	Ntimbale	APRU communal cell AMA	Chairman of AMA (Mr. M. Kombisa)
	Matenge	Smallstock group	AD, F. Modise - member
24.4.80	Nkange	Drift fer	Headman Mabua Ward (Mr. B. Mabua) Headman Ndzonga Ward (Mr. L. Ndzonga) UDC Chairman (Mr. M. Bukhwabuli), Force committee chairman (Mr. P. Vumbani), ACDO, GDO, 3 members.
29.4.80	Morale	Communal ranching group Drift fence	Chairman (Mr. J. Zacharia) Treasurer (Mrs. K. Muzila) Secretary (Mr. M. Bathleng)
	Mahalapye	Mahala e Dev. Trust horticultural allotment scheme	Agric. Volunteer Secretary of MDT
2.5.80	Mmaphashalala	FC Fence enclosure Garden project Tick control Firebreak	AD, Chief (Mr. G. Mmape) FC Chairman (Mrs. G. Mokalake), Secretary (Mr. N. Kosware) and 2 committee members (Messrs. Koswane and Mosimane-Wakgosi)
17.5.80	Molepolole	KRDA/OSSCA	Secretary KRDA (D. Inger) Manager OSSCA (M. Edwards)

APPENDIX 21.2 : MEETINGS ATTENDED

DATE	PLACE	MEETING
?	Dutlwe/Takatowane	Kgotla meeting of AMA/proposed ranch group
12.2.80	Kubung	Kgotla on APRU cell
4.2.80	Denman RTC	DAOs/RAOs conference with DAFS HQ staff
8.2.80	DAFS offices	RAOs
13.2.80	MLGL	DO(L)s, Land Tenure Officers, Commissioner of Lands
19.2.80	Ramotswa	LUPAG
22.2.80	Kanye	LUPAG
"	Ramotswa	ADs meeting
26.2.80	Molepolole	ADs meeting
"	Mochudi	ADs meeting
27.2.80	Lentsweletau	ADs meeting
4.3.80	IFPP/Pelotshetlha	Open Day
6.3.80	Ntlhantlhe	Kgotla/Southern District Conservation Committee
3.3.80	Potsane	Malete Land Board Survey trip
10.3.80	Lobatse	RSM
14.3.80	Gaborone	RSM
15.3.80	Mochudi	Farmers Association 2nd meeting
17.3.80	Goodhope	Rolong Land Board
18.3.80	Mokatako	Kgotla on fence project
21.3.80	Kanye	LUPAG
27.3.80	Maun	ADs meeting Ngamiland East
1.4.80	Maun	RAO/DAO/GDO/Research Assistant Special Meeting
18.4.80	Kgophathate	Kgotla meeting, tick control group
21.4.80	Selibe Pikwe	Board of Mmadinare Mkt. Coop. Soc. Dairy
28.4.80	Mahalapye	Sub Land Board meeting (scheduled)
"	Shoshong	" " " " (specially arranged)
30.4.80	Serowe	ADs meeting
"	Palapye	ADs meeting
1.5.80	Mahalapye	MRTC and Impala SCC staff, GDO
5.5.80	Serowe	LUPAG
5.6.80	Gaborone	Water Points survey seminar
9.6.80	Gaborone	GDO seminars, by invitation
1.7.80	Gaborone BTC	Groups Seminar, GDO, RTC staff, by invitation
2.7.80	BAC	Seminar on TGLP/groups, by invitation BAC staff
10.7.80	Gaborone BTC	GDO seminar, by invitation

APPENDIX 21.3 : SUMMARY OF TIME SPENT AND DISTANCE COVERED ON FIELDWORK

Distance travelled:

(a) by consultant's own transport	-	7832 km
(b) by BX, other vehicles	-	c. 1200 km

Working days in the Districts:		64
Nights out	:	50

APPENDIX 22 : LIST OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS AND PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Note: Listed here are officials interviewed in Ministries, Departments and offices in Gaborone, and in Regional and District Agricultural and other offices in the regions. It is impossible to name everyone consulted in this study as they are so numerous. That is why the names of people consulted in the medium of meetings only are not listed separately. Only the list of meetings attended is provided in Appendix 22.2. The names or titles of certain key persons and officials contacted during the course of field trips are provided in Appendix 22.1.

NAME	POSITION
HQ Ministry of Agriculture	
P. Nelson	Director of Agricultural Field Services
B. Tlale	Deputy Director of Agricultural Field Services
I. Matenge	Commissioner of AMAs
T. LaQuey	Senior AMA officer
D. Benedetti	Evaluation/Communications Officer, DAMA
J. Gaetsalwe	Registrar of Cooperatives
V. Amann	Chief Agricultural Economist
B. Addy	Research and Extension Coordinator i/c ranch extension/SLOCA programmes
R. Purcell	ALDEP team leader
N. Buck	APRU
T. Rennie	APRU
M. Odell	Rural Sociologist
R. Hitchcock	Rural Sociologist/TGLP Researcher
D. Jones	Rural Development Consultant
L. Fortmann	Water Points Survey Team
E. Roe	" " " "
C. Bailey	" " " "
K. Morriss	Horticulture Officer
P. Nkepu	" " "
D. Sims	Land Development Officer
S. Seitshiro	Range Ecologist
D. Dipholo	Secretary Agricultural Resources Board
S. Selogelo	Poultry Officer
J. Brunia	SAPO Smallstock
P.v.d. Poel	Soil Conservation Officer
I. Senosi	SALO Farmer Training
V. Molefhe	Action Research Unit Aginf.
M. Selato	" " " " "
G. Roberts	Botswana Agricultural College
S. Bewre	ILCA office
Ministry of Finance and Development Planning	
[illegible] Masalila	Coordinator of Rural Development
Mr. Mokalake	Rural Development Unit
W. Jeffers	CAPAD/Rural Development Unit

NAME	POSITION
Ministry of Local Government and Lands	
J. MacDonald	Planning Officer (Rural)
A. Lapointe	Dept. Town and Regional Planning
C. Sharp	Senior Planning Officer
E. Cabon	DO(L) Ghanzi
Other Offices in Gaborone	
J. Pielemeier	USAID Projects Officer
J. Morris	" " " " (Agric.):outgoing
D. Jones	" " " " " :incoming
A. Barclay et al	Development Alternatives Inc.
C. Barnes	USAID Evaluation Team
W. Morris	" " " "
D. Scarfo	" " " "
B. Egner	Economic Consultant, Gaborone
K. Vaidya	ILO consultant/Labour Intensive Works
O. Gulbrandsen	Research/Consultant - Ngwaketse/LGA
C. Kerven	National Migration Survey/Consultant
P. Peters	Researcher/Kgatleng syndicates
B. McKenzie	Institute of Adult Education
F. Youngman	" " " " "
Maun Region	
R. Kwarepe	RAO Maun
D. Verhof	GDO Maun
O. Pitso	Secretary N.W. District Council
Chief Letsolathebe	Chief of Tawana
W. Jeffers	DO(D) Maun
D. Shewfelt	DO(L) Maun
Mr. Staring	Dept. Agricultural Research, Maun
Mr. Mchivi	DAO Ngamiland East
Mr. Dlodlo	Admin. Sec. Tawana Land Board
Mr. Mokalaka	DC Maun
Francistown Region	
J. Smith	RAO Francistown
K. Rick	GDO Francistown
L. Monageng	AD Impala SCC
G. Dyce	DO(L) Tutume
Mr. Pule	LUO
F. Motsewa	APO
M. Scarr	REO
Central Region	
J. Mathake	RAO Central
J. Hope	GDO Central
Mr. Samboma	REO
J. Hobbs	AO (LR)
J. Moloi	AAO (LR)

NAME	POSITION
Central Region (cont.)	
M. Maloiso	A/S MRTC
G. Ndebele	A/D MRTC
T. Dube	Principal MRTC
N. Mbikiwa	DAO Mahalapye
L. Malatsi	DAS Mahalapye
N. Phije	AD Dairying, Selibe Pikwe
D. Berry	RADO
E. Yaxley	DO(L) Serowe
P. Binns	Admin. Sec. Ngwato Land Board
M. Lebrun	Land Tenure Officer Land Board
Mr. Lekwape	Member, Dairy Board, Mmadinare Marketing Cooperative Society
K. Maano	Manager, Monadinare Mkt. Coop.
R. Garcia	Palapye Development Trust
J. Evans	Boiteko project, Serowe
Sister Zora	Social Worker, Ursuline Sisters, Serowe
I. Martin	Serowe Nethouse Gardens
Gaborone Region	
G. Mabua	RAO Gaborone
M. Thomas	GDO Gaborone
B. Mosimanyana	REO
R. Matenge	APO (GD)
B. Monthe	LUO
A. Ntseane	Secretary, Kgatleng District Council
B. Akuje	DAO Kweneng North
P. Bimbo	DAO Kgatleng
S. Magulela	DAS Kgatleng
D. Inger	KRDA
M. Edwards	OSSCA/KRDA Manager
B. Mokgothu	OSSCA/Adult Education Manager
Southern Region	
B. Mpinyane	GDO, outgoing
N. Ndzinge	GDO, incoming
H. Makobo	REO
Mr. Sithale	AD Smallstock
G. Nkhukhu	AS Sunnyside SCC
Mr. Maribe	DAO Barolong
Mr. Dichabeng	DAS "
J. Tahla	DAO Ngwaketse South/Mmathethe
E. Gaobotse	DAS " " " "
J. Stoeps	DO(L) Barolong
K. Banks	DO(L) Kanye
G. Garrod	Team Leader, IFPP
D. Chandler	APO, IFPP Pelotshetlha
G. Bulule	AD Women's extension IFPP
O. Modise	AD Livestock IFPP
Mr. Rrammidi	A/S IFPP
M. Oabile	Admin. Sec. Ngwaketse Land Board

NAME	POSITION
Southern Region (cont.)	
Mr. Kgengwenyane	Chairman Barolong Land Board
	Secretary " " "
Mr. Moncho	Former Chairman " "

APPENDIX 23 : JOB DESCRIPTION FOR GDO

1. Job Identification:

Job Title:	Agriculture Management Association Officer (GDO - Group Development Officer)
Ministry:	Agriculture
Department:	Field Services
Division:	Agriculture Management Association

2. Organizational Relationship:

Responsible To:	Regional Agriculture Officer, and the office of Commissioner of Agriculture Management Associations.

3. Qualifications:

3.1. Demonstrated experience in the organization, development, and support of group activities.

3.2. Demonstrated ability to work with and inspire confidence of rural people.

3.3. Degree in Community Development, Social Anthropology, Agriculture, Rural Sociology or other appropriate field.

3.4. Persons without a degree may be considered if they meet the requirements to be accepted by an institution of higher learning offering a degree.

4. Main Purpose of Job:

Works as a member of a regional team to initiate and assist with the organization of groups within the guidelines of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. The G.D.O. will develop inservice training programs for extension staff. Assist in the developing of educational training programs for farmers groups. Assist in the organization and development of Agricultural Managements Associations.

5. Duties:

5.1. Assist local extension staff in group development.

5.2. To develop educational training material for extension staff and farmer groups.

5.3. Works with extension staff members at the regional, district and national level in the developing of techniques for programme planning, administration, organization development, and the development of

educational materials related to group development.

5.4. Assist in the registration of groups under the A.M.A. Act.

5.5. Carries out other duties as may be prescribed by the office of the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations.

APPENDIX 24:

Discussion Papers Circulated for the Consultancy

APPENDIX 24.1: Terms of reference: study of the experience of the group development programme

This study is being funded by USAID and will be incorporated into the USAID evaluation of the "Range and Livestock Development Project" which, since its 1977 amendment, supports the C A M A office and the G D O programme.

Period of study: February to May 1980

Scope of work

The consultant (A B J Willett - former Regional Agricultural Officer) will include the following in his report:

1. An historical discussion covering the evolution of the Group development process, the "gradualist approach to T G L P in the Communal Areas", the idea behind Agricultural Management Associations, and the most recent developments in strategy like A L D E P (Arable Lands Development Programme) and C A P A D (Communal Area Planning and Development).

2. The study will concentrate on the experience in Southern, Gaborone and Central regions but will also briefly review on a comparative basis the experience with group development processes in the other regions.

3. The constraints to group development - organizational, institutional, legal, social and cultural.

4. The management framework for the promotion and support of group projects, particularly the linkages between the Group Development Officers, other staff and involved Departments, and the C A M A office.

5. The technologies for group action - what potential is there for group and communal action in terms of possible viable projects and activities.

SUBMISSIONS, reports, copies of relevant papers, experience, views are all welcomed; please make contact c/o D A F S or C A M A.

YOUR CONTRIBUTION AND HELP

Since the time available is very limited for a study of this nature - any suggestions will be gratefully received.

i.e. - groups to visit (possibly by joining an already scheduled trip)

- leading farmers, Farmers Committees, District Farmers Associations, individual Councillors, headmen, VDCs, Land Boards, etc. involved or particularly concerned with communal/group work - for me to consult.
- relevant LUPAG or other meetings to attend.
- invitations to District or Regional staff meetings.
- visits to ADs with a particular knowledge or interest in communal area development/groups.

Any such introductions or arrangements you can make will be much appreciated. In any District I should if possible try to seek the views of the D C, D O(L), Council, Land Board and Community Development staff.

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I am anxious to meet local persons, authorities, Departments, etc. with different views, experience and perspectives on the group development process, and to see as much as possible of the variety of group approaches and problems so as to try to discover what makes groups successful, what causes failure and to what extent group/communal work is worthwhile.

It is just impossible to see everything or to speak with more than a few people. I must therefore rely very much on the discretion of the R A O and G D O of each region, together with D A Os and other Regional Support staff, to decide what will be worth doing in the time available.

I am particularly concerned to look at / discuss the various "ranching" groups and proposed A P R U "communal cells".

In addition I should if possible try to compare experience in the different regions with other types of group projects - of which there are many types. Any lessons learned/ guidelines developed for all these different types of projects will be of interest.

ISSUES

In order to make it easier, perhaps, to think of what might be worth your showing or telling me, let me explain a few of the main issues involved.

1. How to help small farmers; are they in fact being reached (through group action) ? What are the problems ?

2. Part of the original aim of the group development programme was to work towards T G L P implementation in communal areas by "the gradualist extension approach" which developed first in the Thabala area after the difficulties of the original Range and Livestock Management Project.

What indications are there anywhere that this approach is leading in the right direction - i.e., towards "management of communal land resources so as to maximise productivity whilst protecting the grazing" specifically to increase small farmer income and standard of living ?

What other experience is there from other approaches ?

There are some sub-issues involved - e.g.

a) is it in the immediate best interests of small farmers to reorganise so as to change communal area management in this way ? To what extent and where is change of management in fact necessary in terms of range condition or cattle productivity ?

b) how to meet the different needs of all the rural population groups (large owners, small, for grazing, for lands) in the communal areas; what sub-divisions of the Communal areas would be involved to accommodate properly these different needs, and what problems may (or are already) coming up in land use planning with the various needs of different people/ groups / communities in mind? What strategy or concept exists for the future development of the communal areas ? How can it be planned and implemented ? What form of community / group or area organisation could achieve the necessary management and development changes ?

3. Assuming that collective action (group/community projects) is worthwhile in the sense of technically feasible, economically viable and socially acceptable, in various circumstances - what are the most effective forms of organisation for different types of project/situations " i.e., what legal base or type of institutional structure is necessary or most appropriate

for successful implementation - depending on the complexity of management or organisational processes involved ?

4. From experience what appear to be the most technically feasible, economically viable and socially acceptable projects, activities, technologies available for group action ?

b) what problems account for the failure of other projects ? What is needed to perhaps make these successful (feasible, viable, acceptable) ?

c) what is missing ! i.e., can you think of some areas where there is need and potential for group or communal activity, and yet there is no programme to support such a type of project ?

5. Are we trying to reach and assist as many small farmers as possible ? What management system(s) within the Department of Agric. Field Services would improve the capability of available staff - i.e., H Q specialists, R A O, Regional support specialists including the C D O, D A Os and A/Ds or A/Ss in Extension areas - to reach this target by promoting and supporting group projects and assisting individuals ?

What is the relative need for group work / individual work in terms of maximising assistance by means of all the various actual innovations, programmes and developments the Department is trying to introduce ?

IN CONCLUSION

It is possible to measure the achievement of the groups development programme in terms of the number of operational groups, projects completed, Farmers Committees elected or A M As registered, etc.

Analysis of experience of the success or failure of projects will shed some light on the principles involved. That will be useful for better management of the process.

What is most important is to analyse where the process is leading ? Who is being assisted by the programme, to achieve what ? And where ? What is the target group, are they being reached and if not why not ?

And finally, what is the ultimate strategy behind it all in terms of what the scene in the communal areas (the main focus of the programme since most of the small farmers are there) is planned to look like in 5, 10 or 20 years time - the year 2 000.

Any help you can give in thinking about these aspects will be very valuable.

THANK YOU !

- 2.2.80

Note: This paper was prepared on February 2nd 1980 primarily for information to Regional and District Agricultural Officers.

The questions asked and request for comments and ideas apply however to anyone involved in this line of work - any further contributions will be much appreciated.

APPENDIX 24.2: Discussion Paper No. 1

Study of the experience of the group development programme

This study, being made by A B J Willett (former Regional Agricultural Officer), is being funded by USAID and will be incorporated into the USAID evaluation of the "Range and Livestock Development Project" which, since its 1976/77 evaluation and amendment, supports the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations office and the Group Development Officer programme.

Period of study: February to May 1980

Scope of work (as requested by USAID)

The consultant will include the following in his report

1. An historical discussion covering the evolution of the Group development process, the "gradualist approach to T G L P in the Communal Areas", the idea behind Agricultural Management Associations, and the most recent developments in strategy like A L D E P (Arable Lands Development Programme) and C A P A D (Communal Area Planning and Development).

2. The study will concentrate on the experience in Southern, Gaborone and Central Regions but will also briefly review on a comparative basis the experience with group development processes in the other regions.

3. The constraints to group development - organizational, institutional, legal, social and cultural.

4. The management framework for the promotion and support of group projects particularly the linkages between the Group Development Officers, other staff and involved Departments, and the C A M A office.

5. The technologies for group action - what potential is there for group and communal action in terms of possible viable projects and activities.

Discussion papers

As readers will readily realise the scope of this study could be extremely broad, and in order to make most efficient use of limited time I hope to canvass opinion and experience using the medium of a few papers to make preliminary contact with relevant sections and Departments, and possibly at the end also for comment at drafting stage.

This paper is really an introduction with a few issues and questions that seem to be appropriate in studying the group development programme. It is but a first shot - the aim being to stimulate response and comment and to provide a general background for discussions I hope to be able to have with most involved sections. Please be as helpful and critical as you can with your responses !

Method of study

The main emphasis of the study is to be in the agricultural regions and districts where I shall endeavour to obtain the widest possible perspective of group development experience and strategy. I hope to meet people representative of the whole spectrum of Departments - i.e., from RAOs, Regional support specialists, DAOs, ADs to D C, D O(L), Council staff,

Land Board, Community Development, Councillors, VDCs, District Farmers Associations, headmen, Farmers Committees, project groups and their committees and simply any leading farmers or personalities at village level.

In addition to this field perspective it will be equally important to obtain guidance and input from the centre.

Background

The present group development programme began with the Evaluation in 1976/77 by USAID of the first Range and Livestock Management Project. (R L M P)

The aim of the first project was to develop viable and acceptable range and livestock management systems for replication throughout the country with the dual objective of ensuring sustained high levels of production whilst conserving the natural resources of the range land. Interestingly this project was prepared in 1973 and started in late 1974 before T G L P had ever been written.

The experience of the first R L M P quite dramatically demonstrated that the transfer of range and livestock management technology to the farming community as a whole could not be achieved as fast as was anticipated. Experience in the last five years with T G L P implementation has only served to emphasise further the complexity of the present (traditional) pattern of land use, use of water points, and by implication the importance that has to be attached to the social processes involved in introducing changes.

Specifically the original R L M P achieved one project on the ground - the Selebalo ranch syndicate in western Ngwaketse the progress of which has since been marked by social setbacks, difficulties of co-operation within the group, and immense problems in actually practising improved management within the fence.

The other two pilot projects at Thabala and Tsetsebjwe were set in much more complex communal situations (as was the aim). In essence what was achieved there was the discovery over the period of a year that the types of development programme the communities were ready for and wanted were outside the capability of the RLMP to implement and were at that stage thought to be of doubtful economic viability by traditional cost-benefit analysis standards. Now with ALDEP such projects like communal fencing schemes around lands will receive more encouragement. Conversely the type of pre-conceived full-scale "ranching" model organisation proposed by the R L M P was far too complicated and sophisticated for members of the communities to comprehend.

These discoveries emerged from belated attempts at consultation and land use planning in the two areas.

The USAID 1976 Evaluation together with the Government of Botswana grasped the significance of the experience to the extent that the R L M P was revised, one might say, by 180 degrees in direction, and the purpose of the Amended project which is now in operation became

> "to institutionalise the processes by which replicable economically and socially viable smallholder community groups and communal operations can be encouraged and supported so as to ensure the use of land resources in manners intended to protect the resource base and improve rural income....(specifically of) smallholders"

In other words setting up the technology was dropped as the primary project purpose, and instead the processes of group/communal development were considered to be what needed concentrating on. USAID through the Amended RLMP now funds most of the Regional G D Os and the senior advisory officers in the C A M A office, together with support for their activities.

It should be recalled that A M A legislation, the setting up of the C A M A office, as well as the design of projects like A E 10 and S L O C A which specifically support group initiatives - all reflect this development in strategy which resulted from experience with the first R L M P.

The G D O programme

The "groups programme" over the short period 1977 - 1979 has achieved some remarkable results in terms of the numbers of project groups, community schemes like communal fences and dip tanks, and Farmers Committees organised. A lot of staff inservice training has been done, and farmer training and development of some guidelines for projects. There is a point of view however that much of the groups activity is of an "ad hoc" nature, and it should be a major objective of this study to address that criticism and try to see where the processes are leading.

Group ranching

There have not as yet been notable results in terms of "group ranching" since the original RLMP efforts. The Livestock Project II component for 12 "communal cells" to be set up and managed initially by APRU have come up against quite definite suspicion and even opposition in most of the areas where they have been offered. Opinion generally (?) recognises some similarities between the communal cell/AMA package and the original RLMP approach - at least in terms of the expectation of being able to set up relatively immediately such a relatively rigidly organised and designed project in the communal grazing areas. Another concern expressed by communities (and forseen by Gulbrandsen) is the amount of land taken up - even though small - for the number of fattening weaner cattle to be grazed. The jump from present communal stocking rates and management systems to even the relatively straightforward communal cell concept (essentially a fattening camp) is clearly so far perceived unacceptable.

It has taken the Kweneng, the Gaborone Region staff and the C A M A office a long struggle to reach the point of registration of the Dutlwe A M A which is to take over the southern portion of Gunther's farm. How readily the membership will adopt improved management standards within the fence, once it is rebuilt, remains to be seen. The Takatokwane community nearby readily admit their only interest in the northern half of the farm is the borehole water.

Above I have only sketchily mentioned a few examples of projects I am already familiar with. There are others - e.g., Ntimbale and Mabelcapudi.

Gradualist approach/institution building

Another concept is the approach adopted in Central Region in 1976 which to a greater or lesser extent has spread around other regions. It is a package of components concentrating essentially on building up Farmers Committees and then, very much through them, planning and consultation to discover local problems, and building up a management system within the Regional staff to co-ordinate support to groups and communities.

The approach has generated a lot of projects many of which have been implemented quite successfully. Technical support and guidelines has been a

weakness and no real evaluation has been made thus far of the direction it is all leading to.

The groups programme is, in other words, undoubtedly generating much experience of institutional development and processes of group formation, but it is suggested here that to have a real impact and effect on the livelihood of small farmers more is needed in the way of strategy and design of the projects and technologies to be put into action through the programme.

In terms of the one ultimate objective of discovering ways to manage range and livestock in the communal areas, it is uncertain how much further Government has progressed since 1975/76. An encouraging sign at Thabala in 1979 was the Farmers Committee's proposed thirteenth group project since 1976 - a bull and weaner camp and fattening camp. The intention was to finance the bull and weaner camp on matching grant basis like the communal fences around their lands, and the fattening camp by part grant part loan. Progress there needs checking (in this study), and any other similar signs looking at.

