Consultation and non-commitment

Dolf Noppen

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CONSULTATION AND NON-COMMITMENT: PLANNING WITH THE PEOPLE IN BOTSWANA

Dolf Noppen

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ABSTRACT

In 1976 a start was made with the setting up of a system of district planning based on consultation with the people at the village level. The intention was to replace a system of purely "top-down" planning with a system including strong elements of "bottom-up" planning. This report describes the changes that took place between 1976 and 1980. It focusses on the integration at the district level of information from the consultation into the planning process. The linking of planning with consultation as a basis for the wider development of nonformal education in Botswana is also considered.

Following on from a description of the new system of district planning based on consultation, the functioning of the system is analysed. It is concluded that within the sphere of social services infrastructure the district level institutions and bodies at the village level are allowed an important input into national decision-making processes. However, the people are not allowed influence over Government policy in those areas likely to effect the economic situation of the rural majority. Control over this has been retained at the national level. Decentralisation to the district level, and in particular to the district-level political body, the District Council, is limited.

The positions of the village elite and the public servants are analysed in relation to their role as facilitators or blocking-mechanisms for the realisation of district-planning-based-on-consultation. The main conclusion is that they allow the system to work within the social services sector. But they serve as effective blocking mechanisms to the participation by the rural majority in decision-making beyond these limits. Government's lack of commitment to pursue policies aimed at improving the economic position of the rural poor limits the scope of district planning and channels the consultation into a discussion on social services infrastructure.

The report concludes with a number of recommendations for improvements and tries to place the Botswana experience with the district planning system into the context of the programmatic approach to development planning.

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Whilst the comments received were valuable and often provocative, the responsibility for the views expressed is my own.

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Nysted
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CONTENTS

1.1 Consultation and Commitment

From 1976 to 1980 a system of district planning based on consultation with the people was set up in Botswana. "Consultation" became part of the rhetoric of Government.

While this does underline the legitimacy and importance of the concept, the use of the term to cover almost any conceivable situation where more than one viewpoint is discussed tends to obscure the meaning of "consultation" when used in the context of "district-planning-based-on-consultation". Consultation, in this sense, covers the process whereby the opinions and involvement of the people at the village level are taken as the basis, by officials and elected representatives at the district level, for making decisions about overall development programmes for a district as a whole and for each village individually.

The objective of "district-planning-based-on-consultation" is to increase the participation of (all) the people in making decisions about their own future. The term "participation" as used in this publication covers (i) involvement in decision-making (ii) by all social strata (iii) so that decisions taken do not favour only those groups that already have privileged access to resouces and (iv) that the people also take an active part in implementing decisions arrived at rather than leaving this to an outside agency.

Consultation has become the foundation on which a system of district planning has been built. The linking of the district planning process into the national planning process opens the way for a greater involvement of the people living at the village level in the national descision-making process - an important step towards "participation".

A number of essential steps separate the setting up of a system of district planning based on consultation and the active participation of the people in the process. One of the most serious obstacles to such participation lies in the active and passive blocking of the process by groups who attempt to protect their privileged position.

These obstacles are also inherent in the dilemma of how to integrate the viewpoint of "the centre" (1) (a technical, centralised and quantifiable viewpoint) with that of "the village" (2) (a more emotive and qualitative viewpoint based on knowledge of the local situation).

In this situation the willingness of the public servants and politicians to implement development strategies aimed at benefiting the majority depends on the amount of pressure they face not to look after their own interests first. Politicisation and raising the awareness of the majority of the population is an important counterweight which would limit the freedom of the public servants and the politicians to serve their own interests. The rural poor in Botswana are not politicised; rather, decisions are taken for them by the village elite and by the village-level extension workers. The rural poor are accustomed to this state of affairs and have not questioned it serously.

If changes are to be made in the way decisions are made - for example, through changing the planning system - a measure of "top-down" response is a pre-requisite for bringing about changes within the existing system. Therefore the development of a system of district planning allowing for a greater involvement in the planning process by the people at both the village and the district levels must take place in an environment which, if not positively stimulating, at least allows the process to start and to expand and which, secondly, is willing to change its own methods (of planning and implementation) to accomodate these changes.

Nonetheless there remains a real gap between, on the one hand. setting up a system of "planning with the people" involving the provision of social services and, on the other hand, taking a further step forward; a step which involves increased participation and which could lead to a more equal distribution of wealth in line with the Government of Botswana's stated goal of Social Justice.

The official development policies of the Government of Botswana aim at the goal of Social Justice. The question is: to what extent are the poorest benefitting from them or are they aimed at maintaining the present distribution of power and economic relations from which the rich derive proportionately greater benefits than the poor.

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(1) The term "centre" as used in this connection is used rather loosely to refer to a higher level; thus, depending on the circumstances it may refer to the district-level, to the central government-level or to the viewpoint of a donor agency.
(2) One might speak here also of "periphery", "rural poor" or "small farmer".

This has direct implications for the limits within which district-planning-based-on-consultation is allowed to operate.

It will be argued that, in Botswana, the district planning system has developed a social services infrastructure focus and that within these boundaries the district planning system does work. But it does not work when it comes to tackling Botswana's main problems- the increasing rural impoverishment and lack of productive employment for most Batswana.

1.2. A Programmatic Approach?

This analysis of district planning in Botswana covers the transitional period during which steps were taken to move from a "top-down" to a "bottom-up" planning process. With a consolidation still taking place after only four years experience with trying to make district planning work it is difficult to make long term predictions, especially because no hard-and-fast "blueprint" model was (or could be) agreed on at the start of the process. Detailed blueprints of this nature are generally not very successfull, (1) although it (normally) is possible to agree on a broad long term strategy. In building up the process subsequent steps are based on experience with the earlier stages.

The importance of operating within an institutional framework is crucial as it is the institutions which must provide continuity. Furthermore, the dangers inherent in taking a single-project approach are that, if successful, very often only a small group (i.e. those directly involved in the project) will benefit. This creates a situation where a small group may reap substantial benefits without these benefits either "tricking down" or "trickling across" to the wider target group of rural poor. This is a danger which donor agencies, attempting to by-pass local institutions in the provision of assistance to selected projects should be aware of.

This would also suggest that single projects should be a part of a broader development programme so that the target group can re-

(1) For a discussion of the "blueprint" and the "process" approach to rural development see Sweet and Weisel, 1979. They argue the need for a very flexible approach operating within broad guidelines.

main "the rural poor in a given area" rather than the much smaller group of people likely to benefit from a single project being implemented in isolation. Benefits, paricularyly economic benefits, frequently accrue to the small groups of people reached through such a project approach and allow them to achieve a significant economic advantage ahead of those not covered by the project. It is within this broader programme framework that district-planning-based-on-consultation should operate; a very similar framework as advocated in the so-called "programmatic" or "process" approaches to rural development. (1)

1.3. Main Issues

The main issues to be discussed here are:

Firstly, the consultation process and the role of consultation and nonformal education as tools in the establishment of a dialogue situation between the village and the district and national levels. The need for regular consultation and knowledge of what to expect from participation in the consultation will be brought forward as essential elements.

Secondly, Botswana's rural development strategy has major implications for the long-term success of the district planning and constultation process. Rural development in Botswana has come to be equated with the provision of social services and supporting infrastructure by Government. This has supported the expectation that "Government will provide" and lies at the base of a certain apathy on the part of the rural poor to become involved in "development". The potential for such a development strategy to effect the economic position of the rural poor is marginal. The active pursuance of a development strategy aimed at increasing production and creating employment possibilities for the rural poor does influence their economic position but this has, up until now, tended to be avoided.

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(1) The discussion of these two similar approaches is taken further in the report "The Small Farmer and Technical Assistance", Röling and de Zeeuw, 1981. (forthcoming)

Thirdly, the roles played by two principal groups at the village level will be considered. The village elite, take a leading role in the consultation process but their ability to represent the views and aspirations of the rural poor is constrained by their links with the extension workers and the cattle-owning and well-educated national elite. The village-level extension worker is first and foremost a bureaucrat with a loyalty to the organisation that pays him and only in the second place a change agent. In all this the influence of the rural poor (the majority of the population) is only marginal.

Fourthly, within this whole situation, formal education emerges as a factor which cannot be ignored. It is always a top priority in the consultation and provides one of the few ways (possibly the only way) for somebody from a poor background to break through the barrier and to join the elite. However the present educational system can only satisfy the aspirations of a very small number with the majority dropping off along the way.

This publication can be roughly divided into three main parts Chapters 2 and 3 serve to provide the background information neccessary to understand the context in which the district planning system was set up and in which it functions. For those readers acquainted with Botswana, these chapters will probably cover familiar ground.

The second part - chapters 4 and 5 - describes the setting up of the district planning system based on consultation and looks at the importance of nonformal education as a tool for consultation. These two chapters contain a number of case studies, set in different type face, as illustration of points made in the chapters: they are mostly descriptive and do not delve deeply into the reasons for the successes and failures.

This is done in the third part - chapters 6 and 7. It will be argued that there has been a large measure of success achieved in involving the people in the planning of social services develop-

ment. However this involvement is limited to social services; the same success has not been achieved in other areas, in particular where developments are likely to threaten the economic position of the elite. This limited success does not lie in the methods used or on the planning system which has been created but lies, broadly speaking, in the domination of village life by a small elite group and the domination of decision-making by the public service which, in this respect, acts as a self-interested lobby.

The last chapter - chapter 8 - draws conclusions and makes a number of recommendations for improvements.

A Note on Terms Used

(a) The terms "top-down" and "bottom-up" planning have been used. Although a number of other terms might, just as appropriately, have been used, these two terms have been preferred because they indicate, in a nutshell, both the concept and the planning direction.

(b) The masculine, as in "he", "his", etc., has been used throughout to refer to he/she, his/hers, etc.

(c) Botswana, Batswana, Motswana, Setswana - these terms refer, respectively, to the country, the people, a single person and the language.

(d) Pula - the national currency. Until 1976 Botswana used the South African Rand as its currency. For this reason, all currency references before 1976 are in Rand (R) and all those after the change-over are in Pula (P). The Pula is roughly equivalent to one South African Rand or to 1,10 US dollars (1981). The term "Pula" in Setswana also means rain and is the country's motto as well as national prayer -- frequent droughts and the semi-arid environment underline its appropriateness.

Chapter 2 BACKGROUND TO BOTSWANA

2.1. Geographical notes

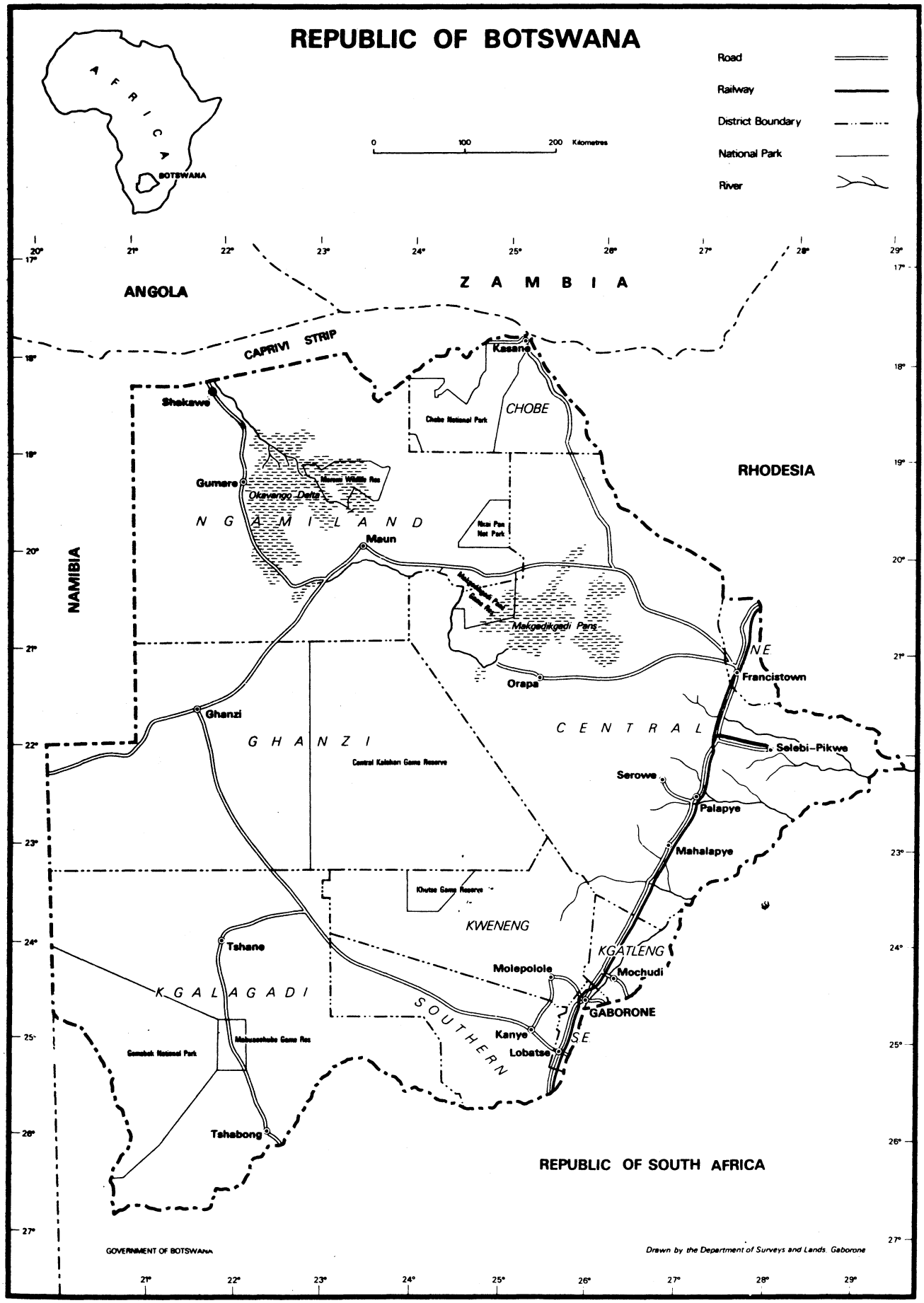
Descriptions of Botswana normally note its semi-arid character and that the area is roughly the same as that of Kenya or France - i.e. 582000 km^2. The country has a relatively small population (805,000 according to the 1978 official estimate) concentrated along the eastern border of the country where soils are better and rainfall somewhat higher than in the rest of the country. More than two-thirds of the country is covered with Kalahari sand of which a large part is known as the Kalahari Desert. These sands support a low, savanna-type vegetation of bushes and grasses suitable for low intensity grazing by both cattle and antelope. This area has little arable agricultural potential.

In the eastern and more fertile part of the country subsistence arable farming is the main-stay of the majority op the population. Nonetheless there are considerable risks involved in arable agriculture. The land suitable for arable cultivation is limited and not only is rainfall generally low but the country is also susceptible to drought. Botswana has a vast herd of cattle, but cattle holding is unevenly distributed in favour of a rich minority. The majority of the population depends on the risky undertaking of arable agriculture often combined with some form of wage labour as they own few or no cattle.

Botswana is landlocked being bordered by Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Botswana's relationship with South Africa has always been of fundamental importance; an importance which was continued after Botswana attained Independence in 1966 in spite of the disagreement of the Government of Botswana with the South African "apartheid" system.

2.2. The Economy

Botswana's economy is an underdeveloped economy in relation to the South African economy and the international capitalist system. It is dependent on the export of primary products i.e. cattle, to the European Economic Community and minerals, exploited principally


REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA
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Kasane
Shakawe
Chobe National Park
CHOBE
RHODESIA
Gumare
Okavango Delta
Moremi Wildlife Res
NGAMILAND
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Francistown
Orapa
Ghanzi
GHANZI
CENTRAL
Central Kalahari Game Reserve
Selebi-Pikwe
Serowe
Palapye
Mahalapye
Khutse Game Reserve
KWENENG
KGATLENG
Tshane
Molepolole
Mochudi
KGALAGADI
SOUTHERN
GABORONE
SE
Kanye
Lobatse
Gemsbok National Park
Tshabong
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT OF BOTSWANA
Drawn by the Department of Surveys and Lands, Gaborone

by the Anglo American Corporation, and exported to the United States and Western Europe. Botswana's industrial production is almost non-existent. It imports all consumer goods, building materials, etc, and about 4/5 of the import comes from South Africa. This means that it is difficult for the unskilled Batswana to find wage labour within their own country, and there has now been a tradition, going back three generations, of migration to South Africa for work in the mines and farms.

This external orientation makes Botswana very susceptible to external influences on its economy, particularly by the multi-national companies running the mining industry; and also by the price its cattle fetches on the world and the European market, and by the fluctations in the quota of migrant workers permitted into South Africa.

Historically the country's principal export was beef cattle; fluctuations in the price of this commodity have had a major impact on the amount of money available on the domestic market. However cattle ownership is skewed with the largest herds being concentrated in the hands of very few people and with 45% of all households not owning any cattle at all (as estimated by RIDS, 1976) Only those with the large herds have been in a posititon to benefit directly from these cattle sales and from the artificially high prices paid by the European Economic Community (60% above world market prices under the terms of the Lome Convention).

Since the discovery of Botswana's mineral wealth (diamonds and copper-nickel) exports in this sector have taken over from cattle as the principal export. Particularly the diamond sector exploited by De Beers, a subsidary of the multi-national Anglo-American Corporation, is very profitable. Nonetheless the state has little control over how the mining companies run their business. The mining industry is highly capital intensive, requiring principally highly skilled manpower hired from outside Botswana - and providing relatively few jobs for unskilled Batswana.

On the other hand the South African mines - controlled by the same multi-national - have a long history of importing unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers from Botswana. Transfers from these migrant workers is an invaluable and neccessary source of income for poor household in Botswana. These households, in theory dependent on subsistence agriculture, only manage to get a marginal return off

the land for their efforts, own few cattle or none and depend on transfers from family members working in the mines to supplement the family income.

In the absence of any alternatives the South African Government's declared policy of cutting down on the number of migrant workers is liable to have very wide repercussions. Already migration to Botswana's own urban areas is increasing but Botswana's own economy does not have the capacity to absorb the surplus of labour which would be thrown into the market in the case of such an eventuality.

Subsistence agriculture is practised by most rural household. Returns are very low and most families have made efforts to supplement their incomes from agriculture with other sources of income. For the majority this means having a family member working as a migrant labourer. The richer families often have several member of their family working in the Public Service and own sufficient cattle to be able to engage in commercial livestock activities. Because the returns from livestock are so much higher, the amount of effort required so much lower and the risks (of bad rains, etc) so much easier to overcome, few people have made the effort to invest very heavily in commercial arable farming. The few that have, have been able to do so because of their access to a sufficiently large herd of cattle.

Frequent droughts, coupled with bad harvests, have meant that arable production levels have fallen even below subsistence on a number of occassions. When this has happened, supplementary food rations were supplied by international donor organisations.

2.3. The Growth of the Economy

Economic growth has been rapid since Independence in 1966. At Independence, Botswana's economy - after years of colonial neglect - was dependent on export of beef cattle. British grant-in-aid was neccessary to balance the budget and activity in all sectors was minimal. Colonial rule bequeathed the country almost no trained manpower and education, apart from a few private schools, was totally inadequate.

The discovery and exploitation of the substantial mineral deposits laid the basis for the rapid economic expansion. Other factors also stimulated the growth rate; the price of cattle on the world mar-

ket increased and, more important, the renegotiation of the Southern African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA) in 1969 meant a considerable increase in Government revenue from this source. The returns from mineral production - especially diamonds - and increased income from the Customs Union, rapidly made Botswana independent of British grants-in-aid.

The rapid expansion of the mining sector included both capital investments by multi-national companies but also substantial infrastructural assistance by the Botswana Government. Roads, railways, housing development and also the very large Shashe Dam project (to provide electricity) for the copper mining complex at Selebi-Phikwe meant substantial investments and a rapid expansion of the economy.

This early phase was followed by the Government's own Accelerated Rural Development Programme. Increased Government expenditure on infrastructure for social services in the rural areas came after the construction phase for the mining developments had been completed and the economy was threatening to slump. Through concentration on infrastructural projects Botswana managed to keep its economic growth rate high. However, although educational facilities had been expanded rapidly, the country was unable to produce sufficient home-grown manpower and became dependent on large numbers of expatriates to keep the economy running and to the man the middle-levels of the public service.

The likelihood of the growth rate levelling off has decreased with the discovery of the very rich diamond pipe at Jwaneng. Already vast investments have been made to open up this area, located in the Kalahari Desert, including tarred roads, new towns and an airport, while the vast water supply needed to operate the mine effectively will also mean an enormous investment.

In addition two new "coal towns" will be needed to service the new coal mining ventures of the Royal Dutch Shell Group. Together with the accompaying infrastructure, the new coal mining ventures will ensure a high economic growth rate throughout the 1980's.

Next to the investment in the mining sector two other sectors have contributed to the economy's rapid growth rate. These are the livestock sector and the public service.

Botswana is the largest beef exporter in Africa (1976/77 = 31,000 tonnes compared to Zimbabwe 19,920 tonnes; Ethiopia 16,650 tonnes and Chad 14,930 tonnes). Through the Lome Convention Botswana sells its beef to the European Economic Community which has raised the price paid for Botswana beef to 60% above world market levels. In addition to the favourable price levels a wide range of subsidies on livestock including veterinary assistance, disease control, and marketing facilities, makes this a very profitable and attractive sector for those few whose herds are large enough to allow for a sustained off-take.

Botswana's growth strategy also includes the allocation of a large share of the country's resources to expanding social and other government services. The public service has been expanded rapidly since Independence, as have the rewards attached to a position in the public service. Although expanding rapidly, the public sector cannot meet the demand for formal employment, and in the absence of significant numbers of jobs being offered in the private sector, there is a very fierce competition for jobs in the public service.

2.4. The Distribution of Wealth

The distribution of wealth is very uneven. The bulk of the rural population exists at a level which, at best, is only a little above subsistence. Their access to resources such as cattle, but also modern resources, such as education, is limited. Hence it is from these sections of the population that large numbers migrate to the towns and especially to the mines in South Africa in search of supplementary income.

RIDS (1976:87) noted that Botswana falls into the group of countries with the skewest income distribution. Relatively few households are extremely rich and, conversely, three-quarters of the rural population had below average incomes. Rich households derived their income principally from livestock and from formal employment, underlining the fact that success in the traditional sector (livestock) is coupled with success in the modern sector (formal employment).

Also geographically, wealth is unevenly spread. In the remote rural areas and small villages the poorest households are to be found, whereas the richer households tend to be concentrated in the larger

villages (especially the district capitals) and in the urban areas.

Here it is important to note the factor of urban-rural interdependence. The picture of rich urban areas and poor rural ares is a myth. As Egner and Klausen (1980:14) have noted, 90% of the urban people retain both social and economic links with their home villages. In other words, the urban poor and the rural poor are basically the same group of people and the urban rich and elite groups are also the elite groups in the rural areas. Therefore not only is the size of the household's herd positively linked with the educational achievements of memebers of the family but there is also a strong linkage between the traditional tribal elites (distinguished by their vast herds of cattle) and the modern elites holding the policy-making positions in the public service.

The traditional tribal authorities, the modern politicians and the public servants are largely drawn from the small group of relatively well-off to very rich households. The interests of these three categories overlap to a large degree and it is mostly the views of this rather small but cohesive group that are most effectively converted into government policy and action.

2.5. National Development Priorities.

The problems of skewed income distribution, limited and unequal access to education and lack of employment possibilities have been too frequently recognised in official government publications and research reports to need citing. The latest National Development Plan (NDP V) also draws attention to these problems and in this plan two principle guiding themes have been outlined as the basis for attacking these problems: employment creation and rural development. These two themes should be implemented within the context of Botswana's planning objectives of Rapid Economic Growth, Social Justice, Economic Independence and Sustained Development. A difficult task because the first two planning objectives are almost always at variance with each other. (See Klausen, 1979: 107-108). In this situation the objective of rapid economic growth tends to over-ride the objective of social justice.

NDP V has two principal foci: increased arable agricultural production and rural industrialisation. At the same time the em-

phasis on infrastructural projects remains, as does the emphasis on education and the livestock industry. It remains to be seen whether NDP V will mark a breakthrough in arable agriculture and rural industrialisation that will mean more productive employment for Botswana's rural (and urban) poor and go some way to achieving social justice. No such doubts surround the continuance of rapid economic growth: the mining investments, an international airport, new roads, the takeover of the railway and the expansion of the Botswana Defence Force are sufficient to gurarantee continuing growth.

Although a number of past policies are retained in NDP V, the new plan does mark a breakthrough in th method of planning in Botswana. For the first time planning was not concentrated only at the national level. NDP V was based on five year plans prepared at district level by the local authorities. Information from these District Development Plans was used as a major input into the national plan and the involvement of the district level in these planning steps also contributed to a strengthening of capacity and political decison-making at the district level. But the most important step taken in the preparation process of the new national plan was the Consultation. These district plans were based on a consultation exercise with the people at the village level and this marked the first faltering, tentative steps of planning-with-the-people.

2.6. The Political system.

Politically Botswana claims to be a "multi-party democracy". In practice, although opposition parties are not banned, the country functions as a one-party state. The Botswana Democratic Party has held a comfortable majority since Independence and the three opposition parties that do exist have never managed to obtain more than seven seats in the thirty-two seat legislature. In the last elections (1979) the opposition in parliament was reduced to three seats. The Botswana Democratic Party has close links to the traditional tribal chieftainships and has managed to base its electoral supremacy on close links with the traditional authorities - a link which underlines the conservative nature of the party.

A structure of local authorities was also created at Independence. Under this structure a number of District Councils, largely based on tribal boundaries, was set up. These District Councils have enjoyed a limited amount of autonomy in certain sectors - especially those related to the provision of social services - but, to date, they have been kept under tight control and supervision by the central government. Some changes may come into the relationship central vis-a-vis local government if the commitment to de-centralise more responsibilities and leadership to the district level is carried through.

A breakdown of the districts by area and size of population is given below. It should be noted that the term "district" is, throughout this publication, used in the context of Botswana. A "district" in India or even in neighbouring African countries may differ greatly from the Botswana district both in terms of area and size of population.

District Council Areas and Population

Council Name	Area (km^2)	Population (1976 Est.) (Total)	(per km^2)
Central	145,165	260,400	1.8
Kweneng	38,107	75,800	2.0
Southern	27,231	96,400	3.5
North West	129,998	62,200	0.5
Kgatleng	7,244	37,600	5.2
North East	5,323	30,600	5.7
South East	2,032	24,300	11.9
Kgalagaai	109,724	18,000	0.2
Ghanzi	104,707	14,700	0.2
	569,531	620,000	1.1.

(Source. E.B. Egner, District Development in Bostswana, 1978:2)

3.1. Introduction

The present structure of district government in Botswana is a result of a number of changes which took place at the district level in the last years of the colonial presence and during the first years of Independence. During the colonial period district government had been the responsibility of the Chief and his Tribal Administration, together with the District Administration. This was by no means an equal relationship because the District Administration, headed by the District Commissioner, represented the Colonial Administration at the district level and was in the position to play big brother to the Chief. Two "new" institutions were created around the time of Independence - i.e. the District Council and the Land Board. This resulted in a major redefinition of duties and spheres of influence at the district level, pruning back considerably the previously held responsibilities of the "old" institutions.

This new situation gave rise to a number of conflicts but, on the whole, the four institutions, through a number of co-ordinating mechanisms notably the District Development Committee, did manage to co-operate reasonably well. This view was shared by the Presidential Commission which was set up in 1979 to review the functioning of local government in Botswana and make recommendations on the future direction. The Commission recommended:

> "No radical changes to the present structure and organisation of the four main institutions at the district level. In particular it has rejected proposals for the amalgamation of any of these institutions. Each should retain its separate identity, with its powers balanced by those of the others."
>
> (LGSC, Oop 1979: 1)

It went on to note that:

> "At this stage of Botswana's development the Commission prefers a system whereby the power of one institution is balanced by that of another to a system which makes one institution supreme and the others subordinate to it. None the less it recognises the District Councils as the first amongst equals, since they have the power to decide policy and to make bye-laws, and it hopes that by increasing Councils' capacity they may take on greater responsibilities in due course. (emphasis added - D.N.)
>
> (LGSC, Oop 1979: 14)

In other words, the situation as described in this chapter is likely to remain relatively unchanged for some time into the future or at

least until such time as Councils can prove that their capacity has increased to such an extent that they can take on more responsibilities.

The four local government institutions at the district level - the District Administration, the Tribal Administration, the District Council and the Land Board - will be discussed separately below. The district and regional-level staff of the central government ministries will be covered in the subsequent discussion on the principal co-ordinating body at the district level - the District Development Committee. This committee, which provides the forum for the preparation of the District Development Plan, draws together all central and local government staff based at the district level.

The conflict situation which initially marked the relationship between the District Administration and the District Council forms the subject of the next section. The issue at stake being who should provide the leadership at the district level.

The last section in this chapter will deal with the Unified Local Government Service (ULGS). This Service, based in central government, controls the placement, payment and training of all local government staff and, as such, is in a strong position to influence what goes on at the district level.

This chapter will not do much more than describe. Its main purpose will be to outline briefly the principal institutions operating at the district level and their relationship to each other for those readers not familiar with the Botswana situation (1). These four institutions, plus the District Development Committee and the Unified Local Government Service, are the main "actors" on the district planning stage. Some knowledge of their responsibilities and how they inter-act is therefore a necessary background to a further discussion on district planning.

3.2. The District Administration

The District Administration, with its chief executive, the District Commissioner, is a familiar feature of most former British colonial administrations. In Botswana this institution was retained

(1) For a more detailed recent study of district level institutions and the role of these institutions in the district development planning process see Reilly 1981.

after Independence but did go through a number of changes which left it without a number of its former powers. The two principal changes which affected the importance of the District Administration were (i) its transfer from the Secretariat (1) to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands in 1965 and (ii) the creation of the District and Town Councils in 1966. After these changes the District Administration was left with a number of statutory responsibilities (2).

Although the District Commissioner was no longer the unquestionable power in the district he did retain a number of important powers and functions as regards the other three district level institutions. Perhaps the most important of these was his chairmanship of the District Development Committee (which is also serviced by his office) and his function as joint plan manager (together with the Council Secretary) of the District Development Plan.

The District Commissioner is supported by a number of District Officers whose number varies with the size of the District. Their duties are mostly of a general administrative nature related to the statutory responsibilities as outlined above. In addition, the District Commissioner is supported by two specialist District Officers: the District Officer (Development) and the District Officer (Lands). The former services the District Development Committee of which he is the secretary; this official is generally an economics graduate and he is responsible to the District Commissioner for the preparation of the District Development Plan and especially that section of the plan related to Central Government activities at the district level (3). The District Officer(Lands) is the key district level technical officer concerned with Land Use Planning, a major activity since the implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Programme has started getting under way. He is the secretary of the district's Land Use Planning Advisory Group (LUPAG).

Both the District Development Committee and the LUPAG contain representatives of the four district institutions as well as central

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(1) Can be compared with the present Office of the President. The Secretariat controlled the administration of the Protectorate.
(2) These statutory responsibilities are mostly in the administrative sphere. They include licensing responsibilities, judicial functions, marriage offices, etc. These functions are discussed in more detail in Tordoff, 1979: 12.
(3) At present central government projects account for over 80% of all the money spent at the district level with the Councils, Land Boards, etc. making up the remaining 20%.

government representatives (1).

As one of its major recommendations, the 1979 Local Government Structure Commission has sought to increase the developmental role of the District Commissioner. Although this has always been a stated function of the District Commissioner's office, in practice the administrative and ceremonial functions left little time for this. One of the principal results of this was that most of the District Administration's development work involved only the two specialist officials and not the District Commissioner himself. The Commission has sought to change this situation by re-styling the District Commissioner as the District Development Director and transferring most of his former administrative functions elsewhere. The Commission does note that the recommendation will stand or fall with the capacity of the man in office and accordingly made the following additional recommendations.

> That District Development Directors should be selected strictly on the basis of their potential to do the job. (LGSC, 1979)

Picard (1977: 460-467) contends that having the wrong man in the job was major cause of the separation within the district administration of administration and development. Thus old-style administrators, promoted into the position of District Commissioner after Independence, concentrated on administrative and ceremonial activities (making it into a full-time job in the process) whilst the development activities were left to the (expatriate, university-trained) District Officers (Development) and (Lands).

The increased priority placed on development work as a result of the emphasis on district planning has, in practice, meant an increased responsibility for the District Commissioners. District Commissioners have had to take a more active part in "development" as the work of the District Development Committee became the locus for the bulk of development planning and discussion at the district level. Furthermore, with feelings of national pride starting to play a role, it has become more difficult to allow an expatriate junior officer to take a leading role at the expense of his senior. Directives from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands have been issued on this subject and this has

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(1) To date most of the incumbents of these two technical posts have been expatriates.

