IDEOLOGY AND THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCY ACTIVITY

A Study of Agricultural Extension
and Community Development in Botswana

by

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I know that in laying out to public view many of the events and circumstances of the villages I am presuming upon the friendship of many

people both in the villages and in the government departments, but they will see that my intention is to expose some of the difficulties of village life and of development work and that I have taken care, by using names very little and not dating some of the events, to avoid unintended consequences. Hopefully, this study may indirectly contribute to the wellbeing of the people of these villages and their kind, but this is, I am afraid, a very indirect way of repaying a debt of gratitude to the many people who enabled the study to take place by accommodating a stranger in their midst with more than customary generosity.

My wife Susheela and son Kiran stayed with me in Manyana and Mankgodi villages and had perforce to share the fieldwork experience which I had chosen. It was for all of us a privilege but I appreciate the fact that they, who had it thrust upon them,took this experience so positively. I thank them for their part both then and later when their forbearance of my anti-social behaviour during vacations helped me in my struggle with 'writing up'.

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ABSTRACT

Community Development and Agricultural Extension programmes in Botswana are founded upon related theoretical approaches to the development task which provide the agencies with an operating ideology. The ideology in both cases emphasises the need to provide information, change values, and persuade people to participate in development. When the 'Pupil Farmer' scheme and the 'self help' projects of these government agencies are framed within this perspective other important dimensions of change and development like investment stimulation or institutional innovation tend to be neglected both in policy and in analysis of their clients' needs.

Extension workers try to persuade farmers to adopt 'modern' techniques but their advice is ignored by much of the population because the innovations, being both time-consuming and expensive, are beyond their means. Extension staff however interpret the response as evidence of their clients' deep-seated attachment to traditional ways for which the only cure is more persuasion.

Community Development assists government to establish village development committees through which development projects can be organised. Villagers are expected to take development initiatives but the declining power of the chieftainship is not replaced by alternative authority so that these initiatives are difficult to sustain. Conflict and stalemate is put down to lack of education or backwardness for which the solution is more community development.

Thus frustrated development activity tends to confirm existing beliefs but this alone is not an adequate explanation of the persistence of a limited ideology. In organisations with widely dispersed personnel where formal controls do not work conformity with organisational ideology becomes an essential element in social control.

The study concludes with a brief exploration of the organisational implications of these findings.

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Notes on the use of terms

In using Tswana words, I find that I have tended to use Tswana constructions, as in Botswana the country, Setswana the language, Batswana the people and Motswana a person, but in this I have not been consistent and have elsewhere for instance used Tswana as an English adjective. But I do not think that this leads to confusion.

Similarly, traditional authorities have official titles and ranks such as, Tribal Authority, Chief's Representative, or Headman, but villagers will address all such people as kgosi and refer to them in the same way. Following this usage I tend to use the general title of Chief, but again this does not cause confusion.

Legal tender in Botswana was, at the time of the study, the South African Rand, a decimalization of 10/- Sterling. Villagers often still discuss financial affairs in terms of pounds, shillings and pence and when I report or imitate direct speech I sometimes do the same. One Rand was worth about 80p in 1972.

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PREFACE

This study of development activities in rural Botswana involved eighteen months fieldwork in Botswana villages and a rather longer time in preparation beforehand and digestion of my material and impressions afterwards. Any study that is to be sustained over a number of years must provide the researcher with a challenge of the unknown or a stimulation of what is known but nonetheless remains elusive. For me, Botswana life fell into the first category and development activities into the second. In 1970 when I embarked on this study my knowledge of the kind of life I would discover in Botswana was frail in spite of previous residence in the country as a teacher involved in development work. Of course, some excellent ethnography of the country opened my eyes and channelled my perception in much the same way that a Botswana grammar book implanted in my mind something of the structure of the language.(1) But, I discovered, both language and understanding of society have to be learned afresh in the field. Some of the steps involved in the learning process are apparent in the following analysis in which I hope the necessity to condense and formalize does not completely overlay the sense of discovery that I felt as I began to understand a rather different life situation from my own.

So one sustaining motive was the opportunity to study a different life and culture. The other was a desire to come to terms with the development business. I had the disquieting feeling that the undoubted commitment and moral purpose that underlies the activities of people of my kind who are involved in 'development' activities overlays a basic ambivalence about

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(1) Isaac Schapera (see bibliography) provided the former, the Rev. Sandilands the latter.

the meaning of 'development' itself. This concept provides a rallying point for numerous government officials, voluntary agencies, consultants, employees of international agencies, a growing host otherwise divided by nation and race, language and creed, with whom I must identify. But the meanings attributed to the concept are numerous. Some common ground is found in the concern with wealth though its creation and its spread are variously emphasized.(1) Definitions, based upon these minimum common values can be established that will serve for everyday working purposes. But beyond the concept is broadened to include social development and political development where the value assumptions are more numerous and less easily agreed upon. When the word development is used as it is in everyday speech, in policy documents, manifestoes, or the statements of officials, then a whole host of cultural values which are much less easily identified become incorporated. A desire to pin down the meanings of development in this context and to identify the social processes involved was a further motive in this study.

Any sensitive 'developer', whatever his view of the process in which he is involved, must pause now and then to consider the reactions of the recipients of the development activity. In this he is hardly encouraged by any of the current theories of development in which the conditions of the masses is usually depicted in one dimensional terms. They are either culture bound, or relatively deprived, or filled with revolutionary fervour, depending upon the role into which they are cast in the overall model of development or under-development or non-development. Real people must have more dimensions to them than this and my study provided me with the chance to abandon commitment and study their reactions.

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(1) See for example Bernstein (1974) Introduction.

These concerns were my motive when I embarked upon this study in 1970 and their influence underlay the approach that I took in the field. To establish the social processes involved was my objective; processes of which the work of developers could only be a part. So when I set out to assess the impact of development agents, - community development workers and agricultural extension personnel - upon two rural villages in Botswana, I rejected from the start the idea that my task was simply to count participants, measure products, or assess organisational efficiency against some sort of 'bench mark' criterion of success or failure. This kind of study (though perhaps of value for limited purposes) would not reveal what I wanted to know about ongoing processes either within the organisation or within the communities.

Nor could I simply accept at face value the assumptions that the agents themselves made about the social processes in which they were engaged. Here I was up against a much more difficult problem because as I show, agents have a strong commitment to their operating assumptions. In looking for a means of explanation of what happened in this small corner of rural Botswana in practice I found it convenient to start with a critique from a sociological viewpoint of some of the key ideas which underlay the work of community development and agricultural extension. The actual programmes of the agencies in Botswana were more complex but the initial critique picks up what I think are common elements in many programmes of this kind.

Fieldwork was conducted in a small area of rural Botswana, primarily on the two villages in which I lived with my family for eighteen months in 1971/2. I conducted various surveys and assisted the Botswana Ministry of Agriculture in others, but I regarded 'participant observation', as the

social anthropologist's fieldwork technique is called, as my most rewarding approach. I did not however attempt to carry out a complete ethnographic study of these communities but concentrated instead upon those areas which were most relevant to my concern with development activities. The economic activities of the villagers and the workings of community institutions, - politics in a broad sense of the term, - proved to be the two aspects of village life most relevant to my purposes.

A village focus has obvious limitations but without intensive fieldwork of this kind I would not have been able to obtain the detailed material on social interaction which I required. For two reasons I think that my findings are of more general significance than the limited area of the study would suggest. First there is the common heritage of the Development Agents themselves. People familiar with the work of Extension personnel or of the Community Development movement will be able to identify the activities in Botswana as a variant of a tradition that is common at least to former British Dependencies. Secondly, there is the common structural position of Development Agents in relation to their clients. As experts and bureaucrats, and being relatively well rewarded in their higher ranks at least, those who today carry the responsibility for achieving 'development' are inevitably placed at some social distance from their clients. This social and cultural divide is a common feature in development projects today. Thus there will be many points of similarity between the happenings in one small corner of rural Botswana and events elsewhere even if the details of social change in the rural communities themselves may vary from one community to another.

From the critique of the main themes of Extension and Community Development which I develop in Chapter 1 I derive a number of empirical questions to carry over into my study of events in Botswana. On the one hand I investigate the constraints which face the people in their attempts to improve their lot (Chapter 4), while on the other hand I examine the processes whereby the aims and aspirations of the villagers are stimulated and channelled toward 'modern' goals by their leaders in the village (Chapter 7). The power relationships between villagers, and between villages and their superiors at district and national levels (Chapters 5 and 6) turn out to be crucial to the fate of development schemes, revealing the strengths and limitations for development of the institutional structures which the villagers and their superiors operate (Chapter 3 and Chapter 8). Because the nature and direction of social change has been shown in Chapter 1 to be an important but neglected consideration, Chapter 3 is devoted to a study of the social transformation process as I found it. Chapter 2 sets the scene.

CHAPTER 1

THE HERITAGE OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Governments committed to rural development have three kinds of action open to them. First they can alter the institutional framework of the society and economy through land reforms, co-operatives, price controls or supports, new forms of local government structures. Secondly, they can make large scale investment in capital works like irrigation or in other resources like education. Thirdly, they can attempt persuasion. Agricultural extension and community development schemes, - often coupled with health education, literacy campaigns and family-planning, - emphasize persuasion. Each of these three kinds of action rests on different underlying assumptions about what is necessary to achieve economic development in rural areas. Of course these three kinds of government initiatives are never practised in total isolation from each other; no pure types occur, but individual agencies often do specialize upon one kind of action and work with an understanding or a rationale of their activities that only fits loosely into their government's overall approach to development. Government as a whole, through its different departments, may employ a variety of different approaches to rural development which may be quite inconsistent with one another in their rationale, but each department tends to follow its own body of ideas about its aims, purposes and procedures.

The underlying assumptions about what is necessary to achieve development or even about what development is, are radically different between say an investment model for growth and an institution change model. In the one case it is assumed that lack of capital prevents people from

exploiting certain resources for the benefit of themselves or the economy as a whole while in the other it is institutional structures which are thought to be the constraint. Both may be true. In the case of the 'persuaders' the main constraint, as they see it, is the knowledge or understanding or values of the people themselves. The relative significance of these constraints in any particular situation is of course a matter for empirical research but this point may escape specialized agencies committed from the inception to one paramount interpretation of their role and of the problem in society which they should solve. The expertise of professional Agricultural Extension or Community Development workers is the product of the textbooks, training schemes and journals representing these professions, reinforced for each new generation of field officers through the kinds of interaction that I discuss later in this study. Community Development in particular is often referred to as a social movement. Practitioners become champions of the Community Development approach and in the journals there is constant debate as to what is 'true' C.D.(1) This concern with authenticity can be found in extension literature also and illustrates the extent to which these are international traditions which can be found in many countries.

These traditions or disciplines provide a rationale for government development agencies and their programmes and procedures which any analysis must take into account. The set of ideas which underly these agencies' activities I refer to as the organisational ideology.(2) By using the term

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(1) See for example various issues of the Community Development Journal, Human Organisation, and the International Journal of Community Development.

(2) The significance of ideology was much neglected in the study of organisations since Selznick (1949) used it in his study of the Tennessee Valley Association until it was revived by Childe (1972) who uses it in a more limited sense of the ideas and values of management. My use of the term is closer to that of Selznick.

I do not imply that the ideas are necessarily true or false, only that they are there as a rather intangible but nonetheless real social fact which is a necessary part of any explanation of what the agencies do or how they work. A critique of agency programmes and activities involves thinking beyond the agencies' own ideology to explore alternative explanations of their clients' needs and of the agencies' own role within the society. This chapter describes the ideology of 'development by persuasion', its limitations, and alternatives which can form the basis of analysis.

Although Agricultural Extension and Community Development have come together under one Department in some countries, in Africa they have very different origins. Agricultural Extension as it is known today had its origin in the work of Advisory Services which were set up in the early days of colonial Departments of Agriculture to boost agricultural production through the dissemination of information about new plant species, cash crops, plant and animal diseases and other results of experimental work in agriculture. These advisory services were also concerned with putting out information on the hazards of modern intensive agriculture, "soil exhaustion, soil erosion, floods, drying up of streams, food shortages...." (Saville 1965 p.1.) But simply to provide information soon came to be considered inadequate. Responses of farmers to this information was often considered to be poor and the extension approach was developed as a means of overcoming this difficulty. "The object of all extension work is to change people's outlook towards their difficulties, for only by this means can any permanent improvements be achieved....." says Saville, summarising the conclusions of these earlier workers. The passage continues, "Furthermore, it is held that all physical and economic achievements are worthless unless they are accompanied by the development of the people concerned". From

these few lines it can be seen that the poor response to information supplied by Agricultural Departments was from the start interpreted as a consequence of the characteristics of the clients rather than, say, of the kinds of constraints that they face or of the suitability of the information being supplied. Clients are thought of as being traditionally minded, of lacking the motivation to participate in the modern economy because of the limited wants of their customary life, or of being defeatist in their attitudes. With these views of their clients the role of the extension worker was extended to incorporate the idea that they must inculcate broad attitudinal changes amongst their clients as well as demonstrate the effects of new agricultural practices and technical information, and their schemes came to have a moral as well as technical aspect.

Community Development as a movement came to similar conclusions via a different route. In Africa Community Development began as an expression of the British Colonial Administrators' concern with developing 'citizenship' within the administered territories. It was based upon the idea that "citizenship begins in a small unit where common loyalty and common interests are expressed in daily activities". (Mass Education in African Society, 1944 quoted in HMSO Community Development Handbook 1958 p.1.). Early moves in Ghana were made by individual District Commissioners acting on their own initiative and upon the personal relationship which they had managed to achieve with local leaders to involve the people in development projects of immediate benefit to themselves, so that scarce financial resources could be made to go further (Du Sautoy 1958 p.21). The Community Development movement which grew out of initiatives of this kind was regarded as a new approach to administration itself even though in practice it came

in the various territories to be organised in special departments rather than to be a pervasive new ethos for the administration as a whole. But the problem from the colonial administrators' point of view, for which Community Development was conceived to be the answer, was that of getting a response out of unresponsive, sometimes recalcitrant local communities. The problem was therefore the same as that which beset the agriculturalists, poor response to what the administration regarded as important new opportunities and development plans.

Community Developers were from the start rather more aware than their Agricultural colleagues that the problem was in part one of divergent views of priorities. In their work they emphasised that people should be encouraged to tackle their own priorities or 'felt needs' first, to establish a momentum which would carry the community on to tackle other needs, - those emphasised by the administration. But coupled with this recognition was a continual insistence upon the need to educate the rural populace to better fit them for participation in modern life. The movement was from its early days associated with adult education and literacy campaigns.

In Ghana, Community Development arose out of the Mass Education Programme and in popular usage bore that name long after the Community Development Department had been established. Literacy and adult education, which have remained constituent activities of the Community Development movement, are thought to open new realms of knowledge to the people and to alter their perceptions of what they can achieve in life. They are a means to an end, and the end is a citizenry who would be aware of opportunities and capable of participating in modern economic and social life.

Community Development, being concerned with allocating resources at the local level and encouraging local initiatives, has been influenced by the political developments which have taken place in the non-settler former colonies and protectorates in the 1950's and 60's leading at various dates to independence. Elected local government, itself local participation, obviously required some reconciliation with the structure and rationale of organised Community Development. The Community Development aim of incorporating small scale communities within the structure of the nation ostensibly leads directly to elected local government, but in practice tensions have been evident, and C.D. organisation has tended to persist alongside local government without being fully integrated with it. Particularly difficult for Community Developers to accept has been local government control over the allocation of funds and other resources within their districts, because the priorities of the elected politicians and those of Community Developers seldom coincide. While the politicians, in situations where the vote counts, must one way or the other seek to satisfy the voters' demands, the Community Developer is interested in encouraging and rewarding participation through self-help. In allocating funds, C.D. workers would give preference to villages which had undertaken commitments to participate in improvement projects while elected politicians might pay more heed to villagers, 'co-operative' or not, who were vocal in demanding what they regarded as their rights. Du Sautoy, writing about Ghana in the 1950's when the Colonial Government was experimenting with local government institutions was at pains to show the separate functions as he saw them of elected District Councils and the local development committees through which Community Development worked, but he acknowledged the need for some local decision making about the allocation of funds for projects. (Du Sautoy p.10,13). Since then with the spread of elective

local government prior to Independence in successive African countries there has been a much greater awareness of the need to integrate C.D. activities with local decision making procedures. Nevertheless C.D. as a separate central Government activity has survived in many countries, and with it the moral interpretation of its role in stimulating local energy and initiatives.

Agricultural Extension proponents have never had to face this conflict. Working mostly with individual farmers it has conceived of its task as being apolitical in this respect. Insofar as Extension personnel have sought to change the institutional arrangements of the rural economy in which the farmers work they have done so indirectly; they have sought to influence the farmers' evaluation of these institutions - systems of land tenure or whatever - in the hope that the farmers themselves will be able to bring about the desired changes. This approach is encouraged in Africa by the fact that the rural areas are often governed by 'customary law' which, as is well recognised, is to some degree subject to modification by those who operate it, and by experience in some parts which shows that individuals can get away with moves to enclose public land for their own use and in other ways alter their lot to take advantage of new opportunities. These activities are of course none the less political because they do not involve extension personnel with local decision making bodies, but the rationale of extension has never had to take its relationship to political processes into account.

Their common concern with altering the values and understandings and attitudes of their clients has brought the traditions of Agricultural Extension and Community Development together. Thus Saville in a text

book on Extension that is widely used in Africa (Saville op.cit p.2.) closely identifies the two movements -

> "Agricultural Extension..... is an evolution of the (farmers) advisory service which can be regarded as a form of community development with an agricultural bias and an educational approach to the problems of rural communities"

similarly it is often considered that C.D. should embrace agricultural activities -

> "It includes the whole range of development activities in the district whether these are undertaken by Government or unofficial bodies; in the field of agriculture by securing the adoption of better methods of soil conservation, better methods of care of livestock....."

(Community Development Handbook, p.2.).

In some countries indeed - notably India - Community Development became at one time an all embracing field organisation working through multi-purpose village level workers. The reasoning behind this approach is that small scale traditional communities are socially and culturally integrated wholes so that change in one aspect of life cannot be effected without changes in others. People must therefore be helped to see their way to changing inter-related aspects of their existence to better

accommodate modern methods of production and modern procedures of decision making. This holistic approach, where it has been adopted, merely reflects a more elaborate version of what in all cases C.D. and A.E. think that they are about, namely persuading people to change their ways and providing them with the knowledge and understanding to be able to do so.

The assumption common to both A.E. and C.D. is that people in these rural communities - the agency clients - have values, attitudes, and a way of life which is in some ways at least inadequate as a basis for participation in modern life.

It is a feature of the post colonial developing countries that they are divided between a 'modern' sector of which the administration is a part and a 'traditional' section made up principally of rural communities, in which the ways of life of the people, their language and culture are widely different; and it is of course the 'modern' sector which both in the colonial period and today carries in its midst the culture of science and technology which has so revolutionized productive capability in agriculture and industry. In these circumstances it is quite natural that development agents should regard themselves as missionaries of science and modernity,and indeed the hopes for increasing the wealth, limiting the population and in other ways improving the lot of rural communities rests in part with the potential of modern science. The difficulties with the approach arise from the fundamental misconceptions of other people's aims and purposes and needs which typically arise in culturally plural societies. Developers, looking across the cultural divide at their clients may too readily assume that the contrast is fundamental, ignoring the change,

initiative and experimentation that is apparent upon closer analytic rather than didactic interaction. Often the simple conclusion is drawn that total transformation of the client community is required.

Total transformation includes political transformation. In the literature of the late colonial period it was still possible for colonial administrators in conference to sanction as an expression of their views this passage:

> "The British people have found a brand of Parliamentary democracy which has evolved through a process of trial and error in the United Kingdom to be the answer to political organisation seen in terms of human happiness and well-being rather than efficiency for its own sake. Not unnaturally they hope to see broadly similar types of political structure established and flourishing in the emergent territories. But a Parliamentary democracy can only flourish well when it has strong roots in a self reliant community with a sense of social responsibility" (Community Development Handbook p.4.)

In the post Empire days the emphasis on the 'British Brand' as such disappears but the political goal remains. In Botswana the Commissioner of Community Development put it this way in a speech of November 1970 in which he discussed the establishment of Village Development Committees.

"If democracy is to serve the present world revolutionary challenge..... it is imperative that viable institutions be established at both the community and national levels through which the growing relentlessness of the masses may be channelled constructively towards nationbuilding. This..... is the task which makes Community Development an essential instrument of change". (quoted Botswana Daily News 25th Nov. 1970)

Again I do not wish to appear critical of the perfectly legitimate aims of government in this respect. All I wish to stress is that developers tend to interpret their role as agents of the total transformation of rural life including political transformation. A statement in the literature of Extension, in a book based upon S.E. Asian experience but equally applicable in the African context, illustrates the close fit of Extension philosophy and political ideals -

"Man's progress depends upon his mental and physical ability, his determination to improve himself and the conditions of his environment that encourage or discourage development. President Abraham Lincoln once made a famous statement, "all men are created equal". That is all human beings are..... basically alike..... But they are not brought up equally. Some of them may be far advanced socially and culturally while others may be very backward. This is due to the differences in environment in which they are brought up.....

> However if given the same opportunity
> under the same conditions of freedom,
> encouragement and educational leadership,
> all people can compete with each other in
> their advancement very well."
> (Chang 1963 p.4.)

This kind of statement indicates that agriculturalists too tend to see their work within the framework of broad social goals. So the process upon which development agents consider themselves to be embarked is one of social transformation and as such it is of course a moral task.

One would imagine that with these aims the nature of this transformation would have been closely examined; that the question "from what kind of society or economy to what kind of society" would be asked clearly. Yet if one looks at the literature of Extension or Community Development one is for the most part disappointed in both directions. Between the lines there are hints and assumptions, but they are seldom formulated or made explicit. For the most part it is simply assumed that the end product is known.

The words of the Botswana Commissioner of Community Development serve well to capture two not altogether consistent but widely accepted understandings of the society which development agents seek to transform -

> "In the newly developing countries, countless
> people, the majority of whom live in peasant
> villages, lack the incentive to apply them-
> selves to the task of improvement. People

> everywhere want better conditions.....
> but after centuries of mental and physical
> starvation they have no confidence in them-
> selves or in the idea that they can do anything
> to change their conditions..... Ancient
> customs ..... a fatalistic outlook on life.....
> long established attitudes of resignation and
> superstition..... and rigid social and cultural
> patterns act as powerful blocks against the
> people initiating any effective action of their
> own towards social and economic progress."
> (Speech quoted Botswana Daily News 25 November 1970).

A powerful critique of this as a description of Botswana society at least could be developed by looking at Tswana economic and social history over the last two hundred years or so. For example the introduction and universal acceptance of the ox plough has been associated with radical changes in the structure of social relationships. But this is nonetheless a part of a commonly accepted picture: a picture of a static society, strongly resistant to change which presents the development agent with the task of stimulating and challenging the people to accept social change. With this kind of model of the social starting point in mind the extension worker is advised -

> "to arouse the people to recognize and take an
> interest in their problems, to want to overcome
> these problems, to teach them to know how to do
> so, and to persuade them to act upon his teaching,

so that they ultimately achieve a sense of
pride in their achievement". (Saville p.3)

while for his part the Community Development worker -

"stimulates the people first to recognise
their needs and then to fulfil them by their
own efforts" (C.D. Handbook, p.63)

But an alternative view of client communities is also sometimes apparent. In a passage already quoted the Botswana Commissioner of C.D. talked of "the present world revolutionary challenge" and "the growing relentlessness of the masses", indicating that at the political level at least the rural populace are a much less placid lot than his description of their reactions to development innovations would indicate. It is of course quite possible for a people to show no interest in technical innovations, and at the same time to be politically restive, though I do not think that either is true of Tswana rural communities. The significance of these quotations is that they represent very common stereotypes of what rural communities are like, which underly Agricultural Extension and Community Development philosophies of development.

These stereotypes of rural or traditional life are not consistent with one another and do not give a clear analysis of the rural society which developers wish to change.

If we turn to the literature to look for a description of the end product of the development process; the developed society for which they are aiming, again there is no attempt to formulate its essential components, and we are left to surmise that the aim is simply to achieve greater

participation in the market economy and in the national polity. In the case of the developed society then it is assumed that what is required is known or unproblematical. Development agents, as representatives of the modern sector of the economy, seem to suppose that to develop, their clients must become more like themselves.

This lack of clarity about the nature of transformation they are endeavouring to achieve is not surprising. The value assumptions or social goals of these kinds of institutions (and here one includes most educational institutions) are seldom made explicit even though they are key to the purpose of the institution and strongly motivate its members. A host of activities can be justified on the grounds that there is a need "to update our institutions", "to modernize", to "drag into the twentieth century". Within limits the more general all-embracing and emotive the rhetoric, the easier it is to obtain the commitment of workers to these goals. However, the process, perhaps vital as legitimation of action, sets blinkers upon the perceptions of the people involved. This becomes an important theme in this study.

It is useful to consider the parallel between what I have just been describing about the underlying assumptions of Development Agencies and the sociological theory of modernization. Sociologists aim to make explicit what they see as social processes in society so that they can explain directions of change. Modernization theory has its weaknesses as an explanation of social change as I show below, but it may be used here to help elucidate the kind of thinking which underlies the work of Development Agents.

'Modernization' is conceived of as a process of transition of 'traditional' societies through transitional stages to 'modern' society, and the attempt is made to typify the essential characteristics of societies at these different stages in terms of the prevalent kinds of political, social and economic institutions and of the consequences of these forms for the social relationships of the people.(1)

Societies are regarded as being normatively integrated, that is, during periods of social stability the social institutions of the society are knit together into a consistent interrelated whole with a high degree of consensus on the part of the members of the society about the values upon which the institutions are based. The interrelatedness of the institutions of the society, religious, economic, political and domestic engenders a resistance to change within any of them. Traditional societies for their part are portrayed as being additionally resistant to change due to the fact that they are small scale so that deviants cannot easily escape the observation and sanctions of others, and leadership roles within the society are not confined to particular institutional spheres but typically have domestic, economic and religious aspects that provide leaders with a motive for maintaining the status quo of the institutional complex of the society as a whole.(2)

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(1) This exercise in typology has a long history in sociology. Robert Redfield distinguished between folk and urban cultures, Ferdinand Tonnies distinguished between 'community' and 'society', and Max Weber between'traditional' or 'rational' action. See, for more recent formulations, based upon the work of Talcott Parsons, Bert. F. Hoselitz "Main concepts in the analysis of the Social Implications of Technological Change" and Neil J. Smelser in "Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change", Chapters 1 and 2 in Hoselitz and Moore Industrialization and Society UNESCO 1970, upon which much of this account is based.

(2) Gluckman (1955) used the term multiplex to elucidate this feature of tribal societies distinguishing it from the situation in industrial society where people have multiple roles played in different institutional spheres to audiences which hardly overlap.

Traditional societies are therefore thought to be particularly unchanging, and in all societies change is considered to be difficult, involving alterations of values and belief systems.

In contrast to traditional communities modern society features institutional specialization and division of labour, a prevalence of impersonal contractual relationships as against personal relationships determined by ascribed status. Social mobility increases in the circumstances of modern society, and institutional separation allows behaviour in one sphere, say the economy, to be freed from the controls of another, say religion. These are the conditions it is argued which encourage economic growth.

Within this sociological tradition there can be found a number of accounts of how normative change takes place in societies, all variants upon the theme of social disturbance.(1) One account stresses the role of the charismatic leader, who by his personality and insight in times of crisis, leads the people to a new interpretation of their social situation when his ideas become institutionalized into new structural forms and norms. Other writers stress the innovating role of the marginal men, of people of low status, or of cultural minorities.(2) Another tradition, which focusses more upon the mechanism of change rather than its origin, notes that individuals in society identify with social groups, emulating the ways of their chosen reference groups and taking on their values. The process of social change is traced in the changing identifications of social groups and classes.(3)

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(1) Stated in its most general form by Smelser, op.cit.

(2) Both observations stemming from the work of Max Weber.

(3) Reference group theory was formulated, for example, by Merton and Rossi in Merton 1957.

To return to the ideas which agencies hold about their own role in social change, again parallel assumptions to those of the social scientist can be found. Both Community Development and Agricultural Extension emphasise the need to identify individuals within their client populations who may be persuaded to adopt new standards and procedures. In Botswana, through the Pupil Farmer Scheme (details in next chapter) extension advice is concentrated upon farmers who show themselves willing to try out new techniques, in the hopes that these farmers would set a precedent for others to follow. Community Developers are enjoined to identify and work through local leaders, not necessarily 'traditional leaders', rather those who are regarded as innovators (Batten 1957). In Botswana again Village Development Committees, and other local decision making bodies are set up by Government specifically to allow a new leadership to emerge within the villages. Both traditions also make tacit or explicit assumptions about processes of social identification which they may hope to influence through their activities. Extension workers believe that the farmers whom they influence directly will serve as a model to other farmers in the community who will aspire to the same achievements and learn new techniques from the successful, while in C.D. projects, committed leaders are singled out for praise by the authorities; in Botswana they are awarded certificates, in the hope of ensuring that they and their commitment are held in high regard by their fellow villagers. Only charismatic leadership, as a process of social change finds no direct parallel in development agency ideology, not surprisingly perhaps since it is difficult to imagine how bureaucracies could arrange training for prophets and revolutionaries, or accommodate them if they succeeded.(1)

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(1) Ward Goodenough, (1963) developed an elaborate social psychological theory of stimulated change incorporating the concept of charisma, but I do not find his construct very convincing. Early Indian efforts to establish new kinds of social relationships within the Community Development bureaucracy met with enormous difficulties - see Dube, (1956).

Yet there is within the literature an extraordinary emphasis upon the necessary personal qualities of field staff, and on the need for staff to establish direct personal relationships with their clients which in some measure reflects the charismatic ideal.

I think that I have been able to show that underlying the ideologies of Community Development and Agricultural Extension are a set of assumptions about the nature of the communities in which they operate, and the nature of the task that they are about in trying to persuade the people to alter their ways, which in some important respects parallel those of the 'modernization' school in Sociology. The parallel lies principally in the idea that social change is difficult to achieve and to explain, since it involves changes in fundamental values and attitudes. There are points where development agents and social scientists of this tradition part company in their interpretations of the development process. This indeed can be a basis for critical analysis of the work of Development Agencies in society. Erasmus (1968) for example criticises Community Developers for their emphasis upon communal activities when modernization theory predicts that traditional social solidarity will yield to more specialized and differentiated social structures. But a more profound basis of criticism and analysis can be found by questioning some of the suppositions of modernization theory. Values and social institutions are, at least partly, founded in the economic interests, or power interests of social groups or classes within societies. Such concepts as 'traditional society' or 'modern society' tell us nothing about these interests or the power and influence that backs them. In another tradition writers account for social change in terms of the continual reinterpretation of norms and institutions according to the interests of dominant groups, or of

individuals seeing what they can get away with within their social relationships, (Lucy Mair 1964) and in terms of conflict between interest groups in society (Dahrendorf 1959). In this view lack of change follows from lack of opportunity. Raymond Firth, addressing a multi-discipline conference on the topic of what is needed to enable peasant farmers to attain higher levels of production, summarised this position in practical terms, in a view probably shared by most social anthropologists. "I am definitely on the side of those who think that lack of opportunity rather than a failure of aspiration is the major retarding influence" (Firth 1970). Without denying the fact that values and institutions do change in vital ways, this perspective alerts the observer to a number of empirical facts about a social situation that are of practical importance in restraining or facilitating economic growth. It provides a perfectly reasonable explanation of social change, yet it has no parallel within the ideology of Extension or Community Development. Nothing in the operating assumptions of Extension encourages agents to examine systematically the constraints that their various clients may face, and Community Developers are not encouraged to think out the power relationships of the communities in which they operate, or which exist between themselves and their clients. I will carry this analysis further in the Conclusion.

Both approaches tend to ignore, or underestimate the powerful interest groups, and the pervasive cultural influence of the modern sector, especially the bureaucracies themselves. The theories of social change which I have sketched above fail to alert the researcher in a systematic way to these factors,assuming as they do that the dynamics of change take place within rural 'traditional' communities themselves.

Again there is a curious parallel with the agency ideologies, where there is no reference to the role of the administration itself as a cultural, economic or political influence. In fact, the ideal role of Extension and Community Development fieldworkers is portrayed as that of a catalyst, facilitating a process of change but not making a material contribution themselves.

From the above discussion the approach of these agencies might be labelled applied modernization. Its weaknesses as a means of understanding the development task and as a strategy parallel those of modernization as a theory of development so my analysis of agency activities can be guided by the sociological critique of modernization theory.

Underlying close study of actual activities and structures in this study lie three recurrent themes which derive from the analysis of ideologies. These are perhaps best expressed as responses to three propositions to which nobody specifically subscribes but which may typify an applied modernization position: that the development task is to overcome traditional values and attitudes; that people need to be galvanized into action for the benefit of the community; and that they, the villagers, must do it, encouraged by the modernizers. The themes become these. This is by no means a traditional community and by assuming that it is vital needs and interests that influence peoples responses to what the agencies offer are missed. Secondly, the people are indeed challenged by the call to participation in development but the power relationships of the village are often frustrating. Thirdly, agencies do stimulate but more than this the material goods which they bring and the support

that they give to village leaders are vital to the relationship and to the prospects of development and must be analysed as such.

From the study emerges a picture of the material, institutional and organisational factors that limit the effectiveness of agency programmes which suggests that other kinds of action need to be taken if progress is to be made. This will be the product of thinking about the problems of development in a different way. Sometimes other agencies fill the gap, but in Agricultural Extension and Community Development the dominant ideology remains unaltered. I return to the problem in Chapter 8.

In discussing alternative explanations of social change it is not my prime purpose to assert the greater validity of one sociological theory against another. Rather, in the tradition of applied anthropology (Wallman 1969, p.2.) to use sociological insights to explore the practical situation in which development agencies find themselves. My concern is not to reconcile divergent or logically inconsistent models but to point to the useful consequences of viewing a situation from different angles. Most insight in this instance is gained by taking a viewpoint which contrasts with that I have attributed to the agencies themselves, but in Chapter 7 I move to a perspective which more closely reflects the agents' own beliefs.

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

The Agents of Development and their Programmes

In Botswana Agricultural Extension and Community Development are the most conspicuous agencies in the field because they place staff in the villages and rural areas, in direct contact with their clients. Considerable reliance is placed upon these departments to achieve the government's development objectives. From the villagers' point of view these agencies with their field officers are the most visible evidence of government interest in village wellbeing. Other government agents, such as veterinary or co-operative officers, also advocates of particular development activities, are periodic visitors in the villages. I refer to them occasionally because they too are part of the overall interaction between the people and their government.

Since the Department of Agriculture started advisory work in the late 1940's the content and method of the service has changed considerably. Initially the staff consisted of technical people entirely and the programme which they operated was based upon farmers who agreed to be "Co-operators". Three-acre demonstration plots were set out upon these individuals' lands upon which the Extension Worker demonstrated various improved techniques. A stronger Extension philosophy underlay the decision in the early 1950's to adopt the Pupil Farmer Scheme in which the farmer himself was encouraged to practice new techniques upon the whole of his land rather than having them done for him on a demonstration plot. Agricultural Demonstrators, mainly recruited from South Africa and Rhodesia in the first

instance, were stationed in the villages and arable lands areas to encourage farmers to join this Scheme and to receive advice and instruction. In the mid 1960's animal husbandry received direct attention as an Extension activity for the first time with the appointment of a Senior Officer in the Department to take responsibility for this activity. A Training Programme for Animal Husbandry Demonstrators was started. For a short period Agricultural Demonstrators and Animal Husbandry Demonstrators worked alongside each other with Pupil Farmers and Pupil Stockmen. But when in 1970 a new Agricultural College was established near the capital of independent Botswana, a new generation of Demonstrators was trained to run a combined scheme and existing Demonstrators were incorporated within one Extension Programme except in that part of the country where livestock is the dominant activity. There mobile Animal Husbandry Teams were maintained.

At the time of the study then, a unified Pupil Farmer Scheme was in operation but in the field distinctions between Pupil Farmers and Pupil Stockmen were sometimes maintained by Demonstrators where Farmers had initially committed themselves to one or the other kind of programme.

"Scheme" farmers commit themselves to progressive improvements of arable and livestock practices when they join the Programme. On the arable side farmers undertake to follow the advice of the Demonstrator and are required to row-plant at least a part of their crop. To be eligible to join, farmers are required to have their own plough and a plough team available when needed. In the first year of participation farmers are given a 'pocket' of hybrid sorghum by way of encouragement and in practice they were allowed to use the Demonstrators' row-planter

and cultivator though officially these are for demonstration purposes only. As farmers gained in skills, conformed to the required agricultural and animal husbandry practices, and themselves purchased the necessary machinery and equipment they can be promoted within the Scheme through the ranks of Improved Farmer, Progressive Farmer and ultimately Master Farmer. Promotion is on the recommendation of the Demonstrator and upon inspection and interview by the Agricultural Officer in charge of the district. The requirements of membership of the Scheme and of the performance within each category was set out in 1965 as follows:

1. Pupil Farmer

   (i) Must own his own plough and at least two oxen. Other draught oxen must be readily available as and when required.

   (ii) Must reside at his lands throughout the crop season or must have a permanent responsible farm manager.

   (iii) Must have a minimum of ½ acre without stumps before joining.

   (iv) Must be prepared to accept advice.

2. Improved Farmer

   (i) Must own at least a harrow in addition to a plough and oxen.

   (ii) Must be increasing his acreage of destumped land.

   (iii) Must be applying kraal manure to an increasing acreage.

(iv) Must have a reasonable knowledge of moisture conservation, seed bed preparation, weed control, plant spacing and some knowledge of basic principles of dryland farming.

(v) Must reside permanently at his lands during the crop season, or employ a permanent responsible manager.

3. Progressive Farmer

In addition to the requirements of 'Improved Farmer' he must:

(i) Own or have a share in a full set of implements.

(ii) Have sound practical knowledge of all implements, and optimum planting conditions in addition to (iv) for 'Improved Farmers' and pass an oral and practical test on this knowledge.

(iii) Must cross harrow cereals for weed at 3" - 9" growth.

4. Master Farmer

In addition to the 'Improved Farmer' requirements he must:

(i) Row plant and cultivate properly.

(ii) Plough well and deeply using headland furrows.

(iii) Winter plough or plough with first rains.

(iv) Divide land by grass strips or, if necessary, contour banks.

(v) Be improving his livestock.

(vi) Reside permanently at his lands or employ a manager who does so.

(vii) Make some attempt to fence his lands.

(viii) Pass more comprehensive and advanced practical and oral tests than those for 'Progressive Farmer'.

(ix) Maintain the required high standards for two successive seasons before he can become a Master Farmer. (cited in Lever 1968 Appendix).

A move away from total commitment to the Pupil Farmer Scheme followed a Report in 1968 which showed that limiting the Extension Work of Demonstrators to contact with individual Scheme Farmers on their farms proved a rather costly business in relation to the improvements in agricultural production that were achieved. (Lever 1968). Demonstrators are now encouraged to establish groups of farmers in their districts and to work through these groups. Either existing groups like Lands Committees which have been established in the areas that I studied or newly created Farmers Associations are currently being tried. Additionally Demonstrators are encouraged to work with children in the schools and with '4B' Clubs for School-leavers established along the lines of '4H' Clubs in America. In this situation exactly how a Demonstrator works out his activities in practice depends in part upon his generation - the ideas popular during his training - and in part upon the convictions and drive of his superiors in the district.

In all cases, however, the Pupil Farmer Scheme remains the centre of the Extension effort in practice. As can be seen from the terms and conditions stated above, instruction in new techniques is accompanied in practice by some material and social incentives. The goods and services were not substantial but were significant nonetheless as we shall see. Social inducements are found in the ranking system. The intention of the Scheme is to make the successful practice of arable agriculture a prestigious business which will hopefully be emulated by other farmers. From humble beginnings the farmer is supposed to rise through the ranks until he is a self-sufficient and independent farmer, an example to others in the community. Scheme Farmers should leaven the lump, by their example the transformation of arable agriculture should be achieved.