Land Use Planning

The groups programme operating on a regional level has resulted in many demands being put on the Agricultural Field Services staff from groups and communities particularly as news spread of matching grants available to assist their projects. Although effort has gone into the co-ordination of support expertise, from G D O, A P Os, R T C, Land Use Officers, D O (L) etc., one constraint has been the land use planning input. The time necessary for proper surveys combined with shortage of manpower and transport etc. has made it very difficult to carry out adequate or timely land use plans for projects.

A conflict develops between the pressure to do quick ground measurements and plans for all the projects in the pipeline (exercises which offend the professional land use planner), and on the other hand the need to study situations more broadly and in depth, and in a District wide strategic context, in order to try to prescribe the best possible development action.

In contrast to the above, the Matsheng land use plan is an example of an attempt to take a comprehensive look at a whole area and design a plan for both land use and institutional development to try to tackle the main problems agreed with the communities during consultation. In contrast to the original R L M P and to the communal cells project, the Matsheng land use plan takes a long term view of the process of communal area management and envisages the first five years at least seeing the sort of communal projects which the groups programme is presently engaged in in the eastern areas of the country, and only after that will phase II see the possible attempt to introduce grazing cells and stock controls.

ALDEP and other MOA programmes - and groups

With the emergence of ALDEP and the existence of many other MOA programmes like poultry, smallstock, horticulture, conservation, etc., the group development programme has to be studied in a far broader framework than it was originally conceived - i.e., as a process towards T G L P implementation in communal areas.

The communal areas are not just grazing. They are where the rural population as a whole have to maintain their whole livelihood.

HYPOTHESIS: The groups development programme should be seen in this context as the institution building, process developing and co-ordinating

effort of central importance in the Department of Agric Field Services' attempt to reach the population of the communal areas and get assistance to small farmers in particular, within the limits of the capabilities of the Department's various sections, and within some overall clear and consistent policy on the support of group as opposed to individual activity.

ISSUES

Thus far in my attempt to structure this study, the following issues appear to be relevant:

1. Is the small farmer being effectively reached and assisted through the present emphasis and provisions of the Project (the G D O/C A M A programme) and related MOA projects?

2. What is the policy toward assistance to group as opposed to individual effort and how is it applied in respect to different programmes/activities? Is it consistent? Specifically what is the right level of subsidy/grant aid for different group projects compared with individual effort?

3. There is sometimes concern expressed over the lack of variety/imagination in the types of groups being generated in the field. What do HQ sections in the Department of Agric Field Services have in the way of design of different technologies or preparation of guidelines, etc. for different group projects? What appear to be the most technically feasible, economically viable, socially acceptable projects, activities, etc., available for group action, and to what extent are they backed through support programmes?

4. What implementation or design problems have the HQ sections in DAFS had with various existing programmes designed for group action - e.g., dams, woodlots, smallstock dosing, women's horticulture, etc.?

5. What has been the experience or problems with the planning and management system of the department as it affects policy, planning and design, and support and monitoring of group projects in the field?

6. Related to management, the question of manpower - is the technical support manpower capability trained, equipped and in other ways equal to the task of supporting the demand from project groups and in relation to their other commitments.

How do sections see the priority tasks for themselves and for their Regionally posted staff? How high up the list is design of technical packages/guidelines and provision of actual support for group projects? What sort of support/role?

7. More generally, in relation to the different section programmes, where do the constraints lie in terms of assistance to farmers in communal areas - in the development of field level institutions and processes to receive/organise projects, in the resources and support capability of Government's insitutions, manpower, etc., or in the feasibility, viability or acceptability of technology itself for small farmer situations?

8. What is the relevance and acceptability of research to the small farmer situation in communal areas? Is "RALOM" (reasonably acceptable levels of management defined by Animal Production Research Unit) implementable in separate bits as group projects as the Amended RLMP assumes? Is this consistent with the conservation aim?

Do the technologies for RALOM from the APRU and the ALDEP package fit together and what is the relative viability for the small farmer and for group action.

9. What is the role of the DAFS groups programme and the C A M A office in the wider sphere of rural development, and the necessary respective roles, relationships and policy involved?

This question relates basically to the C A P A D concept. The new C A P A D resource book brings together most of the experience in the country with communal area land use planning and development. It is a challenging encouraging document if read from cover to cover and is provocative in that it states the need for an aggressive coordinated and comprehensive strategy towards the communal areas involving all relevant Government Departments and bodies. Its limitation is perhaps that it can only offer strategy based on existing technology and knowledge (which is not an unusual limitation in anything), but the elements of a strategy are nonetheless contained within the pages even though they do not jump out at you without thorough reading. Inevitably due to time constraints on busy authors and editors many further fine examples of experience from around the country are omitted, as are the inputs from other specialists.

The strategy can be constructed primarily from the two complementary approaches of a) the Matsheng land use plan with its comprehensive analysis of issues and statements about what needs to be done, by whom and how, and b) the experience of the Department of Agric Field Services primarily through the groups programme and in Central Region from 1975 to date, in developing a broader Region wide system of popular education, institution building, training both inservice and farmer - with emphasis on project groups, and management to co-ordinate planning expertise and support to groups and communities as and when their local institutions require it in the implementation of projects.

In this context the potentially critical future role of the groups programme is apparent.

The C A P A D resource book notes however the somewhat ad-hoc nature of communal area development projects as being implemented by D A F S through the groups programme as contrasted with the comprehensive strategic plan for Matsheng. The Matsheng plan notes equally, however, that the primary goal is to develop an institutional framework for the management of communal resources and recognises that implementation should proceed in a gradualist way as demonstrated in the Central Region Tswapong case studies.

What needs to be worked out from the experience so far is how these two objectives of strategy (what Government is trying to develop the Communal Areas into) along with gradualism (the institutional development and processes involved) can be achieved optimally bearing in mind the manpower, expertise and other resources available in the country. In particular a feasible replicable land use planning approach will be vital - or at least some definition of the circumstances (? S E District perhaps) requiring as comprehensive an exercise as that done for Matsheng, and a replicable strategy elsewhere.

Since the group development programme is specifically charged with the purpose of "institutionalising the processes".... it is clearly important to try to clarify its role in the wider CAPAD strategy.

10. The formation of effective farming groups is clearly dependent on the availability of land and water as well as other resources, inputs and markets. Whilst the Matsheng Land Use Plan was able to proceed under a clear central and District level mandate, the efforts of the groups programme to promote and support similar projects to those envisaged in

Matsheng's phase I have sometimes been frustrated by a lack of local (District) commitment and co-operation, and sometimes policy as well as other constraints normally experienced.

The groups programme surely needs to work within some strategic guidelines which, although they cannot - except in special circumstances like S E District perhaps - be as comprehensively planned out as at Matsheng, at least direct the programme at some specific agreed targets and situations.

For instance could a strategic plan concept be constructed by the experts (District land use planners working in co-operation with MOA specialists - in land use and arable and livestock production) within TGLP and other policy guidelines for the sort of development we want to see happen

- in and around villages
- in the immediate truly communal surrounding mixed lands and grazing with arable lands sometimes in blocks, or more scattered
- in the more distant communal primarily cattle post areas with scattered lands

The strategy would attempt to ensure that enough people obtain an adequate subsistence and income from livestock, smallstock, arable, horticulture, etc., in whichever combinations are most viable in different circumstances. It would then provide more clear definition of the types of collective action the groups programme should be fostering in different situations. Optimal allocation of land is an integral part of this - CAPAD appears to suggest the necessity for an integrated approach by all involved levels in Government in order to achieve something more strategic.

At Matsheng there appeared to be progress towards defining specific areas of land for different purposes and who would have jurisdiction. What are the reasons for the difficulty in approaching this goal elsewhere - what progress or problems have been encountered?

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APPENDIX 24.3: DRAFT REPORT OUTLINE

AGRICULTURAL GROUP DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

A preliminary survey and study of the experience of the group development programme under the Department of Agricultural Field Services Division of Agricultural Management Associations.

By: A B J Willett
USAID consultancy contract number: 80/06

I Table of contents

List of appendices

List of abbreviations used in text and tables/appendices

II Background and scope of work

III Summary of the report

IV Historical background

a) traditional groups and regiment (mophato) projects, and their effect and relevance to the current programme

b) background to the present group development programme

Identification of two underlying strands in the evolution of the approach to group development

i) the desire (first defined around 1970) to replace the Pupil Farmer Scheme as the then Department of Agricultural Extension's system of farmer contact with a broader extension outreach/approach
- to get message out to more farmers (extension methods)
- to facilitate participation by the "target group" of smaller farmers in improved agricultural technology

This strand ultimately involved the reorganisation of the Ministry of Agriculture in 1974/75 to create the Department of Agric Field Services; the restructuring of Regions, District and Extension Area boundaries; introduction of new planning, management and reporting systems, Farmer Record cards, etc., and staff training in Enterprise Analysis and group formation.

Mention as background: Lever report 1970; Chambers and Feldman report recommendations; Rural Development early strategies.

ii) the need, first noted at least as far back as 1968/69, to discover and develop systems for the management of communal grazing land
- historical development of ideas

e.g., Fosbrooke hamlets and other writings on communal grazing, fencing, traditional groups, etc.
- Rural development strategy statements/political statements
- Influence from East Africa (ranching associations, management of communal grazing in Kenya and Tanzania)

Chambers and Feldman report
V A D P and Livestock Project I
Range and Livestock Management Project (I) -- its goal, objectives, and strategy for communal areas; assumptions and issues as seen at that time; what happened; lessons and experience gained; its Evaluation in 1976

T G L P - what it assumed and stated about group or communal action in the communal and commercial areas
Rural Sociological research - esp. into attitudes to TGLP

Livestock Project II preparation noting the importance of management in livestock development rather than the fencing panacea

Rural Development Unit ideas in 1976 on gradualist extension approach to TGLP implementation in communal areas

iii) The synthesis of the MOA approach in 1976

- RAOs conference on gradualist approach
- abandonment of Pupil Farmers Scheme and substitution of Farmers Committees and Farmers Associations
- the emergence of the "Groups Group" Committee in MOA and what it did in 1976 - 1977
- subsequent senior and Regional staff training 1976/77
- development of supportive sources of grant finance - AC 10, AC 15 (SLOCA) and Livestock Project II

- summary of the early approach adopted/assumptions based on the Groups Group/Rural Sociology surveys, senior staff workshop and RAOs meetings, etc.

- summary of the principles adopted (of group formation); leadership, role of the extension worker, organisation, support, finance (NB the early 1979 seminar), training

V <u>The Amended Range and Livestock Management Project (1977)</u>

Goal, purpose and outputs

Structure of the C A M A Division at HQ and in the Regions, and in relation to the Department of Agricultural Field Services and technical Divisions

(Table of MOA structure)

GDO/CAMA perspectives of their role"approach

- i.e., the institutionalisation of the groups programme, including <u>definition</u> of the types of groups - Cooperatives
A M As
Farmers Committees
District Farmers Associations
project groups

VI <u>Method of study</u>

1. the context of the USAID Evaluation (Feb. 1980)

Need to try to assess impact, participation and benefit, in terms of the goal and purpose (objective) of the project

2. conundrum - "group formation" the means or the end ? , and

implications for evaluation methodology; being right headed about the evaluation.

3. broad survey versus in-depth study in terms of technique, and value in the context of assessing impact; in-depth technique would invoive thorough socio economic study, etc.

4. broad survey chosen due to:

i) lack of consistent records available on groups to provide context within which to measure impact

ii) need to see overall trends at this stage in programme implementation

iii) limitation of time

iv) possibility for being able to identify after broad study of the whole field, the areas and subjects where further in-depth/zoom-in research could be carried on by the CUSO-sponsored Research Assistant attached to the CAMA/Rural Sociological offices, and to provide a broad basis for the ongoing research.

v) the immensely broad field of activity there is in the field of group development, and hence the difficulty of doing in-depth study and at the same time evaluating the whole range of types of group projects and activities each with their different criteria and technical characteristics

5. indications for further follow up and research are therefore presented as an important aspect of the report

6. actual method

Full list of places covered, groups contacted/itinerary/people and officials met, meetings attended, mileage covered, etc. ....(appendix table)

Discussion paper; only one circulated to over 80 people

Field tour/observations - first stage, including data collection
Data documentation/tabulation
Discussions at the centre - last stage

7. limitations of this study

- total lack of production data in most cases making calculation of benefits and thus impact difficult
- difficulties in obtaining consistent socio-economic data from project to project within group activity types to enable comparison
- logistics - getting to meet groups, informative people
- difficulties in obtaining up to date reliable data when sources of data vary, i.e., personal visits, GDO data sheets or personal discussions, project memoranda, sundry reports, meetings with ADs, DAOs other Regional staff, etc.
- the inevitable gaps in information - hence preliminary nature of the survey; perhaps to be looked upon as an interim working document

8. summary/purpose

- to provide an up to date source of data and analysis to assist Government to assess impact
- to provide a preliminary basis/framework for (a) future research, monitoring and record keeping on project types; and (b) development of technical and organisational guidelines for project types for setting strategy, planning and programming, management of support and training.

VII Findings

A. Explanation of presentation of findings

1. Explanation of tables (appendices); how derived from field notes and other sources of information; sources stated specifically only where up to date information unavailable and therefore information questionable, otherwise sources not stated (i.e., whether it was AD's report, DAO's 3 month programme, CDO report, personal observation or discussions) as the information often came from a combination of sources; information normally the most accurate available as at April/May 1980 from whatever data available.

2. Structure of each chapter

i) the experience - what is happening with the groups

a) explanation of specific tables

b) analysis - on the ground achievement
- participation, by whom; by target ?
- contribution (ditto)
- impact
- problems of existing groups and failed groups and constraints (social, orga isational, technical, etc.)
- dynamics
- approach
- finance, support, training - management of

c) the context
- observations on the problems/situation/needs in the context in which the groups trying to operate, usually the communal areas

ii) the technology: the opportunity/ideal strategy objectives for group activity in each field; mainly as defined by the HQ section concerned in terms of technical feasibility and economic viability

iii) lessons: comparison of the current approach with the potential technology within the context of group operation (what should and could be happening) - social acceptability coming in.

iv) guidelines (where possible - or at least in tentative form)
- technical objectives and support requirements
- organisational and institutional aspects (by laws, etc.)
- training
- management of support
- monitoring and record keeping

v) conclusion/assessment/further research
- gaps in information, indices of measurement missed
- what needs further analysis/research by CAMA office, technical Divisions, or Rural Sociology/CAMA research assistant
- unresolved issues/queries which this study lacked time to look into but which merit follow up; together with references/context, etc. for follow up.

Within the assessment section of each subject chapter, comments on various issues may be of relevance - e.g.

a) how is, or should, policy toward assistance to group as opposed to individual effort be applied in respect to this type of activity/project. What should the level of grant/subsidy be?

b) what have been the major factors accounting for the success or lack of progress with the particular type of project

- have guidelines been adequate; problems with design of viable feasible acceptable packages
- has technical support been adequate - trained, equipped and in other ways equal to the task of supporting the demand from project groups and in relation to their other commitments
- is group activity a real priority to the section concerned; how high up the list is design of technical guidelines and provision of support specifically for group activities; what sort of support.
- has support or implementation of technology been less effective due to limitations in the Department's planning or management system as it affects policy, design, support and monitoring of projects in the field

c) more generally, in relation to each type of project and the section programme supporting it, where do the constraints lie in terms of assistance to farmers - in the development of field level institutions and processes to receive/organise projects, in the resources and support capability of Government's manpower, institutions, etc., or in the feasibility, viability or acceptability of the technology itself for the small farmer situation.

d) in the chapters on the communal situation, the relevance and acceptability of APRU's reasonably acceptable levels of management (RALOM) will need some comment; in particular its implementation in separate bits as group projects as the amended RLMP assumes, and how consistent this is with the conservation aim. In addition, do the technologies for RALOM and the more recent ALDEP package fit together, and what is their relative viability for the small farmers and for group action.

B. <u>The experience and lessons from different group activities</u>

1. Farmers Committees

2. Farmers Associations and the Botswana Agricultural Union

3. <u>Communal Area development projects and activities</u>

   i) brief description of the situation and problems in communal areas

   ii) cattle husbandry and management

   iii) water development - dams
   - boreholes
   - wells/drought relief projects

   iv) fencing a) lands
   b) grazing

   v) communal grazing cells (APRU/Livestock Project II)

   vi) firebreaks

   vii) soil conservation

viii) woodlots, orchards and erosion control
ix) molapo funding and development

4. crop storage and marketing
5. tractor syndicates, associations for ownership, hire or servicing
6. smallstock
7. poultry
8. fisheries
9. vegetable gardens and womens groups
10. commercial areas - water development and group ranching

VIII Group Dynamics and Trends: some broader observations and conclusions

1. multi-project areas - collate and tabulate and perform some analysis of areas where a number of group or community projects being undertaken

2. analysis of links, relationships and conflicts between the projects and activities in the above areas

a) technical dynamics and trends: the foundation for a technical strategy ?

i) inter-relationships and dependencies between fencing, water development, grazing management, livestock management and arable activities - needs and conflicts

ii) land use planning implications, and Land Board operations as they affect development through group activities

iii) communal land - nature of different shades and patterns of utilisation of communal land and implications for types of collective action which is possible;

- how to meet the different needs of all the rural population groups (large owners, small, for grazing, for lands) in the communal areas; what problems are coming up in land use planning particularly in view of competition for land between use for arable or grazing in terms of the objectives of ALDEP on the one hand, and TGLP on the other. What strategy or concept exists for the future development of the communal areas? How can it be planned and implemented? Connections with commercial areas?

iv) is it in the immediate best interests of small farmers to reorganise so as to change communal area management towards "maximising productivity whilst protecting the grazing" (RLMP Amendment) in order to increase income; to what extent and where is any change of management in fact necessary in terms of range condition or cattle productivity; what is the relative viability of the technologies of RALOM (APRU recommendations) and ALDEP, and relevance for group action.

b) social trends and dynamics: observations on some key aspects, e.g.

- leadership - qualities, qualifications and quarrels
- skills in management
- who is grouping
- reaching the "target group"
- problems, constraints and conflicts (social, organisational, cultural, institutional, legal)

i) links with history; effect on attitudes of past experience

ii) attitudes and best interests (cf. a) on technical trends)

iii) effect of Foot and Mouth Disease, drought and its relief projects, labour intensive works

iv) community conflicts and power struggles - headmen, Councillors, VDCs, and group leadership; problems as contrasted with proper role; understanding and resolving them

- Farmers Committees - their impact and role

- Constitutions and Consultation - red tape or pedagogy ?

- changes in clarity of jurisdiction over areas of communal land of village ward headmen - blurred boundaries

- how blurred boundaries affect group project implementation; in particular how implementation of projects like tick control, internal parasite control in smallstock, water development and fencing are affected by the difficulty of establishing exclusive control over use of land

- forms of organisation of collective action for different types of group/community projects and situations; the legal base or type of institutional structure most appropriate or necessary for successful implementation.

IX Assessment: is the approach to group development on target and effectively geared with respect to the trends and dynamics noted above

A. Problems and objectives; definition and design

The group development programme cannot be looked at in isolation, or evaluated with reference only to the part purpose of "institutionalising the processes".... of group formation. The full purpose of the Amended RLMP - the mother project to the group development programme - states:

> "to institutionalise the process(es) by which replicable economically and socially viable smallholder community groups and communal operations can be encouraged and supported so as to ensure the use of land resources in manners intended to protect the resource base and improve rural income."

This implies the technology is feasible, economically viable and socially acceptable.

The issue may be partly answered by observing the constraints on "success" at stimulating group projects - i.e., how much, in colloquial language, the group development programme is having to probe and prod and cajole and bribe certain types of groups to "form" and do something in particular areas, and why this is; what social, technical or economic realities mediate against farmers doing something. Opportunity costs of time or resources; alternative easier sources of income or livelihood, etc.

The other way (here I have been helped in thinking by two respondents to my first discussion paper - Messrs D. Sims and D. Jones) is to start from first principles of macro-economics and a technical standpoint along an argument as follows:

1. the technical possibilities, the improved agricultural technology - what farmers could be doing
2. what problems and constraints prevent adoption
3. what policies and extension programmes should be introduced to achieve adoption - make it possible, acceptable and worthwhile

for farmers

4. of these which should be geared to groups or individuals in terms of

   a) techniques for broadcasting the message
   b) forms of support and financial assistance justified, in the case of groups by such criteria as
      i) development or management of a communal asset or resource
      ii) reaching more farmers at less expense (if this can be done)

The question then becomes one of whether the Department of Agricultural Field Services and the CAMA office in particular have analysed the problems aim and objectives in this way, and structured and targeted outputs or activities appropriately so as to achieve the ultimate goal. The goal, incidentally, being

> "to support the Government of Botswana's efforts to increase agricultural productivity and income by rural smallholders on a sustainable basis"
>
> (RLMP Amendment, 1977)

B. <u>The reality</u>

The Department of Agricultural Field Services/CAMA Division in practice; the current conception of group development and how efficiently and dynamically it is being pursued.

1. <u>differences and variations between areas, Districts and Regions</u>

   - in results, activities, impact
   - in situation, problems, potential
   - cultural and social explanations
   - approach, including capability and availability of technical support

2. social objectives; facilitation and reaching target groups - is the small farmer being helped and reached at present

3. farmer training

4. staff training

5. support and its management

6. finance; use of grant funds like AE10, AG15

7. developing "processes" - guidelines, procedures, consultation, constitutions

8. technical objectives - is there a strategy?

9. co-ordination, at all levels and including the role of Development Trusts

10. are RLMP II objectives being achieved?

C. <u>Some conclusions</u>

1. <u>A return look at the historical origins and early goals and principles</u>

a) the early goals

i) institutional development for communal land management

Part of the original aim of the group development programme was to work towards TGLP implementation in communal areas by the "gradualist extension approach"; what indications are there anywhere that this approach is leading in the direction as defined in the RLMP Amendment - i.e., towards management of communal land resources "so as to maximise productivity whilst protecting the grazing"

What is really hindering this? There are multiple explanations put up, including:

- leadership - lack of
- traditional outlook/attitudes
- lack of land, too many cattle, lack of water sources
- lack of policy or form of collective action - closed/open groups
- conflicts with arable needs
- legal base necessary, lease to land
- Land Board concentration on Commercial Area ranch demarcation
- lack of range law to enforce stock control; is TGLP, the Agric Resources Conservation Act, Tribal Land Act and AMA Act not enough? The Amended RLMP assumed stock control could be achieved. What is the real situation - to what extent is there an overgrazing problem and small farmer income and subsistence threatened?

- the "Brian Egner diagnosis" (if I may interpret it) - the answer is that the farmers' best interest is that which is supported most and taxed least by Government.

ii) broadening extension outreach

- message to reach more farmers by group extension techniques
- facilitating more participation by the target group - the "small farmer" or "rural smallholder"

Is the best way to reach small farmers through groups (when, how?) or through other policies and programmes?

b) principles of group formation

Refer back to the principles of group formation defined in the period around 1976 and encapsulated in terms such as "facilitation" and "gradualist extension approach"

i) have the principles been followed or compromised; pressures for more visible and rapid achievement and development/implementation of other Government programmes

ii) how far have they been productive and in what circumstances; how far have they "missed the target" in terms of being irrelevant to the actual problems farmers face

iii) how should, and to what extent should it be necessary for, the Department of Agric Field Services/ group development programme to be getting into adult education in terms of establishing solidarity with the small farmer and through what means - groups, Farmers Committees, Associations

2. The Amended RLMP/basis of the group development programme

Was its analysis of problems and issues, assumptions and design of outputs correct in the light of subsequent experience and arguments as above.