"forced" the District Commsioner to spend much more of his time on development and, especially, take formal responsibility for the actions of his junior staff.

The District Commissioner, as the senior central government official at the district level, is the leader of the "district team" of officials. This, combined with his function as one of the District Plan Managers, underlines his potential importance in making the District Planning Process work. District Commissioners, and other district officials, have argued that the office has insufficient powers to meet up to the demands placed on it. This view is opposed by Picard (1977: 617) who contended that the District Commissioners had been given sufficient powers, but that the failure to exercise these powers should be sought in the calibre of the incumbents of the post (1). This last view was shared by the Local Government Structure Commission (OoP, 1979: 56) which recommended both an increase in the District Commissioner's development responsibilities as well as better men in the job (2).

3.3. The Tribal Administration

This contains the remnants of the traditional authority. It has at its head the chief or, in the absence of a chief, the person nominated to take his place as "Tribal Authority". The area of the chieftainship normally covers the same area as that of an administrative district and this underlines the colonial relationship between the District Administration and the Tribal Administration. The chief stands at the top of a hierarchy of traditional officials which extends right down to the village or ward headman level; this hierarchy is supported by its own hierarchy of local police and administrative officials.

Briefly, the Tribal Administration's main functions are:

(i) To administer justice through the customary courts
(ii) To settle land disputes
(iii) To carry out certain traditional and ceremonial functions
(iv) To provide general leadership and advice in everyday matters.
(Reilly 1981: 15)

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(1) These duties and powers as related to the District Commissioners' "development" tasks were contained in the circular, dated 18.10.1971, from the Permanent Secretary, Office of the President to all Permanent Secretaries, concerning the establishment of the District Development Committee and the role of the District Commissioner.
(2) No formal action has to date (4/81) been taken to implement the Commion's recommendations.

This is a far cry from the extensive powers enjoyed by the chiefs before Independence. Legislation, especially that pertaining to the setting up of District Councils, to the control of stray cattle and to land allocation, has stripped the chieftainship of many of its previously held responsibilities. The most significant power which it has retained is the right to administer justice through the customary courts.

However, although the chieftainship has lost many of its statutory powers it still retains tremendous popular support and, furthermore, it is the only institution that has strong representation reaching down to even the smallest village. Neither the political parties, elected officials, central government or local government staff can match this influence. This popular support prompted the 1979 Local Government Structure Commission to recommend some strenghtening of the authority of the chieftainship. However, whether sufficient political support will be forthcoming for turning back the clock, remains to be seen.

At present there is a large degree of political control over the tribal administration. Whilst appointment of the chiefs is done according to custom, Government needs to recognise this appointment before it becomes official and Government may also take away its recognition of a chief - whereupon that chief forfeits his membership of the House of Chiefs and his salary. And although the chief may appoint, according to customary rules, his sub-chiefs and headmen, this does not automatically mean their recognition by Government in the form of a salary. Only about half of the approximately four hundred village and ward headmen have been recognized and warranted, which gives them the formal authority to impose sanctions at a kgotla (or Customary Court).

Thus, to some extent, the District Commissioner is still in the position of big brother to the Tribal Authority and the District Commissioner's reports to his own Ministry (Local Government and Lands) and to the Office of the President serve as a check on the exercise of this authority.

The role of traditional tribal authority in national politics is most visible in the House of Chiefs. However, this body has no legislative or blocking powers but only advisory powers. Although the demise of this institution (as predicted in Proctor, 1968) has not yet taken place due to the respect still accorded to the chieftainship,

neither does the House exercise a significant influence on national politics.

The chief has more influence at the district level where he is an ex officio member of both the District Council and the Land Board (1). At this level the chief is in a position to influence decisions taken by these two bodies. But this power to influence decisions is not statutory but is a function of the respect which his traditional office still holds as well of as his own interest in the proceedings of these two bodies. These vary with the result that the chief's influence on these two bodies also varies a great deal (2).

3.4. The District Council

The District Council was the first of the two new local government institutions to appear. The first Council elections were held simultaneously with the elections for the country's first Parliament, in 1966 (3). The District Councils were to take over many of the functions of the Chiefs and Tribal Authorities. Their main statutory functions now cover the following: the provision of primary education and basic health facilities, the maintenance of rural roads, the operation and maintenance of domestic water supplies and community development. In addition they have a large number of minor functions.

However their most important function has now been recognized as being the provision of district development leadership based on their position as the elected representatives of the people at the district level (4).

Council elections take place at the same time as national elections. Normally this will take place every five years. Choice of candidates

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(1) If the recommendations of the Local Government Structure Commission are accepted (see OoP 1979: esp. Ch. 4) the chief's potential influence on these bodies is likely to increase.
(2) This in one district the Chief could be chairman of both the Land Board and the District Council whilst in other districts the district councillors allow little interference from the chief in their decision-making.
(3) The Local Government Act 1966 provided for both District and Town Councils. Although staff is transferable between District and Town Councils, the discussion here will be limited to District Councils.
(4) The leadership role of councils is discussed at length in Egner 1978: 38, and also in the Fifth National Development Plan 1979-85, para. 4.78.

for the elections has, in practice, been the prerogative of the national organisation of the political parties as none of the political parties have been well organised at the district, constituency or village levels.

Council staff are not bound or bonded to any one Council but are all members of a Unified Local Government Service (ULGS). ULGS is located within the Ministry of Local Government and Lands and its directorate is responsible for the planning, recruitment, training and posting of all ULGS staff. District Councils have no say in this (1). Thus council staff are in the position of having to serve two masters.

On the general situation as regarded the functioning of Councils the Local Government Structure Commission (OoP, 1979: 16) found that the quality of Councils - both as regards their work and their staff - was extremely bad, but that Councils had not been given the resources necessary to do their job properly.

The Commission noted, along with several other studies (2), that probably the greatest single constraint to the effective functioning of councils was the shortage of skilled manpower. Accordingly the Commission recommended that until such time as Councils proved capable of carrying out their present functions properly, no new functions should be added to the present ones. The important political function of providing district development leadership was seen by the Commission as being of vital importance and it was recommended that this function could be most appropriately held by an elected body (LGSC, OoP, 1979: 16). However District Councils remain highly dependent on Central Government for their financial resources - their one method of collecting their own revenue, through Local Government Tax, is auspicious only for the complete failure of all efforts at tax collection. Therefore Councils have to rely on the Central Government to provide the financial resources for both the recurrent and the development budgets. The control over the purse-strings means that Central Government has retained a large measure of control over the direction which the "development leadership" is allowed to take.

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(1) Although it should be added that District Councillors have, on those few occassions that the politicians "interfered" in such matters, forced ULGS to reverse a previously taken decision regarding the transfer of senior officers. Recommendations from the LGSC also seek to curtail the arbitrariness of the ULGS style of decision-taking (LGSC, Oop, 1979: 79-90).

(2) See LGSC, OoP 1979: 19 and also Watson 1978.

3.5. The Land Board

The Land Boards, first set up in 1970, further eroded the powers of the chiefs by taking over from them the allocation of tribal land. With the implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Programme they have also become a focal point for land use planning. The Land Boards were based on the old tribal territories with the result that, generally speaking, the boundaries overlap with those of the other three local government institutions.

Membership of the Land Board consists of representatives from the District Council and the Tribal Administration as well as persons nominated by central government (1). The Land Board is responsible to the District Council in its policy-making.

Thus far the principal problems with the Land Boards have been their lack of knowledge of the law and lack of competence in implementing the law. This was especially true at the Sub-Land Board level. These problems are obviously compounded by the poor quality staff allocated to the Land Boards. Land Boards staff are also all members of the Unified Local Government Service and they too, much as Council staff, are subject to the rather arbitrary decisions made by this ministry-based department. Both Council and Land Board have had to muddle along during the first decade of their existence with the staff that nobody else wanted. Some change has started to creep into this method of personnel administration both with the allocation of more skilled people to these bodies and with the up-grading through in-service training of the incumbent staff. However, the policy of preferential allocation of the most skilled manpower to Central Government has by no means been reversed.

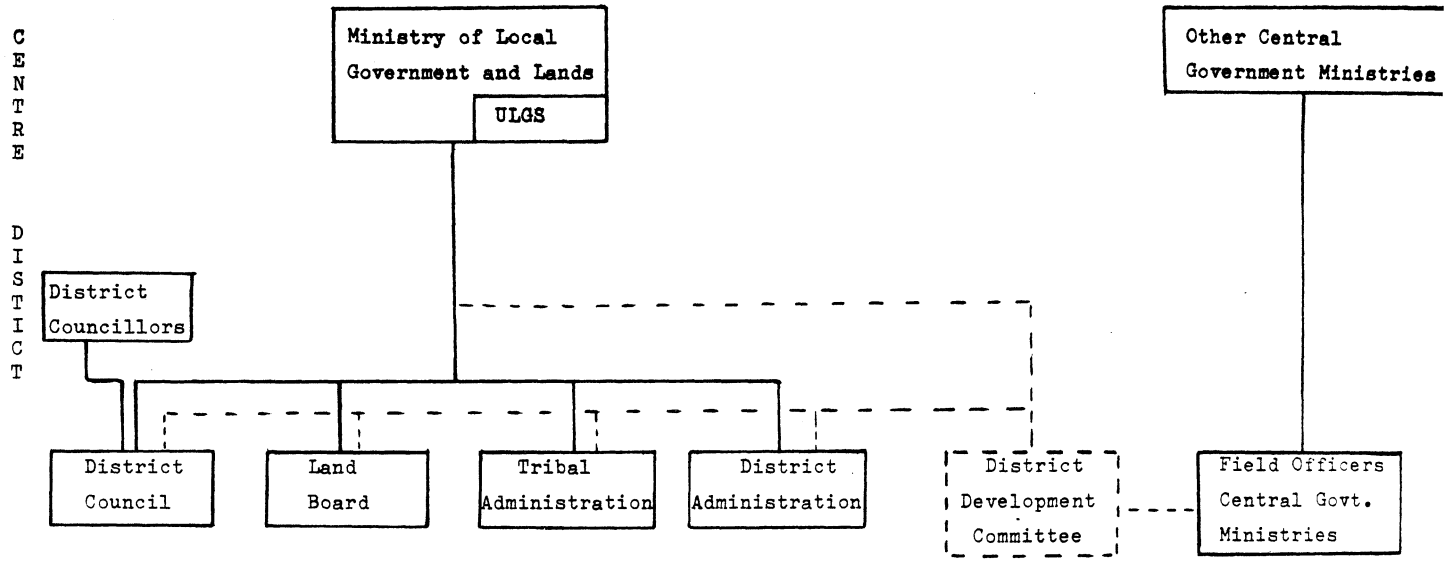
3.6. The District Development Committee

The chart (facing page) gives, in schematic outline, an overview of the relationship between the four authorities, the field officers of the central government ministries, and the co-ordinating body at the district level, the District Development Committee.

The District Commissioner, in his "development" role, is the chairman of this committee and he is assisted by the District Officer

(1) Both the Ministry of Local Government and Lands and the Ministry of Agriculture have a say in these nominations.

Organisation Chart: District Institutions



Notes:

1: District Councillors are elected on a constituency basis. Candidates are chosen by the parties' national executives.

2: Land Board members are at present chosen by the District Council, the Tribal Administration and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (based on advice from the District Administration).

3: The chief is a member of the House of Chiefs - an advisory body to the National Assembly.

4: The District Commissioner is directly responsible to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

key:

——— lines of authority.

- - - lines of communication

(Development) who functions as secretary to the committee. The District Development Committee was responsible for the preparation of the Five Year District Development Plans (prepared in 1977) and subsequently for the preparation and monitoring of the district's Annual Plans. In practice the actual plan writing is shared by the District Officer (Development) and the Council Planning Officer. The District Commissioner, as chairman of the District Development Committee, and the Council Secretary, as the District Council's chief executive, have been assigned the role of joint plan managers to oversee district plan implementation and to keep the plan on schedule. They are assisted in these tasks by the District Officer (Development) and the Council Planning Officer.

The principal function of the District Development Committees is to co-ordinate development planning at the district level. This has meant an increase in the work-load and responsibilities of this institution since 1976 - the first year of "district-planning-based-on-consultation". However, it has remained a technical and co-ordinating body. The prerogative for the political approval of the District Plan rests with the District Council. This prerogative extends over all the plan sectors at the district level including those for which they have no statutory responsibilities - this includes a number of the central government sectors notably those related to agriculture, commerce and industry.

Central Government acquiesence to such political decisions depends, to a large extent, on previously held discussions between the centre and the district. The District Development Committee has ususally been the vehicle for such discussions.

District Development Committees were set up in 1971 after the creation of the two "new" local government institutions - the District Councils and the Land Boards. It was felt that with four institutions, all linked more or less directly to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and the presence of numerous field staff from other ministries at the district level, some sort of co-ordinating mechanism was necessary. During the past decade this role has been the task of the District Development Committee (1). Also during the last decade a number of major

(1) Non Governmental Organisations may also be represented on the District Development Committee. This is especially true of the local Brigades Development Trust.

developments have taken place which have had a major effect on the role of this committee - most notably the development of the district planning process. The amount of activity and the amount of money being spent at the district level - both by central government and by the local authorities - has increased greatly as a result.

In the view of the Local Government Structure Commission, the co-ordinating functions of the District Development Committees are a vital part in the further development of District Planning. The Commission recommended the retention of this institution and further recommended that central government ministries should delegate more decision-making responsibilities to their field representatives in order to help the District Development Committees to function more effectively. (LGSC, OoP, 1979: 59)

Thus the District Development Committee is likely to remain the key body for district development planning for the foreseeable future.

3.7. District Council versus District Development Committee

Both the District Council and the District Development Committee are relative new-comers to the District, with the first District Council elections taking place in 1966 and with the District Development Committees dating back to 1971. The setting up of District Development Committees was regarded by many councillors and council officials as a slap in the face of Council autonomy (Picard, 1977: 472). It was interpreted as Central Government trying the creation of a rival body dominated by central government officials. Furthermore the statutory responsibilities of Councils, as well as their lack of financial and manpower resources, limited their participation in those central government sectors which were co-ordinated at the district-level by the District Development Committee. Thus early relations were very bad. (Picard, 1977: 471-484; Picard, 1981: 290-291; Minutes from the Third (1975) and Fourth (1976) National Conference of District Development Committees.)

The present situation is much more amicable. This can be attributed to the degree with which the two institutions were able to co-operate in the preparation and implementation of the District Development Plans from 1976 onwards. The conflict as to the areas of competence and responsibility was resolved, firstly, through directives from the Ministry

of Local Government and Lands and, secondly, through the trials and errors involved in the implementation of these directives. An important development which has contributed to the "new" working relationship between District Council and District Development Committee has been the shift in the focus of development at the district level. Wheras in the past plans tended to be made within sectors, mostly decided on at the national level and involving few officials outside the confines of the sector, the District Development Plans focus on the district as the unit for which plans are made rather than on a single sector. The various sectors are combined into one plan at district rather than national level. This has tended to unite the district officials into common interest groups.

The role conflict between District Council and District Administration staff was tackled at the beginning of the District Plan preparation process through the directives from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands to the effect that District Councils were to fulfil the role of supreme political body at district level with the District Development Committee as a secondary institution with technical and co-ordination functions. Once these roles were clarified much of the rivalry was nullified. The experience of working together in the planning process has helped to consolidate this working relationship. The manner in which Council and District Administration officials, together with district-based agricultural, health and other officials, have started to work together as district interest groups at the yearly National District Development Conference is an illustration of this. This increased co-operation and the identification of the district as the development focus is also reflected in the minutes of District Development Committee meetings from the various districts.

The workload and influence of both Council and District Development Committee increased as a result of the district planning process. This increase was at the expense of the centre and not at the expense of other district-level institutions. The District Council - District Development Committee conflict has become a centre - district conflict.

Nonetheless the involvement of the District Council in making planning and political decisions has given many central and local government officials at the district level a lot of problems, mainly because of the lack of esteem that the officials have for the (elected) representatives of the people. Although the Councillor may be the

elected representative for the area, the official is the man with the formal education, the salary and the career structure. The two live in different worlds and the official very often does not have much respect for the councillor. Local government officials (i.e. District Council employees), although formally responsible to the Council's political direction, will often try to manipulate the coucillors or browbeat them into following the officials' advice (1).

It is true that councillors are often less literate and have less formal education than council officials. This problem is not one which has gone unrecognised and several attempts have been made to upgrade the quality of the councillors' work through training courses (2). However little has been done by the political parties, and especially by the ruling Botswana Democratic Party, to upgrade the quality of the candidates chosen by the party executive to stand for election. In most of the country's rural areas there is no real opposition to the Botswana Democratic Party, and this party would stand to lose very little by nominating more effective and capable people for the function of councillor.

This last point does need a qualifying statement. Although most councillors have less formal education than council officials and many have very little formal education this does not make them "irresponsible". But the less formal education a councillor has, the easier it is for the officials to overwhelm him with their "expertise" or to slip things through un-noticed. In addition many councillors do hold their jobs as a result of political patronage and not because they have proved themselves to be capable in the carrying out of the responsibilities attached to their position. Hence their re-election does not depend on job performance but on the patronage continuing (3) - not a good foundation on which to build a local government structure which

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(1) These remarks are based on personal observations and on personal communications with officials and councillors. Research done by Picard supports these findings - see especially Picard 1981.
(2) Numerous training courses were organised for Councillors by the Botswana Extension College and the University's Department of Extra Mural Services. A selection of reports on these have been taken up into the bibliography - see Appendix III.
(3) Evidence for this, besides my own observations, can be found in the Civics Education Survey (Byram, 1978) and in the feedback from the Lesedi la Puso civics education campaign. The functioning of councillors and council officials is also discussed in two publications on the functioning of the Village Development Committees - see Gulbrandsen and Wiig, 1977, and Isaksen, Gulbrandsen and Seim, 1980.

is responsive to the needs of the people.

3.8. The Unified Local Government Service (ULGS)

Council officials, in theory, receive their directions from the Council; in practice many of their actions are governed by directives from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands and from the Unified Local Government Service (ULGS). ULGS is a personnel agency functioning as a department within the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, responsible for its actions to the Permanent Secretary of that ministry. All Council and Land Board staff are employed by ULGS. This department, therefore, is in the position to exercise a large degree of control over a vital group of the officials working at the district level.

District Council officials are one of the cornerstones on which decentralisation to the district level rests. If Councils are to perform their district development leadership tasks they must have personnel which, firstly, is of the "right calibre" and, secondly, is responsive to the political direction of the District Council. In Botswana, neither of these conditions is adequately met and one of the major reasons for this failure is the inadequate way in which the ULGS functions.

The ULGS was established in 1972/73 with the following tasks in mind:

a. To eliminate the "tribal" base of the selection of local government officials (1).
b. To create a salary structure and conditions of service that would attract qualified staff, and
c. To ensure that all Councils, through the merit system and equitable pay scales, had well-trained manpower. (Source: OoP, 1972: 71-72; Picard and Morgan, 1980)

Although there could be a lot of discussion as to how well ULGS has managed to carry out these tasks, the result has been the creation of a department, at the national level, which has a great deal of power over a large number of officials. Officials who, theoretically, fall under district level political direction. No direct links exist between the policy making body (the District Council) and the personnel department (ULGS).

(1) Before 1972 local government staff had been directly employed by the Councils themselves. Recruitment of staff was mostly from the home district. This proved very unsatisfactory, especially for the remoter, more under-developed districts.

A direct result of this lack of control has been that ULGS has become able to act virtually independently of both the District Councils and the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Frequent and seemingly arbitrary transfers (sometimes as punishment for non work-related transgressions (1), training courses followed by transfers, prefential promotions for reasons not linked to work-performance are evidence of this and has served to show local government officials who their real boss is. Therefore local government staff have become well aware of the need to show their first loyalty to their employment bureau as it is this bureau which controls the further development of their career and not their Council of present employment. In additon to control over the staff establishment, the ULGS has also involved itself in policy matters and has been able to act in such a fashion, over the heads of the local authorities, because of its domination over the staff.

A number of changes in this whole relationship between ULGS and the local authorities is necessary in order to allow the local authorities, and especially the District Council, to play a greater part in the direction of their own staff.

The Local Government Structure Commission (OoP, 1979: 83) has recommended that local authorities be given a greater role in the direction of their own staff. Recommendations to this effect include giving District Councils more direct control over the adminstration and recruitment of their junior and middle-level staff as well as quaranteed retention of staff for a longer period of time. Further recommendations are aimed at minimising the policy making potential of the ULGS and setting up a number of safe-guards to ensure that ULGS stays within the limits of its authority.

3.9. Summary

The principal local government institutions at the district level have been outlined. Attention was drawn to the District Council as the provider of development leadership at the district level and to the District Development Committee as the most important co-ordinating body at the district level. These two institutions are the ones most directly involved in district planning, with the first providing overall

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(1) Personal observation

leadership and guidance and the second performing co-ordinating and technical functions.

The potential for conflict between these two institutions was also noted. It was suggested that with the increased necessity of having to work together on the common task of preparing and implementing the District Development Plans, the situation in which the two institutions competed as rivals has changed. With both bodies having a district orientation and with a clear definition of tasks this inter-institution rivalry is tending to be replaced by a much greater degree of co-operation.

Lastly attention was drawn to the staff situation at the district level and, in particular, to the influence which the Unified Local Government Service has on the staff. It was argued that this control is so great that the District Councils' direction and control over their staff is seriously prejudiced. Such lack of control has major implications for the implementation of the District Development Plans.

The first three chapters have discussed the context in which district-planning-based-on-consultation takes place. The next chapter discusses the first attempts to link planning with consultation at both the district and the national levels; in particular, the next chapter will cover the experience with the first consultation exercise on which the 1977-82 District Development Plans were based and the attempts made with setting up an on-going system of annual planning-based-on-consultation.

4.1. Introduction

November 1976 marked a turning point for district planning. At that time a clear policy directive was given that District Development Plans should be prepared and, secondly, that these plans should be based on consultation with the people. The importance of linking the two activities was stressed.

Before discussing the directive and what resulted from it, previous experience in Botswana both with district planning and with consultation will be outlined. The previous experience with district planning relates mainly to the 1973-78 District Development Plans and the Accelerated Rural Development Programme. Previous experience with consultation derived principally from the Public Consultation campaign on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy implemented during 1975 and 1976.

The 1977-82 District Development Plans will be dealt with at some length as these were the first district plans where a serious attempt was made to link planning with consultation. Two case studies will be presented to illustrate how this happened in practice.

The remainder of the chapter will deal with the process of moving from a one-off consultation exercise to an on-going system of district planning-based-on-consultation. Firstly attention will be paid to the preparation of Annual Plans by the districts and the fitting of this annual plan preparation process into the yearly financial, manpower and programme planning taking place at the national level. Secondly, and most importantly, attention will be paid to the place of consultation within the annual planning process. The importance of creating a dialogue situation between the district and the village level will be stressed because it is only through a dialogue situation that the people at the village level will be able to have any influence on what happens at the district level. It will be contended that within a regular yearly consultation, where the people consulted feel that they are involved in the decision-making and where they can see the results of their involvement, it is possible to speak of a dialogue situation. As illustration of this, a number of examples will be given of the methods of consultation which have been used in a attempt to create such a dialogue situation.

4.2. Previous Experience with District Planning and Consultation

District Planning based on consultation was heralded in in november 1976 but the decision to do so was based on two major experiences of the preceeding years. Since Independence a number of National Development Plans had been prepared and attempts had been made to prepare District Development Plans based on the national programmes. Secondly, a major consultation exercise, the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy had been carried out involving very large numbers of people and focussing on an important rural development programme.

4.2.1. The 1973-78 District Development Plans

The 1973-78 National Development Plan (NDP III) was the third five-year national development plan to have been prepared in Botswana since Independence in 1966. As with the first two national development plans, the plan preparation process took place at the national level where it was co-ordinated by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. The districts were hardly involved in these discussions at all and all decisions were taken at the national level. Moreover little discussion took place between ministries regarding which programmes would be carried out, where and when.

Nonetheless, following the preparation of NDP III, the District Councils and District Development Committees were required to prepare district development programmes: these were to form the third part of NDP III, and covered the main statutory responsibilities devolved to the District Councils.

The development programmes prepared by the District Councils depended on the amounts of money allocated to each district by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands; District Councils had no influence on the development programmes that other ministries proposed to implement in the districts. Neither the absolute amount allocated nor the distribution over the Councils' areas of responsibility was determined or influenced by the District Councils themselves. Within these limits not much scope was left for accomodating the expressed needs of the people living in the district. Nonetheless each district produced a District Development Plan for the period 1973-78 which was

duly taken up as Part III of NDP III.

In the first years of the NDP III period the Government launched a major rural development programme aimed at achieving visible rural development - the Accelerated Rural Development Programme (ARDP). The ARDP was designed with the specific purpose of showing the people that the Government was committed to rural development - a commitment which had until that time not been translated into visible examples (1). The ARDP was also used as a vote catcher by the ruling Botswana Democratic Party with an eye on the general elections due to take place towards the end of the ARDP period (October 1974).

ARDP was a building programme for the rural areas and its accent was on social services. This meant that the projects mostly fell within those sectors for which Councils had statutory responsibilities. Because the Government needed the evidence of its commitment to be visible before the elections, responsibility for the construction work in the larger villages was given to private contractors. Councils, however, did manage to play a major role in the small villages building programme. At the same time they were put under tremendous pressure both administratively and through their actual involvement in the construction. Councils surprised many observers by being able to meet the demands put on them more or less succesfully (See Egner, 1978: 14).

Although District Councils varied in their abilities to "accelerate" their programmes and in their abilities to stay within the stated programmes and priorities as reflected in their District Development Plans during this period of increased pressure, their involvement in the implementation of the ARDP was significant. It made the centre aware that organisations with implementing capacity did exist at levels other than the national. It also gave the district level staff a lot of experience at planning and implementing projects under pressure; a sense of achievement which gave district staff increased confidence in their own abilities and increased stature with both the public and the central government (Egner, 1978: 15).

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(1) See Osborne, 1976, for a discussion of rural development and the Botswana Government's development strategy before 1973. See also Klausen, 1979, and Egner and Klausen, 1980, for a more detailed discussion of the Government's development strategy and the importance of the ARDP in this context.

The ARDP was successful in its aim of achieving visible results on the ground before the October 1974 elections (Chambers, 1977: 4). However only physical construction projects were implemented and this has had many important ramifications for later district planning efforts and district plan implementation. One of these was that both officials and "the people" more and more began to equate the concept of "development" with physical infrastructure, mostly for social services, provided "free" by Government or Council - "free" in the sense that involvement by the people affected in the form of contributions of cash or labour, was not a pre-requisite for development to take place. This marked an important shift away from the public works tradition as practised by the tribal age-regiments prior to Independence and also from the self-help efforts which had marked the early years of Independence, when development funds were still desperately short.

The next National Development Plan (NDP IV) covering the period from 1976 to 1981 was a purely national plan. The experiment of preparing district plans as an integral part of the National Development Plan was dropped. NDP IV was primarily a plan for the central government ministries. Whether the development plans prepared by the District Councils for NDP III had any influence on the formulation of NDP IV is doubtful. Although NDP III's District Development Plans probably had little influence on NDP IV, some attempt at involving the districts in the national plan preparation process was made. This consisted of discussions between the districts and the centre after most of the decisions had already been taken in Gaborone. The exercise was carried out by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning and was based on the circulation to the districts of "key-note papers" (i.e. the draft plan chapters prepared by the separate ministries in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning). This was followed by a "flying circus" of officials from Finance and Development Planning touring the districts holding discussions with district officials at District Development Committee meetings. The visits were brief and contact was between officials from the centre and the districts; little which was said had any influence on the final form of NDP IV but, at least, a gesture had been made (1)

(1) Personal communication from a former District Officer (Development)

and the claim could be made that the districts had been "consulted".

Thus a number of important developments took place during the NDP III period which prepared the ground for later attempts to set up a district planning system. The District Development Plans prepared as part of NDP III provided both plan-writing experience as well as recognition of the possibility that integrated development plans could also be made at the district level. The experience with the Accelerated Rural Development Programme showed that there was the capacity at the district level to implement physical construction programmes and this earned the District Councils the respect of both central government officials as well as the people living in the district. The programme also offered the Districts the opportunity to attempt to implement some of the programmes and priorities identified in their 1973-78 District Development Plans. A basis had been laid for the involvement of the Districts in national planning through the District Development Plans, through the Accelerated Rural Development Programme and through the limited consultation exercise carried out as part of the NDP IV preparation process.

4.2.2. The Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy

The next major rural development programme to be launched after the Accelerated Rural Development Programme was the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP). The TGLP policy proposals, made public in 1975 (Government White Paper No. 2 of 1975, OoP, 1975), focussed on land and cattle. The proposals attempted to combine commercialisation of the livestock industry with a programme to combat overgrazing, which was becoming a major problem, especially in the more densely populated communal areas.

Much has already been written about the TGLP as a land use policy and about its implications for land tenure and increasing rural inequality. These aspects of the policy will not be considered here (1). The focus in this section will be on the Public Consultation carried out as part of the process of translating the policy proposals into an implementable programme.

The Government White Paper stated that the public response to the

(1) A recent overview of these aspects of the TGLP can be found in Sandford, 1980.

policy proposals could form the basis for revisions of the policy (OoP, 1975: 2). The specific objectives of the Public Consultation were:

a. To provide information on the policy
b. To stimulate public discussion
c. To provide information to Land Boards, District Councils and Central Government on how people felt the Policy should be implemented locally, and
d. To start the long process of helping people to know how they can benefit from the policy.
(OoP, 1975: 11) (1)

These objectives were of course, very laudable. However one should not think that the decision to allow ordinary people to express their opinions about a proposed government policy was taken easily. Nor that the opinions of those consulted (as reflected in the recommendations to Government based on the data gathered during the consultation exercise (2) would find easy acceptance in the corridors of power. What was at stake here was basic dillemma for all Governments that make a committment to consultation. Are the opinions of those consulted really to be taken into account when decisions are made or does one simply go through the motions of consultation whilst retaining all effective decision-making within a small group of politicians and bureaucrats? In the second case the fact that a consultation exercise has taken place - although none of the information may have been used in the final decision-making - may be used to legitimate the decisions taken.

This dilemma was of major significance in the decision to consult the people on the land use policy, as also later after the recommendations had been made, and in subsequent consultation exercises on both the District Development and the National Development Plans.

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(1) Three principal methods of consultation were used: seminars held at national and district level for officials; a series of country-wide kgotla meetings addressed by Government Ministers and lastly, but most dramatically, a nation-wide Radio Learning Group Campaign. Of the three methods, the Radio Learning Group campaign was to reach the most people and also offered the possibility for the people to respond to a variety of issues by completing a questionnaire.
(2) The recommendations to Government based on the Public Consultation can be found in Lefatshe la Rona - Our Land, 1977: 18 - 38.

The White Paper on the TGLP went through successive drafting stages within three key central government ministries - Finance and Development Planning, Local Government and Lands, and Agriculture. The proposal for a "Public Consultation" was made in one of the drafts put forward by the Ministry of Local Government and Lands but the final decision to accept this was made against the better judgement of many of the central government decision-makers who favoured the implementation of a policy based on technical and bureaucratic criteria, and who argued that to allow a popular discussion of the policy to take place would only serve to complicate matters (1).

However, even after the Public Consultation had taken place and the report and the recommendations were being prepared based on the data collected during the campaign, the authors of the report were aware of a reluctance on the part of senior civil servants - both local and exatriate - to see the publication of a full and detailed report (2). Instead these officals argued that a simple "yes" response accepting the policy proposals was sufficient. These official were not particularly interested in any changes or modifications which the people might have thought up. A majority in favour was judged by them a sufficient mandate to go ahead with the policy.

Nonetheless there was sufficient support for the proposal to produce a very detailed document containing consultation data and making recommendations on the policy proposals (3). One of the main reasons for wishing to produce such a full report was the fact that the consultation did not - and could not be expected to - produce a Yes/No outcome. Rather a number of different factors were highlighted which all needed to be taken into account and which could be expected to have a significant effect on the reformulation of the policy proposals.

But, in practice, it proved difficult for central government

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(1) For a discussion on the decision-making process leading up to the preparation and acceptance of the final version of the White Paper on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy proposals see Picard, 1980: 27-34.
(2) Personal Observation.
(3) This report - Lefatshe la Rona - Our Land, MLGL, 1977 - gave a full account of what had taken place, the methods used to obtain the data, a very detailed section on recommendations and the reasons for making them, as well as suggestions as to how best the data could be used at the district level. Through the production of such a detailed report it was hoped that the volume of information gathered during the consultation would not be lost.

bureaucrats and technicians, as well as the politicians, to accept "advice" from large numbers of ordinary people on how they could improve on their policy proposals.