The work of the Extension Department concentrates on arable agriculture even though it now incorporates part of the Animal Husbandary programme. One reason for this is that experts are sceptical about the ability of individuals greatly to improve their livestock under prevailing conditions of open-grazing. A Senior Officer observed at the Annual Conference of the Department in November 1968 "At present we are only able to teach a few simple Animal Husbandry Management Practices such as dehorning and castrating, the need for certain remedies, and the idea that cattle need a considerable length of time daily to fill their stomachs. To do anything about the major problem of grazing control is impossible". But while the Service has limited immediate objectives Officers are supposed to make clear their belief in the need for grazing controls. "All Officers should use every opportunity at Kgotla meetings, individual visits, at Farmers' Days, etc., to impress upon the people that the work that we are doing is only giving marginal benefit because until grazing control can

be instituted cattle are still going to die because of the shortage of grass." (p.4. Animal Husbandry Past and Future). To back up this preaching, demonstration ranches have been established in different parts of the Country upon tribal land where farmers can, for a small fee, put their animals for a few months prior to sale in order to improve their weight and grade. The idea is that farmers, convinced by evidence of improved price for their cattle, will associate this increase with the fact that these ranches are fenced and paddocked to make grazing control possible. It is hoped that farmers will come to the view that fencing is necessary in the rest of the tribal lands on a communal or individual basis. But this is expected to be a long process. "It is tribal law and custom that all grazing land can be utilized by any member of the tribe, and it is most unlikely that this custom can be broken down completely within the next twenty years". (ibid) The Demonstration Ranches are run by another branch of the Ministry of Agriculture but the philosophy behind them is similar to that of the Extension Department in that the demonstration effect is a central part of the thinking that underlies the service. I did not investigate these Ranches directly, but refer to them when I consider the grazing control issue.

On the Animal Husbandry side also the Extension Personnel provide an element of service since they are equipped with the dosing guns and castrating implements that are required and the Demonstrators are often prepared to help farmers with treatment. The Veterinary Assistants also during the periodic stock counts which they carry out will treat animals as they inspected them for diseases if asked by the owners to do so.

A further prong of the extension fork is the radio programmes of the Information Section within the Ministry. These are short programmes

broadcast twice daily consisting mainly in interviews with farmers from many parts of the Country in which seasonally topical agricultural or livestock problems are discussed. The programmes have a high listener rating among Radio Botswana programmes but, of course, are only available to people who have radios. To promote the programmes, some radios have been made available through an international aid agency and distributed to farmers in each district. Demonstrators responsible for distributing the radios to individual farmers within their district, are encouraged to form listener groups to discuss the programme content as part of the Extension work. Demonstrators themselves could link their work to these programmes. But groups are difficult to form under conditions where the distances between the farmers are great and the programmes, to avoid hours when farmers may be expected to be busy, take place early in the morning or late in the evening. Nevertheless these programmes are very popular and their content often features in the everyday conversations of 'Scheme' farmers.

Community Development

First mention of Community Development as a proposed government activity is found in the 1962 pre-independence Development Plan where an expanded Welfare Department was envisaged. Community Development Workers would be active in a broad front of social and economic change in the rural areas. The Plan proposed: "The establishment of a Community Development Team.... who would visit selected rural areas for a few months at a time to develop community understanding of local problems, leading to community projects in the fields of agriculture, health, education, and local self-help projects such as dam building, road building, improved housing and village construction". (Wass 1969).

Pilot projects in selected villages started almost immediately and these did indeed explore a wide range of activities. In one village for instance, in 1965, the Village Development Committee was responsible for a farming project, housing and a marketing organisation for hides and skins. But the range of projects narrowed as departmental responsibilities became more clearcut and capital works projects like school classrooms, roads or village dams became the main development projects at village level while educational work became focussed on the clubs for women and for children.

The main reason for this concentration upon capital works projects in the villages was the involvement of Community Development in the Food Aid Programme. In 1965 Botswana entered a critical phase of what proved to be a series of major droughts. In response the World Food Programme authorized an emergency supply of maize meal, oil and milk powder to be used for drought relief projects. Since the supplies were to be provided on a 'work for food' basis, the Community Development Department was called upon to take responsibility for implementation. The Department was reinforced by a large number of expatriate volunteers and temporary Civil Servants who toured the villages organising projects with the help of hastily constituted Development Committees and supervised the distribution of rations. Thus the first contact which most villagers had with the Department of Community Development and with Community Development Personnel was made in the very specific context of food aid organized by untrained and non-Tswana speaking personnel. Much is made of this fact by Community Development Staff but they rightly point out that while many self-help projects collapsed with the cessation of food aid, many were carried through to completion, either through continuing voluntary work or through

raising funds and employing builders. Food aid was provided from 1965 until 1968 and again in 1970/71 for a few months. In these circumstances it was natural that primary school classrooms, teachers' quarters, medical clinics, dams and roads were the most common projects to be carried out since these were the easiest projects to organize on the ground.

This crash programme revealed some of the organizational difficulties behind village projects. Clinics might be easy to site and construct for instance but staff must be found and paid for by government or voluntary agencies. Problems of co-ordination arose between Community Development and the Education Departments of Local Councils over the supply of school teachers for the new classrooms. While co-ordination procedures were established they were in practice difficult to implement and the issue remained alive in 1971. It was partially in response to this co-ordination problem that District Development Committees were established and Councils were encouraged to prepare their own development plans. The plans themselves, of course, highlighted the need for coordination so that new procedures had to be prepared by the Community Development Department for consideration of village projects. Under these any project proposed by a Village Development Committee would be submitted by themselves or the Community Development Assistant to the Community Development Officer at District Headquarters who, if he approved, would submit the plans to the District Council, proposing that they be included in the District's Development Plan. Only once this had been achieved would the villagers be encouraged to go ahead with their proposals.

Women's Groups and Youth Clubs are another concern of the Community Development Department. A Women's Unit in the Department specialize in

Home Economics and run courses for representatives of Women's Groups, while a Youth Section tour the Country encouraging the formation of Clubs and ran Camps outside the capital in a specially constructed park near the reservoir. The two major Women's Groups in the Country are the Botswana Council of Women, a federation of women's clubs throughout the Country, and the Young Women's Christian Association which also has branches in many villages. The Red Cross is also active at both national and village levels. Amongst the youth, Youth Clubs and Boy Scouts are the major organizations with which Community Development is concerned while 4B Clubs are encouraged by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Both Agricultural Extension and Community Development Personnel in establishing their services create for themselves institutional structures in the villages. Extension institutions are specifically educational in purpose and separate from other village bodies. Community Development on the other hand seeks to act as a catalyst to institutions established by government as part of the democratic machinery of state. While agricultural personnel work either through the formal Pupil Farmer Scheme or through Groups set up by the Demonstrator himself, Community Development use Village Development Committees, Parent Teacher Associations and Clubs and Associations that are themselves affiliated to different national associations. It will be useful here to look at the overall structure within which these institutions are placed.

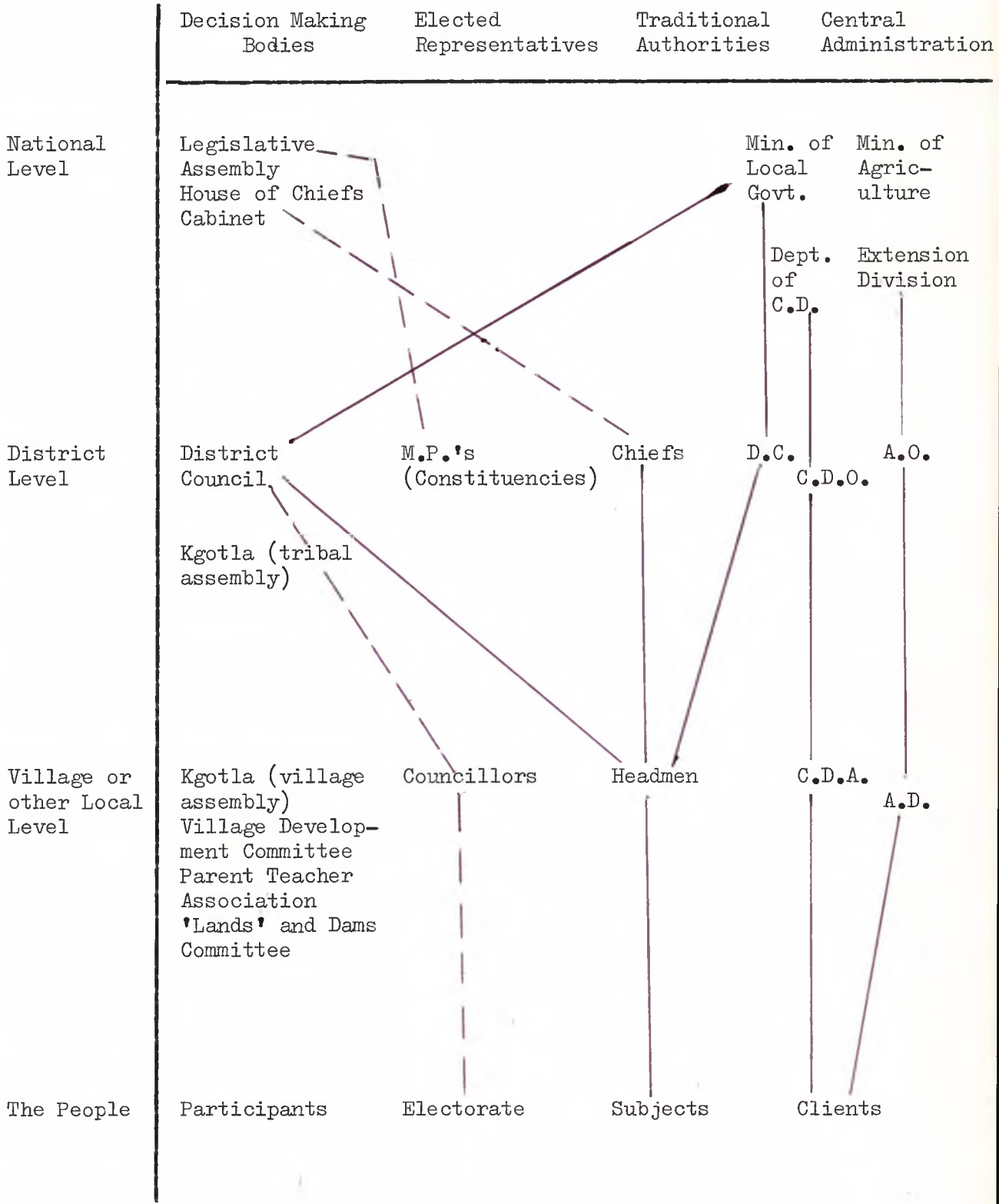
The Administrative Context

Community Development Assistants and Agricultural Demonstrators and the institutions through which they work represent the village level of a complex administrative structure of three levels - village, district and nation. The structure that I describe applies to those parts of the country which were once designated Tribal Reserves and which still today maintain aspects of tribal organization that have been formalized and remain as part of the national administrative structure. In other parts of the country which were designated crownlands or freehold lands, tribal structure was never formalized or recognized. In the days when Botswana was a Protectorate chiefly authority was recognized within the designated Tribal Areas. Over the years, education, public works, revenue collection, and other administrative activities became the recognized responsibilities of the Tribal Authorities who appointed officials to supervize these tasks. Tribal Administration became progressively bureaucratized, though numerous activities still depended upon what might be called the traditional authority of the Chief. For activities such as the annual round-up of stray cattle or the fighting of forest fires, the established regimental structure of the major tribes provided the organizational basis. (Schapera 1938). A few years prior to Independence, however, the larger part of the local government administration was handed over to the newly constituted and elected District Councils in which Chiefs had no role as of right. Chiefs were left with their judicial functions, their role in the allocation of land and a residual role in the Tribal Assembly. They could be called upon to act as Chairman of the District Council and in most cases this in fact did happen, but the chairmanship was of less significance in day-to-day administration than the role of Secretary so that in fact the new

organizational arrangements represented a major shift of power and influence to the new District Council as a body.

Central Government maintains direct representation in the districts through the District Commissioner who has an overall co-ordinating role in relation to representatives of specialized Government Services at District level and who also carries a diffuse responsibility for furthering Central Government wishes through Local Government.

Thus one finds at the District level a tri-partite system: a Paramount Chief with declining functions but with considerable residual influence and knowledge of the local situation, a District Council busily attempting to establish its procedures and its authority, and a District Commissioner responsible for co-ordinating the activities of specialized agents and the District Council though he has no direct control over either of these groups of people. The establishment in 1970/71 of District Development Committees chaired by the District Commissioner with mixed Central Government and Local Government Personnel probably would lead to an increase in the influence of the District Commissioner. (Tordoff 1973). These, however, were new bodies closely linked with the attempt to improve planning at the District level and it was too early to say what influence they would eventually have. In recognizing the need for co-ordination at this level Government was aware of the difficulties of the tri-partite system which in fact existed at village level also. The parallel structures of Central Government, Local Government and traditional authority can best be illustrated in a diagram.



(Community Development has since been reorganized to become a local Government function so that personnel are attached to the District Councils).

The diagram highlights two additional features of the authority structure. First there is a concentration of authority in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to which both Chiefs and District Commissioners are responsible. Secondly, the village Headman (an office which features prominently in this study) is linked formally with the Paramount Chief, his superior as a traditional authority, with the District Commissioner to whom he is responsible as agent of Government, and with the District Council for which he is the proper channel of communication with the village. Also apparent is the institutional separation of legislative and executive aspects of formal government which acts to enhance the sparsity of horizontal linkages in the diagram.

A concentration of power and authority at ministerial level is to be expected, particularly at a time when national identity is being stressed, and when economic modernization is the accepted role of Government and administration. Also significant is the importance of foreign aid within the development process which has to be channelled through national institutions. The prominence of ministerial power is reflected in the fact that several government services in the villages are directly under the control of central administration and are not subject to district or village level authorities. Public Health Officials, Agricultural Extension Staff, Community Development Officers, (see footnote to diagram above), Police and others are directly responsible to their respective Ministries. The role of District Commissioner at District level is one of co-ordination rather than control. Important exceptions are primary Education and secondary roads which form the main responsibilities of District councils. Both are very important to the villagers, and since these are direct investment rather than advisory services the District

Council becomes the most important resource distributing agency from the villagers' point of view.

There are two ways in which villagers may hope to influence authorities on matters concerning the allocation of resources to their village. They may use their elected representatives or they may attempt to work through the Administrators themselves. The Member of Parliament is recognized as a man of high standing who is expected to have some influence upon the processes of government. But government is distant and seldom allocates resources directly to the villages so that in practice the Member of Parliament may be regarded as less useful than the District Councillor. He is also less accessible. The District Councillor by contrast is often a fellow villager and the Council is recognized as heavily involved in the maintenance of school buildings and roads ,visibly choosing between one project and another. Through the Councillor then they may hope to have some influence but it is recognized that he is one of many and may not always be able to influence decisions (See Chapter 6). For this reason officials are often appealed to directly to explain the allocation of resources to the village. This issue is further examined below.

The prevalence of vertical linkages of authority and representation between levels in the administration clearly raises problems of co-ordination of activities. Attempts to achieve co-ordination at district level cannot be explored further in this study. In the villages, on the other hand, the problems of co-ordination become a major theme in this analysis. (Chapter 6).

The Place and the People

I conducted my study in the South East of Botswana, the part of the country which is most fertile, which receives the highest rainfall in this arid land (an unreliable 500 to 650 mm on average) and which is most heavily populated - some 20 to the ml^2 when the national average is 1 per ml^2. (National Development Plan 1970, p.14). It is described on a vegetation map as "semi-sweet mixed bush veldt" or in the North West of this area, as "arid-sweet bush veldt"; it forms the border between the Plains which run down to the Limpopo River in the East and the High Sand Veldt of the Kalahari Desert in the West. It is a country of level plains and out-crops of rocky flat-topped hills. The plains here are heavily cultivated leaving the hills and the floodbanks of the storm rivers as the main reserves of grazing for cattle and goats. To the West, on the fringes of the Kalahari Desert itself, large herds of cattle graze around borehole water supplies though their owners may cultivate in the more fertile areas. Amongst the hills small herds of cattle and goats contribute to the mixed arable and livestock farming of these villagers but in spite of this mixture this area has the highest cattle concentration in Botswana. (N.D.P. p.38). This then is the part of the Country where resources are used to the maximum by the greatest number of people. I studied two villages within this area intensively - Manyana and Mankgodi - living for nine months in each, together with my family. I was also able to travel occasionally to several other villages within this zone so that I am able to use for comparative purposes information about Ranaka, Kopong and Lenchwe le Tau. In all these cases the people are Tswana speaking and fall within the social structure of the main major Tswana Tribes though, like all Tswana people, their ethnic origins are diverse. (Schapera 1952). The villages all lay within the Ngwaketse and the Kweneng Districts,

their headmen acknowledging the seniority of the Chiefs of the Bangwaketse or the Bakwena in their capital towns of Kanye and Molepolole. The villages which I selected are among the smaller Tswana settlements with populations ranging between two and a half thousand and four and a half thousand. Such settlements were often formerly a subservient minority whose leader was allowed to remain Chief of his village while acknowledging seniority of his overlords. Paramount Rulers might send a Chief's representative, a faithful member of the dominant Tribe, to rule such subservient villages. This practice was continued until after the 1939/45 War at least, when Chief Bathoen II sent out from Kanye a number of returning soldiers to rule his dependents. One such man had until recently presided over Manyana while the present Headman or Chief's Representative of Ranaka was another. But the villages too while pleased to be addressed as "Bathalping" or "Bahurutse" or as the case may be, acknowledging their separate identity, are themselves of diverse origin, only a minority perhaps acknowledging kinship with their traditional ruler. Indeed some villages, - again Ranaka is an example, - were formed recently when the Paramount ordered formerly scattered people of different origin to move together.

The Manyana and Mankgodi people were both known as Bahurutse whose rulers traced their ancestry back to Hurutse, a Motswana Leader of ancient times when the Batswana were all in what is now the Transvaal. This ruler was, in linear terms, senior to the founders of the major tribes of Botswana today so that the Bahurutse could lay claim to be the senior Tswana Tribe. This claim was never asserted in public since history had placed them in positions of dependence. (Sillery 1952). Although of the same origin the two groups did not have much recent history in common

beyond that of opposed roles as vassals of the Bangwaketse and the Bakwena in a recent border dispute. The Mankgodi people had separated early from the main body of the Hurutse. They could give no detailed account of their history before they joined up with the Bakwena, with whom they lived until the mid-nineteenth century. They were then sent as a group to guard the border of the territory claimed by the Bakwena against incursions by parties of Boers. Their village was, until some thirty years' ago, sited on a naturally fortified ridge between two hills; they then moved half a mile or so to their present site on the banks of the Kolobeng River to be near their water supply.

The Chief of the Manyana branch could claim to be the Senior Hurutse Chief through descent from Kontle, eldest son of the senior house of Manyane. Tobega, ancestor of the current Mankgodi ruler of that name, was the eldest son of Kong of the third house (wife) of Manyane. Kontle moved with his people from the South to live at the Dimawe hills in the early nineteenth century and there died. His heir Mosielele established the present village of Manyana while the younger siblings by junior houses, Sebogodi and Suping moved back to re-establish the Hurutse in the Transvaal area, Suping lending his name to the Suping-stadt Province of South Africa today.

Each village in this way could give an account of its history and although many constituent groups within the villages were in the not too distant past foreigners with a recountable history of their own, the continuity of the Chieftainship which could be recounted with satisfaction to strangers like myself served to enhance the sense of identity of the village as a social unit.

The villages are sited near permanent water supplies, often where water drains over rock formations between the hills and surfaces before disappearing again into the sandbeds of streams and rivers. These sites provide elevated ground for building and keep the concentrated population of people and livestock away from arable land. For a people for whom cattle have traditionally been so important a part of their economy the Batswana are notable for their large towns and villages; settlements range in population size from 30,000 people through a middle range of settlements of 10 to 15 thousand people to the more numerous villages of the 2 to 4 thousand population size, such as those I studied. But the villages tend to be fully occupied for only a part of the year. An arid and infertile land sets a pattern of scattered and extensive cultivation, and cattle are even more demanding of space. Active farmers therefore, build a house at their fields where some of the family at least will stay for a part of the year; and wealthy cattle owners may be obliged to establish a third residence or cattle post where their herds may be kept, near accessible water and far from the arable lands into which they might trespass. Very few men in Manyana and Mankgodi were in the position to require a cattle post. The lands belonging to Manyana village lie mainly to the South and East, on the plains and in the valleys amongst the hills up to twelve miles distant from the village; in the North, they reach to the Kweneng Border where the Mankgodi people take over the valley. Mankgodi holdings stretch from here to the border of the freehold lands in the East but in this region they are scattered amongst rough ground and abandoned lands now used for grazing. Most of their holdings lie beyond the hills to the West in the Plains of the Metsemetlhabe River where their fields are interspersed with those of the Bakgatla from Tamaga, a larger but more recent settlement, and with people from the villages

of Kumakwane and Gabane. The majority of Mankgodi lands lie within say fifteen miles of the village but some people have moved even further afield in search of good land; one who fell within my sample, but whom I failed to reach, was said to plough and hold his cattle in the Kalahari some fifty miles from home by road.

The dual residence pattern helps to mark the seasons. The main functions of the villages are social and political. For these purposes, the population tend to gather for three months of the year - September to November, or August to October, depending upon the harvest and next season's rain. There follows a time of marriages and celebrations, court cases and village assemblies, mixed with the strenuous business of repairing and rebuilding the homestead. When the rainy season gets properly under way the time comes to cultivate again and each household, where the people are able, moves out to plough. At the "lands" they hastily patch up their house and plough, hoe, scare birds, and hopefully harvest. But this is a long season with much to-ing and fro-ing from lands to village. The men get restless first. As soon as the urgent business of ploughing is over they will remember some unfinished business in the village, or receive news of a village meeting, or hear about a good beer brew and reach for their bicycle. Women must tend their crops but will return to care for sick school children, or to brew beer on public holidays or for other urgent purposes.

Both village and lands areas have permanent residents who deviate from what is regarded as the proper migrant pattern. During school terms children often fend for themselves at home under the eye of some relative. The old and infirm will stay at home. Village leaders, who

regard participation in village affairs as their main function in life and who have dependents to plough for them, teachers, storekeepers and a few others employed in the village form a nucleus of village life when the schools are closed and the people are busy in the fields. Permanent residents at the lands include young married couples without the resources or manpower to keep two households going; husbands, sometimes migrant workers; wives able to move in with relatives if they want to spend a while in the village; some poor households in the older age groups who have never been able to build at home; a few dissident wealthy who for some reason choose to put themselves at a distance from the centre of village affairs; and a few households who perhaps in response to the Extension personnel are devoting time to improving their arable and livestock holdings. Also counted as land dwellers in most surveys are small settlements of small minority groups attached for political purposes to the villages but living as separate communities close to the arable lands and aspiring sometimes to limited social services like a shop and a school. These stand in much the same relationship to the villages as the villages themselves stand in relation to the capital towns; officials seldom manage to visit them, so to keep in touch they send representatives or turn up as a group in the tribal village assembly.

Minorities, deviants and the poorer aside, what needs to be explained about the residence pattern perhaps is the marked tendency for people to re-assemble in numbers in the village and maintain elaborate compounds there which they will only use for three months of the year. Many social functions can, after all, be performed in much smaller groups gathering on an occasional basis at the lands; these do in fact take place. The village, of course, does have social provisions like shops, a postal

service, a tax office, schools and a clinic manned once or twice a week, which are attractions in themselves. Permanent water supplies are part of the explanation . But people express a strong sense of moral obligation in this matter; to return home is the proper thing to do: one said it was the will of God. It is also the will of the Chiefs who in the past were said to have sent out regiments to bring back those who strayed, burning their lands houses if necessary. But chiefly power is on the wane today and was in the past but one side of the coin. People regard it as important that they should be ruled; the return to the village is an expression of a social order which they value. Disorder, violence, quarrels, cattle theft, encroachment on arable land by neighbours, malice and sorcery are ever present threats against which the law, embodied in the authority structure of the tribe with its apex in the chieftainship, and the right of a hearing by the men in assembly is the only real remedy. Village life is part and parcel of this order.

Scattered residence imposes upon people a lot of travelling; men in particular spend much time moving about the country on foot or by bicycle looking for lost cattle, visiting friends, seeking advice or assistance. Food or a place to sleep are asked for without hesitation; indeed it is almost rude not to ask for food when visiting a homestead, and only hunger is an adequate excuse for not offering food to visitors, whether friends or strangers. For this kind of travel the network of interlocking bicycle tracks that cover the land are of much more significance than the usable motor roads. Established wagon routes exist forming a second network which here and there serves the occasional lorry as well. Ox wagons with up to sixteen oxen in harness are becoming less

common today but still out-number lorries and can travel under rougher conditions. To keep the oxen in training they must be used often but their major purpose is to move the family to and from the lands which incurs only two journeys a year. It takes a well disciplined as well as a wealthy family to bother to keep oxen in training and wagons in repair. In spite of the prestige attached to being able to move through the village with family and belongings on board, cracking the whip upon the flanks of such a manifestation of wealth, many wagons remain parked outside the gate. Instead a sledge drawn by six beasts takes the family on its migration.

Roads fit for lorries, 'buses and cars form a third, much less dense network, linking the villages together and to the line of rail. Manyana and Mankgodi are served by a daily 'bus which people use to shorten their journey to their lands; but which is principally used by the constant stream of people moving to and from the line of rail and the urban areas of Botswana and South Africa. Some other villages less well served by public transport rely upon the Mine Labour Organization which sends a weekly lorry around the villages recruiting men for the mines, or the local shopkeepers who carry passengers on their lorries when space permits. At Christmas and Easter week-ends in particular the roads are busy, 'buses running two crowded journeys a day from the station while laden Chevrolet vans roll through the villages from Johannesburg dropping off their Hurutse passengers and picking them up again on their way back to work. These vans are not otherwise seen in the villages, unless the funeral of a workmate causes the owners to get together a party to accompany the dead back to their home for burial. But on holiday weekends everybody at home in the village brews up to entertain their urban relatives or to collect a little cash from celebrating visitors.

For the majority of village residents occasions to take the 'bus to town or to the railway or to hospital are rare; for them the major interest in the roads and the 'buses is the postal service linking them with absent friends and supporters. The communications network is one strong indicator of the structure of social relationships within the society.

The villages themselves vary greatly in appearance according to the topography of their site and the arrangement of the clusters of houses. But key features are shared. The motor road leads into the village past groups of thatched houses, each surrounded by a bush or pole fence. Somewhere on the outskirts of the village also will be the Demonstrators' or Community Development Assistants' house, white painted and surrounded by a government fence. The road leads on to the village store, probably expatriate owned, and sooner or later arrives at the Kgotla or assembly place of the Tribe. This is an open space of cleared earth, surrounded by a palisade of upright poles with a cattle kraal behind, a tree for shade and a fireplace in some sheltered corner for winter mornings. This place is the centre of public affairs in the village; but the geography of social relations is incomplete these days without mention also of the school where several committees will hold their meetings - a line of classrooms standing in the dust with white painted stones to mark the boundary and entrance. Important too, but quite unmarked is Freedom Square, a symbol of political liberation without which no village is today complete; usually a space beneath a tree as nature and the goats leave it, except when politicians of one party or another call the people together.

This then is the setting in which our Development Agents live and work. What kind of a society is this? A description of the place and the people suggests many elements of a cultural continuity within the society. Domestic architecture, transport systems, some social institutions may appear archaic to a western observer. But the signs are confusing; corrugated iron vies with thatch as a roofing material, radios with gossip networks as a means of communication. We cannot label this 'traditional society', in contrast to western industrial society. Instead, we must analyse with care the social changes that have taken place and the social system that now exists.

CHAPTER 3

THE TWO-STRAND ECONOMY

Development Programmes aim to make an impact upon the economy; it is therefore important to understand the economy of the areas and the institutions through which it operates. Sometimes a dual economy concept which emphasises a modern/traditional contrast is used but this is not really adequate for understanding the economics of the villages, and their economic relationships with the modern industrial world of South Africa that lies within a few hours by train.(1) Starting from this concept it is easy to assume that what is required as a cure for economic backwardness is a progressive extension or infiltration of the backward area by the values and institutions of the modern economy. When suggested innovations are not appreciated it is assumed that the people are resistant to change. This view is too simple; the social and economic institutions that attract the traditional label may play an important part in the lives of the people who operate them today. In this Chapter I try to show that this is indeed the case with the economic institutions of rural Botswana.

The relevance of traditional institutions to the changed circumstances of the contemporary world is usually discussed in terms of continuity (Watson 1958, van Velsen 1959) but I want to show that adaptation as well as innovation or borrowing often takes place. What outsiders label traditional because they have not come across it before, and locals here label Tswana because it is not run by Europeans or modernizing Africans, would

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(1) The dual economy concept is increasingly criticised for its failure to elicit the dynamic relationship that may exist between the two parts of the economy. (e.g. Bernstein 1973).

in many cases be quite unfamiliar to previous generations of Batswana.

I aim to show here how the institutional structure of the rural economy is adapted to suit the needs of the people as they see them under changed circumstances. Not that the public are unanimous in their interpretation of their interests within today's economy, as I show below, but at any one time through the law, ongoing assertions about the norms of the community and actual relationships between people, some kind of balance is achieved. Some interests too are common to the village as a whole so that the results may be presented as an adaptation to current circumstances. It is useful to obtain a picture of the current state of play in order to understand how people respond to new information and opportunities that they are offered by development agents.

Social change is not necessarily development however. To discover that change has taken place and that vested interests are involved does not imply that this is for the best for anyone concerned. The key issue in this economy is the status of grazing land. The people staunchly support free access to grazing for all tribesmen for reasons that appear quite understandable but with consequences for over-grazing which many observers judge to be near disastrous. Elsewhere I explore the kinds of change that would be necessary to achieve any development within this situation. Here I describe the peoples' stakes in the current institutional structure.

The principal means of obtaining wealth are through livestock, arable land, wages and beer brewing. These I examine in turn.

Livestock consists in cattle, goats and a few sheep. Chickens are there too, but when we attempted to count them the people laughed and dismissed them as insignificant. Probably chickens constitute the most important source of animal protein in the diet, providing eggs and meat. Most people had some, numbers fluctuating markedly with the seasons as they proliferate upon the winnowings of the harvest and are progressively eaten through the hungry season before the next harvest. They belong to the women, who can dispose of them, or their eggs, for petty cash. The storekeepers sometimes bought eggs to sell in town, but this did not constitute a major source of income for the women, since the fertility of the hens tended to be limited to the post harvest period when the food supply was plentiful. Most often eggs are left to hatch and the chickens that survive the ravages of rats and hawks are consumed at home. They roam free within a territory defined by the ferocity of the cock rather than the boundaries of the owner's house.

Sheep and goats are regarded as a more important resource; they are herded together in the vicinity of the homestead and move seasonally with their owner's family unless there is someone staying to look after them at either place. They are owned by the men (unless a woman is head of the household) and are regularly sold within the village or its surrounds as financial contingencies arise. The main purchasers are women preparing meat for commercial beer parties. Goats nearly always outnumber sheep since the meat of the goats is preferred and because sheep breed more slowly, but sheep are valued for their hides which make comfortable bedding and because their inner organs are used in Tswana medicine. In recognition of their special value sheep may be given as bride price among the Hurutse while the use of goats is strictly utilitarian. More than two-thirds of

all households own goats; one of the principal constraints being the labour force necessary for looking after them (Tables 3:1 Appendix 1).

Cattle by comparison are highly valued and the institutions of ownership and control are more complex. Cattle belong to the head of the kin group. This is often merely a household, but where the cattle have been inherited younger brothers of the household head, paternal uncles, and a widowed mother or unmarried sister who may live and cultivate separately, have clearly defined rights in the herd. These kin must be allowed to use the animals for draft purposes and may request that a beast be sold to meet necessary expenses. As far as possible, the herd should be kept intact, but should disagreements occur then it must be divided amongst the claimants as inheritance. Even then draft oxen may be kept together under the supervision of the head for use of the group while breeding stock is divided. Obligations to plough for dependent women who do not inherit anything apart from animals marked for them (usually by marking the ear of the animal - a form of testament by the deceased) remain upon the inheritors. The process of division of inheritance should be supervised by the mother's brother, malome, who receives a bull in payment. So ownership in this instance involves a set of obligations that are legally binding upon the owner. In principle the owner of lineage property should not sell beasts without justifying the sale through consultation with other interested parties. This principle may often be neglected in practice since the diffuse authority of headship makes it unlikely that a decision to sell and to use the proceeds as he thinks fit will be challenged.

One can see that the use of money and the establishment of trade in cattle with the outside world - in other words the incorporation of Botswana

within the economic frontier (Bailey 1957), - has had an influence upon the concept of property in cattle. The right to alienate by sale has been accommodated within the complex set of rights that exist around cattle. As far as one can see, without extensive study of both law and practice on this point the result has been that the head of the kin group now has extensive latitude to dispose of animals for income purposes while other claimants have to appeal to him with specific requests. Perhaps in consequence of this new balance of benefit there were now few herds within these villages that could be counted as lineage property in this way. The obvious explanation is that most herds have been divided amongst the claimants; yet the people themselves, even when they said that their fathers had been men of substance, often claimed that the cattle had died out before a division of the property had been achieved. A reluctance to admit to inheritance of cattle might follow from the fact that purchased cattle fall into another category; they are not a part of lineage property, but belong to the individual who made the purchase and owns the herd.(1) A senior brother who has bought his cattle would not be obliged to plough for his brothers - and no one but his own sons would have a claim upon the cattle as inheritance. But obligations to dependents, such as widowed mothers or unmarried sisters, or the wives of deceased brothers remain. A substantial number of householders stated that they obtained their first cattle by purchase (Table 5:2 Appendix 1).

The tendency for individuals to purchase cattle has had enormous consequences for the pattern of ownership of cattle. As early as the 1940's

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(1) An exception to this principle occurs when a young man sends or brings money from his workplace for his father to purchase stock; in this case the cattle will belong to the father, but the expectation is that they will be 'marked' for this son and may be detached from the herd should he wish to establish a home of his own.

Schapera noted that the ability of young men to earn money through migrant labour was leading to a wider distribution of ownership of cattle than had previously been the case when property was concentrated in the hands of the elders. (Schapera 1947). What might be called the individualization of ownership is now well advanced. It is, of course, difficult to quantify property relationships and it is impossible to make comparisons with earlier periods from which to establish trends. But my investigation of ploughing arrangements in Manyana indicated the relatively small extent to which kinship obligations featured amongst the many and complex relationships which people made with each other in order to be able to plough. An estimated 29.7% of all households were involved in either giving or receiving help with cattle as kinsmen, while 76.7% of all households were involved in what may be called contractual relationships such as an exchange of labour and cattle, or hiring or borrowing, in which relationships kinsmen are often quite specifically avoided. (Curtis 1973).

Quite clearly some people do still operate what may be called corporate property in cattle at least in so far as they recognize the rights of siblings to a share of inherited cattle for draft purposes but more often co-operation simply involves those categories of people like widows and unmarried sisters whom a man is obliged to help even if he has purchased his cattle for himself. In this district at least cattle ownership is largely located in the individual household rather than in the extended kingroup.

A tendency towards individualization of ownership of cattle is not the same thing as a tendency towards equality of wealth in cattle. Table 1

which sets out the distribution of cattle amongst households of Manyana and Mankgodi shows clearly that in both villages more than half the households own or hold less cattle than constitute a plough team, while about one third have herds of 5 - 19 beasts, and are probably able to scrape by, or, at the upper end of the bracket, to keep together a trained team.

TABLE 1 - Cattle ownership in Manyana and Mankgodi villages

	0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Totals
Manyana 100% population								
Number	115	29	60	47	17	8	2	278
%	41.4	10.4	21.6	16.9	6.1	2.9	0.7	100%
Mankgodi (50% population)								
Number	83	76	61	34	6	4	2	266
%	31.2	28.6	22.9	12.8	2.3	1.5	0.8	100%

I am assessing cattle wealth in terms of one important function of cattle, namely ploughing. This is obviously an important consideration for the people themselves and is indeed crucial from the point of view of agricultural capability. Many householders of all age groups have no cattle,

but equally noticeable is the fact that very few farmers have more than fifty beasts. In comparison with the country at large where herds are often numbered in hundreds and sometimes even thousands, herds here are very small and surprisingly well distributed.

Very important to the cattle owner is the free access to grazing to which his membership of the village entitles him. There are today no restrictions on grazing beyond the duty upon cattle holders to prevent their cattle from trespassing upon arable land during the cultivation period. Villagers returning from work abroad face no restrictions upon buying cattle and grazing them anywhere within the district. Even district boundaries may be ignored by cattle owners, though strangers, before moving into a territory should as a matter of courtesy ask its present occupants whether there is room for them. However, to move into another district may be risky; one might have to face disputes with strangers on their own ground amongst their own people, and for this reason people are reluctant to wander abroad. Any land that is not being used for arable purposes, even fields out of season, are open to cattle. From time to time historically attempts have been made to specify grazing areas around the villages though with the pressure of population arable land has encroached upon these areas so that now the open grazing is a residue of land unsuitable to the plough. The principle that grazing should be free and unrestricted of right is vigorously maintained but there is no means of ensuring that particular areas of land are maintained as grazing for cattle. While individuals can claim and maintain arable holdings, there is no organizational basis for cattle holders as individuals or groups, or even for villages as a whole to prevent the conversion of grazing into arable holdings. So although people are very suspicious of any move that might deny them

access to grazing for their cattle and interpret their practice as a right, the right is in fact poorly institutionalized. There are historical reasons for this situation. Property rights, even communal property rights, are only worth defining when a resource becomes scarce, and perhaps when an alternative possibility is recognized through the observation of other people. Since pasture was not a scarce resource, pre-contact Tswana people surely would debate only where different people should hold their cattle, not whether members of the group were entitled to grazing. The alternative now seen as a threat, is the freehold tenure system that operates all around them both within Botswana and in neighbouring South Africa. Right of access to communal grazing then, - hallmark of the tribal system in many accounts, - must be seen as a response of the people to the circumstances in which they have found themselves in recent history.

By comparison with cattle, arable land is generally available. Membership of the village entitles a married man to a portion of arable land if land is available but the onus is on the individual to find a suitable plot and to make a request to the appropriate authority. 91% of Manyana households in response to a questionnaire said that they had land and, of the 9% landless, those whom I subsequently encountered would not have been able to cultivate land if they had possessed any. Indeed, one landless woman whose economic circumstances took an up-turn the following year when her husband got a job as a woodworker in a factory, was immediately able to get hold of a field adjacent to her home. Many people in Manyana, the more crowded of the villages, said in fact that they still had land which they had not yet cleared for the plough. (Table 5:5 Appendix 1). Even in a year of plentiful rain, 1970/71, most people were not able to plough their land completely and stopped planting because the land was dry

rather than because they had completed their field or thought they had enough. (Table 5:5 Appendix 1).

Many households in fact owned land but were not always able to use it, particularly in poor seasons. 1970/71 was one such season and in Manyana 31.6% did not plough, predominantly of course the poor in cattle.

TABLE 2

MANYANA: HOUSEHOLDERS WHO DID NOT PLOUGH IN 1970/71

	Cattle Held							
	0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
Households	45	2	6	3	0	0	0	56

In the following season, however, an estimated 252 out of the 259 households (97.3%) were encouraged by good persistent rain to take up the plough and many others expanded their acreage. Yet even in this year many farmers did not plough the whole of their fields. Most rural householders we may gather live in the hope of being able to utilise their land and value the right of access to an arable plot.(1) The acreages that people put to the plough varied widely (Table 5: 6 Appendix 1), a further sign that

(1) Many fields remained uncultivated even in good years like 1971/72 due to the old age, absence or poverty of their holders. The Tribal Land Act of 1968 allowed land uncultivated for five years successively to be re-allocated but this provision was not widely known.

access to arable land is not the principal constraint upon their activities.

All this would suggest that land is plentiful; yet on the other hand many young men complained to me that it is now difficult to find an unoccupied space and claimed that this prevented them from marrying and settling down. It is not in fact possible to guess to what extent land shortage prevents people from establishing themselves in agriculture, keeping them instead as migrant labourers in the mines or cities of South Africa.

Wages can seldom be earned within the villages since besides government, only the village stores employ workers. To earn a wage, therefore, villagers have to travel, usually to South Africa or to the growing capital town of Botswana, Gaberone, which is an increasingly attractive alternative. Twice a week a lorry from the recruiting company, the Mine Labour Organisation, calls in the village at Mankgodi to collect recruits. In some other villages it is the only regular form of transport. Migrant labour has been a persistent feature of the economy of the territory since the turn of the century (Schapera 1946, Parsons 1974). Today it is so much an accepted part of the normal way of life that if one asks people what is the proper marriage procedure their account is likely to include periods of work in the mines, to establish oneself as a man who can work, to earn bride wealth, and to earn money to purchase stock for the new household. The procedures have become highly institutionalised since the days when to avoid the constraints of disapproving chiefs men slipped away in the dark to walk to work. Fixed term contracts, arrangements for voluntary remittances of a percentage of the wages, clearance through immigration and Pass Law formalities, and solid food from the moment of departure are attractions.

Legally this may be the only way to get to South Africa to work, but compared to industry the wages are poor.(1) There is a great temptation to look for another job once in South Africa and if necessary to break contract. By most accounts this is sometimes possible, Pass Laws and Police regardless. Women firmly believe that they would not be granted passports by the Botswana Government so they crawl under the border fences of South Africa instead. Certainly a lot of men and women from these villages do have permanent employment in industry or domestic work in South Africa and some could look forward to the enjoyment of pensions. Whether this will remain a feasible option in the face of increasingly stringent South African regulations it is impossible to tell.