3. What needs to be done

a) some specific areas within the immediate realm of the DAFS/CAMA office

i) production of guidelines for technical and organisational implementation in the field to assist particularly in the planning, design, programming (3 monthly) or management of support and training, and for monitoring and record keeping

ii) training - farmer and staff

iii) constitutions - role of

iv) management and planning

v) role of subsidy; right level of grant aid to groups

vi) key research areas/issues

b) Group development in the wider context of Communal Area Planning and Development (CAPAD)

"CAPAD is what everyone should be doing anyway" (a senior Planning Officer)

This section will more or less address the themes in paragraphs 9 and 10 (under "Issues") on pages 5 and 6 of my Discussion paper no. 1 of 8th February 1980. A considerable volume of data and observations were collected under this item.

Some of the issues which appear to enter here include:

- conflicts observed between ALDEP policies and group policies

- Land Boards lacking the resources, power, understanding or direction to see that land is allocated and used optimally

- the need for land use plans and strategy objectives for what communal areas are to look like in the future, and to cater for who to do what, where

- kgotlas, ARB and Conservation Committees hardly involved in backing up group development initiatives

- conflicts instead of harmonious purpose between headmen, Councillors and village extension teams

- staff postings, transport, housing, conditions of service

- who should be doing community development

- developing the needed manpower skills for availability in the Districts

(the above are but a few of the many points to be mentioned)

A B J Willett

28th July 1980

APPENDIX 25:

Strategy for Group Formation
Central Region; Paper II

The Thabala, Tsetsejwe and Tlhagasanong Case Studies

(original page 7)
24th October 76

APPENDIX 25: Strategy for Group Formation - Central Region

PAPER II (continued from paper I of 6 August 1976)

7 The Thabala, Tsetsejwe and Tlhagasanong case studies

7.1 In this paper it is proposed to concentrate on our experience with these three cases for one important reason - that each is an example of our early attempts to initiate development in a community from scratch, or rather, from the point where it could be seen that the community had potential for development, but otherwise had not started anything. This is the way in which we shall be facing TGLP implementation in many situations in the communal areas.

In none of these three cases have we got very far as yet, and so it is very difficult to be objective or to draw clear conclusions. However, it is now over 18 months since we (RLMP team plus Extension staff) first approached the Thabala and Tsetsejwe communities with proposals for communal ranches, and it seems important to try to assess where we have got to.

The amount of writing involved in detailing the three case studies and in making a few impressions afterwards has proved so much that this "Paper II" is divided into four parts

part 1 is section 7.2	"Thabala" (pages 8 - 15)
part 2 is section 7.3	"Tsetsejwe" (pages 16 - 23)
part 3 is section 7.4	"Tlhagasanong" (page 24)
part 4 is section 8	"An analysis of progress at T, T and T with lessons for TGLP training and implementation" (pages 25 - 32)

Part 1 (original page 8)

7.2. Thabala

7.2.1. Thabala is a village some 35 km south west of Serowe bordering on the very edge of the sandveld. A Rural Sociological Survey, 1975 (ref 1), counted a total population of some 1400 people, or 201 households, belonging to Thabala and to the nine main lands areas of the Thabala Communal area. Of these 201 households, 100 do not own any cattle. Conversely, only twelve families own over 60 cattle (an often quoted rough figure for Central District's Communal allowance under TGLP.

7.2.2. The community has for several years been recognised for its interest in development, for its active Farmers Committee and for the steady enlightened leadership of its headman. Not least, Thabala has had for over six years an AD who has himself shown exceptional leadership qualities and who has through strong extension work contributed greatly to the forward spirit of the community.

7.2.3. Thabala was selected in late 1974 as one possible site for IFPP. When Pelotshetlha area was finally chosen, the Ministry felt it should offer Thabala the RLMP as an equivalent alternative. A project for contouring a whole catchment lands area was also offered.

Although there was an immediate response to the Contouring offer from a sizeable group of interested farmers, no action followed as Division of Land Use was unable to release staff from committments in other areas.

7.2.4. In terms of the original RLMP memorandum, Thabala in fact ideally suits the third category pilot ranch site - i.e. a communal area where arable farming is the more important activity compared with keeping of livestock.

7.2.5. First approach with RLMP

The first approach to Thabala with the offer of the RLMP was made on 11th March 1975 by the RAO in a kgotla meeting. From my notes I can recollect two points. One was concern about the cost of the project. The other was the peoples' concern that grazing Land would remain truly communal, and that care would have to be taken in planning the inter-relationship between lands and grazing areas, the need for draught oxen, milking cows, etc. We were careful to avoid introducing any preconceived ideas about the project (organisation, planning details, etc.). Ref (2)

7.2.6. Lack of connection between the work of RLMP team and that of Extension Staff

There then followed a six month gap during which no real contact was made with the community in the way of consultation or planning. The RLMP team made several brief survey trips during that time, but no written report, map or plan was ever produced, and no clear role of Extension staff had ever been suggested.

Another Kgotla meeting was held in May and two more in August one of which was part of the political tour introducing TGLP - in which we tried to keep up the community's interest along lines we thought the project might take.

We attempted, more or less in a vacuum of information, to discover merely through discussion whether the community was interested more in a wider scale but limited depth development scheme, or in a fully developed and organised co-operative type ranch which could only be started in a part of the total area. Again in the absence of any facts or clear proposals, we were asking the people to tell us how wide was the interest in "the project" and what proportion of their land should be included.

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No conclusions were ever reached from this approach, although it was at this time that talk was heard of fencing lands, reticulating water, and trying to control livestock numbers and improve livestock management. Both the community, however, and Extension staff failed at this point to crystallise these thoughts and make any practical proposal. It is difficult to understand why, and I can only explain it by the fact that at that time there was immense confidence that the TLMP team were by themselves undertaking all the necessary investigations and would soon be in a position to propose a comprehensive technical and organisational solution. For this reason, and since other staff were not kept informed or meaningfully consulted, almost everything was left to the RLMP team.

7.2.7. RLMP's first scheme - a preconceived notion

The first significant occurrence was on 22nd September 1975 when a Kgotla meeting was arranged for RLMP team to present their initial proposals.

It was at this point that from RLMP's independent surveys and contacts of March - September 1975, somehow the scheme had evolved to set up a fenced ranch out west of the village in the more or less empty "buffer zone" between the existing Communal area and the area of private boreholes further west in the sandveld.

Naturally, it found some buyers in the community, at first some 25 cattle owners, but later this number grew to about 45 interested people after we explained that even people with few livestock would be able to enter them onto the ranch.

This surely was a "backwards approach" - i.e. before undertaking any genuine consultation and planning with the people to find out their concept of the project, a pre-conceived concept was presented to them.

7.2.8. Attempt to make the first scheme stretch wider

Our immediate reaction to the situation we then realised we were in, was to try to find ways in which everyone could have "shares" in the sandveld ranch even if they didn't hold livestock there. The communal co-operative idea was explained by the RAO on the basis of RLMP proposals at Tsetsejwe. The impression was that the whole community could have rights in the ranch and that members who had no stock on the ranch could be compensated for the use of their rights by those who had. Although there was later some doubt expressed about this arrangement by the Dept. of Co-operatives, it was popular with the people and we therefore hurriedly prepared application forms and the entire Thabala community "applied" giving details of their stock ownership.

A Selection Board was planned for 6th-7th November 1975 to look through all the applications and recommend who should participate and therefore how large the ranch should be. (Ref 3)

7.2.9. Attempt to analyse and consult.

However, the Selection Board was postponed (Ref 4), pending a special meeting on October 27th, called by the RAO between the AD, DAO, RAO, Rural Sociologists and Mr. Van Voorthuizen of USAID team in order to take a close look at the applications first. It had been noticed that of the community's applications, only 71 people had actually applied to enter some stock on to the ranch. There was fear, in other words, that a sandveld ranch by itself, while perhaps solving problems in a place like Sekhuma pan, was not the appropriate form of development in the communal areas of villages like Thabala, even if an attempt was made to try to stretch its effects in the manner above.

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There was also the opinion that the sandveld ranch scheme did not even conform to the RLMP's expressed objectives, in their project memorandum, for the third category site.

On taking a closer look at the 71 ranch applications we noticed that within the communal area there were several apparent focal points of interest - i.e. places where some of the 71 overall interested applicants represented quite the majority of people in those localities. We came back to the conclusion that there could be potential for development of some kind in the communal grazing area right there where interested people presently lived and kept their livestock.

The decision of the October 27th meeting was to follow up this notion, and between 5th - 7th November 1975 we undertook a three day tour of the parts of Thabala communal area where foci of interest had been observed.

It is recorded in Rural Sociologist's A 34/3/1 of 12th November, 1975 (Ref 5).

7.2.10. The people expressed themselves and were aware of a problem

During this tour (5-8 November), the people reminded us of their own interest in fencing lands areas and putting in limited water and grazing development in the grazing areas in between. There and then on the spot (but lacking any survey information other than an air photo mosaic), we made a hurried attempt to work out possible fencing schemes implementation and costs, and we then presented a rough scheme in kgotla the final day based on the people's suggestions. This preliminary scheme is written up in Rural Sociologist's report of 12th November. The reply from the kgotla meeting on 7th November was "yes, that is the sort of scheme we want, together with the sandveld ranch for those interested in beef production - go away and work out exactly how it can be done and then come back to us."

7.2.11. Working out more exactly how it could be done

RLMP team in November and December 1975, took the problem up from there.

The main, and real concern was how the community could possibly repay the costs of the sort of developments they were interested in whose effects on production and therefore financial returns are so difficult to estimate. Several useful suggestions were made by USAID's livestock production specialist (Ref 6), who also attempted a more accurate costing of the comprehensive Thabala scheme (fencing of lands, tractor hire, adding new water points, and establishing a commercial ranch on the sandveld to the West). This concluded that each family would need to pay P46 per year for 20 years for the lands and communal grazing development.

The sandveld ranch would cost the 71 members some P13 000 per year for 20 years (including permanent recurrent costs of P9 600) for the 1800 Lsu involved - i.e. P7 per Lsu per annum.

This proposal was discussed on 1st December 75 between 3 members of USAID, CAPO and Rural Sociologist (Ref 7). The conclusion of this meeting was that "a complete project should be drawn up". Phasing was mentioned and the need to draw up an accurate plan with exact population figures, distribution, etc. It was also agreed that the Dryland Farming Team should be brought into any planning, and that the USAID and DLF team should get together for discussions. I don't know whether these ideas made any further progress.

7.2.13 Project AD: An additional AD was then posted to Thabala with a work programme drawn up by Rural Sociologist to "determine local attitudes to the alternate proposals for Range and Crop improvement

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program (USAID RLMP)" referring to RLMP's ideas in reference (6) above and to get general background information on crop production, history, culture, mafisa, etc. Some information of interest did result (ref 8). Since that time he has acted more as an "Assistant" AD which has become valuable especially recently.

7.2.13. The last field activity of RLMP team on record was a trip made by Range Agronomist on 23-26 February 76. The report (ref 9) gave information on existing boreholes in the neighbourhood of the sandveld ranch, and recommended that a management committee be formed with which RLMP could have worked. The report, however, records that the people "do not want to choose their own committee. Since it is a government program, the government must choose this committee." Had the Farmers Committee been brought in at this point for USAID to negotiate with, perhaps events would have changed. This never happened, however.

7.2.14. From January to June 76, little happened of any significance. One Kgotla meeting was held in March at which it was proposed to call the organisation a Company rather than a Cooperative, but no further information was available on what the project was to be all about. There was some correspondence between the RAO and USAID team leader on legal assistance for drawing up the proposed Company's by-laws. (refs 10,11,12.) Forming a Company and expecting the community to pay the legal fees involved seemed pointless to us in the field when there were no proposals made about what the Company's activities would be; i.e., what was the "complete project" referred to in the HQ meeting of 1st December 1975.

7.2.15. The beginning of the "Extension Approach"

By May 1976, disenchantment was fast growing in Thabala that anything would ever take place. The IFPP had "failed" for them, there had been no contouring project and it was 14 months since RLMP was offered and nothing had happened.

An idea appeared (I think at the meeting between Rural Sociologist and RAO on 28th April 76) that some "interim activities" be started, with the idea that the confidence of the community might be restored while the details of "the project" were to be worked out. This idea including some actual suggested activities and in particular the role of the Farmers Committee in organising things, was put to the people by the RAO on 29th May at a Field Day (ref. 12 describes this stage). A follow-up kgotla meeting was to have been held to select and plan the activities on June 11th, but on June 1st the USAID Evaluation Mission arrived and held a one-hour meeting with the Farmers Committee in Thabala. This opened eyes on all sides to the fact that no one really knew in which direction anything was moving.

Coincidentally, on the very same day RDU put out its paper "memorandum on Groups and Ranch Development" (ref 13) which made the suggestion of an "extension approach". This paper and experience in Thabala then prompted my "where do we go from here" paper (ref 14) where it was proposed to implement the extension approach without delay. And that basically, is what we have been attempting since June.

7.2.16. Events in Thabala since June

In the last three months Regional and District field staff with support from some HQ Divisions have put in a lot of effort at moving things ahead at Thabala. A number of Farmers Committee meetings have been held. The FC was enlarged to represent every part of the Thabala area. A few FC members were sent to the seminar at Pelotshetlha on 4th June 1976.

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Without getting into too much detail, the main steps that have been taken are the following:-

1) FC and kgotla (6th July) welcomed the new approach and selected five preliminary priority activities (below) from the possibilities discussed.

2) Dosing groups for smallstock

A field course was held by APO (ss) with MRTC and District staff backing. Four groups were formed.

At present two groups have got into operation, although the exact details of membership and numbers of smallstock are not yet available. They are presently using a Departmental dosing gun, but have purchased their own dosing remedies.

3) Catchment contouring at Motshegaletau lands

Mr. Sims (LDO) attended a meeting at Motshegaletau on 14th July. Interest in contouring the entire Motshegaletau catchments was unanimous

even though it was explained that hire costs of machinery might be involved. DLU surveying staff have spent two months surveying the grid for the contouring, and LDO has now decided that a first phase of contouring work should be started in areas where the survey is complete in order to encourage the morale of the people. Preparation and plans are being made for this.

4) Three dam group sites

So far three new dam groups have registered their sites, and we hope to send the Dam Building Unit across to the Thabala area to construct the sites as soon as:

a) Thabala's Land use planning is complete and we are satisfied the sites are appropriate to the future "end aim" of communal area development;

or b) the Unit is available. Once (a) is agreed it may be necessary to create a certain priority status to the three sites and ensure the Unit gets there

5) CDCC and veld fires

CDCC held a meeting at Thabala on veld fire prevention and control. The FC was interested in the subject but has not taken any action as yet.

6) Land Use Planning

Regional ALO (Land Use Survey) has spent some five weeks in the Thabala area, and the survey is now complete. A detailed map is being prepared, which together with survey data sheets, will provide information with detail of range condition, water sources (to each well) and location of individual cattleposts and lands areas.

7) Consultation Survey

Consultation is just beginning with every cattlepost owner, and will eventually reach every family to discover exact information on peoples' resources, problems and interests as regards development.

Draft survey forms and questionnaires are being used for 6) and 7).

(original page 13)

8) Negotiations over trading store

Negotiations are presently underway between the Farmers Committee (which has raised money) and the Clark family over the proposal to buy and run Clark's trading store. FC needs advice on whether it would not be more economic to use the money on building a new structure, and on the form of management organisation.

7.2.17 Summary

It seems that we found ourselves adopting the extension approach in Thabala because:

1) At field level, Thabala people were fast losing confidence in Government.

2) At Government level,

(i) we apparently were unable to progress with the details of the "complete project" after the time it was realised that that was what was involved (Dec. 75).

(ii) More specifically we failed to resolve the problem of repayment of development costs. What would have been the risks of failure? We have still not worked these out.

(iii) We were still not clear what form of organisation would make the project feasible to implement.

3) The intrinsic value of an extension approach became apparent at just the same time (June 1976) as frustrations over 1) and 2) were reaching their worst.

(original page 14)

7.2.18. Assessment

Are we on the right track with the Thabala pilot project?

There has as yet been no official reaction from the Groups Group to the approach being taken in Thabala. We still need (in the Dept. of Field Services) to agree whether our assumptions and therefore approach are as follows:

1) The end aim must be a "complete project".

2) The Sandveld ranch is at the most just a part of it.

3) Before Government can have any idea of what the "complete project" is, we must have detailed planning information from the land use survey.

4) Before planning the "complete project" with the Farmers Committee we must know as much as possible about the actual resources and interests of all the people concerned and, therefore, first consult them in the way suggested (questionnaire).

5) "Interim" group activities are an essential part of the strategy; the idea being that the people will have some experience of group action before committing themselves to a far reaching project. Part of the aim is also to build up thereby some of the physical infrasturcture for the eventual overall development.

6) The "Extension approach" model should be followed bearing in mind all that has gone on before in Thabala (confusion and low morale). Thus, "guiding the Farmers Committee" should probably cover a big Government planning input in this case, as Thabala is still a pilot project. There is a strong case for Farm Management studies to provide surer data to enable us to assess the community's ability to finance the lands part of the scheme.

7) The input of range and livestock management specialists will be needed as soon as all the necessary background information is available for working out what developments the community should undertake. RLMP specialists will be needed again to help the Management Group carry it out.

8) Expertise of a different kind will be required to help the community register and form that Management Group. It seems, therefore, that Groups Group still needs to test the Communal Properties Act against the proposed Thabala case; i.e., is shareholding in the sandveld ranch a reality, and how could the rest of the total project be organised?

At times one feels concerned that at present we are perhaps just putting off the moment for actually working out the "complete project" and phases of implementation.

The last indications from RLMP (ref 16) were still of frustration at not being able to get on with the ranch. This I can readily understand.

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It is frustrating not to be starting something more definite than these early activities. My view, however, is that the steps outlined need to be followed when all one has to start with is an "intention of a community." RLMP wished to have a small committee to work with in determining the details of the ranch (ref 16), but even if one takes this as being the Farmers Committee I doubt whether one can rely sufficiently on such a group to truly represent the interests of the community, or to consult and liaise with them adequately in determining priorities of this kind. Rather extensive surveying and consultation is required in order for us to be able to plan squarely with the Farmers Committee from a position of knowledge.

Government must in other words take every precaution to avoid confusion or failure in a pilot situation about which we can be sure of so little.

The experience of the RLMP has been very sad in a number of ways, but has probably helped us a lot. What I hope is that the stage will be reached as soon as possible where we have enough information, and enough demonstration of serious intent from the community to allow us to get on with it.

REFERENCES in the Thabala case study:

(1) "Report on the Sociological Survey of the Thabala Area" (Andrew Seager).
(2) "Projects at Thabala" RAO's C22/R5 of 12th March 75.
(3) "Progress Report - Thabala Communal Ranch Project" - RAO's R5/L6 of 2nd October 1975.
(4) "Postponement of Thabala Selection Board" - RAO's R5/L6 of 29th October.
(5) "Progress Report, Thabala Communal Ranching Project" Rural Sociologist A 34/8/1 of 12th Nov. 75.
(6) "Thabala Area" by J.E. Smith (USAID) of 26 Nov 75.
(7) "Report on an informal meeting held in the office of the Chief Animal Production Officer at 2:30 pm on Monday December 1st to discuss planning of the USAID project at Thabala".
(8) "Report on Rural Sociological Survey of the Thabala area" by A/D Mmopi, ref. RAO's file T8 of 23 Jan 76.
(9) "Thabala Field Trip 23-26 Feb 1976" by E.G. VanVoorthuizen of 1st March 1976.
(10) "Progress Thabala Communal Area Project", RAO's T8 of 9 April 76.
(11) "Thabala Group Ranch Legal Assistance" - Paul M. Jenkins, 27 April 76.
(12) "Thabala Communal Area Project" - RAO T8 of 18 May 76.
(13) "Memorandum on Groups & Ranch Development" Coordinator of Rural Development FDP 56/2/19 of 1st June 1976.
(14) "Where do we go from here at Thabala and Tsetsejwe?" RAO's L6/T8/T7 of 17th June 1976.
(15) "Strategy for Group formation"-Central Region (expanded version) - RAO's T7, T8, L10 of 6 August 76.
(16) "The Thabala and Tsetsejwe group ranch proposals", Paul Jenkins, no reference, of 22 July 1976.

PART 2

7.3. TSETSEJWE

7.3.1. BACKGROUND

Tsetsejwe is quite different from Thabala. The area is some 60 miles south east of Selibe Pikwe bordering the Tuli Block. Only 3.5% of families own no cattle. 63% of families own between 1-20 cattle and 14% own over 60 cattle. Its position by the Tuli Block and the Republic of South Africa has greatly facilitated development. Farmers have become extremely business oriented. Again, the Sub Tribal Authority for the area is a fine leader. Again, Extension work over the last eight years has been unusually dynamic.

7.3.2. ORIGINAL GROUP

The concept of communal ranching started back in 1973-1974 when a group of just five related neighbours expressed a wish to fence the grazing area of their cattleposts. Although MoA staff at the time much wanted to encourage them, they were advised that obtaining such exclusive grazing rights could not be done in the communal area. Instead, in 1974, Agric extension staff succeeded in interesting the whole Tsetsejwe community in developing a communal ranch, which was therefore brought to RLMP.

7.3.3. PROGRESS OF RLMP

The progress of RLMP at Tsetsejwe is much more clearly documented and straight-forward than Thabala. Very briefly the events were as follows. The TLMP team first visited the area in November 1974. Over the next six to eight months periodic visits by RLMP team were made to the area. RLMP became satisfied that it would be a suitable pilot site. Central District Council, Land Board and DDC were all consulted about the RLMP and approved it.

Finally on 11th August 1975 a widely publicised kgotla meeting was held in Tsetsejwe by the Minister, Mr. L. S. Masisi. This was the official opening of the project. No opposition was noticed at the kgotla meeting.

The following two to three months were busy with activity. Application forms were distributed to the entire community. It was hurriedly done. Over 300 applications were received (with brief details of livestock ownership) by mid-September. A Selection Board was then convened on September 24-25th 1975. The Selection Board included the Bobonong Senior Sub Tribal Authority, Sub Land Board representative, and Councillor for the area.

RLMP realised that the whole communal area would be too large a project to develop all at once. Even before the official application exercise we knew of 49 interested people (surrounding the original group of 5). Their area was therefore selected as the starting point and a total of 84 applicants were finally agreed to by the Selection Board representing an expansion around the area of the 49.

No movement of people or cattleposts was thus involved in the selection of this area. Present occupancy of land was recognised and the project area was simply the area in which the 84 suitable applicants already had their cattleposts and lands. This area was some 32000 hectares, allowing about 40 Lsu per member.

A Communal Co-operative ranch organisation was proposed for the group. RLMP team, based on their survey trips, estimated carrying capacity at 10 ha/Lsu, and calculated the necessary fencing and water developments for the ranch. The development costs, herd projections and returns, etc. were all calculated in detail. The proposals for development and organisation were then presented to the Group's Management Committee (elected on 26 September) on 16th October 1975. They were approved, and then explained to the Group on 17th October. Only 38 members out of the 84 attended this meeting.

Between October and December, fast progress on finalising the proposals continued to be made, and the point was almost reached of Registration of the Group as a co-operative.

In December, however, problems started arising which have essentially held up progress ever since.

7.3.4. PROBLEMS ESSENTIALLY OF INADEQUATE CONSULTATION

The basic problem which emerged is a sociological one. The north eastern corner of the project area known as Matsebotlhoko, was found to be the traditional cattlepost area of people from Bobonong. It is in fact quite a wide area, only a part of which falls within the communal ranch site. It became apparent that people in the overall Metsebotlhoko area, stimulated particularly by its Headman Mr. Kgosietsile Kgosi, disliked the idea that part of their area should become part of a "Tsetsejwe" project. Some of the project members concerned (i.e., of the about 15 Metsebotlhoko people who had applied) were apparently influenced and rumour spread that there was thus a faction growing that was against the project.

From December to May, this Metsebotlhoko problem became the one and only issue to do with the RLMP project. It has taken a long time to unravel it.

Meetings were held in January, February, April and May 1976. The earlier meetings were quite inconclusive, but served to show that in some respects the Metsebotlhoko case was perhaps but a symptom of deeper problems. Neighbouring Sub Tribal Authorities (Sefhophe, Maunatlala, Bobonong) complained in varying strength of not having been properly consulted. Efforts were then made by District officials and District Agric Staff to bring them more fully into the picture.