One of the main outcomes of the Public Consultation on the TGLP (leaving aside the effect that the recommendations may have had on the Government's land policy) was that it legitimized the concept of consultation as a means of involving the people in government decision-making. Although the idea of involving the ordinary people of the country in decision-making was not easily accepted by civil servants, the success of the campaign helped to break through this reserve and, possibly more significant, created expectations amongst the people, e.g. "Why was Government consulting on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy when it has not consulted the people on other issues". The creation of expectations amongst the people had as the most direct and visible result the Ministerial directive to the districts in november 1976 that they were to produce district development plans based on consultation with the people. (Seretse 1976: 1) This was only a few months after the TGLP consultation and the directive made the link between the TGLP consultation and the increased awareness amongst the people explicitly clear. Since then the concept of consultation has been taken up into the rhetoric of Government.

4.3. Consultation and the 1977-82 District Development Plans

With the preparation of the 1977-82 District Development Plans an attempt was made, for the first time, to make a direct link between the planning process and the people for whom the planning was being done. The instructions to prepare these district plans was coupled with instructions that these plans should be based on consultation with the people and, therefore, that an attempt should be made to set up a system of "bottom-up planning" or "planning from below".

4.3.1. The Mandate for "Planning with the People"

The mandate for "Planning with the People" was contained in the speech opening the National Conference of District Development Committees (later re-named the National District Development Conference) in november, 1976. (See Seretse, 1976) In this speech districts were called upon prepare District Development Plans and to base these plans

on a thorough consultation of the districts' populations. District officials were reminded that planning was not the prerogative of those few trained persons in the civil service but was something which concerned all Botswana. In order to ensure that this happened, officials were advised to keep in touch with their communities on the whole range of government policies and development programmes because "we should never lose sight of the fact that the target of our efforts is the people". (Seretse, 1976: 3-4)

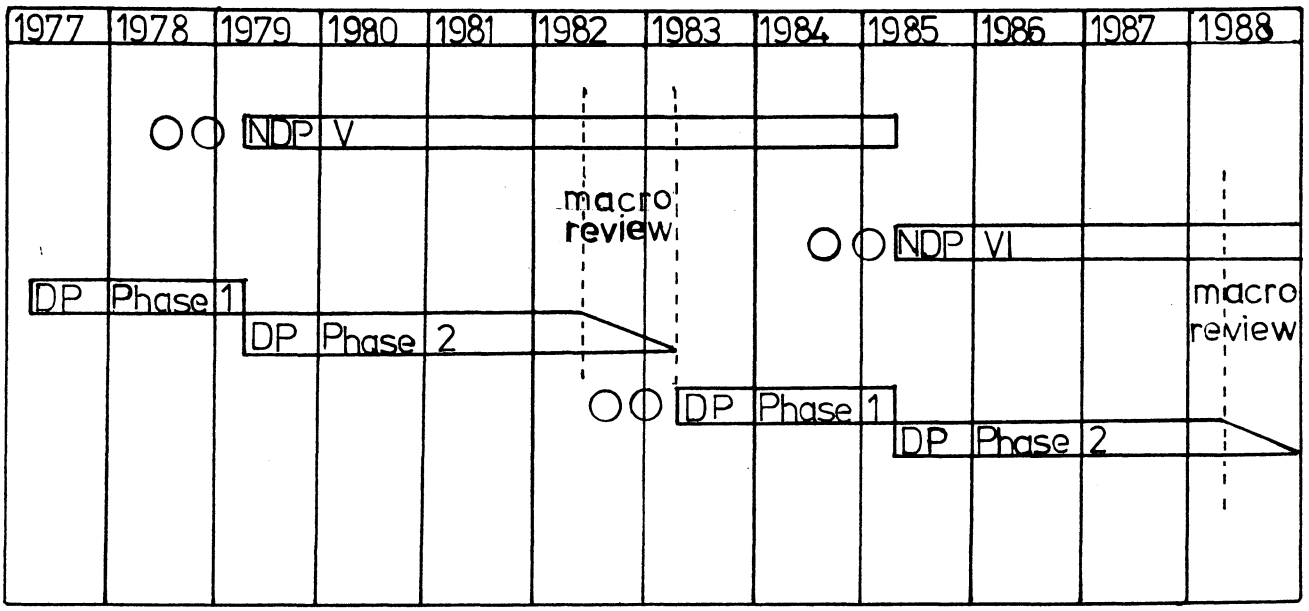
The basic idea brought forward in this speech (which in fact was more in the nature of a directive), that planning should be based on consultation, was welcomed. However there was a considerable amount of discussion on the details of how the directive should be implemented. These details had not been thought through enough and some of the demands made on the districts were not reasonable because of the speed with which districts were expected to respond. For example it was clearly too much to expect the districts to prepare a five year plan based on consultation with the people in only three months - all the more so because of the lack of previous experience.

It was envisaged that the District Development Plans would be related to the National Development Plan through a two-phased approach - illustrated on the facing page. This was an attempt to improve on the District Development Plans 1973-78 contained in NDP III: these district plans covered the same period as NDP III but, because they were written at the same time as the national plan, they had no influence on this plan. With the two-phase approach it was thought that it should be possible to have district plans providing both a meaningful input into the national plan as well as being implementable plans for the district.

Phase I of the District Development Plans would be the district interpretation of the current national plan (in this case NDP IV) based on the defined constraints and priorities of the current national plan and detailing, for the district level, the implementation of the NDP programmes. Thus Phase I was an implementation plan covering the initial two-year period of the District Development Plan.

Phase II, which would cover the next three years of the District Development Plan, would provide information to central government on the districts' priorities and programmes together with their financial

LINKS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND DISTRICT PLANS



(Source: DPH, 1979)

and manpower implications (if possible). This information would then provide a major input into the preparation of the next national development plan (in this case, NDP V).

In this way national planning decisions could be based on input from the districts through the District Development Plans. However, and this point was emphasised when the directive to prepare the District Development Plans was made, there was no point in simply expecting officials at the district level to write plans; if the process was to be at all meaningful then the plans would have to be based on consultation with the people. One of the most important tasks of this district planning exercise would be to make clear that planning was not solely an economist planners responsibility but rather that it should be an important political activity in which the people and their local representatives have to be involved. The responsibility of especially the District Council, as supreme political body at the district level, was of particular importance.

During the discussions at the 1976 conference two levels of consultation were defined: that between village and district level; and that between officials at the district and the national levels. However it could be argued that the latter problem is more of an administrative one amenable for solution within the existing bureaucratic structures through, for example, better management of the bureaucracy.

Consultation between the village level and the district level, which should form the basis of the District Development Plans, is a much more fundamental issue but one which officials had little experience with. The consultation exercise with the people at the village level called for the setting in motion of a process which up until then had fallen outside the "normal" work of the district council or central government official.

Discussions at the conference produced suggestions for a number of possible methods of consultation. The methods suggested mostly draw on previous experience with making contact with the people living at the village level; no "new" methods were suggested. Thus:

> A kgotla meeting approach, with preferably a team of officials including Community Development and other extension staff present, was recommended as the forum of consultation.

Some sort of prepared document which could be the basis of discussion at such fora and which would illustrate the options open to communities was recommended.

Other comments were to the effect that communities' general needs, not just ones associable with development projects should be assessed.

District Development Conferences, especially those involving extension fieldstaff, were recommended by several districts as ways in which alternative strategies of development for the district, as well as alternative ways of contacting communities could be discussed. These sort of conferences had been successfully used for training Radio Learning Group leaders as part of the TGLP public consulation and funds for such conferences were available from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

An obvious consensus was on the need for political involvement in the consultation exercise for district planning. This included Members of Parliament as well as councillors.

(As summarised from the minutes of NDDC 4, 1976)

These discussions formed the basic consultation guidelines for the districts in the carrying out of the minister's directive. It was obvious from the discussions that districts and centre were both groping for methods. There had been very little experience with trying to involve the people in national level decision-making, apart from the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP). One could argue that, although some of the principles were the same, the TGLP consultation, by its very subject matter and by its attempt at a nation-wide coverage, was a markedly different exercise from a district-oriented consultation looking at the "general needs" of communities. Experience would have to be gained through trial and error.

4.3.2. The 1977 Consultation

The consultation on the 1977-82 District Development Plans varied in many respects from later district plan consultations. It was, in fact, regarded as very much of a one-off exercise, in spite of the ministerial directive to make consultation a "way-of-life". (Seretse, 1976: 3) Most district officials as well as the officials in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands were more concerned with making this one work and preparing good five year plans. It was not until

after the plans had been prepared that the districts and the centre were ready for the next step; namely annual implementation plans based on an annual planning calendar with the consultation as a central part.

The linking of the consultation with the planning process at the district level is shown schematically on the next page. As can be seen the consultation was a two-stage process. The first stage, which took place in early 1977 (or late 1976 in some districts), was supposed to provide the initial inputs on which the plan writing would be based. The second stage, took place after the initial drafting of the Plan and the discussions of this draft with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

The first stage was a rather haphazard affair. The principal reason for this being a result of having to meet a deadline for submission of the draft plan to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, and the fact that it was the first time that the districts were attempting to base their plans on consultation.

The methods used varied. In some districts kgotla tours were organised and other districts held District Development Conferences. A few districts had scheduled such conferences even before the november 1976 conference, as part of their Village Development Committee training programme, and these conferences were converted into "consultation conferences". Thus those districts which has scheduled such a conference used this as a consultation forum. Other districts either arranged for a kgotla tour or also organised a Village Development Committee training conference (1).

The first drafts of the District Development Plans were based on this first consultation, but also based on the central government financial guidelines and the programmes contained in the new National Development (NDP IV), as well as an assessment of the district's potential by planners based in the district. They were prepared principally by the two district level planners, i.e. the District Officer (Development) and the Council Planning Officer, and were discussed

(1) These types of conferences would soon be re-named District Development Conferences reflecting the change in emphasis of the conference activities. However the participants that attended would remain the same - Village Development Committee members, extension staff and village headmen.

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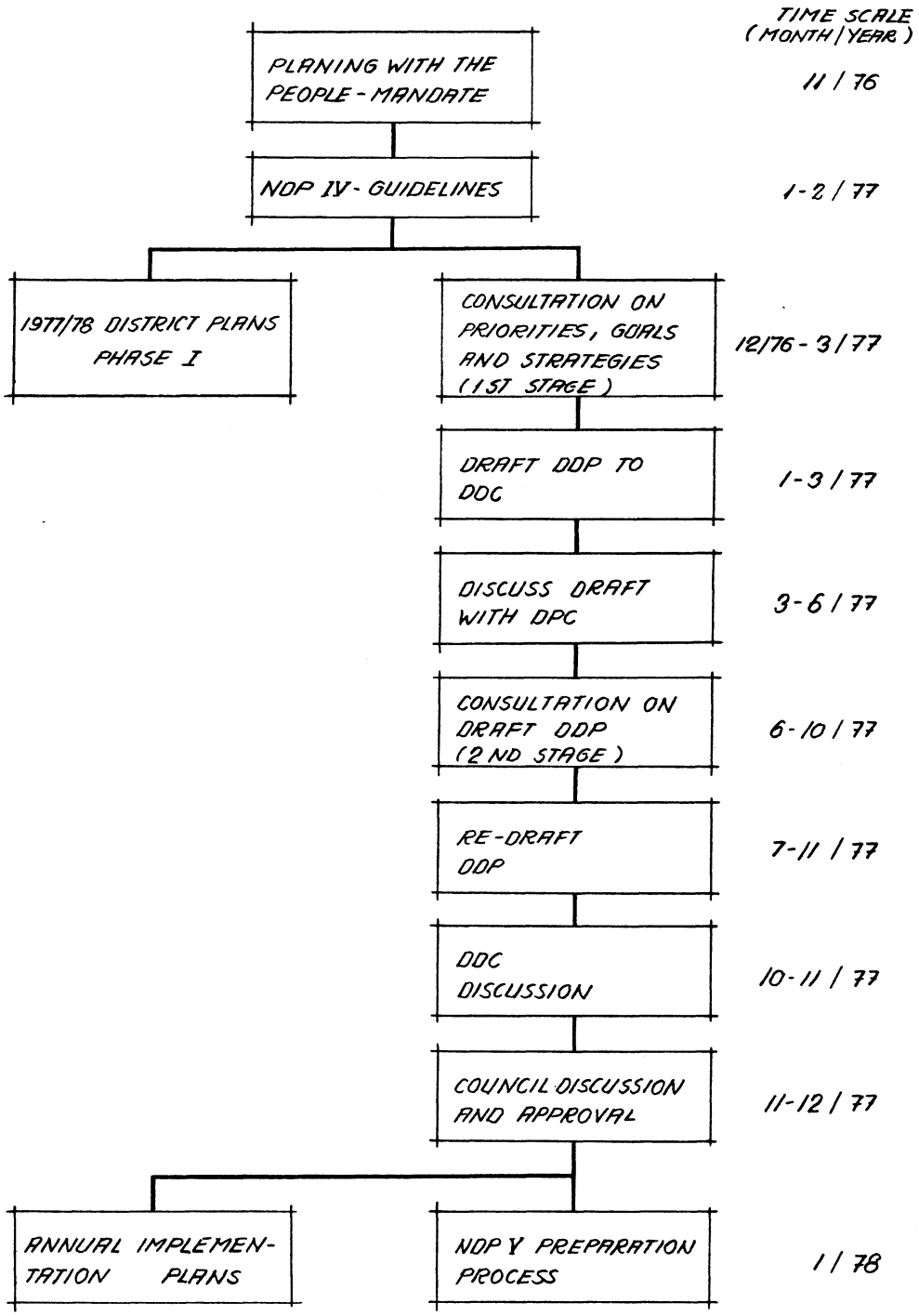
SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION - DDP PREPARATION PROCESS



at the District Development Committee before being submitted to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands.

Within the Ministry of Local Government and Lands a special committee has been set up in early 1977 to assist the districts with the preparation of the District Development Plans. This comittee, the District Plans Committee, provided a link between the districts and the central government ministries. This committee provided the forum for the discussion of the interim plans at the central government level.

The importance of these meetings with the District Plans Committee was not that they provided approval of what the districts had prepared. Rather they were meant to assist the districts with plan prepration, content and layout; equally important was the need to work out and build up the process of district planning both at the district and the central government level. Therefore the District Plans Committee had to provide an information function between the districts and between the districts and the centre. Moreover the committee was responsible for setting up the system for linking the District Development Plans with the planning at the central government level.

The second draft of the Five Year District Development Plan followed on from these discussions. The second stage of the consultation exercise was based on this draft. The reason for holding this second consultation was to check that the draft, as prepared by the district officials, was a correct interpretation of the information which had been gathered during the first consultation. An important aspect of this second consultation was that it provided the opportunity for feedback to the districts population on how the information gathered had been used; a useful exercise but also one which was likely to help build up confidence in the consultation.

Whilst the first stage of the consultation had been a very hurried affair, the second stage was much better organised - simply because more time was available to prepare for it. It was from the experience from this second stage of the consultation that the basis was laid for an on-going integration of consultation and planning.

The 1977 consultation can be principally characterised by the hasty and haphazard fashion in which it was implemented. Largely this can be atrributed to the fact that its was the first time and that

there was no previous experience to fall back on. The deadlines which had to be met were another reason. However, if consultation is to be sucessfully linked to planning it must also fit into the planning year - which means that deadlines will always have to be met. In this first attempt at basing planning on consultation, the pressure to meet the deadlines was greater than the pressure to make a good consultation.

The methods used reflected this pressure. Particularly the first stage of the consultation was marked by a need for speed with little attention being paid to the effectiveness of the methods used or the representativeness of the people consulted. But already during the second stage more attention was being paid to these factors, and, more importantly, the first steps had now been taken to involve the people in the planning process. Further efforts could only improve on these first attempts.

Another important development was the attempt to set up a dialogue situation between district and village level and thus defining more clearly what was to be understood under the concept of "consultation". It was not sufficient simply to ask the people what they wanted and to re-work that information, together with other information, into an implementable plan. A second stage was necessary at which "the people" were given the opportunity or task of discussing with the district officials how the initial consultation information had been used, what other factors played a role in the decision-making and, finally, what comments and alterations the people themselves had on the draft plan. These ideas were further developed as the consultation became a more regular part of the district planning process.

4.3.3. Case Studies

The consultation exericise carried out during 1977 used methods which were mostly based on earlier experience. Most district adopted either a District Development Conference approach with Village Development Committee members and other village representatives attending, or, alternatively, district officials went on a tour of the district holding discussions in each village.

The following two case studies illustrate the methods used and how these were linked with the plan preparation at the district level. The case studies also show the advances made between the first stage consultation (a rather hurried affair) and the second stage (when more time could be spent preparing for the consultation).

The first case study, from North East District, illustrates a method only used in one district and not applicable in many of the others because the logistics of operating in such a small district presented far fewer problems than the same method would have presented in a bigger district, for example Central District. The second case study, from Central District, is a good example of a method similar to that used in most districts.

a. North East District

The consultation used was based on district tour by officials, but in addition an important feature of the tour was a specially prepared video film shown on a portable television.

The theme of the film was the future direction which development in the North East should take now that the immediate goals of the provision of basic social services infrastructural requirements were likely to be realised within the foreseeable future. The film tried to focus on development as being something much wider than bricks-and-mortar and discussed the need for production type projects and the importance of creating employment in the rural areas. On the film itself the subject matter to be covered was introduced by the Minister of Local Government and Lands, whose video-taped appearance caused much excitement in a country without television.

The remainder of the film showed local level extension workers from the North East District discussing projects with villagers. Again, the recognition factor, of having local extension workers acting out their jobs on film, added to the legitimacy of the message.

This film was taken on a tour of the district by a team of district officials who, after showing the film, started a discussion in the village with villagers who had been called together for that

purpose (1). The subject of the discussion was the draft Five Year plan, but the officials attempted to put that discussion into the context of "what kind of development should we be aiming at". The results of these discussions were recorded and the comments received were incorporated into the draft being prepared for submission to the District Council.

The type of consultation described above was viable in a district like North East District, with a size of 5 300 km^2 and a population of 28 000 (1976 estimate), where district officials could quite easily make trips throughout their district. Quite another matter was Central District with a size of 147 730 km^2 and a population of 216 000 (1976 estimate). With differences as large as these it can be appreciated how difficult it is to lay down hard-and-fast guidelines on the types of consultation methods that should be used.

b. Central District

In Central District other methods were used to involved the population in the preparation of the District Development Plan. The whole scale of the exercise was, of necessity, much grander than in North East District. As the Council Secretary, Central District Council, stated in his opening address to fieldstaff attending the briefing course for Central District's consultation programme on 19th march 1977:

> In an ideal world we would be able to go into every village and sit down with the people to discuss what they need. But the district is so large and modern life moves so fast, that that is impossible. We are therefore asking all of you to help (with this consultation exercise). But you must not feel that this consultation is extra work. Behind your regular work is your commitment as public servants to helping the people to benefit as much as possible from development. And this consultation on the District Development Plan is a very important aspect of this.
> (Central District 1977: 1)

The Council Secretary then outlined the consultation programme:

> We are not asking you to do very much and we will give you as much help as we can. As will be explained to you, we (the district-level officials) will give to each village team (of extension workers) a questionnaire to be filled in by the Village Develop-

(1) The dates of the meetings had been made known in advance and the extension workers in the villages had been asked to make sure as many people as possible attended.

> ment Committee in their village. The major part of this course will be spent training you in how to use the questionnaire. When the questionnaire has been filled in by the Village Development Committee, we want them to take it to the kgotla to check that the whole village agress with the main points.
> So all you have to do is this:
> a. Ask your village leaders to arrange a Village Development Committee meeting, followed by a kgotla meeting,
> b. Attend both meetings, and
> c. Make sure the questionnaire is properly filled in and returned to us.
> In august we will call Village Development Committee representatitves to a series of conferences (in various parts of the district) to discuss the draft District Development Plan, and we will probably ask you to help us with those conferences as well. (Central District 1977: 2-3)

Thus the consultation methods employed were a combination of a number of previously used methods. First of all extension workers were trained to work as teams in carrying out a number of tasks at the village level - these training courses were similar to the ones organised for the TGLP Public Consultation. Secondly the extension workers held Village Development Committee and kgotla meetings in the villages, and thirdly a series of Village Development Committee Conferences were organised in a number of Central District's larger villages.

At the extension worker training course the focus for the training was on the use of the consultation questionnaire - see Appendix I for an example of the questionnaire used. The extension workers would use this questionnaire in their meetings in the villages and the responses form the basis of the consultation input into the District Plan. Part of the training course was spent on a discussion, using case studies and role plays, of the importance of setting priorities in a situation where scarce resources make the situation one where "planning is choosing". (The case study used at the Central District training workshop has been included as appendix II).

During the actual consultation, the extension workers, operating as teams in the villages where they were based, met with the Village Development Committees and the kgotlas and discussed the drafting of the Central District Plan and the importance of the involvement of the population in deciding what should go into the plan. The results of these discussions were recorded on the questionnaire by the extension workers who then sent these questionnaires to the district's capital. Out of a possible 110 villages from which a re-

sponse might have been expected, 86 sent in their questionnaires - which was considered to be a good response. These responses were then analysed by district officials, principally the District Officer (Development) and the Council Planning Officer, and were used as a major input into the final drafting of the District Development Plan.

The Village Development Conferences held later in the year (in august and september) were used to discusss the drafts of the Plan prepared by district officials. At these conferences, officials explained how the information received had been used to draft the plan, what criteria had been used for making choices and which other factors had been taken into account. Discussion at the conference was based on these explanations; in these discussions a number of amendments were proposed but, in general, the plan met with the approval of the participants.

The officials in Central District had spent a lot of time working out the details of the consultation programme and had called in the help of outside agencies, based in Gaborone, to assist with the planning of the programme and with the design of the materials. Unfortunately the district officials had not taken the time (or had not had the time) to involve the district councillors in the proposed consultation. This oversight gave rise to a minor crisis in Central District and in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Councillors interpreted the use of village teams of extension workers as an attack on their position and on their authority in the villages. They pointed out that it was their function to carry messages from the people to the District Council. That they did not, in fact, do this to any real extent and that this might have been one of the reasons for chosing to work with extension workers was not raised. The setting up of "village teams" of extension workers was seen by councillors as an attempt to subvert their position.

These "village teams" were drawn from the extension workers based in a particular village or area. Some of the extension workers fell under the jurisdiction of central government ministries (e.g. the Agricultural fieldstaff) and others under that of Council (e.g. the Community Development fieldstaff); hence the bodies had no formal status but worked together as an informal "team" on programmes of mutual interest. These teams were first used during the Public Consultation on the TGLP and their use had been recommen-

ded to the districts by the Minister when he launched "planning with the people". The crisis was de-fused by dropping the name "village team" but allowing the extension workers to co-operate as long as no formal body was brought into existence (1).

This conflict between councillors and officials (both central and local government) is illustrative. From the commotion around this conflict it was clear that neither officials (who, after all, had been directed to do this work) nor councillors had a clear idea of their respective roles in the district planning process. The conflict also underlined the tendency for officials to take decisions without reference to their political masters.

4.3.4. Finalising the District Development Plans

After the consultation district officials finalised the plans. In the first instance the plan went through the District Development Committee before being submitted to the District Council for final (political) approval. The District Council, because of its status as the supreme district level political body, was in a position to reject all or some of the plan - if it really wanted to. In practice, very few changes were made by the District Councils when the plans were submitted to them for final approval. The changes that were made were incorporated into the plans before they were submitted to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. It should, however, be noted that the Ministry had no authority to change these plans, which were seen as political statements coming from the districts; the Ministry merely did the (considerable amount) of editorial work to prepare them for printing.

The 10 District Development Plans (2) were provided with a common preface signed by the Vice-President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning. In this preface the Vice-President assured the districts that their plans would be taken seriously but that:

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(1) A little while after this the term "village team" was again being used in Central District by officials who had not been stationed in Central District at the time of this little "crisis", and it has always been used in the other districts. But the councillors wanted to prove a point and they had the clout to do it; the whole issue was forgotten by the time it came around to approve the plan based on data from this consultation.

(2) Ngamiland and Chobe, the two Administrative Districts within North West District, each prepared a District Development Plan, although both plans were approved by North West District Council - hence the anomaly of 10 District Development Plans for 9 Districts.

> Government cannot, at this stage, give a firm commitment to provide the resources with which to implement the second phase of the District Development Plans.
> (District Development Plans 1977-82: common preface)

Thus the national level made sure that it did not commit itself to everything that the districts were asking for, although a commitment was given that the plans - and more especially the second phase - would form the basis for the new National Development Plan. A sensible enough proviso in a situation where the districts still had to prove themselves capable of producing District Development Plans that could be used in the national planning process.

Therefore the District Development Plans were never formally approved by central government, for the reasons stated above, but also because the plans were, by their nature, political statements about priorities and goals relevant to the district level. Hence the District Council, as the district level political body, was the body responsible for "pushing" for the acceptance of its plans, within the context of national planning decisions, i.e. the weighing of district and national priorities against the availability of financial and manpower resources.

The next step in the process of linking the District Development Plans to the National Development Plan were discussions between each district and each ministry on the districts' proposals and a macro analysis of these proposals by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. This took place at the first National District Development Conference to be held since the directive had been given to prepare the District Development Plans in November 1976. This conference was held in January 1978 - which gives some idea of the short space of time which the districts had been given to prepare their plans.

An analysis of the priorities as expressed in the 10 District Development Plans, prepared by the Macro Economic Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, revealed the following overal priority assessment.

First Priority	- water
Equal Second Priority	- primary schools, health, roads
Equal Fifth Priority	- industries, cattle, crops, other communications
Equal Ninth Priority	- nonformal education, secondary schools, vocational training.

The Marcro Unit went on to note the striking similarity between the plans for the use of financial resources in the proposed development budget of central government ministries and the proposals made in the District Development Plans. In fact the similarity was so striking that the Macro Unit wondered whether: the Districts had in fact taken the 1976 - 81 National Development Plan (NDP IV) as a guideline without really thinking about their own needs. (See NDDC 5 Conference Papers, 1978; Paper C by MFDP: 7) This of course opens up the whole question as to how much of a basis the consultation was for the District Development Plans and what kind of influence the district level planners and other officials had on the final version of the Plans.

The answer is probably that the officials and planners had more influence on the final version of the Plans than the people. But if this is true it would hardly be surprising because both for the people as well as for the officials this was the first time that a consultation of this nature had been attempted and nobody really knew what to expect. However it is probably fair to say that the programmes and priorities contained in the District Development Plans do have the approval of the district population; if this had not been the case then they would have been rejected during the consultation.

In addition it should be noted that the importance attached to the provision of social services and physical infrastructure, reflected in the districts' priority lists, was probably also linked to a particular conceptualisation of "development". "Development" was seen in terms of physical infrastructure and social services, such as those provided under the Accelerated Rural Development Programme, and not in terms of production and employment. This view was held by government officials but also by the population as a whole.

Between the discussions on the final versions of the District Development Plans (in january 1978) and the finalisation of the National Development Plan (NDP V) in late 1980, one more round of consultations with the districts was held. This round of consultations was between district and national level officials. The main purpose of this consultation was for the districts to comment on the final drafts of the NDP V chapters: these comments related particularly to the relationship between their District Development Plans, the proposals contained in the draft chapters of the National Plan and the general implications for the districts of the proposals contained

in this Plan.

Thus, by the time that NDP V appeared a long planning process had taken place in which, for the first time, the districts had been involved during the whole planning process. Attempts had been made to involve the people in the process and a number of steps had been taken to strengthen the links between district and national planning.

Nonetheless, the steps taken were very much preliminary steps characterised chiefly by time-pressure and lack of experience. The important step of laying the link between planning and consultation had been taken but both the planning system would have to be changed and improved to accept the consultation information and the consultation methods would have to be improved so that more people could be reached and information more relevant to the needs of the people could be gathered.

More was being asked from the districts than one District Development Plan every five years and one consultation every five years. For Consultation to become "a way of life" (Seretse, 1976) a regular system of involving the people in the discussions about their own development, and a concomitant up-dating of the District Plans, had to follow on from these first efforts. This was to take place within the context of Annual Implementation Plans based on the Five Year District Development Plans.

4.4. From Five Year Plans to Annual Plans

The Five Year District Development Plan, provides a thorough assessment of the district's situation and outlines the goals and strategies adopted by the District Council. The Five Year Plan, however, is not a detailed implementation document. For the plan to be implemented it has to be translated into detailed year-by-year plans which can be managed and monitored at the district level. These are the Annual Implementation Plans (hereafter simply "Annual Plans").

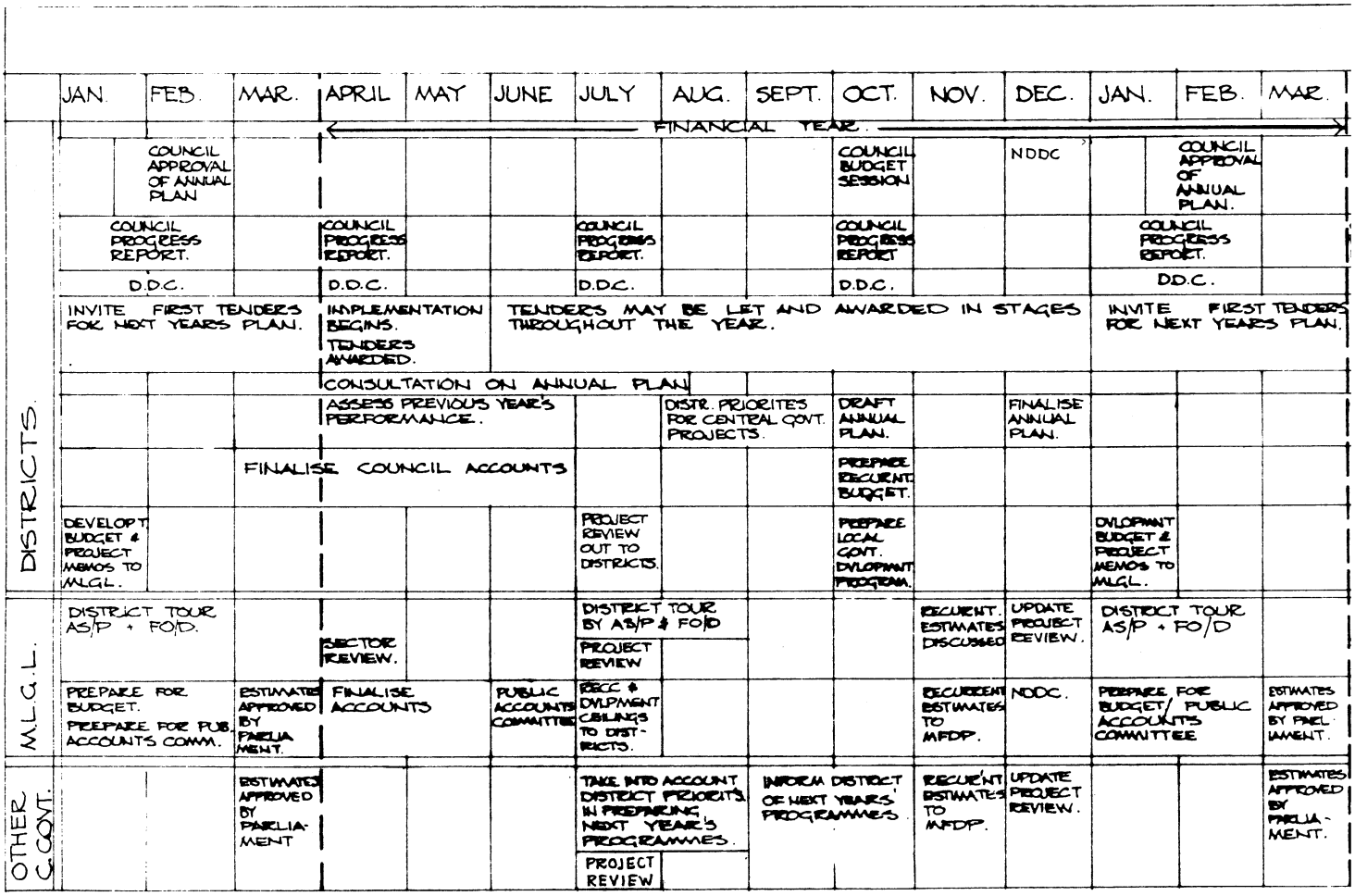
The most important function of the Annual Plan is to translate the general aims of the District Development Plan into precise project proposals for the (financial) year with estimates of capital expenditure, recurrent costs and manpower implications, and an implementation time schedule. The Annual Plan is a management and monitoring document. It allows the district co-ordinating bodies to

identify delays in the implementation schedules of the various development projects and to take steps to attempt to rectify the situation. It is also a yearly attempt to keep pace with developments which have taken place in the district and its principal focus is the district. The District Development Committee, which was also the main co-ordinating body during the preparation of the District Plan, has the same co-ordinating role vis-a-vis the Annual Plan.