TABLE 3

NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKERS PER HOUSEHOLD

		Number of workers per household					
		0	1	2	3	4+	Total
Manyana (July 1971)	No	90	93	57	20	19	279
	%	32.3	33.3	20.4	7.2	6.8	100%
Mankgodi (Feb 1972)	No	128	79	42	9	7	265
	%	48.4	29.8	15.8	3.4	2.6	100%

Table 3 indicates the extent of formal employment in these villages. In Manyana almost two-thirds of all households claim to have workers absent at work while in Mankgodi more than half the sample are in the same position. What direct benefits accrue to these households from

(1) Since the time of this study mine wages have increased considerably and they now compare rather better with wages in other industries.

these workers is difficult to assess but Table 4 gives the reported number of workers per household who were sending money back to the village in 1971/2.

TABLE 4

WORKERS SENDING MONEY

		Number of workers sending money/household					
		0	1	2	3	4+	Total
Manyana ("this year" July 1971)	No	215	34	24	2	4	279
	%	77.1	12.2	8.6	0.7	1.4	100%
Mankgodi ("last month" Feb. 1972)	No	199	44	14	3	5	265
	%	75.0	16.6	5.3	1.2	1.9	100%

Besides the mines the alternative to a permanent job in South Africa is the maize harvest. There is a regular seasonal recruitment of Batswana from the Southern villages by Boer Farmers in the Transvaal. Often using individual villagers as agents to call together some recruits in advance, these farmers arrive by lorry in the village to collect their workers. The harvest in the Transvaal follows that of Botswana so that the peak period of work is over before this call on the labour force takes place. Workers are paid partly in cash, partly in bags of maize which accompany them home on the lorry. In spite of the very poor reward this is for many men a tempting way of supplementing a poor harvest since it is of short duration and does not divert their attentions from the season's ploughing.

Other non-agricultural opportunities for earning an income within the village are rare; very seldom do specialized skills produce income-earning opportunities in the villages. This requires some explanation since we are talking here of one hundred years of communication and perhaps fifty years of extensive involvement in the market economy. Surely some diffusion of skills should follow from so extensive a contact? Of course, few of the skills of the mine are any use above ground in the rural context, and mine organisation is totally irrelevant to the petty capitalism that might take root in the villages. But this inappropriateness is to some extent overcome by the informal structures that have grown up around the mines.

The men themselves, it is said, establish night schools - a kind of apprenticeship - in which many of the needs of the miners are met within the compound and successive generations of men are trained in a range of skills, such as tailoring, bootmending and watch repair. I was constantly surprised as I settled into the villages by the range of services that were provided on a casual basis. One man mended watches keeping a box of the necessary bits and pieces with him at the lands. George Kutzwe, the Demonstrator, regularly had his clothes dry-cleaned by one of the ladies at Bikwi sub-village. Several ladies in both villages made school uniforms or dresses to order. Some young men sported cameras with which they took photographs for a fee. Sampo Mngqibisa could perform mechanical wonders upon very tired lorries. Others could make bricks, repair bicycles, thatch in the European style and do carpentry, but none of these skills provided for full-time employment. I asked one man whom I met in somebody's compound mending pans and plates with a soldering iron whether this was his employment. "No" he said this was just to keep him

alive, and so it was with most skills. The presence of these skills but the lack of division of labour and specialization results on the one hand from the general availability of land and free access to grazing which encourages people to spread their risks by keeping some agriculture and livestock going, and on the other hand, perhaps more importantly, from the dominance of cheap mass produced goods that flow in from South Africa. These set standards and prices which the prospective tailor, furniture maker or tinsmith finds difficult to match. Under these circumstances, the alternative of investment in livestock was usually taken.

Even without skills petty trading is one way of diversifying family economy and this might be expected as the first step towards more differentiated economy. In some of the lands areas where minorities have settled or where a number of people reside permanently I came across informal shops, stocking a few of the basic necessities like tea, sugar and soap, serving an otherwise rather isolated community. These shops were seldom more than a sideline for their owners though one, situated on a main road in this case, serving tea and beer as well as carrying a small stock of goods was probably a fulltime occupation for the woman concerned. Properly these enterprises require a trader's licence, now granted by a District Council committee, and it is usually to avoid payment for this licence that these shops are housed in ordinary thatched buildings and are without signs.(1)

(1) This of course ensures that they do not conform with Public Health requirements either. Chambers and Feldman, consultants on rural development in Botswana, considered that the current licensing and public health regulations were a hindrance upon the development of small scale enterprises of this kind.

Besides these sideline activities in the outlying districts there were in both districts one or two people who attempted to set up shop in competition with the established Indian owned village store. By far the most successful of these was run by a couple from Gaberone who baked bread and acted as a cafe as well as carrying a small stock of goods. This combination of activities was sufficiently different from that of the Indian owned store which carried clothing, hardware, and food as well as dealing in grain and cattle, to be able to sustain a large turnover against small overheads. But the other two African run stores had none of these advantages and managed at best a hand to mouth existence.(1)

In general then, there were few signs that the people were diversifying out of livestock or arable agriculture. But one economic activity did form an important constituent of the livelihood of many households; for some it became the principal means of existence. That is beer brewing. What can conveniently be called 'cash brewing' in analogy to cash cropping was a highly organized activity in these areas taking several institutional forms and sometimes associated with rotating credit associations (Ardner 1964) or the trading activities that have already been discussed. Several households brewed beer (bojalwa) or sometimes the stronger concoction known as kgadi(2) almost continuously,

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(1) A close analysis of the constraints surrounding small scale trading in Botswana would, I think, be instructive. Certainly these two small stores faced enormous difficulties through debt, dependency upon larger scale traders for supplies, and the lack of alternative institutional support that this implies.

(2) Kgadi was originally made from wild berries and wild honey but is now made from a fermented root and brown sugar. The root, unlike the berries, is available at all seasons and is thus more convenient for a commercial operation but the product smelt to me of wood alcohol which is probably why it is illegal.

sometimes supplementing home brew with a commercial brew that is sold in bulk, or in cardboard boxes, by a tanker that provided the only door to door delivery service in the country.(1)

These houses, sometimes known as Schabeens, a term borrowed from Ireland via Johannesburg, are often headed by widows or single women for whom beer brewing is the principal means of livelihood, enabling them to send children to school or to hire a plough team each year. The more successful or ambitious may be able to provide meals or to hold a small stock of goods for sale, but most in fact stick to selling beer. The beer is sold within the domestic compound; seats or benches are arranged in a convenient corner of the yard in fair weather. Domestic activities are organized in some other corner. In cold weather, one of the houses of the compound may be used; a curtain separates public from domestic space. Beyond this there are few material signs that this is a commercial service. It is the social norms that make the difference. The man who claims free beer as a kinsman is unlikely to get far with the lady of the house though his protests may raise a few laughs amongst the customers. However,the mixed domestic and commercial use of the compound may create social tension. A young man once offered to buy me a drink while I was sitting with the man of the house. The latter was highly offended at the offer and at my acceptance, since he regarded it as a slight upon himself as my host even though his wife regularly brewed beer in this commercial way. It seems much more difficult for a man to refuse his friends or kinsmen a free beer or to accept the commercial principles involved, which may be one reason why it is usually widows or single women who take up this as a full-time activity.

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(1) The road around Manyana village was created by this lorry and was known as Chibuku Road after the brand name of the beer.

An additional reason why women prevail however is that the income from brewing in any of its forms belongs to the women. Through brewing a widow who would otherwise be dependent upon support from her husband's kin is enabled to maintain some form of independence and the signs are that this independence is valued.

The majority of households hold occasional beer parties known as ditonkafela. These beer parties are advertised by loudly amplified 'Gumba Gumba' music played on hired gramophones. At these parties beer is sold along with meat and polished corn as one dish and fat-cakes as another. In Manyana an additional requirement is tea. The women of the house prepare the beer in advance and call their friends to help serving and collecting cash. Most of the customers are men, the older men sitting in a relatively quiet corner, the younger often sporting city clothes, standing around in groups; children and a few women perhaps dance to the music. Most villages, including Manyana and Mankgodi ration the number of ditonkafela that may occur in any one day. Manyana allow one at the lands and one in the village; Mankgodi allowed two in the village and one in each of the major lands areas. For a time Chief Tobegha, in consultation with the people, banned the use of amplifiers altogether because of the noise, subsequently modifying this to a ban on their use after 10 o'clock at night. But most regulation is done in the interest of the brewers themselves since a brew spoils if it is not consumed within a few days, so it is desirable to avoid unnecessary competition on any one day.

Manyana and many other villages raise an informal tax for the Village Development Committee upon ditonkafela, in the Manyana case charging

20 cents from the holder and 20 cents from the owner of the gramophone. Perhaps it might be noted that it is men who advise the chief in Kgotla while women are the principal beneficiaries of cash brewing; but it would be unfair to attribute the tax to this since women are often members of the Village Development Committee that requests the tax, while men, if they get on nicely with their women (as one put it) often ask them to raise money by brewing for the taxes and school fees that would otherwise be their responsibility. However the fact that a tax is raised upon beer-brewing is an indication that it is regarded as an important means of income within the village. Scarcely a day passes in either village without someone organizing a setonkafela, even during the ploughing season when they are more common at the lands. In the first three months of 1972 more than a third of the sample of households in Manyana had held one or more such parties (Table 5:7 Appendix 1). Average income from the nine cases of ditonkafela in Manyana from which I collected full details came to R5.47 (about £2.60p) taking the material as well as cash expenditure into account. But two actually made a loss calculated on this basis while two cleared R10 (£5.00). The sums may appear small but they would go a long way to paying the school fees for a term or hut tax for the year.

A variant upon the setonkafela is the Tickey line, the difference being that customers pay a charge as they enter through the gate which entitles them to a free drink.(1) The Tickey line procedure is now only used by one Women's Club as I explain elsewhere.

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(1) The origins of these terms are obscure. Some say that setonkafela is a Tswana derivative of 'stock fair'; others claim that it was of Afrikans origin. Tickey line it was thought referred to a practice in which customers put their 'Tickeys' (the pre-decimalization 3d) in a line as they entered.

To reinforce these income earning opportunities, the women often form credit associations in which members agree upon a rate of contribution, usually between 25 and 50 Cents, and pay this on successive occasions to each member of the group in turn. The recipient of the day will brew beer for sale in the usual way and members of the Credit Group when they bring their contributions are entitled to a free container of beer. Sometimes they are allowed to take a quantity of beer away to their homes. This practice is known in these villages as a Motselo (a pouring together), and clearly has the consequences of enabling the women in turn to achieve a relatively large sum of money from their beer brewing activities.

I have rather stressed this beer brewing activity partly because it could be too easily dismissed as entertainment, partly because, taken alongside the other activities, it is a clear indicator of the social and economic positions of households in this rural area. All have need of a cash income to meet contingency payments and even regular requirements such as tea and sugar. Yet income from livestock, crops, or absentee workers is sporadic and ill distributed. Cash brewing makes money circulate within the rural population from men to women and from miners to rural households. It provides the one widely appreciated service that rural residents can provide to visiting townsmen with cash.

Finally I consider the key institution in rural production, the household. The household has, of course, many functions; it is consumer as well as producer, but here I consider it primarily as a workforce. I counted as households groups of people who lived, ate and usually worked together, inhabitating a compound surrounded by a fence. Such units have always been the basic agricultural producers though, as we have seen, they

are not always the owners of cattle. For certain purposes such households must be counted as part of a wider kingroup acknowledging the authority of a senior member in the male line, but the household with its compound and its fence is a distinctive unit on the ground. The households' agriculture will usually be based upon the fields belonging to the household head but if an elderly relative or a married child is a member of the group they may cultivate their separate fields and pool the produce.

Household composition varied widely, as may be expected. In Mankgodi for example of the 265 households that fell within the approximately 50% sample of all households, 187 contained two generations, usually parents and children, 67 contained three generations and 11 had 1 generation only, - usually elderly people living alone. The three generation households are interesting because they illustrate a change in the demographic structure of the household. Only 9 out of these 67 three generation families contained sons of the household head, with the sons' wives and children. This shows the strong inclination of young married men to build for themselves. The remaining 58 extended households were predominantly made up of daughters of the household head and their children. The tendency for girls to have children before marriage has now become a marked feature of Botswana life though in ancient times met with severe sanctions (Schapera 1933). What precisely are the prospects of girls in this position is not clear from these figures. The fact that there were few unmarried as against widowed women heads of households in the older age groups suggests either that this feature of Botswana life is new, - which is unlikely since Schapera wrote about this in the 1930's, - or that most women do in fact marry in later years.

Probably many are simply awaiting the time when their man could have accumulated sufficient money to marry and establish a homestead. Others may marry only when their parents die and they become de facto possessors of the holding. Whatever the case it is clear that the presence of daughters and grandchildren often enable aged parents to remain independent into old age when they would otherwise have to surrender control of their holdings and live as dependents of their sons. Though parents often complain of the daughters failure to marry, "they only have children" they nonetheless appreciate the independence that they are able to achieve through the support of younger generations in the households.

Agriculture and livestock rearing are labour demanding. One constraint upon the activities that the household can sustain and upon the success of its endeavours is the available labour supply. For Mankgodi I made a rough calculation of the labour force of each enumerated household on the assumption that members of the family at home, between the ages of 12 and 60 would be likely to constitute the active working group capable of contributing to agricultural or domestic tasks.(1) On this criterion, in Mankgodi four households had no labour force at all since their members were over sixty years old; 14 had one, 78 had two to three, while 101 had four to six. 62 had 7 to 10 workers while 5 had more than 10 members as a labour force (Table 5:8 Appendix 1). Productivity, I found, is clearly related to the available labour force up to the point when the household can manage most activities on its own.

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(1) This criterion ignores migrants who return in time to plough and the many men and women in their sixties who can do a days work in the fields with the best, and it includes children whom the education system fails to release when they are needed.

Large households show no great tendency to be more efficient in the fields than do the majority in the middle range (Tables 5:9 Appendix 1).

These then are the key institutions of economic life in the villages. Much must have changed since historic times but the rules of access to land, either for arable or grazing use seem to have changed least. Would not the market orientation that clearly underlies migrant labour or cash brewing have led to the creation of a market in land or to the establishment of new principles for the control of grazing? We need an explanation for this continuity which initially seems to contradict the general trend in economic institutional change. Two conditions would be necessary for change in the land tenure system. Since government has, since Protectorate times, actively taken a part in defining tribal land tenure, land tenure would now have to be changed by government legislation. There are numerous parts of Africa however, where the law has been circumnavigated by payment for improvement to the land or by other means so that a market in land has in fact developed. So perhaps the legal explanation is inadequate. The second condition is that people want the change; that it is in the interest of the powerful people in the society at least. Given the ability of people to avoid the implications of the law it is this second condition which is clearly missing in Botswana.

We have to investigate what interests people have in maintaining the present tenure system, and whether divergent interests are beginning to emerge. But the prime question is whether land is yet a scarce resource. I have discussed already the difficulty of making this assessment, but in South African Bantustans, where land clearly is scarce, the individualization of holdings, that is the allocation of land in economic

units and the granting freehold title to individual farmers, has been tried unsuccessfully (Wilson 1971). It was found that individual holdings were in practice treated in the same way as plots held in customary tenure, being handed down and divided amongst lineage members in the customary way. This, as Monica Wilson points out, results in "The tale of increasing pressure of population on deteriorating land and the fall ... in productivity per head ... (and) in total crop production." (Wilson 1971 p.55). Pressure on land occurs both because of increasing population and because people with the aid of the ox plough cultivate larger areas in response to falling yields. The picture of sub-subsistence production, as the Botswana Ministry of Agriculture sometimes terms it, is revealed from production figures for Manyana and Mankgodi villages and concurs with the trend in the African reserve areas of South Africa where the small size of holdings also leads to sub-subsistence yields. (Table 5:11 Appendix 1). In both cases the right of access to arable land by virtue of membership of the tribe or lineage is maintained as far as possible.

The temptation, of course, is to ascribe this to inherent resistance to change. Wilson, however, dismisses this 'cultural last ditcher' interpretation. There are far too many examples of people radically altering their institutions or of strong farmers forcing the issue by seizing land for themselves for one to be convinced that in South Africa Africans are so attached to their traditions of land allocation that they refuse to change. No, the motive for continued support for traditional principles of land allocation can be found in the security that land provides for a people engaged in migrant labour. It has long been observed that tribal land tenure systems are quite compatible with the demands of

mine labour. The pattern was already emerging in the 1940's. Max Gluckman writes of that period "I was impressed by the strong persistence of tribal systems of land tenure and a general survey showed that, as these systems entered the modern economy, the right most emphasised in all Southern and Central African tribes was the right of every man to some arable land...." (Gluckman in Watson 1954 p.vi). The contract labour system in which workers are prevented from establishing a permanent urban existence, and the general insecurity of urban existence for all Africans in South Africa enhances the security function of land in the rural areas for the miner, or long term urban worker. A rural base provides him with a place to keep his family inexpensively where they may even grow some of their food requirements and where he can try his luck with cattle if his savings are enough.(1) Migrants have a clear interest in keeping open their rights to arable land and grazing, and would be gravely threatened should their holdings be usurped or their rights withdrawn. Their interests are quite consistent with the maintenance of traditional rights with the new emphasis upon right of access. But what happens when a migrant returns and establishes a successful herd, is he not then tempted to monopolize resources? Will not the interests of wealthy residents prevail over those of absentee workers and their families in the village? If such a situation arose it would lead to a concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. Is this the case? Tables 3:9 to 3:12 in Appendix 1 show the extent to which

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(1) For the mining companies the existence of rural reserves with the special status of 'native property' provides an excuse for paying low wages and for avoiding long term commitments to the sick or the aged. The logic of this convenient distinction is of course enhanced when international boundaries are involved. Rex (1972) develops the idea that this is not, as some observers have suggested, an anachronism that will wither away as South Africa progressively experiences the social forces of an urban industrial system, but rather that it can easily become a stable variant of capitalist society.

wealth in cattle correlates with wealth in goats or in crop yields. There is a clear relationship as one would expect but no class divide is apparent and the range of differences is, as I have already indicated, rather small in relation to the rest of the country. Several factors have to be considered in explaining this situation.

First, and this is not shown in the Tables, some wealthy people do emerge, but they go west with their cattle to take advantage of the country that is currently being opened up by the installation of bore-holes and pumps.(1) I only have accounts of one or two people from these villages whose wealth was adequate to meet the financial cost involved in moving to these areas where control of water resources in effect gives them control over grazing also. The move west to take advantage of this novel situation prevents the few people who are for one reason or another emerging as wealthy stockholders from entering directly in competition with their fellow villagers for resources in land. But such people are few and usually their economic circumstances put them in a class apart. The only people whom I encountered in the vicinity of these villages with conspicuous sums to invest were one or two civil servants in the higher ranks of the service and two men whose wealth was ascribed to illegal activities in South Africa, selling Dagha (Marujuana) and running diamonds. Of the latter one had recently died while the other was moving most of his agricultural activities out to the west. But for most villagers wealth in cattle is unstable and

(1) The only considerable doubt I have about the validity of the tables as a fair description of wealth distribution patterns is in relation to the wealthy cattle men. Large herds can be easily removed to far off places. There may have been more such men, and their herds may have been larger than reported. But this does not substantially alter the overall picture.

difficult to accumulate. The initial investments that people can make from their savings in formal employment are small. Although cattle multiply over the years, encouraging the hopes that small beginnings can lead to a position of strength, the depredations of disease and drought are repetitive. Mankgodi householders were asked how many cattle they had lost in the most recent drought. And the results (Table 3:12 Appendix 1) show that approximately half of all the cattle were lost. Many households lost all their stock, while more were reduced from a state of independence to a state of dependency. Probably no man feels himself to be in an unshakeable position in his cattle strength and this, far from encouraging stock limitations and control of grazing, simply encourages the view that stock must be accumulated, for which purpose the country must be kept open.

Many men of substance who remained in the villages were of mature years (Table 5:4a Appendix 1) and would already be in a position where they have an interest in ensuring that adult sons have access to land. Indeed some of the less well provided only held stock because their working sons had given them money to invest. Thus interdependence reinforces their corporate interest in the tribal system as they interpret it.

Thirdly associated with open grazing are practices, widely found amongst cattle owning people, (e.g. Dyson Hudson 1969) which serve to spread and therefore minimize risks. A tendency to accumulate cattle itself reduces the risk of annihilation, as the figures show. The practice of distributing cattle about the countryside by granting herding and usufruct rights to other people (these cattle being known to their holders as mafisa, 'the herded ones') benefits the owner economically mainly in

that it reduces risks. These responsss are only possible under an open grazing system where the contraints of access to a finite area of land do not occur.

Finally,we move into politics. It has long been recognized that the Chiefs play a key role in the maintenance of land distribution. Gluckman notes that "membership of the tribe and allegiance to the chief give a man a right in land....." leading to a situation in which ".... tribal social system endures on the land which is the (tribesmans) main security." (Gluckman in Watson 1958 p.x.). Hence the continuing respect for the chieftainship as an institution and the maintenance of tribal identity. But the obverse of the coin is that the Chiefs have an interest in maintaining the open land use system because by doing so they maintain their following. In Botswana, while in principle the Chief is owner of the land, land allocating activities were in practice widely spread amongst the senior men of the tribe through the process of allocating large tracts to senior men who then in turn sub-divided it amongst families. In this case many men might be able to favour others, usually their junior kin, with a plot. The broader authority structure rests in part upon the patronage of land disposal. The Tribal Land Act of 1968 withdrew this function from the tribal hierarchy in favour of the Land Boards but Chiefs could still stand as champions of the interests of their followers. (Witness the repeated calls of Chief Tobegha to his people to apply for land before it was too late, and they found themselves and their sons "sewing pumpkins in the desert like the Bakalahadi".) Hence tribal leaders, some of whom are men of substance, have an interest in maintaining the social system that ensures free access

to grazing.(1)

So for these reasons it can be deduced that the residents of the village also have interests in maintaining the open grazing system. This does not imply however that some individuals would not benefit from cornering for themselves an area of country over which they have exclusive rights. In many ways the ideal arrangement for a cattle owner is to have both an area for himself and access to common land.(2) A couple of incidents from the villages illustrate the forces involved. The Mankgodi people had a few years previously had the opportunity to purchase some freehold land and so increase their available grazing. A suggestion was made in Kgotla that they should make a collection for this purpose but the scheme never got off the ground. To raise the necessary funds it was felt that the wealthy would have to subscribe more than the poor. The stumbling block, my informant said, was that it was feared that the wealthy would claim preferential rights over the land. Similarly the Chief had once suggested that a certain area of land amongst the hills close to the village be fenced off as a fattening ranch, similar to the government ranches, but he said "the people refused". Again, my

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(1) One further point about fencing. It is very difficult to build a fence against the wishes of the people because the power of the 'snips' (pliers) lies with the people. Pule Mulusi had contemplated buying wire to fence his field (now acceptable in law) but, he said "the little boys will have it to make lorries". Others more openly ascribed the destruction of wire field fences to their neighbours.

(2) Many of the really large scale operators are in fact able to buy a freehold farm outside the tribal areas and alternate their livestock between the tribal areas to which they have access as tribesmen and the freehold land to which they have exclusive rights. They obtain the best of both worlds. The ideal way of exploiting this situation one might assume would be to keep stock on tribal land until grass was exhausted there and then move them into private property where grazing is in the meantime conserved. From casual observation however there seemed to be a tendency for fenced areas to become quickly overgrazed, perhaps because stock may be left there relatively unsupervised, and for holders or owners then to move stock onto communal land, but in either case maximum privilege is obtained.

informant said, it was feared that the Chief himself and another influential man in the village who both held stock in the vicinity would corner the resource for themselves.

These accounts illustrate both the people's suspicions of the motives of the more successful cattle owners and the reluctance or inability of leaders to push ahead with a scheme which would alienate their following.

I have concentrated in this account upon the social forces that ensure the continuity of open grazing leaving aside any discussion of arable land because of my doubts, expressed earlier, about whether arable land is really a scarce resource at this stage. Should a successful cash crop or a revolutionary new technology be discovered that really altered the potential of arable land, then the resulting scarcity would put a new strain upon the system. Nonetheless people are very sensitive about their rights. When I was measuring fields I was constantly asked whether I was going to divide their land or take it away. No land has ever been taken from people in these villages, though the Chiefs in the past occasionally moved people about from one part of the country to another. Such suspicion can only be a product of the deeprooted fears and suspicions that a couple of centuries of actual deprivation elsewhere have produced amongst the peoples of Southern Africa as a whole. A song sung by the children at a Christmas singing competition sounds like a long remembered lament:

Makgosi ke mohumi o safeleng,
Lefatse le tserwe ka makgowa
Baswi ba kabo ba tsosiwa re kabo
re tsosa baswi

Mother of chiefs is a wealth without end,
The country is taken by Europeans,
If we could raise the dead we should raise them up.

In summary then the economic institutions of the villages reflect the needs of people bound up in a two-strand economy. Individual households and families straddle the urban-rural divide, and exploit both industrial and agricultural opportunities to work out an existence that hopefully will avoid both the poverty of the countryside and the insecurity of the town. The transition to this kind of economy has involved some fundamental changes in the institutional complex of the society. In particular the practice, rather than the rules, of cattle ownership has moved towards an individual ownership pattern reflecting both the incorporation of the market principle and the earning capacities of migrants into the livestock business. This has had the consequence of enhancing the significance of the individual household as the unit of production in the rural economy. Dependence upon a money income has also led to the establishment of migrant labour as a normal activity and to the adoption of money raising activities like beer brewing in its different forms as a regular village activity. But, dominated as it is by the production of industrial society just over the border, the economy has not diversified to any degree in spite of the presence in the villages of a wide range of skills. In this situation the openness of access to grazing arable land is enhanced as a principle of social life and is vigorously maintained.

There is then nothing obsolescent about village economic institutions seen in this perspective. From the viewpoint of the people concerned they form part of a way of life which may not be ideal, but is at least possible. That there are costs is obvious even to the people themselves but until some means is found of providing them with security and alternative chances of making oneself strong, these costs will simply be borne.

CHAPTER 4

THE RELEVANCE OF THE SCHEMES

In the last chapter the conclusion was reached that the people of Mankgodi and Manyana are committed to their two fold economy and that the present institutions of the village and tribe, greatly modified to meet contemporary circumstances, serve vital security and welfare purposes for them. It is against this setting that the relevance of extension and community development activities must be assessed. This is not to say that development activities should merely aim to make this life more possible; though as a minimal short-term objective this might be desirable. But it does imply that there is a complex of vested interests which will strongly influence the villagers' perceptions of the benefits for them of whatever is on offer. At its simplest this means that there is a threshold of benefit that must be reached before people will be prepared to make major investments or accept agency sponsored policies. (John de Wilde and others 1967). Improved rural productivity has to compete with the returns of migrant labour; moreover security as well as income is a necessary benefit to be offered by development policies.

To assess the relevance of development schemes one has to do two things. First to see how the knowledge, material resources, and institutions that are on offer meet the needs of individuals or groups in the community.(1) Here of course the priorities are determined by

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(1) The need to take this perspective is increasingly being emphasised by observers of Extension Activities, e.g. Joy 1971.

the recipients since it is they who decide whether to respond or not. But it is also necessary to assess whether the measures even if effective are capable of achieving development. In this case the observers' value judgements come to the fore, since there is no objective way of determining what development is. While one can separate the two aspects of evaluation conceptually, it is in practice useful to try and consider them together since plans which fail to accommodate or satisfy the interests of the people who must fulfil them are obviously unrealistic.

The Agricultural Extension Department is attempting to diversify their programme, to move away from the formal Pupil Farmer scheme towards work with groups of farmers. At the higher level of the ministry there is a desire to be flexible on the question of advice to farmers in recognition of their situational needs. Nonetheless in the field a fairly clearly delineated "package" of techniques is associated with membership of the formal scheme and constitutes the basis of the Demonstrators' approach to the public in the villages. The package concentrates upon arable agriculture though Demonstrators are prepared to give advice on livestock management as well. This reflects official policy. Because livestock is so unevenly distributed in the country the Department feels that it would benefit most people if it concentrates its advice on arable agriculture which is in principle open to all households that own land. (1968 Annual Conference Report).

In spite of this orientation formal membership of the Pupil Farmer scheme in the two villages was limited. In Manyana where the resident Demonstrator was responsible for most of the village population and

some others besides there were 33 members on the Demonstrator's books, while in Mankgodi the resident Demonstrator had 27 members. But the history of the programme was quite different in the two villages. In Mankgodi Mr. Nzinge was the first Demonstrator to be stationed in the village and had been there for about three years. Manyana had had a demonstrator since the days of the cooperators' programme and Mr. Kutzwe had been stationed in the village for a number of years. Manyana had therefore had the maximum exposure to the Pupil Farmer scheme and any possible demonstration effect which it may have had upon the population at large. The most convenient way of assessing the relevance of the new techniques which the Demonstrators were advocating for the local farmers was to consider their adoption within the population at large. A sure sign of relevance would be the adoption of new techniques by people who have no formal commitment to the scheme.

The principal techniques of improvement advocated by the department concern moisture and fertility conservation in the fields. Winter ploughing, that is cultivation immediately after the harvest, had been shown in experiments at the local research station to maintain moisture in the soil through the dry season so that crops have a headstart in the following year. To maintain soil fertility manure should be spread on the fields instead of being left in the permanent cattle kraals near their homesteads. Row planters should be used to obtain a suitably low plant population density for this arid land and so that inter row cultivators can be applied to control competitive weeds. New short varieties of sorghum with a quicker maturation time are also advocated. But besides these new techniques there is the question of timeliness.

Farmers are strongly advised to plant early to take advantage of early rains. This, of course, is greatly facilitated if they have been able to winter plough. (See e.g. Botswana Daily News, Wednesday 3rd November 1971).

But the response to this programme of new techniques was limited. In Manyana with long exposure to the Demonstrator and his message, even those techniques that did not require a new technology were little practiced. Most successful was manuring. Even a few non-scheme farmers spread manure on their fields occasionally. But winter ploughing, regarded as crucial by extension personnel was seldom done and then only in small parts of the land. The use of the planter was equally limited and no farmers outside the scheme practised these things at all (Table 6:1 Appendix I).

To explain this poor response one has to look at the resources available to particular households, the kind of organizational arrangements that they have to make to achieve any production at all and the way in which the behaviour of other people in the society, - often only exercising their rights within the law, - act as constraints upon individual action.(1)

Winter ploughing as an activity neatly illustrates all these points. If a householder is without cattle enough to "inspan" (roughly speaking half the households) it is clearly difficult for him to increase the number of cultivation activities that he performs. To plough at all he

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(1) I assume here that people know about new techniques, which is not always true as I explain elsewhere, but the assumption enables us to explore here these other kinds of constraints.

must obtain the use of cattle from stockholders. If he hires cattle then an additional cultivation after the harvest would double the costs. If he relies upon relatives to plough for him customary obligations do not stretch to such novel activities. If he works for a cattle owner in anticipation that the owner will in turn come to plough for him (go tsena mabogo - to put in hands) this too is confined to plough planting as one operation at the beginning of the season.

Within these broad categories of dependent farmers only those who are able to put together two or three beasts with someone in a similar position to make up a plough team would be able to extend their mutual benefit to winter ploughing (Curtis, 1973).

Lack of a plough team is a real constraint upon householders but the need to find the human labour may constrain even cattle owners themselves. Old age and infirmity (and many cattle holders are elderly Table 5:4 Appendix I), children in school, women pregnant or in confinement can deplete labour supplies within the strongest households while many households who hold land are too small in any case to field a human plough team. To yoke six beasts to the plough and to control them in the field usually requires two men, one to handle the long whip which cracks the air or touches the outside flank on either side, the other to hold the plough. Additionally a child or a woman should be on hand to lead the team when they are breaking new ground. A hand to clear encroaching bush from the field is often useful and someone to make tea is as essential here as on a building site in Birmingham. Cattle owners would find it difficult to recruit labour for a new out of season activity; again because of the reciprocal and contractual

arrangements of labour exchange are not easily stretched to new activities.

Though lack of resources and the difficulty of giving new interpretations to these elaborate organizational means of obtaining the use of a plough team effectively put winter ploughing outside the capabilities of a large section of the agricultural population (which is nearly everyone in these villages), some people clearly do have the resources available to do them. For them a further constraint is found in the behaviour of others in the society. This is a land without fences and positively committed to staying that way, as I show elsewhere. Customarily, the agricultural season started with a call to the people from the Chief, advised by his elders, to go and plough. The people were then obliged to herd their stock and remove them from the arable lands areas where they had been free to consume the crop residue of the previous season. The practice was associated with rituals that are now effectively abandoned and the people are left to rely upon some sort of a consensus as to when it is reasonable to plough. To winter plough at the end of the season it is necessary to harvest early and therefore plant early otherwise the land dries out and turns to dust or bakes as hard as stone. To plant early exposes one to the ravages of wandering cattle still hungry after the lean season. This was the most common explanation which the people gave for their failure to plant early. Winter ploughing requires the retiming of the agricultural season, something which would only be possible with the agreement of a group of neighbours at the lands or of the people of the village as a whole.

In one respect those who winter ploughed faced the possibility of more direct sanctions from their neighbours. In both the Kweneng and Ngwaketse districts customary law disallows the use of oxen for any purposes at the end of the agricultural season. It is thought that inspanning oxen at this time may bring crop destroying hail. Several demonstrators were able to give instances of farmers who had been prosecuted by their neighbours for infringement of this law. Official encouragement to face prosecution and to confound their critics by obtaining a good crop is hardly effective against this active sanction.

Row planting is another new technique which was only accommodated into the agricultural cycle by a few farmers. The idea of the row planter or drill is simple enough. Seeds can be spaced evenly within the row and rows can be separated by some three feet, in order to minimize competition for moisture and nutrients by the plants. Soil moisture can be further conserved by mechanically cultivating between the rows with an ox-drawn cultivator. Single or double row ox-drawn seed drills were available in the country, specially commissioned by the Ministry of Agriculture from a South African firm. In Manyana six scheme farmers had purchased single row planters and two had double row planters, while in Mankgodi there were five privately owned single row planters. Members of the scheme are strongly encouraged to purchase and use these machines, apparently with some success. Additionally scheme farmers may borrow the Demonstrators' implements ostensibly for instruction but in practice as a perk that goes with the scheme membership. Obviously there is some enthusiasm for these machines, yet in Manyana only two Scheme farmers row planted all their land and

no non-scheme farmers used a planter at all, while in Mankgodi only two farmers outside the Scheme used planters and they were in the process of joining. No Scheme farmers in Mankgodi row planted all their fields.

Again the availability of draft oxen is a major constraint. If winter ploughing had been conducted and the fields remain clean then it would be possible to row plant immediately at the beginning of the season and the workload at that time would be reduced. Then the obligation to plough for kinsmen or for the man who holds your plough would easily be met. But this is seldom the case. Uusually the field must be ploughed first, particularly in those areas in which couch grass is spreading; to use a planter involves an extra operation. Significantly the customary 'putting in hands' has been stretched in favour of the cattle owner to accommodate these two operations, while his assistant must make do with one plough planting operation (which is regarded as the Tswana way) in which the seeds are scattered on the grass or the crop residue of last year, and turned in with a single ploughing. The result of this change is that people are now increasingly reluctant to resort to 'putting in hands' as a means of obtaining oxen because of the fear that the additional activities of the cattle owner may delay their own ploughing excessively. In this they are not always correct because wealthy farmers often spread out their cultivation in order to minimize risks and to ensure that at least a part of the crop is planted at that happy time - if there is one that year - when the seeds will both germinate and grow to fruition. In doing so they often intersperse their own activities with assistance to other people to whom they are obliged. The total work which assistants have to provide

is nonetheless increased and it is probably this that they find irksome. Cattle owners say that others are unwilling to 'help themselves'; others accuse cattle owners of selfishness. Pule Mulusi, having three teams to manage only succeeded in obtaining the assistance of two women who were otherwise without support. After a few days at work in his lands he moved to their fields and plough planted for them. Then he returned to row plant his own fields. People observed that these girls were lucky because their crops germinated nicely while Pule's delay cost him a good germination. But these observers also noted how much work the women had to do now that Pule was a scheme farmer.

Even farmers who own cattle recognise the time consuming nature of the combined operations. Usually as a concession to the wife, they plough plant a few acres first, partly to spread risks and partly to provide the workers in the field with melons and sweet reed (a kind of sorghum grown for its succulent stem) to eat while they tend the rest of the crop. Often, also they complete their field with a rapid plough plant when they feel that it will soon be too late to plant during that season.

The planters themselves are a further source of complaint. Simone Motlapele, an ambitious scheme farmer, argued jokingly that they were a plot perpetrated on the Botswana by the Boers who feared that if the Botswana farmers became successful there would be no more cheap labour to go South for the Boers' maize harvest. "They send the rejects" he said. Certainly I never saw a sorghum crop that was properly spaced but whether it was the machines or the farmers that were at fault was difficult to tell. The problem centred around the seed control plates.

I was told by the District Agricultural Officer that farmers themselves ought to drill out the rotating plates that allow the seeds to fall into the drill at appropriate intervals so that the holes are of the right size for the selected seeds, and spaced apart at the appropriate distance. Since the farmers had no metal working knowledge or equipment the Botswana version was pre-drilled with separate plates for sorgum and maize. The chosen variety of seed was often of the wrong size or uneven so that too many passed through at one time or got milled in the works. On the other hand the problem could have been that the seed selection was not adequate. Usually women, having selected the best heads from the sorghum in the field (in the case of home grown varieties) separate out the small seeds in a winnowing basket. Possibly this is inadequate for machine purposes or possibly, in the case of purchased hybrids it is omitted altogether by the men who now take charge. In any case, under these circumstances, several farmers who own machines or borrow the Demonstrators' machine abandoned their efforts to use them for sorgum after a trial strip.

From these two examples it can be seen that farmers evaluate these techniques differently from the extension personnel.(1) What under ideal experimental conditions in a research station may produce the best results may be impossible to implement under the operating conditions of the individual households. During my visit to the research station at Content Farm the point was illustrated nicely. Because of the dry condition of the soil two tractors in harness were engaged in winter ploughing; demonstrable proof that the constraints of local farmers were of little concern in the pursuit of scientific experiment.

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(1) A fuller discussion of the relevance of advocated techniques is in Curtis 1974.

What I have been itemizing might be termed 'resource constraints' in that they have to do with the materials and other factors of production which farmers have available to them; and 'rule restraints' in so far as they result from the kinds of institutional arrangements that govern farmers in their economic activities. Besides these, genuine deficiencies of knowledge about the environment or about new technologies may limit farmers' activities. I discovered one area in which, in my judgement, the knowledge required for the successful development of more intensive agriculture was lacking. Control of water is a problem that people are increasingly facing as they make public or private stock dams or as they encounter problems of erosion of roads or fields. One man I encountered was repairing a stock dam at his lands where he lived all the year round. He worked alone most of the time to mend a breach created during the flood of the previous year (some women from nearby contributed a headload now and then as they came to draw water to ensure right of access when it was completed). The side which had been breached he had built to a greater height than elsewhere because he said it was weak. He was digging out one side deeper than the other because, he said, the other leaked and this way the water would be encouraged to lie in the waterproof side. It was not a good place for a dam he said because there was too small a catchment area. The idea that he could extend the catchment by installing contour furrows was received with mild disbelief. In a similar way the advice that Demonstrators give about ploughing with the contour rather than downhill was probably little understood because of the poor knowledge of water behaviour. One leading farmer in the district found erosion channels opening up in his field and was advised by the Demonstrator to plough the other way across the field. But the field was at an angle

to the slope so that the new furrows would traverse the slope in the other direction. When I confronted both Demonstrator and farmer with this observation, both said "No, look where the water flowed last year".(1) This was one of the few areas in which I found my Demonstrator friends to be occasionally at a loss.

This kind of 'knowledge constraint' arises critically when a change in conditions forces new patterns of behaviour upon people. Here pressure upon natural resources was pushing people into attempting to collect water or prevent soil erosion in their fields when previous generations had been able to rely upon natural supplies and to abandon overworked fields. The people were gropingly aware of a need for more effective knowledge in this sphere. No sophisticated technology is required so that this is an area where improved knowledge itself could make an obvious contribution to development.(2) Something could be done now by individuals or groups in the existing framework of land rights and water rights to employ improved technology. Off season labour would be the main requirement and there is some slack available here even though many young men are away at work in industrial areas.

Even in this case, however, the institutional framework sets limits upon action. Contoured drains protecting one man's field must discharge somewhere and in heavily cultivated areas this may threaten a downhill neighbour's land. This problem occurred in one lands area

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(1) Water behaviour was one of the few areas of knowledge which I, having had streams to play with as a child in Highland Scotland, felt that I had directly useful practical knowledge to contribute.