On May 4th a meeting was held at Metsebotlhoko which started to reveal the nature of the trouble. Up until then we were all in complete confusion about what really was the problem. How many people were against the project? Who were they and where did they live? Such questions were still unanswered.

It became apparent from the 4th May meeting that there was indeed an objection from the Metsebotlhoko area to the project. It was also discovered that some people in the area were totally ignorant about the nature of the project and some even alleged that their names and livestock numbers had been entered on "application" forms without their knowledge.

We realised at this point that consultation had been inadequate, both "public" and "individual" with members.

It was during this period that representatives of Central District Council, District Administration, Land Board and Tribal Authority joined Agric Extension staff in efforts to solve the consultation problem.

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During this period some controversy arose within RLMP over the fundamental question of carrying capacity of the area. There was doubt at one stage as to whether the grazing was good enough to support a ranch development project.

Due partly to this, but also because of other commitments of Regional Staff, the overseas course of A/S Lebanna, and the general confusion over the future of RLMP we did not press the case any further until just last week (October 14th-15th). The latest situation and proposals follow therefore below.

7.3.5. BACKGROUND TO VISIT OF OCTOBER 14-15th 1976

Since May it was realised that a considerable exercise in consultation would be required to sort things out. Central District authorities strongly preferred the Metsebotlhoko group to remain part of the project since Ngwato Land Board has a policy of non-recognition of traditional boundaries. Tribal Authority also wished to avoid the friction between Metsebotlhoko and Tsetsejwe that might result if they were separated and an attempt made to define a boundary.

My concerns were then, and are now:

1) There had been a serious lack of consultation generally. Did many people really have any idea what the project was all about, even in Tsetsejwe itself (only 38 out of 84 members had attended even the only meeting where anything had been explained). More fundamental still - was the project really what they wanted? Did they even themselves know what they wanted? We have never really asked them.

2) But consult about what? The RLMP wanted a full development ranch on properly managed basis, but with the doubt over the grazing would it still really be possible? A thorough survey of range condition seemed called for, to map as exactly as possible the distribution of poor and good grazing. If the grazing is found to be adequate, then the ranch development can perhaps go ahead (other things being equal-see below). If, however, the grazing is found to be too poor to support such invertment then Government may have to consider:
   a) subsidising a pilot scheme to reclaim and develop the area; or
   b) another alternative.

3) In either case it seemed essential to survey the area in detail in order to obtain planning information. The surveys would be of the type in the "extension approach model;" i.e., land use survey (to show detail right down to the positions of individual cattleposts) and "private" consultation survey to discover peoples' resources and interests.

4) It would be pointless to press the Metsebotlhoko problem until planning information is available and we have a clear idea of the nature of the project over which the dispute lies.

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7.3.6. PROGRESS REPORT - THE PRESENT SITUATION

On October 14th 1976 an informal meeting was held between the following:-

RAO Central
APO Central - Mr. Lebang
ALO Central (TGLP) - Mr. Mathake
ALO Central (Land Use Survey) - Mr. Moloi
DAO Mmadinare - Mr. Dube
A/S Tsetsejwe - Mr. Lebanna
A/Ds Tsetsejwe - Mr. Phili
Mr. Kgoboko.

In the afternoon we toured the project area meeting some of the members and observing the range condition. It was noticed to be poor over wide areas.

From our discussions the following points arose:

1) At the Metsebotlhoko meeting of 4th May 1976, only three or four of the actual members of the project were present (there should be about 15 altogether). The views expressed in the record of that meeting are therefore mainly those of neighbouring Metsebotlhoko people. Apparently, at the meeting the three or so members who were present remained in favour of inclusion in the project despite hot opposition.

2) It was thought that if necessary it would be possible to draw a boundary between Metsebotlhoko and Tsetsejwe (this had previously been doubted).

3) Of the total of 84 project members, probably only 10 to 15 people have any idea of what a Range and Livestock Improvement Project entails. It was felt by the Tsetsejwe field staff that even though Tsetsejwe farmers have shown themselves to be highly progressive in recent years, that does not necessarily give them all the ability to work together on a communal project of this kind. Most of the members see the project vaguely as an easy fencing scheme which will relieve the difficulty of finding people to herd cattle. Perhaps only 10-15 people realise the implications of a ranch and are really prepared to work on it. Included in these 10-15 are the original 5 members of the Mathaba family.

4) Following from this we concluded that our whole concept of the Tsetsejwe project should remain open. It should be part of the objective of the consultation exercise to discover as far as possible which of the inhabitants of the "project area" are at present really prepared and able to participate in a full development scheme.

Although these are at present purely preliminary and tentative ideas, we should, I think, be sufficiently open minded to accept the following possibilities:

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a) It may or may not be feasible to start a full ranch development scheme all at once.
b) If it is feasible, it may be wise to cut the membership, and therefore the size of the scheme, down to include only people who fulfill certain requirements which indicate that they are able and prepared now to form a communal ranch.
c) The possibility (b) - i.e., of a smaller group being formed - implies that further consideration would be necessary by Ngwato Land Board and LUPAG, of Central District's zoning policy.

   It would be a situation similar to Tlhagasanong where a small group (as opposed to a community) intends to claim rights to the grazing it presently occupies.

   Our thinking at the moment is that sub-zones of the Communal Area, may be identified outside the "vicinity" (yet to be defined) of centres of population, where owners may group together and develop the land they presently occupy. The implications of this are mentioned in part 4.

d) Where it is not feasible to start a full development scheme, or if the scheme involves only part of the project area, then in the remainder of the site, we envisage development should be planned along the principles being tried in Thabala.

5) Upon consultation with the Management Committee, suitable interim activities should be encouraged during the planning period, just as the Thabala FC is undertaking.

6) In all the above it is evident that we still recognise the 32000 hectares of the 84 "members" as the pilot area. It should be our aim for the end development of this entire area to be a communal co-op ranch of some kind as was intended under RLMP.

   However the form in which this will be, the phases of development and the nature of organisation should not be preconceived. Whatever happens should depend on the findings of our surveys, and consultation.

7) Land Use Survey and private consultation is definitely necessary. The field staff at Tsetsejwe agreed that it is not sensible to rely solely on the Management Committee for planning, it is vital for us, in dealing with the Management Committee, to be as fully conversant as possible, ourselves, with the problems, needs, resources and interests of the Group members.

8) It was agreed that the Metsebotlhoko dispute also could be resolved only after the discovery of the precise views and

interests of the people concerned (both within the project area, and without).

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7.3.7. MEETING WITH MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE - 15th OCTOBER 76.

The following day a meeting was held with the Management Committee. The VDC Chairman and the Sub Tribal Authority of Tsetsejwe were present. It should be noted that the Chairman of the Management Committee, Mr. Mathaba, is from the Metsebotlhoko area.

We explained to the meeting:

a) Although we are not the appropriate body to resolve the Metsebotlhoko dispute, we nonetheless hope that the people in Metsebotlhoko will choose to remain part of the project. We asked them for their present views on the subject.

b) We regret the long period during which no progress has been made. That this has been due to so many other commitments that Regional and other staff have had this year.

c) That we intend now to initiate planning and consultation in the project area. The staff involved (Mathake, Moloi and Lebang) were introduced. Their relationship and Tsetsejwe field staff was explained.

In the discussion that followed, the main conclusion as far as the Management Committee was concerned was clearly that there was nothing to worry about as far as the Metsebotlhoko problem goes. They pointed out forcefully that this project was initiated by the Tsetsejwe and Metsebotlhoko people, not by Government. As soon as development starts happening, they said, the Metsebotlhoko people will be in with it.

They also confirmed, however, that the number of people in the area who really understood the project was very small, and supported the idea of the consultation we proposed.

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7.3.8. Summary of what needs to be done and how it should be done

1) Land Use Survey

- to map the area thoroughly, plot positions of all water sources, lands, fences, tracks, distribution of different conditions of grazing and cattleposts.

- a margin all around the actual project area boundary should also be mapped; a margin of 5 km is suggested.

- one particular aim will be to map local variations in grazing condition and thus carrying capacity in view of previous doubts over ranch development potential.

- it is hoped that the Regional ALO (LUS) Mr. Moloi will be able to start work in the area in November, taking perhaps two to three months to complete the survey.

2) Private Consultation Survey

We need to answer such basic questions as:

(i) What proportion of people really feel ready to embark on the Communal Coop project? (It was the original group of about five families only who wanted to fence and develop.)

(ii) What alternatives are there that people are interested in or what steps should the full development follow?

Basically we propose to follow the questionnaire we recently drafted for use at cattleposts in Thabala and Ilhagasanong. Some additions to that draft are anticipated necessary, to ask such questions pertinent to the Tsetsejwe situation as:

a) what is the farmer's (i) original or (ii) present concept of the "project"?

b) is that really what he wants, or is it:

- too expensive,
- too difficult,
- too complicated,
- other?

c) does he still want to be involved

- in the communal-coop,
- in some other way (ref the detailed discussions in the draft questionnaire)?

d) would he be willing to work on the project for no reward - cutting poles, digging holes, fencing, making kraals, etc. or does he think labour should be hired for the purpose?

e) is he happy with the proposed grazing rules and other aspects of the constitution of the Communal Coop ranch?

(to be discussed at length referring to the rules, but at the same time being careful not to give any impression that forming the communal coop ranch is the one and only form which the project could take)

f) Regional and Field staff have been asked to suggest other possible questions.

(original page 23)

In the Metsebotlhoko area, some special questions would also be asked in order to discover more exactly the needs, feelings and interests of that community.

3) Public Consultation

After more has been discovered about the project area and the inhabitants, planning of development activities should take place. Before anything is started, however, particularly any development that affects land tenure, proper consultation must be made with (i) neighbours of the project area (ii) the rest of Isetsejwe (iii) the main Bobirwa villages that neighbour Isetsejwe.

The nature of this consultation will depend on the exact form which the project is to take which is as yet unknown.

Part 3

7.4. Tlhagasanong

7.4.1. Brief details of this case are as follows:

- the group has 38 members
- the area comprises 10 cattleposts and 7 waterpoints in use
- they formed in late 1975 after hearing publicity about the TGLP and the Tsetsejwe project
- they met twice in December 1975 and elected their own Chairman and Committee before writing to Ngwato Land Board and contacting the AD for advice
- their purpose was "to be a syndicate to pool common resources (wells, etc.) and fence cattleposts into a ranch"
- we met them on 20th Feb 1976 with Ngwato Land Board Chairman, and took details of membership. TGLP was explained, and how their project would have to conform to land use planning requirements, etc.
- we returned on 22 June 1976 to gather more information, to tour the area and make arrangements for land use survey
- land use survey was conducted in July 1976 but has not yet been written up
- consultation questionnaires were distributed to the AD for the area, although due to interruptions (10th Anniversary, etc.) our ALO Central (TGLP) has not been able as yet to follow these up.

7.4.2. The case is a clear example of a claim being made for recognition of existing occupancy of a grazing area. I see the order of events being:

i) get clearer picture of members' intentions and resources from consultation

ii) a) study implications of District level land use plan for the area, in particular to discover whether Tlhagasanong is far enough from the "true" communal zone around Kgagodi, Mogapinyana, etc. (LUPAG job)

b) check LUPAG recommendations with Ngwato Land Board

iii) look more closely at land use survey information in order to work out with the group more exactly what form the project could take, within any limits suggested under ii) above

iv) public consultation with neighbouring communities on any proposal which emanages from i) - iii).

v) if all is agreed, let it go ahead.

(original page 25)

Part 4

8. An analysis of progress at Thabala, Tsetsejwe and Tlhagasanong with lessons for TGLP training and implementation

8.1. Projects should not be pre-conceived

8.1.1. Many have pointed out that TGLP implementation will happen when groups have formed. There are numerous examples (ref papers of RAOs meeting July 25-28) of groups of various sizes who have already carried out projects. There is no doubt that these will provide good foci for TGLP implementation.

8.1.2. However, we are still faced with groups and communities who, having heard of the RLG campaign, etc., declare an "interest" or "intention" to be a TGLP project. They say they want to fence and form a ranch. They have never before grouped together and done anything. Many of them may never before have even tried any improved animal husbandry or agricultural methods. The questions are then what should Government allow them to do, and how and when?

8.1.3. RLMP's approach was, more or less, to say "right, here is how you can set up a ranch, put fences down here and here, water there, it will cost so much, and get yourselves organised like this...", and within a few months to want to start it.

I wish it could be so straight-forward. Even if the RLMP team could have made it to work from scratch in such a way, I wonder if the experience would really have been of a "pilot" nature; i.e., which could be replicated without still having the team here.

8.1.4. The pre-conceived project approach has in both cases resulted in much confusion. In neither community did we ever start by asking the people themselves what their purpose was. In Thabala the sandveld ranch idea was only partly relevant to the development of the communal area. It was only after the sandveld ranch had already been proposed as the "project" that some other views of the people were listened to. In Tsetsejwe, even though progress towards starting the Communal Co-operative Ranch got much further, problems of consultation arose nonetheless and showed us just how little people understood of what was proposed.

8.2. Kgotla meetings

The kgotla has its role in Tswana society, and for our purposes is valuable for announcement and formal agreement about matters which are easily understood or which have become understood already. It is a mistake, however, to expect to achieve consultation through kgotla meetings alone. Hence, on the national level the RLG campaign.

The Thabala "sandveld ranch" scheme was announced and "agreed" in kgotla at one stage despite the fact that it was to benefit only about 25 people, alternatives had never been discussed with others, and probably many present did not really follow what was being discussed at all, and assumed that any "Government" project must be good. Similarly in Tsetsejwe people listened respectfully and approvingly to Mr. Masisi on August 11th 1975, but we should not have assumed that consultation

(original page 26)

was complete after that one occasion when the TGLP and the Tsetsejwe communal ranch were announced. Events since have shown just how little were the implications understood then, or later when the details of the project were announced to the Group itself.

Much more consultation is needed, in depth and in breadth, to enable the kgotla to achieve its purpose. And it goes without saying that we should be quite sure of what we are talking about before we do speak at kgotla level. Even this has not always been well observed in the past, however.

8.3. The role of the Farmers Committee or Management Group

This is described earlier in the first paper (para 6). What was not emphasised there, however, is that just as kgotla has its limitations, so does the Farmers Committee or the Management Group. Considerable support must be provided by Regional, District and Field staff to the Committee. They are a vital planning group which we must train, nurture and work with closely, and to whom must be given real responsibility. It is they who decide on what is to be done in their communal or project area. But it is we who must give them, in most cases, the information on which they base their planning decisions.

Through land use survey and consultation, we can be in the best position to advise them how to plan because we ourselves will be able to discuss from a position of knowledge. In the RLMP we did very little in the way of survey and virtually nothing in the way of consultation. When meeting with the FC or Management Committee we thus achieved very little in reality because the two sides were not starting from a close enough understanding of the purposes of the project. An example: in the presentation of the proposals for the Tsetsjwe ranch, a member asked "but where can those who keep dairy cattle for the purpose of selling milk be able to do this?" Answer from RLMP: "this is a beef ranch; if you want to have more than the agreed allowance of 2 cows, you had better find somewhere else. Besides, beef production is much more profitable than milk." It was left at that.

8.4. Planning of development according to extension approach model

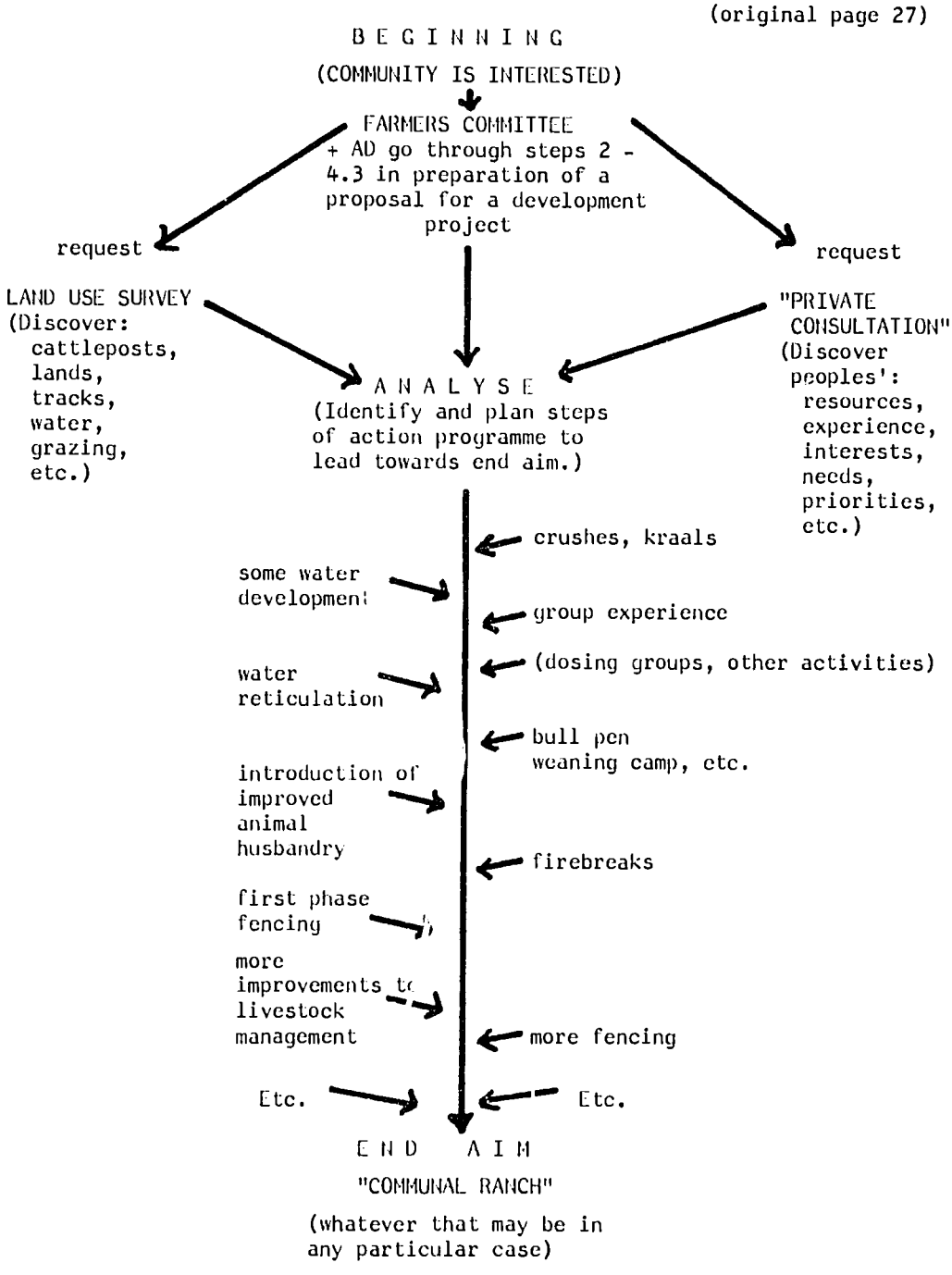
The extension approach model for the formation of group activity given in the paper of August 6th explains part of the relationship between the people, Government and the way a group forms and plans its activity. But it is not very clear from that model how the group or community direct their approach towards an end aim of communal area development.

On the next page, it could be imagined in the way suggested.

Note - in each box the process of steps 4.1 - 4.4 in the extension approach model are gone through (i.e., approval by LUPAC, Land Board, evaluation by RAO, etc., and, when appropriate, public consultation). Alternatively in some cases - one anticipates small groups in particular - the whole development scheme may be worked out, presented and processed in one "box".

- in the preparation of each Activity plan, guidelines for the group activity in question could be followed or special extra guidelines could be devised where the activity demanded.

(original page 27)



(the above simple model is not an attempt to suggest an actual pattern of communal area development, but an example only to be read in conjunction with the first model for group formation)

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8.5 Constraints anticipated in implementation of this approach

i) Manpower to do the Land Use Survey and consultation; hence the importance of AD training. Hopefully, Regional and District staff will with experience become faster at the work involved, and we will discover which parts of the questionnaire are really essential, thus cutting down the present draft. Working against this, however, is that it is likely that we will have to treat every case in its own way as no group will be the same as another.

The permanent posts at Regional level for a Group Development Officer and a Ranch Development Officer are strongly supported.

ii) Government capacity to carry out infrastructural development projects required by the communities or groups. I am thinking particularly of our dam building units which are far from meeting demand even now. Also soil conservation, other water development, roads, firebreaks, etc. Alternatively how, practically, are we going to stimulate other capacity (private sector).

iii) Registration: we are at present unable to advise the Thabala Farmers Committee on the legal aspects of how to go about buying their store and managing it. We must be ready to register groups legally as soon as they need to. Although I don't anticipate whole community registration for a while, smaller groups will emerge quite soon. Tlhagasanong, for example, could be ready to register within six months if we push things ahead there.

iv) Ability of field staff to evaluate proprosals and advise groups objectively. More than ever before ADs need to have an appreciation of the principles of farm management.

v) Transport for Regional staff: at present there is one Ford F250 truck to serve four Regional staff who need to be able to get out. One could mention many other constraints facing the Department (AD transport, etc.).

8.6 Implications for District level land use planning

Our limited experience already shows that it is not going to be so simple to identify the Area zones originally defined in the TGLP. We have observed that in the eastern part of Central District there is a pattern of village population centres, true communal areas (which include grazing and lands) and then cattlepost areas. Definition of where true communal grazing areas end, and where cattlepost areas begin appears to be necessary. This is possible to work out by drawing a radius around the village to enclose a large enough area to contain the maximum limit of livestock for the number of families in the vaillage who don't have cattleposts further out. It will then have to be decided whether the cattlepost areas are to be defined communal or commercial and, if communal, what the

maximum limit on livestock numbers should be for the groups that wish to develop their cattleposts.

Obviously the limit should be governed by carrying capacity, but differences in the limit between adjacent areas may result reflecting different densities of present occupancy; e.g., if 14 out of the 84 inhabitants of Tsetsejwe project area start first, how will their limit relate to that of the rest of the area?

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8.7 Implications for training

8.7.1 Training for this approach would have three parts:

1) AD training to cover

	- revision on range and livestock management (training has already been done)	- 2 days
	- enterprise analysis/farm management, etc. & extension work planning	- 2 days
	- land use planning/mapping/photo-interpretation	- 3 days
♀	- consultation - what it is, including use of questionnaires, importance of objectivity	- half day
♀	- TGLP and group extension/Extension approach model, etc.; including how to use handbook on group activities, preparing of Activity plans, etc.	- one day
♀	- role of Farmers Committees	- half day
♀	- Case study for the District	- one day

♀ together with CD staff

2) Farmers Committee training (with CD staff & ADs)

- the TGLP and the District
- range and livestock management
- other improvements in agriculture (i.e., brief explanation of other major MoA programmes)
- the role of an AD
- planning extension work and development of the area
- group activities (with guidelines)
- registration/legal aspects
- role of Farmers Committee

3) Farmers Courses (farmers with AD and FC rep.)

- project oriented (i.e., when a project to be carried out in the field, a course may be organised for the farmers concerned)

8.7.2. Inputs needed for AD training

1) A survey of all group/community projects needs to be carried out in the Region by ADs (helped by DAOs) and by Community Development staff. Information could also be sought from Tribal Administration, District Administration and Council.

HQ could help by preparing case study questionnaires for the survey (on similar lines to those prepared for T3 & T4).

2) A survey of Farmers Committees - to be carried out by ADs for their Extension Areas indicating how active or successful their FCs are, what plans any of them have, problems, etc.

3) Handbook of guidelines to Group Activity planning for different activities (from HQ).

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4) Notes on enterprise analysis/farm management based on what is covered at T3/T4 November course (from HQ).

5) ADs Areas photo-mosaic maps (URGENT)

6) Mapping materials for ADs to use in the field

- scale rulers (could AGHM make a cheap version for 1: 50 000?)

- crayons, coloured - grease & ordinary

- erasers (we have already got these)

- tracing paper (to be controlled from DAO's office)

7) Help from HQ in how to tackle the District's Case study - ? BEC/DEMS

8) Guidelines and work materials from HQ for practical exercises in range and livestock management and land use planning

9) MOST IMPORTANT - see implication of 8.7.3. (ii) below.