Although there was general agreement that there should come Annual Plans, the step from sectoral programmes, which were mostly centrally-directed, to an integrated district-level implementation document was a very big one. The vital change that had to take place was in the Annual Planning Calendar (hereafter called the Annual Calendar). The Annual Calendar was based on those certain fixed times of the year when the districts had to present their estimates of recurrent and development expenditure for the following financial year to the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Central government ministries (including the Ministry of Local Government and Lands) were under the same obligation to present their estmiates to the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. This Ministry then determined how to allocate the slices of the national cake. The system, as it previously existed, had been designed for top-down planning. With the commitment to start with district planning based on consultation, a number of changes would have to be made. These could not be made overnight because they involved making important changes in planning relationships between the districts, the ministries and the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. Nevertheless for the districts to be able to prepare Annual Plans, the operating framework would have to be designed for bottom-up planning. One of the crucial questions which would have to be answered was where to fit the consultation into the Annual Calendar so that this could also start to function as an integral part of district planning.

The diagram on the next page is taken from the District Planning Handbook (Section D.2., dated 3/80) and illustrates the annual planning process at the various levels.

On the Calendar the consultation is seen as taking place <u>on a yearly basis</u> at the beginning of each financial/implementation year.



ANNUAL PLANNING CALENDAR.

Based on the consultation exercise, the assessment of the previous year's performance and the discussions with the central government ministries, the district should draft and finalise the annual plan in the third quarter of the financial year (i.e. october to december). (1)

The Annual Calendar outlines when certain activities should be taking place at the district level. However, right from the very start of the district planning process attempts have always been made to keep the process at the district level linked to the planning process taking place at the national level. Just as the District Development Plans relate to the National Development Plan, so too should the yearly round of activity taking place at the district level tie in with the yearly round of activity at the national level.

The districts' Annual Plans often focus on areas within the district, subsequently combining these area plans into an overall plan for the district. Although this differs from district to district, the Botswana situation, with its vast space and small population concentrations, favours the focussing on sub-parts of the district (for example, village clusters or village areas) as implementation areas.

These cluster or village area plans provide a realistic framework for increasing participation and developing more effective integration of development programmes. This is because the village areas, based on boundaries recognised by the local people, are areas which villagers can relate to and are often more real to the local people than the district boundaries. Usually such areas are served by recognised headmen and Village Development Committees.

The key element in the whole process of district planning based on consultation is the feedback between these population concentrations (village areas) and the district level. With a yearly consultation on the Annual Plan the population in the villages has a structured input into the formulation of the Annual Plan. It is for this reason that the timing of the yearly consultation exercise is so very important. It needs to take place before the district prepares its

(1) 1980 was the first year that this calendar was operational. No information is yet available as to how well the calendar worked or, more appropriately, whether districts managed to work with it.

priorities for central government projects (in august/september - see diagram on page 58) for discussion with the central government ministries, but it should also take place sometime after the start of the implementation of the current year's Annual Plan. This will enable the villagers, and also the district officials, to evaluate the progress made during the last implementation year and will also give some idea of the progress likely to be made with projects for the current implementation year.

The planning process should become a process of regular events taking place at expected times. The involvement of the people in the planning process will only be successful if the people can be involved in the process on a regular basis.

4.5. What is Consultation?

The original answer to this question, posed during the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, was: Government and People discussing together what to do. (MLGL, 1977: 18) Significantly, however, a large percentage of the respondents replied that they did not know what consultation was. Increased effort has been put into consultation since those early days and the involvement of the people in planning and policy discussions has increased. However it is not certain that more people nowadays know what consultation is and what it can mean for them.

The main theme on which the consultation exercises in the districts have focussed over the past four years (1976 - 1980) has been that "planning is choosing". It has continually been pointed out that the resources are simply not available to carry out all the developments that people may wish to see implemented in their villages. Consequently people have been asked, as part of the consultation, to make priorities.

People were also asked to look at their priorities and decide if there was anything there that they could do themselves rather than relying on Government to do it. It was explained to the people that advice, and in some cases money, for the implementation of small village projects, carried out by the people themselves and involving self-help labour, was available.

In this way attempts were made to wean people away from the image - strongly re-inforced by the Accelerated Rural Development Program-

me's brick-and-mortar approach - that only Government/Council could (and should!) provide development. It is doubtful, however, if these efforts have met with any marked success. Large-scale infrastructure projects are still a very visible part of the rural development picture (e.g. schools, clinics, water facilities, roads) but there have been few successes in the small village projects programme (see Isaksen, Gulbrandsen and Seim, 1980: 7-9). Whilst nobody could deny the importance of the network of social services that has been built up these developments have taken place without any direct involvement of the population of the areas covered - apart from the listing of the development priorities. Furthermore, the social services remain dependent on Government/Council for finances for the building and for the maintenance, and for the manpower to run the services. Given this situation it is hardly surprising that very little activity has taken place outside the Government/Council social services sphere. This is true of active involvement in development projects by the people themselves but also of Government/Council's own involvement outside the sphere of the social services - for example, almost nothing has been done in the area of production and employment creation. (See Lipton, 1978: 97, Egner, 1978: 29). It has been contended (for example, by Holdcroft, 1978: 27), that the primary focus needs to be on production if development programmes are to have any effect on rural (and urban) poverty; focussing development programmes on social services simply re-inforces the status quo.

Within this situation it becomes clear that for consultation to be meaningful it must take the form of a dialogue: it must be top-down as well as bottom-up. Within the present situation one-way traffic from the people to Government will simply re-inforce the demand for more and more social services (provided and paid for by Government/Council). The role of Government/Council should be, first, to listen to the "needs" of the people as they have learnt to express them (i.e. social services and more social services), but secondly to work towards raising people's awareness that development means production and employment.

Progress has been made since 1976 when most of the officials involed in the consultation on the Five Year Distrct Development Plans, saw the exercise as very much of a one-off affair and certainly not as a dialogue. It was not until these Plans had been finalised that an on-going system of district-planning-based-on-consultation began

to take shape. A key element in this process was the preparation of an Annual Plan and the carrying out of a yearly consultation within the framework of an Annual Planning Calendar - discussed in 4.4. above. Since 1976 a reasonably adequate system for district planning has been developed and also a number of consultation methods which can, and sometimes do, work.

The philosophy of consultation, as understood in the context of the district planning process, can be interpreted as "working with the People". One of the foremost aims of the district planning process is to ensure that the people living in the rural areas are involved in their own development, both in the discussion stage and in the implementation stage. Thus any solutions/programmes formulated in the district plan should address the problems and priorities identified by the village communities. For this problem and priority identification exercise to be a meaningful one it must form part of a dialogue between the people at the village level and the district level (of politicians, planners and other development authorities). This dialogue must take place on a regular basis so that the expectations by the village communities that they will be involved is raised. A one-off consultation is a virtually meaningless exercise because there exists no experience by the village communities that such an exercise can, in fact, be meaningful. Only in a situation of ongoing dialogue can the district authorities discuss the decisions which they have arrived at on the basis of the consultation; and it is only if the district authorities take this step that they can expect further feedback on their ideas for development and the support and active assistance of the village communities in carrying out those projects that relate to their village.

The concept of dialogue, inherent in a yearly consultation/ annual planning exercise, is at the basis of an on-going participation of the village communities in decision-making about their own development. This is of particular importance in countries, like Botswana, where government and council are seen as virtually the only source of "development". The private sector and semi-private organisations, such as the Brigades, have not made any major impact at the village level as yet; moreover they are beginning to function within the framework of the District Development Committee (1) and subject to

(1) The Future of the Brigade Movement, 1980, MOE Planning Unit.

District Council for political guidance. Elbow-room outside this development co-alition is limited.

The whole objective of setting such a dialogue in motion is to get away from a situation where planners decide what is best for people, provide the resources which they think are necessary and end up wondering why so little of what they planned for has been accomplished. In the consultation methods which have been developed the idea of consultation as a method to involve people in decision-making stands central; not the view that consultation is merely an obligation on the part of the authorities to inform people about decisions taken on their behalf by others.

In order to achieve this involvement the following four distinct activities need to be covered during the consultation:

a. The re-assessment of the priorities for development as identified at the village level and the assessment, by the villagers, of possible self-help projects. This information is used as one of the main planning inputs into the next Annual Plan.

b. The provision of information to the people on what has been planned for implementation during the coming year. This relates to the current Annual Plan.

c. The monitoring and evaluation of progress made with the implementation of planned projects to date. This is the review of the achievements of the past Annual Plan.

d. Increasing the people's self-reliance and confidence to take part in their own development rather than depending on Government to do everything. This is the focus on self-help and the implementation of small projects.

The materials developed for the consultation have been designed to cover the activities outlined above. These materials, normally a consultation questionnaire and a popular version of the district's Annual Plan, vary between districts but usually resemble the examples given on the following pages.

Before going on to describe the methods of consultation used, the question of timing needs to be raised. In particular, how can an activity that takes place once a year be called a dialogue. Nonetheless it can be argued that within the context of an annual planning exercise based on a yearly commitment of finances and manpower by the central government, a yearly consultation is a dialogue. An extra cri-

terion is that it should take place regularly and at a well-known and pre-arranged time during the year. If these criteria are met then there is a good basis for an on-going dialogue about development programmes between the village and the district level on which to base a system of district planning. However, there should also be room for immediate response to certain issues raised during the consultation which cannot wait a full year. This is especially so in the context of the small village projects on which a quick response - especially in terms of finance and advice - is necessary. Through consultation it does become possible to build up a structured and regular dialogue between village and district level.

The key to the whole process working is that it takes place regularly and that the people can see the results of their efforts, both in the projects that are implemented in the village (through Government/Council or through self-help) and in the involvement of the villagers in the discussion about future developments. The methods described in the following section will only be worth the effort put into them if the effort is an on-going one.

4.6. Case Studies

Between 1976 and 1980 a number of methods of consultation were used by the districts. Because of the great differences between the districts, especially in area and population size, no one method of consultation has been recommended to the districts. Rather each district has built up its own system and tried to adapt experience from other districts to its own situation. There has been a good cross-fertilisation of ideas between the districts and between the districts and the centre (notably, through the District Plans Committee).

The methods described below have, to date, been the ones most widely used.

a. District Conference

This has been the traditional method of consulting people and has probably been used by all districts at one time or another. At a district conference the village respresentatives are called together to discuss planned developments and to make their input into the district's next Annual Plan. These village representatives usu-

Examples of Consultation Materials used in North- West District

.....
village

North-West District Council
Village Consultation Questionnaire 1978

Introduction

1. The District has made a Five Year Development Plan. To make this plan, a widespread consultation exercise was held with the people throughout the district so that the plan would reflect their views. This Five-Year Plan has now been approved and is being implemented throughout North-West District.

2. The purpose of this consultation exercise is:-

firstly, to inform people what the plan is about in general terms, its goals and how people will be involved in the process,

secondly, to inform people what is planned to happen in their own areas, and

thirdly, by using this questionnaire, to find out what developments have taken place in your area in the past year, and what, in your opinon still needs to be done after the present year's projects have been implemented.

3. The consultation will be carried out in the following way. A short presentation of the plan will be made by an extension worker using a pre-recorded casette and a popular version of the plan as it relates to your village. The community development worker will then record your views using this questionnaire.

QUESTIONS

1. *What are the most important problems in your village?*

2. *What projects were implemented in your village last year?*
   a. *by government / council*
   b. *by yourselves*

3. *The five year plan has taken into account your priorities and has included these in the plan. If the projects to be implemented in the years 1977/78 and 1978/79 are implemented what problems still remain? (Refer to the relevant page of the popular version of the 5 year Plan)*

4. *Which of these problems are the most important and the ones you would like to see solved first? What are your priorities?*

5. *Government and council cannot do everything. Can any of these problems be solved through self-help? If so, which ones do you intend to carry out?*

6. *What other questions/issues would you like to raise that have not been covered?*

The extension worker closes the meeting, thanks the participants and fills in the following details: -

1. *interviewers name*
2. *position*
3. *station*
4. *date of meeting*
5. *type of meeting (e.g. VDC, Kgotla, informal group, etc.)*
6. *number of people present at the meeting*
7. *length of meeting*
8. *remarks by interviewer on the meeting*

NB: In the Setswana version of the questionnaire more space has been allocated for filling in the responses.

Page from Annual Plan - Popular Version

VILLAGE	1977/78	1978/79	PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE
Gomare	Health Vehicle 4 Classrooms 4 Teachers Quarters	Short wave Radio ACDO	BLDC Buying Site Livestock Advisory Centre BAMB Buying Site 4 Classrooms 2 Teachers Quarters 4 Latrines School Fencing Health Vehicle Community Development House Electricity for Clinic Acommodation for relatives at He Facility.
Etsha	Revenue Office 5 Classrooms 1 Office 10 Latrines 4 Teachers Quaters Kitchen/Storeroom	Refugee Assistance 1 Teachers Quarters School Fencing	Refugee Assistance
Nokaneng		Storeroom/Kitchen Shortwave Radio New borehole	BLDC Buying Site Livestock Advisory Centre School Fencing Agricultural Irrigation
Nxau Nxau	3 Classrooms 1 Office 6 Latrines 2 Teachers Quarters Storeroom/Kitchen Minor Water Reticulation		Health Post Shortwave Radio

Source: North-West District Development Plan, 1977-82 (Popular Version prepared for 1978 Consultation)

Note: BAMB = Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board; BLDC = Botswana Livestock Development Corporation.

ACDO = Assistant Community Development Offices.

ally include the village headmen and members of the Village Development Committee. They are normally accompanied to the conference by some of the Council or Government fieldstaff stationed in the village; for example the community development worker, the local headteacher, the agricultural demonstrator and the village-level health worker (the Family Welfare Educator).

At such a conference one or more themes, other than the district's Annual Plan, may be discussed. Examples of subjects/themes chosen include self-help projects, stimulation of productive activities, arable agriculture. The amount of time spent on discussing other themes will, of course, depend on how much time district authorities have allocated for the conference.

A major disadvantage of this method is that only a small number of people can be directly consulted. Moreover the degree to which those village representatives who come to the conference can be said to actually "represent" the people is also a matter of much discussion. The generally held consensus is that Village Development Committee members are not really very representative of the village community but that they are better than nothing.
The recognized disadvantages of this method have led to the development of the "district conference plus follow up" method.

b. District Conference plus Follow-up

This is a development on the district conference approach described above, except that a process of organised follow-up in the village has been added after the conference has taken place. The steps involved are as follows: -

At the Conference

i. The participants at the conference are divided into groups based on their village or home area. These groups then complete a planning questionnaire. The purpose of this session is to make participants familiar with the (consulation) materials and with the issues (a form of role-learning for the real thing in the villages after the conference).

ii. After completion of the questionnaire participants and extension staff agree on dates to hold kgotla meetings in their home villages and when to return the completed ques-

tionnaires to the district authorities. There is also time at the conference to discuss major points arising out of the group discussions and any problems with the use of the materials.

iii. Depending on the time which has been allocated, other themes may also be discussed at the conference (see method a, above)

After the Conference

i. Meetings are held in the village - usually this will be a kgotla meeting where the people are told about what happened at the conference. After this the planning questionnaire is discussed and filled in.

ii. The completed questionnaire is sent back to the district authorities in time for the data to be incorporated into the preparation of the Annual Plan. The back-stop to this method - if a village fails to send in a completed questionnaire in time - is to use the questionnaire completed at the conference as input into the plan.

This method is dependent on specified deadlines being set and agreeing with the participants at the conference what action they will take when they return home. Once the participants have dispersed it become very difficult for district officials to make sure that all the required steps are followed. It is also essential that extension staff are well briefed on their supportive role in helping village leaders carry out the steps involved in the follow-up.

This is an improvement on the conference method (see method a, above). In the first place because it involves more people from the villages. Conference participants tend to be drawn from the village elite (the headman, Village Development Committee members and the extension staff); people from the non-elite groups are only likely to come into direct contact with the consultation exercise if it takes place in or near their place of residence. Secondly, the conference method is too much of a one-way affair. Whilst village leaders do often put across the problems of their village (as they see them), they seldom report back to the villagers after the conference about what was discussed and decided there. Thus the villagers themselves are hardly involved in the consultation process at all. Therefore the conference method is much more a biased survey (in that all

the informants are drawn from the elite) than that it is a participation process. The inclusion of a follow-up to the conference was an attempt to overcome some of these obstacles.

c. Kgotla Tours

This method is really only practicable in districts with a small area and/or a small population. The method involves senior district officials touring the district explaining planned developments and listening to and recording the responses. This can be a time consuming process, especiallly if the number of villages to be covered is large and the distances which have to be travelled are great.

A major advantage is that key district officials get the opportunity to hear opinions coming directly from the people. Secondly, it gives the people the opportunity to extract immediate and direct responses from these district officials.

Although the kgotla is a highly respected traditional tribal institution and its decisions are, in many ways, binding on the villagers (which is an advantage), a major disadvantage of the kgotla is that the "inferior" groups, including the poor, the women, and young people in general, have little status in the kgotla. The discussions tend to be dominated by the same groups who normally attend the conferences - the headmen, Village Development Committee members, the extension workers and also the village elders (drawn from the richer, more "superior" lineages).

Lastly, this method can give a lot of information if handled in a structured way (for example, by following the format of the consultation questionnaire); however if this does not happen then the whole meeting is likely to become an extremely lose debate about simply everything.

d. Cassette Consultation (1)

To date this type of consultation has only been practised in North West District. It consists of three elements. Firstly, printed materials describing the Annual Plan and its implementation; secondly, the same information put onto a cassette; and thirdly, a

(1) A more detailed discussion of the North West District experience can be found in section 5.5.2. case study 1.

trained extension worker who, with the use of the printed and audio materials, and a questionnaire, works with village groups.

This method enables many more people to be reached in a structured way without the over-committment of high-level district officials. However, because the questions raised by village groups cannot always be immediately answered it is important that some means be found to respond to questions raised. In North West District the aim is to run this consultation as an annual exercise so that the questions raised are answered the following year as part of the ongoing consultation process. This obviously depends on the nature of the questions raised, but in practice most questions relatiing to the Annual Plan can easily be answered the following year. Besides this a variety of means exists for responding to questions of a more urgent nature: for example, through a kgotla meeting, through local politicians, through extension staff.

For this method to work properly it is important that it takes place regularly, otherwise there can be no question of building up a dialogue situation between village and district levels. Thus the questions raised by the villagers must be answered - either as part of next year's consultation of through an immediate follow-up - for there to be any credibility in this method

e. Civics Education and Consultation (1)

In the four districts of the Matsha Catchment Area - Kgalagadi, Ghanzi, Kweneng and Southern District - a civics education campaign was combined with the consultation. The method used was similar to the Radio Learning Group approach used for the Tribal Grazing Land Policy consultation. Ten subjects were covered in the campaign. These subjects having been based on a survey of the area. All the programmes were related to the district planning exercise being carried on by these four districts, and the last programme (on consultation) tied the whole campaign together. The campaign materials were prepared by the district staff and written from a district perspective. District staff were also used as authors and actors for the radio programmes.

The Radio Learning Groups were given information on the districts'

(1) A more detailed discussion of the civics education/consultation method can be found in section 5.5.2. case study 2.

Plans (through a Study Guide and a popular version of the Annual Plan). After listening to the campaign radio programmes, the Radio Learning Groups would read the written materials. After discussions the questionnaire (or "consultation report form" as it was called) was sent in to the districts' administrative centres. Here the data gathered from the Radio Learning Groups was analysed and used as an input into the preparation of the Annual Plan.

A major advantage of this method is the large numbers of people that can be reached. Moreover this method can by-pass, to some extent, the elite dominated institutions of the kgotla and the Village Development Committee. Working instead with small groups and focussing on particular subjects can result in more detailed information which is more representative of the situation of the non-elite. The combination of consultation with civics education also means that special attention can be given to topics or areas of particular relevance and interest - in the same way that special themes can be discussed at conferences (see methods a and b) except that more people are reached.

A major disadvantage of the method is the amount of time which district officials and extension staff have to allocate to the preparation and implementation of the programme. Especially if implemented regularly/annually - which it should be.

4.7. Summary

Based on their past experience with Government involvement in development programmes - for example the experience with the Accelerated Rural Development Programme - most people living in the rural areas of Botswana have become less self-reliant and more dependent on Government to provide development leadership and to bear the brunt of programme implementation. A sensible enough reaction in a situation where Government controls the purse-strings, favours infrastructural and social service projects, has a good implementation record in this sector and has shown itself willing to listen to requests for more. The bias of these development programmes has been on the provision of social services and the infrastructure to go with it.

These services are provided "free" in the sense that no contributions are demanded or expected from the people to cover either the capital or the recurrent expenditure. This emphasis on social services now runs as a leit-motif through development thinking in Botswana: "development" has come to mean "the provision of social services by Government". This has obvious implications for the information likely to be generated by the consultation. The people know and expect that, sooner or later, Government/Council will provide the social services and the infrastructure they ask for. Neither the people nor the Government have had much experience (or success) in the production and employment sectors with the result that requests for the provision or improvement of social services tend to dominate the consultation.

Since 1976 the people in the rural areas have, fairly frequently, been "consulted". First during the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, followed by the consultation on the District Development Plan and, subsequently, by consultation on the Annual Plans. Without doubt this has resulted in increased knowledge by the people about, and increased involvement in discussions relating to the country's development programmes. Whether this has also resulted in increased influence in decision-making will be discussed in a later chapter. Here it is sufficient to draw attention to the dilemma inherent in all consultation activities: how should the information collected be used? Will the data collected as part of the consultation really be used as a basis for decision-making or will the consultation exercise simply be used to justify the actions taken without a sincere attempt being made to include the consultation information in the decision-making process. The implications of trying to use the consultation data are a slowing down of the decision-making and implementation process, as well as the need to adapt the existing planning process to allow the consultation to fit into this process.

A number of major achievements can be noted. The 1977-82 District Development Plans were written following major efforts to consult the people in all districts; these District Development Plans were, in turn, used as an important input into the preparation of the National Development Plan. Furthermore a system has been set up whereby there is a regular link between district and national

planning through the medium of the annual plan preparation process; this system reaches down to the village level if the consultation takes place and is carried out at the appropriate times.

It should be remembered that the district planning system is not very old and has undergone a number of major changes in the last few years whilst it was being set up and the system was being worked out. These changes included changes at national as well as at district level. Consequently a number of introductory problems have had to be overcome and people and officials have had to get used to the new system. Whilst it is still difficult to say how well the district planning system will operate in the future it has been contended that the key to success is for the annual consultation to start taking the form of a dialogue between district and village level. This implies "top-down" as well as "bottom-up" traffic. Within a dialogue situation, the "top" has a responsibility for disseminating ideas to the village level, working at raising the consciousness of the village people and, most importantly, explaining how the consultation information has been used in the decisions which have been taken. The "bottom" has the responsibility of making reasonable requests, being prepared to take some of the responsibility themselves and not allowing small groups to dominate the consultation at the expense of the majority. The key to the success of the process is regularity: the consultation must take place at expected times and must show results.

Discussion about the scope of "development" is still very much restricted to the social services and infrastructure sectors. People at the village level are still demanding more and more social services and expecting that these will be provided by Government; production and employment are seen as problems but do not fall under the villagers' definition of what "development" is and what Government could/should provide. Government, for its part, is also concentrating on major infrastructural projects, although there are signs of an increased emphasis on production and employment programmes: however the discussion on the need for these programmes has yet to be translated into programme implementation.

The following chapter will discuss progress made with the organisation and methods of nonformal education. Nonformal education and consultation are closely linked and NFE programmes provide one

of the major possibilities for implementing the consciousness-raising tasks of the consultation. It will be argued that advances made in nonformal education were closely linked to the advances made with district-planning-based-on-consultation, and that the developments in these two sectors were strongly inter-related.

5.1. Introduction

Nonformal education (or NFE) has been defined as:

> ...any organised educational activity outside the established formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives. Or, education is nonformal if (a) it is consciously and purposively organised and systematically pursued, (b) with a view to facilitating particular kinds of learning by particular learning clientele and (c) it is not an integral part of the formal educational system.
>
> (Coombs, 1973: 11)

The definition of nonformal education as used in Botswana in the context of district planning conforms with the definition given by Coombs. The "working" definition on nonformal education in Botswana is:

> Extension workers and departments carrying out their work in a programmed fashion and co-operating with other extension workers and departments in reaching "the people" and putting their message across.
>
> (District Planning Handbook, 1979: section H.2.2.)

This definition underlines the importance (a) of working together with extension workers from other departments/agencies and (b) of programming extension work.

The types of activities falling under this definition includes agricultural extension work, community development, wildlife education, health education, adult education, information and consultation campaigns, production-based training and continuing educational studies out of school. It also includes many of the programmes run by voluntary organisations such as Village Development Committees, Village Health Committees and Farmers Committees. Virtually all organised educational activities falling outside the formal schooling system are included.

The setting up of a system of district planning based on consultation has gone hand-in-hand with the development of nonformal education. Consultation activities have stimulated a broad range of NFE programmes while NFE techniques have been used as "tools" for the consultation.

In addition, the various institutions and procedures that have been introduced to implement consultation and to monitor NFE programmes have been established as an integral part of a wider network of institutions and activities that deal with district development in the context of the District Planning process.

This chapter explores the links between the consultation process and nonformal education. The focus will, in particular, be on the role of the District Extension Team - one of the major institutional developments in NFE since 1976. The District Extension Teams, first set up in 1976, have now responsibility for the implementation and planning of all consultation and NFE programmes at the district level.

In the final part of this chapter a number of case studies of NFE programmes are discussed. These have been chosen to illustrate the continued development of consultation and district planning, and of NFE generally, since 1976 - the "watershed" year for planning based on consultation.

5.2. Preconditions for NFE

A number of significant events took place before 1976 which laid the basis for the rapid expansion of NFE activities which was to follow the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. Some of the more important ones will be covered briefly.

5.2.1. District Development Committees (1)

Kidd (1976: 3) argues that the first major development that was to have long term effect on the way nonformal education was implemented in Botswana was the setting up of the District Development Committees in 1970. The District Development Committees were a major step forward in overcoming a sectoral approach to development directed from a national level by providing an institution at the district level with responsibilities for development co-ordination. Within the forum of this committee it became possible to discuss "development" in a district rather than a sectoral context.

The shift of some of the planning and co-ordinating responsibi-

(1) See section 3.6. and 3.7. for an outline of the principle functions of the District Development Committee and its relationship to the other institutions at the district level.

lities from the national level (the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning) to the district level (the District Development Committee) meant that it became possible to integrate development activities and plan for them much closer to the implementation levels. But although some responsibilities were shifted to the district level, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning did not relinquish any of its financial control over capital and recurrent spending. Neither did the Directorate of Personnel relinquish its control over manpower.

5.2.2. National District Development Conference

In 1971 the first National Conference of District Development Committees took place. At this forum senior district officials had the opportunity of making contact with central government officials in a situation that allowed for an exchange of information between district and centre.

This conference, which was later re-named the National District Development Conference, has become a major event in the annual planning calendar. It has taken on a vital function in the district planning process because it provides the opportunity for a team of district officials to engage in detailed discussions on major issues both with central government ministries but also with the other districts.

The issues covered at the conference relate to all the rural development sectors and can cover all aspects of the District Plan. The district officials who attend the conference also have the mandate to speak for "their" district on these issues. This has meant that district officials operate as a district "team" and are, first and foremost, concerned with "their" district rather than with a particular sector.

5.2.3. Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee (RECC)

The Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee (RECC) was formed in 1972. This committee grouped together all the extension and non-formal agencies at the national level in order to work towards the national co-ordination of and policy for rural extension work. (See Kidd, 1976: 4).

The RECC had no executive powers but functioned as a talking shop for the exchange of ideas. The committee was to start having more success in the national co-ordination of extension work with the development of the district planning process. One of the principle reasons for this being that nonformal education began to be co-ordinated at the district level and the districts began to put pressure on the centre to (i) co-ordinate their own programmes with the district programmes, (ii) respond to district requests for assistance in the implementation of district nonformal educational programmes and (iii) fit in proposed national programmes into district priorities.

5.2.4. Radio Learning Group Campaign - "The People and the Plan"

In 1973 the first national Learning Group campaign was organised by the University's Division of Extra Mural Services (DEMS). The purpose of the campaign, known as "The People and the Plan" (1), was to popularise the Third National Development Plan (1973-78). With a small staff and no district organisation, DEMS managed to service almost 1,500 Radio Learning Groups.

The campaign came at a time when government was giving high priority to rural development and, more espcially, on making its efforts at rural development visible (2). The campaign outlined to the people who participated the broad outlines of the Third National Development Plan and discussed in greater detail a number of important sectors e.g. livestock, minerals and water development.

This campaign pioneered the use of the "report form" as a feedback and consultation instrument. This was a vital element in the creation of a dialogue situation because, through the use of the report form, Radio Learning Groups were able to respond to the message received in a programmed and structured fashion. The information from the report forms could then be used (i) as a basis for data colllection and (ii) as the basis for a series of radio-broadcasted Answer Programmes in which questions asked by the Radio Lear-

(1) A full description of the campaign can be found in Colclough and Crowley 1974.
(2) For a fuller discussion on this see the section on the Accelerated Rural Development Programme (4.2.1.). Here the point is argued that much of government's concern for rural development should be seen in terms of influencing voters as a prelude to the coming elections.

ning Groups could be answered.

The Radio Learning Group method was to be the main vehicle for consultation during the 1976 Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy.

5.2.5. Village and District Extension Teams

In 1975 the concept of "village teams" of extension workers co-operating at the village level was first raised in the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee. The team concept was an attempt to overcome a sectoral ministerial structure descending all the way to the village level. The various "disciplines" of extension work at the village level (i.e. community development, health, agriculture) were each responsible for their direction to higher levels; although there was, of course, some informal co-operation at the village level, often based on personal affinity, there was no recognised body at the village level through which the extension workers operating at that level could exchange plans, ideas and information. The thinking behind the village team concept was based on a desire to bring an integrated extension message closer to the village level and on the need to institutionalise co-operation between extension workers at the village level.

Village Teams were to be used for the first time during the Tribal Grazing Land Policy Public Consultation. These teams were to increase in significance as the district planning system developed and the teams began to be used as the key organisation for the organisation of the consultation on the district plan at the village level.

The Village Teams were supported by District Extension Teams which were also first used during the TGLP Public Consultation. The District Extension Teams were responsible for the co-ordination of the campaign's fieldwork component under the auspices of a national level body (i.e. the Grazing Committee - a sub-committee of the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee). They have since become district agencies first and foremost being responsible to the District Development Committee, of which the Distirct Extension Team has become the sub-committee for the planning and implementation of nonformal educational programmes, including the annual consultation.

The membership of the District Extension Team is drawn from the various distict-based agencies working with nonformal education - including both Central Government and District Council agencies. Generally speaking, membership covers the following areas: health, agriculture, community development, primary and adult education, (small-scale) rural industrialisation, wildlife. Co-ordination expertise is provided through the Council Planning Officer and the District Officer (Development) who both have multi-sectoral responsibilities.

The present functions of the District Extension Teams cover the following areas:

a. Programming of the year's extension activities as part of district's Annual Plan.

b. Planning and implementing of joint activities i.e. those activities involving more than one extension agency. This includes the annual consultation exercise.

c. Developing extension programmes based on the district priorities.

d. Assisting Village Extension Teams through supporting their activities and integrating these activites into the district's overall extension plan.

e. Monitoring and reporting on all extension activities at the district level in its capacity as sub-committee of the District Development Committee.

5.2.6. Village Development Committee (VDC) Training

The VDC, as the "modern" and "development-oriented" institution at the village level, was looked upon as one of the vehicles for bringing "development" into the villages. However, being a new institution, the VDC members had no experience of doing this sort of work.

Within this context Community Development workers, assisted by NFE agencies based in the centre (i.e. the Botswana Extension College and the University's Division of Extra Mural Services), began to design and run training courses for VDC members to teach them their duties and responsibilities. The main method used for this was the VDC Conference. These conferences were normally organised on a district basis and began to take place on a fairly regular basis - most districts organising conferences annually, although not at any fixed times during the year.