(2) For obtaining levels a water level rather than the sophisticated and expensive 'dumpy' level is quite adequate though the people would have to be trained in its use.

where Mr. Kutzwe and I were discussing protective drainage. In this crowded area the technical problem immediately became translated into the social problem of convincing everyone to coordinate drain-digging, to re-align fields, and to renegotiate boundaries. This sort of activity, inevitable to any serious attempt to upgrade the land use in this part, would take the extension worker way beyond his accustomed role of farmer's friend and advocate of agricultural modernity. When the Ministry of Agriculture's soil conservation team visited the villages, calling upon people to conserve the soil, to conserve moisture, and to conserve plant life, practical problems of co-ordination and enforcement were immediately apparent from the questions. One farmer in Manyana complained that the road that served his farm was heavily eroded but that when he called upon his neighbours to assist him in repairing it they made excuses. (See also discussion in Chapter 7 and Appendix II Minute 20/5/72). This is probably the least of the organ-isational problems involved in soil conservation work.

Summarizing the farmers' response to the Extension programme; undoubtedly some farmers do achieve greater yields from their crops through their knowledge of row planting and cultivation, but these are men with the resources available to be able to exploit their new know-ledge. Others cannot use their knowledge unless some new resources are made available to them or unless the resource requirements of the tech-niques are reduced. If row planting is to become widely accepted either the amount of draft power must be increased through a loan scheme or through re-distributive measures or the draft requirements of both plough-ing and planting must be reduced. Sometimes again neither knowledge nor resources can be put to full use by those who have them unless rules are

made or changed to give new opportunities. Winter ploughing in this instance may be constrained by deficiency in the rules about herding of cattle in the early part of the season or by rules about inspanning oxen in the late season.

Clearly resource constraints or rule constraints cannot be overcome within the conventional extension programme yet they are crucial to the success of the programme. While official emphasis is upon teaching farmers new skills unofficially, or through the efforts of individual officers some attempts are made to overcome some of the practical difficulties that face their clients. Demonstration machinery in the Demonstrator's charge was lent to members of the Scheme or those who proposed to join. The use of Departmental machinery, officially provided for demonstration and not for loan, was an important bonus of Scheme membership. Demonstrators adopted different policies in relation to their equipment. Some worked on a first come first served basis, others rationed the use of equipment by farmers according to a strict rota. All ensured that new members of the Scheme had a chance, and attempted to push the better established members into purchasing their own equipment. But it was clear from lands committees' discussions in Manyana that the Demonstrator's equipment was valued as a resource open to Scheme members. There should be a set of equipment available to each lands area, one man argued, and though Mr. Kutzwe protested it was clear that this was almost an assumption of rights on the part of the group. Useful though people find this equipment, it serves only to encourage the wealthier members of the community to join the Scheme.

Potentially greater changes for individuals could be effected with the assistance of the Demonstrator through the use of financial loans secured with the Botswana Development Bank through the Department of Agriculture. Loans were available for all sorts of agricultural equipment from tractors downwards but as far as I could discover only one person within these villages had applied for and had been granted such a loan. He subsequently had his equipment reclaimed for default in repayments. For other farmers the necessary collateral was a stumbling block and many of those who did have cattle were unwilling to put them at further risk for the uncertain benefits of mechanized agriculture. "Perhaps we'll have a bad year", they said "Then how will we pay?"

It is difficult to see how government, with currently available technology, could intervene to provide assistance on a scale necessary to enable a larger number of households to participate in the Scheme. But a more appropriate technology that could reduce the draft animal requirements would enable a wider range of people to make their own investment in agricultural property.(1)

A further reduction of risks, that is, a greater certainty that investment would yield a large and sure return would also encourage investment by individuals. Curiously this would also be the condition of greater government intervention. The Ministry of Agriculture was at the time of the study rather cautious about any involvement in

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(1) At the time of the study a volunteer in Mochudi was experimenting with a multi-purpose tool bar to be drawn by two oxen and I am told that the government agricultural research station has subsequently been making its own experiments with this kind of technology.

machinery after a drought inspired tractor hire scheme a few years previously had run into serious financial difficulties. Farmers had defaulted on payments on a large scale and the rates charged had in any case been inadequate. Any future proposals would be subject to careful calculations of risk and benefit and the signs were that the risks were too great for expensive equipment. If the risks are too great for the Ministry it is quite likely that farmers are justified in their more intuitive judgements.(1)

The important point here is that the extension approach, concentrating as it does upon providing the farmer with knowledge and persuading him to change his ways, does not lead itself to a systematic review of farmers' economic capabilities.

Some experiments too were being conducted with new institutions. The advent of a dam building programme in the district for example saw the establishment throughout the area of Lands Committees initially created by a member of the Extension staff on secondment to the Dam Building Unit, to propose dam sites to the Ministry. Where dams were eventually sited these committees became Dam Committees with responsibility for maintaining the dams and controlling their use. In Manyana, Lands Committees stayed in existence and were used by the Agricultural Demonstrator for the new group approach to extension. In Mankgodi district where no dams were built the committees had virtually ceased to exist (but see Appendix II Minute 21/2/72 where the Councillor tried to call them back into existence.)

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(1) Many Ministry personnel admitted frankly that they themselves would not invest anything in agriculture in Botswana under current conditions.

The Lands Committees although representing clear cut geographical zones and being in principle open to everyone ploughing or holding stock in the areas exercise no authority over the area. They have no traditional standing but I could see no obstacle to their becoming an authority for some agricultural matters if the procedure was adopted whereby they submit their proposals to the village Kgotla for ratification, and if they subsequently ensured that decisions were followed. The crucial questions about when to start herding cattle at the beginning of the season, for example, could be dealt with in this way. In another village, the Demonstrator had himself taken the initiative in calling upon the chief to enforce the proper herding of cattle at the end of the season when he found that some people were cutting their crop green for fear of wandering stock. There is no reason why Lands Groups should not be given this role. But the lands groups of Manyana or indeed the farmers' associations elsewhere were called into existence primarily to act as vehicles for instruction; they often had a chairman and secretary but no treasurer because, having no executive functions, they had no need of funds. The educational bias of the extension programme again was a factor which limited their function.

Dams Committees on the other hand were beginning to have some authority and some executive functions. The Ministry, having created or improved dams in this area were anxious that local people should take responsibility for their maintenance and use.(1) The first task

(1) The larger dams in the district had a confused status. Having been built in a hurry as a response to drought the question of who would be responsible for them had not been settled in advance, and was now being debated with the Local Authorities. Even their legal status was under question. The smaller dams were to be left as a responsibility for the local people but this created equal confusion.

of the committees was to fence the dam and as much hinterland as possible to prevent the destruction of the wall by trampling and to prevent silting. Ideally the water should be led in a pipe through to a trough below the dam, the animals being kept out altogether. Alternatively, a gate should be provided through which herds can pass to drink water from the dam itself under the supervision of the herdsman. One of the stock dams in the Manyana area had been fenced by the dam committee who had raised Rs.2 per head from the cattle owners in the vicinity to buy the wire, while at the other local stock dam the committee was still raising funds. Much of the work of fencing was done by the group itself on 'self help' principles. I attended with the Demonstrator as this group was bushfencing the dam wall to keep the drinking cattle off its inside face. There were a good number of men hard at work on the site, but on the way there we met one of the more prominent Scheme farmers of the area herding his beasts. We taunted him that he was shirking: he excused himself on the grounds that he had no-one to herd his stock. Our arrival nevertheless spurred him to summon a boy to do the herding, and he joined us a few minutes later at the dam. The problem of getting everyone to participate without excuses is real enough, and much inactivity on such projects must be attributed to the fact that so much depends upon a consensus of opinion and a high degree of motivation and conviction.

As a sanction against non contributors, committee members claimed the right to bar people from the dam. It was by no means clear what their position was in law. Customary law decrees that natural water sources are open to all comers. Unfenced or communally constructed dams or wells are likewise common property. Individually built dams

or wells must be fenced around with bush or wire if they are to be recognized as private supplies. Government dams are an anomaly since 'government' might be taken to imply common property, but on the other hand, the fact that the dam is fenced implies some sort of control. Since people contribute cash and work towards the construction and upkeep of the dam they might be able to claim associational status with the right to exclude non-members, but the people did not view it in this way, stating that the dam was for "the people of this place", the only point of debate being whether cattle owners alone should contribute or all households since "we all plough with cattle". No test cases had arisen in court through which the status of the dams might be determined, and no clear definition was forthcoming from either central or local government. A lack of clearly defined legal status acted as a constraint upon the further development of dam committees as useful supervisory authorities. As it is committees have to rely upon the degree of support that they can achieve within the neighbourhood and the diffuse sanctions that the people as neighbours can bring to bear upon defaulters. No attempt could be made to decide whether strangers should be allowed access with their herds, though Manyana stockdams, situated amongst arable lands are unattractive to herdsmen so perhaps the problem was not as acute here. Elsewhere I was told, new dams had attracted large numbers of stock from the surrounding countryside with consequent pressures upon scarce grazing. If the question of rights and powers had been clarified then lands or dams committees could have provided a basis for a new pattern of locally operated pasture management.

These institutional innovations were however very much the efforts of a pioneering Motswana Agriculture and Livestock Officer attached to the special dam building programme, and not a part of the general national extension programmes. As experiments they give some indications of what could be done in the way of social organisation, yet they were of limited use in removing the rule constraints which progressive farmers face.

I have looked at the problems of farmers in general; now I move to the Scheme farmers. As might be expected, most Scheme farmers are among the reasonably well off cattle owners (Table 6:2). Most Scheme farmers have enough labour themselves to get on with their agriculture, (though the Mankgodi Demonstrators' recruitment included several with only two or three people of working age). (Table 6:3 Appendix I). Membership is,as might be expected, concentrated among the strong.(1)

The 'strong' do not manage altogether to escape the obligations of kinship or to avoid the need for mutual aid but Scheme farmers endeavour to be as free of the constraints of cooperation as possible. Amongst Manyana registered Scheme farmers 55.5%, that is 15 out of the 27 Manyana men ploughed entirely on their own without giving or receiving assistance as against an estimated 13.9% (36/259) in the population as a whole. Amongst Scheme farmers with commitments to plough for others, 11 ploughed for kinsmen; such obligations are sanctioned in law. One Scheme farmer, whom I encountered in my sample survey, worked out an arrangement with

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(1) Direct comparisons with the wider samples are not possible because recruitment is on a geographical basis while village membership is geographically scattered, particularly in Mankgodi.

his widowed mother whereby she 'put in hands' with a wealthy but infirm old man and got the use of his cattle, while he concentrated upon his own fields. Since the mother was still active this arrangement was to the advantage of both since this increased the combined ploughing time that both households could manage. It also illustrates the kinds of pressures that face an ambitious young farmer.

All this indicates that the more entrepreneural and wellplaced of households join the Pupil Farmer Scheme. Amongst some of the younger members that I met there certainly were some whose earnest and single-minded endeavours at the lands did give the impression that this was a new style of agriculture. But many of the Scheme farmers of Manyana and Mankgodi are in fact getting on in years; they would be retired in a country that could afford retirement. (Table 6:4 Appendix I). Amongst these older farmers again one or two stood out as people who were enthusiastically committed to trying new techniques but for many it seemed that the new techniques were simply a means of further diversifying agricultural techniques in order to spread risks. In this they were indistinguishable from other farmers except that they were more successful in this aim. To support this statement one can cite the evidence already quoted about farmers broadcasting some seed, using a planter for a part of their acreage only and spreading their activities throughout the possible planting season. Of the 26 Scheme farmers who used a planter in Manyana district in 1972, one only, an outsider with a tractor, row planted his total acreages, the rest row planted between 6.5% and 87% of their ploughed acreage.

Community Development activities can be analysed and appraised in a similar way. Here we can start with the significance of food aid to the households who participated in the famine relief programme. This was regarded as a temporary expedient and in fact was only in operation for the first few months of my stay in Manyana, but nonetheless drought is a recurring phenomenon and food aid is a standard response. The problem of getting food aid to the right people is also interesting since it illustrates the problem of appraising individual household needs.

To assess the consequences of drought was itself difficult. Initially the Ministry of Agriculture was called upon to act as a judge of conditions in the different parts of the country. According to reports filtering in from the districts and beyond, about the condition of the harvest and cattle, some sort of picture was obtained of the relative success in crop yield or the condition of grazing. Subsequently it was realised that the success of a few farmers in any district as crop producers or of a few cattle men could disguise the facts of poverty and hunger amongst a significant part of the village population. Because of this problem it was decided that the food programme ration should be divided amongst the villages proportionately. Rations available could satisfy approximately two per cent of the total population of each village. Manyana being a village of about 2,000 was allocated 40 places for a work team on this basis. (Interview with Relief and Rehabilitation Unit Staff, 20.4.71).

Beyond this the allocation depended upon village personnel. Officially the Village Development Committee, with the village Headman

and Community Development Assistant would select the appropriate number of people and fill the places, choosing the poorest,that is those without cattle, first. If sufficient places were available others whose cattle would otherwise have to be sold could be selected. In Manyana a group had been selected under these directives at the start of the programme in October 1970 and these continued working until March 1971. But then, at a village assembly, the suggestion was made that others should be given a turn. "We are all starving" they said. Someone pointed out that in another village people took turns to work and receive rations although the official registrations remained unchanged.(1) So it was agreed to form two new groups to take fortnightly sessions in turn with the first group. The chairman of the Village Development Committee, with the agreement of the Community Development Assistant, drew up a list of candidates for the next group who were then called to the village assembly place where other members of the Village Development Committee including the Chief assembled to make up a new list. On the first occasion insufficient people turned up to make out a full list of 39 (the Project Leader remained the same) and some of the previous group were allowed to continue. Later allegations were made that the Chief had selected the continuers from the first group to include his friends and relations, and the Councillor brought along some more people whom he considered to be eligible, but the effect of this protest was simply to ensure that a third group was formed later.

Did the selection procedure really ensure that the poor of the village had precedence? I interviewed 102 amongst the participants

(1) This system had been adopted in most of the smaller villages, I subsequently discovered.

(who theoretically totalled 110 but because of the system of substitutes or replacements actually numbered rather more) and from my notes I have found that 73 had been able to plough that year, while 37 came from households who held cattle. Taking those whom I had interviewed (before the scheme was suddenly stopped) as representative of all participants then of the 65 households in the village who planted nothing that year about 30 took part in the programme, and about 60 of the 120 who were without cattle. Clearly there were many households in the village who, in terms of cattle ownership or agricultural activities, were poorer than some of the participants, some of whom both owned cattle and attempted to grow crops. But amongst the cattle-less households of the village some may have preferred to rely upon migrant labour or beer brewing for their support while others may have had insufficient labour to be able to participate.(1) So although from the figures the recruitment does not seem to have been ideal it was clearly slanted towards the more needy section of the population.

For a woman, no social stigma attached to participation in this relief; for drought is something suffered by all. A man, however, might feel ashamed to work for food only when his children went without school fees. Only four men took part in the Manyana teams: the Project Leader, himself nearly blind, and three others whom illness or old age prevented from seeking work in South Africa. But for all participating households food rations made a substantial contribution to the family budget. Rations were standardized for a family of six

(1) Some households in the village had been receiving a destitutes' allowance to enable them to draw supplies from the village store but this has ceased at the end of 1970.

persons and worked out at about 30 lbs. of maize meal per week and about 3.7 lbs of milk powder. At village prices this was worth about R2 per week, not far below the minimum government recognized wage of 50 cents per day and comparing very favourably with the R3 per month plus food which is commonly paid by government employees in the villages like school teachers to their domestic servants. The supplies are based upon minimum dietary needs which for the average family constitute the major recurrent expenditure. It could be earned by one member whilst others worked in the fields. Often the mother registered but sent a grown child as a substitute. In this way food rations allowed increased time, energy and money to be put into agriculture. That this agricultural effort was in 1971 largely unsuccessful is another story.

Since supplies arrived at the village at fortnightly intervals rations were received in large quantities by the individual household. Much was made of the fact that women often brewed beer with these supplies: a sure sign in the eyes of some officials that these supplies were not necessary. From the point of view of the individual household, however, to use a part of their supplies to make beer for sale was a sensible economy. Not only did it realise some much needed cash from which other necessary supplies could be purchased but also a successful brew could at least double the value of the materials put into it. Supplies could be made to last twice as long. Once this household economy viewpoint has been grasped it is more useful to ask why more people on the work projects did not use their supplies for cash brewing. One problem was the danger of excessive competition in the time following a delivery of supplies, a second was the labour shortages that occurred during an agricultural season and the third was the consumer resistance to beer made with cornmeal rather than with sorghum.

Benefits accrued to the village as well as to the individual household. Over the six months that the food for work project lasted the Manyana teams made bricks and constructed a small storeroom, an office (both about fourteen feet by eight feet) and completed the walls of the teacher's house. They were also hired out to work in teams of ten hoeing villagers' lands for six days in the early part of the season, earning R1 a day for the Village Development Committee. They repaired the Demonstrator's old house for use as a guest house in the village and they contributed labour to the builders of an American founded school hall. These buildings were undoubtedly a valuable asset to the village and taken along with the three teachers' quarters constructed on the previous programme they constituted the larger part of the public assets of the village. Productivity was however low. One of the women teachers estimated that two women could have raised the walls of the teacher's house in two weeks if they had been working for themselves and could have made the necessary bricks in a similar length of time. In this teacher's house was about a quarter of the total productivity of forty people a week over six months. Although there was considerable support in the village for the work which was being done and some participants had children in the school who would benefit directly from these improvements, the work was not tackled with any sense of urgency. Village Leaders did not themselves take part. Their involvement was confined to sorting out (or creating) disputes about who should participate and what should be done. The Project Leader himself was preoccupied with his attendance record, with checking that substitutes were not too young or too small, and with ensuring that the girls did not take advantage of his hazy vision to play truant. Leadership then depended upon the women themselves and one or two emerged who took charge of a part of the work and

who stimulated some fellow workers to get on with the job. They took a pride in their achievement and sometimes managed to challenge the whole group to work hard. Nonetheless the overall impression was one of time serving rather than commitment. This impression was reinforced upon my visits to other villages at this time.

As soon as food aid ceased, work on the projects came to a halt. A new organizational principle had to be established before work projects could be completed. Unfinished public buildings throughout the country point to the difficulty of establishing a new means of expressing widely felt public concern for these projects. In Manyana a long lull followed the cessation of food aid during which village leaders struggled to make their different committees fulfil their developmental role. After twelve months there were some signs that a system of subscriptions was to be started.

In Mankgodi, although some of the school buildings started under the Food Aid Programme had not been completed, villagers were subscribing in an organized way towards three public buildings, clinic, church and community centre, during my stay. Clearly there is a demand for these public buildings. However, none of these projects contributed towards the productivity of the villages. In some places, like neighbouring Tamagha, stock dams in villages were being built or restored, but these were the only examples of productive projects. Anti-soil erosion projects, dams to serve lands areas, land clearance; none of these were included. The rules and procedures under which food aid projects, or indeed village development projects are organized explain these omissions. The rules, government imposed, required that the projects undertaken be public rather than private. This was interpreted

to mean village as against lands areas, so food aid towards a family improving its lands was not allowed.(1) Also excluded were cases where a small group of farmers wished to build a dam or repair a road for themselves although such projects would have acted as incentives to producers as individuals.

Although the level of productivity on 'food aid' or other communal projects is low in comparison with what individuals will do when producing for themselves, buildings and roads and other public facilities are produced. In any particular village a fair proportion of the public facilities have been produced with the help of the villagers themselves but the potential for locally engendered effort is much greater than actual activities at any time indicate. There is a clear preference for making financial contributions rather than providing labour but if agricultural projects could be included this observation might not hold true. The constraints are in part the rules under which food aid or self help activities operate, particularly the definition of public works. If projects closer to the economic interests of the people could be undertaken there would be more enthusiastic support. In part the constraints lie in the problems of village authority which I consider in the next chapters.

Although some improvements in agricultural practices of the wealthier farmers and some village public services have been achieved or created under these schemes there has been no breakthrough to a developmental economy, to a permanent improvement in standard of living, or to a social process that might lead to these things through stimulating village 'self

(1) The Ministry of Agriculture has recently changed this by providing food aid to those who are prepared to risk winter ploughing.

help'. Perhaps this is too much to hope for; a viable agriculture may be impossible in the face of South African competition; communal projects may be inevitably marginal when most strong men are away from home, but enough has been shown about the limited relevance of the schemes in operation at the time of the study to indicate that if there are possibilities of development some additional government interventions are necessary to achieve them. In particular, any proposed government initiative requires examination to see whose needs it will meet, whether it is possible within customary or other law, and whether the people can sustain the necessary organization. To this last question I now turn.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

I now turn to questions of choice and of control. I have already demonstrated that individuals are constrained in their responses to opportunities by the rules of the society and by the behaviour of others. I now ask what scope people as individuals, families, or groups, have for influencing the shape of their economic and social life through participation in public affairs, or by becoming leaders. To do this I examine the social structure of the society, and the decision-making procedures at the local level.

This discussion of Tswana village social structure also advances my general critique of development agency assumptions about the nature of the society with which they are dealing. Tswana society, like the Tswana economy, has changed radically from what ever it is likely to have been like before the colonial period. Though many institutions of tribal life endure, they do so under changed conditions and new social forces act through them. The Protectorate Government, and more recently the Botswana Government have created new roles, new institutions and procedures which radically alter the character of village life.

In these villages, the contrast between the conspicuous ranking system on the one hand and egalitarian claims on the other struck me forcibly from the beginning. Equality before the law I expected, having read Schapera (1938) and this was indeed a live principle of Tswana village life; but there were other occasions when the claim of

equality was made. I noted for example that there was never much argument about how public subscriptions should be levied. All households were expected to contribute equally, except that those headed by women were allowed a lesser rate. Likewise, during the drought, when the famine relief programme was in operation, there was strong pressure upon the system to allow a wide range of households to participate; 'we are all starving'. In these two instances, it was in the interests of the wealthier and the senior, to claim equality with the poorer and junior.(1) But not all egalitarian features can be explained away so easily. The right of all men to stand and address public meetings is a right with important consequences for the quality of life in the villages, and of course the right of married men to arable land and free access to grazing is, as we have seen, fundamental.

The most obvious system of rank is that which is built around Kgotla - the assembly place of adult men. This meeting place takes the form of a stockade of upright poles adjoining the cattle kraal of the senior man of the group, with a tree for shelter from the sun and a fireplace in a corner for the winter. Structures of this form, varying in size and elaboration are found in all Tswana villages, and at all structural levels within villages. Men identify with the Kgotla and it is asserted that in times past they spent much of their time sitting in Kgotla chatting, listening to disputes and airing public issues. They apparently often had their food sent to them in Kgotla and certain portions of all slaughtered animals had to be sent to the

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(1) Chambers notes, "Participation through "voluntary" contributions can mean an income regressive flat rate tax which hits the poorest hardest...." (p.4, 1973) which is the case here, but the people think of equal contributions as an egalitarian measure because it implies equal status.

Kgotla for the men to cook and eat. It was probably always the older men who spent most of their time in Kgotla and who got most out of it, but all married men were supposed to go there in the mornings; the house and compound was the place of the wife. Today men seldom use Kgotlas as centres of informal discussion; beer parties have taken their place; but they will assemble when called together to meetings at any level to arbitrate in disputes, and will gather in numbers in the headman's Kgotla when called to discuss public affairs or to try formal cases.

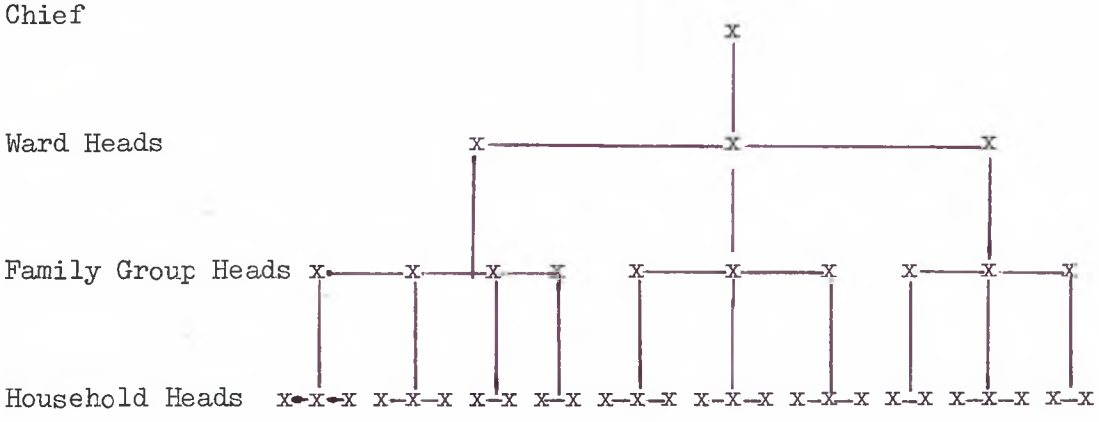
To describe the levels at which Kgotla occur it is appropriate to use the kinship idiom as the people themselves do, though no one would pretend that more than a part of the structure so described actually consists of related kin. All Tswana tribes are ethnically diverse in composition, (Schapera 1952) and so are the villages within them, though politically they call themselves the 'people of x', - some ancient leader (or his totem). Ethnicity, and length of time with the group, as well as kinship are recognised principles of ranking. In some tribes indeed the people are formally divided into sons of chiefs, servants of chiefs and strangers on this basis, but this was not the case amongst the Hurutse.

In principle a man's nuclear household belongs to the Kgotla of his father or his father's elder brother, and this group in turn is part of a wider descent group under the leadership of the senior man in the male line. These groups in turn are united under the authority of headman or chief, though when the kinship idiom is used to describe relationships at this stage it is often a notion rather than a description. (Sekgoma Khama 1972). Schapera, writing in the late 1930's

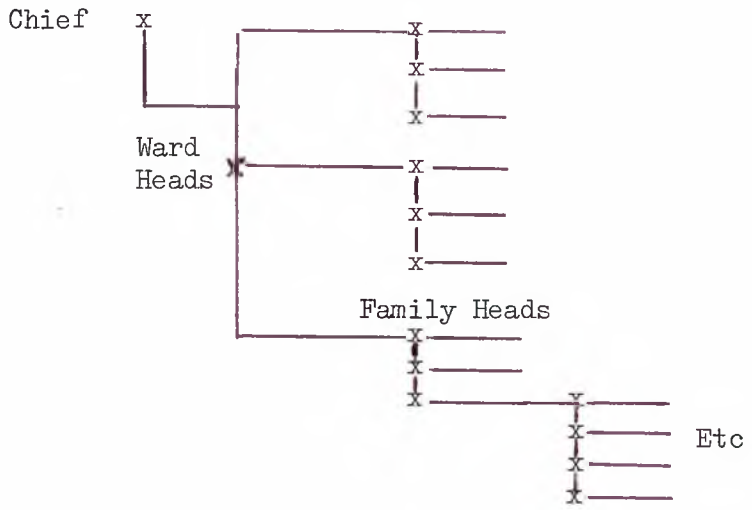
describes the levels as follows:

> "The smallest of these groups is the family, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children, own or adopted. One or more such families make up a household, the group of people living in the same group of huts. Several closely related households, living together in the same part of the village, make up the family group. One or more family groups organised together in a well defined local administrative unit of the tribe made up the ward..... Among the Kgatla and Ngwato finally, the wards are grouped together into the major divisions of the tribe here termed sections". (Schapera 1938 p.12).

This kind of description, which still holds true in principle today, could equally well have been made by a socially conscious Motswana. It encourages one to make a diagrammatic presentation as follows:



Levels are thus described, but households within each stratum are not of equal status. Kinship principles operate to place the men of a group in rank order, fathers senior to sons, eldest brother senior to junior and so on. Also the sections themselves are ranked according to the relative seniority of their respective founding ancestors, so that the whole of one section is senior to the whole of another. Our diagram should be modified to take this into account:



By assuming that the logic of the kinship principle determines what works out in practice, Lucy Mair (1965 p.59) describes the social system of the Kgatla branch of the Tswana people as a hierarchy in which "an elaborate system of rank allocates every man to his appropriate place". But the diagram reveals some incongruities. For example, is one to assume that a junior headman, perhaps a 'stranger', is in all situations junior to a household head of a senior ward? In many circumstances he could not be; in public affairs the headman would take precedence, but in ritual he and his people would be inferior. This distinction between the ritual and political expressions of rank can be expanded.

An occasion upon which men were strictly ranked in times past was that of initiation into manhood and 'age set' membership. Men came forward for circumcision in order of precedence, the son of the senior household of the village, usually the headman's son, if he were of appropriate age, first, followed by the other boys in order of seniority of their fathers. Other occasions upon which rank was of ritual significance were the settlement of new villages when the Kgotlas were settled in rank order, physical distance from the chief's settlement reflecting social distance from the chieftaincy; communal hunts when the men assembled kgotla by kgotla at the rendezvous in the bush; and at the rituals of the harvest when men ate the first fruits in order of precedence.

On the political side, a point of importance in Tswana history still valid today, is that people can establish a degree of political independence by establishing a new settlement of which they become leader, a process studied elsewhere by van Velsen (1964), Turner (1957) and others. Secession has only been achieved at the risk of military conflict amongst the major Tswana tribes, but it has happened often enough in recorded or remembered history for inconsistencies to arise in ritual and political status as conquests or fusions subsequently take place (Sillery 1952). The Hurutse themselves are widely recognised as senior people in that the ancestor from whom they claim descent was by birth senior to the founders of the other Tswana tribes, but today both of the Hurutse groups I studied, found themselves subservient to other Tswana tribes. Similarly one group of people - from within the village - Modisana ward - had deserted Mankgodi because they suffered this kind of status inconsistency.

Some years back the incumbent headman had called upon them to plough for him, as was then customary, but they refused, saying that they were 'malomatotse' (the fruit eaters), that is, those whose lineal seniority should entitle them to first place. Then they went to live permanently at their lands area and allowed their place in the village to fall into decay. The issue was now sufficiently in the past to be remembered with humour, (Appendix II Minute 21/2/72) but illustrates how ritual and political manifestations of status are sometimes out of step.

A further traditional principle of rank cross cuts kinship and lineage ranking. Age sets, or regiments (Mepato) formed every few years for military purposes as well as for rounding up stray cattle, fighting forest fires, looking for lost persons and for other civil purposes, provide men with a means of identification with their age peers on relatively equal terms. When men wish to emphasise their equality they often seek to establish common membership of an age set (or its equivalent in another tribe) as the basis of their subsequent relationship.(1)

Already it can be seen that the formal model is no more than a model. What status expressions mean to people depends on the situation, people use whatever status best suits the purpose of the moment.

Several factors today severely modify the system. The principles of rank in no sense coincide with what happens in practice, yet what

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(1) For the generation of men who served in the Second World War membership of different British Army Companies is used in the same way.

happens in practice cannot be described without reference to ranking principles.

First, the village is now a part of the nation and men increasingly interact with strangers. Men still are identified by and identify with their Kgotla but only to people in the know does this place them with any exactitude. In interactions between two individuals the unit with which each identifies varies with the social distance between them. A man from my section of the village of Mankgodi would call himself a Motswana in Britain or among whites in Johannesburg, a Mokwena in Gaberone, the capital town of Botswana, a Mohurutse in the Kweneng reserve, a Motlhapele within the village or a son of so and so when all these other designations are already known. If men increasingly interact with wider social groups presumably there are proportionately less occasions when they are precisely placed relative to their kin and peers. Physical mobility is today acceptable and the man who wishes to place himself at some distance from his relatives has only to up and build elsewhere. The second is the already noted decline in function of the Kgotla as a unit of social organisation at all levels other than that of the village head. There has been a degree of 'privatisation', to borrow a term from Lockwood and Goldthorpe (1968) in the lifestyles of men which, coupled with the tendency to individualize cattle ownership which I noted in a previous chapter, makes the family kgotla a rather less significant place than it was in historical times.

A related point is that patrilineal clanship establishes principles for ordering relationships but does not of itself prescribe the generational depth of kin groups in practice. The symbolic manifestations of

kin groups are assembly places and groups of households around them, real enough structures on the ground, but like all physical reflections of social reality, often out of date, representing the energies and abilities of yesterday's men. They do not determine the interactions of social groups. There are, of course, examples of strong men, recognized headmen of a group, living as they ought in the house behind the Kgotla and kraal with junior kin housed in a semi-circle of compounds around the Kgotla place; symbol and reality in unison. But more often some kin live elsewhere in the village, some opt to stay at the lands, some are away at work in the urban areas, and in these circumstances what is regarded as the structure of a kin group in practise depends much upon the social situation of the viewer and much upon the current interest of the actor. From the top, the Schapera model of Tswana society, in which kgotla groups are found at household, family group, ward, and sectional levels of the tribe can be made to fit, - except that it fits villages rather than tribes. The main divisions of the village are in fact readily identified and their senior men, when they choose to be active, form a caucus of regular participants in public affairs. At this level social units are used for various administrative purposes so that the status of their leaders is reinforced by the responsibilities that the headman or chief place upon them. Lower down, however, the picture is less clear. The Mankgodi headman described his village as being divided into five divisions (Dikgoro) and within these divisions he named 22 constituent kgotla. This seemed clear enough, but when in a survey of half the households in this village my enumerators asked people to name their kgotla and their kgotla headman, 51 different kgotla names were revealed and in 16 cases different headmen were ascribed to one kgotla. Of these 51, 26 had only the respondent's name as

kgotla member within the sample, while only 4 headmen had more than 25 discovered followers within the 50% of village households surveyed. Had the total number of households been surveyed presumably a much larger number of kgotla names would have been revealed. I found this discrepancy between the headman's account and the survey result rather disconcerting. A similar situation had occurred in Manyana so in a subsequent sample survey in which I myself was doing the interviewing I decided to check this item by asking the same question again. With the aid of my assistant I obtained responses which more closely fitted the Manyana's headman's description of the ward structure of that village. Then I realised that the answers were already adjusted by my discussion of the problem. My assistant was imposing a 'correct' view of social structure on the respondents. I decided therefore that my initial survey findings did provide an important clue to the nature of social structure. The system of rank which appears highly ordered from the top is much less orderly when viewed from the bottom. Status is viewed situationally. In Masiana ward - the part of Mankgodi in which I lived - three separate men were mentioned to me as the head of the Kgotla on different occasions, so I pursued the matter and soon had the descent group mapped and the 'right' man revealed. Nobody disagreed but the point is that the people only trace descent groups when it is convenient; in everyday life the claims made for the other men were allowed. Both of the other men were more active within the group and in village affairs than was the 'right' man. The man who provides cattle for ploughing, or the man who represents one in a Court case or who is an active arbitrator may come to be regarded as head of the group. In these circumstances any man of independent standing may claim, or come to be recognised as, leader of a group.

Status then is manipulated. In one sense, even the polite forms of greeting are 'status manipulation' in that all men are greeted as father (Rra) and all women as mother (Mma). More emotive and quite proper are 'my father' or 'my mother' (Rre, Mme), often used when one is claiming some favour or privilege. But if you really want something from a man then malome (mother's brother) is the favourite term; since the mother's brother-sister's son relationship is supposed to be one of warmth and mutual aid. My interpreter consistently called an old, blind, cantankerous and wealthy man malome in the hope of being given a goat. He also acted himself as malome in a dispute between this man and his son, sitting as arbiter to hear their complaints. The goat duly came his way. I asked another old man if his mother's brothers were alive; he laughed, "Many men have been my mother's brothers". Some mutual exchange of goods and services is necessary if a putative mother's brother-sister's son relationship is to succeed; but the man making another his mother's brother also loses status. My interpreter stated the process in general terms. "If I want something from someone, I give him my seniority".

The statuses, obligations and privileges of kinship are live principles. But within the system men choose who they are going to approach for favours. A poor malome is ignored while a wealthy one is cultivated. My neighbour named his son after the boy's mother's brother; the man in question held high office in government. But while it is possible to select the senior kin to whom one wishes to give deference, obligations to junior kin are only avoided with difficulty. When a neighbour of mine refused to plough for his brother, saying that his cattle were too far away, a serious row ensued. In this case the younger

had no legal rights since the elder had bought his cattle not inherited them. But many kinds of obligations are enforceable in law. The senior man of Masiana, who was doing quite well for himself and was young enough not to be in need of poor relatives, had a reputation for trying to scare off soliciting kin by pretending to be drunk. Some who were wise to this trick persisted in their claims. Others cultivated more amenable relatives.

The kinship diagram can now be seen to symbolise a model, which fits with actual relationships only to the extent that the village administration and judicial processes legitimate and embody certain leadership roles. But inherent inconsistencies and ambiguities allow scope for the interpretation of roles, and in day to day life the manipulation of social facts for situational advantage is common.

In contemporary society kinship and tribe remain important aspects of social structure since major resources are ordered and controlled through them. But other means of attaining status have become available. Within the villages formal organisations like churches, schools, co-operatives and political parties are established so that men have opportunities to become elders, teachers and office holders. These positions are not inherited and are not confined to men and women of a particular rank in society, though, for the offices controlled by the village, to be a man of some standing within the tribe may be of benefit. For others such as school teachers or co-operative officers, educational qualifications are necessary. School teachers are appointed by the educational establishment and are often outsiders to the village but have high status in village affairs in spite of the fact that they are predominantly

women. Thus there is a new range of leadership roles in the village which carry influence and prestige besides that of the chief. Particularly significant has been the establishment of new political roles, like District Councillor, or Village Development Committee Chairman which allow direct scope for competition in village leadership. But even to be recognised as preacher or elder in one of the denominational churches of the village will enhance a man's standing in public affairs.

So Tswana social structure may be considered to be open in the sense that it allows opportunity for the ambitious to achieve social position both through the flexibilities of the kinship system and through the opportunities presented by novel institutions in the village.

It is useful here to outline the main features of the Tswana society at some hypothetical pre-Protectorate period, to point out the contrast with present day life.

The social situation of Tswana tribes before white rule became consolidated in Southern Africa was one of relative economic independence but political turmoil as tribe was thrown back upon tribe in the face of better armed white frontiersmen. It was a time when the nations were at war and their fortunes changed rapidly, (Sillery 1952) but the principles of group formation or nation building are clear. The need for defence against enemies was constant, - for individuals or small groups sometimes a question of choice of some powerful leader from whom to seek protection, for large groups the need to maintain a sound basis for military action in the regiments, and that important symbol of unison and authority, the chiefship. Cattle were a major source of

wealth and wellbeing, held in large herds and defended by young men. Cattle were held by senior men of the tribe as the corporate property of their following of kinsmen. Stranger clients might be attached to such groups as the dependents of the leader. Stray cattle and loot belonged to the chief, along with the right to dispose of the captives of war. Since near kinsmen or powerful lineages were potential rebels or seceders, chiefs often kept strangers as their own dependents and rewarded their services with the right to herd the cattle of the royal house. Rank was ascribed by birth into a particular lineage, and lineages were themselves ranked by the status of their founders.

Relationships between constituent groups could easily be disrupted by disputes but principles of arbitration within a framework of law were highly developed. Rank order was enshrined in ritual, but since cattle are mobile the secession of powerful men with their followers was a constant possibility. Chiefs had to be men of political skill if they were to maintain their following, but in this they would be supported by men of diplomatic ability, since there are benefits to all in maintaining unison in the face of external threats.

The vestiges of this system can be seen today. In Manyana for instance the Chief had some people living in his ward and ploughing next to his lands who had come as his bodyguard from the Ngwato a generation back. But today external threats have been removed and access to wealth has changed. New social forces are at work. Today three factors can be seen to underly the operation of the status system. One is wealth, the second is education, and the third is ability in public affairs.

Wealth is respected because it brings independence from reliance upon others and enables a man to look after his dependents as he ought. To this end a man tries to 'make himself strong' (Go na thata) and if he succeeds he is admired by others - not always for altruistic reasons since many men in need will find reasons to be his friend and his most distant relatives will be strident with their claims. A well maintained compound, neatly fenced around by cut brushwood, the dwellings surrounded by mud built walls and the whole regularly decorated is an expression of strength. These manifestations depend upon cattle to haul brushwood and to feed the large household that is required to fight the annual depredations of nature; wind and weather in the compound, weeds and birds in the fields, jackals and thieves amongst the livestock. People say "A good compound means good people"; they do not observe that these people are comparatively well off. Strength of course includes the idea of wealth exercised towards socially acceptable ends. In Manyana a man was several times mentioned to me as a man who had worked out a proper relationship with his sons. Having taken a second wife after the death of his first he arranged for his sons by the first wife to hold the cattle that they would inherit, thus avoiding disputes between the sons of the two houses. It was never pointed out to me that he was one of the few people in the village with the resources to do this without breaking up a plough team. When talking about others the association is not always made between the virtuous life and the wealth that is necessary to sustain it. But they know well enough why they themselves need wealth and feel deprived without it. It has been shown in an earlier chapter how seldom men attain strength of this kind, but a man who does attain it will be guaranteed a voice in public affairs.