8.7.3. Brief suggestions for AD training by Agric District

i) I would suggest for Central Region that 4 training courses be organised at MRTC, one for each District. Up to two weeks per course would most probably be justified.

ii) The main burden of instruction (which always means preparation and organisation too) will be on Regional and District staff; help from the DO (Lands) for part of it. I would strongly recommend that the November training for T3 staff to have a definite time allocated to preparing these

staff for a role in later instruction of ADs. This has always been neglected in previous such seminars, with the result that almost all the work has fallen on the RAO.

For part of the course ACDOs could be included, and CDOs could help in instruction.

Help from HQ staff would be welcomed where possible; I'm thinking particularly of CAE's staff.

iii) Much of the training course would be general and in the form of instruction periods and discussion sessions. Practical and field work is essential for the mapping, photo interpretation and land use planning part.

A case study should be selected for each District. I am not sure whether it would be more effective to work on one actual example from among existing projects in AD's areas, or on a manufactured case (perhaps BEC/DEMS could advise).

The aim of the study would be to bring into action the various principles covered in the course and to produce a plan for the area based on the priorities of the people, the land use plan, etc., and following the model for group formation.

8.8. Experience so far in training

In Central Region our experience so far has been:

1) ADs Regional conference cum course

- November 1975

- covered much of what is suggested above for AD's training, but in an elementary way.

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2) AD's monthly meetings

- each month end from Feb - July 1976

- undertaken by ALO Central (TGLP) Mr. Mathake, helped by RAO and APOs.

- covered Ecology and APRU principles of improved RLM, and TGLP implementation

- in the form of discussion meetings

- would have been better perhaps if more practically oriented, but this entails far more preparation time.

3) AD's Land Use planning course

- April 5th - 8th 1976

- helped by DO (L), Land Board Tech Advisers and by Mrs. Mary Rigby

- took first half (higher potential) of ADs from the 4 Districts

- main objective: to give ADs basic skills necessary for gathering LUP information of their areas needed for Central District planning; with side benefits for their normal work.

- covered air photo interpretation, mapping, and use of land use planning data forms.

- field results since have shown we should have done much more on mapping involving field practice

- second half of ADs still to be covered

4) Farmers Committee seminars

- in July 1975, April 1976 and August 1976 we have held 3 day seminars for members of Farmers Committees from Mahalapye, Palapye and Serowe and Mmadinare Districts, respectively. The seminars have usually been attended by office bearers of the Committees together with the ADs of those Extension areas.

- the programme has been basically as described above (under 8.7.1.) with the exception of registration/legal aspects about which we knew too little.

- the main weakness of these past courses has been the absence of practical guidelines for group activities. This has meant FCs have returned from the courses with insufficient ideas of how to set about actually doing the activities we discussed. When activity guidelines are prepared, I think repeat seminars would be valuable in our case.

5) Farmers Courses (specialised)

- this is naturally the part of the approach one would expect to be most behind as it is only when groups are formed with a purpose that courses can be arranged. ADs are at present far from appreciating this concept. Exceptions to this are courses arranged for 4B clubs, and more recently, Home Economics.

- two other courses, only, could be mentioned

  1) July 1976; course at MRTC for the one or two farmers (and one FC member) from each extension area in Palapye District who were selected by the FC in each case to make that Extension Area's demonstration plots on improved crop husbandry. Selected ADs assisted. The course was very practically oriented.

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  ii) July 1976; course at Thabala for members of newly formed smallstock dosing groups. Joint organisation by DAO Serowe, APO (ss) and MRTC all supporting the AD's recruitment of farmers.

One of our APO/Central's prime work objectives in the coming months will be to help ADs with their livestock management extension work and with identifying farmers with a common interest in this or that aspect of improved livestock management, and thereby to get farmer training started at our Short Course Centres.

APPENDIX 26:

GROUP CONSTITUTIONS

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APPENDIX 26.1: Farmers Committee Terms of Reference
Gaborone Region - March 1979

1. Purpose

A Farmers Committee is needed for 3 basic reasons:

1) to support the AD in planning, organizing and implementing extension activities within an extension area.

2) 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.

3) to plan, implement and manage agricultural development projects affecting or involving the extension area as a whole.

2. Organizational Guidelines

2.1 The composition of the Committee should be as follows:

Chairman
Vice-chairman
Secretary
Vice-secretary
Treasurer
plus as many committee members as are deemed necessary to properly represent both village residents and those living in all sub-areas of the extension area.

2.2 Ex-officio members:

Agricultural Demonstrator
Veterinary Assistant
Chief/Headman

2.3 Co-opted members:

These members may be asked to join whenever matters warrant their involvement.

Councillor
MP
ACDO
FWE
VDA
Head Teacher

2.4 Jurisdiction of the Committee:

Due to the considerable variation in size, population and ethnic compsition of extension areas, the jurisdiction of Farmers Committees is left flexible. Generally, there should be one Farmers Committee for each extension area. The membership of the committee should include an equal number of representatives from each of the sub-areas to

ensure adequate representation of all farm families. ADs responsible for more than one village or having very large extension areas may find it appropriate to have more than one Committee.

Alternatively, a well-organized AD may prefer to have a complete sub-committee for each sub-area; the Farmers Committee is then composed of an equal number of representatives from each sub-committee.

2.5 Election of the Farmers Committee:

The Farmers Committee members are to be elected to a two year term of office at a meeting called by the AD after consultation with:

Headman/Chief
VDC
DAO
Councillor
Village Team.

The election shall be announced in advance and given wide publicity. It is the AD's responsibility to ensure that everyone voting understands what the Farmers Committee is and why it is important. Nominations may be offered from the floor or farmers may offer themselves as candidates. A Committee membership of 10 to 15 is recommended. If the Farmers Committee is to be composed of representatives from Sub-Committee the AD is responsible for seeing that each Sub-Committee holds proper and timely elections according to the above guidelines.

2.6 Resignations:

The resignation of a Committee member may be accepted at any time. The vacancy may be filled by a special election following the procedure described in Section 2.5. Any member who fills such a vacancy must stand for re-election with the Committee's other members at the next regular election.

2.7 Re-election:

All Farmers Committees should hold elections every two years. Committee members are encouraged to stand for re-election, especially if they are good leaders. However, new candidates should also be offered in nominations from the floor. Some change in Committee members encourages greater interest among the public, brings in new ideas and demonstrates the democratic nature of Farmers Committees.

2.8 Handover Procedures:

The outgoing Farmers Committee should ensure that the assumption of duties by the incoming Committee is smooth and orderly. The Farmers Committee acts in the public trust and it is the responsibility of the outgoing Committee to give a full accounting of its finances and a report of its activities to the new Committee, the public and the DAO.

2.9 Constitution

Farmers Committees are strongly advised to have a constitution. These guidelines cannot lay down exact rules for all Committees since the needs of each Committee will vary according to its situation and the particular projects and activities it undertakes. In general, the constitution should clearly define the Committee's position with respect to:

= membership of the Committee

= representation from sub-areas

= election of the Committee

= conditions of membership (e.g. resignation and expulsion)

= specific powers, duties and responsibilities of the Committee

= frequency of meetings

= financial record keeping and control

= annual progress reports to the community

= specific rules for the operation of any projects the Committee may be sponsoring.

Farmers Committees may receive guidance in formulating a constitution from the CDO. The Committee is expected to present its constitution to the community for approval. Any subsequent changes to the constitution likewise need the approval of the community.

3. Operating Guidelines

3.1 Meetings:

Farmers Committees should meet at least four times a year. In practice, Committees active in projects will need to meet much more often. Meetings should be scheduled following the AD's return from monthly Management meetings. This allows the AD to report to the Committee on any new programs or items of interest to area residents, as well as to confirm plans for the next month's activities. Once a year an Annual General Meeting should be held to which all residents of the area are invited. The agenda for the Annual General Meeting should include:

= progress report from the Chairman

= financial report from the Treasurer

= election of Committee (every other year)

Also, a special Farmers Committee meeting should be held once a year during which the members and the AD prepare the following year's Annual Plan for the entire extension area.

3.2 Project Administration:

It is the responsibility of the Farmers Committee to assume complete responsibility for those agricultural projects which affect the extension area as a whole. The Committee will be involved in planning,

fund raising, consultation, obtaining Land Board approval, coordinating community labor, supervision of work, training, distribution of materials and on-going project management on completion. Training and support for Committees involved in such large scale project administration will be provided by the Regional Office.

3.3 FC Relationship with VDC:

The Farmers Committee is the local body directly concerned with overseeing area agricultural needs and initiating projects to improve the situation. The Committee should at all times work closely with the VDC and keep it informed of future Committee activities and projects. The Farmers Committee will be represented on the VDC like all other community organizations.

On some occasions the VDC may propose projects related to agriculture. Such initiatives by VDCs should be encouraged, particularly in cases where projects require careful FC and VDC cooperation. Some projects proposed by the Farmers Committees may require VDC approval (as under AE 10). Farmers Committees should keep in mind the fact that any project involving a communal land allocation requires approval by Kgotla prior to Land Board consideration of the projects application.

3.4 FC Relationship with other Agricultural Groups:

Farmers Committees generally coexist with other agricultural groups undertaking specific projects in sub-areas. The Farmers Committee should support and advise such project groups, but should not become involved in their day to day management. In some cases the Farmers Committee may be formally called upon to approve a particular group's project or funding request in its capacity as a representative organization for area farmers (i.e. under AE 10).

4. Role and Functions of the Farmers Committee:

4.1 Essentially the role of the Farmers Committee is to stimulate community awareness of the problems facing the extension area and to motivate people to take action to solve these problems.

Specifically the role and functions of a Farmers Committee may involve any of the following nine areas:

4.2 Planning agricultural extension activities within the extension area:

Agricultural extension activities cannot be effective without planning. The Department of Agricultural Field Services offers a variety of programs and support facilities and the AD is expected to make use of this support. Bringing these programs and services to farm families is impossible without planning. And planning is unrealistic unless it involves the people concerned.

The Farmers Committee is a representative organization and as such is the proper "reference group" for the AD to consult when planning future extension activities. Ideally this planning should be done on a monthly basis. Certainly, three month programs and Annual Plans should be made only after careful discussion with the Farmers Committee.

4.3 Support and organization of group extension methods:

Farmers Committees can be invaluable in helping the AD to organize group extension activities and in facilitating the communication of information to farmers in the sub-areas. Group extension methods include:-

= field or farmers days

= agricultural shows

= RTC field courses

= demonstrations

= general farmer meetings.

4.4 Setting an Example to the Community:

In order to give effective support to extension Committee members need to be convinced themselves of the benefit of improved agricultural methods. A Farmers Committee composed of successful, progressive, interested farmers can set a fine example to the community and can demonstrate to other farmers what can be achieved through improved practices.

4.5 Stimulating, supporting and sanctioning group activities by other farmers:

The Farmers Committee can do much to stimulate interest in group activities and projects in the sub-areas. It can help to initiate projects and give them its approval. The Farmers Committee remains in a support and advisory role once a particular project management committee is established. Examples of project groups are:

= dam groups

= tick control groups

= smallstock dosing groups

= inputs purchasing groups

= vegetable growing groups

= field contouring

= etc.

4.6 Initiate and manage extension area wide projects:

The Farmers Committee is the appropriate body to undertake agricultural projects affecting the extension area as a whole. In such cases the Farmers Committee is responsible for planning and managing the development of the complete project. Examples of projects which usually affect entire extension areas are:

= drift fences

= conservation projects

= communal ranching schemes

= mobile crop buying

= bulk purchasing

4.7 Publicizing special programs and organizing farmer participation:

Because the Farmers Committee represents all farmers, and since it acts as a communication link between the AD and the community, the Committee is well prepared to coordinate participation in various services and programs such as:

= DRTC courses

= Ag Inf and Government campaigns

= Veterinary vaccination campaigns

= AI

= Mobile crop buying

= Lands contouring

= Collective inputs purchasing/bulk purchasing

4.8 Coordinate and conduct extension-area-wide consultation related to communal Area Development efforts:

Again, because of its role as the representative body of the farming community, the Farmers Committee may be called on to conduct area-wide consultations concerning large scale agricultural projects such as APRU grazing cells, ALDEP, etc. Such consultation efforts should only be initiated after careful liasion with VDC, chief and Land Board.

4.9 Liaise with other Farmers Committees:

The Farmers Committee is the appropriate body to represent the extension area in its dealings with adjoining areas and the Agricultural District as a whole. Thus, if a drift fence project involves more than one extension area, the Farmers Committees should meet to coordinate their efforts.

5. Training and Support:

RTCs now have available an introductory course for Farmers Committees. The course is designed to orient new members to the Terms of Reference and to provide training for office holders, and to update Committees on financial aid and support program availability. DAOs are strongly advised to include this course in their annual planning.

In addition, efforts will be made to provide any specialized training that may be necessary on an individual basis (i.e., engine maintenance for a spray race). It is recognized that District, Regional and Headquarters staff support is crucial to assisting Farmers Committees and ADs to establish an effective working relationship. Also, the AD should organize for the Farmers Committee and other interested farmers tours and field visits which the Committee feels are necessary.

APPENDIX 26.2 Fencing by-laws:

i) Constitution of Mogobane Farmers Association Drift Fencing

1. Name and Address

1.1 The name of the Association is Mogobane Farmers Association Drift Fence. Address: P.O. Box 2, Otse.

2. Purpose:

2.1 Its purpose is to construct a drift fence separating the grazing area from the arable lands.

3. Membership:

3.1 Membership is open to all residents within the Bamalete Tribal Territory.

3.2 There is a membership fee of P5.00.

3.3 Every member can vote at a general meeting and can graze his cattle in the grazing area.

3.4 Every member is expected to follow the rules and give hands when asked.

3.5 Any one who leaves his father's compound is expected to pay P5.00 to join the Association.

3.6 On the death of a member; his membership is passed to who remains at his compound.

3.7 The register of all members will be kept by the secretary of the management committee.

4. Cattle movements

4.1 Cattle will be removed from the grazing area in August even the management committee can still change the months and back to the grazing area in December.

4.2 All cattle from the grazing area should be driven to their respective cattle posts.

5. Charges

5.1 Any member who refuses to work will be charged P4.00 or two strokes.

5.2 Anyone who breaks the fence or leaves the gate open will be charged P12.00, 4 strokes and pay for crop damages.

5.3 When cattle are sent to the grazing area a non-member will be charged P12.00 or 6 strokes and pay a joining fee of P5.00.

5.4 All employees are expected to pay P6.00 or two strokes as their labour.

6. General meeting

6.1 There shall be two general meetings per year; one at the end of harvest and one at the beginning of the cropping season.

6.2 The managing committee can call an additional meeting when necessary.

6.3 Management committee will meet four times a year.

6.4 A majority of members should be present at all meetings.

6.5 All decisions shall be made by majority rule.

6.6 Any member is allowed to speak at a meeting.

7. Management Committee

7.1 The Management Committee will be vested upon the farmers committee which will be elected two yearly by all farmers.

7.2 Any member who fails to attend Committee meetings three times will lose his or her post.

7.3 Any incapable member of the Committee will be brought before a general meeting for substitution.

7.4 The duties of the management committee are:-

1) to collect fees and contributions
2) to call general meetings
3) to assign people jobs
4) to settle disputes
5) to make proposals for new projects

8. Finance

8.1 The Farmers Committee shall open a bank account.

8.2 Money will be drawn by the treasurer, secretary and the chairman.

8.3 The treasurer shall keep proper financial records.

8.4 Financial records will be reported at each general meeting without failure.

8.5 Money not kept in the bank will remain sorely the responsibility of the treasurer.

8.6 Secretary should keep up-to-date statements as to the use of finance as a cross prove of the treasurer's records.

APPENDIX 26.2: Fencing by-laws:

ii) Mmamaereng: Badukanye Sub-Area Drift Fence.

1. Name and Address

a) The name of the association shall be called Badukanye Sub-Area Drift Fence. The address is P.O. Box 2, Otse.

2. Objects:

a) To construct a drift fence separating the grazing area from the arable lands.

b) To facilitate crop production through all aspects of modern farming practices without livestock damage.

c) To put into practice all animal production measures including re-vaccinations and other animal health practices so as to improve livestock.

d) To conserve grazing area through rotational system.

3. Membership

i) membership is open to any resident in Bamalete Tribal District, irrespective of the location of his lands area in the District.

ii) membership fee is P5. This fee is even paid respectively by each individual family member who is over 18 years of age.

iii) Any resident owning lands or livestock within the sub-area is bound to join this grazing association and follow its constitution, also obey farmers committee directs.

iv) There will be no compensation paid to any member resigning from the association.

v) On the death of a member his membership passes to those remaining at his compound.

vi) The secretary of the association shall keep a list of all members.

vii) Every member can vote at a general meeting and can graze his cattle in the grazing area.

Cattle Movement:

1) Cattle will be removed from the grazing area on August but the month may be changed by farmers committee depending on farming's situation. Cattle will be transferred back to grazing area in December.

2) All cattle from the grazing area should be driven to their respective cattle posts.

Charges

1) Any member who refuses to work will be charged P4. or two strokes.

2) Anyone leaving gates opened will either be charged P50. or a roll of wire, 6 strokes and pay for damages.

3) When cattle are sent to the grazing area, a non-member will be charged the sum of P12. or 6 strokes and pay a joining fee of P5.

4) All employees are expected to pay P12.00 their labour or 2 strokes.

6. General Meetings

1) There shall be two general meetings per year and at the end of the harvest and one at the beginning of cropping season.

2) The farmers committee can call an additional meeting when necessary.

3) A majority of members must be present for a general meeting to be held.

4) At a general meeting each member present shall have one vote with the exception of the chairman who shall have a casting vote.

5) All decisions shall be by majority rule.

6) Any member has a right to speak at a general meeting.

7) If the management committee wishes to propose a new project it shall bring the matter before the meeting.

7. Management Committee

1) There shall be a management committee consisting of a chalrman, vice chairman, secretary, vice secretary, treasurer and other three members.

2) The management will be vested upon the Farmers Committee.

3) The management committee shall hold office for one year.

4) Management Committee shall be elected at a general meeting.

5) The management committee shall meet four times a year:-

i) before ploughing
ii) when transferrlng livestock to grazing area
iii) after harvesting
iv) before returning cattle back to crop residues

6) At least five members must be present for a meeting of the management committee to be held.

7) Decision: the management committee will be made by majority rule.

8) Misbehaving management committee members shall be brought before a general meeting.

9) Any vacancies occurring in the management committee shall be filled at a subsequent general meeting.

10) The powers of Management Commlttee:

a) To collect fees and contributions

b) To call general meetings

c) To settle disputes

d) To make proposals for new projects

8. Finance

i) The farmers committee shall open a bank account.

ii) Money will be drawn by the treasurer, secretary and chairman.

iii) The treasurer shall ensure that proper financial records are kept.

iv) The treasurer shall give a financial report to the association as frequent as needed.

v) Money not kept in the bank shall be kept safely by the treasurer or at one of the office bearers through the authority from all committee members.

vi) The secretary should keep up-to-date statements as the use of finance as a cross prove of the treasurer's records.

Amendment of Constitution

i) The constitution may be changed by vote of members at a General Meeting.

APPENDIX 26.2: Fencing by-laws:

iii) Mogapi

Tlhomo ya Melawana

Mabadi le kagelele ya Masimo

1. Tiro e tla nna mo go Farmers Committee.

2. Mongwe le mongwe o ka nna leloko. Sefa e se moagi, o o Mogapi.

3. Lelwapa lengwe le lengwe le ntsha kgare ya terata.

4. a) Fa motho a kgaolo terata o tla attholwa P 100.00.

   b) Fa motho a gana go ntsha madi, le go dira tiro o tla attholwa P 60.

   c) Fa motho a ka ntsha madi me atla a gana go bereka o tla attholwa P 10.

   d) Yo o tlogelang (heke) gate e sa tswalwa katlholo ke P 10.

5. Fa terata e fedile, ditlhopha di tla e tlhokomela.

6. Melawana e ka baakanngwa fa go tlhokafalang go baakanngwa teng. Me kopanelwa ke ditlhofsha le Farmers Committee.

APPENDIX 26.2: Fencing by-laws:

iv) Mmaphashalala

Melawana Ya Terata Ya Maslmo a Mmaphashalala E Kwadilwe Ka Tumalano Ya Kgosi Le Morafe Mo Kgotleng 24/7/78

1. Farmers Committee e kopana gangwe fela mo bekeng tse pedl.

2. Phuthego ya botlhe gangwe mo kgweding.

3. Mongwe le mongwe yo o nang le Tshimo e e mo terateng o ntsha madi a kana ka P5.00 gore a nne leloko.

4. Madi a tlhokomelo ya terata a ntshiwa ka kgwedi ya Seetebosigo ngwaga le ngwaga e le P3.00.

5. Madi otle a a kaelwang ko godimo ke a a tlhokomelang terata ya Masimo.

6. Mo lobakeng lwa kgwedi tse thataro re balela le Seetebosigo wa 1978 mongwe le mongwe yo o amegang o tshwanetse a bo a ntshitse P5.00.

7. Yo o fetisang lobaka lo lo beilweng o tshwanetse go ntsha P5.00 le P3.00 wa kotlhao.

8. Madi a a kolekilweng a tla tsadisiwa ka ditsela tse di ntsi, sekai: Phathi kgotsa Motshele.

9. Ba ba sa ntsheng madi ba tla sekesiwa ba ba ba atlhoiwa mo kgotleng.

10. Madi otlhe a tia bolokwa ko bankeng ko Mahalapye.

11. Melawana e ka fetolwa ka na ya oketswa fa go tlhokafala.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

i) Bokaa Farmers Association

1. Name and Address

1.1 The name of the group is the Bokaa Farmers Association; and address is post office Box Bokaa.

2. Purpose

2.1 The Association's purpose is to build a dip tank and dip their cattle for triks.

3. Membership

3.1 Membership is open to all in Bokaa extension area.

3.2 There is a membership fee of P10. No member will be allowed to dip his cattle until this fee has been paid even if he has worked.

3.3 In return for this membership fee each member can dip his cattle at the dip tank according to the rules and can vote in general meetings of the group.

3.4 On joining the Association each member agrees to follow the rules, obey the management committee, and give hands when the management committee directs.

3.5 Any member may be chased away by vote of the members at a General Meeting.

3.6 No compensation will be paid to members who are chased away.

3.7 If any person leaves his father's compound he must pay P10 to join the group.

3.8 On the death of a member his membership passes to those remaining at his compound.

3.9 The Secretary of the management committee shall keep a register of all members.

4. General Meetings

4.1 There shall be a general meeting of the association every four months.

4.2 Additional General Meetings may be called by the Management Committee as necessary.

4.3 A majority of members must be present for a General Meeting to be held.

4.4 At a General Meeting each member has one vote, except the Chairman of the Management Committee who has a casting vote.

4.5 All decisions shall be made by majority vote.

4.6 Any member is allowed to speak in a General Meeting.

4.7 If the Management Committee wants to begin a new project they must bring it for approval to a General Meeting.

5. Management Committee

5.1 There shall be a Management Committee composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, vice secretary, treasurer and three members.

5.2 The Management Committee shall be elected at a General Meeting and shall hold office for one year.

5.3 The Management Committee shall meet at least once a month.

5.4 Five members must be present for a meeting of the Management Committee to take place.

5.5 Decisions shall be made by majority vote.

5.6 Misbehaving members will be brought before a General Meeting.

5.7 Any vacancies occurring on the Management Committee will be filled at the next General Meeting.

5.8 The Management Committee is directly responsible to the people.

5.9 The powers of the Management Committee are:

a) to collect fees and contributions

b) to call General Meetings

c) to make rules for the use and maintenance of the dip tanks

d) to supervise dipping

e) to assign people jobs to do when dipping

f) to set the dates of dipping days

g) to require members to work

h) to supervise work

i) to settle disputes

j) to bring uncooperative members before a General Meeting for discipline

k) to spend up to P100 every 2 months without consulting a General Meeting

l) to make proposals for new projects

6. Finance

6.1 The management committee shall open a bank account. The treasurer and three other members shall be the signatures.

6.2 The treasurer shall see that proper financial records are kept.

6.3 The treasurer shall give a financial report at each General Meeting.

6.4 Money not kept in the bank shall be kept in the clinic safe.

6.5 Money not kept in the bank shall be withdrawn by the treasurer and two other members together.

7. Changes to the Constitution

7.1 This constitution may be changed in any way by vote of the members in a General Meeting.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

ii) Mmankgodi Farmers Association

1. Name and Address

1.1 The group shall be called the Mmankgodi Farmers Association. The Association's business address shall be Post Office Box Mmankgodi.