The subject matter covered at the conferences generally related to administrative competence (i.e. administration of money, how to be a good chairman, etc.); it was left up to the VDCs to work out what it was that they were actually to do back home in the village. This was the major problem with these VDC conferences; they were never able to give adequate guidance and direction to the VDCs' development activities. Nonetheless it became a regular practice to call together, at fairly frequent occasions, village representatives to meet with district officials and to discuss "development". Experience with these conferences was to lay the foundation of the District Development Conference, one of the principal methods of consultation used to date.

With the advent of district planning VDC conferences were to become District Development Conferences. The change was easy to make because conferences at which village representatives were present had become a regular part of the district scene. However, the focus of the conference changed. No longer was the principal focus to be on the VDC and how to run it; rather the conference had, as principal theme, the District Plan.

5.3. The Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy and the Radio Learning Group Campaign (1)

The major part of the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy was taken up by the Radio Learning Group Campaign (or TGLP/RLG). This campaign involved all Government and Council extension staff - who had been instructed to spend 50% of their time on the work involved with the Radio Learning Group campaign - and reached directly one out of every five households (2). The data gathered from these Radio Learning Groups was to form the basis for a number of recommendations - subsequently accepted by Government - affecting the policy proposals (See MLGL, 1977: 17-38)

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(1) The reasons for calling the Public Consultation and the events leading up to this decision were discussed in an earlier section - see section 4.2.2.

(2) Estimated by the Evaluation Unit of the Botswana Extension College - see Etherington, 1977. The number of households reached indirectly, through listening to the campaign's radio broadcasts, was even larger but impossible to estimate.

This Radio Learning Group campaign was the largest NFE exercise to have taken place in Botswana up until that time and was to lay the basis for an increased emphasis on nonformal education as a development tool.

a. Inter-agency co-operation

An important legacy of the TGLP/RLG campaign was the inter-agency co-operation that took place at the national, district and village levels. At the national level, the Grazing Committee, as a sub-committee of the inter-agency Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee, drew its membership from several ministeries including Local Government and Lands, Finance and Development Planning, Agriculture and Education. It also included a non-government agency, the University's Division of Extra Mural Services. This national level co-operation was reflected at the district and village levels. The experience gained from working together was important, espcially at the district level, for those officials later to become involved in the preparation and implementation of the district Plans. The experience of working together with other agencies at the district level and making plans which crossed sectoral boundaries gave a background of experience when the district was directed to draw up development plans covering all sectors in the district and to base these plans on consultation with the people.

b. Organisational structure

An important result of the TGLP/RLG campaign was the piloting and use of an organisational structure for nonformal education. This structure was made up of village and district "teams" of extension workers from the various Council and Government extension agencies working together. Co-ordination of their work came from the national level, where the Grazing Committee (a sub-committee of the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee) was in charge of programme planning, materials design, feedback and evaluation, and fieldwork and training. The Grazing Committee, having served its purpose, was dissolved at the end of the campaign. The district and village "teams" still had important functions but the leading role taken by the Grazing Committee was not immediately taken over by district level institutions. Consequently District and Village Teams went through a slack

period after the TGLP/RLG.
However the experience was there and, with the development of district planning, the District Teams (now called "District Extension Teams") started to operate as sub-committees of the District Development Committees with, as portfolio responsibility, the planning and co-ordination of nonformal educational activities at the district level. The leading role of the Grazing Committee was taken over by district institutions and the function of the District and Village Extension Teams moved from a single programme focus (the TGLP/RLG) to a much broader one (planning, implementing and monitoring district NFE programmes). The result of this has been that the work of the extension teams is now much more focussed on the district. In this context the extension team has started to perform a key function in the district planning process and this has given both the District and the Village Extension Teams a new raison d'être.

c. The Radio Learning Group method

The TGLP/RLG further developed the Radio Learning Group method. This method had previously been used to reach large numbers of people in Tanzania and also, on a smaller scale, in Botswana (1). The main characteristics of Radio Learning Group campaign were:

i. A limited amount of important information broadcast to large numbers of organised groups.
ii. Each group with a trained group leader recruited, supported and trained by extension workers.
iii. Groups meeting twice a week for five weeks.
iv. Listening to ten radio programmes in all.
v. Using specifically prepared study materials.
vi. Discussing the content of the study package - programme and materials.
vii. Reporting back to the organisers, session by session.
viii. Asking questions of the campaign organisers.
ix. Listening to Answer Programmes.

(Lefatshe la Rona - Our Land, MLGL, 1977: 140 - 141)

It should be noted that the characteristics described above relate to the method as it has been developed in Botswana.

Radio Learning Group campaigns are a form of distance teaching, using prepared materials and trained group leaders. In the method as

(1) See the discussion on Botswana's first Radio Learning Group campaign, "The People and the Plan" in section 5.2.4.

developed in Botswana a feedback component has been built into the method of which it forms an integral and important part (1).

The TGLP/RLG helped to consolidate the idea of Radio Learning Groups as an educational and consultative method and provided an organisational model for other mass campaigns in Botswana. Using this method far more people could be reached and involved than would have been the case using "normal" extension methods such as face-to-face contact. There is also much less chance that the extension message will be distorted (because it is contained in radio programmes and study guides) and it is also possible for RLG's questions and responses to be used as direct inputs into higher level decision-making. Moreover, because more people are involved, the ususal extension worker bias favouring contacts with richer or more "progressive" members of the village community, can be by-passed to some extent.

However, although the TGLP/RLG was the most wide-ranging extension and media campaign ever to have been implemented in Botwana, it could only be, to a limited degree, a representative test of public opinion. Large sections of the population were not reached and this included many people who were not cattle-owners and whose reactions to the policy could, conceivably, have been somewhat different from those people who do own cattle. But this is one of the almost unavoidable pitfalls of a campaign with two purposes: firstly to inform as many people as possible about the proposed policy (the information message); and secondly to obtain a representative response (the feedback component). The two objectives can really only be met at the same time with complete coverage of the target group.

5.4. Nonformal Education since 1976

NFE development since 1976 centre around the functioning of the District Extension Teams. The first part of this section will discuss the role and functioning of the District Extension Team within the district planning process; the second part of this section will discuss the support given to the District Extension Teams by Central Government.

(1) For further detailed information on Radio Learning Group campaigns and how to run them a Radio Learning Group Manual has been prepared - see Crowley et al, 1978.

5.4.1. Consolidating the Extension Teams

The District and Village Extension Teams were the framework on which the field work component of the TGLP/RLG campaign was based. After the campaign these teams went through a slack period with the falling away of TGLP/RLG activity after the Public Consultation and without a clearly defined new role or new direction.

A new role for the Extension Teams was to be defined within the context of the setting up of district planning based on consultation. It was suggested that the Extension Teams be used to carry out the consultation on which the District Development Plans were to be based. (See Seretse, 1976: 3). The District Development Committees were given the mandate, in 1976, to co-ordinate both plan preparation and the consultation exercise. This, in effect, made the District Extension Team a sub-committee of the District Development Committee.

A survey carried out in 1977 concluded that the district teams had operated well during the TGLP/RLG campaign but were now having a difficult time finding their feet in a new situation (1). The report noted that, although the District Teams did recognize their position as sub-committee of the District Development Committee, and although they had a good idea of the general nature of their tasks (i.e. co-ordination of extension activities, preparation of the non-formal education section of the District Development Plan and organising the consultation activities for the District Development Plan), most district teams did not have a clear idea of what activities were entailed by these tasks. There was also a strong feeling amongst the districts that leadership from the centre (in the form of "guidelines" telling the districts what to do) was missing and was necessary. (See Byram 1976)

In fact the centre was also feeling its way, and moreover, was of the opinion that these sorts of activities had to be handled at the district level. Guidelines did come later but these were based on experience already gained in the districts during the initial period

(1) This survey was carried out as part of the winding-down of the TGLP/RLG consultation campaign. One of the main aims of the survey was to check how many of the radios issued during the campaign had been collected by the district teams. A second aim was to see how well the district teams were adapting to their new role. The survey was carried out for the Ministry of Local Government and Lands by M. Byram, the former adult educator from Tutume who had been involved in the fieldwork organisation of the TGLP/RLG.

of consultation in 1977 (1).

The crux of the matter was how to decentralise responsibility for a task which was not well understood - neither at central nor district level. The goals were clear anough but not the means to arrive at them. Also, in many instance, officals from the centre lacked the practical experience of district activities and only the most basic guidelines could be given. In the event most District Extension Teams formulated their own role through their own practice and experience and through exchanging ideas with others.

Byram listed some of the main problems facing the District Teams. He noted that most had, within six months of the TGLP/RLG undergone complete staff changes and that the co-operation achieved between personalities of different departments, working under the direction of a national co-ordinating committee was difficult to replicate with new staff in a different situation. The co-operative spirit was lost because of the staff changes at a time when the District Extension Teams had not yet become established in their new capacity. Within this situation lack of guidance from the centre was seen as a major problem.

Another major problem brought forward by the District Extension Teams was the "abstractness" of nonformal education and the difficulty of thinking across departmental boundaries - in fact two sides of the same coin. But this is hardly surprising considering the sectoral training and the demands of departmental obedience made on the extension staff. It was only when the teams were able to put theory into practice with some basic joint programmes that progress was made in this area. In the beginning virtually the only joint activity carried out was the district plan consultation, but since then many districts have progressed to working together as a District Extension Team in the planning and implementing of other nonformal educational programmes (2).

In April/May 1977 only one or two of the district teams were actually carrying out the activities relating to their tasks; the

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(1) These guidelines are contained in the District Planning Handbook, 1979, section G.

(2) Examples of such programmes include Civics Education, Health and Sanitation programmes, and Literacy will be discussed as case studies in section 5.5. of this chapter.

other districts had not yet gone beyong the stage of comprehending the general nature of their tasks but had not been able to translate this into actual activities (Byram, 1977: 6). There seem to be two reasons for this difference. Firstly, the leadership function of the Grazing Committee was not immediately taken over the district level in all districts; in some districts a vacuum continued to exist for quite some time before district institutions took over the leadership role. Secondly, co-operation between officials from the District Council and the District Administration was a vital factor; in a situation where there was rivalry co-operation on the extension team was also difficult. As these relationships improved so too did the functioning of the extension teams (1).

As the district planning system began to take shape between 1976 and 1980 the roles of both the District Council and the District Development Committee were also clarified. Within this situation the District Extension Team was given the responsibility of preparing the District Development Plan's chapter on nonformal educational programmes and the responsibility for the subsequent implementation of these programmes. Thus a clear need was established for a District Extension Team and, in the course of time, most of the District Extension Teams would attempt to match these needs with deeds. Through the inclusion of a chapter on Nonformal Education as part of the 1977-82 District Development Plans along with the districts other development activities NFE planning became a "normal" part of district planning. This marked a significant step in bringing some of the responsibility for NFE down to the district level.

Less information is available concerning the functioning of the Village Extension Teams mainly because nobody, not even at the district level, had any real idea how well these teams were functioning after the TGLP/RLG campaign. There was a general "feeling" that now there was more co-operation at the village level than before the campaign but that, with the lack of ongoing tasks, the teams, as units, were likely to disappear. It was also recognised that the village teams were, to a large extent, dependent on a well-functioning District Extension Team. (Byram 1977: 5-6)

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(1) The issue of rivalry between the District Council and the District Development Committee is taken up in section 3.7.

Village (Extension) Teams do work in many villages in Botswana. But the functioning of these teams depends to a large extent on personalities being able to get along with each other and on the team being given a definite task to perform. Although the concept of the village teams is recognised by all concerned (including the village extension workers) they are not official bodies and their authority links to the District Extension Team (which is an official body) are vague; direction must come from each extension worker's own department or agency.

There is evidence of a great deal of discussion and co-operation between extension workers at the village levels, but the Village Extension Teams, as bodies, function best when given a specific task to perform. This underlines the importance of the leadership function of the District Extension Team. The indirect links from the Extension Team, through the individual departments, to the Village Extension Teams makes this leadership role difficult.

In conclusion the District Extension Team has become a functioning body which has fitted itself into an important niche in the district planning process. With the Five Year District Development Plan, and now with the Annual Plans, District Extension Teams are playing an important role in the planning and implementing of nonformal educational programmes at the district level.

Village Extension Teams on the other hand, have no formal status but do function when called upon to do so - for example, during the Annual Consultation or other joint programmes organised by the District Extension Team. Co-operation between village level extension workers in their daily activities does occur also but this is more dependent on the personalities of the extension workers and their view of the usefulness of such regular contact. Because the institution is not a formally constituted one, both the leadership function of the District Extension Team as well as empathy between village level extension workers are important factors on which its functioning depends.

5.4.2. Support to the District Extension Teams from Central Government

The support given to the District Extension Teams by Central Government has also been a major factor in the development of these teams. Most important was the acceptance by the centre that districts could make their own decisions about nonformal educational programmes within the context of their own district plans. In this context districts have increased not only their own capacity to plan and implement NFE programmes but programmes planned and run by the centre are now also included in the districts' NFE plans. Thus the centre is no longer able to "foist" national NFE programmes onto the districts; rather the programmes that are implemented by the national NFE agencies are the products of joint district-centre planning. And because of the increase in the districts' NFE planning capacity, they are more able to act as equal partners in these planning activities.

District Extension Team capacity had improved because of the experience which the members have gained with NFE planning and implementation and because it has become a regular district activity. However, increases in the staff complement have also helped. For example, District Extension Teams have been strengthened over the past few years (since 1977) by the posting of District Adult Education Officers to most districts. Unfortunately, recruitment problems have meant that not all the vacant posts have been filled, and that some expatriate adult educators were not replaced in time for proper handing-over to take place when their contracts expired.

The District Adult Education Officers are employed by the Ministry of Education and form part of that ministry's Department of Nonformal Education. This department has expanded considerably since it was first set up in late 1977/early 1978 (1).

The department has made its presence felt at the district level through the posting of the district adult educators and has started, within the framework of the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee,

(1) The Department of Adult Education incorporated the former Botswana Extension College (BEC). BEC had been involved in correspondence courses leading to formal educational qualifications as well as in a number of other nonformal educational activities, including the TGLP/RLG campaign, Village Development Committee training, and the Pilot Literacy campaign.

to make long-term policies and programmes for nonformal education - something which had previously been lacking in the Ministry of Education. The setting up of the Department has also meant the recognition by the Ministry of the importance of nonformal vis-a-vis formal education.

These two developments, firstly, the posting of adult educators to the districts, and secondly, the recognition of the importance of nonformal education by the Ministry of Education, has supported the position of the District Extension Teams and improved their potential effectiveness. Furthermore, in practice, the Department of Nonformal Education has started working through the districts and in consultation with the districts rather than through national programmes.

5.5. Case Studies

Introduction

Six case studies will be presented (1). These are:

Case 1. Consultation on the District Plan in North West District.

Case 2. The civics education campaign Lesedi la Puso.

Case 3. The Environmental Sanitation and Protection Programme.

Case 4. The Pilot Literacy Project and the National Initiative for the Eradication of Illiteracy.

Case 5. The Nonformal Educational Guidelines in the District Planning Handbook and the central NFE agencies Planning Calendar.

Through these case studies it will be shown that:-

a. Essential to peoples' involvement in the consultation is an approach that includes mechanisms for dialogue and feedback.

b. The consultation methods presently used can be effective in covering a representative section of the population.

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(1) These case studies provide an insight into the development of NFE in Botswana. This will be the principal focus. Hence very little space will be devoted to the description and content of these NFE programmes.

c. Nonformal Education has been integrated with the wider district planning process.

d. Policy decisions on which the planning of NFE programmes is based can be taken at the district level and institutions exist at the district level which can plan and implement these programmes.

e. A large measure of inter-agency co-operation, both at the district and the national level, has been achieved.

f. Demands made by donor organisations approached for funds for NFE programmes often have many strings attached which can work to the detriment of local (and especially district level) institution building.

g. Nonformal educational planning has become an institutionalised part of the district planning process.

Case 1

Consultation on the District Plan in North West District

a. The issues

This case study will concentrate on three aspects of the consultation exercise as implemented in North West District. Firstly, on the attempts to develop alternative methods of consultation in order to be able to reach more people than were reached using such "traditional" methods as District Conferences. Secondly, on the attempts to develop a working relationship between the District Extension Team and the centre; a relationship which left policy making and initiative at the district level with the centre providing technical support. Thirdly, this case study will concentrate on the efforts made to build in an on-going element of feedback and dialogue into the consultation in order to make the consultation a functioning two-way process.

b. The events

North West District covers a large area in a remote part of Botswana. Communications are difficult: roads are bad, telephones non-existent (except for the two major villages - Maun and Kasane) and the radio-transceiver network is not well established (1). The reception of Radio Botswana's programmes is likely to remain bad pending the installation of booster transmitters. There is also a certain amount of confusion within the district's administrative structure. For historical reasons the North West District Council's boundaries include two administrative districts, each with its own District Commissioner (2). It was for this reason that, two development plans were produced.

The initial consultation on the District Development Plan (in 1977) had been done separately in the two administrative districts mentioned above. This had taken the form of extensive kgotla tours within each district by officals, including the (expatriate volunteer) District Officers (Development) - who subsequently prepared the plan document.

At the time of the kgotla tour an undertaking had been given that the people would be consulted again after the first drafting of the plan document, as a check that the interpretations made by the planners of the original consultation data were acceptable to the people. This consultation exercise took place later in the same year (1977) using two district conferences - one in Maun and one in Kasane. Feedback from these conferences was incorporated into the draft District Development Plans before they were put forward to the District Council for discussion, amendment and final approval. However, after the conferences, dissatisfaction was expressed at the district level about the representativeness of the village "repre-

(1) A number of clinics in the large villages have now been provided with radios. These radios are mostly used for medical purposes but may also be used by other departments if the situation warrants it. Radios have, to date, been installed at Shakawe, Gomare, Seronga, Maun, and Kasane - all sub-district administrative centres.
(2) In all other districts District Administration and District Council boundaries overlap - see chapter 3.

sentatives" and about the amount of feedback going back to the villages after such conferences. This dissatisfaction with the conference method of consultation was the basis for the decision to decentralise the consultation to the village level.

In North West District it was decided to replace the conference approach to consultation by a method which, it was hoped, would involve more people than those few village representatives usually attending conferences - the Village Development Committee members, the village headmen and the extension workers (1). By bringing the consultation down to the village level more people could be directly involved in the process. Thus the method chosen was an adaptation of the Radio Learning Group method used in the TGLP campaign. The main difference being that casette recorders were used instead of radios and that the materials produced were district specific. Furthermore, instead of extension workers recruiting and training group leaders from the village, the extension workers were themselves trained in the use of the consultation materials and worked with various groups in the village during the consultation.

The reasons for moving away from the "traditional" conference approach to communicating with villagers or their representatives were particularly that more people could be involved in decision-making, with a correspondingly greater degree of direct participation; as opposed to a situation where they are only represented i.e. at conferences. Furthermore, the consultation would bring about a regular and formalised contact between extension staff and the community which is vital for the programming of extension work and keeping channels of communication open. With the consultation taking place in the village, on the spot decisions and commitments can be made by the people on such things as self-help projects. (See North West District, 1978: 4) (2).

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(1) The various methods of consultation used in Botswana are described in section 4.5.
(2) The methods used by North West District in their consultation are described in the section on consultation methods, see section 4.6.d.

c. District/Centre co-operation

An important aspect of the consultation exercise as carried out in North West District was that it introduced a new relationship between the centre and the districts as regards the running of non-formal educational programmes. The relationship was one where the district not only supplied the personnel (through the District and Village Extension Teams) but also provided the policy direction and leadership; the centre provided ideas, advice and technical assistance. The centre also helped to disseminate information on the experience of North West District to other districts.

An important principle, that development leadership could come from the district level and that nonformal educational programmes could be organised and run within the framework of district planning, was established. All consultation programmes carried out as part of the district planning exercise are district-based programmes initiated at the district level. In many cases there has been assistance made available from the centre but this assistance has been in the form of technical assistance rather than leadership or policy. This principle of development leadership at the district level has also become increasingly important with other nonformal educational programmes run at the district level.

d. Consultation as an on-going dialogue

With the consultation becoming an integral part of an annual planning process it also because possible (i) to introduce a regular feedback mechanism into the process and (ii) to attempt to involve villagers in evaluating progress made with plan implementation. Each time that the consultation takes place three critical areas can be covered. Firstly, an evaluation can take place of the progress made with plan implementation during the past year - this can be done by

referring to the projects which should have been implemented in the village during the past implementation year. Secondly, the consultation has an information function - this is the opportunity to explain to people why certain things did not happen as planned and also to inform the people what has been planned for the near future i.e. the current implementation year. Thirdly, the actual consultation, which derives from the first two activities, can take place. After evaluating past performance and with the knowledge of what has been planned for the current year, the villagers have a much sounder basis on which to plan their own future and make their requests to Council.

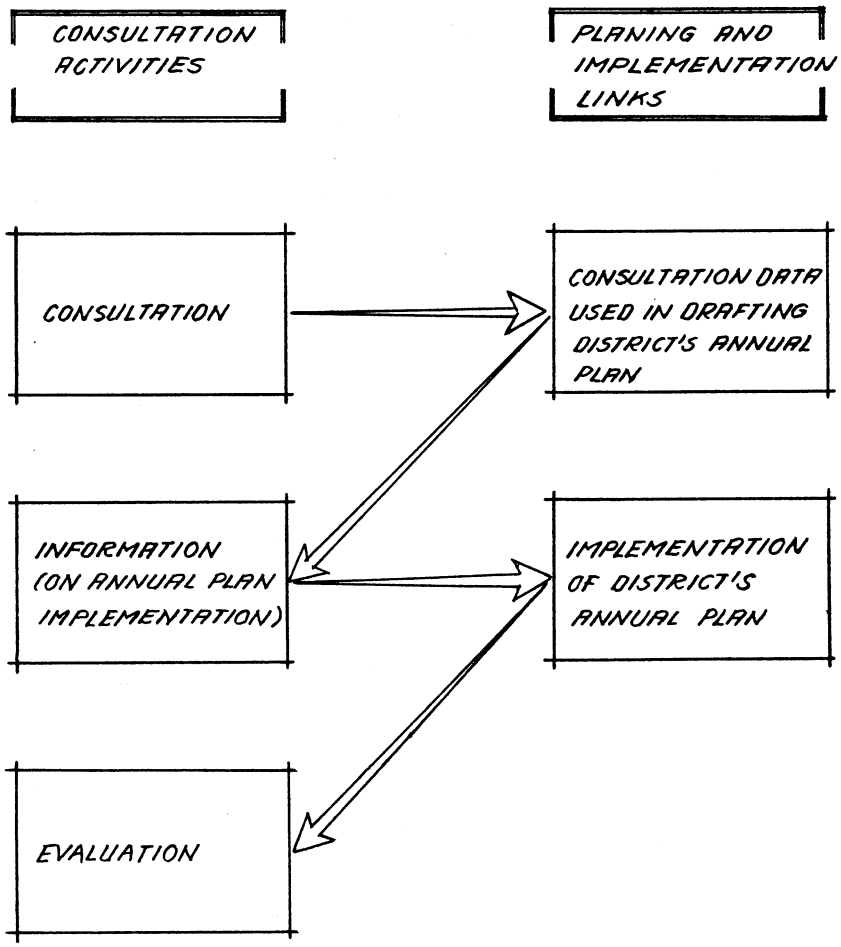
These developments are only possible as part of a regular yearly consultation. If this does not take place in a regular fashion the information collected will be less valid and any measure of trust built up with the villagers will be lost. With a consultation exercise that takes place on an annual basis the functions, as described above will start to overlap so that what was information one year is evaluated the next year, and so on. Keeping the villagers informed about what will happen is important for two main reasons. Firstly, it can be used to explain what has been achieved during the past implementation year and what still remains to be done. Generally speaking people are much more willing to accept that something has not happened if the reasons for it are explained to them. This was certainly the case in North West District. Secondly, it allows district officials to explain how the consultation data from the previous year has been used in preparing the current year's implementation plan, and why certain ideas were accepted and others were not.

In this way a regular and on-going dialogue can be established.

e. Self-help

Consultation can easily turn into the making of a Christmas shopping list unless it is made clear to the villagers that the District Council does have limits on the resources available to it and that

LINKS BETWEEN CONSULTATION AND DISTRICT PLAN IMPLEMENTATION



it can not be expected to do everything. The consultation exercise in North West District had this as its principle theme. The villagers were reminded of this on the cassette programmes and in the popular version of the district's Annual Plan (which was used as a type of "study guide" (1)). Instead of demanding from Council it was suggested to the villagers that a lot could be accomplished through their own self-help efforts. The suggestions for self-help projects were included in the reports on the consultation - a page from this report is shown on the next page.

The following extract from the popular version of the 1979/80 Annual Plan for North West District illustrates this point:

> "You (the villagers) should remember that money is available to assist you with many of your self-help projects. The main thing is that you should not expect Council to do everything for you. But if you work on self-help projects then Council will be able to assist you. In other words, if you have identified a project which you think you can undertake under self-help, please submit your application forms through the extension workers."
>
> (North West District, 1978: 4)

These self-help projects were added to the Annual Plan and were evaluated at the next consultation. Moreover these ideas for projects would give the extension staff (especially the Community Development staff) something to focus their activities on. No problems with the provision of funds was envisaged for these self-help projects as there was money available from a special fund for small projects (2).

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(1) The "study guide" is a printed booklet handed out to all participants of a nonformal educational programme (e.g. the consultation) It describes, in simple terms, the subject area to be covered and can be used to read aloud from and as a reference document.

(2) There were, however, problems both with the administration of the funds within Council and with the support to the villagers by the Community Development staff, so that this optimistic statement did not completely co-incide with the real situation. See the report on the Evaluation of the Small Village Projects Programme - NORAD, 1980.

Extract from North West District Consultation Report - 1978

1. village	2. represented by	3. Planned for 1977/78	4. Planned for 1978/79	5. Implemented by govt. council	6. July 78: by village	7. What problems remain	8. Priorities	9. Self-help projects planned
ana	Kgotla VDC	Staff nurse visits	4B Fruit Orchard and poultry	---	Health Post table and chairs	school toilets slaughter place bridge headman post office	1. clinic 2. bridge 3. school 4. toilet	1. slaughter place 2. clinic 3. toilet 4. post office, agency
edupi	gathering & VDC	more medical visits	---	---	VDC record books	bridge water retic. school HP and toilets regular visits by ADs	1. Health post 2. water retic 3. school and toilets 4. bridge 5. shop 6. regular visits by VAs/govt./council	1. HP and toil 2. market and co-op.
lapaneng	Kgotla & VDC	bridge improved	4 latrines s'room/kitchen 4 classrooms 2 TQS 1 office	mobile clinic visits	VDC office money (P42) collected	saleshouse clinic LAC shop	1. bridge 2. clinic	1. LAC 2. TQS 3. saleshouses

= Health Post; LAC = Livestock Advisory Centre
= Teachers Quarters; VA = Vet Assistant

f. Implementation problems

There were problems and delays with the implementation of the North West District's Annual Plans in 1977/78 and in 1978/79. There were also delays with the implementation of the consultation. Although the materials were prepared on schedule, the extension workers were late in getting to the villagers or simply never made it to some of the more remote ones. The main reason for this, in 1978, could be attributed to the abnormal flooding in the Okavango Delta and in Chobe, as well as to the war situation in Zimbabwe which affected work in Chobe. But there were also problems within Council itself, notably the poor organisation of Council transport which acted as a contributing factor, besides the floods, to the isolation of large parts of the district. Changes in staff and personality clashes within the Council's Community Development Department were some of the main causes for the dealy in 1979.

These delays affected both the implementation of the planned Council building programme (as reflected in the Annual Plan) and the Consultation. However, enough experience was gained with using this method to show that it is a workable one.

g. Conclusions

The importance of the developments in North West District was that a new method of on-going consultation on a yearly basis had been experimented with, and that this consultation could be fitted into a framework in which decisions affecting the people consulted are made. Although this is a yearly exercise, one can speak of a dialogue situation because it takes place within the context of an annual planning process; however, it is very important that the consultation takes place at the beginning of the plan preparation process so that the information can be used immediately.

District-Centre co-operation left the leadership in district hands with the centre providing assistance. Most of the planning and all of the fieldwork was carried out by the District Extension Team. This underlined earlier conclusions, that when involed in a specific task which was well understood by the team members District Extension Teams are in a position to be effective.

Lastly, experiments had been made with "new" methods of consultation which attempted to reach more people than could be reached

through the "traditional" conference method. Although the same method has not been tried by other districts, these attempts by North West District did focus attention on this problem and other districts have followed this up with their own experiments to involve more people in the planning process.

Case 2

The Civics Education Campaign - Lesedi la Puso

a. The issues

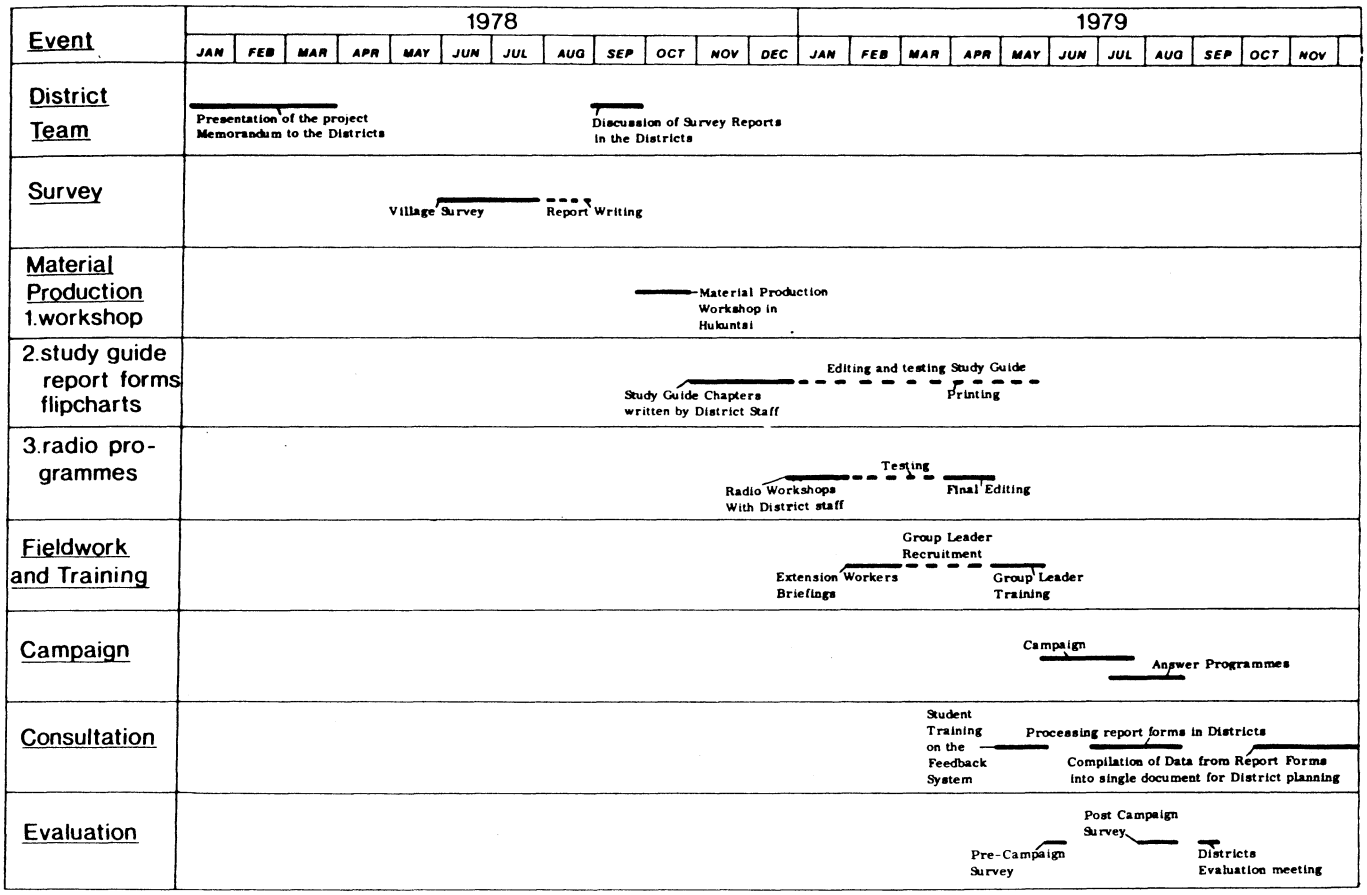
The Civics Education programme, Lesedi la Puso (which means, literally translated, "light of government") was run during a five week period in June/July 1978 in four districts. In this case study three main issues will be discussed. Firstly, the co-operation that was achieved between the district, regional and national levels during the planning and implementation of this campaign. Secondly, the level of de-centralised responsibility taken on for this non-formal education programme at the district level. And thirdly, the combination within one nonformal educational programme of civics education and consultation.

b. Co-operation and De-centralisation

The districts in which the Lesedi la Puso programme was run - Ghanzi, Kgalagadi, Kweneng and Southern - were all within the "Matsha Catchment Area". This represents the geographical limits of the extension outreach from a new multi-purpose educational centre which is being built at Kang village in Kgalagadi District. When fully developed the centre will consist of a secondary school, brigades and a nonformal education division. The nonformal education division of Matsha started operating in mid 1977, and was staffed by one NFE Research Officer and one General Duties Assistant. The NFE Research Officer served as a member of all four district extension teams and this helped to cement the already existing feelings of regional affinity in that part of Botswana.