Wealth enables a man to hold together a family of sons, brothers and their dependents. A minimum requirement is a household with sufficient manpower to be able to plough and to be able to tend livestock as we have seen, but a greater ambition for some is to create a cluster of households which will persist after his death. Today there are many forces acting against the formation of such groups and they seldom survive their founder; but the man who heads such a group will be respected, whatever his social origin.

For most people, however, their first ambition is to remain independent. People said that to work on someone else's land and not to plough for oneself was to become a servant, and I only came across three people, all women, in the two villages who were in this position. All three regarded these arrangements as a temporary expedient. The villagers are familiar with the position of servant because the Batswana in the western districts take on bushmen (Masarwa) in this role while they themselves often work as farm or domestic servants in white South Africa, - which they do not enjoy. Most households therefore manage to maintain their independent standing, while few men achieved a following of co-operating kin. Economic independence, though often only achieved through migrant labour, is matched by social independence.

Education provides access to jobs within the educational and administrative establishments and the holders of these jobs command some respect within the village. Low kinship or ethnic status could be overcome if one were a teacher or court clerk. But education also provides its possessors with a range of political capabilities in the contemporary setting which gives men advantages over those lacking

formal education. Teachers, as we shall see, were in a position of strength in formal committee meetings because they could keep minutes or financial records, and be in a position to recall what was transacted at previous meetings.(1) A more outstanding example of the power of literacy, however, was found in the cooperative marketing societies where, in both villages, the secretary was a woman though the members were otherwise exclusively men. Only women could be found with sufficient schooling to be able to handle the extremely complicated co-operative society communications.(2) In Mankgodi both Secretary and Treasurer were women, and the Secretary, though she chose to sit upon the ground in customary fashion in the presence of the seated men, skillfully used her control of correspondence to assert her will within the society. But though literacy might secure some advances for women's liberation in Botswana not all its benefits were so happy. People can take advantage of the power of literacy for their own benefit and for the frustration of organised activities. "An educated man is a thief", said one villager discussing the exploits of a teacher.

Finally skills in public affairs: the ability to express oneself in public assembly; to rally support; to ferret out the intentions of one's opponents; to be just and imaginative in defining what is at issue, these are manly qualities valued in themselves. None of the other dynamic factors can be turned to political advantage at village

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(1) My research was made much easier by the fact that not one but several schoolteachers kept the minutes of meetings in English and had records stretching back several years which they were happy to show me.

(2) For some reason women tend to be relatively well educated at primary level in Botswana and even at secondary school there is a fair proportion of girls. Educated women also stay around in the village rather more than do men.

level without this quality, and a poor economic standing or low ascribed status can be compensated for by the skills of the 'man of kgotla'. This factor is present in all societies (though often ignored in studies of social stratification) but its importance is strengthened in Tswana society where the tribal assembly remains an important institution in public affairs.(1)

Let us turn now to see how this discussion has bearing upon decision-making in the villages. In the next chapter, I identify leadership roles in the village and the scope of their authority. But public bodies are worth looking at in themselves since it is here that the interplay between status and power becomes apparent. The most important arena of public affairs remains the chief's kgotla, the assembly place of the tribe. But besides the kgotla there are now various committees with a development brief, usually a Village Development Committee and a Parent-Teacher Association or School Committee.

Two counteracting trends affect the way that these bodies work. The first follows from the changes in social structure of the tribe. The individualization of cattle ownership leading to the fore-shortening of kin groups and a decline in clientship reduces the possibility that men of hereditary status or of wealth will dominate the proceedings. The diversification of prestige within the village increases the number of men who have some sort of claim to status to add weight to their words. If this is the trend one would expect that the openness of Tswana

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(1) The word 'oracy' has been used in East Africa to recognise the positive skills of oral communication, as literacy recognises skill in writing. In village politics the significance of oral skill in kgotla needs to be similarly highlighted and contrasted with the skills of educated officials who are more at home playing politics through written memoranda.

society from a socio-economic point of view would be reflected in its political participation also and indeed leadership in public life is provided from amongst a wide range of people with diverse claims to social standing. Among the regular contributors to debate in public assembly are people who boast neither status nor wealth. Equally many high ranking people take no part in village affairs. Leaders are, of course, always few, but a much wider range of people speak up occasionally and there is now scope for inclination and ability to determine a man's role in public life.(1)

The second trend is the decline in power of village assemblies. Compared with our hypothetical pre-colonial period a vast range of political and ritual functions have disappeared from the control of the tribe. Today village assemblies remain significant, indeed may be reviving, largely because of government's desire to involve villagers in development programmes. There are now plenty of decisions to be taken, yet executive powers are weak. This is largely a consequence of the progressive curtailment of the powers of the chiefs in the independence period in Botswana which has the unforeseen consequence of removing the ability of the villagers to make binding decisions at all. For instance, because it was felt that chiefs were misusing tribal labour for private gain their powers to call up regiments 'mephato) were curtailed and now there is no means of levying

(1) Kuper 1971, p.2. notes that ability is one of the factors determining participation in Kgalagari Lekgota.

labour for public purposes either.(1)

But another reason for the decline in importance of the village assembly is that the village itself no longer provides the main frame of reference for all its citizens. Individuals find employment that is in no way dependent upon the village allocating procedures. The major part of village income is earned outside the village. In future all will have to go outside the village to obtain land, until now the main resource allocated at village level by chief or family head. The progressive incorporation of the village into the nation state enables individuals to look on government not only as a superior but also as an alternative source of power and influence. People who are less dependent upon the village in this way find the remnants of customary authority tiresome. They do not like to be told to build in

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(1) Kuper in the context of his study of Kgalagari villages develops a hypothesis concerning the scope of participation in public assemblies amongst the Sotho speaking peoples. (Amongst whom are the Bahalahadi whom he studied, the Lozi of Zambia, the Batswana and the Basuto themselves). He says that the larger the tribe the more centralised and authoritarian is the role of the chief, while in the smaller groups the citizens have more scope for participation in public assembly. On this scale the Lesotho Kingdom represents the authoritarian end and the independent Kgalagari villages that he studied the open and participant end. But he also notes that, though the large tribes like the Tswana have powerful chiefs living in large capital towns, outlying villages cannot be so easily controlled and the scope for participation by citizens will be relatively great. With this general picture I agree. Kuper attributes the centralized authority of the larger tribes to the backing which Colonial government gave to the chiefs through the system of indirect rule. (1971 p. 80/81). He speculates as to whether, after independence, as government becomes less inclined to rely upon traditional authorities, participation in paramount chiefs' kgotlas will increase as chiefs come once again to depend upon the support of their people. This question implies the kind of comparison which I am making here between present and pre-Colonial authority system. I would agree with his general interpretation, but, in the capital towns, policy making as an activity has moved to the District Councils and this, coupled with the fact that chiefs no longer have the power to execute decisions of Kgotla make it unlikely that participant democracy in its traditional form will be very significant. In the outlying villages this limitation upon executive power is also noticeable.

the place of their fathers. Though they will attend village meetings they are increasingly prepared to appeal to party or bureaucracy if necessary. This does not mean that the village cannot take a role in decision making but it does imply that it is impossible to rely upon the diffuse authority of the chief as chairman of kgotla to sanction village projects.

Some of these points may now be illustrated by actual events in the villages. Assemblies in kgotla (Dipitso, or amongst the Hurutse Diputego) are called and presided over by the Chief, though he may act on the instigation of the Councillor or any other official who has news or views to put to the people. Notice of meetings is given in advance, in kgotla, through the schoolchildren and, in Mankgodi, through trumpet blasts from the hillside at dawn on the morning of the meeting. When sufficient people have gathered the meeting is called to order by the chief and opened with prayer by someone of respected religious status. The speaker is then introduced (unless he is to be the headman or councillor) and the business outlined. After the main speaker the meeting is thrown open to the public and speaker after speaker will comment, question, support or oppose. Opposition, however, usually takes the form of 'not quite understanding' or raising technical difficulties rather than blunt disagreement. Speakers select the points upon which they wish to dwell and there is not usually any attempt by the chief to focus the attention of the meeting on one issue at a time. Drift best describes the movement of attention at the meeting, but this does not prevent an issue from being closely debated. No formal conclusions are reached during the course of the meeting but the assembly will complain vigorously if someone raises an

issue upon which the majority consider that enough has been said. It is less easy in a discussion of development plans than it is in a discussion of a legal issue for a speaker to give a definitive statement. Nevertheless, the just solution, or in this case the politic solution when it is achieved is much respected and is the prize for which every good man of kgotla aspires.(1) When everyone who wishes to speak has had his say the Chief gives his conclusion and makes any administrative arrangements that may be necessary. Thus the conclusions of the meeting have the sanction of being the chief's word and the people can rest content in the feeling that we are 'ruled by our Chief' or even 'owned by the Chief'. However this rule is of much more ritual than political significance, since if a Chief fails to catch the feeling of the meeting it is unlikely that any action will follow from his decision. On one occasion in Manyana for instance the Chief mentioned the need for a shelter in kgotla where meetings could be held in rain or in hot weather. The matter was dropped until the end of the meeting since visitors had come to speak on another matter. But when they had departed, an uncle of the Chief raised the matter again,speaking in support of the idea but suggesting that as the people were still busy in their fields, the job should be started later in the year when they had returned to the village. Two other elders echoed his words whilst other speakers discussed technicalities. But the Chief was adamant. The work of the lands was being done by the women, he said, men just woke in the morning, looked out and saw that all was going well, then remembering the beer in the village, reached for their bicycles. This work should be started now, he said.

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(1) Gluckman (1955) discusses the legal aspect of this process amongst the Lozi while Hamnett (1975) in the Lesotho setting uses the concept of 'executive law' to describe the legal system in which the court chooses amongst legal principles with sometimes conflicting implications, that which best fits the requirements of the case in hand. Public debate follows similar procedures.

At this my neighbour whispered "Now he has spoiled the work" and indeed nothing happened over the forthcoming months.

In Mankgodi the Chief was more assertive but here too his power was limited; when he attempted to get the tribe's backing for restoring the postal service concession to himself, he left it to others to make the suggestion (Minutes 21/10/71 Appendix II). When he sought to ban the use of amplifiers (15/1/71) at beer parties there was a lengthy discussion of the pros and cons of this measure and of possible alternatives before agreement was reached. The attitude of the people is typified in the remarks of one speaker on another issue when he said "We must not throw away the law that we have agreed with our Chief". (24/6/72). Here he stresses both the agreement of the people and the respect that people have for the law so constituted. Order is a difficult thing to achieve and it is for this reason that the sanction of the Chief's word is respected as a token of binding agreement. In a discussion of land conservation procedure (20/5/72) some speakers raised problems about sanctions, to which one added "We must follow the Chief in these matters and listen to his advice and agree with him, because all these things are difficult to do". The concept of agreement here clearly conveys the sense of participant agreement but the authority of the Chief is stressed to emphasise that agreement must be authoritative.

The Chief's authority is regarded as an embodiment of the will of the people: in the old Tswana phrase "A Chief is a Chief by the people". But there is now some scope for confusion about the powers of the Chief and this finds expression in village proceedings. A

decision of the Chief in kgotla that receives the backing of the men of kgotla will often still be regarded as binding by the people, but it is not clear whether a prosecution could be brought against an offender who, say, uses an amplifier after the Chief has announced his ban. Judgements have to be recorded and are reviewed by the District Commissioner. From discussions with the Manyana Chief, I was aware that what he thought the District Commissioner would allow was a major constraining influence upon him. The problem was apparent in the fund raising activities of Mankgodi. The decisions about how collections to project funds should be made were reached in kgotla after lengthy discussions (e.g. 20/5/72) and duly sanctioned by the concluding words of the chief. When some people refused to contribute to such funds the Chief said that he would take action against them but his right to do so was openly challenged (21/10/71).(1) Under these circumstances the organisation of contributions is difficult since it is in effect voluntary. Some people argued that it should be so but others stressed that they would only contribute if everyone else did too. Considerable frustrations were felt by speakers discussing these projects because they felt that they could not secure the compliance of people even after agreement in principle in public assembly. The chief's uncle was right when on another occasion he pointed to the fact that chiefs are not able to enforce the law (20/5/72) but his comments caused amusement because this is a contentious political issue. Alternative means of sanctioning the decision of village assemblies should be found if this is not to remain a stumbling block to development initiatives at village level.

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(1) When this question was raised with the Minister of Local Government and Lands he said that refusers should be called to make an explanation, but this is different from enforceable law (7/7/72).

In spite of these difficulties, people attempt to reach agreement on policy and get on with things. The most extreme sanction that I encountered was Minister Kgabo's call for non-contributors to stand up in kgotla amongst their neighbours (7/7/72). In another village one of the committees made a habit of calling before it anyone who refused to contribute so that they could talk to the offenders and try and show them the error of their ways. With one woman 'refuser' they sent a delegation to talk to her and to offer her a place on the committee next year: an interesting rural version of the principle of co-optation as a means of securing support. (Selznick 1949).

The need for consensus if anything was to be achieved at all was such that disputes between leaders were seldom allowed to appear in kgotla. In Mankgodi, Chief Tobegha, backed principally by some of the elders of his section of the village, was normally opposed by the Councillor who drew support from his own ward and from some members of his party committee in other parts of the village. But the village was too large for these groups to be the basis of all-pervasive factions and there were several men of standing in public affairs who were not aligned with either group. As one of these put it,sometimes he found himself against the Chief, but he did not take sides, he only sought to find the truth of a matter. Faced with this free floating opinion it was essential for leaders to present a united front. In private, divisions were often open and bitter. This point is illustrated by the community centre issue. The Community Development Assistant visited the village of Mankgodi to discuss the community centre proposals with the Chief, the Councillor and two elders who happened to be in kgotla. I found the Community Development Assistant trying to persuade the Chief

that a community centre was too expensive a project for this small village. The steel frame that had been offered to the Botswana Council of Women Club in the village was the result of an application for an infant school to be run by the club; it was not suitable for a community centre but could be used as a hall on occasions. The Chief was adamant that the tribe wanted it to be a community centre. At this the Councillor chimed in to say that it was only the B.C.W., run by the Chief's wife, who wanted the community centre: the Chief was just backing his wife. Counter-accusations followed about the club that was run by the Councillor's wife and a row ensued during which the elders walked off in disgust. The proceedings cooled down upon protests from my elderly companion, Mr. Pitso, about the impropriety of such a display and a discussion was then held about the date for a Village Development Committee meeting to finalize the matter. The Chief insisted upon a date which was impossible for the Community Development Assistant and the Councillor immediately said he had a meeting in another village on that day. Everyone realised that the meeting would not take place. This was an encounter in private. But at some later date a Village Development Committee meeting did take place at which an agreement was struck between the parties so that when the matter was brought to the tribe (20/5/72) both Chief and Councillor spoke in favour of the community centre, the Councillor only making sure that the people were aware of the background discussion that had taken place in the Village Development Committee.

Conflict came near the surface once in a debate over the postal service in Mankgodi. The most important event of the previous year had been the disappearance of money orders from the Chief's office

in kgotla whilst they were in charge of the Chief in his capacity as postal agent. Nobody discovered what had happened to them but by chance only the Councillor had been in the village when officials came to investigate. Then the service had been withdrawn. Two theories, probably both false, fuelled the fire of rivalry. One was that the Chief had himself stolen the money and had broken the window to pass it off as a theft. The other was that the Councillor had arranged the break-in to implicate the Chief. In the debate both Councillor and Chief avoided recriminations but one of the Chief's supporters came close to making accusations against the Councillor and another participant nicely illustrates what would happen if rivalry broke through into public ".... the trouble started with the development business", he said, "Before that things went well. The trouble lies between our Councillor and the Chief, let us ask them where the Post Office has gone..... there is nothing that can be understood until we hear from them". Here he uses the established judicial technique of confronting opponents face to face to reveal the truth and to clear the air for agreement. Under these circumstances neither party can lead since the people are standing in judgement over them rather than accepting their leadership.

In summary then, Tswana village political processes (of the smaller villages) are probably more open to participation than they ever have been. This reflects the weakening of kinship allegiance as the dominant principle of social and economic order which has reduced the significance of lineage patriarchs; and the weak position of village authority in general as village chiefs are deprived of their power to allocate significant resources.

CHAPTER 6

ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS

Development projects in the villages can be discussed under organizational heads like planning, execution, or maintenance. We need to know about these aspects of projects but the villagers themselves do not conceive of their tasks in this way and actual events follow no such order. I therefore use this format as a rough ordering principle only and in the following analysis try to determine the course of actual events rather more closely. The analysis of power and authority which was begun in the last chapter is continued.

While planning, stimulated by District Council and Community Development, proves to be quite possible, the execution and maintenance of projects raise problems of social control. To an extent this is simply a problem of controlling funds which the villagers in general are ill-equipped to handle, but beyond this, competitive leadership within the village committees and the kgotla also has its consequences for development schemes. Leaders can initiate discussion and use their control of committee procedures to manoeuvre for advantage, but the main source of their influence lies in the contacts that they have with the outside authority. Two roles in particular, Village Chief and Councillor, must be singled out and examined.

I begin with planning. The Department of Community Development, in order to overcome problems of co-ordination, drew up a procedure for villages to follow in planning development projects. Village Development Schemes should be initiated by the Village Development

Committee, or approved by them if it is a Women's Club or other association which has made a proposal; discussed by the tribe in kgotla, and then submitted to the District Council for approval and possible financial support. The Community Development Assistant, if there is one, should assist this process by giving guidance and by providing the relevant application forms. In certain cases Central Government funds may be available to support projects but projects should still be approved by the District Council because that body may have a continuing responsibility to staff or to maintain a project initially funded in this way.

Since classrooms and clinics are favoured projects both to villagers and outside funding organisations and both involve continuing commitments from the local authority the need for this kind of co-ordination is apparent. I did not manage to see an example of this process right through but I could see no fundamental obstacle to this procedure. In the case of Mankgodi village's application for a Community Centre, the Botswana Council of Women's Club initiated the project, the Village Development Committee eventually backed it, and the kgotla approved a submission to Council through the Department of Community Development. There were some practical problems in this procedure such as the village's lack of familiarity with financial affairs and written approval procedures. Estimates of costs were rough guesses and target sums were not related to rates of subscription or to the number of subscribers; and the proposal ought to be made through formally correct written correspondence. Both of these could be overcome if the Community Development Assistant lent a hand or if the Council officials lent a sympathetic ear to a personal approach from the District Councillor.

The position was actually simplified while I was in the villages by the Council's decision to move towards a three year planning cycle. The Council insisted that only projects which the villagers had put forward at the beginning of the period would be considered for funding within a three year plan. It was too soon to see how constraining this would be upon actual allocations but the procedure pushed the villages into thinking ahead, and in the Manyana case into by-passing the organizational turmoil that they were suffering at the time. One major advantage was that, because of the size of this exercise local government officials and Community Development District Staff made a tour of the villages to discuss plans and proposals with the people. One such meeting took place in Manyana. The Village Committee had met previously to draw up their proposals and representatives of the Village Development Committee, the Parent Teacher Association, and the Red Cross spoke in turn. Other speakers contributed ideas as well so that a comprehensive list of possible projects was collected by the officials. The procedure allowed the officials to assess for themselves the particular circumstances of each village while the villagers could find out something of the prospects for their proposals. Thus the three year plan procedure which, one might initially suppose, would be procedurally more difficult, actually improved the chances of face to face contact between village and administration and also produced a sufficiently important and unavoidable event for a troubled village to rally to the challenge. The importance of both of these points will become apparent in the analysis of the village's attempt to execute projects.

The execution or maintenance of projects was altogether more problematical. In Manyana, after the cessation of Food Aid, all routine

work on Development Projects came to an end for the rest of the time that I was in the village. Thereafter only the impending visit of an important official or a direct threat to village well-being stimulated some temporary activities. When the District Council announced the date for the official opening of the Village Hall, the Village Development Committee Chairman organized his wife and two other women to finish plastering the store room and office while the schoolchildren put on the roof. When the Vice-President was due to visit the village a dozen men or so turned out in response to a discussion in kgotla to repair the drift through the river so that his vehicle would not get stuck. These activities took place in spite of rather than because of the activities of the Development Committees. In Mankgodi, on the other hand, organized fund raising was proceeding on three separate projects. Of these only the clinic was actually being built and this was the responsibility of a mission which would also be responsible for the church. It remained to be seen how the community centre project would actually be organized but work on the kgotla shelter that was being undertaken by the villagers themselves was going ahead very slowly.

Experience with development projects in the two villages therefore provides some points of comparison but the underlying problems of control will be best illustrated if I first provide a skeleton account of happenings within the Development Committees and kgotla in Manyana.

The Case of the Manyana School Fund

For a period of eight months public life in Manyana was largely dominated by what might be called "The Case of the Missing School Fund". When the Headmaster of the

Primary School and another member of the Parent Teacher Association left the village it was decided by the new Head Teacher and the Community Development Assistant that a new Parent Teacher Association should be elected. The Head Teacher was reluctant simply to take the place of his predecessor as Chairman of the Committee, pointing to a directive from his department that Head Teachers should be ex-officio members of Parent Teacher Associations but not Chairman. At the meeting held for the purpose it was complained by one or two speakers that adequate notice had not been given. There were no other complaints at the time but after the meeting, at which the Community Development Assistant himself had been elected to the Chair, queries were raised about the predominance of educated outsiders upon the committee and the previous public record of some of those elected. Privately it was explained to me that the real complaint was that there had been an election some months previously but that the elected Committee had never taken up office because their predecessors had misappropriated the funds and were unable to hand over the books. The complainants, members of this Committee that never held office, felt that only they could take to task the misappropriators. The new elections were in their view a trick to prevent this from happening. The most vocal complainant was the Chairman of the Village Development Committee, a body which had not been active during the planting season but which now met informally in the house of one of the members to discuss this problem. The Community Development Assistant, who

would normally attend such meetings, was not invited to this meeting but obtained information about the proceedings through an informant. Forewarned that it was their intention to demand that the new elections be quashed, at the next meeting of the P.T.A. the Community Development Assistant from the Chair prevented any discussions of the elections by demanding a rigid adherence to the Agenda. Nevertheless, several speakers managed to squeeze in hostile comments. In the end, the C.D.A. left the Chair to the Chief and made a speech in which, quoting Sir Seretse Khama he said "External enemies are insignificant compared with those internal enemies, petty jealousy and tribalism".

A few days later however an open meeting of the Village Development Committee was called at which the only item of substance on the Agenda was a complaint about the Parent Teacher Association elections. The Chairman of the Development Committee opened the meeting by saying that he had called the meeting to complain about the irregularities in the proceedings of the P.T.A., and spelt out what he thought these were. Immediately he was asked to say who it was that he was facing with these charges. He declared that he was facing the Headmaster. It was then suggested that he should vacate the Chair in favour of a neutral party, and eventually, after several people declined, the Agricultural Demonstrator took his place and he was free to spell out his complaints about the elections. The confrontation was

limited to the procedural question of why there had been two elections so the Head Teacher, as a newcomer, was able fairly easily to plead his good intentions. After a lengthy debate it was decided by the acting Chairman's summary that the new Committee should be disbanded and that the Headmaster should summon a meeting at which the previously elected Committee should take up office with elections for replacements only.

But the victory was shortlived. The Headmaster, (realizing perhaps that by this time there was another year's funds to be accounted for) failed to call a meeting; the C.D.A., outmanoeuvred by the shift of venue from P.T.A. to V.D.C., persuaded the Chief that it was time to hold the Annual Elections of the Village Development Committee. At an executive meeting of the V.D.C., at which the Chief, taking the Chair, declared that it was now constitutionally necessary to hold elections, the outgoing Chairman protested that there was work still in hand, but the Committee was duly dissolved. When, however, elections were due to be held in kgotla on three successive occasions insufficient people turned up to warrant an election, - even on one occasion when it had been announced that the local M.P. was due to attend. Neither Committee was properly reconstituted for several months although both bodies met informally to deal with pressing business.

As a result of this impasse two appeals were made to higher authority. The C.D.A. had a conspicuous chat with the local M.P. who travelled through the village every Friday and then spread it around that the M.P. was coming to talk in kgotla. This move, he said, gained him a few apologies from recent opponents. The Headmaster called in members of his School Committee, District Councillors from a neighbouring village, who duly gave a talk about the need for co-operation between parents and teachers. However, on this occasion villagers spoke out pressing their side of the case against the Headteacher. Subsequently, a further meeting was called in the name of the P.T.A. but the Head Teacher refused to acknowledge this meeting, and said that there was no available classroom. The Chief, somewhat reluctantly, took the Chair and the meeting was held under a thorn tree in the school compound. The people then called upon the C.D.A. to give his account of the proceedings but the tone of the meeting became so acrimonious that the Chief refused to remain in the Chair and took a position in the back of the circle instead. The C.D.A. rose to speak, but was earnestly counselled not to do so by his friend the Food Aid Project Leader because the people had no Chairman to rule them. He sat down and the business of the meeting came to an end. The C.D.A's case was simple enough; he felt that the V.D.C. had no business to interfere with the affairs of the P.T.A. Yet the move cost him his support in the village and thereafter he faced a constant barrage of complaints and gradually withdrew

from any active part in the village.

The Parent Teachers Association was subsequently called together on several occasions by the Head Teacher but this was to make arrangements for the school choir to travel to Kanye to take part in singing competitions; the financial arrangements for this were treated separately and the question of the missing school fund was not raised. But when this had been successfully completed two meetings were held at which the Head Teacher was asked to produce the school funds. At first accounts were drawn up on the blackboard but the Head Teacher, claiming ignorance of the purpose of the meeting, stated that he had the money but that it was stored in a safe place. At the second meeting he said that he could not produce the money because when he went to the place he found the house locked, and the owner away. Only at this stage did the people confront him directly. "If we charge you with theft we will be wrong" said the Chief. The Head Teacher then said that he had lent some of the money to various people in the village including the Chief and some school teachers. They denied this but once the mistake had been admitted the people suggested that the Head Teacher be given time to repay the Committee.

This account may be used to illustrate a number of points about power and social control in the villages. In the previous chapter I

showed how the need to achieve a consensus within the tribe constrains leaders in their public utterances. But leaders have considerable scope for manoeuvre nonetheless. The Chief is able to decide when to call public assemblies and committee Chairmen have the same power in relation to their spheres of influence. They may use this power for their own convenience and other people's inconvenience. The Head Master in the case above used his power over the P.T.A. to avoid a discussion of an awkward issue altogether for some months, but, as this case illustrates this power is limited by the ability of other leaders to raise an issue in a different committee or on a different occasion. Committees attempt to follow an agenda though seldom with the vigour attempted by the C.D.A., but in Public Assemblies no fixed agenda is followed so that matters may be raised on any occasion that the kgotla is in session. Thus where kgotla is the dominant institution the scope for manipulation is much reduced.

Scope for manipulation is real but limited. Equally important to village leaders is knowledge of the intentions of one's political opponents. Before and after meetings there is much wandering around discussing issues in twos and threes and the C.D.A. in the above case saw to it that he was informed about the intentions of the V.D.C. members. In times past Chiefs had particular difficulty in finding out the intentions of others because their status required them to maintain social distance from the masses. Chiefs were expected to drink alone rather than to move about in search of the latest brew as is the custom amongst most men, and this excluded them from a most important source of informal communication in village life. As a result they had to rely upon the services of informers (Malatsa

thipa/Knife lickers), men prepared to accept low status in the eyes of their peers and to exchange information for a share of the Chief's bounty when beasts are being slaughtered. Chiefs had particular problems but all men must keep their ear to the ground if they are not to be caught unawares.

The other side of the coin is, of course, organizing support for one's own line of action.(1) Tacticians in Manyana and Mankgodi argued that it is not much use trying to organise support in advance of a meeting because people could not be relied upon when the time came for them to demonstrate support. They emphasised the need to speak well in meetings. However, unreliable though their supporters might be, organizing support was a recognized, if despised, aspect of politics. Organizing activity ranged from two or three people agreeing to a common policy to more extensive canvassing behaviour. Sometimes,it appeared, prior organization took the form of a boycott. The best interpretation that I could give to the failure of the elections of the Village Development Committee in kgotla was that word had been spread that these meetings should be avoided. The strength of the boycott relied upon the fact that village meetings required consensus to be effective and that a handful of people cannot take upon themselves to represent the tribe. "Bahurutse will not agree" it is asserted on such occasions. By absenting himself an influential man may hope to avoid commitment and to keep open an issue for future debate. When the Chief in Mankgodi complained of poor attendance in kgotla (24/6/72) a speaker responded that people did not come for fear

(1) Kuper (1971) says that he found little evidence of caucus meetings within the kin based factions of Kuli village before Lekgota meetings, but Kuli is a comparatively small village.

that they would be 'killed', the implication being that by avoiding the meeting they avoided commitment to the onerous financial contributions that were being requested. The boycott is the extreme case of this tactic.

It is noticeable that members of the Village Development Committee, meeting informally, themselves constituted a group who planned their approach to Public Meetings. In doing so they act entirely as might be expected of a body sometimes officially regarded as the Executive of the kgotla. At the same time it was clear that Committee membership provided an air of legitimacy for factional organization that had not previously been so sanctioned in the village. (See also the criticism of the Mankgodi P.T.A. apparent in Minute 12/2/72 Appendix II).

Both sides in the case of the missing school fund appealed to higher authority. All that matters if such an appeal is to be effective is that the leader proves that he has authority on his side. Whether the authority is ignorant or informed is often immaterial, but where a leader is attempting to cover his own tracks, it is important that the outsider should not be in possession of the facts.(1) This is a tactic which may rebound, as the Headmaster found to his cost, if the outsiders take the trouble to listen to both sides and the opposition has the courage to puts its case.

All these are rather negative, delaying tactics, effective enough as the case illustrates but very frustrating for those that wish to achieve things in the village. The V.D.C., which the Government sees

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(1) Kuper (1970) shows how a Headman, by giving selective information to the touring European District Commissioner, effectively gains his support in a factional dispute over who should be paid as Village Pumper.

as the Executive of kgotla and the top of the pyramid of power in the village, (or indeed any Executive Committee in the village) should enable leaders to avoid the constant need to manoeuvre in public. Government officials believe that formal committee procedures will be an improvement upon the seemingly endless and directionless discussions of the men in kgotla. Yet in the villages there is a constant tendency for committees to meet in open session rather than with elected members only or to refer issues to kgotla for the sanction of public approval. It appears that the people must be consulted directly. The reasons for this can be found both in the limited executive powers of the committees and in the fact that committees sometimes fail to put the public interest first. Committees do have some direct responsibilities and can be effective in their organizational role as can be seen from the fact that the V.D.Cs drew up project proposals, selected workers and provided some local organization for the famine relief scheme. But handling funds is a constant problem. Committees meeting in relative privacy, - or individuals holding the funds, - find it very difficult to restrict their use to their publicly accepted purposes. People press private needs within a committee. For instance, a member brought a woman to a P.T.A. committee and asked for a loan on her behalf. The Minute began "Fathers, this is your child, her crops have failed..." Personal or kinship ethics prevail over public ethics, in the absence of the direct influence of the public themselves. This was the case even though in this instance members of the rival factions of the village were present in committee. (See also Minute 5/2/72 Appendix II). While Committees have little control over their public the greater problem in village circumstances is that the public has little control over their committee. The Committee of the P.T.A. was

unable itself to control the school fund. Only in public meeting of the P.T.A. as a village assembly could the established control procedures of the village be asserted.

In assemblies the public interest is paramount and the public are there to ensure that this is the case. In the tradition of the kgotla discussion of public events is closely associated with the judicial tradition of society: both are aspects of social wellbeing, and only since the Central Government has required Court cases to be recorded has the judicial function of kgotla become in practice institutionally separate. It is not surprising then that the judicial techniques carry over to public affairs to ensure that the integrity of a proposal is assessed and the behaviour of individuals in the conduct of public affairs can be challenged. Men of kgotla must be constantly on the alert to assess the intentions of speakers. For instance in the discussion of the Post Office issue in Mankgodi (Minute 21/10/71 Appendix II) people were quick to question the Councillor when he counteracted the Chief's move to regain the postal agency for himself by saying that the Council was shortly coming to start a Post Office. How was it that only the Councillor knew about this move, someone asked, in an attempt to establish the truth of the matter.

An important principle to legal proceedings is that persons in dispute should be made to confront one another. This is seen in the V.D.C. meeting when the Chairman was asked to leave the Chair so that he could face the Head Teacher with his charges. A person bringing a charge must always expect to have to face the accused in this way

since there is no Public Prosecutor in this village society. To stand and face one's opponent in this manner takes courage and demands a degree of participation in public life with which people of Western industrial society are no longer familiar. To engage in this kind of confrontation on behalf of the public in general rather than in a private dispute requires an additional degree of commitment and it is perhaps for this reason that many people avoid open confrontation and rely upon questions and insinuations.(1)

Through these means order in public affairs may be maintained, though not easily, - particularly if the offender is of high status. When the village was told that it would have to employ its own Postal Messenger one speaker said "When we had to fetch the Post previously it was collected by big people who cannot be asked questions if it disappears: it is better that it be taken by a small person so that we can chase him": an astute observation upon the weakness of authority in the village.(2)

While the public lacks control over the public resources held by committees there can be no confidence in these bodies as executive

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(1) In the Tswana legal system an offended person must first confront the individual offender with his case and if no agreement is reached then he must come with witnesses and representatives to the kgotla of the offender's kin group. Only when this has been done will the Chief agree to the case being heard in the village kgotla. The principle that a man should face those against whom he is bringing accusations directly is well-established. In another village when I was enquiring into the role of the District Councillor, one man refused to discuss the matter saying that he did not feel the Councillor had performed his role properly but was not prepared to speak about this since he had not confronted him directly with this accusation in kgotla.

(2) For the same reason the Women's Club of Manyana that provided credit for its members excluded the people of the Chief's ward from membership on the grounds that if the Chief himself joined they would not be able to prevent him from defaulting.

authority. Both public and committee members realize this and so to achieve their objectives they expose their proceedings as much as possible to full public scrutiny. The recourse to open meetings is evidence of commitment to objectives, because by this means people hope to get things done.

The powers of committees are also limited because even if functions are distinct, the village remains one political field within which competitive leadership is exercised. To clarify this point, I now further examine village disputes and factions. Three principles underlie village divisions, - kinship, education, and the distinction between villagers and outsiders. These may be taken in turn.

The kinship structure of the village and its division into wards provides a basis of divisive loyalties. The Chief, his family, and other Elders of his section of the village form one physical unit that sometimes acts as a political unit also. In Manyana there were two other wards of independent Tswana origin who tended to provide the opposition. During my stay, one of these provided both District Councillor and V.D.C. Chairman. Seating order in kgotla reflects social status; senior members of the Chief's ward sit on his left, senior members of other true Tswana wards sit on his right. The District Councillor and V.D.C. Chairman as office holders entitled to precedence, sat within a place or two of where they would have been anyway as senior members of a senior lineage. Nevertheless, had they not been gifted men, there were several other groups which could easily have provided the necessary leadership. In Mankgodi, the Councillor, with considerable support from his ward, led the opposition from within the Chief's section of the village, and leaders of more prominent groups took less committed positions in village affairs. Thus while factions

were kin based, the villages were too large for kinship to provide a clear, exclusive and enduring principle for village divisions.

The division between uneducated and educated overlaps considerably with that of villagers and outsiders. Government employees are the most prominent group of outsiders and they are recruited on a national basis and employed on educational criteria. It was a constant source of dissatisfaction amongst some villagers that they could not provide enough school teachers from within their own ranks. In village affairs there was a reluctance to allow the school teachers too large a stake, in part because some were highhanded with the villagers, whom they regarded as illiterate and quarrelsome, in part because teachers cannot be easily subjected to village control. Teachers are too 'big' and they also go away on transfer rather too easily. Secretaries of committees are often teachers, the Treasurers are usually villagers. But this educated/uneducated division was no more clear cut than the kinship divides. Always some villagers have sufficient education to be able to compete with, or side with, the teachers on equal terms. In Manyana the Chief himself was in this position while in Mankgodi the Chief's brothers and sisters were all educated. The Councillors too must be chosen for their ability to communicate with educated people in Council business. So while this distinction was used situationally by leaders to rally support on some particular issue, it never became the basis of stable alliances.(1)

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(1) Of course where there is an uneducated village chief who resents the activities of outsiders or progressive villagers he is able to frustrate Development Committees by his control of assemblies in kgotla. Such cases come to the notice of officials and the press because the only recourse open to the frustrated leaders is to call in important outsiders to put pressure upon the chief. But such cases are by no means the norm.

Political parties are not conspicuous in the villages. The ruling party in Botswana has a commanding position, so that activity between elections is minimal. The opposition, though legal, tends to be secretive. In Manyana and Mankgodi both Councillors were nominees of the ruling party and both Chiefs, though officially apolitical, had the reputation of being supporters of the opposition. The rivalry that is inherent in their roles (only overcome where the Chief's family corners the Councillor's job as well) ensured that opposed political loyalties are likely and will be suspected even if not declared. But the level of political party activities in the village is so low between elections that alliance in village affairs do not necessarily follow lines of party allegiance.

Leaders grasp what power they can. One source of power and influence which is becoming ever more important is links with outside authority. Although outsiders often regard themselves as catalysts only, in accord with the official ideology of Community Development, the village is constantly exposed to offers, threats and promises from outside sources in Government, Local Government and organizations like missions, to which it must respond. Leaders who become links between these sources and the village gain power and influence by so doing.

Mrs Kruger, the Afro-Indian widow of a Boer storekeeper, was a woman of exceptional influence in Manyana public affairs. Some said that her influence lay in the fact that while she had been running the store she was able to gain a following by granting credit facilities. But she now rented out the store and still remained influential. Certainly she had great skill in asserting her views in public assemblies

which, as we have seen, itself brings influence, but a further dimension of her power lay in the fact that many outsiders would call on her for tea whilst visiting the village. She had the confidence as well as the necessary china and tea trays, to entertain the European District Commissioner as well as the M.P. and other dignitaries. Although no part of the formal system, she gained considerable influence by these informal contacts.

The Chief, the Councillors, and sometimes the Chairman of the Village Development Committee, benefit from these links in a more direct manner. The Chief's position in the village today is anomalous. As the gazetted headman he is Chairman of the customary court and is an employee of the Administration receiving a wage that is supposed to enable him to give his full attention to judicial affairs. In practice, of course, the Headman and his family have rights in land like other villagers and plough and keep livestock to supplement this wage. Although the Chiefship is still a hereditary institution Headmen are confirmed in their position by the administration and may be dismissed from office if the Government find reason to complain of their performance. There is today no direct village contribution to the income of the Headman since they no longer have the right to call upon their subjects to plough for them and tributes of meat and grain have disappeared. Under these circumstances it might be thought that the Headman's role would be clearly confined to carrying out the wishes of the Administration. But in practice, while the control of wages provides the Administration with an ultimate sanction they have little ability to supervise the day to day activities of their employees. Village Chiefs also find several reasons to be 'agin' the Government. As has

already been shown the powers of Chiefs and Headmen have been considerably reduced. Not only has tribute been abolished but also the ruler's power to call out tribal regiments for their own purposes have been removed and the right to keep unclaimed stray cattle has been transferred to the District Council. Perhaps more galling to the Chiefs and Headmen has been the establishment of the role of District Councillor expressly charged with the business of representing the interests of the villagers in the District Council. In written communications to the village or in personal visits higher officials usually make the point of copying their correspondence to, or of visiting both. Nevertheless the Councillor has both information and contacts not available to the Chief, who can easily get the impression that he is being ignored. Under these circumstances, the Chief often relies considerably upon the support which he can achieve amongst his followers in the village and emphasises the particular relationship that he has with the village as its hereditary leader.

In Mankgodi Chief Tobegha appeared very much to take this position but I was surprised how an apparently small act on the part of the Administration could radically alter his stance. When he was called for a District Development conference at Molepolole sponsored by the District Council he attended with the Councillor and returned to the village full of enthusiasm for the programme which had been discussed. He even spoke at a meeting of the need for everyone to pay their taxes so that these things could be achieved. One of his uncles, a faithful supporter, asked him if his speech implied that he had been given back the job of raising taxes. "If the tax comes back to you we will pay" he said. (Minutes 21/2/72 Appendix II). The Headman's enthusiasm,

which misled his uncle into thinking that some chiefly powers were restored, arose from the fact that he had been incorporated into Council activity and could bear the information back to his people.(1) The intermediary himself comes to be associated in the eyes of the villagers with the source of power and decision making. Chief Mareco Musielele by contrast having had experience himself of working in the administration more easily associated himself with the objectives of modernizing Government officials and tended in the process to neglect his personal support in the village. It was perhaps for this reason that an elder was able to escape without criticism when he stood up before the local M.P. to make accusations of misconduct against the Chief. Nothing came of this while I was in the village but I noted that the Chief was thereafter making moves to be more amenable to the Chairman of the Village Development Committee, allowing him to round off the discussion in kgotla at the opening meeting of the season. Thereafter I found this man talking in more favourable terms about the Chief and could envisage this as being the beginning of an alliance that would re-establish for the Chief a basis of support in the village.