2. Objectives

2.1 The prime objective of the Association is to promote improved agricultural production in Mmankgodi Extension Area. By using their hands in self-help the members of the Association intend to undertake Agricultural projects designed to benefit the Mmankgodi farming community as a whole.

3. Membership

3.1 Membership in the Association is open to any person interested in developing agriculture in Mmankgodi Extension Area.

3.2 There shall be a joining fee of P5.00 payable for the first year of membershlp. Thereafter, membership must be renewed annually by payment of P3.00. This sum will be collected each year at the Annual General Meeting.

3.3 In return for the annual membership fee a member is entitled to participate in Association Projects, use Association facilities, and participate in and vote at General Meetings of the Association.

3.4 Upon joining the Association each member agrees to abide by this constitution, to follow such rules and financial regulations as the Management Committee may formulate for the operation of Association projects and to provide reasonable labour for Association projects as required by the Management Committee.

3.5 If any member fails to meet his responsibilities as outlined in Section 3.4 the Management Committee shall have the right to bring that member before a General Meeting of the Association for the membership to decide what action is to be taken. Expulsion of a member shall require a positive vote of 75% of the members present at the meeting.

3.6 Any member wishing to withdraw from membership may do so by notifying the Management Committee in writing of his resignation. Any member delinquent in the payment of his annual membership fee for more than two months following the Annual General Meeting shall be deemed to have resigned.

3.7 Past members, whether having forfeited membership through resignation or through expulsion, shall have no claim whatsoever on Association assets, nor on any fees or contributions already paid.

3.8 On the death of any member all rights and responsibiiities of the member as regards his membershlp in the Association shall pass to whomever the member has designated in accordance with customary procedure.

3.9 The Secretary of the Management Committee shall keep and maintain a Membership register which shall contain in respect of each member: his name, place of residence, occupation, the date on which he became a member of the Association, a record of all membership fees paid, the date on which he ceased to be a member of the Association.

4. General Meetings

4.1 There shall be General Meetings of the membership of the Association quarterly.

4.2 The secretary shall give at least seven days notice of the date of all General meetings of the Association.

4.3 A quorum for a General meeting shall be two-thirds of the full membership of the Association.

4.4 At a General meeting each member of the Association who is present shall have one vote, with the exception of the chairman who shall have a casting vote.

4.5 All decisions shall be made by majority vote except in circumstances as specified elsewhere in this constitution (i.e., sections 3.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 6.3, 7.1, 8.1).

4.6 Any member of the Association has the right to speak in a General meeting and may introduce any subject or resolution for discussion or action whether or not it is in the official agenda.

4.7 The Management Committee shall present all proposed projects and policies to the membership in General Meetings. The membership shall have the right to approve, amend or reject such proposals.

4.8 The first General Meeting in any calendar year shall be called the Annual General Meeting and its agenda shall include but shall not necessarily be limited to the following:

A) Annual Report by the Chairman
B) Annual Financial Report by the Treasurer
C) Collection of annual membership fees
D) Election of a Management Committee

5. Management Committee

5.1 There shall be a Management Committee whose members shall be elected annually in the annual General meeting. The Management Committee shall be composed of ten members including a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Vice-Secretary and Treasurer.

5.2 The Management Committee shall meet monthly.

5.3 A quorum for a meeting of the Management Committee shall be six members.

5.4 At a meeting of the Management Committee each member present shall have one vote with the exception of the Chairman who shall have a casting vote.

5.5 All decisions shall be made by majority vote.

5.6 It shall be the function of the Management Committee to guide direct and organize the Association in the operation of existing projects and the planning and implementation of new ones. Recommendations regarding the initiation of new projects shall be submitted to the Association membership at General meetings. Such recommendations shall be subject to ratification by 75% of the members present at the meeting.

5.7 The powers and duties of the Management Committee shall be as follows:

A) to formulate and enforce rules regulating the operation and maintenance of any Association project or facility,
B) to set and collect fees for participation in any Association project or use of any association facility,
C) to appoint members of the Association to such sub-committees or positions of authority as it may be necessary/appropriate to create for the purpose of promoting the efficient operation of any Association sponsored project or facility.
D) to collect membership fees at the Annual General Meeting,
E) to require Association members to contribute a reasonable amount of their labour to Association sponsored projects or facilities,
F) to call additional General meetings, if necessary,
G) to mediate between members of the Association in any dispute arising from the activities of the Association provided that any decision, action or directive of the Management Committee may be amended or nullified by 75% vote of the members present at a General meeting.

5.8 Any member of the Management Committee deemed to be derelict in the performance of his duties may be removed from office by a vote of 75% of the members present at a General meeting.

5.9 Any vacancies occurring in the management committee shall be filled by vote of the membership in the next occurring General meeting.

6. Finance

6.1 The Management Committee shall open a bank account into which Association proceeds shall be deposited. The Chairman, the Treasurer and one other member of the Management Committee shall be authorized to sign all banking transactions and no transaction will be valid unless two of the above have signed it.

6.2 The Management Committee may decide to enter into any contract or financial arrangement on behalf of the Association provided that the Association's resulting liability does not exceed P100.00.

6.3 Any Contracts or financial arrangements which would result in liabilities to the Association of more than P100 must be approved by 75% of the membership present at a General meeting before they may be finalized by the Management Committee. Members of the Management Committee shall be jointly and severally liable for any debts in excess of P100 which are incurred without the consent of the membership of the Association.

6.4 The Treasurer shall be responsible for keeping proper books of account in which shall be entered a record of all moneys received or payments

made by or on behalf of the Association.
The treasurer shall further be responsible for preparing monthly financial reports for the Management Committee as well as an Annual Financial Report for the annual General meeting.

6.5 All financial documents and records shall be made available on request to any member of the Association and to the Commissioner of Agricultural Management Associations or his designated representative.

6.6 Liability for the debts of the Association shall be distributed equally among all registered members.

6.7 Any profits arising from Association activities in any one year shall be used or distributed in accordance with the decision of the membership present at the Annual General meeting.

7. Dissolution

7.1 A resolution to dissolve the Association must be approved by a vote of 75% of the entire membership of the Association.

7.2 After payment of all debts upon dissolution, all remaining fixed capital assets of the Association (e.g., fencing, dip tank, etc.) shall become the property of the Mmankgodi Village Development Committee. Any other remaining assets shall be distributed equally among all registered members.

8. Amendment of the Constitution

8.1 Any resolution calling for the amendment of this constitution must be approved by a 75% vote of the members present at a General meeting.

Secretary .....

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

iii) Metsemaswaane Dipping Group

Name and Address:

1) The group is called Metsemaswaane Dipping Group. Postal Address C/O Agricultural Officer, Box 56, Ramotswa.

2) Objectives:

a) The main objective of the group is to control tick infestation in the area which causes a number of diseases and deaths to livestock.
b) To control internal and external parasites to both cattle and smallstock
c) To produce healthy animals and get better prices from BMC.
d) To see to it that all the farmers in the area benefit from such a project.

3) Membership:

Membership is open to everybody in the Metsemaswaane extension area who is interested in livestock improvement. There is a joining fee of P14.00 per member.
An annual fee of P2.00 per member to cover the running costs of buying dip, petrol and oil as well as the maintenance of the Spray Race.
No member is allowed to dip his cattle before paying the subscription fee.
On joining the group every member is expected to obey the rules and regulations laid down by the group.
The management committee will be elected annually composed of:

Chairman
Vice Chairman
Secretary
Vice Secretary
Treasurer and three committee members.

General Meetings:

There shall be a general meeting of the group every three months.
The management committee meets once a month to check books and other matters of the group.
The secretary shall give at least fourteen days notice of the date of the general meeting of the group.
All decisions shall be made by majority vote. Misbehaving members will be brought before a general meeting to be tried.

The duties of the Management Committee:

a) To collect fees and contributions
b) To call general meetings
c) To supervise the dipping group
d) To settle disputes
e) To see to it that all the members are active and do carry out the work they are assigned to
f) To check out dipping dates

g) Any vacancy existing in the management committee will be filled by a majority vote at a general meeting.

Finance:

The management committee shall open a bank account. The Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be authorised to sign all banking transactions and no transaction shall be valid unless two or three of the above have signed. The treasurer will be responsible for keeping up financial records and books of accounts.
The treasurer shall be responsible to give out a financial statement at an annual general meeting.
The management committee shall meet at least once a week to check books before a general annual meeting is held.

Amendments of the Constitution:

Any resolutions calling for the amendment of this constitution shall be decided by a majority vote at a general meeting.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

iv) Segakwana Dipping Group

1. Name and Address:

1.1 The name of the group shall be Segakwana Dipping Group and the address shall be C/O District Agricultural Office, P.O. Box 56, Ramotswa.

2. Purpose:

The group's purpose is to build a Spray Race and dip cattle against ticks.

3. Membership:

Membership is opened for everybody who wishes to join the Group within the Segakwana Grazing Area.

3.2 Everyone who joins the group shall have to pay a membership fee of P10.00.

3.3 No one will be allowed to dip his cattle until he has paid a membership fee of P10.00 even if he has worked.

3.4 Anyone who has paid the membership fee is reliable for dipping his cattle according to the rules and can vote in General meetings of the Group.

3.5 Any member who joins the group shall follow the rules, obey the management committee and give hands when the management committee directs.

3.6 Anyone who fails to turn up to the duties given by the management committee shall be liable to pay as follows:
Non-working members will pay the sum of 25t and working members shall have to pay the sum of 50t.

3.7 Any member who does not obey the rules, the majority have the powers to chase him away in the General Meeting.

3.8 No compensation will be paid to such people.

3.9 Any person who leaves his father's compound, must pay the sum of P10.00 to be a member, but in case when the father dies the remaining people in the compound will use the father's fee.

4. General Meetings:

4.1 There shall be a general meeting of the group every three months.

4.2 Additional general meetings may be called by the management committee as necessary.

4.3 A majority of members must be present for a general meeting to be held.

4.4 At a General meeting each member has one vote, except the Chairman of

the management committee who has a casting vote.

4.5 All decisions shall be made by committee.

4.6 Any member is allowed to speak in a General Meeting.

4.7 If the management committee wants to begin a new project they must bring it for approval to a General Meeting.

5. Management Committee:

5.1 There shall be a management committee composed of a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Vice Secretary, Treasurer and three members.

5.2 The management committee shall be elected at a General Meeting and shall hold office for one year.

5.3 The management shall meet at least once a month.

5.4 Five members must be present for a meeting of the management committee to take place.

5.5 Decisions shall be made by the Management Committee.

5.6 Misbehaving members will be brought before a General Meeting.

5.7 Any vacancy occurring on the Management Committee will be filled at the next General Meeting.

5.8 The management committee is directly responsible to the people.

5.9 The powers of the management committee are:

a) To collect fees and contributions
b) To call General Meetings
c) To make rules for the use and maintenance of the Spray Race
d) To supervise dipping and work
e) To assign people jobs to do when dipping
f) To set the dates of dipping days
g) To require members to work
h) To settle disputes
i) To bring uncooperative members before General Meetings for discipline
j) To spend up to P50.00 every 2 months without consulting a General Meeting
k) To make proposals for new projects

6. Finance:

6.1 The management committee shall open a bank account. The treasurer, Chairman and Secretary shall be signatures.

6.2 The treasurer shall see that financial records are kept.

6.3 The treasurer shall give a financial report at each General meeting.

6.4 Money not kept in the bank shall be kept by the treasurer.

7. Changes to the Constitution:

7.1 This constitution may be changed in any way by vote of members in a General Meeting.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

v) Mmamaereng Dipping Group

The name of the group shall be called Tlhadiboe Spray Race, its address is P.O. Box 2, Otse.

Membership: Membership is open to anyone in extension area. 2) There will be a membership fee of P9.50. No member will be allowed to dip his cattle until this fee has been paid even if he has worked. 3) In return for this fee each member is allowed to dip his cattle at the Spray Race and may vote in general meetings. 4) On joining the association each member agrees to follow this constitution, to obey the management committee directs. 5) Any member may be chased away by vote of the membership at a general meeting. 6) No compensation will be paid to anyone who is chased away or resigning from the group. 7) If any person leaves his father's home he must pay P9.50 to join the group. 8) On the death of a member his membership passes to those remaining at his compound. 9) The secretary of the group shall keep a list of all members.

GENERAL MEETING:

1) There shall be a general meeting of the group twice a month.
2) Additional general meetings may be called by the management committee as needed.
3) A majority of members must be present for general meetings to be held.
4) At a general meeting each member present shall have one vote, with the exception of the chairman who shall have a casting vote.
5) All decisions shall be by majority rule.
6) Any member has a right to speak at a general meeting.
7) If the management committee wishes to propose a new project it shall bring the matter before a general meeting.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE:

1) There shall be a management committee consisting of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, vice secretary and three other members.
2) The Management Committee shall hold office for one year.
3) Management Committee shall be elected at a general meeting.
4) The Management Committee shall meet as necessary but at least once a month.
5) At least five members must be present for a meeting of the Management Committee to be held.
6) Decisions: the Management Committee will be made by majority rule.
7) Misbehaving Management Committee members shall be brought before a general meeting.
8) Any vacancies occurring in the Management Committee shall be filled at the next occurring general meeting.
9) The Management Committee is directly responsible to the people.
10) The powers of the Management Committee:

    a) To collect fees and contributions
    b) To call general meetings
    c) To make rules for use of the Spray Race
    d) To supervise dipping or spraying
    e) To assign people jobs when dipping

f) To set the dates of dipping days
g) To require members to work
h) To supervise work
i) To settle disputes
j) To bring uncooperative members before a general meeting for disciplinary action
k) To decide on how much money should be used for buying dipping, staff and other necessary items
l) To make proposals for new projects.

FINANCE:

1) The management committee shall open a bank account. The treasurer and three other committee members shall signatories.
2) The treasurer shall ensure that proper financial records are kept.
3) The treasurer shall give a financial report to the group four times a year.
4) Money not in the Bank may be withdrawn by the treasurer and two other members together.
5) Money not kept in the Bank shall be kept safely at one of the office bearers through the authority from all committee members.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION:

1) This constitution may be changed by vote of members at a General Meeting.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

vi) Madiba Dip Tank Group

I. Name and Address:

1. The group shall be called the Madiba Dip Tank Group. The group's address shall be the Madiba Dip Tank Group, c/o Mmadinare Farmers Committee, Mmadinare.

II. Objectives:

1. The purpose of the group is to provide an organization that unites Madiba area farmers in an effort to reduce tick infestation.

2. A dip tank will be built by the self-help efforts of member farmers in the Madiba area and then managed by an executive committee as detailed under section IV.

III. Membership:

1. Upon registering as a member, each individual must pay P20.00.

2. The executive committee will announce a schedule of meetings and work days which all members must attend. Members are expected to cooperate with the requests of the executive committee.

3. All members must participate in the construction and on-going maintenance activities related to the dip tank. If a member fails to show-up on a work day, he will be charged P2.00 for each day absent.

4. If a local resident wants to join the group after construction is completed, he will be charged one beast. The executive committee has the right to decide whether a beast is of an acceptable size and quality. Any person who moves into the Madiba area after the tanks completion will be expected to pay only the P20.00 fee.

5. If a person joins the group and later decides to resign, his P20.00 will not be refunded.

6. If a member works against the goodwill of the group, and after warnings from the executive committee, continues such behaviour, the offending member may be removed from the group by the executive committee without any financial compensation.

IV. Executive Committee:

1. The executive committee will supervise the construction of the dip tank. It is responsible for:

- ensuring the proper use of the dip tank upon completion.

- maintaining the unity and cooperation of all of the group's members.

The executive committee will develop operating rules for the dip tank upon its completion as necessary and in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

2. The executive committee must work hand in hand with the general membership.

3. The executive committee will liaise with the Mmadinare Farmers Committee and VDC as necessary. These two village organizations will be notified of all general membership meetings as well as the time and place of the group's Annual General Meeting.

4. Any action taken or issue resolved must be decided by a majority vote of those executive committee members in attendance. A quorum of 6 executive committee members is required for all executive committee meetings.

5. The term of office for all executive committee members is one full year from the date of their election at an annual meeting of the membership as detailed under section VIII.

6. The membership of the executive committee will consist of 5 office-holders and 5 at large representatives elected at the annual general meeting of the membership.

7. The office-holders and their duties are as follows:

   Chairman: Chairs all meetings of both the executive committee and of the group. He assigns tasks to individual office-holders or members as necessary. He calls meetings of both the executive committee and general membership as necessary or upon a written request signed by 5 registered members. He conducts all officer elections at the end of their term.

   Vice Chairman: Acts as the above in the absence of the Chairman.

   Treasurer: Maintains accurate records of all financial transactions of the group. He issues receipts for any money spent or received on behalf of the group. He is responsible for the proper expenditure and security of any money belonging to the group.

   Secretary: Records all proceedings of the executive committee as well as general meetings. He answers all correspondence and maintains written records relating to the group.

   Vice Secretary: Does the above in the absence of the secretary.

IV. Procedures and Use of the Dip Tank:

To be amended upon completion of construction.

V. Finances:

1. Everyone must receive a receipt when making a payment to the Treasurer.

2. The executive committee will set an annual charge to each member to pay for dip and the on-going maintenance of the tank.

3. If additional funds for construction are needed, the executive committee will determine how much is to be requested from each group member.

4. A savings account will be opened in the name of the Madiba Dip Tank Group at the Mmadinare Consumers Co-op.

VI. General Meeting Quorum:

1. An official general meeting of the group can only be conducted if a minimum of two-thirds of the registered membership is in attendance.

2. It is the responsibility of the executive committee to ensure that the date, time, and location of all meetings is well publicized in advance of the scheduled date to all members.

VII. Annual General Meeting:

1. There will be an Annual General Meeting of the Madiba Dip Tank Group. At this meeting the Treasurer will present a report on the past year's financial transactions and the present balance of all accounts held under the Group's name. The Chairman will make his own report on the year's activities by the Group. The out-going Chairman will then conduct elections for both office-holders and the 5 at large representatives to the executive committee.

VIII. Amending the Constitution:

1. Any amendment to the Constitution requires an affirmative vote by one-half plus one of the total number of registered members of the group during a general meeting of the group with a duly constituted quorum as specified under section VI. 1.

IX. Dissolution of the Group:

1. The Madiba Dip Tank Group may be dissolved by a vote of two-thirds of the registered members at a general meeting with a duly constituted quorum as specified under section VI. 1.

2. Following such a vote, the Chairman must approach the Mmadinare Sub-Land Board. The Mmadinare Sub-Land Board after reviewing the situation will decide who or what group is to assume control of the dip tank and see to the equitable dispersal of any remaining assets held by the Madiba Dip Tank Group.

APPENDIX 26.3: Tick Control Group by-laws:

vii) Diloro

1. By the time of buying the spray pump, all members should be called to a meeting to authorise the purchase of the spray pump.

2. When spray pump is bought there will be no refunding to any member breaching away.

3. Members who had left the group without notice will be charged 50t fine more than the normal contribution.

4. New members coming in should pay normal contribution P8.00.

5. Collecting of funds by members has to continue to cater for dips and machine maintenance, that is 3t per beast, every month.

6. All dippings spraying should be done at the crush to avoid waste and promote efficiency.

7. Any member requesting dipping and not in the group will be charged 20t per beast.

8. The machine will be maintained by funds raised by members.

9. Counting of livestock for members will be done by the treasurer and should be strictly the stock that the member is responsible for not someone else.

10. Storing of the machine and dips will be at two chosen members.

11. Any person joining after this constitution, should agree to respect this constitution.

12. Dipping will be done twice a month.

13. General meetings will be held every last day of every month.

14. Elections of committee members will be done after every 12 months.

15. This constitution will be amended by a majority of two-thirds of the group.

APPENDIX 26.4: Women's Groups: The Constitution of the Boipelo Garden Project.

TSHINGWANA YA MEROGO YA BOIPELO - MAITLAMO

MAIKAELELO:

1. Gothusa maloko go tlhaloganya le go dirisa ditshwanelo le ditiro tsa bone jaaka Batswana. Le go ba rotloetsa go dirisanya mmogo le bangwe ka bone le ba ba bapileng nabo.

2. Go fa maloko labaka la go tokafatsa seemo sa matshelo a bone.

MAIKEMISETSO:

1. Maloko a tshwanetse go nna le tshingwana ya merogo ee tlaa nnang yone motswedi wa madi.

2. Go ruta maloko bothakga jwa go lema merogo ee nonofing le kafa e ka rekisiwang ka teng.

3. Go fa maloko sebaka sa go tsenelela dithuto tsa bagolo ka bophara.

4. Maikaelelo mangwe ke go leka gore maloko a je dijo tse di siametseng mmele le ba ga gabo ka go ja merogo ee lengwang ke bone ba bile ba e apaya sentle.

BOLELOKO:

1. Boleloko bo ka tsenelelwa ke mongwe le mongwe mme e bo eie basadi go fitlhelela ba nna.....

2. Go tlaa akanyediwa pele basadi ba ba itlhokang go nna maloko, go bo go tsena ditlhogo tsa malwapa ba go senang ope yoo berekang mo lwapeng e bile ba sena leruo.

BATSHWARA MARAPO

1. Komiti ya mokgatlho o e tlaa bopiwa jaana:-
   - Modulasetilo
   - Mothusi wa gagwe
   - Mokwaledi
   - Motsholamadi

2. Ditiro tsa komiti

   (a) E tlaa bo e tlhokomela ditiro tsothlhe tsa mokgatlho wa boipelo wa letsatsi le letsatsi.

   (b) E tlaa kopana gabedi ka kgwedi go tla go buisanya ka tswelelo, seemo sa madi, dipego, go rulaganya le go tlhatlhoba ditiro tsotlhe tsa mokgatlho.

3. Ditiro tsa batshwara marapo

(a) Modulasetilo:

1. Go etelela dlphuthego tsotlhe pele le go bona gore tse di buiwang ke tse di tlhokafalang.

2. Go kopana le mokwaledi go rulaganya lenaneo le phuthego ee tlang.

3. Go tokafatsa tsamaiso le ditlro tsa mokgatlho wa Boipelo.

(b) Mokwaledi:

1. Go itslse maloko ka ga diphuthego nako le nako.

2. Go boloka le go babalela buka ya diminetse.

3. Go amogela dikwalo tsotlhe tse di amang mokgatlho le go di somarela.

(c) Motsholamadi:

1. Tiro e kgolo ya motsholamadi ke go bona gore madi a mokgatlho a babalesegile sentle.

2. O tlaa amogela madi a ba a duela dikoloto mo boemong jwa mokgatlho.

3. O tlaa nna le dibuka tse di slameng di supa aa duleng go duelwa.

MADI:

1. Madi a mokgatlho a tlaa kokoanngwa ka madi a ikwadiso ya leloko, madi a dipoloto, metshelo, dimpho le dithuso

2. Madl a tlaa bo a le mo taolong ya khuduthamaga e bile a tlaa bolokwa mo Bankeng kgotsa Poso.

3. Ga gona madi ape aa ka tsewang kwa Bankeng kgotsa Poso kwa ntleng ga modulasetilo, motsholamadi kgotsa mokwaledl.

4. Ga gona madi ape aa tlaa dirisiwang kwa ntle ga tse di itseweng ke mokgatlho, le tumelano ya khuduthamaga.

KA FA GO TLA BEREKWANG KA TENG - MELAWANA

1. Madl a ikwadiso aa kanang ka ..... a ka nna a fetolwa fela ke khuduthamaga fa go tlhokafala.

2. Madi a dipoloto a tlaa laolwa ke maloko aa fetang sephatlo sa palo ya maloko a mokgatlho - botlhe.

3. Madi a ikwadiso ya maloko le a dipoloto ga a kake a busedlwa mong fa a tswa mo mokgatlhong.

4. Ditiro tsotlhe tsa mokgatlho tse go tlaa bong go dumelanwe gore di dirwe mo phuthego, mongwe le mongwe

o tlaa bo a patelesega go di dira. Fela fa motho a lwala kana sengwe se diragetse mo lwapeng la gagwe ke gone fela a ka letlelelwang gore a seka a dira tiro ya go nna jalo.