Spanning all four districts the NFE Research Officer helped to develop the contacts between the four district extension teams and this laid a basis for the first regional Radio Learning Group campaign in Botswana. The decision to organised a civics campaign and

Lesedi La Puso **Operational Flow Chart**



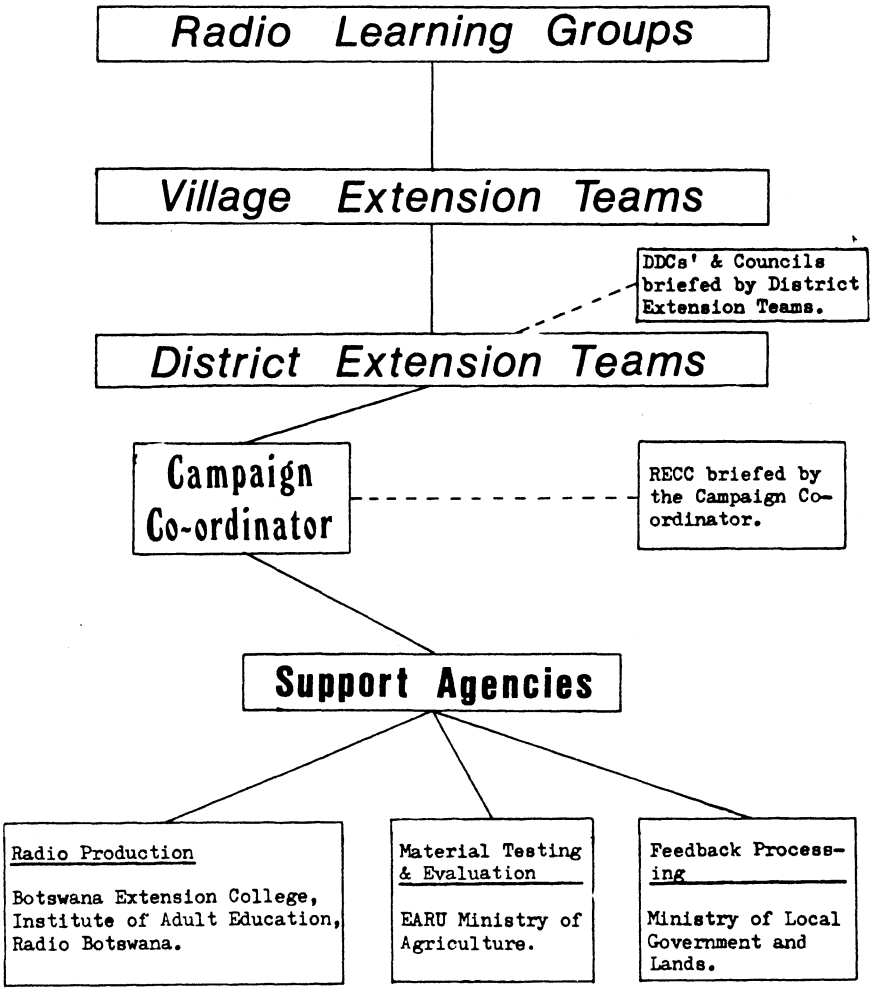
the reasons for using the Radio Learning Group model are fully documented in the report Lesedi la Puso, a Radio Learning Group Campaign in Western Botswana, (Boipelego Education Project, 1980) Suffice it to say here that a district-wide survey took place beforehand on which the overall decision to run the campaign was based as well as the choice of subject matter. The Radio Learning Group method was chosen as the most appropriate method considering the size of the area to be covered, the scattered population and the small number of extension workers.

As with the North West District case, the policy-making decisions were taken at the district level. The District Councils approved the project and were kept informed of progress, as were the District Development Committees. The District Extension Teams were responsible for the materials and fieldwork preparation, and for the implementation of the programme. Again, as with North West District, the study guide materials were prepared at the district level and the members of the four district extension teams drafted the radio scripts and recorded the programmes. The analysis of the feedback data was also done at the district level, and the data incorporated into the districts' Annual Plans. The campaign activities are shown schematically on the Operational Flow Chart reproduced on page 103.

Co-ordination took place at the regional level through the Matsha NFE division. The co-ordinators task was to make sure that everything happened on time, both in the districts and in the centre. This work involved a lot of time. It was one of the principle experiences of this regional campaign that for such a large scale programme to be a success a real time commitment has to be made by whoever takes on the co-ordinating function. Whereas, at both district and national levels, it was merely necessary to programme the Lesedi la Puso activities in with the other work, the co-ordination function was almost a full-time job. This, again, underlines the desirability of the posting of full-time adult educators to each district.

The organisational structure used in the campaign is shown in the diagram on the facing page. The responsibility for the implementation of the campaign activities rested, in each district, with the District Extension Team. These reported on their activities to the

The Organisational Structure



District Council and the District Development Committee. The co-ordination between the districts and between district and the central support agencies was handled by the campaign co-ordinator who operated at a regional level. Responsibility for the campaign rested with the districts.

The activities at the central level were of a largely technical assistance and service nature. So, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture's Evaluation and Action Research Unit (EARU) worked throughout the campaign on evaluation; Radio Botswana lent equipment and, later, broadcasters; the Ministry of local Government and Lands assisted by designing the feedback system and the feedback materials; the Government Printer took charge of producing the final versions of the campaign's printed materials.

Thus, an important feature of this campaign was the amount of de-centralised responsibility and action. Much of the work and most of the decisions were taken at the district level with the centre providing assistance, but no leadership. Moreover, the campaign's activities formed part of the districts' overall NFE plans. In other words, the work involved in the Lesedi la Puso campaign was not extra work for the districts' extension staff but part of their planned activities for which allowance had been made and staff time set aside.

c. Combining Consultation with Civics Education

The combination of the consultation on the district plan with other subjects as part of a Civics Education programme was an important part of the Lesedi la Puso programme (1). The ten subjects covered in the campaign were drawn together by using the theme of their relationship to the District Plan and by stressing the importance and possibilities of self-help during each programme.

The study guide chapters were written from a district perspective by district staff based on a survey of the districts' populations. The feedback from the campaign was also done on a district basis. Unlike the TGLP/RLG campaign the feedback from the Lesedi la Puso

(1) The subjects covered in the campaign were: Voting and Elections; Our Elected Representatives; the Civil Service; Co-operatives; Water; Health; Education; Wildlife; Local Government Tax; and Planning with the People. (Subject headings taken from the campaign study guide - Boipelego Education Project, 1979.

campaign was analysed at the district level. During the TGLP/RLG all the feedback had been processed at the national level and much of the data had been fed into the computer. Because of the size of the operation it had not been possible for the districts to have immediate access to this feedback. Again with the open-ended questions, because of the vast numbers, it had not been possible at the national level to make district-by-district break-downs of the responses. During the Lesedi la Puso campaign basically the same feedback processing system was used as during the TGLP/RLG but with, as basic difference, the whole feedback processing operation being done at the district level and without the computer. This meant that the results could be available for use at the district level almost immediately.

This feedback, divided as it was into ten subject areas, could be used as input into the districts' Annual Plans. The timetabling of the programme had been done so that the programme would co-incide as much as possible with the suggested times for carrying out the annual consultation (1). It only remained for the feedback to be tabulated and for the district officials to use the information in the preparation of their Annual Plans.

With the breakdowns of the subject areas into recognisable (departmental) areas the feedback could be used by the separate departments in building up their own picture of village-by-village situations as these pertained to their department. Thus it was also possible to bring up problems which needed immediate attention as well as information that could be included into the plan, In fact, on several occasions, the Community Development departments did contact groups about issues which they had raised during the campaign. Because the data analysis took place at a level so close to the people it was possible (i) to analyse the data quicker (because the volume was less) and (ii) to respond quicker than if the data analysis had taken place at the national level.

Apart from the ongoing dialogue situation built in to the Annual Plan consultation as a yearly exercise, there was also a more

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(1) The most desirable time for the consultation exercise to be held so that the consultation data can be included into the Annual Plan was worked out as part of the "construction" of an Annual Planning Calendar. The Annual Planning Calendar is discussed in section 4.4.

immediate possibility of dialogue between the people and district officials. Following the same method as during the TGLP/RLG campaign, the Radio Learning Groups were invited to ask questions of the districts' authorities. Space was provided at the bottom of the questionnaire (or Report Form) for the groups' questions. These were analysed separately from the other data and formed the basis of the Answer Programmes. The Answer Programmes can be seen as short-term dialogue, as opposed to the data analysis which, after being taken up into the Annual Plan, is reported on during the following year's Annual Consultation, and is more of a long-term (but on-going) dialogue.

Again, because analysis took place at the district level most of the questions could also be discussed at the district level. This meant that, in contrast to the TGLP/RLG campaign's Answer Programmes, the answers given could be more easily related to the situation of the people asking the questions. District officials are often aware of the situation existing in a particular village or area; certainly more so than officials at the national level.

After the answers to the questions had been prepared there were two methods that could be used for answering the questions. Firstly, the time allocated for the Lesedi la Puso broadcasts on Radio Botswana could be used. This involved recording the answers at the Radio Botswana studios for subsequent broadcasting over the air or recording the answers in the districts using the district officials (1). Secondly, district and village level extension workers could use the prepared answers when visiting the groups and could use these as a basis for their discussions. Problem areas could be identified and followed up in this manner.

d. Conclusions

The evaluation of the campaign indicated that the educational model used (the Radio Learning Group campaign with its feedback components) was an appropriate one which could be succesfully replicated. The feasability of linking such a programme to an annual planning

(1) Unfortunately not very many answers were recorded in the districts because of logistical problems. The absence of a district based Adult Educator with a tape recorder and recording experience was sorely missed.

exercise was also demonstrated and two main areas in which a dialogue process can be established were used: a longer-term on-going dialogue relating to the district plan and a short-term dialogue in which problems of immediate importance could be raised and reacted to.

The campaign further showed the potential capabilities of the district level in the various aspects of implementing nonformal edudational programmes - in policy-making, materials design and preparation, fieldwork, data analysis and co-operation with other levels.

The positive results of the programme are also indicated by the conclusions of the evaluation (i.e. that people learnt from the campaign (1)) and by the interest that other districts have shown in both the campaign model and the campaign materials.

Case 3

The Environmental Sanitation and Protection Programme (ESPP)

a. The issues

The areas which will be covered in this case study are, firstly, the response from the centre to requests from the districts, and secondly, the role of donor provided funds and technical assistance. It will be argued that a functioning system of nonformal educational planning has been set up which allows district and centre to co-operate with each other in the planning and implementing of programmes. It will further be shown that the development of well-functioning, decentralised district-level institutions can be delayed, undermined and frustrated by the demands made by donor agencies.

b. National level response to district requests

The Environmental Sanitation and Protection Programme was set up to deal with substandard personal and community sanitary practices, principally the lack of adequate disposal of human excreta, the presence of animal waste around village water sources and the lack of proper refuse disposal. The combatting of the health problem arising from this situation was the principal goal of the project. (See US AID Project Paper, 1979: 1)

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(1) This conclusion is based on action research carried out during the campaign and on a final evaluation - See Boipelego 1980.

Serious discussion on the implementation of a large-scale project started in 1976/77. Although essentially the message already being put across by the health extension workers covered all the aspects of environmental sanitation thought to be necessary it was proposed to increase the scale of the dissemination of the health message within the context of an "environmental sanitation campaign". There were three main reasons for this. Firstly, it was felt that the "normal" extension message put across by the health extension workers was not reaching enough people and was not having the desired results. Secondly, and related to the first reason, in some districts, villages had repeatedly stated, during their district plan consultation, that environmental sanitation was a problem and this was taken up as a priority in the district's Five Year District Development Plan. Thirdly, a well-functioning communication system had been set up during the TGLP/RLG campaign and some government officers felt that the system and the experience that had been gained could be used to mount a health extension campaign.

Discussions started in early 1977 between the ministries involved at the centre, the NFE agencies and the districts on how to implement the proposals made in the District Plans. There were a number of problems which had to be overcome before the programme could start, the principal one being the absence of personnel who could be fully utilised for the development of the programme - all the incumbent staff were heavily involved in their own ongoing programmes. This meant a delay until 1980 before any headway was made with the implementation of the programme.

The initial discussions in 1977 had worked with the idea of a nation-wide campaign run by the centre - something very similar to the Radio Learning Group Campaign on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. By 1980 the advances made with district planning stood in the way of such a national campaign, and it was decided that any campaign model which would be developed for this programme would have to be integrated into the implementation of the District Development Plan. In other words, the ESPP would be a district programme integrated into the districts' other activities and taking into account district resources in terms of manpower, vehicles, finance, etc. Thus the working group preparing for the campaign (i) scaled down the original proposals from a nation-wide to a district campaign and (ii) invited

two districts, which has stated environmental sanitation as being a major priority to assist with programme preparation. The ESPP would not be a centrally directed and nation-wide nonformal educational programme.

Even a district-wide campaign remained a major undertaking, especially because of the action element which were to be included along with the extension message (1). Therefore it was decided that it would be necessary to run a pilot campaign to test the message, the materials and the organisation; the larger scale district-wide campaign would be based on the experience from the pilot. The working group was of the opinion that a number of major questions needed answering before an "extension-action" package would be ready for a district campaign. Having recognized that no personnel was available in the country to work full-time on the development of this package, it was decided to approach a donor for technical assistance, assistance with project design and with finance. The working group of central ministries and districts involved in the project would act as a standing committee to ensure that any proposals made related to the Botswana situation and fitted in with other developments taking place in Botswana, notably the development of the district planning process. It was stressed that this project would not be a "special" project with its own staff, but would be completely integrated into the ongoing work of Government and Council. The only exceptions to this would be a (donor-provided) project co-ordinator and sanitarian, whose main task would be to design a project model during the pilot stage of the project which could later be taken over by the districts (2).

c. Donor Assistance

The imposition of a number of demands made by the donor which had agreed to fund the project served to delay the project a few more years and threatened to cut across district-centre procedures,

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(1) The action element was to consist of the construction of refuse pits and pit latrines - this increased the technical difficulties and the amounts of finance necessary. It was no longer simply an extension message being put across but also new technologies.
(2) Special area development projects with their own (often expatriate) staff and with a high technical and financial assistance are not very popular in Botswana. For an evaluation of one of the exceptions, the Village Area Development Programme, see Odell 1978.

developed during the build-up of the district-planning system, by imposing its own procedures.

At the stage when donor assistance was requested, the organisation for implementing and planning nonformal education campaigns had been set up and was starting to work effectively. The NFE links between the districts and the centre were functioning well through working groups, such as that for the Environmental Sanitation Programme; financial and manpower linkages had been established within the context of the District Plan. The financial and manpower resources needed for an NFE programme during an implementation year were being worked out as part of the programme planning. This went into the District Plan and the resource allocations were approved by the centre. For this project the delay which threw the whole implementation out of gear came from the outside, from the donor.

The donor, which had been approached to assist with project implementation, imposed its own project preparation process which would have to be carried out by a team of experts from the donor country and which involved the use of a maximum of materials and manpower from the donor country. The working group devoted a considerable amount of its time to the re-shaping of these proposals, especially in terms of cutting back on the amount of manpower assistance proposed by the donor.

Once agreement had been reached between the donor and the working group, and subsequently a formal agreement signed between the donor and the Government of Botswana, a time-table was agreed on for project implementation. This timetable was taken up into the districts' Annual Plans, the requests for projects resources was made and the extra local and expatriate staff required for the pilot were requested.

However, because of the donor requirements (i) to recruit expatriate personnel from the donor country or from a third world country (although it would have been much easier to find other first world nationals with suitable work and Botswana experience) and (ii) to purchase most of the project materials from the donor country, the project implementation had to be delayed.

The donor failed to recruit candidates for the two key positions. This failure was attributed to a private recruitment agency, subcontracted to recruit the staff, failing to find any suitable candi-

dates.

The stage was reached where the funds to implement the project had been approved by the donor, but still no candidates for the two positions identified as being necessary for the project - the co-ordinator and the sanitarian - had been identified. At this stage the donor tried to pressurise the government to start implementing the project anyway because the funds were now available, although the people necessary to develop and design the project were not. But in spite of the threats that the earmarked money might now be used in recently liberated Zimbabwe unless the go-ahead for project implementation was given the Botswana Government did postpone the project. The donor was given more time to recruit people but the whole year's NFE planning on the part of the two districts involved had to be drastically revised.

Such examples of "tied aid" are not unique and are a familiar problem for Third World Governments. However, the types of demands made by such donors are not only simply a hindrance or a delay but, more importantly, they can work against local institutional development.

d. Conclusions

As the district planning process developed, the local level institutions for nonformal educational planning also developed. Links with nonformal educational planning at the centre became stronger and more discussion and joint planning took place. This was shown in this case study. Although the initial requests for the sanitation programme came from the districts, it was for a long time still the centre which made all the decisions. A few years later, when the actual programme planning took place, the districts were heavily involved in the activities of the working group and translated the implications of the programme into actions which were taken up into the districts' Annual Plans.

Within a situation where local and central institutions were co-operating efficiently and where local institutions were developing their own capacities, donor "assistance" can be more harmful than useful. (Donor aid which is tied to one particular project can almost never be successfully integrated into the local planning process because it is dependent on a sequence of events and activities thou-

sands of kilometres away from"the real action". Any delays in this process result in properly prepared plans not being implemented as scheduled and the waste of planning and other local resources).

A form of donor assistance which is more well disposed to the building up of local capacity and local institutions is the more flexible programme-, or sector-directed aid. Donor assistance of this nature is allocated to be spent on a certain (broad) programme or within a certain sector; administration of the funds is in the hands of local officials and works through local institutions and is not dependent on decisions taken in the country-of-origin of the funds. Lastly, few strings are attached to how the money is allocated within the programme or the sector. Because this type of aid involves less donor control over the funds, it is avoided by most donor agencies.

Case 4

Literacy

a. The Issues

Literacy work has always been an important nonformal educational activity. This is also the case with Botswana. In the past a number of voluntary associations occupied themselves with literacy work and, in 1977, Government started taking an interest also. Firstly through a Pilot Literacy Project, organised by the Botswana Extension College, and followed, in 1980, by the National Initiative for the Eradication of Illiteracy, organised by the Department of Nonformal Education. This case study will discuss literacy work in Botswana in relation to the development of the nonformal education planning process at the district level. Two main issues will be covered. Firstly, that of the co-operation between the national, district and village levels in the preparation of a programme with national implications; secondly, the organisation necessary for such a campaign and the cadres involved.

b. National, District and Village-Level Co-operation

The first large-scale literacy effort in Botswana was the Functional Literacy Pilot Project, designed under the supervision of the Botswana Extension College, which was implemented from August to No-

vember 1977. Being a pilot project the area to be covered was limited to the area around Gaborone, Kweneng and South-East District. However, because of the widespread interest in literacy programmes, other areas of the country (notably the Brigades in Serowe and the Remote Area Development Programme in Kgatleng District) also participated, whilst still others had to be refused.

In the introduction to the proposal for the pilot project it was noted that the National Development Plan (1973-78) calls for the development of a national literacy policy and further, that

> "many agencies at the national, district and village levels have requested assistance and material support for literacy programmes. As a contribution to the development of policy and potential programming in this area, the Botswana Extension College is developing an experimental functional literacy campaign."
>
> (Botswana Extension College, 1977: 5)

The organisation model used for the Pilot Literacy campaign resembled that used during the TGLP/RLG campaign. At the national level the Botswana Extension College had full responsibility for the operational activities of the project; this included overall planning and co-ordination, materials production, field organisation, leader training and evaluation.

At the district level the organising committee was the District Extension Team. Besides being responsible for field organisation at the district level this committee was also responsible for co-ordinating the literacy activites with other district activities and for ensuring that the various extension agencies at the district level co-operated.

The Village Extension Teams supported the literacy group leaders, in addition to their other work.

The Botswana Extension College (formally under the Ministry of Education) reported on activities and progress to the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee and held individual consultations with the various ministries and their extension agencies to work out programme content and field organisation. As much as possible, the content of the literacy programmes around which the actual literacy learning process was based centred around extension messages on subjects as health, land rights, ploughing, etc., and programme de-development was very much an inter-ministerial affair. This was also

true for the literacy workers at the district level. These people were ordinary extension workers doing literacy work as part of their work programmes as agreed at the district level (through the District Extension Team).

The pilot project was evaluated in 1978. One of the main conclusions from this evaluation was that the project identified a considerable demand for adult literacy classes. (See Botswana Extension College, 1978; Part Two: 45) As regards the administration and fieldwork of the project, three main points were made in the evaluation which have bearing on the expansion of literacy work after the pilot project. Firstly:

> This pilot was very small and could be supervised by Botswana Extension College (BEC) staff. Even so, the project put quite a strain on BEC's manpower resources, and, clearly, the role of supervision in the field will have to be taken out of BEC's hands in any larger project.

Secondly:

> The supervisory role of village extension teams should be made clear from the start. Preferably, they should be asked by their headquarters' staff to attend briefing meetings on the literacy project and to form village literacy committees. This should help them to accept involvement in such a project as one of their day to day duties (emphasis added - D.N.)

Thirdly:

> Like most other nonformal education projects, this one relied heavily on village extension workers and consumed a lot of their time. On the whole, extension workers... were fairly successful as leaders, but experience from the pilot suggests that there are sufficient numbers of other capable people in most villages that it is not essential to rely on extension workers as leaders, especially if their superiors feel they do not have enough time to spare. The most important role of the extension workers is leader recruitment and membership of the village literacy committee (which supports the literacy groups in the village - D.N.)
>
> (Botswana Extension College, 1978 - Part Two: 45-46)

It was clear, after the pilot project, that the Botswana Extension College, with the resources available to it at that time (1978) cold not support either an on-going or a larger literacy effort. However, a limited amount of support continued to be given to literacy work started in the pilot area. The demand was so great that it was impossible to stop the literacy work altogether.

Shortly after the literacy pilot project, the Botswana Extension College was incorporated into the newly established Department of Nonformal Education. This department took over the portfolio responsibility for literacy work and, as a result of the already stated demand for literacy programmes, announced that literacy would be the main focus for its activities. This proposal was put to the districts during a one-day seminar where it was whole-heartedly accepted.

The result of the seminar was a decision to go ahead with the planning and preparation for a national literacy programme. However, the type of national programme which was worked out linked in with the developments which had taken place in district planning and the central role which the District Extension Teams played in nonformal educational planning at the district level.

The working group, which prepared and discussed the type of literacy programme to be implemented, the methods to be employed and all the other contingencies likely to arise, was composed of representatives from the centre and from the districts; this group was serviced by the Department of Nonformal Education. Through this group the districts were involved in the preparation of the literacy strategy. The worked-out strategy was presented to the District Extension Teams and to the District Councils for approval. Moreover, the programme was designed so that it could be run on a district by district basis - or districts could chose to cover only certain sections of their population or only certain areas of the district.

Nonetheless the Ministry of Education, through the Department of Nonformal Education, retained a substantial measure of control both in programme design and in programme implementation through their control of the technical expertise, their contacts with the donors, and their control of fieldstaff (the District Adult Education Officers and the, newly created, cadre of Literacy Assistants). Thus it has been possible for the Department of Nonformal Eduation to impose a five-year ceiling on the programme starting in 1980. Under the present design of the programme it will take three years to complete the learing process: with 1984 as the last year of the literacy programme, districts who were not ready to start in 1980 have only two years left to join. Although it is likely that the period will be extended because of (i) popular demand and (ii) failure to cover all

areas adequately, pressure has been put on the districts in this indirect way to drop other programmes and start with literacy.

The districts have been involved throughout the process of programme preparation. They were involved in the original decision to start with a literacy programme, they were involved in the thinking out of the programme and in mandating its acceptability. The districts taking part are also included in the national steering group which guides the implementation of the programme. Through this system districts could take part in the decision-making processes of the literacy programme. In practice, districts felt they lacked the technical expertise to play a major role in programme development and this area has been the undisputed territory of the Department of Nonformal Education. The issues on which the districts were most involved related to those aspects of the programme likely to have the most repercussions on the activities and financial remunerations of those involved in the programme at the district level. These issues included (i) the paying of an honorarium to the literacy group leaders (1), (ii) the workload on the District Extension Team and the impossibility of implementing the programme without a District Adult Educator in post, (iii) the need for a cadre of Literacy Assistants, and (iv) whether a new cadre needed to be created or whether Community Development workers could be used.

To sum up, the centre has retained considerable control over programme design. Whilst the system does exist for the districts to exert more control, the areas in which they have in practice been most involved have been the areas relating to personnel management.

c. The district literacy cadre

The literacy programme will be implemented at the district level by the District Extension Teams. A central figure in these teams will be the District Adult Educator - employed by the Department of Nonformal Education. The adult educator will have the key technical role at the district level but he will be responsible to the

(1) The position of group leader in extension programmes has, in the past, usually been a voluntary position without financial remuneration - this was the case in, for example, both the TGLP/RLG campaign and in Lesedi la Puso. The pilot literacy project paid honoraria as an incentive to group leaders and this was difficult to reverse.

District Extension Team because of the district nature of the programme. This has been discussed at length and agreed on by both national and district levels. And, at the district level, it will be the District Extension Team, which will be responsible for organisation and co-ordination, as well as for the integration of the literacy programme with other district programmes.

In order to implement the programme, it was decided that a number of village-level extension workers were necessary to work with the literacy groups. The need for this cadre, called Literacy Assistants, was identified in the literacy programme proposals. Where the personnel for this cadre would come from was left open pending discussions within the working group and with the districts and ministries involved.

The cadre of Literacy Assistants would be a short-term one which would eliminate itself after the completion of the literacy programme. Their position would be that of village level extension worker, responsible to the District Extension Team and serving as a member of the Village Extension Team. The Literacy Assistants task would be to work with the literacy groups in the villages and to provide them with support during the learning process. Because the programme has been scheduled to take place over 5 years, the need for the cadre, from being rather substantial for a short period, will disappear rather quickly after the 5 years. There are no prospects for promotion within the cadre - a factor which should have influenced any decision on the nature of the Literacy Assistant cadre. The decision, taken by the Ministry of Education, to form a new and separate cadre of Literacy Assistant, rather than to try to come to an agreement with the Councils and the Unified Local Government Service to use the Community Development Assistant cadre, was taken for reasons of administrative efficiency and will increase the Ministry's control over the cadre at the expense of the Districts.

A number of steps will be taken to prepare for the underemployment of the Literacy cadre at the end of the literacy programme. The Ministry of Education hopes to come to an agreement with the other extension cadres, especially Community Development, that the village-level activities undertaken by the Literacy Assistants, will be accepted as the appropriate experience for further training in

Community Development or other extension work. However, the proposed increase in the cadre of Community Development Assistants (who have the same educational level as the Literacy Assistants) is likely to over extend the capacity of the Community Development Training School. Preference for further training will almost certainly go to those already working within the Community Development cadre. With these prospects a high turnover may well be expected within the cadre of Literacy Assistants, especially if other jobs turn up for them during the programme; either that or there will come great pressure to make the cadre permanent.

d. Conclusions

The literacy programme was largely designed by the centre. Districts were more involved in the planning and preparation of this national nonformal educational programme than had been the case with previous programmes, but the centre retained a strong control over programme design. The principal reasons for this were the centre's access to donor money, their supposed higher technical competence, control over decisions affecting manpower and also the national nature of the campaign. Nonetheless the districts were involved throughout the decision-making and programme preparation process and the possibility did exist to influence programme design.

One major influence on programme design was the district planning process. The Literacy Programme had to be fitted into the districts' plans. This resulted in the design of a programme model which was district-based and not nationally based. Furthermore, the choice was left open to the districts when to start with the programme, and whether to take part at all. This meant that the literacy programme was, to a large extent, dependent on district priorities and district implementation capacity within an on-going district development process.

The literacy cadre (adult educators and Literacy Assistants), although centrally employed by the Department of Nonformal Education, was also responsible to the district level through the District Extension Team. It had been recognized that the programme could not be implemented by just the one department and that the co-operation of all the district extension and support agencies would be needed.

Therefore the link to the District Extension Team is important. On a policy level, the representation of the Council Secretary (or his delegate) on the Literacy planning body implied a potential district influence on the programme's development.

The role of the Literacy Assistants vis-a-vis the role of the Community Development Assistants may cause some confusion at the village level. In the past, the community development workers had been called on to do literacy work (for example in the Pilot Literacy project). The lack of any clear role for community development workers has always been a problem which was why they worked so well on programmes where they were given definite tasks - for example, the TGLP/RLG campaign and the Literacy Pilot Project. Unless the community development workers can be properly integrated into literacy work there is likely to be friction between these two cadres.

Case 5

The NFE Guidelines in the District Planning Handbook and the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee's Planning Calendar

a. The issues

This case study will look at how some of the developments discussed in the preceeding case-studies have been formalised. This formalisation can best be seen in the NFE guidelines as contained in the District Planning Handbook, and in the Planning Calendar with which the central NFE agencies have started working under the auspices of the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee. The main points which will be argued here are, firstly, that the experience of working with nonformal educational programmes within the context of the District Development Planning process has resulted in a system of planning and implementation for nonformal education which is replicable. Secondly, nonformal education programmes, can be planned within the broader framework of the District Development Plan. Thirdly, central nonformal education agencies have started co-ordinating their plans with those of other nonformal education agencies and with the districts.

b. The NFE Guidelines

The District Planning Handbook was prepared in june 1979. This handbook reflected the then current development of District Planning. It was to be used as a reference document by people working at the district level and was to cover all aspects of district planning, including consultation and nonformal education. Besides being a working document, it was also hoped that the Handbook would, to some extent, help to overcome job disorientation resulting from transfer from one district to another - which was a frequent occurence.

The NFE guidelines in the Handbook which, roughly speaking, cover the sections on Consultation, Nonformal Education and Small Projects, reflect the developments which have taken place since the 1976 "Planning with the People" speech. These developments are the the result of the trials and errors described in the earlier parts of this chapter. Although the last word has obviously not been spoken on this subject (and the loose-leaf nature of the Handbook is evidence of that) enough experience has been gained to warrant some attempt at formalising basic principles. There is no need for succeeding generations of district planners to go through the same painful learning process as the first generation. The Handbook attempts to provide a basis for future planners to work from.

In summary, these developments include the recognition of both District and Village Extension Teams as bodies with an important function to carry out at these two levels. The position of the District Extension Team as the NFE planning sub-committee of the District Development Committee has also been recognized. In this context the location of policy-making at the district level was also very important. This means that, firstly, the centre can be asked to support district initiatives with technical assistance and, secondly, initiatives which do come from the centre have first to be included in the district plan before they can be implemented. A steamroller approach from the centre has been made more difficult, although the centre, which still has the monopoly on the technical expertise and has the financial means at its disposal is probably still in a strong position to influence the districts into taking certain courses of action.

As regards the annual consultation exercise, experience since 1976 has resulted in the build-up of a large body of knowledge but,

more important, the consultation exercise now forms an integral part of the Annual Planning Calendar. Therefore the consultation is not only regarded as an essential activity but it also fits into an important slot in the planning process in such a way that the views expressed by the people can also be used as a basis for making plans on a regular basis. Through the ongoing nature of the consultation i.e. a yearly execise taking place at village level in which people expect to be involved, a dialogue situation is being created between the village and the district level.

Although the consultation process has now been worked out and the various methods tested, this does not nessarily mean that all the steps in the calendar are always carried out. In some cases lack of capacity at the district level may slow down the process as, too, may staff changes of local or expatriate officers. Sometimes new expatriate officers may have a different "vision" on what is really needed than the former incumbent. The actions of these expatriates in key roles at the district level, especially in the post of District Officer (Development), can stagnate further development in a district or slow it down for a number of years. It is for this reason that the post of District Officer Development needs to be localised as soon as possible; if further delays or mistakes or improvements are going to be made they might as well be made by local officers who will have the rest of their lives in the country to profit from the improvements or learn from their mistakes.