What has been said about the village Chief's contact with the outside authority applies even more to the role of Councillor. The major difference between the position of Councillor and that of Headman is, of course, the fact that the Councillor is elected while the Headman's office is in principle hereditary. To be elected Councillor, a man and the political party that he represents have to collect

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(1) A.C. Mayer (1956) has shown in a study of an Indian village how village leaders, approached by Community Development Officials, and used as a channel of contact communication with the village may take on the values and aspirations of the officials. I examine this aspect of relationships further in the next chapter.

people's votes. Initially at least, it is popular support which puts him where he is, in obvious contrast to the Chief whose hereditary office and position in the administration make him appear to be a tool of Government. But once in office, the Councillor finds it difficult to maintain his support. A candidate for Councillor must be able to understand and operate the complex and largely written procedures of Council for which some education is essential, but such a man may not have much traditional seniority to guarantee him a tied following in kgotla. Often Councillors are young or relatively recent immigrants to the village, either of which facts may be held against them should the village be seeking justification for grievance.

The main difficulty of the Councillor's role is that he is in part held responsible for the decisions of Council; and not all decisions favour the village. The Council must decide how the resources raised through Local Government Tax and from other sources are to be allocated. An apparently rational decision to provide more facilities, - water for example, - to larger settlements or to cut off uneconomic services to outlying places is, from the point of view of the smaller or further away, decidedly unfair. One such situation arose in Manyana when the Council announced in a letter to the Headman and the Councillor that the postal messenger service which the Council had provided was to be withdrawn. Several other of the smaller villages in the district were also to lose their Post Messengers who had collected the village mail twice weekly from the Post Office on the railway line. When this news was announced in kgotla and the letter from the Council Secretary read out several speakers wanted to know why they had not been previously told of this development by the Councillor who after all should

have known of these affairs in Council. What had he, their representative, done to prevent this from happening? The Councillor pleaded that he was alone so what could he do to protect the service of the village when he was amongst so many? But it became apparent that in face he knew nothing about this move. Confronted with his ignorance he claimed that so many things went on in Council or in Council Committees that it was impossible to know of them all, in which claim he was supported by his predecessor, but the meeting was far from satisfied. Some weeks later the Council Secretary himself, summoned to explain the measure, reassured the villagers that the Councillor could legitimately have missed this item. The Councillor afterwards complained bitterly about the difficulties of his position. His predecessor as Councillor, a man who regarded himself as a leader in the village and who did not miss opportunities for self-advancement, had not been re-selected as candidate by his party and claimed that he did not want the job because of its vulnerability.

The Councillor, lacking traditional authority and suffering status inconsistencies, has to gain what influence he can from his position on Council. Called Moemedi; the person who stands for you; in practice his status as representative derives increasingly from his office. In this he is sometimes encouraged by Council officials who seek him out when they come to the village, using him as a channel of information, and sometimes involve him indirectly in the execution of projects in the village. His membership of Council and of Council Committees give the Councillor a monopoly of direct information from this source. Periodically in Manyana the Councillor asked the Chief to call a kgotla assembly so that he could report on Council business.

In a similar way he arranged meetings in the outlying settlements of Bikwe and Mogonye at which he would discuss the affairs and report on progress. The Council met three times a year but the points upon which the Councillor could report anything of relevance to the village were relatively few, which meant that these meetings were often something of a rigmarole and did not generate much enthusiasm. Relevant information tended to be communicated to the village in letters copied to both Headman and Councillor by Council staff. The fact that they both received the same written information put the Headman and the Councillor into a competitive position over this use of information. The Headman as Chairman of kgotla was usually able to raise the matter for discussion and the Councillor had to rely upon flapping his copy of the correspondence in the air, airing his knowledge of the issue, and reporting on his conversations with the Headman prior to the meeting. Sometimes this procedure adequately made the point that he too was a part of the system of power and influence but at other times the balance was not so easily redressed. On the occasion when the Headman in Mankgodi reported on the Council's Development Conference (Minutes 21/2/72 Appendix II) the Councillor was rather put out by the Headman's enthusiasm and by the length of the ensuing discussion so, not to be outdone, he stood up late in the meeting and announced a whole string of measures which he said the Council was undertaking in the near future. There was in fact nothing urgent upon his list and at least one of the items appeared to be a fabrication. It was late in the meeting and the people were too tired and hungry to discuss the issues properly but he had made his mark and the Chief's monopoly of the meeting had been broken.

That people gain power and influence from their association with Government activities is also apparent in the fact that the ambitious invent fictitious contacts. In Mankgodi when the villagers called for the postal agency to be restored to the Chief (Minute 21/10/71 Appendix II) the Chief clinched the matter by saying that he had already spoken to the Minister of Posts and Communications and that the Agency would soon be restored. The Councillor for his part appeared to be losing his battle to get the Agency transferred from the Chief's kgotla to neutral ground. In kgotla he claimed that the Council truck would soon be bringing materials to start work on the Post Office and afterwards he arranged for some people to do voluntary work digging out foundations for a new Post Office beside the road. In due course the postal agency was restored, but it went to the recently re-opened village store, not the Chief or Councillor. Neither leader had in fact any influence over the allocation of the Postal Agency.

While both Headman and Councillor exploited their access to official information, they and their friends and supporters gained no material benefits. Government resources seldom came directly under the control of the village officials. The Headman was in a better position to allocate the few jobs that required local recruitment than the Councillor. For example, in Manyana the Headman was told by the District Commissioner to find men to bake bricks for the new Headman's office. (There were only two brickmakers in the village and the one he selected was not in any way officially obliged to him.) When the Postal Messenger left his job in Manyana, the Councillor took over the job himself for a few days and telephoned the District Council to notify them that the young man had left; but the Headman ratified the appointment of a permanent successor.

In Mankgodi there were no occasions for officials directly to allocate jobs. When the Council Secretary came to make arrangements for the annual rounding up of stray cattle both Councillor and Headman had been informed and recruitment took place in an open kgotla meeting.

It was difficult for leaders overtly to favour their friends or relatives even when they had the opportunity. Although the Postal Messenger business in Manyana had been handled by a Headman and Councillor between them the matter was raised and discussed in kgotla where the conduct of the Councillor, who had earned a few pence for himself by holding on to the job for some days,was openly criticized. Since any issue may be raised in kgotla it is often wise for leaders who are in some way involved in potentially dangerous situations to speak out themselves. When the Tax Collector who had been collecting the ditonkafela levy (see p. 66) for the Village Development Committee was transferred without warning to another village and no one knew where the Fund was, the V.D.C. Chairman raised the matter himself in kgotla, saying that he did so in order to avoid any possible blame. Here again the sanction of public approval in public assembly effectively controlled the behaviour of leaders and limited their power.

The Chairman of the Village Development Committee features little in the above discussion. This is a leadership role which the Government, through Community Development, is encouraging, but in comparison with either Councillor or Chief the connections which this office has with higher authority are limited. (In Mankgodi the Chief himself was Chairman, an exceptional arrangement in which this problem did not

arise). The Chairman did not normally receive copies of correspondence about village projects and he had no occasion to attend meetings outside the village. When officials visited he would be included in discussions but this gave him no advantage over other village leaders. Under these circumstances the V.D.C. Chairman is unlikely to have a dominant role in village affairs.

Chief and Councillor by no means dominated the flow of information into the village. The Agricultural Demonstrator, the Schoolteachers and the Community Development Assistant all had their own links with authority. This arrangement enabled the teachers and the Agricultural Demonstrator to keep the School Committees and the Dams Committees institutionally distinct within village politics.

In summary, through creating new Committees with developmental responsibilities in the villages, the Government seeks to broaden the power base in the village and allow greater participation in leadership. This is to be achieved in part by establishing committees with special areas of responsibility like the Parent Teacher Association or the Lands and Dams Committees, so that these functions are separated out from the sphere of influence of the kgotla. To a degree this has been successful, but where the job of the Committee involves the control of public resources, there is no recourse other than to confirm decisions through the authority of kgotla itself. (See the discussion of the Dams Committees in Chapter 3). Even where it is possible for the Committee to create a clearly defined area of responsibility for itself, (for example, the P.T.A.'s) there is often pressure, as in Mankgodi (Minute 12/2/72 Appendix II) to have decisions ratified in kgotla.

The V.D.C., with its general concern for public affairs, has in all cases to refer its proposals to kgotla. When committees manage to establish routine functions like employment of personnel or the collection of funds then the problem becomes one of controlling the resources of the committee in the public interest. Committees are often regarded by Government officials as a more efficient means of conducting public affairs than public assemblies, but in practice the sanction of public approval, with all that this entails in protracted discussion, is unavoidable. In response many committees tend to meet in open session in order to achieve the necessary support for their measures and in doing so they subject their own conduct to a measure of public scrutiny.

Neither Chief nor Councillor has clear executive authority though through factional support or through their interhierarchical (Gluckman 1969) position they can both maintain a position of influence if they are able men. Executive authority is now supposed to lie with the development committees but these have to rely upon voluntary compliance since they have no statutory powers.

Under these circumstances village development projects are easily proposed and then, when there is genuine enthusiasm, some funds will be raised but sustained work is made well nigh impossible by conspicuous dissenters. There is on the other hand some support for the levies on commercial brewing and for the contributions to the school fund both of which are a form of local taxation. If the villagers are to play a significant role in local development then some recognition of their practices by higher authority, coupled with an auditing procedure , would

give true executive power to these bodies. Village assemblies would remain important both as a legitimating body and as a means of controlling the activities of the leaders.

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL ENGINEERING AND COMMUNICATIONS

So far I have emphasised the economic and institutional constraints that operate around development schemes in the villages. The development agencies themselves, as I argued in the Introduction, stress the need to change village values and understandings and to make new knowledge available. I here explore the factors which influence their success. Although I have attempted to show that the social processes influencing their impact are far more complex than is indicated in their own philosophies, values and attitudes and knowledge do change rapidly in the villages, and the development agencies themselves are playing a part in these changes. Here I examine more specifically the agencies' endeavours to engineer new values and to spread new knowledge and discover that they are of course related to the kind of constraints that I have previously examined.

But first a diversion to put the discussion into perspective. It is easy to assume because people conform well enough to a social system for patterns of behaviour to be clearly observable that they believe in the system and could conceive of no other. Lest my description leaves an impression that the people of these villages are 'over socialized' conformists, unaware of alternatives to their world, I start with a description of one or two incidents which show the breadth of their perception about their situation.

The coincidence of the lunar eclipse and an exciting return trip from the moon by some American astronauts in September 1972, provided the men in kgotla with a topic of discussion as they awaited the arrival of a visiting speaker. Did I think the eclipse was a portent of some

kind? asked one. I joked that I thought that perhaps the Americans up there had something to do with it and this introduced a discussion of the current American achievement. There was speculation on the cost of the enterprise as well as wonder at its achievement: the Chief came in with a report from the radio of progress en route back to Earth. Then one man, a recognized religious leader, brought the topic home with an ironical suggestion. "The Americans are rich" he said "and can afford to visit the Moon. But it is our tradition to follow cattle and to grow sorghum and it is right that we should remain in poverty". He was joking, and his statement was noisily rejected: "No, we too must become rich". The Chief turned humour to a moral: "We must work harder and work together through our co-operatives to get good prices". The sky is the limit on hopes for wealth, - even if the means of getting there are unrealistic. But the joke, however, indicates that perceptual horizons are by no means limited to the village.

Specific problems may elicit more specific comparisons. One man, discussing improvements in agriculture, said that before the Second World War the Boers had been farmers just like the Batswana, "They had nothing just like us", ploughing small acreages with oxen, while today they plough huge areas. His explanation of this transformation was that after the War their government had helped them with tractors and loans and, "today they are rich". They spread "White Stuff" and "Blue Stuff", and they plough early. His perception of the technical processes and the role of the South African Government in the transformation were cloudy, but he had hit upon an important dimension of economic transformation in agricultural systems, and one that was indeed important in

South Africa. (Bundy 1972). In criticising his government and the former British protectorate government for failing to aid farmers in this way he showed that he was thinking about his problems as a farmer in terms broader than those encompassed by the Ministry of Agriculture's Extension and other activities.

In their political attitudes not all participants were content with their current social system. A village leader in the privacy of his compound, held forth on the injustices of the present distribution of wealth. He contrasted himself as an unpaid Chairman of a Committee with the paid officials of the village; he was "just sacrificing" himself, while they were earning their salaries. At least, he went on, people could not accuse him of holding onto his Chairmanship for pecuniary reasons. Then, warming to his theme, he moved on to greater injustices. He named a senior government official. "He earns £200 per month", while other people are lucky to have a job that brings in "£1.10 a month" in the village. "£200 a month is enough to pay everyone in this village - and he has cattle also".

These conversations are quoted to demonstrate the often noted point, that the villagers who the Agencies seek to develop are socially aware, critical, often astute and sometimes well informed. Of course, by and large, they must and do adapt themselves to their situation. The Committee Chairman, for example, whose egalitarian complaints I have just quoted nevertheless gets on with his job and is very active in village affairs.

The Ministry of Agriculture Pupil Farmer Scheme with its four Grades through which farmers can rise progressively is an attempt to make farming by modern techniques prestigious. Official recognition of achievement, the issue of certificates and badges, confer status upon successful farmers which is intended to encourage others to follow their example. It is assumed that achievement motivation will reinforce economic motivation. Even farmers who for some reasons do not join the formal scheme will be able to see success and do likewise. In Extension jargon this is the demonstration effect. In sociological jargon, Scheme farmers should become a reference group to which others relate.

I saw few signs that the formal ranking of participants within the Scheme was taken seriously, though upon reflection, the farmers in Manyana could remember the English terms for the ranks which they had achieved. Ranking had not been very actively pursued in recent years due to pressure of work upon senior Agricultural Department staff. Some of the farmers who had achieved the label of "Improved" or "Progressive" farmer had in practice fallen back in their farming efforts so that there was no direct correlation between formal ranking and farming techniques. Farmers used the term loosely: one man in Mankgodi claimed that he and the Chief were "Master Farmers" because they had achieved crops in the previous year of drought. So the concept was known but the formal ranking did not work well. More important was active leadership of the farmers' groups organized by the Demonstrator and in Manyana these leaders were in fact farmers of the highest rank. Here their status was reinforced by the organizational role conferred upon them by the Demonstrator.

While formal ranking was not very significant informally farmers did achieve considerable prestige if they ploughed a large acreage and could claim to have used some at least of the advocated techniques. They were admired within the group of Scheme farmers. The purchase of machinery in particular was an admired demonstration of strength. A planter, a scotch cart, a cultivator, have joined the ox-wagon outside the gate as a symbol of economic success and strength.

Farmers who joined the Scheme also gained prestige through association with the Demonstrator and more particularly from visits by the Area Agricultural Officer on tour. Such visits may not be very effective as communications links but to be visited by a Government Officer on tour or to be a friend of the Demonstrator - always a man of income and education, if rather young - are clear social credits. So in these three ways participation in the Pupil Farmer Scheme is a prestigious business, yet the demonstration effect was minimal. (Lever 1970). Other farmers seldom used any of the improved agricultural techniques and did not identify with those who did. I have already pointed out some of the difficulties which faced poorer farmers in relation to the extension package. Asking such householders why they did not join the Pupil Farmer Scheme (that is "work with the Demonstrator") many people just looked in astonishment as if the idea was strange to them and dismissed with such statements as "I am just a poor man" or "I am just a woman on my own" and so on, all statements indicating that they considered that people who worked with the Demonstrator to be in a class apart. Quite clearly they

perceived their social situation to be different from that of people who could join the Scheme and never considered emulation.

Of a different order was the reaction of some of the wealthier householders who clearly could have participated in the Scheme had they so wished. A neighbour of mine typified such people, who, confident in their own strength and ability, rejected new style farming. This man was reluctant to get involved with the Demonstrator's service because he feared the consequence of getting into the debt of Government. He saw the Extension Service as a package involving loans for the purchase of machinery (in practice these were hard to come by) and this was an excessive liability in his view. If you failed to pay, because of a bad year, Government would come and take all you had got. His assertions were positive as well; he ploughed a large acreage and always got a crop, he said and indeed in the year that I was around he tilled the soil, ploughed and planted and achieved a much better yield than his neighbours. This man and his like advocated another ideal in agriculture; a collection of techniques and investment priorities which he thought worked well and which, because he had not learned them from outsiders he labelled 'Tswana' to distinguish them from the ways of the Demonstrator which he labelled 'European'. My neighbour had a considerable investment in things Tswana because he was a well known Ngaka (Tswana Doctor) and spent much of his time moving around the country on this business. Many of the other people were less enthusiastic advocates of Tswana agriculture saying that they practised "Tswana ploughing only". But successful farmers in this style could also be admired and emulated.

In agricultural matters the villagers today relate themselves to a number of different reference groups, of which Scheme farmer is simply the most clearly defined. Others identify with people in like social situations, "We strong", "We poor", or "We Women", and gain moral support for their agricultural decisions through emulating those with whom they identify. Thus behaviour which can be seen as adaptive and economic, given the social situation of the actor, comes to take on moral overtones through its association with a particular social identity.(1)

The new organizations created by Community Development in the villages, can similarly be regarded as an attempt to restructure social relations to emphasise novel social goals and values. In this case it is difficult to know to what extent this was a conscious community development policy or to what extent it was a response to political pressures emanating from elsewhere in Government. Yet whether Community Development clearly conceives of it in this way or not, by establishing new, officially recognized roles in the village Government can hope to influence the leadership style of the village. Fieldworkers support these new roles and institutions and to some extent Government finance is invested in them; thus Government can hope to influence the norms and values which they display.(2) Leaders through their contacts

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(1) In the field I was initially baffled in my attempt to sort out what behaviour was invested with moral significance - the 'oughts' of Tswana life - and what was regarded as open to pragmatic decisions. Eventually I concluded that no hard distinction need be drawn since people may seek to substantiate the most pragmatic and adaptive decisions by investing them with moral justification.

(2) The South East District Council arranged for an annual occasion at which villagers chosen for their outstanding contribution to village development by the Chief, the Councillor and the Chairman of the V.D.C. in each village, could be given a certificate and an outing to the District capital town.

with Government officials may come to identify with the values, language, and goals of these officials. (A.C. Mayer 1956). Likewise by setting up clubs and associations in the villages and by encouraging them to affiliate with national organizations, Community Development may also hope to produce an atmosphere in which the members of these clubs will emulate the values and come to gain the skills of the prestigeful leaders of these national organizations. Again the degree to which this is thought out social engineering in which social processes are consciously anticipated or the degree to which this is simply conventional social policy is difficult to determine. All Community Development policies are much more closely related to national political and social life than are agricultural policies and this makes it more difficult to identify underlying motivations.

The social engineering interpretation which I have put on Community Development activities has to be seen in conjunction with the Community Development emphasis upon "felt needs". On the face of it the emphasis upon allowing local communities to work out their own priorities so that there is maximum support for participation hardly fits with my social engineering interpretation. Certainly the villagers were encouraged here to identify their felt needs. But it is equally a Community Development view that, in the words of an Assistant Community Development Officer, "The whole question is one of awareness" and this allows for a much more assertive approach on the part of the Community Development workers. Felt needs are perhaps the needs, which, in accord with administrative priorities, the villagers can be persuaded to feel. Here the questions of social identity which I have raised may be important.(1)

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(1) In Community Development literature these contrasting aspects of ideology and practice remain unreconciled. For a recent debate see Batten 1975.

Villages do indeed choose for themselves within limits. It is how these limits are socially constructed which concerns us here.

A lot of the projects undertaken in the villages do accord with the urgent wishes of the villagers and need no stimulation from other sources. Educational projects particularly are strongly supported since most families desire to get at least some of their offspring educated. But not all projects are obviously useful in this way. During my stay in both Mankgodi and Manyana current discussions of village projects included Community Centres. What use these Centres would be to the villagers was not immediately apparent. Mankgodi villagers were actively organizing themselves towards this goal and both the vagueness of the concept and the social dynamics which encouraged the villagers to adopt the project were apparent from the discussions that took place in kgotla. (Minute 21/2/72 Appendix 2). In explaining the idea the Chief had to use the English "Community Centre" apologising that there is no Tswana term for it. Nthlo ya merafe (House of the Tribe) was a possible translation he said. It would be a place where Tribal Assemblies and other meetings could be held. But beyond this the only practical use for this building that he mentioned was that when "big people" like the President visited the village everyone would be able to eat with them in this house. That it could be used by clubs and associations for money raising concerts may also have been apparent to the listeners. But the use to which the building might be put was of less interest to speakers than the social dynamics of their situation. Tamagha, a neighbouring much larger village, already had a Community Centre under way, while at Molopolole

and Ramoutsa Community Centres were already opened it was said. This kind of talk spurred a young speaker to take up the challenge. "We are not lazy, we should have a name for work like the people of Tamagha". "We must tell the Chief to collect". The feeling was summarized by the Chief "The Hurutse are an historic people but we are behind". One of the first Community Centres in the country was established in Serowe, capital of the Ngwato, by Lady Khama, wife of the President of Botswana, herself President of the Botswana Council of Women. Subsequently Community Centres were built in other towns and villages and now it is clearly the done thing to build Community Centres. It is for reasons of prestige alone that villages people feel the need for this kind of development project. But this is very different in kind to the needs they feel in relation to their farming activities or other aspects of their daily life. The point can be illustrated from the discussion of Development Projects which took place in Manyana when the Assistant District Council Secretary and the Assistant Community Development Officer from Kanye came to discuss projects for the village to be incorporated in the District Development Plan. At this meeting representatives of clubs and associations in the village, along with the Village Development Committee and members of the public raised a list of possible projects which the Chief summarised as follows:

Teachers' Quarters
Community Centre
Road to Mosupa and Ramoutsa
Kitchen for school
Children's lavatories at the school
Literacy class
Classroom
Teachers' lavatories
Water supply to school from the mission
Piped water from dams to the village for household use

to which the Court Clerk, recently arrived at the village,added a plea for quarters for local government employees. These things were duly noted by the visitors. Then various villagers who did not belong to the Red Cross, the Village Development Committee or any other organization, spoke up about the need for water supply for human and stock use at the Lands, about the erosion that had taken place at one of the recently built stock dams and about the silting up of the large dam above the village. It was also suggested that something be done to improve the track to a neighbouring village that lies through the hills to the South. These practical suggestions, obviously close to the daily needs of the people, put the Councillor in mind of the need for a couple of drifts (made up crossing places) in the river within the village and the meeting turned to an extended discussion of these more mundane but economically important issues. As Village Development Committee members or as Parent Teacher Association members or Y.W.C.A. members, people thought largely in terms of the range of projects which had come to be regarded as appropriate for Development Committees. Prompted by demands from beyond the leadership, from people more caught up with their day to day worries than with village affairs, the leaders themselves began to think in terms of other priorities. Some of the emphasis in the initial proposals is certainly due to the prominence of teachers who do not share village economic interests in the leadership of this village. But the list reflects the socially accepted projects heard about on the radio, read about in Community Development success stories, reported in Government news circulars, praised by Ministers, and achieved by neighbouring villages.

A more dramatic example of this dichotomy was found in the activities of Women's Clubs. When I made my initial enquiries about the Botswana Council of Women Club in Mankgodi I was proudly shown the handicraft products which had been made by members of the Club and which had won a prize in a competition organized in Gaberone by the B.C.W. itself. These knitted table mats and embroidered table-cloths were now carefully stored away in the Chief's wife's cupboard, to be shown to visitors as an example of their work. The products, though decorative, would not make a substantial contribution to the quality of life in the village since tables are only used at family feasts and then only for those honoured guests who, it is thought, would appreciate that kind of thing. Some of the products of these Clubs were more useful, like articles of clothing. But it was clear that the women were at one level of their activities caught up in a process of 'embourgeoisement', (to borrow another term from Lockwood and Goldthorpe (1968)), which hardly seemed relevant to their situation. The Clubs also had meetings at which visitors gave talks about nutrition, childcare and other aspects of domestic welfare, organized by the Women's Activities Section of the Department of Community Development. I never had opportunity to attend such functions. These activities were supported by concerts and other fundraising activities. This appeared to be the programme, but from my enquiries elsewhere I found that the Club in Mankgodi had another range of activities that had not been mentioned in my initial discussions. The Club raised funds to make loans to individual members in need, and provided supplies and services at the burial feasts of members' households. The Club Officials told me, when I asked, that they regarded this as their private business, but happily provided me with details of their activities. I subsequently found that the Y.W.C.A. in Mankgodi, now

inactive,had also worked on this principle. Brief discussions with Club officials in other villages confirmed the same division of activities. In Manyana the only active Women's Club with national affiliations was the Red Cross, run by some teachers and concerned only with First Aid training. But another group of women had formed an association about which they were inclined to be rather secretive because they had heard rumour that the Government required all Clubs to register and were worried that they might have to pay a fee. The main function of this Club was to provide members with financial services. At core it was a rotating credit association of the kind already described, but it also provided loans to members and gave grants to members who faced funeral expenses. For this they raised funds through beer brewing.

It was clear then that the Women's Clubs balanced the prestigeful activities that were most directly influenced by the national movement with some economic activities which directly reflect their domestic needs. At one level their reference group is the ladies of Gaberone who head the national movements, and it is under this stimulus that they come together in the first place. But having come together they assess their own needs and organize appropriate activities, which, because they are thought to be at variance with the national movement, they regard as their private business.

It would have been interesting to be able to assess directly the position of the Women's Unit of the Community Development Department in relation to this picture. The Unit professed concern for nutritional improvement and family welfare and hoped to be able

to influence the women through these Clubs. This sounded rather more practical and hard headed than the activities of the women's movements in general, but it was still far from the felt needs of the women themselves as expressed in their "private" activities.

These processes of social identification have consequences for communications. The social identification that people make in a particular aspect of their lives such as farming sets limits to what they regard as relevant information. Having, as it were, dismissed the idea of being a Scheme farmer they pay no attention to the information which is associated with that approach to farming. Communicators in kgotla, in newspapers, or on the radio, are up against the fact that once their message has been identified by its language as being relevant to people of a particular kind, others, who do not make this identification, may cease to pay attention. In Botswana where so much information is relayed in conversations from household to household across the country the consequences of this selective reception of information are compounded. Those who are exposed to the information in the first place, filter what they pass on according to their perception of their own and others' interests.

Under these circumstances the tendency of Demonstrators to work with members of the Pupil Farmer Scheme helps to create a clear identity for the modernizing farmer; other farmers are just as likely to dissociate themselves as to associate themselves. In disassociating themselves farmers may be ignoring knowledge which is of practical benefit to themselves. Ministry advice and information through the Pupil Farmer Scheme thus suffered from the fact that it came to be

associated with a particular category of farmer, and social identification worked against the incorporation of more people within the sphere of influence of the Ministry.(1)

Underlying the Agricultural Extension and Community Development activities is this conscious or unconscious attempt to make their activities prestigious by associating them with national movements and by creating or using rank order in society to reinforce the messages that departments want to put over to the people. This social engineering aspect of the scheme is in all cases influential though not always in the predicted way. Processes of comparison and identification in society are complicated. People sometimes associate themselves with prestigious groups and emulate their ways, and sometimes disassociate themselves.(2) Scheme farmers are presumably taken as a reference group by those who decide to join the Scheme but other farming households establish criteria of difference and disassociate themselves from this group. Criteria in this case will include the manpower, cattle, and other resources available to the household. Women's Clubs both associate themselves with the goals of the national movement including social goals of advancement of women and improving their social standing, by adopting the inexpensive trappings of prestigeful urban life, and clearly distinguish

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(1) In the case of the Demonstration Ranches, from which farmers were supposed to learn the benefits of fenced and controlled grazing, one can equally suppose that while farmers were clearly aware of the benefit of these ranches for fattening their cattle; they would not consider the lesson of fencing to be applicable to their own situation where the institutional arrangements are quite different.

(2) Reference Group Theory in its classical statement by Merton and Rossi (1957) attempted to identify this business of association and disassociation by distinguishing between normative reference groups and comparative reference groups but the processes that I identified in the villages evade classification along these lines. I simply note that situational and reactive identifications may overlie more objective assessments of one's social position.

"our business" in which the reference group is "people like ourselves" rather than the national elite. In a similar way villagers as a whole are both caught up in national movements that foster projects like Community Centres and also are capable of identifying their own practical needs. Economic progress I feel is more likely to be facilitated by the identification of practical needs rather than by encouraging this kind of social ambition, but these nationwide social movements serve to mobilize the people in ways which are sometimes practically useful. If social ambition creates the Women's Clubs, they subsequently provide themselves with useful services.

Social engineering as a development strategy is risky. It is difficult to predict how influential innovators or community leaders will be when others in the community may see themselves as different and disassociate themselves. One can envisage circumstances in which the process would rebound in emerging class consciousness and hostility; though this would overstate the present case in Botswana. The consequences depend in part upon the nature of the message that is being put over. If in Extension the message is something that fits the circumstances of a wide range of the population, then one can see the emulation process leading to rapid adoption of the novelty. A conscious policy of "levening the lump" would then work. Extension departments can claim many success stories that prove the point.

A further risk is that emulation may lead people into activities that have no developmental benefit. To copy a neighbour's field fertilizing programme may lead to improved productivity, but to be similarly motivated into buying new furniture may be a disinvestment. My observations in the villages show that in their farming people are largely

constrained by their practical circumstances: they most readily identify with people in a similar position to themselves; and their investments reflect hard headed judgements. But where prestige is more directly involved; in women's clubs or on public occasions ambitions are raised and the styles of more affluent sections of the population affected. Villages may be led into prestigious projects that are both expensive and of little practical benefit to themselves.

CHAPTER 8

IDEOLOGY AND ORGANIZATIONAL DYNAMICS

In this chapter I ask why change from within the development agency appears to be so difficult and look for an answer within the dynamics of the agencies themselves. The argument here is tentative because most of my fieldwork was conducted in the villages and with village level workers so that I observed more about the interactions of field staff with their public and their district level superiors than about higher levels of the agency hierarchy where I had to be content with occasional interviews and some informal contacts. Nevertheless for discovering new things about the development task interaction in the field is clearly important so a vital part of the picture came directly within my ambit.

How do agencies see what they are up against in the field? This is the essential question, because if they came to see their environment differently they would have to re-conceive their task and restructure their activities. In agency jargon the practical question is one of feedback. But analytically there are two questions: whether information flows back up through the organization and what kind of information this may be, for if the questions that are asked are shaped by the senior officials themselves in conformity with the dominant ideology, then they will receive back answers that only confirm them in their ways. I found that feedback is poor and that in conversations between agency staff the basic interpretation of the task in hand is not questioned. Yet my interpretation of the problem was made much more difficult by the fact that at all levels of the organization intelligent men, often

prompted by particular events in the environment, do think outside the system, but these exploratory thoughts do not influence agency ideology.

I begin by looking at the interactions of field staff and their superiors.

The Agricultural Demonstrator has a fairly specific set of techniques which he is expected to be able to tell the villagers about and we have seen (Chapter 3) that the chances that the whole of the extension package happen to match the capabilities and specific needs of farmers is remote. Nonetheless the Demonstrator is assessed by his superiors on his ability to communicate this information and the only objective basis of this assessment is his ability to encourage people to join the Pupil Farmer scheme. The Demonstrator in his work faces two ways and in each direction meets a different set of constraints. On the one hand his immediate senior, the Agricultural Officer of his District, is concerned to find tangible signs of progress while on the other he faces the reactions of the farming community.

The principal means of contact between the Agricultural Officer at District Level and his Agricultural Demonstrators are three - monthly meetings, Demonstrators' monthly reports, and visits on tour round the Districts. Both Agricultural Officers whom I came to know well were young and enthusiastic expatriates well aware of the difficulties of keeping meaningful contacts with the large number of Demonstrators who were in their daily work scattered around Districts of enormous size with poor communications. Neither were enthusiastic

about monthly meetings or formal reports; moreover they were responsible for a load of administration which kept them in their offices much more than they desired. Monthly meetings were very time consuming for the field staff many of whom, not having their own transport, spent several days out of each month in journeying to and from these meetings. With many people in attendance and with a string of administrative details about courses, examinations, Farmers' Days and the availability of supplies for the Agricultural Officer to announce it was very difficult to obtain a meaningful exchange of ideas at these meetings. The A.O. himself had to make a report to Head Office each month and in calling for reports from the Districts he often specifically asked the Demonstrators about the state of ploughing, germination, or whatever the current activity so that he could pass on impressions, - because impressions they were, - to Head Office. Nevertheless one of these A.O.'s, though pressed for time, did try to get his Demonstrators to raise problems concerned with Extension techniques and other topics of their choice. On these occasions he felt himself to be up against the system because, while several of his staff were bright and adventurous in their approach, he could not given them too much head without upsetting the more conventional and established. He preferred to give some individuals a head in private discussions with them when this was possible.

Written monthly reports consisted mainly in a list of events in the Districts in which the Demonstrator worked, a running commentary on the state of seasonal activities, and the main points that the A.D. was currently preaching. A summary of the Manyana Demonstrator's report to his senior in Kanye goes as follows:

October '70. "Manuring going slowly due to drought..." School garden without water... Cattle dying due to plant poison...

Percentages (fictitious) are then given for winter ploughing and manuring.

"Don't think some farmers are going to plough".

November '70. "Ploughing behind due to condition of oxen..." Likewise manuring... School garden not growing.

Good rains but cattle in poor condition...

December '70. "Good rain... Bad ticks on animals but few farmers de-ticking... Grass coming up... Farmers urged to take part in 4B etc., but failing due to tribalism... Also Women's Clubs failing due to tribalism".

January '71. "Broadcasting methods have been greatly used due to late ploughing and lack of ploughing stock"

"Ticks still a problem. One cow struck by lightening. Grazing good in parts, poor in others..."

February '71. 3rd, 9th, 10th, Good rains but unfortunately falling in village only... 23rd, 24th, Good rainfall over the area but more at the Lands... Lack of seeds in the shop both sorghum and maize and other crops...

March '71. Light showers 19th and 25th only... Farmers will get few bags of sorghum, 1 to 2 bags if weather does not change rapidly... Maize a failure, Cow peas and beans "very few".

April '71. ... Good rain on 3rd, and 18th at Bikwe only... Bird scaring...

May '71. Good showers 11th... Bird scaring... Some

crops frostbitten... Bulk of other crops harvested...
Kids dropping and hope milk products will soon be good.

From this kind of material the A.O. can obtain but the sketchiest impression of what is going on in his district beyond certain key climatic and agricultural problems. Certainly this is not the kind of information which reveals the farmer's perceptions of his problems.

On field visits concerned with extension matters Agricultural Officers have the opportunity of meeting farmers themselves. However, A.O.'s are always in a hurry and get a chance of meeting only a few farmers on each visit to their A.D.'s. A.D.'s have a vested interest in showing their superiors the more responsive and conforming of their Pupil Farmer clientele. The A.O. may counter this by demanding to meet some of the poorer as well as some of the better Scheme Farmers, but it would take a very deliberate act on the part of the A.O. to meet a representative cross section of the farming population.

Interviews with farmers were, in the case of expatriate A.O.'s conducted through an interpreter; often the A.D. himself. This would not be necessary where the Officer was himself a Motswana but language was only one dimension of social distance. Farmers are always somewhat in awe of well dressed strangers who arrive in trucks with a suitable entourage and to whom their friend the A.D. is obviously paying deference. It is social difference rather than language difference which influences the communication process. Under these circumstances farmers speak when spoken to, answer questions but seldom ask them, as they follow the Officer around their field, hat

in hand. This reticence is something which the best intentioned Officer would find difficult to overcome. To really understand the farmer's problems, the considerations which encourage him to do this or that, the Officer would have to encourage the farmer to indulge in a good old grouse about his afflictions, - and all farmers have afflictions, - and then draw him out on particular points. This, however, can only be done at leisure, perhaps over a beer, in circumstances where the farmer is least concerned to demonstrate deference to the opinions of authority, or to exhibit pride in his achievements. These social circumstances, the busy A.O. and his clientele would find extremely difficult to create, even if they saw the point of it.

On his busy rounds informal contact is impossible. The Agricultural Officer puts questions which closely reflect his own views as to what is necessary in agriculture. What he sees is to him very often simply an exhibition of poor techniques yielding poor crops or vulnerable stock. He knows how crops could be better produced or livestock better cared for. Broadly, though every sophisticated Agriculturalist has his reservations about some Scheme recommendations, he believes in the techniques of the Extension package. His questions reflect his pre-suppositions. "Do you use kraal manure?" The farmer claims that he has only just heard of the practice, this being the simplest explanation of the fact that he doesn't, though he has few cattle and no means of transport. These constraints don't come out in the exchange. "When will you plough?" A question hoping to elicit the answer "Now or Soon" showing that the client knows the advantage of winter ploughing. The A.D., anxious that his client does not let him down helps the question along in interpretation,

making it "When will you winter plough", but the farmer procrastinates and hedges and fiddles with the brim of his hat. Deduction: 'this man is not very progressive'. Not even the most direct communications between A.O. and the farmer could cause him fundamentally to revise his views of the Extension process.

What is the consequence of the A.O.'s pre-suppositions for the role of the A.D.? The Demonstrator, as we have seen in the last example, is well aware of the way that his senior thinks and is anxious to conform to his expectations. In spite of the fact that the Pupil Farmer Scheme is, at high level, criticized and its significance in the Extension effort played down, nonetheless visiting officials soon ask how many participating farmers the A.D. has managed to collect or how many recruits are in prospect. The Demonstrator in his daily rounds and in his casual contacts is constantly aware of the need to recruit new members to the Scheme and to induce those who are on his list to conform to expectations. Yet an intelligent Demonstrator who has been around for a while and who is well acquainted with the villagers, sharing their daily life with them as well as working with them, is bound to become aware of some of their day to day farming problems to which the Extension package techniques do not provide solutions. The Demonstrator does, of course, provide solutions to problems other than those stressed by the Pupil Farmer Scheme. Ties of friendship will encourage him to be generous with his advice, but on the other hand his friends are principally people who have joined the Scheme.(1) There is no reward for him in helping all and sundry

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(1) The tendency of Agricultural field staff to have contacts mainly with wealthy farmers has been noted in Tanzania where it had considerable consequences for the distribution of power and benefit also. (van Velsen 1970). See also the work of D.K. Leonard in East Africa, (Leonard 1972).

since nothing in the conduct of his superiors at the District level indicates that any influence that he may have upon farming behaviour in general is of significance to them. Large sections of the farming population that we have identified earlier, - the younger households, those headed by women, the poor, - are not even approached by the Demonstrator directly though they may hear his words in kgotla. Had the Demonstrator the obligation to visit, advise and report back on every farming household in his terrain all sorts of information could come out that would be useful to his superiors and the people themselves would obtain a new image of his role.(1)

But the Demonstrator was stuck with the problem of increasing the number of Scheme Farmers and in trying to get existing members to conform to the recommended practices. In these objectives his powers were in fact limited since there was no element of compulsion in the rules of the Scheme. Farmers could join if they wanted and do what they wanted once they were members. Membership of this prestigious organization entitled the farmer to advice, initially some seed, and in practice the use of demonstration equipment but these services could be informally rationed by the Demonstrator in return for some compliance with the expectations of the Scheme. This is in line with the kind of reciprocal exchanges of which all farmers are acquainted where an agreement of benefit to both involved some sacrifice of desired alternatives by both. The Demonstrator, however authoritarian he may sometimes appear, has in his relationships with the individual clients to work out this kind of deal.

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(1) In a recent reorganization of the Ministry the Demonstrator has been cast in the village contact man role so that he could now be required to do this kind of thing.

He provides services, castrating or dosing animals, or lending equipment; they try an acre or two of winter ploughing, some new seed varieties and row plant that extra bit.

But in spite of his efforts the Demonstrator can only be partly successful. When visited by his superiors or other interested parties, he feels obliged to justify this situation and does so in terms which he thinks will be acceptable to his superiors. Thus when I first arrived in the villages and spoke to the Demonstrators about their clients they asserted that the people in these villages were lazy, and that they were not interested in improving themselves, but that 'so and so' was a bit progressive and so on. Nothing came out about the farmers' problems until we were visiting the farmers themselves and asking about particular practices; then the Demonstrators showed that in their different ways they had considerable insights. Some of the constraints mentioned in Chapter 3 came out in discussions with the Demonstrators once I had shown that I was interested in these kinds of problems. In meetings with farmers too the Demonstrator's greater awareness of the farmer's viewpoint and of their way of thinking were apparent. George Kutzwe in particular, although a Kalanga speaker himself from the North, showed in his speeches imagery and examples which were much closer to home for his audience than anything that I heard from outsiders. At a Lands Committee meeting he talked about weevils:"If corn is eaten by weevils it is no longer sweet to taste, even putting in potatoes does not sweeten it since the smell of weevils will still be there". Asked how they could be avoided he said "A sack is like a shirt, wash it before use...." Few senior officials would quote a hymn to point

a moral about building lavatories but somehow it was just right . "The Lutheran Hymnal, Hymn 282 has the line 'Pour out your souls so that you may help each other'. That God may help us we must help each other... Let us show that we can come together: I told you we must build some lavatories so that when we have some visitors from Gaberone we can show them that we are following instructions. We need them all over because we move about. If you join together you can make these sheds easily..."