5. Diphuthego tse di tlaa tshwarwang beke le beke di tlaa bo di patelesega. Fa motho a ka se ka a tsena diphuthego di le tharo di tlhomagana kwa ntle ga lebaka lepe, o tla tlhagisiwa pele, fa a sa tle o tlaa bolelelwa gore a tlogele, a tswe.

6. Go tlaa lekwa gore gabedi ka kgwedi go nne le dithuto dingwe ele bontlha - bongwe jwa phuthego. E ka nna dipuisanyo, ditshupetso, le go rutwa, jalo jalo.

7. Fa leloko le simolola go ikwadisa le tlaa nna le dipoloto di le tlhano jalo he ere morago ga dikgwedi di le ....., faa itshupile a ka kgona go dithokomela a bo a ka kopa gore di okediwe.

8. Fa leloko le tswa mo mokgatlhong dipoloto tsa gagwe di tlaa kgaoganngwa ka fa go tlaa b ong go dumelanwe ka teng mo diphuthegong tsa beke le beke.

9. Fa dipoloto tsa leloko di ka nna kgwedi tse tharo di sa tlhokomelwe, mong - wa tsone a sa kae tshwarego epe, khuduthamaga e ka dirisa thata ya yone ya di tsaya (gapa).

10. Yoo tlaa sekeng a obamele melawana ee boletsweng e, o tlaa tihagisiwa pele ke khuduthamaga ke gone jaanong fa a ntse a sa tokafatse seemo sa gagwe, o tlaa lelekwa.

DIPAAKANYO

Dipaakanyo tsa maitlamo a, di tlaa dirwa fela ke maloko mo phuthegong fa ba feta sephatlo sa palo ya bone botlhe.

APPENDIX 27:

Selected References on Group Development Philosophy/Principles

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APPENDIX 27: Selected references on group development philosophy/ principles

A full list of documentation on groups was compiled by the Rural Sociology Unit in April 1980, containing about 250 references between 1968 and 1979. This documentation is now being maintained by the CAMA office. Many of these documents directly contribute to current group development philosophy.

Key references, however, are as follows:

i) "Senior Agricultural Officers' Workshop on Group Formation"; (November 1976), Ministry of Agriculture.

ii) "Groups and Ranch Development"; 1st June 1976: Coordinator of Rural Development.

iii) "Where do we go from here at Thabala and Tsetsejwe?" 17 June 1976; RAO Central.

iv) "Basic Principles of Group Formation and Development for ADs"; 25 July 1978; ? author.

v) "Objectives of inservice training course II"; May 31st 1977; RAO Central.

vi) Central Region Inservice Training Workshop; "General Principles in Working with Groups"
- Four Guidelines for Groups
- The AD and the Group
- Characteristics of Small Groups
- Process for proceeding with groups
(May 1977; RAO Central)

vii) Central Region Inservice Training: Extension work with Groups: notes from Regional staff workshop - Friday, 13th May 1977. RAO Central.

viii) Central Region: Inservice Training Course MRTC, June 27 - July 1st 1977: training manual. "Working with Groups"

ix) Gaborone Region Groups Course: Denman RTC; April 2-6 1979; training manual.

x) "Report on Francistown's Course on Group Development" by K. Rick: July 1979: in particular papers on
- the AD and the Group
- the AD as facilitator
- assumptions about people and human nature.

xi) Group Development Seminar: July 1980
- seminar report by CAMA office.

xli) "Agricultural Management Associations", Second Edition: July 1980: CAMA office.

xiii) "Points for ADs to keep in mind when completing 1980-81 Annual Plan form with reference to groups" by GDO Central: 1979.

APPENDIX 28:

THE THREE MONTH PROGRAMMING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM: REFERENCES

APPENDIX 28:

i) Management System Central Region

12th September, 1978

MANAGEMENT SYSTEM CENTRAL REGION

Notes on REGIONAL SUPPORT

STAFF (RSS) meeting on Friday 8th September, 1978

1. Please refer to the terms of reference for the meeting held on 8th September to see why it was called (purpose, Considerations, For discussion ....).

2. Below follows a report on the findings of the meeting together with some proposals for a system of management which RSS believe will improve achievement of both their and of course District plan aims.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Monthly reporting system - very irregular. All RSS supposed to report monthly in theory. Some try to quite regularly. Some send original, some the duplicate to HQ. RTCs have designed form to use to report to HQ. No feedback from reports either from Regional office or HQ.

3.2. Farmer training - best attendance record is for field courses. At RTC get small proportion of complete cancellations, but often farmer numbers smaller than planned. Women's courses best attendance.

Problem - no contact between AD and MRTC on course planning. The Wolverhampton course recommended RTC staff prepare their course materials/ notes long (6 months or more) in advance and then check course proposals with ADs at preparation stage.

It was agreed feedback essential from ADs through DAOs to MRTC to enable suitable courses to be planned.

Recommended that:

i) - a reasonable time before course due, progress report and/or up-to-date information on no. of farmers, their experience, previous farmer training, special course needs should be sent to MRTC to enable preparation of just the right training programme

ii) - In (e.g.) the first week of every month MRTC staff meet and look at programme for 3 months ahead.

iii) PMRTC sends out to each DAO reminders about courses scheduled 3 months ahead together with suggested lectures, topics; these may be copied to RSS when applicable.

iv) - DAOs to consult AD's at next monthly meeting and complete the reverse side/or attached sheet of the reminder from MRTC, giving details/ progress report on the group of farmers needing training as necessary.

v) - above course information/reminder sheets returned from DAOs and RSS to MRTC with still 4-6 weeks to go before course due - time for MRTC/RSS preparation.

vi) to improve communication between MRTC staff + RSS, RSS should make input to courses in their field and ensure that training of farmers in consistent with + really supports field programme aims.

3.3 APO Serowe/Bobonong - programme for first half of 78/79 much interferred by BLDC P50 scheme and uncertainty over overseas training. Not yet appointed Revenue collector for LAC for mobile supply vet requisites. Have not yet done any monitoring on AI or BSS - will do for this season's. Only participated in one FT course - smallstock dosing in absence of APO (SS). Has held 8 demonstration on tick control for group formation, and talked on general management. No visits undertaken as yet to SSDGs - not certain where exactly help needed.

3.4. APO (SS) - in first 6 months of 78/79 has held 2 demonstrations and 2 courses. No follow-up visits made to SSDGs. Does not know where help needed. Problem of transport - unreliable vehicle. Guidelines developed with GDO - lost in Gaborone, looking for notes to prepare new draft for printing. Aim to be ready by October MMMs. Agree - launch guidelines at that MMM in time for new 3 MPs.

Recommended:

i) APO (SS) to target 3 demon/month for next 6 months and each APO (GD) to do 1 demo/month, in order to try to cover the supposed 30 "existing" but not formed SSDGs.

ii) APO (SS) to follow-up 2 of the 8 formed SSGs before RSM on 12th October to report on problems with SSDGs.

iii) when guidelines launched in October MMMs, APO (SS) to explain fully how demos to be arranged (less than 10 smallstock only needed), groups should be formed and followed up immediately by APO (SS) with training.

3.5. Poultry - chicken deliveries going well, but management mostly poor. Few farmers prepare proper rations. Many chickens eaten before ever get to be layers. Broilers take 5 - 6 months to grow instead of 2. Farmers prefer to manage the improve poultry Setswana style. No villages courses held in first half 78/79 due to farmers being at lands. Always follow-up some farmers previously supplied as go round delivering to new farmers. Helped 1 farmer with NDB loan for poultry housing.

Recommended:

i) must schedule full programme of village courses during next 3 months to try to improve management levels

ii) courses most conveniently arranged with AD's at MMMs as all present, or as far as possible arrange courses during delivery programme

iii) All RSS to prepare progress report on April - Sept 78/79 plan for RSM on October 12th. To state what achieved, and what not achieved with reasons, and proposals for rest of 78/79.

3.7. Other Recommendations:

i) All Districts to prepare D 3MPs based on AD 3 MPs at October MMM for November - January.

(NOTE: Sheets for AD 3MPs printed by AgInf and ready in RAO's office.)

ii) All RSS to attend the DMMMs at end of 3MP period when preparation for next 3MP needs RSS input and presence for scheduling support.

iii) RSS to attend DMMMs in between - i.e., during 3 MP periods as much as possible in order to resolve problems with District staff as needs arise.

iv) Regional Staff meeting (RSM) should be 1/2 way through the third month of each 3MP - i.e., quarterly. Would consist of progress report on the 3MP and hence strategies made for next 3MP to be prepared at the MMM series 2 weeks later.

v) After the MMMs held, Districts should immediately prepare their D3MPs and send in to Regional Office.

vi) RSSM (Regional Support Staff Meeting) will be held in the week following MMMs and preparation of D3MPs. RSS 3MPs will be prepared after receipt of D3MPs and basis of notes made by RSS at the MMMs on the support required. The RSSM is to enable RSS to coordinate the activities of their 3MPs.

The first RSSM will be held on Wednesday 8th November (to study implications of the D3MPs and prepare RSS 3MPs for Nov-Jan).

vii) RSS 3MPs will consist of 6 copies - one for each DAO, one for RAO, one for the RSS. It will be a simple summary of the RSS support engagements in the 4 Districts under headings:

Extension Area	Project	Dates	Exact support role

viii) Monthly itineraries for RSS still felt needed. Serowe based RSS to send these to Mahalapye and vice - versa.

PROPOSED: That monthly reports NOT necessary. More important for RSS to pay regular visits to District MMMs and resolve problems, give first hand guidance on the spot.

ix) District MRs - still necessary to alert RAO and RSS of situation in Districts. Renewed attempt to be made to send regular replies from RAO to DAOs. AND - action item sheet circulated to all RSS by RAO on items from DMRs.

PROPOSED to DAOs - write immediate note straight to RSS based in Mahalapye if any problem and the RSS concerned missed the MMM. This is because action/info. sheet circulating to Mahalapye will not arrive until at least 3rd week

of month following.

PROJECT APPROACH

It was clear that RSS not always aware or knowledgeable of where projects/activities going on in Districts. If all staff (Districts and RSS) put equal effort into 3 MP system this will make a huge difference, and real support to projects can be expected.

IMPORTANT for District (and AD) 3 MPs to mention situation/progress with on-going projects which span across more than one 3 MP. The "report" result column of one 3MP becomes the starting situation of the next. This will improve our follow-up to on-going projects - especially SSDGs, Tick Control Group, etc. where on-going support essential in sequence (demonstration, group formation, training course, follow-up visits, etc.).

3.8. RSS input into preparation District 79/80 Annual Plans

It was recognised that more direction, guidance, ideas, etc. should have been provided by RSS during preparation of aims, objectives, activities of EA and later the District plans.

RSS should be in the position of being very aware what their section aims, objectives and programmes are for the plan period.

This year this information from HQ sections came late if at all, and RSS had nothing to go on.

The only documents giving any guidance received from HQ:

- AI for 78/79 received July 78
- Crops for 78/79 " " "
- Poultry for 78/79 and 79/80 received 24 May 78
- Smallstock for 79/80 received 2nd June 78
- Dams 78/79 - 79/80 received July 78

Briefing sessions

The tour of DAFS, LUO, PAO, ERLO of 18 April 78 was mainly geared to 78/79 plan period.

RSS feel strongly that their HQ section should develop stronger links with them in a truly supportive way (not just asking for MRs), particularly in good time (e.g., February) for the planning process.

As it is, all tentatively arranged briefings by HQ of their RSS have failed. The proposed May 78 one for APOs failed due to the APOs being removed for other duties. The proposed June one by CLUO for LUO likewise failed. It seems only at Regional level is there any pushing for these briefings to get done. Divisions seem to forget that their Regional level representatives exist.

In this connection some RSS expressed their concern at being ommitted from inservice training organised for other field staff, and at lack of stationery in Mahalapye. SUGGESTED RSS make needs known to RAO.

3.9. Reference materials used in meeting

- 3 MP for Serowe District August - October 78
- 3 MP Report for Serowe District for May - July 78
- EA 3 MP sample developed at Mahalapye MMM May 78
- Central Region Workshop on Management May 1977
- 3 MP request for support from RSS, Bobonong District April 78
- Sample DMRs
- Regional Office - reply sheet to DMR
  - circulating RSS action sheet

CENTRAL REGION

Meeting of Regional Support Staff (RSS); Serowe, 8th Sept 1978

Purpose

- frank discussion of management system - i.e., need system of co-ordination and p o d c to achieve Annual Plan objectives

- identification of problems, failures, causes of these

- agreement on what to do about it (to be proposed to full RSM with DAOs October 12th for approval and introduction).

Considerations

- RSS accused of - failure to support current District APs
  - no input in time to 79/80 EA and District plans

- what progress is being made in achieving aims, objectives, targets of current 78/79 plans?

- do RSS know where all projects are, activities are going on in the Districts?

For discussions

- frequency of RSMs - ? quarterly tied in with 3 month programme preparation/evaluation

- frequency of RSS Ms - NB co-ordination, monitoring 3 MPs discussing strategy
  - RSSM the core planning unit, as support team?
  - if RSSM meets, what would be the purpose, hence how often?

- RSS attendance of District MMMs - to push programmes, give guidance, guidelines, training sessions
  - how often ? note: District MMMs now in series within last week every month to allow hopping one to next.

- RSS input into preparation of District 3 MPs

- RSS preparation of 3 MPs and reports for their activities

- RSS to inter-relate their plans, programmes - co-ordinate activities especially ref. to TGLP communal areas

- RSS - how to see District MRs every month ? ? Mahalapye based RSS to receive extracts of DMRs, or just action item sheets

- ? RSS to make MPs, or itineraries; what needs reporting or saying on a monthly basis ?

- how can RSS keep track of projects, activities (progress of) in Districts, and after monitoring then follow-up...?

- RSS input to Annual Plan preparation

- RSS briefing by HQ Divisions.

- can all RSS prepare a progress report on the 78/79 Plan for October 12th RSM?

For discussion with DAOs at next RSM:

- use of the DAR

- use of ADs MRs - what really needs reporting?

- relation between MR and 3MP in monitoring EA activities.

APPENDIX 28

ii) Annual Report, Central Region 1978-79; Part II "Planning, Management and Staff Training", RAO Central

Part II Planning and Management

3. The 1978/79 Annual Plan was the second attempt at Annual Planning by the Department, after a first trial run in 77/78 for which no report was produced. The preparation of the 78/79 Plan took place between December 77 - March 1978 involving the following steps:

End November Monthly meeting - distribution of AD Plan forms
End December " " - discussion of AD first drafts
End January " " - final AD drafts
February - preparation by DAOs of District plans
March - preparation of RSS and Regional plan.

During December '77 and January 78 many of the Extension Area plans were discussed with the Farmers Committees for those areas. This was part of the procedure to try to ensure that the analysis of area problems and design of aims, objectives and extension activities involved consultation with the community.

The end November '77 and December '77 ADs monthly meetings were used as training sessions on Annual Plan preparation on two aspects (a) definition of terms like problems, aims, objectives and activities, and how to link extension activities adequately with the original problems/aims/objectives the AD is trying to tackle. (b) opportunity for Regional support staff put into Extension Area plans, in terms of guidance re their specialist programmes.

4. MONITORING by the 3 month programming system

4.1 How it started

On pages 12-13 of the Central Region 78/79 Annual Plan alternatives were suggested for monitoring the Plan. The Region adopted a 3 month programming system which breaks the Annual Plan into four 3 month periods. AD 3 monthly programme formats were designed in District monthly meetings and were subsequently printed by Government Printer and brought into regular use. The main aim of the system was to try to improve communication and coordination between ADs, DAOs and the support staff in relation to projects going on in the Districts, and programmes promoted by the specialist support staff.

Paper work alone would not ensure this. Ways of bringing the staff together more regularly to plan, organise, monitor and evaluate the programme and project activities had to be developed.

4.2 The 3 month programming management process

The Region then established a management procedure for 3 month programming involving.

1)	REGIONAL STAFF MEETING (RSM) including all DAOs and Regional support staff	- Towards the end of the last month in a 3MP period
2)	District 3MP meetings (ADs monthly meeting extended to two full days; second day attended by Regional Support staff team)	- end March, June, September and December ADs monthly meetings
3)	Regional support staff meeting (RSSM)	- in the first week of the first month of the 3MP period.

The purpose of this procedure was to encourage (a) evaluation of each 3MP period as it ended, and (b) a team approach to preparing the next 3MP by bringing RSS team together with ADs to discuss progress and then strategy.

The Reional support staff were encouraged to attend ADs monthly meetings in between the main 3MP meetings whenever their programme activities in a particular District demanded it, or at invitation of DAO. The District monthly meetings were re-scheduled to ease RSS attendance of all four meetings in the one week at the end of each month

i.e.	Bobonong	- Tuesday
	Serowe	- Wednesday
	Palapye	- Thursday
	Mahalapye	- Friday

4.3 <u>3 month programming paperwork</u>

Paper work for the 3MP system was simple.

1) <u>The Extension Area 3MP</u> format was perhaps the most comprehensive, but still very straight forward. It required an analysis of each project or activity across the page in columns as follows:-

Project or Activity
Site
Target group (who involved)
Present Situation
What needs to be done and by whom
Problems likely to come up
Solutions
SUMMARY of ADs activities - steps involved with dates, etc.
SUPPORT needed for these activities
Resources, equipment - what needed, how to be provided
Report

For an ongoing project - i.e., planning and implementation covering several 3MP periods (e.g., a communal fencing project) the "report" for one 3MP becomes the "present situation" for the next.

2) <u>The District 3MP</u>, and report, is basically a summary of projects (tick control, fencing, dams, etc.) for each EA, and specifying support needed and dates where possible for attention of Regional support staff.

3) Regional support staff prepare their 3MPs after the RSSM at which District 3MPs are checked and discussed. Theirs were also basically lists of support engagements in the Districts, although towards the end of the Plan period improvements were discussed whereby the RSS begin their 3MP with a statement of their overall aims and areas of activity. The aim of this is to encourage RSS to be more conscious of the aims and progress of their programmes, and communicate this more effectively to avoid the tendency of the specialist role being reduced merely to that of being called when an AD or DAO perceives a need.

4.4 Status of Monthly Report

In view of the development of the 3MP system and its adoption in other Regions, the Department simplified the monthly report. The ADs report was cut to just the "Situation report" section plus DAR, and the DAOs to the summary sheet of EA situation data, plus itinerary.

In retrospect this may have been a too drastic change. There is probably an in-between system where at both AD and DAO level some comment on progress with projects and other activities can be made. This would assist 3MP reporting and maintain more structure to the two mid-3MP monthly meetings. A number of ADs and more than one District have already found their way to this position, and it should merit consideration.

5. Evaluation of 3MP system

5.1 District 3MP

It is still early to evaluate the 3MP system, but a few remarks can be made. Firstly that it takes time to introduce properly to all levels. By the end of the Plan year it was being carried out routinely by all ADs. DAOs varied in their approach to collating EA 3MPs into a District 3MP. The best combination of approaches could be

- use of newsprint to bring together and discuss EA 3MP projects under headings - e.g.

Project	EAs	Activities/ steps of implementation	SUPPORT needed	Resources equipment	Dates	REPORT/ COMMENTS
e.g.						
1. tick control	01 02	for EA 01 for EA 02				
2. Fire breaks	03 06	etc.				

- The above format for each District sent to Regional office, copy to DAFS.

5.2 Coordination between field and support staff

Secondly that the system has undoubtedly had an effect on staff consciousness, at all levels, of progress and achievement. It has introduced a healthy competitive climate and corresponding improvement in morale (a) between ADs in Districts (b) between Districts (c) between District staff and specialists. The latter is perhaps most significant in terms of the very common difficulty of integrating support staff into District work. District staff are now able to lay very open their requirements for support, and very easily report on what they get. This becomes quite a challenge to the specialists who are open to criticism if they fail to make engagements. They in turn can criticise ADs and DAOs if the demands made on them are unreasonable or improperly thought out.

The proper area for these discussions is the RSM (Regional staff meeting) and monthly meetings particularly the 3MP meeting.

5.3 Areas for improvement

Thirdly that the system has by no means reached perfection. There can still be improvement in practice in a) cooperation between DAOs and specialists (b) coordination/providing the best environment for (a) by the RAO (c) guidance and direction from Head Quarters to specialists.

5.4 Responsibility for specialist programmes

Regional staff could still benefit from more discussion on working relationships, roles and responsibilities - particularly in terms of who is responsible for achievement of programmes for which there is a supporting specialist. In this connection specialists have the responsibility for preparing their plan, carrying out the promotion and supporting activities for their programme, and monitoring progress. DAOs have the responsibility for what happens in their Districts, and what ultimately is achieved depends on good cooperation which can be influenced by the RAO and HQ.

5.5 Modified 3MP procedure regarding RSSMs

The system could perhaps be improved by more regular but shorter informal meetings between the RAO and support staff. The Monday morning at the start of the week of District monthly meetings at the end of each month could be the right opportunity. The system would then be:

Modified 3 month programme period (cf.4.2)

FIRST MONTH		SECOND				THIRD	
1	2	1	2	1	4	1	3

1 RSSM (Regional support staff meeting)
2 MMs (District monthly meetings)
3 3MP mms (3 month programme session at monthly meetings in each District at end of third month)
4 RSM (Regional staff meeting - support staff + DAOs)

Further improvement will come with the supply of uniform 3MP formats for (a) District and (b) support staff so that enough copies can regularly be circulated to all concerned.

5.6 3MP system and group projects

The 3MP management system is ideally suited to planning, promoting, supporting and monitoring group projects in the context of the Annual Plan. The success of the groups programme during 1978/79 has been particularly notable. This programme has been the main priority and it is no coincidence that the management system has swung quite pointedly in that direction. The emphasis in Central Region has been on institution building (Farmers Committees, groups) and communal projects to improve physical and social infrastructure. This has been in accord with the Central District Development Plan's priority of reaching more smaller farmers and other target groups. The underlying thinking is that for some years to come this will remain a priority since development is at the stage of concentrating on building up physical and social infrastructure without which the majority of smaller farmers cannot participate in improved methods.

Communal Area development will, however, benefit larger farmers as well as small farmers. It will be important for Agricultural Field Services staff to devote adequate time to follow-up, on individual extension basis, of the farmers participating in communal or group projects, and of those outside the groups.

5.7 Monitoring of Group projects

Part of the development of a management system to support group projects involves monitoring. This is becoming more and more vital as the number of projects increased beyond the point of memory - e.g., with the number of group fencing projects reaching 35.

The first stage was to develop "guidelines" for the planning, formation, organisation and implementation of a particular type of project. Guidelines are developed through analysis of experience of that type of project followed by field testing with current projects. Surveys and consultation in the field and small staff workshops are the method.

It was later realised that guidelines should be designed with monitoring in mind. In this way the monitoring procedure can follow automatically from the project planning and implementation procedure.

A Bar chart for monitoring progress of group fencing schemes was designed in March '79. It isolates the key planning and implementation steps and stages providing a column to record when each took place for each project. A similar chart is needed for dam group projects and tick control projects.

Appropriate simple record keeping systems are needed for Farmers Committees and all other group projects. This is planned for 79/80.

6. Farmer Record Cards/extension area visits

Farmer Record Cards were introduced in 1977 and progress during 78/79 Plan year was not very fast. By the end of 78/79 few ADs had

completed as many as 100 cards - the average being around 60 - 70 per AD. This represents between one-eighth to one-sixth of farming families now covered.

FRCs were introduced as a method of collecting full - planning and monitoring information on all farmers in every Extension Area. It will be important to devote more attention to them now that the 3MP system is in operation in order to redress the balance more towards thinking of individual farmers situations.