It would not be fair to single out expatriates as being responsible for malfunctions in the system. A number of other factors should also be mentioned. The most obvious one is the work performance of the cadre of Community Development workers. The lack of clarity within the concept of "community development" is reflected in the poor work performance of most members of this cadre and, more especially, in their lack of direction. That this cadre is capable of producing good work has been evidenced in their performance in such campaigns as the TGLP/RLG and the Pilot Literacy Project. Here the programme was clear, the reasons for taking the action was clear and the work was directed and supervised - this is not the case when they carry out their "normal" work. The need for extension workers to have a programme to work to is obvious. The whole purpose of the district planning process is to provide these work programmes

- based on consultation with the people.

One of the reasons which have been advanced for the confusion within the community development cadre is the role conflict between the Council Secretary and the Division of Social and Community Development in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Simplifying the situation, although the community development cadre is a district-based cadre and responsible to the Council Secretary for direction, in practice the Division within the Ministry has assumed a large part of this role. It has been made clear, time and again, that the cadre is responsible to the Council Secretary, but in practice no satisfactory working relationship has yet been built up between the Division (which has purely advisory functions) and the Council Secretary (who has the executive functions).

c. The Central Planning Calendar

The links between the centre and the districts as regards the implementation of nonformal educational programmes have improved considerably. The Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee has played an important part in this. The improvement has been on two fronts.

Firstly, the district-centre communication has improved now that there is a recognized body at the district level, namely the District Extension Team, to deal with.

Secondly, and partly because of this improved communication with the districts and the development of the nonformal educational planning process at the district level, the Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee has succeeded in bringing the central NFE agencies closer together. With much persuasion and hard work from the chairman and secretary of the committee the central NFE agencies have now started to plan ahead, to discuss their proposals with the other NFE agencies and with the districts, to respond to initiatives from the districts and lastly, to be prepared to change their plans based on discussion at the central and district level.

In the beginning of 1980 it was possible, for the first time, to produce an overall central agencies NFE plan. The various plans were combined in chart form for the period january 1980 until march 1981. These plans were sent to the districts and the central NFE agencies as working documents. Thus also at the central level progress is being made towards a more integrated approach to nonformal education. This progress is, to a very great extent, due to pressure from

the district level on the centre through the setting up and improved functioning of planning and implementation bodies at the district level.

5.6. Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has covered, in broad outline, the development of nonformal education during the period 1975 to 1980. These developments are closely linked with the development of the district planning process in the same period.

In giving an overview of the activities covered by "nonformal education", which, in Botswana, covers virtually all organised educational activities falling outside the formal schooling system, it was stressed that one of the major NFE activities being carried out was the District Plan consultation. NFE activities at the district level have become the responsibility of the District Extension Team. These teams have taken the responsibility for the co-ordination, planning and implementation of NFE programmes at the district level, including the consultation, as part of the district planning process. These teams are responsible for the creation and maintenance of a dialogue situation between the village and the district level within the context of the evaluation, preparation and implementation of the districts' annual plans.

Particular attention has been paid to the first major efforts with consultation - the Public Consultation on the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. The Public Consultation had a number of important outcomes. Firstly, it legitimised the consultation process, both for the government officials (who had to accept that it could be done) and the people (who liked the idea of being consulted). The Public Consultation, and especially the Radio Learning Group Campaign (TGLP/RLG) part of the consultation, developed and worked with an organisational structure of district and village extension teams which became the basic organisational structure for most future nonformal educational activities. These extension teams also took on important roles in the district planning process, as it started to develop after 1976. The district extension teams planned and implemented consultation and other nonformal educational programmes as part of the District Development Plan; the village extension teams implemented the consultation and other nonformal educational programmes as part

of their annual work programmes.

Inter-agency co-operation was an important feature of the TGLP/RLG. This co-operation took place at all levels and served as a basis for co-operation after the campaign.

Another outcome of the campaign related to the campaign method. The Radio Learning Group model (first developed in Tanzania) was experimented with in Botswana and adapted to become a workable method of bringing across information to a large audience and receiving feedback from that audience.

The major development after the TGLP/RLG campaign was the consolidation of the village and, especially, the district extension teams. This process went together with the setting up and working out of a system for district development planning. As part of the strengthening of the roles of the district institutions, the district extension team developed as a sub-committee of the District Development Committee. This committee, having the overall technical and co-ordination functions in the district development process had "sub-contracted" some of these responsibilities out to its sub-committees - the district extension teams took over responsibility for nonformal education.

The extension teams' positions were strengthened because they were district-based committees interpreting district goals as outlined in the District Development Plan. With this strengthening of their position also came some strengthening of their capabilities through the posting of district-based Adult Educators and co-operation with the centre for technical assistance. The number of NFE activities also increased giving them not only more work but also more of a reason for an ongoing existence.

The more recent developments in nonformal education and its relationship to the district planning process were discussed using a number of case studies. Based on these cases a number of overall points were made.

(i) Through experiments with different methods of consultation a system has been developed with the potential for setting up an on-going dialogue with the people at the village level on a yearly basis within the structural context of the districts's Annual Plan.

It is also possible, within the same context, to respond to immediate problems. The methods that have been developed do make it possible to involved large numbers of people directly in the district planning process through the consultation.

(ii) The role of the centre is still very important, both for providing technical assistance and for new ideas on possible NFE programmes. However, it is now necessary to integrate all such initiatives from the centre into the district plans.

(iii) The problems of working with donors were noted, especially in the context of the development of institutions at the district level, and the integration of district activities into the national planning system. Donor demands which stipulate their own requirements and work to their own timetables can work against the development of effective local institutions.

(iv) Lastly it was outlined how the NFE activities of the 1975-1980 period have been formalised into an ongoing system. The result is that new NFE activities and programmes are no longer isolated events from which the experience is lost afterwards but form part of an ongoing district planning-process.

5.7. A Rosy Picture

Chapters 4 and 5 have painted what is perhaps a rather rosy picture of the developments which have taken place in nonformal education, consultation and district planning. Little attention has been paid to the mistakes which have been made, the delays which occurred and the difficulties which were faced. No attempt has been made to delve deeply into the problems which the individual programmes have had to contend with - and there were many of those! Rather an attempt will be made to get to the heart of the overall problem namely the Botswana Government's lack of commitment. This will be the subject matter of chapters 6 and 7.

It will be argued that the main problem with district-planning-based-on-consultation is that it is only allowed to operate with some measure of success in the social services sector but that the Botswana Government is not committed to even allow it to get off the ground in those sectors which have the potential of improving the economic position of the majority of the population. For this reason a discussion of the successes and failures of the individual

programmes implemented within the social services sector might contribute to an improvement of programmes within this sector but it would not bring any closer an understanding of why district-planning-based-on-consultation is limited to this sector and why it has not been able to improve the economic position of the rural majority.

Therefore the next chapters will focus on an analysis of the structure within which the district planning system operates. The two main areas which will be analysed in detail are: the village level and how decisions are arrived at in the villages (Chapter 6); and the Public Service as an obstacle to consultation (Chapter 7). It will be argued that improvements to the system of district-planning-based-on-consultation should not be sought in improved programme design, the overcoming of logistical problems and/or more training and experience. Rather improvements can only come through a shift in emphasis away from social services and it will be argued that it is precisely here that the interests of the educated elite and the rural majority clash.

6.1. Introduction

Consultation involves more than setting up a district-planning system and working out methods of consultation; for consultation to be successful the people have to be involved to give the systems and methods content and meaning. This has to take place at the village level because it is here that the dynamics of the village society interact with the systems of district planning-based-on-consultation designed to involve "the people".

It will be argued that the involvement and participation of the majority of those living in the rural areas in consultation and planning is limited. The main reasons for this are to be found in the effective domination of the coummunication channels, as well as the decision-making and other resources, by the village elite. Furthermore, when families make decisions about how to commit their time and their own resources, the decisions taken are often limited by social controls which dictate possibilities and choices. These social controls serve to maintain the status quo and to channel activities into those areas which are not directly threatening either to the status quo or to the position of the village elite. The country's rural development strategy, as interpreted at the village level by Government and Council staff, is hardly effective in those areas likely to affect this situation and more effective in those areas which are not seen as threatening the status quo - i.e. social services and the provision of infrastructure.

Within this situation the rural poor are marginal to the process of consultation and district planning as they are not involved in the decision-making of either the kgotla or the Village Development Committee; neither do they have much contact with the village-level extension workers. Involvement through the political parties is also out of the question as neither the ruling party nor any of the opposition parties operates with a village organisation. Moreover large numbers of young, able-bodied men and women are away from the village at any one time in search of temporary employment in the urban and mining areas.

The limitations of working through the kgotla and the Village Development Committee have been recognised both by researchers and government officials. However no alternatives have been experimented with in an attempt to involve more people in the decision-making. The principal reason for this is the high legitimacy which the kgotla, in spite of its obvious short-comings still enjoys.

6.2. The Kgotla

Traditionally all village affairs were run by the kgotla. In principle the kgotla is the general assembly of a village and every villager is expected to attend meetings (1). At the kgoyla decisions are taken on a wide varie of activities affecting village life.

> The kgotla is at once a place, an institution and the people who participate. They may deal with specific issues of customary law or general issues of community discussion, or they may serve as simple information dissemination devices for government agencies.
> (At the kgotla) there is both a place and an institution to handle any significant issue publicly and at the most appropriate level for the continued smooth functioning of society. While the kgotla is the place where headmen and chiefs adjudicate issues and discipline violators of community rules, it is also the place where any adult can stand up and offer his or her views.
>
> (DAI, 1979: 212)

The final decisions in the kgotla are made by the chief or the headman but normally such decisions amounted to the summing up of the opinions of the village elders. The unquestioned final authority of the chief or headman has, however, been whittled away to some extent since Independence (See Gulbrandsen and Wiig, 1977: 8, and Kooijman, 1978:28- 50). With modern values of democratic government having become an acceptable part of national politics, the unquestionable final authorithy of the chief and headman has become less acceptable but this has also faced communities with the problem of not being able to produce agreements and decisions acceptable to all.

In the past the kgotla met daily. Tribesmen came in the early morning to discuss the affairs of the village and to deal with court cases. And although the chief's and the headman's authority has declined after Independence, the kgotla is still recognised as the official focus of the village and it enjoys very high legitimacy compared to other village-level institutions (2). Decisions taken at the kgotla enjoy the same legitimacy. However note of caution is advisable. The kgotla is not the centre of all village activity and it is certainly not the place where villagers spend their days.

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(1) The rule which did not allow women to speak in kgotla meetings was abolished at Independence.

(2) For a strong defence of the usefulness of the kgotla and the importance retaining this institution see Local Government and the Institution of the Kgotla, Rural Sociology Unit, 1979. This paper argues that, because of the high legitimacy enjoyed by the kgotla, it needs to be substantially stregthened and not further weakened.

Neither does everyone participate in kgotla meetings, even if they are in the village when the meeting is called; and of those present at meetings only a percentage speak and even fewer are listened to.

Nonetheless the kgotla is the most important representative body at the village level; other bodies, such as the Village Development Committee, derive their authority from the kgotla and a decision taken in the kgotla is regarded as a decision taken by the villagers and binding on them. Therfore the kgotla is the most important point of contact at the village level for the consultation on the district plan. The consultation data used for planning purposes should also be approved by a kgotla meeting or by recognised representatives of the kgotla if a non-village-based consultation method is used.

The representativeness of the kgotla and of the decisions taken in the kgotla is of crucial importance to the whole process of consultation. Every method of consultation used to date has, to a major extent, been based on the assumption that the decisions arrived at in the kgotla "represent" the views of the people. And even where this assumption has been questioned, no alternatives have been either suggested or implemented.

This "representativeness" needs to be questioned as spending time in the kgotla is not a major village past-time. Most people have other things to do. The young and able-bodied men are seldom in the villages; increasingly they are being forced to migrate out to the towns in Botswana and the mines and farms in South Africa seeking employment, as the opportunities for formal employment in the villages are limited. (See Gulbrandsen, 1980: 17-46, Lipton 1978 Vol II: 116). The women, too, are following this trek route to the urban areas, leaving the older people and the children as the numerically dominant age-groups in the village. Those that do stay in the villages are faced with a labour shortage because of this out-migration and they need to spend long hours in the fields to be able to provide a subsistence yield from their agricultural activities.

The migration, normally, is not permanent. The migrants do come back when they can and recognise the village as their home. The return to the village is a result of the vagaries of formal employment possiblities, where only a few succeed in obtaining long-term secure employment. The majority has to be content with short-term and un- or semi-skilled work, and the measure of security which the village home and the extended family still has to offer. Any extra money which is earned by migrants is normally in-

vested in augmenting one's herd of cattle or starting a herd. However, most of the money is used for consumption purposes. In the first instance to provide food for the family and, in the second instance, in conspicuous consumption - notably the beer parties.

Gulbrandsen has noted a decline in the importance of the kgotla coupled to an increase in the importance of these beer parties (1). These beer parties take place in a forum dominated by the young men back from the mines, with money to spend. Although such fora are not incompatible with traditional Tswana culture, it can hardly be argued that beer parties lend themselves to serious decision-making. On the relationship kgotla-beer party Gulbrandsen has argued that:

> Since the importance of the kgotla as a public arena for the articulation and confirmation of social identities has greatly diminished, these semi-public beer parties have become increasingly important. The option of enjoying each others company in this way takes place within a certain social context which is noteworthy. Wheras a person's rank is important to the interactional game in almost all Tswana fora, this is not so true of beer-parties. Although young people express respect for elders according to customary principles for proper conduct, it is mostly the miners who control this forum since they are the ones with the crucial asset: cash. In fact, in many cases even old people are dependent on these men by begging for beer/cash..... (The issues discussed at the beer parties) also play a central role in the traditional men's forum, the kgotla, where men meet in the afternoons to relax and chat. There, however, a man's rank is always relevant, so the young men have to sit in the background and listen, together with the poor and inferior men.
>
> (Gurlbrandsen, 1980: 84 -85)

The young men dominate the beer parties, which they control through their access to cash. Unfortunately the time spent beer drinking is detrimental to the work that needs to be done in the fields and little time is allocated to such activities over and above that which needs to be done to meet subsistence needs. In fact the stage has now been reached where villagers have become so accustomed to migrant labour providing the cash needs for the village that in years of poor agricultural potential (i.e. drought, late rains) families do not plough but rely on money from outside the village. (Gulbrandsen, 1980: 82).

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(1) Gulbrandsen explains this in term of (a) the decline in the powers of the chiefs and headmen which has undermined the kgotla system and (b) the lifting of the prohibition on the commercial brewing of traditional beer by the village women. (Gulbrandsen, 1980:85).

This increases the dependence on the outside and reduces the possiblities of village level activities rising above a subsistence level. Most of the people who would be capable of heavy agricultural work, implementing village self-help projects or undertaking other activities are migrants, temporarily employed outside the village.

What this situation means for the kgotla, is that the people with the most strength, with the new ideas and with more formal education than the older generation, are mostly out of the villages. As they spend a large proportion of the time that they are back in beer-parties, this leaves the kgotla as the preserve of the older men.

But even with this smaller percentage of the village population from which attendance at the kgotla might be drawn there is a distinct "pecking-order" which excludes especially the poorer and "inferior" groups (which includes most of the women) from having an influence on decision-making. This point was made by Gulbrandsen in his discussion on the role of beer parties (see Gulbrandsen, 1980: 84-85). The conceptualisation of "superior" and "inferior" groups within the village is illustrated by this description from a village in Kweneng District.

> The village was completely segregated (emphasis added - D.N.) into Kwena and the "inferior" junior groups of Tswana, the Kgalagadi. The two groups lived on opposite sides of the village, each occupying its own ward. They spoke very different dialects, which surprised me, given the closeness of at least superficial daily contact, and the small size of the village (de facto population about 400)
>
> (Alverson, 1978: 75)

The situation as described by Alverson varies only by the degree of separateness in other villages of Botswana. All villages have their senior and their junior wards, and their upper and their lower classes. The amount of contact between these groups and the amount of influence which the "inferior" groups are allowed to have is, to a large extent, dictated by their "superiors". The actual decisions taken at the kgotla tend to reflect the views of the village elite i.e. the older men from the "superior" sections of the village. The views of the young, the poor and the inferior, not to speak of the women, count for very little.

In spite of this the majority of the people living in the rural areas accord high legitimacy to their village kgotla and recognise the right of

this kgotla to arrive at decisions which tend to be respected. For this reason, the kgotla remains the basis for village-level decision-making and is the most frequently used point of contact for Government/Council activities at the village level. Furthermore, because of its high legitimacy it is very difficult to by-pass the kgotla and make direct contact with the villagers on any issues of major importance.

This means that a highly legitimate but unrepresentative body, dominated by the village elite and making decisions which favour this section of the population, is used as the main point of contact at the village level for the consultation.

6.3. The Village Development Committee (VDC)

The Village Development Committees (VDCs) were set up by Presidental Directive in 1968 (1). The VDC is the "modern" and "development-oriented" institution at the village level. Its establishment and functioning have raised much discussion over the last decade; especially the relationship of the VDC to the kgotla has been a major issue. On the face of it there seems to be little reason for confusion because the role of the VDC vis-a-vis the kgotla was clearly spelt out in the Presidential Directive. It was stated that VDC members were to be elected by the kgotla; that the VDC was to be responsible to the kgotla; that VDC members were to be re-elected by the kgotla every two years; and that the headman (the convener

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(1) The main functions of the VDCs, as envisaged by the Presidential Directive, were to be as follows:
a. To identify and discuss local needs
b. To formulate proposals for the development of the village which it represents
c. To determine the extent to which the people are willing and able to develop the village on a self-help basis
d. To determine a plan of development for their village area
e. To elicit the help of the District Commisioner and other development agencies in their improvements, and
f. To provide a medium of contact between the headman, the councillor the people and the District Council, and by this means to make the District Council better informed as to the needs of certain areas, and thereby help in the District Council's responsibilities to produce district plans for development.
(Source: Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 1968: Cabinet Memorandum No. 68)

of the kgotla) was to be an ex officio VDC member. The role envisaged for the VDC was clearly that of "development sub-commitee" of the kgotla.

In practice there is confusion. In many cases the two institutions are seen as rival institutions not complementary ones, and this is often seen in terms of "traditional" versus "modern". One of the main reasons for this has been that extension workers (especially those from Community Development) prefer to work with the VDC. In the view of many extension workers VDC members are better educated and are (therefore?) more receptive to the extension messages. VDC members, who after all are elected by an elite dominated institution - the kgotla - also tend to come from the village elite. Thus an extension worker vis-a-vis local elite relationship exists which is common to many Third World countries (1).

VDC membership is drawn from those people normally resident in the village. This means that villagers, who for reasons of employment cannot reside permanently in the village, are excluded from effective membership. Most of the people falling into this category are the young and able-bodied men and women in search of employment in the urban and mining areas. This leaves the older people (and, generally speaking, this will be the old men) in the position to compete for office on the VDC - an office which does carry some prestige (2).

In Botswana the relationship between the "traditonal" institution (the kgotla) and the "modern" institution (the Village Development Commitee) illustrates the dependence of the modern institutions on the traditional ones. Research carried out on the functioning of VDCs has generally concluded that a well functioning VDC has strong links to the kgotla and the village headman. A non-functioning VDC tends to have weak links with the kgotla, and the village headman and the VDC chairman tend to be in a conflict situation with each other. (See Tau, 1978, and Rural Sociology Unit,

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(1) For discussion on the relationship extension worker vis-a-vis local elite in a number of developing countries see, for example, Hunter, 1980; Hale, 1974; Thoden van Velzen, 1972; Leonard, 1977; Ascroft, 1973; Röling and de Zeeuw, 1981.

(2) This may change if the recommendations made by the Local Government Structure Commission to remunerate VDC members is accepted - see LGSC, 1979: 64. Membership, at present, carries no financial remuneration.

1979 a). According to the research carried out by the Rural Sociology Unit:

> Traditional social formations, including in particular the kgotla, the headman/ward-head, together with their linkages through local institutions or traditions, play a very significant and vital supporting role throughout the entire development process. Village development and VDCs themselves cannot hope to be successful unless they work closely with and through these local institutions. The links at present are weak and must be examined carefully with an eye to their being clarified and strengthened, particularly in relation to production rather than service-oriented development programmes.
>
> (Rural Sociology Unit 1979 a: 1)

According to these studies well over half the VDCs in the country were ineffective as a mobilising force in the development of their village area. As the main reason for this ineffectiveness was judged to be the poor links with the kgotla and/or headman, and also conflicts, inactivity or opposition from local leaders (especially the village headman, but also the local district councillor.)

An equally important factor is the lack of knowledge, both by the community and by the VDC itself, of what it is that the VDC is supposed to be doing. In fact, VDCs, even after having been in existence for over ten years, are still struggling with their raison d'être. (Tau, 1978:8; Rural Sociology Unit, 1979 a: 4).

VDC Training

One of the solutions, seen by both villagers and VDC members, to improve the image and effectiveness of VDCs is through training and education - both for the VDC members and for the villagers. It is thought that this will help the people and the VDC members to understand what it is that the VDC is supposed to do and, hopefully, to help them to do it.

This expressed "need" for training is not new. Over the past decade there have neen numerous VDC training courses and VDC conferences. Preparations were even made for a nation-wide Radio-Learning-Group-type VDC training campaign using a multi-media approach. Although this idea was dropped a number of materials were prepared which formed the basis of a (new) Village Development Committee Handbook (1).

(1) This was the 1978 version prepared by the Botswana Extension College. Several Village Development Committee Handbooks have been published over the years - see Botswana Extension College, 1975, 1977, 1978.

These handbooks have been distributed to all the VDCs in the country but there is little evidence of them being widely used.

The key to the problem seems to be that all training efforts are aimed at administrative competence (i.e. administration of money, how to take minutes, how to be a good chairman). Training courses have not been able to help the VDCs to discover what it is that they are supposed to do and what projects they can actually carry out. The creation of village development institutions is an empty exercise unless the members recognize the purpose and usefulness of the institution. Without a sense of purpose no amount of training in the forms and procedures of meetings will make the institution more viable.

VDCs and Self-Help

Self-Help was regarded as the corner-stone of village development activities by the adherents of the Community Development movement (See Holdcroft, 1978: 10). In Botswana, community development workers also subscribed to this notion and, consequently, self-help projects have always been considered as one of the most important activities for VDCs to engage in.

However, the difficulties of translating the concepts of "self-help" and "community development" into projects and activities lies at the basis of the lack of direction from which most VDCs have suffered since they were set up shortly after Independence.

Before Independence the chiefs were able to rely on a system of age group regiments to carry out public works such as bush-clearing, fire-fighting and road-building. The right of the chiefs to use these age-group regiments was abolished at Independence because it was regarded as being akin to a system of forced labour - something which should not be permitted in an independent country (1). In the first years of Independence the VDCs did play a major role in implementing self-help projects in the villages. Considerable effort went into self-help projects all over the country, in particular the building of self-help schools, as education was judged to be the number one priority - both by the government and by the rural people.

(1) This measure, and a number of others, was taken shortly after Independence with the expressed aim of whittling away the powers of the traditional authorities and strengthening the position of an elected elite and the political party.

This early self-help phase took place when the idea of nation-building was still very emotive. Everyone wanted to work towards "the development of Botswana" and it was very clear what types of projects were necessary and what work needed to be done. Even today the remains of many self-help schools can still be seen standing in many rural villages.

Changes in the attitude toward self-help work and the willingness to work on self-help projects came as a result of two major events:

i. The Food for Work Programme, and

ii. The Accelerated Rural Development Programme.

The Food for Work programme was launched during a national emergency, when a drought and famine situation threatened. International assistance, in the form of famine relief, was forthcoming but this relief tied the distribution of food rations to the participation in drought relief projects - hence "food for work" or "work for food".

The self-help projects promoted by Community Development workers differed from these projects because they were "pure" self-help projects, based on community spirit and not involving money or rewards of any kind. However the types of projects carried out under "pure" community development and under "food for work" were basically the same. Therefore one of the results of the food for work programme was that people now expected to be recompensed for their efforts spent on village projects, regarding unpaid work on village projects as exploitation of labour.

The distinction between these types of projects where some form of payment (in kind or in cash) is given and other projects which are only "self-help" (no food, no cash, only materials) did not lie in the type of project being implemented but in the type of international assistance available. When the famine was over and the rations' supply dried up food-for-work stopped and self-help was supposed to take over again.

A similar problem was encountered with the drought relief measures for the 1979/80 drought. Money was again made available for "Labour Intensive Public Works" and Councils had problems convincing people that these public works were different from self-help projects. In reality the types of projects to be carried out were not different and Government had to agree to a daily wage for people engaged in Labour Intensive Public Works in order to implement at least some of the projects. People

simply refused to take part in these projects unless paid for their work (1).

Self-help at the village level is discouraged by the different forms of remuneration - i.e. (i) nothing, (ii) food or (iii) money - for participation in exactly the same types of projects. The reasons for the difference may be perfectly clear at the national level and to the donor, but at the village level they are the basis for confusion and for a refusal to work on a purely self-help basis.

The Accelerated Rural Development Programme supported the trend away from community-based self-help projects (2). Under the ARDP many projects which had previously been self-help projects were implemented under Government/ Council auspices. This showed the people in the villages that Government/ Council was better at providing these facilities than they were themselves. Furthermore, the ARDP set new standards of quality which were difficult to match in self-help projects. Infrastructural programmes following the ARDP continued to provide these social services and within the foreseeable future, will have provided the country with village water reticulation systems, schools and health facilities. No alternative self-help projects have been suggested to replace those now being implemented by Government/ Council and the net result is an understandable lack of enthusiasm for self-help projects.

As for the Village Development Committees, it is exactly the lack of concrete activities which they can get their teeth into that lies at the basis of their aimlessness and their ineffectiveness.

In spite of this Community Development workers continue to "stimulate" the VDCs which they work with to come up with self-help projects. Dutifully, many VDCs respond to this pressure and agree to build a guest house, or a school latrine, or put up a fence somewhere. Most of these projects are never implemented through self-help for the reasons discussed above. Nonetheless, in an attempt to support self-help efforts a special fund was set up, with donor assistance, to support village initiatives.

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(1) The daily wage rate approved by Government in 1980 for working on the Labour Intensive Public Works lay far below the legal minimum wage - something which the people were quite well aware of and which did not encourage their participation in these latest public works projects.
(2) The Accelerated Rural Development Programme (ARDP) is discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1.

With the creation of this fund money would, theoretically, be immediately available to support village initiatives. There were virtually no strings attached to the fund except those relating to the types of projects which could be implemented under the fund. Unfortunately, most of the projects which could be implemented under the fund resembled those projects which were also being implemented under other government programmes. Suggestions made by the donor when the fund was set up, which recommended the working out of an "integrated strategy whereby the lower-income strata would be given opportunities to improve their livehood (the furthest that the donor went towards recommending production-type projects), were explicitly rejected by Government. (See Gulbrandsen and Wiig, 1977). This rejection was based on the incompatibilty between production projects and the (rather vague) ideal of "community development" project - as if it was somehow wrong to talk about the rural poor engaging in money-making ventures. The net result of these efforts was that a flexible funding system was created for self-help projects but that little of this money was ever used because all the possible self-help projects also fell under other Government/Council programmes. (See Isaksen, Gulbrandsen and Seim, 1980: 8).

6.4. The Relationship between VDCs and Kgotlas

A picture has been drawn of two institutions at the village level linked together by Presidential Directive but frequently in confilict with each other. The VDC as the modern, development oriented institution is generally lacking in direction and purpose and the kgotla, although highly regarded, does not represent the interests of the majority of the village people. Neither does the VDC, whose membership is drawn from the same elite group which also takes an important part in the activities of the kgotla.

Therefore the conflicts between the VDC and the kgotla should be seen more in the context of a competiton between elites for prestige. In fact this conflict situation has now become so common that it is used in stereo-typical form at training sessions.

In training courses run by the Community Development staff, where role-plays are frequently used as an extension method, the VDC chairman is often shown as modern-thinking and educated whilst the headman is shown as un-cooperative, uneducated and ignorant. The result of such

training courses has been that the solutions to all the village's problems emerges as: "the headman should co-operate with the VDC to overcome our problems".

In the conflict between the VDC and the kgotla, the community development workers have formed an alliance with the VDC. As a result of encouragement by community development workers to be "modern" and "progressive" the VDC has moved away from its intended position as a development sub-committee of the kgotla to a position of competing institution in a modern versus traditional context.

The majority of the people are left outside this power struggle as they have no voice on either the kgotla or the VDC and/or are only in the village for short periods between employment outside the village area.

In this context the proposals to remunerate VDC members for their services and to increase the remuneration that the headman receives are not likely to have much effect on village activity. It would simply amount to putting the local elite on a government salary scale.

While this may increase the prestige of the positions and encourage more competiton for these position, such remuneration will not increase the number of projects being implemented in the villages. At present, VDCs have very few constructive activities which they can take part in because (i) there is little incentive to carry out self-help projects when most of the work will be done anyway by Government/Council, (ii) VDCs are not supposed to take part in productive projects or projects of a commercial nature, and (iii) there are very few people available in the villages to work on these projects because most have gone elsewhere looking for employment and the ones left behind have their hands full because of this labour shortage.

Measures to remunerate VDC members may increase the amount of money circulating at the village level, but it is not likely to have any effect on the creation of productive activities or more employment. Quite the reverse is likely - the system of beer parties, developed to help the mine labourers circulate their money on their return to the village, can easily be expanded to cope with this new influx of money.

Without real efforts to increase the possiblilities for employment in the rural areas, villages will remain social service centres for the children and the old people while the young people leave the village looking for employment. Regular cash injections by Government into the village

will increase rather than decrease this tendency. Without employment near home or without the possibility of making a reasonable living from the land, local initiatives will always be directed toward improving social services, and the aging local elites will continue to compete for status on unrepresentative bodies.

With the consultation on the District Plan, the VDC has been one of the main channels into the village, on the understanding that the kgotla should discuss and ratify suggestions made by the VDCs. This is illustrative of the concept of the more educated and modern doing the thinking for the rest. However, very often, informing the kgotla is a formality which is not taken too seriously. In practice this restricts the discussion on "village development" to a small group. The main result from such discussions, recorded as consultation data, have been requests for more and better social services infrastructure.

Finally, when compared to kgotlas, VDCs have a weak position, being almost without authority. The most successful VDCs depended to a large degree on an active, supportive and committed headman. Nonetheless, neither the VDC nor the kgotla involves the participation of the majority of the people whose homes are in the villages in their decision-making. Hence one could question whether consultation, working through these two institutions, can ever be more than an involvement of the village elite in the district planning process.

6.5. The Village-level Extension Workers

The village-level extension workers form an important link between the village and the district levels. However, their effectiveness is limited by a number of factors. Bond (1974: 56) has noted that:

> agricultural extension is reaching a very small proportion of the farmers in Botswana.

The same is true of the Community Development and other extension services (1). In Botswana, the extension workers principal contacts are the village headman and village elders, Village Development Committee members and the "progressive" farmers.

(1) This is a rather common feature of extension work. See for example Thoden van Velzen, 1977; Leonard, 1977; Hunter, 1980, Hale, 1974; Ascroft, 1973.

Hale (1974: 9-13) has pointed out the dominant influence that village leaders have on the information flow from extension workers to villagers. Because of their position as contact persons for the extension workers and as dominant figures in the village, village leaders are in a position to control the flow of new information (for example an extension message) to the rest of the village. In this way, also, a re-interpretation or watering down of the message may take place so that the message which finally "trickles-down" has lost a lot of its resemblance of the original message.

The extension workers control one of the main channels of information and communication between the village and the district and national levels. The national and the district level can use the extension workers to bring down messages to the village level. The same channels through which this top-down information flow can take place can also be used for information going in the reverse direction. But the same obstacles which exist for bringing messages down to the people also exist if one wants reserve the flow of information.

This has obvious and direct implications for the type of information coming out of the consultation on the District Plan as the extension worker channel is one of the main channels used. While it is true that special methods of consultation have been developed to directly link the village with the district level, the village-level extension worker plays a major role in both the actual consultation and in the initial interpretation of the villagers' "needs" into consultation data; and the same obstacles exist. Although some of the wants and needs of the people at the village level may "trickle up", most "trickles off" to the side and every level adds its own interpretation to the trickle as it makes its way up. Already at the village level, the village elite make their interpretation of the village's development priorities, which is then modified by the extension workers who send the message up to the district level - where it is modified yet again, and so on, all the way to the top.