If then the Demonstrator fails to reach more than a minority of the people it is not necessarily because of the limitations of his knowledge or lack of skills in communication but rather because of the way in which his job is institutionalized. Senior Ministry staff are often aware of the complexities of the farmer's viewpoint and economic situation and recognize that farmers face Extension Staff with "an almost infinite set of circumstances". (Atkinson 1968, Staff Conference, p.5), to which they must be able to respond with advice and encouragement. They take the view that the ideal Demonstrator is very much the kind of man who can bring his broad understanding of agriculture to bear and who can "teach people themselves to think about their problems and plan how to solve them..." They are aware of the fact that most Demonstrators do not do this, but put it down to the limitations of their training rather than to the institutional expectations which the Demonstrator faces. (Atkinson, p.6) If Demonstrators were encouraged to report their observations of agricultural livestock problems and were given credit for so doing then this would in turn encourage them to be more experimental. George Kutzwe told of an occasion when, on another station, he had reported his own observations about a plant poison

that was troublesome to cattle in that area. He observed that the cattle commonly died from this poison while they were in harness, seldom while they were simply grazing. He persuaded some farmers to experiment with using their animals only in the cool of the early morning or late evening and found that then they did not seem to be affected. He reported his observations to the Agricultural Officer who expressed interest and sent the information to the Research Station. Thereafter he heard nothing more about it. This kind of observation seemed to me well worth encouraging.

The adaptive or innovative practices of farmers that are not the result of Agency stimulation are also of intrinsic value and should be communicated upwards through the Extension hierarchy. For example farmers often approached me for sump oil from my van for use, mixed with a little D.D.T., as a treatment for cattle ticks. The remedy was cheap, readily available, effective,and well known to the Demonstrators but the Ministry, when advocating tick control practices mentioned only proprietory brands of tick grease or spray and made no comment upon this local usage. Information from the bottom failed to reach the top where it could usefully have been used, or if necessary counteracted.

Since there is a minimal upward flow of information from the farmers through the Demonstrators to Senior Extension Staff there is little pressure for modification of the Extension Programme to accomodate the needs of a broader range of people and the Demonstrators, under pressure to achieve results, must persuade as many farmers as possible into some minimal conformity with modern practices through the kind of bargaining that I have described.

The Community Development Assistant is in a similar position as a link between Government and village but he does not have the Demonstrator's problem of inducing his clients to adapt to a specific programme which only partially equates with their needs. The C.D.A.'s difficulty is that he must attempt to make programmes work in the villages when the decisions involved are subject to village political processes; his task is to make other people act and not himself become embroiled in village squabbles in which he personally can only lose. Under these circumstances it is just as difficult for a conscientious C.D.A. to produce the goods for his superiors as it is for the Demonstrator to increase his clientele.

Community Development ideology is, of course, tolerant of slow material progress, holding that it is attitudes that must change and that this necessarily takes time. However, the Community Development Officer at District level will want to know what progress is taking place in the villages in the C.D.A.'s charge and specific projects undertaken are a convenient indication that the C.D.A. is about his work. One of the Community Development Staff at District level with whom I had several discussions about the role of the C.D.A. in the villages showed a considerable awareness of some of the pressures that villagers could bring to bear upon the fieldworker. He recognized for example that it might be much easier for a C.D.A. to maintain a working relationship in villages in which he was only a regular visitor and not a resident, because villagers, always polite to strangers, would be less liable to involve him in internal disputes. Nevertheless he pronounced his faith in the C.D.A.'s ability to maintain a politically neutral, catalytic role in

village affairs. Discussing the problem of the C.D.A. in Manyana he said that this man's mistake had been to accept office on a village committee rather than to insist upon an advisory role. In committees the C.D.A. should guide from behind, he asserted.

Implicit in the concept of the adviser in a non-participant role is the assumption that the C.D.A. has some brand of superior knowledge which the villagers would be happy to accept on these terms. In fact the nature of the C.D.A.'s training and his concern with village projects makes it very difficult to display skills or knowledge that are clearly different and more useful and effective than the normal skills of leadership in village affairs. One of the few occasions upon which I found a C.D.A. being consulted by villagers was when the Manyana leaders were preparing for the visit of the Vice-President; the C.D.A., at the time quite out of favour, was asked about appropriate arrangements. Moreover, the fact that the role is advisory greatly facilitates explanations of the setbacks and frustrations. Rather than have to explain, or even think about, his own role as a leader, the C.D.A. will explain his problems totally in terms of them, the villagers, and their behaviour.

Again, his superiors provided the C.D.A. with some of the terms in which to explain his frustration. If, in their conceptualization of the Community Development process officials regard villagers as traditionally minded people who must be helped to an understanding of modern values and procedures then the C.D.A. can safely attribute village disputes to tribalism or backwardness, and senior C.D. officials, unless they are particularly astute will learn nothing of the social

forces of the village. When I first arrived in the villages and when I subsequently visited other villages this was the picture which Community Development Assistants used to explain their difficulties. But I think that District level Community Development Staff, while they may have been prepared to go along with this explanation, usually had a rather more realistic picture of happenings in the village as well. Their links with District Councillors provide them with a second line of communication, and any extended conversation with their staff would soon reveal the substance of local affairs from which they could make their own judgement.

The fact that the C.D.A. may easily become embroiled in local politics often leads them to be extremely cautious in their relations with villagers. The C.D.A. in Manyana could find no escape since he was living in the village so he retired from active participation in village affairs and eventually from the service altogether. The C.D.A. who covered Mankgodi achieved a more stable position by seldom visiting the village at all. He admitted that he avoided attending committee meetings because if he did so he could hardly avoid appearing to support one side or the other in disputes over projects and could easily be blamed by both for the ensuing difficulties.(1) In consequence his business visits to the village were confined to those occasions when he had some specific project to discuss with village leaders. The issue would be largely confined to whether or not the Government would support financially projects which were proposed by

(1) Frankenberg (1957) in discovering through personal experience how an outsider, given a leadership role, can be made to carry blame, identifies the central problem of the C.D.A.

the villagers themselves. It is as a result of this kind of official behaviour that the matching fund or pump priming procedure becomes in practice the central point of the Community Development effort and Community Developers, like Extension Personnel introduce an element of bargaining to their procedures.

The interesting situation emerges in both agencies where the ideology stresses education and persuasion but practice involves a significant element of negotiation and bargaining. Perhaps development activities would be more effective if greater use were made of negotiation as a recognised part of the apparatus of government because negotiation involves dialogue and is one way of ensuring that real needs are satisfied by government resources. This I consider further in the concluding chapter. Here I ask why, when there is this discrepancy between prescription and practice, agencies do not reappraise their values and beliefs to accommodate this obviously effective technique.

Of course practically and realistically officials may claim that bargaining leads to commitment of resources, that these resources are not available under existing circumstances and reject any pressure to regularise bargaining on these grounds. But their failure to reappraise basic approaches stems from the role of ideology within the agency. Ideology is not only a means of understanding and interpreting a task, but also a means of exercising and justifying authority. Development agencies are hierarchical organisations in which senior members are responsible for the work performance of juniors and for seeing that the organisation as a whole is productive. To be effective measures are

taken to institutionalise activities so that control becomes possible. Objectives are programmed, schemes are devised so that there can be some measurement if possible. Hence the tendency of senior officials to be concerned with the numbers of participant farmers that their Demonstrators manage to recruit, the number of acres row planted, or winter ploughed, and for the Demonstrators to assess themselves in the same terms. Maintaining the scheme is necessary to the discipline of the service.

Community Development activities are more difficult to programme and the ideological emphasis upon 'creating awareness' is often used to justify poor material results. The intangible benefit of increased community responsibility is asserted to confound cost conscious critics. Yet, as Schaffer (1969) notes in Community Development also activities tend to become project centred, and hence I suggest more subject to procedural controls.

In agencies with field programmes a second factor influences control: that is the geography of the enterprise. In neither Extension nor Community Development is 'scheme' itself sufficient as a means of control. Operating in a wide terrain with scattered personnel the routines of office or works, the clocks and whistles that so often re-inforce the groundrules of bureaucracies, are ineffective. Day to day supervision is difficult in the field organization, when district staff only meet village staff at monthly meetings, on field visits or conferences. For information about the activities of their juniors senior staff must rely upon reports prepared by the juniors themselves. So signs of commitment to a common purpose, enthusiasm during meetings and

other indications of conformity with the values of the organization are the best assurance that senior men can get that a junior is going about his business. The ideal worker is the man of zeal; the man fully committed to the ideology of the organization. Where ability to enforce conformity with the rules is impossible apparent conformity with the values of the organization comes to the fore as a means of control.

To what extent this commitment expresses itself in action is another matter. The dominant impression I obtained was one of honest commitment and a surprising amount of activity. A total disparity between commitment and behaviour would be surprising in any case but one is tempted to point a contrast with the more usual rule bound bureaucracy. Studies of bureaucracy (eg. Crozier 1965) show how conformity with the rules is not necessarily accompanied by commitment to the values and objectives of the organization. People do what they are told but may think what they like, hence alienation, or goal displacement. In an ideology bound organization perhaps people will conform with the thinking and do what they like. But while this alternate expression of alienation is clearly possible, as a general rule it overstates the case. Organizations curiously remain things which people are both of and apart from, for and against, and many field workers get on with the job satisfactorily.

The need for commitment has clear consequences for the perpetuation of ideology. Many senior Agricultural officials would, I think, accept that the prospects for agricultural development depend much upon improved economic infrastructure and some important changes in the rules

of land use and cattle management. (e.g. Animal Husbandry Past and Future). Some might accept these as prior conditions for agricultural advance. Some senior Community Development Officials also have their own assessments of the politics of village development which could form the basis of a reappraisal of policy. Yet within the organizations for which they are responsible these doubts are passed over and the established beliefs are asserted. For a junior man with an alternative view of what should be done it would be difficult to persuade seniors that his views are not an excuse for idleness. If the senior man expresses doubts this undermines the commitment of his junior staff and he loses the basis of his control over them. The bureaucratic setting provides all parties with ample grounds to suspend disbelief and to participate within the guiding framework of the dominant ideology.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

In these conclusions I bring together and consider the implications of my findings in these two villages for those who would go about the business of implementing rural development by persuasion. First, I examined the philosophies of Agricultural Extension and Community Development as these have developed over the years, in order to establish their underlying suppositions about the process of development. I found, as might be expected of non capital intensive schemes of this kind that they concentrate on the problems of the knowledge that is available to their clients, or upon influencing their values and understandings in ways which they think will help them to achieve a fuller participation in modern social and economic life. There is nothing unreasonable about this goal. It is not doubted that rural communities can benefit enormously from the advances of modern science that are not easily available to them, and the need to integrate small communities within the nation state is not questioned. But the fault, if there is a fault, lies in the limitations of this interpretation of development needs. I am tempted to quote the philosopher Pascal "all err the more dangerously as they each follow a truth. Their fault is not in following a falsehood but in not following another truth". (Quoted R.E. Du Wors, Human Organisation, Vol. 27, No.1, page 84).

These programmes have been established and have grown within a particular view of social change. My task in criticising them and analysing their consequences compels me to attempt a rather different

understanding of social change. Social change is seen here as a continuous process, the product of interactions between individuals or groups, each trying to further their interests as they see them, through individual action or through discussion, moralising and bargaining in the decision making bodies of the society. Over time social institutions are adapted to current circumstances. Without fundamental changes in the law or even in explicit social ideals, kin groups become foreshortened, the use of the plough becomes institutionalized, and daily economic activities reflect the need for cash. An examination of these changes makes the point that actual behaviour is adaptive and innovative so that Tswana society today is quite different from what it was 100 or even thirty years ago. Any idea that there is an inherent resistance to change due to unshakeable traditional values is clearly untenable. But the new society certainly does not correspond with our ideas of a modern, nor even of a modernising economy. Land tenure arrangements in particular have not undergone what is sometimes called the white revolution to private ownership. This is not really under the control of the villagers in any case but it has been shown that the people now have a great investment in what they regard as their common rights to arable land and to grazing. This is a consequence of the importance of rights to land as a form of security and escape for a people tied up in a very insecure industrial and urban life as migrant workers in Southern Africa.

I have called this a two strand economy to emphasise the fact that people's responses to opportunities in the villages are shaped by the alternatives that are open to them in the mines or industrial plants of South Africa and in the new towns of Botswana. Many choose to go

away for long periods, few will invest much in agriculture, though they do buy cattle. Most men only seriously take up farming when they can no longer look for paid employment. Most households do not produce enough to feed themselves and many can only make money circulate in their direction by brewing beer. So many of the problems of rural Botswana stem from the fact that it is totally within the sphere of influence of a powerful industrial economy next door. Labour is drawn off, new productive activities are stifled by cheap mass produced goods and capital accumulates elsewhere. This is a situation that is shared by many other similarly placed peoples and it is important to identify it as such.

To stress that this condition is brought about by the impact of capitalist industry and that it is not a hangover of traditional structures it is sometimes termed a dependent or underdeveloped economy. (Frank 1969). It should not be assumed however that dependency precludes the chances of change or development. Rather, two implications are of importance for development agents. The first, in economic terms, is that there is an opportunity cost to be met before people will invest at home. Improvements in agricultural technology must be such that, rather than simply hoping to improve upon the level of subsistence, they create income earnings comparable with those that might be earned elsewhere. Other things may be worth doing; for instance to persuade people to grow the necessary vegetables to overcome an identified dietary deficiency,but this will not be the magic development. The second implication is that it should be expected that people have a considerable investment in the institutions of their society as they are adapted to meet the needs of contemporary life.

Where these institutions are an obstacle to greater and more sustained production then social imagination must be exercised to find some other way of meeting these needs. For instance it may be the case that the tribesman's right to arable land ties up scarce land in the hands of people who cannot use it for want of cattle or labour or seed. Old couples are often in this position. Yet land provides security both to incumbents and to those whose status will one day enable them to have land but who are now away at work. An institutional modification that provides both for security and for greater production is some form of lease whereby holders allow the able to use their land for a fee or a share of the crop. This is current practice in Lesotho but is not found in these villages in Botswana. Through pursuing this kind of opportunity some moves towards a more productive but still fair economy may be possible.

I have shown with some examples how the various bits of advice and improved technology on offer by the Ministry of Agriculture met the needs of only a relatively small section of the farming population. Farmers often lack the resources to be able to use the new techniques; their activities are further curtailed by the rules of the society of which they are a part and by the active sanctions of fellow villagers. These resource constraints and rule constraints, - obvious enough once one looks for them, - force us to consider development problems in something wider than an educational frame of reference.

It is not appropriate to make many suggestions about what means should be taken to overcome the limited effectiveness of the agencies programmes, because any ideas can only be exploratory. The important

thing is to devise procedures whereby many minds can be turned towards continuous exploration. But a few examples will illustrate the diversity of response that is required.

If 'winter ploughing' after the harvest is to become general practice - assuming that this measure does increase productivity and certainty - what steps need to be taken? To be able to plough at that time before the ground bakes hard an early start to the agricultural season is required, and this in turn requires that freeranging cattle be removed from the unfenced lands areas. Someone must therefore be given the authority to order the removal of stock. The President himself could announce the start of the agricultural season with sure authority. Alternatively an authority at the local level could name the day in consultation with agricultural officials according to local rainfall. But the allocation of authority must be specific.

Successful winter ploughing performance would also require improved access to cattle, either through an extension of mutual aid procedures to include an exchange of labour for the use of the plough team for winter ploughing as well as early season ploughing or through an extension of the kinship obligations to this new activity.

New ploughs designed to enable people to plough with two beasts instead of the usual six would bring self sufficiency within range of more households and the wealthy would have more beasts available to hire out or to meettheir obligations to kinsmen or assistants. New activities like winter ploughing or mechanical hoeing could be more easily included.

Finally, something needs to be done about the belief, and the law that backs it, that harnessing oxen at this time of year will bring destructive hail. Where this is a constraint public debate as well as new legislation is required.

So one agricultural measure may require any combination of a number of activities: a restructure of authority, a modification of customary mutual aid; a technical innovation; a change in public consciousness and law; besides demonstration of the effectiveness of the innovation itself. Some of these things may happen of themselves given time, but all must be kept under review by a government that wants to help development along.

Village development activities require similar treatment. Here the essential problem is how to handle the corporate nature of the activity. What needs to be thought out is the structure of authority. Take a health clinic, a typical project, as an example. The people want a clinic, the Village Development Committee start a collection having obtained the agreement of the people in village assembly, but some people do not contribute. What is to be done? Either of two measures would solve the problem. One is that those who do not contribute are denied access to the clinic. If this is the case then contributors become in effect a welfare association. The position could be regularised by government recognition of such associations, but this tactic would have the obvious disadvantage that some of the people who most need the service: the old, the sick, the poor, would be least able to participate. The alternative is to create a public service as is now attempted. The logic here however is to make contributions compulsory. If the village is to be involved in the decision

to provide this service then either they must decide and the Local Authority enforce, by a supplement to the local tax, or the Village Development Committee must have legal powers to raise the money at an agreed rate themselves.

The next question is, who should own and service the property so created? The question arose indirectly in Manyana over the teachers' quarters which had been built by the villagers under the food aid programme but which now needed repairs. Parent Teacher Association discussed how this should be done. Should the teachers pay rent? If so to whom should it be paid, the school, the P.T.A. itself or the Local Authority? All agreed that the teachers'quarters were "ours" but what this meant in institutional terms was not clear. Agreement on this issue would greatly simplify the 'self help' process.

In connection with food aid projects the question of what should be regarded as a public activity has been raised. Some procedure must be devised that would enable neighbourhood groups of farmers to organize themselves into maintaining roads, building storm drains, realigning fields to accommodate contour ditches, building dams or whatever else proves necessary. These bodies could then be recipients of food aid when it is available. But, as with village committees the powers and functions of these bodies would have to be clearly defined.

Though Community Development and Agricultural Extension schemes in Botswana reflect the committed intellectual and moral traditions upon which they are founded, the schemes which they run inevitably involve some practical services that are of material benefit to their

clients, and some new institutional forms through which the villagers find new opportunities, and which alter the balance of power and influence in the village. From experiments like the Lands and Dams Committees one can explore the problems of institution building and the question of power and authority which this entails. Material incentives in agriculture are small, mere inducements, useful only for obtaining the commitment of those farmers who have the basic resources to participate. The material incentives offered by Community Development are more substantial. Besides food, which for the families who took part in the Food Aid Programme was a substantial contribution to their family budget, Community Development or District Councils offer 'matching funds' to the villages for specified projects in return for a supposedly equal contribution from the village in labour, materials or cash. Here the material contribution from outside authority is substantial and may considerably influence the decisions of the villagers as to what they see as their priorities.

The Ministry of Agriculture's experiments with Dam Committees were not a part of the extension programme as such but were started when it became apparent that new dams needed to be managed. Here the Ministry, through its direct responsibility, was pushed into recognising the need for more social controls to match new resources. A similar need had not been found in the Extension Programme, which left the organisational problems involved, say, in winter ploughing entirely to the farmers. But even for the Dam Committee, the solution of the organisational problems was seen in terms of 'the people getting together' rather than in the allocation of specific powers. A similar problem exists with the Village Development Committee. This committee

is more closely associated with the Community Development Department, though it is now regarded by government as a useful means of broadening the power base in the village and of equipping the villages for a fuller participation in the development effort. The V.D.C. is seen as the executive of the tribal assembly in kgotla, but no statutory powers have been given to it so that its ability to execute the decisions of the tribe is limited. The Chief, formerly regarded as the executor of the will of the people as expressed in assembly, now no longer has these powers, and in this situation many village projects are frustrated through lack of the ability of the people, once they have made a decision, to enforce their will. Thus though the development activities of the two agencies do in practice involve some material inputs to the local community and some experiments with new institutional forms these turn out to be of limited value in solving the problems which the villagers face.

The agencies themselves view material contributions to the villages as incentives to participation rather than as a means of overcoming obstacles. It may be that the District Council takes a rather more pragmatic and materialistic view of the matching fund procedure by which it provides grants to the villagers, but in Community Development thinking the material contribution from government is seen as a means of starting local involvement, of 'priming the pump', to achieve an impetus to continuing self help in the village. These incentives form a part of what I have called the social engineering aspect of the development schemes in which, through granting certificates and prizes, through praise and exhortation,and through establishing new kinds of organisation, agencies seek to influence the values and aspirations of

their clients. I have shown that although agencies, as representatives of a relatively affluent and assertive part of the society, are able to exert considerable influence upon patterns of behaviour, yet the villagers often find grounds to disassociate themselves from these activities and this sets limits upon the effectiveness of this approach. Social identification will be influenced both by economic circumstances and by what is seen as being special about a given position within the society. An appreciation of people's identifications in this sense begins with the kind of analysis of economic and institutional constraints that I have attempted above. But this is not done systematically by the development agencies.

In this summary I have stressed the fact that an analysis that starts from a rather different viewpoint to that of the agencies themselves reveals facts about the village and the farm that have strong bearing upon the performance of agency schemes and upon the possibilities of development in an area but which may escape the notice of the agencies themselves. In doing so I am in danger of overstating the case. The analysis also reveals that at all levels of the organisation there are men whose common sense, vision, and contacts with the reality of farm or village enable them to see beyond the more conventional generalisations of their traditions, and to seek new ways of meeting the needs of the situation as they see it. I have also shown that the agencies as a whole, without major alterations in their operating assumptions, do make some adaptations to the situation in which they operate. The tacit or explicit bargaining procedures which were noted at the end of the last chapter are an example. In this way organisations come to be rather less thoroughbred examples of the ideological traditions to which they belong. But these res-

ervations accepted, it remains the case that the main focus of Community Development or Agricultural Extension is upon persuading the people themselves to change their ways and that the ability of agencies to achieve their immediate targets is usually attributed to their success or failure in this objective.

The agents' view of their relationship to their client provides them with a ready made explanation of failure when it occurs. For example a farmer's failure to adopt a new technique is explained as a personal failure of enterprise on his behalf, rather than as a shortcoming of the technique itself or of its effectiveness in solving the farmer's problems. Criticism of new techniques does not come from the Extension Programme itself. Rather it is assumed that if surveys reveal that new techniques are not being adopted the extension workers must redouble their efforts, use new group work techniques, or whatever happens to be in vogue, 'to get through' to the obviously resistant farmer. When Scheme farmers do not respond to the whole range of advice given, this is a sure sign that they are only partially converted to the modern approach to farming and this calls for a continuation of intensive extension work. Community development is sustained by a similar logic. The need, as they see it, to generate awareness and to stimulate people into formulating their needs and organising themselves to respond, is necessarily a time consuming business. The trials and tribulations of the field worker are a sure sign of the backwardness of the villagers which must be met with patience and resilience. The significance of the role of catalyst in village affairs is enhanced.

The weaknesses of this approach should now be apparent. There is the failure to analyse the economic and institutional constraints that clients face; to assess the relevance of what is on offer in knowledge or goods and services to overcoming the particular problems of clients; and to assess what are the consequences of their activities for the power relationships of the village or between themselves in the village. When it is the characteristics of the client that are considered to be the developmental problem, the limitations upon the scope for change by the individual person or by groups of farmers or even by villages as a whole are not explored.

Development efforts are channelled to a large extent through formal schemes run by bureaucracies that have their own social dynamics. In this study I have only been able to touch upon the organisational aspects of these development schemes but they are clearly significant. Organisations require a rationale to legitimate their activities both in their own eyes and in the eyes of outsiders. It is presumably on those occasions when an organisation must face others competitively for budgetary allocations or in submitting proposals for development plans that a clear, simple, rationale is most required. But within the organisation also, much depends upon a common sense of purpose and this can only be achieved if there is an agreed interpretation of the task. When the area Agricultural Officer meets the Agricultural Demonstrator in the village the senior man is reassured if his junior makes appropriate comments that indicate his commitment to the overall aims of the scheme. Close daily supervision is impossible when workers are scattered throughout a district so compliance with organisational goals is the best indication available to senior officers that their juniors

are about their proper business. Agency ideology, it has been shown, ostensibly a statement about the needs of the development situation and the role of the agency within this, comes to have important social control functions within the organisation and for this reason it will tend to persist in the face of doubts and criticism.

It is not easy to make simple structural recommendations that go any way towards solving the problems of organized development activity that have been raised in this study. For the problems lie not so much in the organizational structures as in the consequences that these structures have for filtering information and for casting the social interactions that result from development activity into a mould that denies them full expression. The business of enabling people to make things, to exchange things, to organize themselves and each other, to co-ordinate their activities and to negotiate over their separate interests is complex. It involves both the people taking decisions in their separate localities, and also district or national authorities playing their part. Yet the task of achieving development is given to bureaucratic agencies that organize formal schemes through which resources are channelled and which stand between the people and higher authority. These organizations have at most some limited ability to monitor progress in terms of the logic of the schemes themselves. There is no guarantee under these circumstances that the wider goals or problems of development will be kept under review.

The task is complex. Goods and services must be made available to different categories of client, new controls and new laws enacted, new powers created at village level to encourage their participation.

Any one innovation may require action on any of these points, with information and propaganda besides for it to be adopted. (Equally it may fit the existing situation perfectly but developers must anticipate the worst contingency). A wide variety of disciplines and expertise must be brought to bear. To analyse and respond to the problem of 'winter ploughing' for instance not only agriculturalists but also people concerned with customary law and village organisation have their place. There is a clear need for analysis, planning and services of different government departments to be co-ordinated. This raises familiar problems. Should rural development be fostered through a multipurpose agency; should there be separate agencies with district level coordination; what should be the role of planning authorities? There are strong arguments in favour of special purpose agencies and these generally predominate. Extension or Community Development advocates may indeed respond to this study by asserting that if it is necessary for governments to provide basic resources, this should be the job of another branch of the service: if legal changes are required this should be left for politicians to decide; and that equally their own task and method is clear and that they should be left to get on with it.

It is probably true that the development job must be broken down into manageable parts, but the unforeseen consequence that this has for the overall grasp of the total task must be avoided. Agencies may be specialist and single purpose but analysis of the problem must be interdisciplinary and comprehensive.

Something may be achieved by planning and coordination at several structural levels. On these planning bodies a number of different viewpoints on development may be represented and the sum of the co-ordinated activities will be more useful to the clients than any one of these activities on its own. However coordination of itself does not guarantee a close analysis of development needs and possibilities. Seldom is planning at district level effective since specialist planners are not available and the vested interests of government departments are here entrenched (Chambers 1974). Central government, on the other hand relies upon planners who work with abstract theoretical models and with information that can only be as good as the questions that they or the development agencies themselves ask. For them the farmers' problems with winter ploughing will, and probably ought to, remain obscure. The people who ought to see these things are in the field. It becomes very important for agencies with an extensive network of fieldworkers to provide the necessary information.

What I am suggesting here is that the agencies be pushed into a more analytic role. Yet this is precisely the role which their commit-ment to a specific ideology at present excludes. If the need for comprehensive analysis is appreciated then what is required for the agencies to be liberated into this role is a decreased reliance upon ideology for maintaining a sense of direction, commitment and discipline. Common purpose there must be, but a non-dogmatic commitment to finding the wherewithal for improving rural life and productivity is a goal in itself. For day to day management more can be made of enforceable routines. Activities can be built around routine procedures for analysis, goal setting, implementation and monitoring with staff at all levels contributing to these activities.

For example Chambers (ibid) describes the P.I.M. system that he operated experimentally in an Extension department in East Africa. The beauty of the system lies both in the introduction of management procedures that facilitate control, but also in the full participation of junior staff in setting goals and targets which they are expected to reach. The system also allows for continuing review of problems and possibilities and for radically changing the activities that are undertaken at any one time.

Improved management, incorporating improved analysis, will not of itself overcome the problem of complexity. Actual relationships between agents and clients include dialogue and bargaining and I have suggested that more should be made of this technique. A bargain recognises that both parties have legitimate interests and objectives: government its concern with national objectives; village or household with local advantage; and through the process of dialogue these can become apparent to both parties. In many countries farmers' associations or unions or cooperatives come to represent the farmers' interests and governments rely upon them to identify the most pressing issues facing the farmer.

Representative organisations are clearly another means of discovering priorities amongst complexity but they are in fact no substitute for analysis and planning. If initiative is to be maintained by government problems and possibilities in development must be constantly explored. The answer to any particular problem does not necessarily lie with the people themselves as is clear from the grazing issue. Here what the people have at stake is obvious once their situation has been explored, but it is equally apparent that the present system that they support is disastrous economically and ecologically.

To the outside observer looking at the arrangements of arable and livestock production in rural Botswana it is apparent that returns to the producer are minimal and that enormous wastage occurs: as in stock loss during the drought. Ecologists and agriculturalists can hopefully point to more efficient and more intensive ways of utilizing resources to achieve higher levels of production but the problems here are clearly problems of social organization, and the task for "developers" is to find matching technical and organizational solutions. But what is acceptable to the villagers will relate as much to their concepts of social justice as to economic efficiency. In the light of the analysis of village - government relations, the whole would have to be wrought out of a process of negotiation and bargaining with the people in the communities affected. This points to a rather different model of stimulated change to those incorporated in current development schemes.

APPENDIX I

SELECTED TABLES

Tables are drawn from statistical data collected in:

A. Manyana Resource Survey

100% households Conducted May - June 1971

in cooperation with the Botswana Ministry of Agriculture

B. Mankgodi Resource Survey

50% households Conducted Oct - Nov 1971

C. Manyana Sample Survey Conducted Nov 1971 - June 1972

Random sample based on the 100% Manyana Resource Survey (A above), of households who had ploughed land in 1969-70, and stratified by (i) age of household heads, - those above and below 50 years of age, (ii) numbers of cattle, distinguishing holdings of less than 4, 5 to 14, and above 15. To this, were added some households who had not ploughed in 1969-70; none of these had cattle.

Cattle 'class'	Age of head	Weighting factor	Number in set
15+	Over 50	4	14
	Under 50	1	7
5 - 14	Over 50	4	14
	Under 50	2	14
0 - 4	Over 50	4	14
	Under 50	4.5	14
No cattle not ploughed 1969-70		3	16

Table 5:1

Goats Held by Labour Force Available, Mankgodi Resource Survey

Labour Force	Goats Held: 0		1–4		5–9		10–19		20–29		30–49		50+			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	Total	%
10+	2	40	0		1	20	2	40	0		0		0		5	100
7–10	12	19.0	14	22.2	12	19	21	33.3	2	3.2	2	3.2	0		63	100
4–6	18	17.8	18	17.8	24	23.8	32	31.7	6	5.9	2	2.0	1	1.0	101	100
2–3	26	33.3	14	17.9	18	23.1	12	15.4	4	5.1	2	2.6	2	2.6	78	100
1	10	71.4	0		2	14.3	1	7.1	0		1	7.1	0		14	100
0	3	75	1	25	0		0		0		0		0		4	100
Total	71		47		57		68		12		7		3		265	100

Table 5:2

How obtained first cattle, Manyana sample

Inherited	'Marked'	Bought	Other	Never owned cattle	Total
17	4	48	1	23	93

Table 5:3

Ploughing Arrangements Manyana Sample Survey

	Alone	Relations		Put in hands		Hired		Together	Borrow		Not ploughed	Work for others	Possess plough team	TOTALS
		Receiving	Providing	Providing cattle	Providing labour	In	Out		Borrow	Lend				
Cattle class														
15+	2 9.5	1 4.8	7 33.3	6 28.6	0 0	2 9.5	3 14.3	2 9.5	0	1 4.8	0	0	19 90.5	21 100
5-14	7 25.0	3 10.7	7 25.0	6 21.4	1 3.6	3 10.7	1 3.6	2 7.1	1 3.6	1 3.6	1 3.6	0	23 82.1	28 100
0-4	4 14.3	5 17.9	3 10.7	1 3.6	7 25.0	10 35.7	1 3.6	3 10.7	3 10.7	0	1 3.6	0	10 35.7	28 100
No cattle Not ploughed 1969-70	0	2 12.5	1 6.3	1 6.3	1 6.3	2 12.5	0	2 12.5	0	0	7 43.8	2 12.5	1 6.3	16 100

Table 5:4 a)

NUMBER OF CATTLE OWNED BY AGE AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD : Manyana Resource Survey

Cattle Ownership

Age	Sex	0	1-5	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
20	M	1 100.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 100.0
	F	- -	- -	- -	3 100.0	- -	- -	- -	3 100.0
30	M	7 28.0	9 36.0	5 20.0	4 16.0	- -	- -	- -	25 100.0
	F	3 75.0	- -	1 25.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	4 100.0
40	M	29 50.0	8 13.8	10 17.2	8 13.8	3 5.2	- -	- -	58 100.0
	F	15 83.3	2 11.1	- -	1 5.6	- -	- -	- -	18 100.0
50	M	8 21.6	9 24.3	9 24.3	9 24.3	- -	2 5.4	- -	37 100.0
	F	9 47.3	1 5.3	7 36.8	1 5.3	- -	1 5.3	- -	19 100.0
60	M	11 24.4	3 6.7	11 24.4	9 20.0	7 15.6	2 4.4	2 4.4	45 100.0
	F	21 67.6	2 6.5	4 12.9	3 9.7	- -	1 3.2	- -	31 100.0
70+	M	5 23.8	1 4.8	8 38.1	5 23.8	2 9.5	- -	- -	21 100.0
	F	11 64.6	2 11.8	2 11.8	2 11.8	- -	- -	- -	17 100.0
Total	M	61 32.6	30 16.0	43 23.0	35 18.7	12 6.4	4 2.1	2 1.1	187 100.0
Total	F	59 64.1	7 7.6	14 15.2	10 10.9	- -	2 2.2	- -	92 100.0
Total		120 43.0	37 13.3	57 20.4	45 16.1	12 4.3	6 2.2	2 0.7	279 100.0

Table 5:4 b)

CATTLE HELD BY AGE AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD : Mankgodi Resource Survey

Age	Sex	0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
20	M	2 100.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 100.0
	F	0 0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	0 100.0
30	M	4 44.4	4 44.4	- -	1 1.2	- -	- -	- -	9 100.0
	F	3 75.0	1 25.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4 100.0
40	M	16 28.1	17 29.8	15 26.3	8 14.0	1 1.8	- -	- -	57 100.0
	F	7 58.3	2 16.7	2 1.7	1 8.3	- -	- -	- -	12 100.0
50	M	16 29.1	13 23.6	15 27.3	8 14.6	2 3.6	- -	1 1.8	55 100.0
	F	13 50.0	6 23.1	4 15.4	3 11.5	- -	- -	- -	26 100.0
60	M	7 16.7	13 30.9	12 28.6	6 14.3	2 4.7	2 4.8	- -	42 100.0
	F	5 29.4	6 35.3	5 29.4	1 5.9	- -	- -	- -	17 100.0
70+	M	5 18.5	9 33.4	6 22.2	5 18.5	- -	2 7.4	- -	27 100.0
	F	5 35.7	5 35.7	2 14.4	1 7.1	1 7.1	- -	- -	14 100.0
Total	M	50 26.0	56 29.2	48 25.0	28 14.6	5 2.6	4 2.1	1 0.5	192 100.0
Total	F	33 45.2	20 27.4	13 17.8	6 8.2	1 1.4	- -	- -	73 100.0
Total		83 31.8	76 28.7	61 23.0	34 12.8	6 2.3	4 1.5	1 0.4	265 100.0

Table 5:5

AVAILABILITY OF ARABLE LAND : Manyana Sample

	Hold Uncleared Land		Stopped ploughing because						(Not known or Not Ploughed)		Totals	
			Enough		Problems		Dry					
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Section 1	12	57.1	6	28.6	1	4.8	12	57.1	2	9.5	21	100
2	15	53.6	6	21.4	0		20	71.4	2	7.1	28	100
3	22	78.6	8	28.6	2	7.1	15	53.6	3	10.7	28	100
4	13	81.3	-		-		-		-		16	100
Total Sample	62	66.7	-		-		-		-		93	100

Table 5:6

ACREAGES PLOUGHED BY ACTUAL CATTLE HOLDINGS : Manyana arable lands subsample

Acreages		Acreages							
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total
Actual Cattle Holdings	0-4	1	5	4	3	1	1	0	15
	5-14	0	2	4	2	4	1	0	13
	15+	1	1	3	4	2	1	1	13
	Total	2	8	11	9	7	3	1	41
		4.8	19.5	26.8	22.0	17.0	7.3	2.4	100%

Table 5:7

BEER (DITONKAFELA)

Sample households holding one or more 'ditonkafela' in the first three months of 1972 and estimated totals : Manyana sample

		Sample members holding ditonkafela		Estimated totals holding ditonkafela		
	Cattle	No.	Total	No.	Total	%
Household head under 50 years old	0 - 4	3	14	12	59	20.3
	5 -14	7	14	14	27	51.9
	15+	4	7	4	7	57.1
Household head over 50 years old	0 - 4	5	14	20	53	37.7
	5 -14	5	14	20	56	35.7
	15+	5	14	10	28	35.7
No cattle, not ploughed in 1969-70	70	5	16	15	49	30.6
Totals		34	93	100	279	35.8

Table 5:8

LABOUR FORCE AVAILABLE BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD : Mankgodi Resource Survey

Labour Force	Age of Head: 20's		30's		40's		50's		60's		70+		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
20+					2	2.9	1	1.2	2	3.4	0		5	2.0
7-10			2	15.4	15	21.7	25	30.9	14	23.7	7	17.1	63	24.6
4-6	2	100	4	30.8	31	44.9	29	35.8	21.	35.6	14	34.1	101	39.5
2-3			6	40.2	18	26.0	23	28.4	20	29.0	11	26.8	78	30.5
1			1	7.7	3	4.3	3	3.7	1	1.7	6	14.6	14	5.5
0									1	1.7	3	7.3	4	1.6
Total	2	100	13	100	69	100	81	100	59	100	41	100	256	100

Note. Constituents of the household labour force are persons between the ages of 12 and 60 living at home.