There has been a marked but necessary tendency also for DAOs to concentrate their Extension Area visits on to EAs with more communal area (group) projects going on although DAOs (and GDO) have also assisted ADs in formation of Farmers Committees in most Extension Areas particularly where there was a lack of group activity.

It will be necessary in future for EA visits to concentrate more on follow-up to monitor and evaluate the results achieved by farmers individuall Group projects are of value ultimately if they lead to improved production and living standards of farming families individually.

7. Staff inservice training

7.1 The 78/79 year saw no major inservice training in the Region, other than two specialised courses on contouring for the 22 ADs who had contouring planned for 78/79, together with Agric. Supervisors from all 4 DAO's offices and the A/S Regional office.

The reason for this was that much inservice training was done in 1976 and 1977, and the Regional staff felt that at least a year of uninterrupted field follow-up was needed. However, informal training took the place at monthly meetings as planned (see page 13 of Central Region 78/79 Plan), although not all the topics planned were covered.

Topics included TGLP, Farmers Committees and groups centering around the development of organisational guidelines and terms of reference, and planning and management particularly the preparation of the 79/80 Annual Plan and the development of the 3MP system.

During 79/80 a further round of training is planned. It will be of two types - (a) a general course on extension methods, planning and project management and (b) specialised courses on technical subjects.

7.2 The extension/management course for 79/80

The 1976/77 courses covered some major areas in some depth. These were TGLP, land use planning, the workings of the new Department of Agricultural Field Services, new job descriptions, EA boundary revision, and then Enterprise Analysis and Group formation. The progress made in 1977/78/79 since those courses has been remarkable. In the groups 78/79 report (last page), the GDO observes that there has been an increase in number of groups from 10 in 1975 to 234 as of April, 1979. It will be necessary in 79/80 to undertake further inservice training primarily in the area of project planning and management - i.e., implementation or how we can keep up with the process of group formation and communal area development, and effectively support it. The need for this is noted also under Groups programme and Communal Area Development, below.

The training will also need to include a review of our extension methods, planning and 3 MP system, paying attention also to the use of Farmer Record cards and other methods of monitoring our contact with individual farmers.

7.3 Specialised courses for 79/80

Every AD has certain aptitude and every extension area particular needs. ADs interests in training were surveyed in 1977 and 1978 and it will be important to arrange short specialised inservice courses in the light of the above information. Support will be needed from APRU and Headquarters sections for technical training with emphasis on guidelines for specific types of group projects, as well as extension packages for farmers individually.

APPENDIX 28

iii) Example AD's 3-month Program and Report

PROGRAMME PERIOD

EXTENSION AREA 3 - MONTH PROGRAMME

(E X A M P L E)

_____to_____19_____

(NOTE: In selecting projects or activities refer to Annual Plan and include only main projects,

PROJECT or ACTIVITY	SITE	TARGET GROUP (who involved)	PRESENT SITUATION (define the problem)	WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE	PROBLEMS LIKELY TO COME UP
1. DRIFT FENCE	SW of Sefhare lands	Whole community of Sefhare & Shadibe	1. fence line approved by Land Board. 2. cutting poles digging holes begun; route cleared exc. last 1/4 3. lack of cooperation on practical side 4. people slow in contributing funds 5. accurate survey, estimate, plan not yet done 6. had field course for farmers on fencing	1. meet Cttee rework cooperation 2. survey route and estimate 3. meet whole community re. work cooperation Cttee meet CDO re - advice on cooperation + possible AE 10 grant application	1. lack future cooperation in project management 2. people still fail to contribute 3. to build cattle grid across road 4. total funds contributed will be short 5. wire and tools not available
2. small stock dosing group	masimo	15	1. members don't meet - suspect because of a) b) c) 2. 3. etc.	1. call group to discuss problems 2. report on result end July	etc
3. grain storage demonstration	at Mr - home	All farmers with har vest to be stored	etc.	etc.	--
4. Fire breaks	If several sites and separate groups, may need to list as separate projects	1. roads there already, wider space cleared 2. people not organised or skilled in burning off grass	1. need demonstration & training course 2. need to organise people to do job	-- etc.	-- etc.
1. meet 4-B leaders to assign responsibility 2. concept to raise money	1. meeting school July_____ 2.--------			etc.	etc.

AREA_____ CODE_____

A/D NAME_____

new or ongoing, you will be engaged upon DURING THIS 3 - MONTH PERIOD.)

SOLUTIONS	SUMMARY of A/Ds ACTIVITIES (steps involved with dates, etc.)	SUPPORT NEEDED for these activities	RESOURCES EQUIPMENT -what needed, how to be provided	REPORT
1. Cttee explain detail of project, accurate costs, advantages & reinforce constitution 2. more fund raising parties, etc. 3. may include grid in future AE 10 application 4. AE 10 grant if necessary after cost estimate known. 5. Group to buy 1 set wire strainers and rolls wire	1. hold general meeting on on-going work as follow-up course 2. LUO + DAO to meet Cttee & survey route & estimate cost (3/4 August) 3. Organise second community meeting on costs, work participation, funds situation - 11th August 4. Invite CDO to Cttee meeting 5. Come with Cttee/treasurer to Mahalapye to buy wire + w strainers end August 6. Group meet VDC to discuss AE 10 memo in September	1. LUO and DAO 3-4th AUG for survey 2. CDO meet Cttee mid-AUG 3. CDO to prepare AE 10 memo by September	1. Borrow 2 wire-strainers from office 2. office truck can deliver wire etc. after AUG. monthly meeting	- i.e. what is the "present" situation remaining problems at END of the 3 months - this will be the "present situation" of the next programme
--	--	--	--	
--	--	--	--	
etc.	1. meetings with the separate FCs 2. Field memo. by FR 3. follow-up actual activities on sites	FR on July--	none	
5. 4-B garden	A/D's	32 school 4-B members 1. already planted	1. needs continued attention 2. need insecticides	1. what if A/D absent 2. lack funds to buy insecticides

APPENDIX 28

iv) Example DAO's 3-month Programme/Report

(a) Serowe District April-June 1980

Project	Area	Resources Required	Exact Role
Deticking	01	-	General Extension duties by AD
	02	-	" " " " "
	03	-	" " " " "
	04	-	" " " " "
	05	-	" " " " "
	07	-	" " " " "
	08	-	" " " " "
	09	-	" " " " "
Dip Tanks	01	A.P.O. (General)	To prepare sketch plans and address group or SLOCA Project fund on 24/4/80 at Mmantshadidi.
	02	A.P.O.	To prepare sketch plans
		B.D.O./LUC	To address group on SLOCA fund on 15/4/80 at Mmamorontshe.
	03	G.D.O. A.P.O.	To hold encouragement meetings on 22/5/80 at Mogorosi.
	05	A.P.O.	To assess the viability/ potentiality of the proposed project and address Kgotla meeting on SLOCA fund at Moiyabana on 21/5/80.
Deworming	01	-	General Extension duties by AD
	02	-	" " " " "
	03	-	" " " " "
	08	-	" " " " "
	10	-	" " " " "
Crush Building	01	A.P.O. (General)	To prepare sketch plan and brief group on SLOCA funds at Mmantshadidi on 24/4/80.
	04	-	General Extension duties by AD
	05	A.P.O.	Site Inspection at Koajenaa on 21/5/80.
	07	A.P.O.	Site Inspection on 1/4/80 at Paje
	08	-	General Extension duties by AD
Farmers Committees	01	G.D.O.	To hold meetings on AMA act on 16/6/80 at Kgaswe

Project	Area	Resources Required	Exact Role
	03	-	General Extension duties by AD
	04	DAO/DAS/LUO	To hold encouragement meeting on forestry, soil conservation measures and fund raising activities also regular supervision since A/S is going on transfer to Kweneng as of 14/4/80.
	05	-	General duties by AD himself.
	06	-	" " " " "
	07	DAO & GDO	Formation of new Committee at Mabelapudi on 21/5/80.
	09	-	General Extension duties by AD
	10	DAS	Address Kgotla meeting at Mmatshumu, Lethakane and Mosu from 15th-17th April, 1980.
Crop Investigation	01	DAO, Crop Prod Officer GDO, All support staff and Agric. Information & Broadcasting	Field day on 31/5/80 at Janyane
	02		General Extension duties by AD
	03	DAO, RAO, all support staff, Agri. Information & Broadcasting Section Tribal Authority - Serowe	Field day on 24/5/80 at Rampodu (Mogorosi)
	04	DAO, RAO, all support staff Agric. Information & Broadcasting Section Tribal Authority - Serowe	Field day on 12/4/80 at Masoko
	05	RAO, DAO, all support staff Agric. Information & Broadcasting Section	Field day at Moipolai on 21/6/80.
	06	RAO/DAO, all support staff Information & Broadcasting Serowe	Field day at Segakwane on 26/4/80

Project	Area	Resources Required	Exact Role
		Veterinary Officer Serowe	
	08	RAO, DAO, all support staff	Field day at Tshimoyapula on 18/6/80 ?
Gardening	01	-	General Extension duties by AD
	10	-	" " " " "
Dam Building	01	-	General duties by AD
	02	-	" " " "
	03	GDO/LUO DAO	Address group on group activities on 19/6/80 at Mogorosi
	04	-	General Extension duties by AD
	05	-	" " " " "
	06	-	" " " " "
	07	LUO	Site Inspection on 21/4/80 around Paje/Mabeleapodi lands.
Drift fencing	02	-	General Extension duties by AD
	04	-	AD on transfer as of 14/4/80
	06	LUO	To re-measure fence-line on 12/5/80 at Segakwane
	09	LUO/DAO	To address group on AE 10 Project fund 13/5/80
	10	LUO DAO	To prepare sketch map and address Kgotla meeting on AE 10 Project fund on 16/5/80 at Letlhakane
4-B Clubs	03	DAO	To provide transport on 3/4/80 for tour of Orapa/Letlhakane areas
	04	DAO	Encouragement meeting to clubs date optional to DAO
	05	-	General Extension work by AD
	07	-	" " " " "
	08	-	" " " " "
	09	4-B Regional - Supervisor	To give an encouragement word to remote and new clubs- available assistance from her office on 12/5/80 at Mmashoro.
	10	-	General work by AD
Wood lot	01	LUO	General meeting (encouragement) on 20/6/80 at Boipelo/ Serowe

Project	Area	Resources Required	Exact Role
	04	DAO, LUO, DAS	General supervision on existing Project at Motshegaletau since area A/S is on transfer to Kweneng as of 14/4/80 Action DAO.
	07	-	General work organisation by AD
Communal Plot	05	DAS	Occasional assistance
	06	"	" "
Borehole Syndicates	06	-	General work by AD & FC.
Grain Storage	06	-	" " " "
	07	-	" " " "
Drought Relief Projects	10	water engineer	To survey & inspect haffir sites at Mosu on 18/4/80

By copy of this plan all the resource staff are cordially invited to the above mentioned field day also to take actions as deemed necessary.

Thank you.

APPENDIX 28.iv.(b): THREE MONTHS PROGRAMME REPORT FOR APRIL TO JUNE 1980

PROJECT OR ACTIVITY	SITE	PRESENT SITUATION
Drift Fence	Mookane Lands	Farmers are busy cutting poles, droppers and bushes along the fence. 2. 16 km have been cleared along the fence. They have contributed the sum of P73.66 for the drift fence.
Vegetable Garden	Mookane Clinic	Parents are still digging plots for vegetable, e.g., cabbage, onions and carrots. 65 plots have been dug by parents of which some are prepared for the above mentioned vegetables.
Two Dam Groups	Tswane and Mogome villages	The two dam group committees are encouraging members to cut poles and bring them near the dams. Each member should bring 5 poles.
Work with Dam Groups	Khudayaboeng Moshabi Magaba	Dam sites have been surveyed one not yet. Registration carried on.
Formation of a deticking group	Kalamare	Tick Infestation in livestock around the area. There was a deticking demonstration on 6.3.80 by AID.
4 B Tours	Lobatse (H.C.) Gaborone (National Assembly) National Museum and High Court.	Application have been made to the four centres and two have replied with positive answers.
Formation of Dosing Group Sheep and Goats	Mokobeng	No dosing carried on.
Bush Cordon Fence Construction	Seruruma Valley to Masama Hills, i.e., (North to South)	Cattle are sleeping in the back line. About 6 km of the cordon is fenced few farmers are involved in the fencing. Vets. are restricting the free movements of cattle in the backline.
Motorised Spray	Mnaphashalala	1. Constitution is drafted 2. Joining fee is P30.00 per member 3. Estimated cost is P700.00 4. No contributions are available because of F.M.D.

DATE AND SUPPORT NEEDED FOR THESE ACTIVITIES	REPORT
8.5.80 D.A.O. to arrange with L.U.O. for transport to tour the drift fence.	20 km. have been cleared and 10 km. of the fence have supported. Farmers are busy cutting poles and droppers for the fence even though there is still lack of co-operation.
Sister to supply parents with pick forks, digging forks, watering cans and pipe for watering the plots.	Parents are still digging vegetable plots, out of 69 plots 27 have been planted cabbage onions, carrots, beetroots and turnip seedlings are doing well. They have raised the sum of P34.00 when selling vegetables.
-	Projects are still not operating. Mogome dam group has started cutting poles. We also formed a dam group at Ditlhole site. Both groups are not active because farmers are harvesting and threshing their crops.
Landboard approval. LUO survey the Magaba Dam Site on 29/6/80.	Magaba dam group has seen and chosen the dam sites and are not yet surveyed as the land use officer could not turn up on 9.6.80. Registration still carried and some contribution are also carrying on.
A.P.O. (CD) to demonstrate with motorised spray on 2.5.80.	A.P.O. (CD) demonstrated with motorised spray to a group of 15 farmers on 9.5.80. Farmers are also organising themselves to form a group.
4 B Reg. Agric. Supervisor and Office to help with 5 ton truck.	The tour failed due to lack of transport from Office.
AID to group all farmers with small stock.	The first two dosing have been carried out. Demonstrations on 10.4.80 and on 25.4.80 with a total of 325 small stock and 27 farmers.
-	The Cordon is almost finished to both directions. Farmers stopped working on the project in the early days of May. Cattle are no longer troublesome on the road as before, for there are four cattle guards hired by the Government who keep on driving cattle away from the road.
-	Nothing have started on this project for farmers do not have money to contribute towards the project. Their agreement was to start contributing as soon as the abattoir opened. While farmers are waiting for the opening of the abattoir they are helping each other on their individual projects so as to keep the group busy.

Crush Building	Moralane Mokoswane	All required material are available.
Communal Fencing	Kudumatse	Farmers are busy maintaing the existing fence. The group has collected the sum of P20.00 only poles for the fence are available 3/4 of the lands have been fenced.
Plunge dip	Monate	Building materials are available. The hole has been half dug. Site has been approved by Land Board.
Spray race construction	Kudumane cattle post	Registration of participants is already done. No allocation of site yet. Land Board application not yet done. Estimates of whole project not done. Contributions not begun. No constitution for the GROUP.
Horticulture	Health Post in Palla Road	Vegetables have been sold, a sum of P20.00 was reached. Participants wish to grow more vegetables but pesticides are not available.
Surveying the line at Ilhokole	Ilhokole	The survey has failed because the headman is not in favour of the drift fence. The group has raised P65.00 for the project, this money has been handed over to farmers committee. The case of the headman is now in the hands of the District Agric. Officer.
Educational tour	Lerala	Farmers and working committees are not conversant with drift fence project or they are not aware of how they should prepare a work plan for the project.
Mapping of Drift Fence.	Taupye land area.	One portion is surveyed by the member another portion is still not yet surveyed because of the conflict between headman and group.
Dam Group Building	Lehokole	Sufficient water at lands, lack of co-operation among farmers which resulted in no meetings. Contributions have stopped. Farmers want to change the site to a site where former construction has once dug a hole.

The farmer should ask the vet to assist for constructing the fence.	The farmer has not yet started building the crush for he was still busy in the lands. He has consulted the Vet. for a plan.
L.U.O. to visit the area for mapping. G.D.O. to help the group LA 10 funds.	Maintaining of the existing fence has been too slow for farmers have been busy working in the lands. Farmers have formed groups. Fund raising is slow and they have collected P25.00 only. LUO has visited the project for mapping on the 15/6/80.
The group to ask for funds from LA 10 Vet. or A.P.O. to help with a plan.	Nothing has been done in connection with the building of the dip. The farmers have decided to make a pipe line first from Mahalapye river to the project site.
D.A.O. to provide a vehicle to transport materials to the site. A.P.O. with the D.A.O. to help in explaining the sloca project on the 10/5/80. A.P.O. to privide estimates cost and plan of Spray race on the 8/4/80.	Plan of a project not provided by the A.P.O. Landboard has not approved the site applied for on the 10/6/80. Contributions delayed because of F.H.D. plus lack of estimates for project. AID to assist farmers to apply for sloca if estimates are provided by A.P.O. more intensive follow up by AID.
-	All vegetable crops damaged by cattle which entered through the gate. No vegetables replanted by this time. For the project to be revived a method of vegetable growing by individual persons is recommended by A/D. Any person to undertake the vegetable production should first have pesticides for the variety to be grown. Seed would be provided by individuals.
-	The case was attended by district Agric. Office, Senior tribal authority and District administrative officer but the results have proved nothing, everything is still as usual, the line is still not yet surveyed, he does not agree with other people with whom he shares the grazing and land area where the line should be.
A truck needed.	This will not materialise until the above is followed up and drastic measures taken.
L.U.O. Land Board second work on June.	This has failed with the same reasons as the above two.
L.U.O. to see and survey the site which have been selected by farmers on the 16.5.80. D.A.O. to help on the meeting to be held on the 24/5/80.	This has failed even though the farmers once held a meeting which had a poor attendance due to the fact that farmers were busy harvesting and scaring birds. Farmers have decided to hold a meeting in July as their field work would be over.

Demonstration on how to use a spray race	Mhlkwe	Many farmers haven't seen or used a spray race before. They want to build their own spray race in the area. The spray race owner is aware of the demonstration and he agreed to explain fully about it.
Spray race	Lecheng	Contribution is going on. Land Board not yet consulted. Some farmers do not know spray race.
Crush Construction Wood lot project Gardening	Shoshong Valley Shoshong Village Shoshong Village	1. Group is awaiting Land Board approval. 2. Land Board has approved the application for the site. 3. Fencing of the site have started and all fencing materials have been bought. U.D.C. has explained the necessity of having such a project in the area with Land Board. Financial assistance has been provided by Botswana Christian Council.
SSDC'S	Letorong Thokole Machaneng	Loss of small stock due to internal and external parasites and other related causes.
Building of a crush	Chadibe at Molapong	The vet. office have approved the building of the crush. The vet. office numbered the crush as Mkolo crush No. G164. The Land Board have approved the site on the 16.3.80. 213 poles were cut on the 10.3.380 by farmers for kraal buildings and 130 poles were cut down on 15.3.80 also for kraal building.
Formation of small stock dosing groups	Matlhako	There are 22 farmers willing to dose their small stock and they have 256 small stock A.P.O. (SS) have been approached and will on the 16 of April 1980 do a dosing demonstration at Matlhako. There is high mortality rate of small stock.
Ranch Group	Morale	Contribution is slow. There is a problem with Land Board as they didn't have any written document from them concerning the line. Farmers within the lands area are against the ranch group formation. Lack of co-operation with members of group.
		Diseases like pulpy kidney and pasturella 11/3/80 explained the SSD procedures at kgotla meeting 13/3/80 consulted individuals owning small stock and the reaction was quite OK.

A.P.O. (CD) to explain AE 10 D.A.O. to give more courage to farmers to build their own spray race.	The demonstration was attended by 11 farmers from Lecheng and 27 from Mhikwe. There were 38 farmers together. D.P.O. (CD) to explain about sloca fund. He also tried to compare spray race with motorised spray but the motorised was not in order.
-	Farmers are busy contributing although some have not yet contributed even P1.00. The contribution is slow because farmers have no money due to cattle marketing.
1. A.P.O. (CO) to be consulted and a sketch plan of the project to be provided as well as advices. 2. D.A.O. L.U. Division to be invited and give advices on the project on dates to be proposed. 3. No support needed.	Landboard approval of the site was on the 24/4/80. Project is still on going. 2. Had a visit on 21/4/80 with Land Research Officer (c) J.C. Hobbs and P. Vander Poel soil conservation officer on soil erosion and to get the project stored. A.O. (LR D.A.O. and A/D to be invited on the 9/7/80 for V.D.C. meeting on planning and project programming project is on going. Fencing of site not yet completed youth members are still busy with preparations of this year's Youth Rally in July. Project is carried forward.
A.P.O. (58) needed on 3/4/80. The farmers committee which need to be solved.	I have organised CDs and they were really in need of such an education on small stock dosing.
Straight poles from vet. office straining wires from vet. office. Working equipment from both farmers and vet. office.	Crush has been completed on the 10.4.80 with two kraals build up of wire.
Demonstration equipment to be provided by the A.P.O. (SS). Labour to be provided by farmers.	The last demonstration on small stock dosing was done and after the demo. 17 farmers grouped themselves and chose a committee consisting of 7 people. They are contributing funds to buy some dosing remedies and equipment for small stock dosing.
D.A.O. and L.U.O. to help on the meeting that is 12th April, 1980.	The A/D did announce the meeting on the radio but farmers failed to attend the meeting as they were busy harvesting and scaring birds.
	The only set back was on the small stock personnel as they didn't come on the day that they promised. Each group was composed of 15 farmers with about 60 small stock each.

Seed selection, grain storage and marketing of crops and also preparation of exhibits for the show.	Machaneng and Sub area	1. Seed storage during planting season 2. Poor storage, e.g., weavils and rodents destroy grain. 3. Low prices given to produce by local dealer. 4. General situation of crops is promising if pest and cattle would not damage farmers could have a good harvest.
Motorised	Thokole cattle posts crush	Heavy infestation of ticks. Loss of cattle due to disease caused by ticks.

1. No support needed. 2. D.A.O. to supply fumugants and malathion. 3. B.A.M.B. to assist on this issue as they once promised to collect bags in areas where roads are good. 4. D.A.O. to provide transport for the exhibits.	Livestock damage (cattle) have caused a considerable set back in the whole operation most crops were harvested prematurely. Farmers were able to buy malathion packets to treat 11 bags of sorghum grain. Hybrid seed was planted mostly and as much can't be kept for seed preparation for the show are still going on.
A.P.O. needed on 20/5/80.	The demonstration took place as scheduled 15 farmers were present and actually took part in the spraying demonstration. 40 heard of cattle were brought for the demonstration. Motorised spray was demonstrated by A.P.O. (GD).

APPENDIX 28.iv.(c): JULY TO SEPTEMBER THREE MONTH PROGRAMME SUMMARY SHEET FOR 1980

PROJECT ACTIVITY	SITE	SUPPORT NEEDED FOR THESE ACTIVITIES	RESOURCES EQUIPMENT WHAT NEEDED HOW TO BE PROVIDED	DATE
Drift Fence	Mookane Lands	LUO, GDO, and DAO to tour new drift fence	Transport to be arranged by DAO to provide with wire strainer	18-07-80
4-B Club Formation	Bonwapitse	DAO and 4B R/S to attend a meeting	Nil	7-08-80
Vegetable Garden Fencing	Leetile School	DAO and 4B R/S to explain more about AE 10 rands.	-	3-08-80
Cattle Crush Construction	Shoshong Valley	APO (GD) to attend a group meeting	APO (GD) to provide a plan for crush	8-07-80
Three Dam Groups	Mogome Tewane Dithole	LUO and DAO to tour the sites.	-	4-07-80
Woodlot Site Fencing	Shoshong Village	DAO to attend a meeting	-	8-07-80
SSDGS Formation	Thokole Machaneng Letoreng	APO (SS) attend a meeting	APO (SS) provide Helmatac. DAU pulpy kidney vaccine, pasturella vaccine, foot root spray.	21-07-80
Dam Groups	Khudayabaeng Hoshabi Magaba	LUO to survey Magaba dam site	-	4-08-80
4B Tour	BMC, Mogobane Irrigation scheme. Dairy Research at Sebele.	DAO arrange for Transport	-	8/10-8-80

cc:

R.A.O. Central

A.P.O. (GD)
A.P.O. (SS)

L.O.O. Central
GDO