Table 5:9 a)

BEAN PRODUCTION IN 1970-71 BY HOUSEHOLD LABOUR FORCE : Mankgodi Resource Survey

Bags of Beans

Labour Force	Not Planted		0		1		2-5		6-9		10-19		Totals	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
10+	0	0	4	2.3	0	0	1	3.11	0	0	0		5	1.9
7-10	2	10.5	45	25.6	10	32.3	4	12.5	2	33.3	0		63	23.8
4-6	5	26.3	67	38.0	14	45.1	13	40.7	2	33.3	0		101	38.1
2-3	6	31.6	53	30.1	7	22.6	9	28.1	2	33.3	1	100	78	29.4
1	4	21.1	5	2.8	0	0	5	15.6	0	0	0		14	5.3
0	2	10.5	2	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4	1.5
Total	19	100	176	100	31	100	32	100	6	100	1	100	264	100
%	7.2		66.3		11.7		12.1		2.3		0.4		100	

Table 5:9 b)

SORGHUM PRODUCTION IN 1970-71 BY HOUSEHOLD LABOUR FORCE : Mankgodi Resource Survey

Sorghum bags

Labour Force	Not Planted		0		1		2-5		6-9		10-19		20-29		Totals
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No
10+	1	4.8	0	0	1	3.8	2	2.1	0		1	4.5	0		5
7-10	4	19.0	5	12.8	5	19.2	24	24.7	19	33.9	4	18.2	2	50.0	63
4-6	3	14.3	10	25.6	9	34.6	43	44.3	25	44.6	10	45.5	1	25.0	101
2-3	7	33.3	20	51.3	11	42.3	25	27.8	9	16.1	5	22.7	1	25.0	78
1	4	19.0	2	5.1	0	0	3	3.1	3	5.3	2	9.1	0		14
0	2	9.7	2	5.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	21	100	39	100	26	100	97	100	56	100	22	100	4	100	264
%	8.0		14.8		9.8		36.7		21.2		8.3		1.5		100

Table 5:10

GOATS OWNED BY CATTLE OWNED : Manyana Resource Survey

Goats

Cattle		0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
0	No	80	6	14	15	4	1	-	120
	%	66.7	5.0	11.7	12.5	3.3	0.8	-	100
1-4	No	10	11	9	5	-	2	-	37
	%	27.0	29.7	18.9	13.5	-	5.4	-	100
5-9	No	10	5	20	14	7	1	-	57
	%	17.5	8.8	38.6	24.6	8.8	1.8	-	100
10-19	No	3	4	7	15	7	7	2	45
	%	6.7	8	15.6	33.3	15.6	15.6	4.4	100
20-29	No	-	1	1	4	2	3	1	12
	%	-	8.3	8.3	33.3	16.7	25.0	8.3	100
30-49	No	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	6
	%	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	16.7	16.7	100
50+	No	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
	%	-	-	-	50.0	50.0	-	-	100
Total	No	103	27	51	56	23	15	4	279
	%	36.9	9.7	18.3	20.1	8.2	5.4	1.4	100

Table 5:11

CATTLE OWNED BY NUMBER OF BAGS OF SORGHUM PRODUCED : Manyana Resource Survey

Sorghum Production		Cattle owned							
		0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
Did not plant	No	59	9	8	4	1	-	-	81
	%	49.1	24.3	14.0	8.9	8.3	-	-	29.0
Planted but did not produce	No	27	11	19	12	1	3	-	73
	%	22.5	29.7	33.3	26.7	8.3	50.0	-	26.2
1 bag	No	17	9	10	8	2	1	1	48
	%	14.2	24.3	17.5	17.8	16.7	16.7	50.0	17.2
2-5 bags	No	11	6	15	12	4	1	-	49
	%	9.2	16.2	26.3	26.7	33.3	16.7	-	17.6
6-9 bags	No	3	1	4	4	2	-	1	15
	%	2.5	2.7	7.0	8.9	16.7	-	50.0	5.4
10-19 bags	No	3	1	1	5	1	-	-	11
	%	2.5	2.7	1.8	11.1	8.3	-	-	3.9
20+ bags	No	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
	%	-	-	-	-	8.3	16.7	-	0.7
Total	No	120	37	57	45	12	6	2	279
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5:12

REPORTED CATTLE LOSSES IN THE 1969-70 DROUGHT. BY CATTLE OWNERSHIP IN 1972

Mankgodi Resource Survey

Cattle loss

Cattle owned	0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30+	Total
0	35 41.8	17 20.2	16 19.0	8 9.5	7 8.3	1 1.2	84 100
1-4	5 6.5	22 28.6	23 29.9	20 25.9	4 5.2	3 3.9	77 100
5-9	2 3.2	13 20.6	24 38.2	13 20.6	6 9.5	5 7.9	63 100
10-19	1 0.3	8 26.7	7 23.3	8 26.7	1 0.3	5 16.7	30 100
20-29	0	0	1 16.7	3 50.0	0	2 33.3	6 100
30+				2 40.0	3 60.0		5 100
Total No %	43 16.2	60 22.6	71 26.8	54 20.5	21 7.9	16 6.0	265 100

Table 6:1

AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES 1971-2 : Manyana Sample

Cattle holding categories	Age of Head		Households								
			Soil Turned			Winter Ploughed	Manured	Used Planter			Totals
			Nil	Part	All			Little	Half	All	
15+	50+	No	2	9	2	3	6	1	3	0	14
		%	14.3	64.3	14.3	21.4	42.9	14.3	21.4	0	100
	50-	No	1	4	2	1	2	0	1	0	7
		%	14.3	57.2	28.6	14.3	28.6	0	28.6	0	100
5-14	50+	No	5	8	1	1	2	0	0	0	14
		%	35.8	57.2	7.1	7.1	14.2	0	0	0	100
	50-	No	4	6	4	1	6	0	0	0	14
		%	28.6	42.9	28.6	7.1	42.9	0	0	0	100
0-4	50+	No	9	4	1	1	3	0	2	0	14
		%	64.3	28.6	7.1	7.1	21.4	0	28.6	0	100
	50-	No	10	4	0	2	3	0	0	0	14
		%	71.4	28.6	0	14.3	21.4	0	0	0	100
Totals		No	31	35	10	9	23	1	6	0	77
		%	40.3	45.5	13.0	11.7	29.9	1.3	7.8	0	100

Table 6:2

THE CATTLE HOLDINGS OF 'SCHEME' FARMERS

compared with Mankgodi 50% sample

Cattle holdings

Scheme Farmers	0	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-49	50+	Total
Mankgodi	2	4	10	4	3	2	2	27
Tamagha East and Kumakware	3	3	11	9	5	2	1	34
Mankgodi Village totals 50% sample	83	76	61	34	6	4	1	265

Note. These two districts covered the lands areas in which Mankgodi people ploughed but included many people from other villages.

Table 6:3

THE WORK FORCE AVAILABLE TO 'SCHEME' FARMERS

compared with Mankgodi 50% sample

Work Force

Scheme Farmers registered in	0	1	2-3	4-6	7-10	10+	
Mankgodi	0	0	13	11	1	2	27
Tamagha East and Kumakware	0	0	6	25	3	0	34
Mankgodi 50% sample	4	14	78	101	63	5	265

Table 6:4

AGE OF HEAD OF 'SCHEME' FARMER HOUSEHOLDS

	Age						
	20's	30's	40's	50's	60's	70+	Totals
Mankgodi			8	11	8		27
Tamagha East and Kumakware	1	3	8	12	8	2	34

APPENDIX II

MINUTES OF MANKGODI MEETINGS

In this appendix I draw up minutes of the meetings which I attended in Mankgodi from 30th August 1971 to 7th July 1972; I also make summary notes of those which someone attended on my behalf, or at which some participant told me what happened. In this way I achieve an almost complete record for my period of residence in this village, the only conspicuous omission being a Village Development Committee meeting some time in June 1972 which I did not hear about until after the event and did not have time to follow up.

In the preceding chapters I make many references to these minutes, and analysis of their content and significance is scattered throughout the book. I present these minutes chronologically here to give an impression of the flow of events, the range of topics and interests which the discussion covered, and something of the atmosphere of the meetings.

In this I suffer the usual problems of the Minute Secretary. These minutes condense into a few hundred words meetings that commonly lasted three to four hours. The formalities of speech that are so highly valued, the repetition that plays an essential role in testing the feelings of meetings, the innuendoes and questions which probe the opposition, and much more besides is lost when speeches are reduced to notes and notes reduced to minutes. I was seldom bored as I sat through hours of meetings and I can only hope to report a tiny fraction of what went on. Necessarily I select aspects of the debates that I

find useful to my understanding of the social situation in the village as it affected development projects.

30/8/1971 - Kgotla

The Vice-President of Botswana, Dr. Masire, addressed a crowded meeting (300 approx.). He started by stating that Botswana has five priorities, schooling, water, ploughing, cattle and mines. But the bulk of his speech was devoted to recent developments in Botswana. The copper and diamond mining operations which were getting underway in Botswana and the financial commitments which the government had entered into to make these possible were described. He moved from this to discuss the need for statistics in development planning, mentioning the recent census and the need now to collect trade statistics. People travelling to South Africa would be required to make a Customs declaration upon return. This was so Botswana could obtain its proper share of the Customs union import duty. Dr. Masire then described in turn, the National Development Bank, the Housing Corporation, the Power Corporation, and the Water Utilities Corporation.

During questions a clergyman asked if he would be able to get a loan to build a house from the Housing Corporation but it was explained that there were tenure problems in the tribal areas that would make this impossible. He could try the Building Societies but for this he would need an adequate income.

Another asked about jobs in the mines, but was told he should not go there as the mines were only just opening.

A further questioner asked what the government was doing about preventing the South African Immigration authorities from harassing Batswana railway passengers at the border. He called for the government to take action. The reply was that Botswana had no army but that complaints were raised with the railway officials.

A blind man complained about the conduct of the government in taxing people who were blind like himself. In colonial times they were looked after better. The Vice-President replied that it was their assets that were taxed and not themselves. The final speaker from the floor was a young man who said "We heard; now let us go, we are wasting time..."

27/9/71 - Kgotla

The tribe assembled to discuss preparations for Dikgafela (a ritual blessing of the agricultural season now combined with Independence Day). Chief Tobegha named those who had already contributed grain and called for 36 pots of beer to be produced for the celebrations in Kgotla: those who did not contribute should not expect to drink. R45 had been received from the District Council through the Councillor who had only just announced how much it was although he had had it since Saturday.

Councillor Seribe defended himself but others complained of the lateness of the preparations.

A hunt as a means of obtaining meat, to make the money go further, was favoured by several speakers but one person wondered whether a licence was necessary. It was now too late to apply. Others asserted that there was no need: 'the country is ours'. The Councillor was sure that it must be in order to hunt since the subject had been raised in Council, and while the use of the Council lorry for transport had been ruled out no mention was made of a licence. Another speaker stressed the need for all who remained in the village to be silent and at rest since this was required for a true letsholo (communal hunt). This would be impossible others argued since preparations must continue for the festival. Then to the amusement of the company another argued that the term letshomo (a private hunt) must be used instead because as all knew, in times past the enemies of the chief tended to disappear when a letsholo was called.

The meeting ended with a call for all men to assemble at 6.00 a.m. for the hunt. (The hunt did not take place because, the Councillor later claimed, all doubted whether the owners of rifles would be prepared to take part in a mere letshomo without being paid.)

10/10/1971 - Kgotla

During casual chat before the meeting someone dropped a hint to the Chief that the rain having started it was now time for the tribe to be released to go and plough. The Chief, making a joke of it, prevaricated. The good rains were compared with those of last year when "people laughed at us because of our drought".

Opening the meeting proper the Chief asked that today the money that ward representatives had been collecting should be put together with funds already held by the V.D.C. treasurer so that it could be handed over to Dr. Merryweather. The treasurer had held the funds for a long time and now asked to be released of his responsibility.

Secondly the V.D.C. had been in office for a long time and should now be replaced with a newly elected committee.

Before discussion, I was introduced to the tribe as someone who had come to study the language, life and development problems of the village. Through Mr. Pitso, my interpreter, I explained my purpose stressing that I had come to learn. One speaker asked me about ploughing arrangements in England: did we 'winter plough' as farmers are advised to do here. I replied stressing differences of crop and climate.

Mr. K. spoke both of the need for elections and (as one who had already entertained me) of how I should be helped and

entertained if I visited anyone at home: "offer a chair... talk slowly and he will understand".

Referring to the collection a speaker said that he had collected from his people as requested, but one contributor had asked for his money back saying that "there is nothing at home". He had given him the money because there could be no legal case against him. The defaulter then spoke for himself, stressing the lack of obligation, but the Chief took him to task: he should not talk like that in Kgotla; as a man of authority now that his father was dead he should value the things of the tribe. He likened the task of building the clinic to that of Solomon who built the Temple of Jerusalem.

Turning to the V.D.C. elections the Chief said that this body was 'a small government' for the village but unlike the national parliament it should not be divided - people must agree what is to be done. This could be discussed at the next meeting on Saturday: the last of the year: when the people should talk about the Post Office business and come to some conclusion.

10/10/1971 - V.D.C.

Immediately after the Kgotla meeting the V.D.C. met briefly to arrange for the Tax Collector to look after the R360-90 that had been collected for the clinic fund until it could be handed over to Dr. Merryweather.

21/10/1971 - Kgotla 'Final Session'

Between 70 and 80 men attended Kgotla for the final session at which official blessing would be given to the exodus to the lands to plough that was in fact already under way. Two topics dominated the proceedings: what should be done with the funds and supplies left over from the Dikgafela and what to do about the Post Office. The Chief started with a long complaint against those people who, according to reliable sources, had refused to contribute to the appointed collectors in each kgotla, saying that they did not belong to the kgotla: that they were 'heads on their own'. He wanted to hear from these people now. Councillor Seribe also stressed that people should contribute: defaulters should be constantly pursued since the doctor's clinic served all the tribe not just the contributors.

A non contributor stated that contributing sorgum for Dikgafela was a thing of the past that should not happen any more particularly since the government provided money for food and drink. He also had some complaints against fund raising procedures.

Another speaker argued that the Chief should not listen to whispers.

Several points were made by successive speakers about the use of surplus food and bags of sorghum. The money should be kept for future projects: preferably in a bank the Councillor

argued. How should we name the account asked another. It should be called the Mankgodi Tribal Fund (in English) asserted the Chief's younger brother (a senior police officer on leave from town). The grain should be sold before weevils got at it, it was argued. No, the policeman concluded, it would be useful when it came to opening the clinic when guests would have to be entertained.

The Post Office issue was outlined at length by the Chief who pointed to the improvement which had taken place from the far off days when a man walked round from village to village bearing the post. Now it can be delivered to the village, but since the withdrawal of the postal agency from the village last year people had now to fetch their letters individually from the railway station. Today one must borrow R1 to take the bus to Ramoutswa in the hope of finding a remittance from South Africa and, finding nothing, one has to sell a goat to pay off the debt. What should be done? Should we appoint a messenger? Should a Post Office be built? He had tried his best as the postal agent, using his own office as Post Office, but apparently he had been 'thrown away'.

The alternatives were discussed at length. At last one old man said "... the village is a Post Office (i.e. it is not a village without one). Chief, let the Post Office come back". Chief, "I didn't take it" (general laughter).

Another, "... the trouble started with this development business, before that things went well. The trouble lies between

the Councillor and the Chief. Let us ask them where the Post Office has gone... There is nothing that can be understood before we hear from them...".

Chief, "I have nothing against Mr. Seribe (the Councillor) if he stands up and says we must build a Post Office we will do it. People must just say what they want to do and ask the Council or ask the Government, but if it comes to contributions it will be as much as R3 per head, so much better to have our agency only."

The Councillor asserted that the Post Office officials who withdrew the agency had said to him that if the village wanted to have an agency restored they should build a Post Office and that the employment of a messenger would be delayed until this was done. He now expected a Council truck to come at any time with sand and gravel so that the building could start.

Mr. K., "How is it that only you the Councillor knows about this lorry coming?". The whole business was most suspicious he argued. The people still wanted to know who stole the letters from the Chief's office.

Councillor, "If anyone knows that I took the post he must speak up".

Mr. K., "Show us what is wrong with this house" (meaning the Chief's office).

Ccuncillor, "The shop is still shut". (The Indian owned shop was an alternative postal agent).

Mr. K., "I am talking of the Chief's office".
Chief's uncle, "I am still blaming the Councillor since it is he who is going around privately saying that the post must not be kept in the Chief's office".

The Chief then called upon the people to nominate someone for the agency. His uncle immediately nominated him. He refused. Three other speakers asked him to accept the job once again. Finally he agreed saying that he was glad that the people now realised that they had cheated themselves when they 'threw him away'. He had already talked to the Minister of Post and Communications, Mr. Haskins he said, and the agency would soon be restored.

The meeting then moved on to discuss:
- what to do about hooliganism at the bus stop.
- the need to rethatch the shelter in Kgotla. 'What if the Minister should come when it is raining'.

The people were called to come on Monday to start re-thatching, but some said that the rafters needed renewing and that time was needed to collect some new ones.

Finally money for the church fund was called for and while the collectors brought forward what they had collected the Chief talked of a need to get money from sons of the tribe in Johannesburg. Perhaps someone could be sent to get it but the tribe would need to pay for a passport.

15/11/1971 - Kgotla

Two teachers, at their own request, addressed some 20 men in Kgotla on the subject of a series of radio programmes about development plans. They had been asked by the Further Education Department of the University to publicise this programme and they would be holding a public listening at 8.00 at the school tomorrow. Anyone interested was invited to join a group to discuss the programmes and to submit questions by post.

The Councillor and others urged the people to attend.

The Chief raised the question of the church fund. Someone had admitted to 'eating' the money asserting that there could be no punishment but he said "we will take action against them".

The Chief also suggested a ban on the use of amplifiers at beer parties (ditonkafela) since they had a bad effect on discipline of children in the village. Molepolole and Tamagha had also banned the noise.

About this measure there was considerable debate, some arguing that it would be better to charge those who held parties '5/-' a day. But the majority favoured the ban because of the disturbance that amplified music caused and because the need to hire an amplifier when holding a beer party added unnecessarily to the risks of this enterprise. The Chief therefore announced a ban.

The current delay in the shelter reconstruction job was then discussed. A dispute had arisen between two of the participants and one now accused the other of doing a shoddy job "because it is just for the tribe". This was discussed at some length, the two main protagonists eventually going off to discuss the matter on the site. The Chief urged that the job be completed as soon as ploughing was finished.

24/11/1971 - Meeting held at the school

Mr. Sekgwa, the District Council Education Secretary, arrived in the village and held a meeting at the school. His visit was not expected by the Chief whom I found hurrying to the school. Afterwards the Chief said that the purpose of the visit had been to get the Parent Teacher Association and the School Committee going again, while the Councillor said the meeting had been about the prospects for standard 7 graduates: the need to keep up the numbers of enrolled children: and the need to send children to school promptly at the beginning of term in January instead of keeping them on the farm ploughing.

5/2/1972 - P.T.A.

The P.T.A. Committee met to discuss plans for an open meeting at the request of the new head teacher. Topics included:

- a proposal to make a loan to Mr. X who was introduced to the Committee as someone in difficulty having lost something.
- an open meeting was required because a new supplier had to be found for the school uniform.

- the parents should also be given a report of last year's school fund since there had been no meetings in recent months.
- it was reported that the former head teacher had handed over these school funds (R11.30) to Mr. M. before he departed.

21/2/1972 - Kgotla (held in a storeroom because of rain)

"We have finished ploughing so it is time to start our works". The Chief, after these opening words, reported upon a meeting held in Molepolole to discuss development plans for a district which he and the Councillor had attended on behalf of the village. He then spoke enthusiastically about the topics which had been discussed. The need for everyone to build latrines "mixing as we do these days with Americans (Peace Corps on language instruction in the village) and this man here (me) we should be ashamed to have to go to the mountain".

He also spoke of the need to pay tax "we are not telling the truth about cattle....". Tax collectors will in future tour the cattle posts to check numbers.

The third topic concerned Matimela (stray cattle). The rounding up of stray cattle is no longer organised by tribal regiments and unclaimed beasts do not belong to the Chief but people must nonetheless report stray cattle that they find to the Chief. Chief Tobega then turned to discuss village matters. Although people are now at the lands or away herding cattle they

must periodically check that old people and children in the village are well. He broadened the theme to condemn those who abandoned the village altogether "we should try to make laws about those who allow their homes here to become ruined by staying out all the time".

Reverting to the theme of the Molepolole meeting he then stressed the need to reorganise and enforce cattle branding.

The Councillor attested to the truth of the Chief's report to the meeting reiterating the main themes and added that the demand that some people were raising for schools at the lands had been rejected by the Council.

Some speakers then discussed the technique of branding cattle and raised the question of who should own the branding iron: individuals, the Demonstrator or the tribe?

Others discussed the problem of digging pit latrines where the ground is rocky. But this excuse was rejected by the Chief who said that they should use dynamite like he had done.

The Chief's uncle, "I want to know has the taxation been given back to the Chief?"
Chief, "If you do not pay I am the judge".
Chief's uncle, "The Chief does not come into tax: (to the Chief) if the tax comes back to you we will pay". (laughter)

People considered the implication of the Chief's words. Who should keep the branding irons? The Demonstrator suggested the Veterinary Assistants but someone said they had apparently refused on a previous occasion.

One man admitted not having paid tax for four years because he "has nothing" and could not go to the mines because the doctors said he was ill. The Councillor advised him that a doctor's slip would help.

A young man of Modisana Ward, taking up the Chief's comments on ruined buildings, asserted that his people had moved permanently away from the village. The Chief asserted "no, the cattle kraal is here, this is your home", upon which an elder teased "... did you not drive them away...". (laughter) (see Chapter 5 above).

The Chief then discussed development projects. He proposed to call the collectors for the clinic fund soon and announced that the leftovers from the Independence celebrations had been sold and the proceeds would be added to this fund.

A community centre should be built. There is no word for community centre in Setswana except Ntlho ya Merafe (House of the Tribe). He explained that the ladies of the B.C.W. are awaiting materials from Gaberone to start the project. It was being announced today so that the people could not say they did not know. The collection would be '£1' for men and '10/-' for

women. In Tamagha (a larger neighbouring village) they had not been helped by government but the centre was built already. In Molepolole and Ramoutsa community centres are already opened. "This is development says the government". "When the President came to Mankgodi we took him to the school to eat because we had no other place... If we had a big place then we could all eat together with the President, even the nobody's (boessengmang): I am a nobody to the President...". (laughter)

A member of the B.C.W. Club recounted the endeavours of the Club to get the community centre started, spoke of the government's promise of materials, commented on the progress of other villages and finished "a re lekang" (let us try).
Chief, "we need a thing of cement and bricks because our earth buildings do not last".

Young man of Modisana, "we are not lazy, we should have a name for work like the people of Tamagha. You must tell the Chief to collect... The people are spending the whole day on chibuku (beer)... but we are under some one: talk to our elders because we are under them: although we men of Modisana are molomatotose ('biters of the first fruit' - i.e. ritually senior) you people of Kgosing (the Chief's section) don't contribute, but you must show us the way".

The discussion turned to the building of the church now that the clinic was complete. The Chief reminded the people of an earlier meeting that had been addressed by Dr. Merryweather at

which he had called upon the people to build a church. The money that had been collected should now be handed to Dr. Merryweather so that plans could be drawn up. "We are not talking politics, we are talking of Jerusalem. If we have a chicken or a goat we must give it as a gift. The Hurutse are an historic people but we are behind... The Hurutse of Johannesburg can collect money. Today we are setting an example for our people in Johannesburg..."

Mr. P. suggested that the tribe should build a secondary school since there is a great need for schooling.

The Councillor again supported the Chief's call and repeated that it is time now to call in the books to see how much has been collected for this project "let us stand up and get going". Mr. M. supported this move but said that the problem was poverty. The tribe would be greatly helped if dagha (marijuana) could be legalised. His friend, Mr. P. he said, in talking of the secondary school was hiding; really he is talking about the Tswana school, that is initiation. (Laughter)

Then amidst speeches supporting the church project, several speakers returned to the collection theme.

Mr. D. then said he had withdrawn his subscription because only four people out of 75 in his ward had paid, but he was ready to pay again if the rich people led the way. "We have seniors. If the leaders do nothing we can do nothing."

The young man of Modisana spoke up again, "We are trying... There can be no people who do not like the church. All people are of God... But if my elder brother does not give money, who is going to give?" Then referring to the initiation school he said, "The regiments are dead. Are you trying to bring them back again?" But the people should be together: "there are too many churches, let us destroy this jealousy and do everything together".

Young woman, "I am surprised, I have been listening to you. I am young myself but I have contributed. Elders must call their little brothers and tell them to pay".

Mr. D.M., "Let us get to the work of the Chief. Our sons in Johannesburg have written. Let us build. Others see that there is nothing in Mankgodi".

Mr. R., "Words are finished... The book should be called... The money is there..."

Chief, "Let us finish..."

Attempting to conclude the meeting he called upon the people to ignore the absentees and to get on with the job of collecting. Noting the reference to Tswana school he said that these things were not bad. "Do you agree preacher" he asked a church leader who nodded his assent. "When Seretse (President Seretse Khama) came here I called upon those who could dance Tswana dances and

they performed for him. He danced with them. There is nothing wrong". The President he said, would soon be able to say that the Mankgodi people had succeeded in all their efforts.

The Councillor was invited to comment. He had many questions to raise he said and, referring to his list, he spoke about:

- the revival of the government dam building programme: the people should revive their committees in the lands areas to prepare for this.
- a water tank was to be provided for the village with pipes to different wards. The people must be prepared to dig trenches for the pipes.
- the artificial insemination centres for cattle were now open.
- a new cattle market would be opened by agents from the Transvaal.
- since Council was starting soon he would be glad to hear of complaints or queries.
- stray cattle should be sent to the village before being sent to graze.

The list was a long one.

Mr.R., "If you speak all these things like that in Kgotla I hear nothing..."

Councillor Seribe, "You speak truly but there is no time".
Mr. R., "Are you asking us to do something about the tank?"
Councillor, "I am".

The plans for a water reticulation scheme was discussed by several speakers who were mostly interested in where the pipes would go.

The Chief then attempted to sum up again, talking of these projects as the inheritance of our children and our children's children, but someone started talking about arable lands and the fact that, with the good rains of this season, people had ploughed up some of the roads. This led to another discussion in which the Councillor said that the Land Board was investigating these complaints. The Chief finished by calling upon the people to apply for more land while there was some left because the country was now crowded.

10/3/1972 - Kgotla

The bugle was blown in Kgotla when members of the Botswana Bible Society arrived. Only two or three men turned up, others probably knowing that the Chief was away in Molopelole. When the visitors asked the men to call the women instead they laughed and said the women were busy in the fields. So the meeting was very brief.

13/3/1972 - Kgotla

About 60 people attended to hear the new customary court procedures described. There was a lengthy discussion of these matters and the new tribal policeman was introduced. Other business included a further discussion of branding of cattle and how it should be organized and also of the church collection. The Chief finished up by jokingly saying that he would use his new powers of summons against village leaders who did not bring their collections.

12/2/1972 - P.T.A. Mankgodi School

When the Secretary turned up from her fields the Head Teacher opened the meeting by saying that they had met to discuss the "20 cent money" that the parents were asked to contribute so that the cooks could be paid and to decide what to do about a supplier for school uniforms. There had been some confusion over his request for 20 cents per child, but 20 cents per term was the same thing as the 5 cents per month that had previously been levied, only it was easier to collect in this way.

The Secretary supported his speech.

Two speakers then asked how the change had been made when the P.T.A. had not been meeting in recent months. Who was now holding the money? Also because the children had been unable to go to Molepolole to take part in a football game for want of transport it had been decided in Kgotla that an extra 10 cents be raised making 15 cents in all, to pay for this trip. What was the position now since there had been no committee meeting?

The Chief's brother (on leave) asked what had happened to the Committee since it had met in 1969 in the old school on the hill. The Secretary should have read the minutes he said. Was it a question of starting again with a new committee after the old one had died? Anyway "we are the people and we do not want this 20 cent business".

Mr. S.M., "I'll only stay a little because I am a little man, but I say that I do not see the difference between 5 cents monthly and 20 cents quarterly. The question should be who is holding the money."

The Secretary (tapping her minute book) said that the arrangements for holding the money had been discussed in the meeting held last year in February.

The Chief asserted that there had never been a meeting.

Perhaps there is a confusion between the Parent Teacher Association and the School Committee said the Head Teacher.

This exchange led to an extensive debate on whether the present meeting was an open meeting or a Parent Teacher Association committee meeting. The Head Teacher asserted that P.T.A.'s should be open. The problem, said the Chief, is that "we don't come together." "Who called this meeting?" asked someone, to which the Secretary replied that the Committee had met. "Which Committee?" asked the Chief.

The Chief complained that he had written to the school asking about this 20 cent money saying that the people should be called to Kgotla for an explanation of this arrangement by the teachers.

Further criticisms of the P.T.A. and its procedures followed but the Councillor and others called for a return to the main

topic. A teacher called for an agenda. The Head Teacher apologised, and the Secretary wrote up an agenda on the blackboard.

The Chief complained that the meeting should have been postponed because it clashed with the meeting of the Co-operative Society. The Head Teacher pointed out that the Chief had been personally invited two weeks previously when no mention had been made of this clash. The Chief thereupon admitted his mistake, and although an elder still complained that "the problem is that this is not a meeting of the tribe" it was now accepted that the 20 cent money business could be legitimately discussed.

The Head Teacher drew a diagram on the board showing the three terms and the two alternative ways of paying while the Councillor repeated the explanation of the 20 cent levy.

The Chief, "The tribe now agrees".

The Head Teacher then raised the question of the school uniforms and it was quickly agreed by all, including both Chief and Councillor, that samples should be requested from different suppliers and the meeting closed with the introduction of new members of the school staff.

4/5/1972 - V.D.C. (attended by the Councillor, Mr. S.M., Mr. M., the Head Teacher, Mr. T., the Agricultural Demonstrator, and, as guests, Mr. Pitso, and myself).

The Councillor called for prayer from Mr. T. and opened the meeting by saying that a secretary should be appointed since the proper secretary and her assistant were absent. Mr. M. objected, pointing out that the Chairman, the Chief, was also absent.

Head Teacher, "We are waiting to elect a new committee, but the absent secretary may object if we appoint a temporary one, and the Chief may not approve of the committee meeting in his absence."

Mr. M., "We should not continue".

The Councillor suggested that a new committee should be appointed here and now and that later it should be put to the tribe for approval.

The Demonstrator said that if this was the annual elections that was being discussed then this was a matter for the whole tribe.

Mr. P., (addressing the Councillor directly), "Are these people speaking for you or are they trying to throw you away?"

Councillor, "They are protecting me".

Mr. P., "Then you should agree with them that the meeting should be postponed because they are trying to prevent trouble."

The Head Teacher and others then made some points about the constitution of the new committee. Neither the Chief nor the Councillor should be office holders. Other people should be given a chance. The committee had been wrongly constituted from the start since the government is against these officials being office holders of the V.D.C. though they should attend.

The Councillor explained the urgency of the meeting. He had been away so that he could not call a meeting earlier but now they would be asked to appoint a day when officials from Molepolole could come and discuss the district development plan.

Mr. M., "We blame you because letters come and you stay with them in your house.. Tell the Chief to call the tribe and to choose a new committee..."

After some further discussion the meeting dispersed agreeing that no further progress could be made.

24/5/1972 - Kgotla

Mr. Sekga from the District Council spoke in Kgotla about the arrangements for Matimela, the rounding up of stray cattle. About 25 men attended and some volunteered for the job. Ten people were taken on at R1 a day.

20/5/1972 - Kgotla

The Soil Conservation team from the Ministry of Agriculture visited the village and, with the aid of some 'flip charts'

talked about the necessity of conserving soil, water and plants. They discussed various techniques for achieving these ends, like leaving strips of uncleared land in large fields, cutting drains across the top of fields to prevent gulleys from forming in the field, ploughing along the contour rather than downhill, and avoiding bush fires or unnecessary tree felling.

Questioners afterwards picked up some of the visiting speakers' points and raised some practical difficulties.

Mr. K. pointed out that there is free movement of cattle from one district to another "we are mixed up with other people". Other people's herd boys may set fire to the grass, but the Chief should remind our people not to burn grass or to cut the bark of trees to kill them (for firewood)."

Mr. T. asked, "If I have a well, and people bring cattle, can I refuse them?" to which the visitor replied "That is a difficult question; that is for the Chief".

Mr. R. the Chief's uncle, talked about the way that Government is depriving the Chief of his powers. Today people are cutting grass at the lands although it is the wrong time of the year, should they not be stopped? The visitor replied, to general laughter, that "This is not a question for us".

Mr. R., "... then ask the Government about the law..."

Visitor, "I am not the Government, I am your child only... " and then repeated some points about ploughing across the field, not downhill.

Mr. S.M., announcing himself as a Scheme farmer who supports the Government said that Government is allowing people to cut trees in this area to take as firewood to Gaberone for sale; this should be stopped.

Mrs. M. said that she supported the visiting speakers, she had been to a course at the Agricultural College at which she had heard about these things. The Government, she felt,was really helping now.

Mr. Mn. was also very thankful though he pointed out that someone had made water to run through his compound by making a drain above him (the Roads Department in this case). Also there was a dam near his place that required a fence to keep the water clean.

Mr. Mo., "We must follow the Chief in these matters, and listen to his advice and agree with him (that is reach enforceable agreements in Kgotla), because all these things are difficult to do."

Visitor, "... We are advisors, not politicians..."

Chief, "We should be asking about such things as what to do with sloping fields, and learn how to look after fields.

After this the visitors summarized some of the main points of their message.

The Chief, in reply mentioned that last week, when he visited Tamagha he found a man leaving his sledge outside the village. Chief Mosielele, he learned, had banned the use of sledges in the village because of the erosion that they cause. Today there is a lack of supervision and authority in village matters; people never bring stray cattle as they should. The people should take in hand the business of fixing up the dams.

The meeting closed with a session by the Demonstrator, Mr. N. on identifying dairy and beef cattle, but by this time the attention of the meeting was wandering.

24/6/1972 - Kgotla (followed a V.D.C. meeting of which I do not have notes)

The Chief opened the meeting by announcing that next month on the 6th the Minister of Local Government and Lands was coming. It was now a matter of urgency that the Kgotla shelter be finished so that it would be ready in time for this visit. But people failed to turn up to meetings so no progress was being made. "I try my best to call people by sending the policeman around the lands areas, but from Fikeng lands only one man comes regularly."

The Chief then reminded people that it was the law of the land that people be buried in the village, but today people were burying their dead at the lands - they must be brought back to the village for burial.

He also urged upon the people that they must get on with building the Community Centre "because if we don't Government will not help us". "When the Minister comes he must find the structures up". He suggested that every man must pay 50 c. and every woman 20 c. "The American volunteers, when they come will help if they find the tribe working". "We must make arrangements so that our Councillor can go with words of agreement". (to Council)

Mr. M.T. in response said that he had not heard that there was to be a Community Centre in the village, and added "Other people do not come to meetings because they think that they are going to be killed" (i.e. committing themselves to onerous projects). The trouble with the shelter was that people did not come when they were called.

Mr. L. said that he refused to work on the shelter any more "I come here everyday with Mr. K. and find no one". And while he agreed with the payments for the Community Centre others would never pay, he felt.

Several speakers then stated their agreement with the Chief's points.

Mr.B.M. raised the problem that faced people when someone died at the lands. He agreed that the dead should be brought home, but some people had no cattle for transport, while some had not built a house in the village at which to hold the necessary ceremonies. "It is difficult to bring a corpse to someone else's house - where must we put them?".

About the shelter. People must come kgotla by kgotla he said. "If the Chief just says that they must come they won't because he does not give a day."

Turning to the Community Centre, it had been agreed in the V.D.C. that this should be built, but he had said at the Committee meeting that it would be better if one project was completed before the next was begun, otherwise nothing would ever get finished.

Mr. K. agreed that destroyed houses or a lack of cattle could be a problem, but felt that people must bring home their dead nonetheless since it is the law. They could use their father's house or their grandfather's house. People should remain a part of the village "We should build our own secondary school here and not scatter."

Mr. Mn. said that at the V.D.C. meeting he had suggested that subscriptions to the Community Centre should be voluntary, at the rate of 50 c.

Mr. Mo. returned to the problem of what to do with the dead. "The Chief is not fighting us when he says that we should come home to bury the dead. We must not loose the law which we have agreed with our Chief..."

Councillor S. began with a lament. "These words are taking us a long time to complete; we don't have the habit of achievement...."

He then explained the background to the discussion of burial procedures. Yesterday he and the Chief had been called to Tloaneng to see a skull that had been inadvertently dug up. A lot of wells were being dug today and it was not good that the dead should be accidentally dug up like this. He refuted the idea that people lacked cattle, there were more cattle now than ever before.

He then reported further upon the V.D.C. meeting at which it had been agreed that the Community Centre be built even though the steel frame had been originally assigned by the Community Development Department to the Mankgodi B.C.W. as a school for infants. It should be enlarged and the tribe should think about the contributions that each should give for this purpose. It was most important to decide what the total price would be so that an application could be made for a matching fund.

Speakers then discussed at length what the subscription should be, some arguing that it should be 70 c., some saying that they should ask for 20 c. as on other projects. Someone said that a total of R400 should be the target. Both Chief and Councillor agreed to this figure.

The Chief closed the meeting by announcing that the Community Development people had promised to come to discuss the Community Centre project and reminded the people of the Minister's forthcoming visit.

7/7/1972 - Kgotla

After a tour of the village looking at development projects, the Minister of Local Government and Lands addressed the Mankgodi Kgotla. He announced that he had come to see the village projects and had been impressed with what he had seen. "The progress of Mankgodi village is in your hands" he said. "Renew your village; renew the country; this should be the aim he stressed. He then talked about the principles of the Government and the Party stressing unity, kgagisayo and self help boipelego. United, the people of a village could achieve anything. Some people work he said while others refuse, but the refusers should be ignored. When a school is built it is for everyone, even those children whose parents don't contribute. He then asked those who had contributed to stand up (most did) and, after they sat again, he asked those who had not contributed to stand up also. "I stress again that some have sown while others harvest" he said.

Minister Kgabo then discussed the principles of government that his Party proclaim. People do not understand how the Government works, he said, they say that the Government wants to be the leader. But this is "Puso ya batho ka batho" - rule of the people by the people. You know this from the Village Development Committee. Stand up the Committee ya motse. It was said in the past that 'the Chief is the Chief by the people' (Kgosi ke Kgosi ka batho) now we say Government is the Government by the country (Governmente ke Governmente ka sechaba).

The Minister then mentioned that it had been noted that the people were suffering from an inadequate water supply - from

thirst, and the Government had agreed to allocate some funds from America to provide a tank to be placed in the middle of the village.

Moving on to a review of government successes in meeting their electoral pledges he talked about the development of education services and roads. He spoke also of the new mines that were opening up in Botswana but warned that this would not mean that the people would be able to stop going to Johannesburg in the near future; "we are not yet ready for self reliance". He turned then to talk of the need for improvements in agriculture and livestock. "The country is open", he said, "you should plough a big acreage and follow the advice of the Demonstrators. People say that it is only Mr. Kahn (the Storekeeper) and Government who hire people, but you should yourselves open a big field and hire your own people". He spoke about the Co-operatives, the 4B Clubs, education for rural development, and about the self help training projects for builders and textile workers that villages like Molepolole were starting.

The Minister then spoke of a new Bill that was going before Parliament. The Government was most concerned about the conservation of soil, grass,and trees. Minister Masisi would be explaining in due course. The Bill is to be called the 'Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill', and would enable the Government to cut the number of cattle in any overgrazed place. Government has noticed that the ground in certain places is getting destroyed by too many cattle or by burning. A system of grazing was required

whereby the cattle were moved from one place to another every three months; three months here, three months there. It is necessary to change grazing places and the people of a place must know where to go every three months.

The Minister concluded his one and a half hour speech by summarizing the main points.

Mr. M. asked about grazing. One problem is that cattle come from far to get water, and it is hard to drive them away even when they are the cause of overgrazing. It would be difficult to implement control.

Minister, "Is the law bad when it attempts to do something about the destruction of the land?" Eastern Botswana is full he argued, it was necessary for people to move West.

Mr. R. also raised the question of grazing "... the veterinary officer said that they must decrease their cattle" he asserted.

The Minister asked where he had heard this. "Are you becoming a liar, being a big man as you are?"

Mr. R. replied that he was only making his question sound nice.

Mr. D. talked about the difficulty of taking cattle to a far place; what if the borehole pump breaks; how far can the cattle travel without water?

Minister, "Do you just want to stay in one place?" People are prepared to go far out into the Kalahari these days.

Mr Mn. said that the Government should enforce what is said, but that the news about this Bill should be spread first so that the people have time to think.

The Councillor rose to explain that he had often told the people about the new wells where they could send their cattle, but it seems that "we people of Mankgodi are afraid to go far".

Another speaker then asked about the proposed dams in the district. Would the people have to pay? Yes, the Minister replied, it would be just as for the subsidised bulls, the people would pay half and the Government half. The cost of a dam was about £4000 - you are going to pay half of that. The same speaker then said that he had noted that some dams were fenced. He asked who was responsible for this. At this rate, he claimed, people will be fencing off rivers too, though the law of the country is against this.

Minister, "It is quite true what the old man says about the law, but the time will come when the law will say divide yourselves". He then went on to explain the origin of the fences that had been mentioned.

The meeting then turned to discuss other things. One man asked if he could raise a complaint, to which the reply was 'No! because everyone will then complain'. Some questions were raised

about the promised water supply; what was the delay. The Assistant District Council Secretary replied that they lacked a plumber at the moment.

The Chief then closed the meeting by thanking the Minister for his words.

7/7/1972 - Afternoon in School room

In the afternoon the Minister and his party met with members of the Village committees at the school.

The Minister talked about the role of the village committees. It was necessary to persuade the people to participate. The voluntary principle must be maintained, since there could be no going back to anything like tribal labour organised on a compulsory basis through Regiments. The village committees have no statutory powers, but leaders should not hesitate to call the 'refusers' and ask them to explain their opposition. The important thing though was to consult the people concerned. The tribe must be behind their development projects. Then public opinion could be mobilized against the 'refusers'. He then went on to outline the proper constitution of the various committees.

The Chief then described the Mankgodi committee membership, adding that if they were not properly constituted "today we hear".

The Minister said that there were several committees in the village in order to decentralise power. It was just like the

relationship between Government and Local Government. In the village the V.D.C. is the senior committee, to which other committees like the Parent Teacher Association must be responsible. The V.D.C. should co-ordinate the development proposals of the other committees and submit them to the Council.

The Chief complained about the Parent Teacher Association. They failed to report to the people about their money he said. The Minister said that the P.T.A. should report, but that this was a matter that should be discussed elsewhere.

Mrs. M. however complained that this was now the second time that the matter of the funds had been raised, and still there was no report.

A discussion of the P.T.A. finances followed, the Minister summarizing income (R201.60) and expenditure (Cooks R108.00) on the blackboard. The District Council Secretary promised to send an accountant to look into the matter.

Mrs. M. then gave a statement of the Village Development Committee financial position (from memory).

The Chief said that the village will be pleased to receive the auditor, and asked that he also look into the Thrift and Loan Society. For two years now nothing had happened about this society, and nobody knew where the money was.

Several other speakers raised questions about this money, and Mr. B.M., while acknowledging that he was an office holder in the Thift and Loan Society, tried to raise further matters about the Parent Teacher Association.

The Minister concluded by calling on the people "to remain and face each other", (i.e. be prepared to sort out these financial difficulties).

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