The attitude of extension workers to the people they work with is important as this influences the content of the "trickle-up" message. Extension workers are all products of the formal educational system and this sets them apart from most of the uneducated majority. Their education has set them apart from the rural people and their long absences

in educational establishments has alienated them from rural life at the subsistence level. Many regard themselves as being "superior" to the ("uneducated") majority of the people with whom they have to deal - and even superior to their superiors, the politicians. This can be illustrated by a quote from the Community Development Review, which re-viewed the role of the Community Developemnt cadre. The Review Committee noted:

> ... a deplorable attitude on the part of ... Community Development workers towards Councillors, and a complete misunderstanding of their position as civil servants. The comments were to the effect that the questionnaire (on the future of the cadre) should not have been sent to the Councillors since the latter were not educated enough (emphasis added - D.N.) to pass comments on such a highly "professional cadre as Community Development workers. The Committe pondered as to whether mere members of the public should be allowed to come into contact with such a haughty cadre either.
>
> (OoP, 1977a: 23)

The problem of the extension worker's attitude is re-inforced by his membership of an educated and salaried cadre. The extension worker's loyalties do not lie at village level; neither does political direction from the district level make much of an impression. In the extension worker's world (and that of other public servants) the most important "loyalty" is to the organisation which is responsible for his monthly payments, his training and his transfers. This has virtually nothing to do with the content or quality of the work that the extension worker produces but has everything to do with the forms being filled in properly and the rules being followed.

As long as the proper bureaucratic procedures remain more important to the extension worker than local political guidance and responsibility to the local organisations with which he is working, real improvements in the quality of extension work cannot be expected whatever new methods are developed.

Community Development and confusion

It has been argued that there are problems inherent in the whole concept of "Community Development" and that they have very little to do with the local situation. In other words, the philosophy behind the Community Development movement - that it is possible to "develop" a community without materially effecting the relationship rich-poor -

is false (1).

The principal aims of "Community Development" are to create socially balanced and happy (!) communities; however, no attempts were to be made to change the relations of production within the communities as this would affect the status of the elite. It is for this reason that those adhering to the philosophy of Community Development are opposed to the promotion of commercial, production and employment-related projects. One writer, himself involved with Community Development from its inception after the Second World War, has argued that the whole movement had its roots in a post-war United Stated desire to keep the Third World free of communism by giving it Community Development instead. (See Holdcroft, 1978: 2)

The contradictions in the Community Development philosophy make it difficult for the community development workers to put this philosophy into practice. Therefore their principal activity consists of exhorting community action in general terms without ever getting to grips with the problems of poverty (2).

Concerned about this lack of direction, Community Development workers in Botswana have proposed a shift away from the vagueness of the attempts to create "happy" communities towards rural development projects which include income producing elements. This line of thinking is supported by Holdcroft (1978) who argued that is was wrong for Community Development programmes to focus on investments in community buildings, schools, clinics and other social services, which resulted in increased consumption, rather than stressing agricultural and other production activites right from the outset. (Holdcroft, 1978: 28-29) Thus rural development projects should include, right from their inception, income-producing components. With these as the centre piece, social and other services can follow.

Extension worker accountability

One of the most important elements of extension work which is

(1) See Holdcroft, 1978: 27.
(2) This confusion is also reflected in the contributions which the Community Development workers make to the district plans. It is always the community development plans that are the last to be prepared - or simply never come in at all. The most common excuse for these delays is that it is very difficult to make plans because these have to be based on the "felt needs" of the villagers and it is difficult to get to know what these are - even after the consultation.

missing is accountability. In no instance is an extension worker accountable to any representative body (e.g. the kgotla) at the village level at which he has to explain and justify his actions. Extension workers fit into their own bureaucratic organisation structures and their orders, their salaries, their promotions, their trainings and their transfers all come from above. Small wonder that the extension workers loyalty is not to their village of (temporary) residence.

Many of the extension workers (and this includes those who believed in their work and who did work very hard) are often more concerned with going away on courses, going overseas or to other African countries for further training, and with promotion or salary increases than with the development of "their" village. As long as the villagers have no influence on these facets of the extension worker's career his first loyalty will never be to them but to his organisation.

Sudden and arbitrary transfers to another location, possibly to the other side of the country, shows the village-level extension worker who is boss and whom he should please. That such decisions are often based on bureaucratic reasons rather than work performance reasons only adds to the problem.

A part solution to the lack of allegiance which extension workers feel towards their village of residence could be to make them more responsible or accountable to the villagers. But to which institution or to which people would the extension worker report? As discussed earlier it is difficult to find a village-level organisation which represents all the villagers and which is not dominated by elite groupings. And secondly, the extension workers willingness to listen to people who are educationally "inferior" to him is also questionable.

An important link in such a situation would be the role or potential role of the political parties and the villagers' political representatives.

6.6. The Political Parties at the Village Level

The activities of the political parties at the village level includes the work of both the district councillors as well as that of the members of parliament. In Botswana these officials are elected on a constituency basis, with 32 constituencies for members of parliament

and with the 144 constituencies for district councillors shared by nine District Councils. The number of councillors per District Council varies, depending mostly on the size of the population; Central District has 32 elected councillors whilst North East District Council has only 6 elected councillors. (Source: A guide to Presiding Officers in the Parliamentary and Local Government Elections 1979, Oop 1979)

Besides the constituency based elections to both Parliament and the District (and Town) Councils, the President retains the right to appoint members of parliament and councillors. In the case of the latter, this authority is exercise through the Minister of Local Government and Lands. Thus after the 1974 elections, when opposition parties got a sizeable representation on some of the District Councils, it was possible for the President to take steps safeguarding his party's majority at the district level. In the North East District for example the Botswana People's Party (BPP) had a majority until the Minister of Local Government and Lands appointed additional Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) councillors (see Picard 1979: 302).

Little has been written about the activities of the political parties at the village level. The reason for this is that there is very little activity by the political parties at the village level, and what activity there is takes place just before the elections (see Gulbrandsen and Wiig, 1977: 12, and Osborne, 1976: 210).

The relationship between the political parties and the traditional authorities is dicated by an alliance of convenience through which individual chiefs have been allowed to retain a certain amount of authority and considerable influence in return for mobolising the masses to vote for the Government party, the Botswana Democratic Party. This generalisation has only a few exceptions to it - and where this is the case the chief has formed an alliance with one of the opposition parties. As Gillet (1975: 107) has noted, the Botswana Democratic Party lacks a grass-roots organisation and hence the active co-operation of the tribal authorities is crucial. Until such time that the BDP develops into or is replaced by a party organisation which operates at all levels - and not just at election times - the political parties will continue to rely on the chiefs.

This conclusion is supported by Colclough and McCarthy (1980) who argue that even the District Councils seem as remote as central government to many village people principally because of the lack of an active, grass-roots political party. They also note that councillors

and members of parliament are generally drawn from an elite group, wealthier and better educated than the populace as a whole and frequently with close ties to the traditional aristocracy of chiefs and headmen (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980: 38).

With the dominant influence of the traditional authorities at the village level, the high degree of a-politicisation of most villagers is hardly surprising. Byram (1978) has noted that people frequently do not understand the necessity of voting. The man they elected as President still held that position so why bother to vote again. Byram concludes that, therefore, a strong association exists between the electing to power of the President and the "election" of a traditional chief - a event in which the ordinary villager has little influence (Byram, 1978: 2).

Life at the village level is still dominated by the traditional way of life and the traditional leaders. Most people at the village level do not have any tangible influence on the decision-making processes. Neither the extension worker nor the political parties have made any real in-roads into this set-up, except in so far as the ruling party and the traditional authorities have arrived at a situation of mutual convenience in the maintenance of the status quo.

6.7. The Rural Poor

A number of terms exist which have been used to describe the poor majority living in the rural areas. Here "rural poor" has been preferred because this term does indicate poverty, non-elite status, relative lack of formal education, little influence in decision-making and relative lack of access to resources with which to improve their condition. This group forms the majority at the village level.

Poverty and wealth do not relate to individuals but to households. These points are forcefully made both by Gulbrandsen (1980: 45-46) and by Cooper (1979: 3). Thus the migrants, working in the mines or in the urban areas, still form part of their (poor) rural household. Their migration has taken place not only because they, themselves, are poor, but also because their household or extended family needs the extra resources from outside.

For this reason labour migration is mostly a phenomenon which takes place within the context of the extended family. Gulbrandsen in his

study of the Bangwaketse has noted that 92% of all extended families are represented by at least one mine-worker (Gulbrandsen 1980: 11). Because of this migration only a few rural households depend entirely on agro-pastoral production (Gulbrandsen 1980: 15) either because (i) their lack of resources, especially access to draught power, forces migration to balance the family budget, or (ii) even with the necessary access to resources, i.e. sufficient cattle, (migrant) wage labour produces a cash surplus more easily than does extra agricultural effort.

The present pattern of migration shows the following trend. (i) Unskilled men lacking formal education migrate to the South African mines, farms and factories and are basically short-term employees. (ii) The more skilled and educated offspring of the village, both men and women, tend to be employed in the formal sector in Botswana - which in most cases means a government/council job. Egner and Klausen have estimated that within the 20-34 age bracket, 32% are in formal employment. This is devided over 15% in the South African mines and 17% in the formal sector in Botswana (Egner and Klausen, 1980:31). (iii) The increasingly large group migrating to the urban areas in Botswana searching for "informal" employment. This group will only get bigger as the mining group becomes smaller because of the South African Government's policy of cutting back on the numbers of Botswana working as migrants in South Africa. (No accurate figures are available for this sector.)

The picture is one of an increasing polarisation between the rich families (with cattle, education, formal employment and access to both traditional and modern political power) and poor families with none of these advantages. (Gulbransen, 1980; and Egner and Klausen 1980)

The rural poor, of which an increasing percentage is made up of de facto female-headed households, belong to the "inferior" groups who have no influence in the kgotla and who are not elected to the Village Development Committee. Their contact with the outside world is not through formal education or extension worker contact, but through word-of-mouth reports from migrants and second-hand knowledge of extension messages as they "trickle-down".

The rural poor have limited resources; they do not have sufficient access to draught power in order to be able to cultivate enough

land to produce more than subsistence requirements. Therefore one or more members of the extended family are "forced" to migrate in search of cash. An extension message, operating within this context, has very little chance of success if its contents are based on the situation of the "progressive farmer" - who, by definition, has access to sufficient land, labour and draught power.

The involvement of the rural poor in rural development is limited by their lack of contact with the extension message, lack of the resources necessary to be able to implement the message and the Government's piece-meal approach to rural development. Each ministry is busy with its own programmes which attempt to achieve something within the limits of that ministry's portfolio responsibility without regard to what may be happening in other sectors. For example, as long as the possibility to migrate to the mines in South Africa exists no agricultural extension effort which does not take into account the (relatively) high wages that can be earned in the mines compared to the low returns from efforts put into farming, is doomed to failure. Similarly, any consultation programme that is aimed at involving all the people in making decisions about their future, is bound to fail if large numbers of these people are away from the rural areas at any one time and if there are no representative institutions at the village level in which all can participate equally.

6.8. Conclusions

Two principal decision-making bodies exist at the village level- the kgotla (the traditional tribal meeting) and the Village Development Committee (the "development" sub-committe of the kgotla). Both these institutions are dominated by the village elite and by the extension workers residing in the village. The rural poor, the majority of those living at the village level, have no significant influence on the decisions taken in these two fora.

Alternatives do not exist. The most likely alternative, the political party, does not operate at the village level and has no village-level organisation. Rather the political party relies on the traditional authortiy of the chiefs and the headmen to do its electioneering.

The consultation on which the district planning system is based works through the village-level representative bodies. By means of a

number of different methods of consultation representatives from these bodies are regularly involved in the making of village and district plans - but within limits. These limits are social services, their location and their priority.

The rural poor are only marginally involved in this consultation. Development and decision-making about development is an elite occupation - even when it takes place at the village level. The possibilities of breaking through this barrier of non-involvement - or rather, the lack thereof - will be taken further in the final chapter, chapter 8.

Chapter 7 THE PUBLIC SERVICE - AN OBSTACLE TO CONSULTATION

7.1. Introduction

Previous chapters have outlined how district planning based on consultation should work and how, at the village level, a number of obstacles exist which limit the participation of the majority of the village population in the consultation. This chapter will focus on the public service and, more especially, on the obstacles to consultation which are built into the public service and which effect both the content of the consultation information as well as its use.

The public service is rapidly expanding whereas the numbers employed in the private sector have hardly increased. This leaves the public service with a virtual monopoly of formal sector employment in Botswana. The main alternatives for those who have failed to find formal sector employment in Botswana has, for the past century, been migrant labour or (subsistence) agriculture. Livestock has, in practice, only provided a cash income to those already employed in the formal sector (see RIDS, 1976: 96).

The monopoly which the public sector has on employment is a serious disadvantage to effective consultation because, firstly, the access to public service employment is unequeal favouring children from rich households resident in the urban areas and major villages and, secondly, the public service acts as its own interest group at the expense of other groups, more especially the rural poor.

Through the control which the public service has on the district planning process it is in a position to interpret the consultation data or to add to this data as it sees fit. Public servants are not directly accountable to the public so that control over the actions of members of the public service is exercised by a fellow public servant with the same educational background and identical interests. The poor and uneducated majority have no influence on this. Accordingly, it will be argued that the public service has such an influence on the consultation data, and even on opinions expressed during the actual consultation, that this prevents the methods of consultation (outlined in chapter 4) from being fully effective.

7.2. The Public and the Private Sector

It has been estimated that over 35,000 new jobs need to be created per year in order to achieve a semblance of full employment

(Lipton, 1978: iii). Employment in the rural areas is minimal. There is no local level formal employment outside the public service, with only a few exceptions - for example, working in the village store. All other private sector employment, whether formal or informal, has to be sought outside the village area and involves migration either to the mines or (increasingly) to the urban areas. Few families extract a sufficient surplus from their agricultural efforts to meet more than subsistence needs and depend on "transfers" from members of their extended families to balance the family budget (RIDS, 1976: 102). Especially the poor households depend on either informal employment in the urban areas of Botswana or employment in the South African mines; the richer households normally have one or more family members employed in formal employment (RIDS, 1976: 103). With the alternative of semi-skilled work in the South-African mines a decreasing option as a result of the South African government's policy to halt employment from outside, the creation of the yearly 35,000 jobs will have to take place within Botswana.

The options open to the poor are few at present as no serious attempts to meet this employment target have been made. The private sector is stagnant and its growth is not encouraged - with the exception of highly skilled labour and capital intensive projects such as diamond mining operations (Egner and Klausen, 1980: 17-40). Furthermore a disproportionately high percentage of the public service are engaged in administering the myriad of rules and regulations which Lipton has called the "rules against business" (Lipton, 1978: 113-116).

The public service is enjoying the spectacular growth common to most newly-independent Third World countries and virtually monopolises formal sector employment. Compared to the growth in the public sector, expansion in the private sector has been minimal. The employment figures show the following: from 1975 to 1977 the total number of public service employees, including teachers, increased by 5,325. The total formal sector employment in all other sectors of the economy increased by 50. (Source: 1977 Employment Survey, Central Statistics Office).

7.3. The Growth of the Public Sector

The growth of formal employment in the public sector, at the expense of formal employment in the private sector, has serious manpower and finan-

cial implications for the country's development.

a. manpower. The public service has priority access to trained and educated manpower. Other sectors of the economy have to rely on importing skilled manpower from outside (mostly from South Africa). At the same time the public service is growing so fast that, even with the priority manpower allocations, the public service also has to rely on importing skilled manpower from outside (mostly from the Western European and American donor organisations) to fill all the vacant positions within the public service. Thus the expansion of the educational system is not keeping pace with the increase in size of the public sector and localisation of the public sector seems as far away as ever.

b. financial implications. As the number of civil servants - from village level extension workers to super-scale administrators - increases, so too does the wage bill. At present more than one third of Government expenditures are taken up by public service salaries and this figure is increasing constantly as the public service continues to award itself pay-increases (see the Reports by the Salaries Review Committees for 1972, 1978, 1980).

The public service forms an important self-interested block which has the power, in the absence of any other organised bargaining group and the small size of the private sector, to increase its share of the national product in the form of continued salary increases. The trade unions and the private sector are neither numerous nor strong enough; and the mass of the country's population, the un- and under-employed rural dwellers, have no voice at all.

The recommendations made by the Salaries Review Committees, and accepted by the politicians, have meant an increase in the gap between the formal (especially government or public) sector and the informal, un- and under-employed. In addition they have resulted in increases in remuneration of those at the top compared to those at the bottom of the public service salary scales. The trend, noted in the Employment Survey of 1972, has not been changed as a result of subsequent salary reviews. This survey noted that:

> ...mean earnings of Botswana with university degrees were between eight and ten times those of unskilled workers in the formal sec-

> tor and between 15 and 20 times those of domestic servants. Comparisons with average incomes in the rural areas - the latter being relevant to the great majority of Botswana families - revealed even greater differentials. (Colclough, 1976: 140).

These findings and the continued trend are supported by Cooper's analysis of wage differentials (See Cooper, 1979: 19-28).

Increased remuneration of the public service has been justified (for example by the 1980 Salaries Review Committee) in terms indirect benefits to the people living in the rural areas through the extended family network and through investment of the earned wages in activities in the rural areas which create employment. However, only if access into the public service is equal for both rich and poor will the benefits be spread through the extended family - and the access is very unequal! (see next section - 7.4.) Secondly, the favourite investment in the rural areas of wages earned is in cattle or bottle-stores - neither of which create jobs for very many people.

Despite the rapid increase of the public service there has been no increase in efficiency and many public servants are employed in jobs which by their very nature are either unproductive or hinder the productivity of others (See Lipton, 1978: 113 - 6 and Egner and Klausen, 1980: 62). Lipton argues that many of these jobs should be dispensed with. However, the main problem is one which is common to the public service in most countries. Public serive jobs are a sinecure: once in the service, dismissal is almost impossible. Hence laziness, gross negligence and obstructionism are tolerated, or, at worst, may result in a disciplinary transfer. Bringing in some form of negative re-inforcement, in the form of surcharges or dismissals for incompetence, might go much further to increase performance and devotion to duty than ever-increasing salaries and fancy fringe benefits.

7.4. Access to Public Service Jobs

In spite of its rapid growth and its virtual monopoly of the formal sector, the public service can only provide a fraction of the demand for formal employment. Hence, the question of Who gets the jobs? is of vital importance. In practice this access is very skewed and is principally dependent on education, wealth and family connections.

The majority of the rural population have neither the wealth nor the

family connections; for them education remains as the only entrance into the public service or any other type of formal sector employment. This explains the importance which rural people give to education - an importance which is reflected in the data coming from the consultation. For the rural poor, education is the only way to escape rural poverty and the hard and hungry life of rural subsistence living. However, not only are the school facilities in the rural areas of a much lower standard than in the towns or the major villages, but the teachers are also of a lower standard, being more likely to have little or no teaching qualification. (See Report of the National Commission on Education, MOE, 1977 Vol II: 6.5. - 6.14). Puzo (1977) has also noted that university students, from whose ranks most public servants in the higher echelons are drawn, tend to come from the urban areas or the major villages. Few university students come from the smaller villages. According to Puzo:

> The small villages of under 1000 and the rural areas of Botswana containing 60% of the country's population have produced only 13,76% of the country's (university) students (Puzo, 1977: 160-63)

Therefore, although education may be a way to escape rural poverty and to find a position in the public service, few of the rural poor make it over the hurdles erected by the established order.

With effective control of the public service in the hands of the "national bourgeoisie" - the alliance, through the extended family system, between the rural elite of big cattle-owners and the educated urban elite - the rural poor are effectively barred (See Klausen, 1979: 14-16 for a discussion on the rural/urban elite overlap). The interests of this elite group are very similar and it is mostly the views of this rather small and cohesive group that are most effectively converted into government policy and action, viz. especially the vast amount of time, money, manpower and legislation invested in the livestock industry - measures which subsidize the rich at the expense of the poor. This support to the livestock industry - from which only the rich benefit as only they have enough cattle - is the most obvious example of the trend in government-stimulated development programmes which favour the rich.

A particularly pertinent example is that of the Tribal Grazing Land Programme, labelled as the rural development thrust of the fourth National Development Plan. In spite of a nation-wide Public Consultation which

indicated a lack of understanding of some of the implications of the programme, as well as worries about the fate of the poor (Hitchcock, 1978:6) and in spite of numerous consultancy reports, commissioned by Government (See Chambers and Feldman, 1973; Hitchcock, 1978: Sandford, 1980; Gulbrandsen, 1980), the direction in which the TGLP has developed has tended to favour the large cattle-owner at the expense of those with few or no cattle.

The attitude of the public service to consultation is appositely reflected in this statement by a district official:

> We have had enough of "going to the people". Consultation takes too much time. We should abandon it. We need to go ahead. All this discussion and planning is getting in the way of development. Basarwa ("bushmen"), if they are in the way, should be gotten out of the way so that we can put up our fences. (emphasis added - D.N.) (Hitchcock, 1978: xix)

The confusion of public concern with self-interest is apparent and not surprising considering that the public servants are also the large cattle-owners.

The implication of this for the consultation is that the data which comes from the village level will be screened by the public service and subjected to continued re-interpretation, to fit in with their interests, all the way to the top. Where the demands are congruent - for example, the provision of social services such as health and education - there is no difficulty accepting village-level data as valid, even though standards in the urban areas and the towns are kept at a higher level than in the rural areas. Where the interests diverge, the "national interest" will usually take priority.

7.5. Central and Local Government

Manpower allocation in the public service tends to favour a concentration of the most skilled and educated manpower in the centre at the expense of field staff and the District Councils. Although the schemes of service between central and local government are now comparable there is still no easy movement between the two services and the allocation of manpower between central and local government service is controlled by a central government department - the Directorate of Personnel in the Office of the President.

Traditionally the local government service has been regarded as a

second-class service for people who could not make the grade in the more prestigious central government service. An example of this attitude can be found in the following quote from an official report on localisation and training:

> There can be no point in the Local Government Service attempting to compete with Central Government for the services of such rare citizens as qualified engineers, architects, water technologists and the like. When the needs of Central Government have been met there will be a spill over into the Local Government Service, and meantime Councils will have to depend on the services of expatriates, local retired officers, volunteers and the few who have personal preference (emphasis added - D.N.) for Local Government Service.
>
> (Localisation and Training, Oop, 1977: 57)

This is an attitude which still exists and it has resulted in Central Government taking the pick of all graduates (university, technical, and secondary) at the expense of both the local government service and the private sector. The local government service has had to cope with people filling positions for which they do not have the qualifications, the training or the capacity. If District Councils are to seriously fulfill the role of providing sound development leadership at the district level and are expected to produce development plans on which national planning can be based, then they must be allocated the staff to do it properly.

And until such time that local government officials can transfer across to central government, and vice-versa, within an integrated scheme of service, there will be no enthusiasm for local (Batswana) officials to stray very far from the centre.

Decentralisation of the decision-making process has never been fully carried out as all financial power still lies within the Ministry of Finance an Development Planning, controlled by Botswana's best educated public servants and a number of expatriate advisors and planning officers. Secondly, there is considerable resistance from some central government ministries to the de-centralisation of some of their powers to the district. This resistance is strongest in those ministries chiefly responsible for employment creation i.e. agriculture and commerce and industry. Whilst it has been possible to de-centralise a measure of planning, financial and implementation activity in the social services sector to the District

Councils, Lipton (1978: 214) has noted that there has been little public sector activity in the support sectors with responsibility for creating permanent work-places - agriculture and industry. This he attributes to the centralisation of cash and control in these sectors, so that no decision of any importance can be taken at lower levels. Because of this distance between implementation and decision-making levels it is difficult for the people at the village level to bring any pressure to bear on the decision-making level; on the other hand it is relatively simple for public servants to influence policy making so that a particular group receives preferential treatment, as was the case with the Tribal Grazing Land Programme (See the discussion of this example in 7.4. above) The group receiving preferential treatment is normally not the rural poor who are allowed little opportunity to influence policy in these sectors.

7.6. Implications of the different salaries and conditions of service at the village level

There are substantial differences between the salaries earned at the top and at the bottom of the public service; secondly, work in the rural areas carries with it less "prestige" than a posting in the capital. However, it is the low paid and less prestigious public servants who are in daily contact with the people living in the rural areas.

Although these public servants are at the bottom of the money and prestige ladder, even at the village level there is a distinct pecking-order based on differences in salary and prestige. The table on the following page gives an overview of the salaries earned by the village level public servants most likely to be serving on the Village Extension Team and the Village Development Committee. It can be seen that here also there are substantial differences between the size of the remuneration received. These differences reflect, to a large extent, the status within the public service - but not necessarily within the village community.

The senior public servant at the village level is the primary school headteacher. Often he is one of the most important opinion leaders at the village level. The respect afforded to this position reflects the importance of formal education in the eyes of both the Government and of the population as a whole. The headmaster also has junior staff to supervise. Hence the higher salary.

Salaries at the Village level	
Headteacher (smallest school)	p 4,548 per annum
Assistent Community Development Officer	p 2,208 " "
Agricultural Demonstrator	p 1,680 per annum
Senior Enrolled Nurse	p 2,760 " "
Enrolled Nurse	p 1.680 "
Headman	p 1,368 " "

(Source: Report of the 1978 Salaries Review Committee

The other extension cadres are all on a fairly equal footing - even more so since t 1980 Salaries Review Committee equalised the schemes of service for Agricultural Demonstrator and Assistant Community Development Officer. It is only the headman who earns significantly less than the others.

The link between the traditional and the modern sector is through the headman. He is, at the same time, judged to be a traditional leader and a member of the public service (by virtue of his salary). He is also the most senior village person in the traditional sector and the most junior person in the public service - again by virtue of his (low) salary. Because of this low (modern) status the headman - who calls the kgotla meetings, dispenses justice and is an ex officio member of most village-based committees - has very little authority within the modern sector. In fact there are many similarities between the position of the headman in relation to the other village-level public servants, and the position of the chiefs in relation to the colonial administrators during the "indirect rule" period. The headman is expected to control the traditional sector; and the modern sector expects to control the headman.

In this way the modern sector attempts to impose itself of the traditional sector. And when the headman, as the only member of the public service who is based in his home village, feels himself being pushed into doing things which he knows will be difficult to implement in his village, he withdraws, refuses active participation and approval, and waits for the

invevitable transfer of the extension worker.

Only the headman is permanently based in one particular village and only the headman is accountable to a village level body, the kgotla, for his actions. Generally speaking headmen do not get promoted or transferred away; the opposite is true for the rest of the public servants at the village level. Extension workers do not expect to stay very long in one particular village and are not accountable for their actions to anybody at the village level. Their focus is outside the village, at the national level, because it is at this level that the decisions are made about promotions, transfers and training. It is for the personnel bureau that the public servant performs and not for "his" village.

A major improvement in this situation can only be expected if village level public servants are made answerable to village level bodies (probably the kgotla). This body should be in a position to recommend work tasks, salary increments, training, transfers, etc. for the extension workers.

While there are many objections to using the kgotla as a body which public servants should be answerable to, the present situation - where extension workers and other village level public servants are answerable for their actions to other public servants at the district or national levels - leaves no room for any control over the work of the extension worker by the people he is supposed to be helping (1). At present there is no control by the village people over the public servant yet they are the ones who are supposed to implement the advice of the extension worker. The extension worker, with his safe monthly salary is not affected by a crop failure attributable to his bad advice, but all those of the target group who followed the advice are very seriously affected. Hence some form of control over such public servants in direct contact with the target group would be a major step forward in making these public servants more target-group directed and, secondly, would allow for a direct and visible influence by the people at the village level in making the decisions that affect their village's development.

This does not take away the fact that the kgotla is dominated by the village elite and can hardly be called a truely democratic in-

(1) See chapter 6 for a discussion on the functioning on the kgotla and for the tendency of both the kgotla and the Village Development Committee to be dominated by a small group of village elite.

stitution. However, as a first step, it is probably the only village level institution with enough legitimacy to take on such a responsbility. The most important step would be to establish the principle of village responsibility, rather than remote district or national responsibility, for village development. Although such a move may put new and more power into the hands of the local elite, with guidance, the opposite may also happen. More people, actively involved in decision-making about their own village may make the kgotla into a more democratic institution or may lay the basis for another, more democratic institution at the village level, possibly based on a political party organisation. This conclusion will be taken further in the discussion on "development policy" in chapter 8.

7.7. Training and Job Continuity of Village-Level/Extension Workers (1)

The agricultural, health and community development extension staff plus the local headteacher with his complement of teachers normally comprise the modern and formally employed sector in a small rural village. These people are examples to the rural people of the result of success in formal education - safe job, regular salary, promotion prospects and very little manual labour. Whatever other message the extension worker puts across as part of his extension package, the message that gets across most clearly is that formal education is the most likely way to escape the drudgery of a rural life based on subsistence agriculture.

Even though the majority of the school children will not be able to successfully complete their formal education and obtain jobs in the modern sector there is always hope - and this is what makes education so important. There is a small chance that one child in an extended family will make it over all the obstacles and obtain a job in the formal sector - thus providing the extended family with a supplementary income. Therefore it is not the content of the education which is important but the possible rewards resulting from a succesful completion. Unfortunately the odds for a succesful completion are not weighted in favour of the poor.

The few that succesfully complete primary school and are accepted into secondary school have to move away from home as Secondary Schools

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(1) Primary school headteachers have been included under the category of extension workers. The headteacher, besides his responsibilities in formal education, is also a member of the Village Extension Team, and has a number of responsibilities which fall within the scope of nornformal education.

are only found in the towns and the major villages (1). Further specialised training at a training college or univeristy means even more time spent away from the rural areas and from the realities of rural subsistence life.

These two factors, (i) the hope of formal employment after schooling and (ii) the years spent out of the rural areas whilst at (secondary) school, are as important as the message the extension worker puts across - possibly more so.

Training courses also tend to be disruptive because of the absence of an effective training programme directed at the continuity of the work programme; rather training courses are aimed at the increase in the skills of the individual. Selection for training courses is arbitrary and the decision as to who should go is often not taken in consultation with the district authorities or with the individual concerned. The result, of course, is that planned activities are not carried out as planned - due to the absence of those involved or the lack of a replacement. Failure, by extension workers, to implement activities which they themselves have planned reduces their credibility with the villagers.

In this situation the benefits that the individual receives form training, and even the appropriateness of the training, is subordinate to the damage done to the work programme through the absence of this individual. Hence even an improvement of the quality of some of the training being carried out is no answer. Solutions must be sought in improving work performance within the context of the planned work programme; this would mean more on the job training and less training away form the job directed simply at increasing the individuals skills with a view to promotion (2).

Continuity in the job is important both in the sense that a posi-

(1) Only about 20% of those children writing the primary school leavers examination are accepted into secondary schools and the allocation of places favours children from district headquarters and urban areas - (See National Commission on Education, MOE, 1977, Vol II: 7.3. - 7.17)

(2) A number of recommendations on how to improve the training of district and village level cadres have been made in the Watson Report - see Watson 1978: 24 - 26). However, the step between making appropriate recommendations and having them implemented is a giant one when these recommendations affect the positions of individuals and interest groups. Few have been implemented.

tion should not be left vacant if the present incumbent goes away on training, but also that the extension worker needs to earn the respect of the people he is working with if he is to be at all effective. This means that he would have to stay in one job for a minimum period of, at least, two years and that any training that takes place during that period should be in the context of the planned work programme. Knowledge of one's specialisation is not enough to be effective in a job; local knowledge is also vital, as is the winning of the respect and trust of the people one is working with.

The present practices work against the establishment of a working rapport at the village level between extension worker and villagers and against the implementation of planned work programmes. Which in turn questions the usefullness of preparing a work programme based on consultation with the people in the knowledge that it will most likely not be implemented on schedule - and possibly not at all.

7.8. The Role of the Expatriate

While the number of local (Batswana) officials in post in the public service has increased dramatically since Independence, so too has the number of expatriates. Increased demands from the ever expanding public service does not allow for localisation at a rate rapid enough to effect the ratio of locals to expatriates very significantly. With the continued focus on the rapid growth of the economy, there is little prospect of this situation changing.

Most expatriates in the public service are concentrated at the centre, working within the central government ministries, dominating the middle-levels of the administration. The senior posts, where the responsibility for taking policy decisions lies, have all been localised, as have most of the junior and purely administrative positions. However, it is precisely in those middle-levels that the implementation of policy, and, to a large extent, the making of policy takes place (1). These posts are dominated by expatriates.

There are fewer expatriates at the district level but here too they

(1) The powers of the expatriate administrator to make policy are considerable. Picard (1977:292 - 295) gives the example of two expatriates officials whose activities within the Ministry of Finance sparked of a major row between MFDP and MLGL on the future of District Councils - a major political issue.

tend to dominate the middle-levels with a strong influence on decision-making. As a result expatriates have played a vital role in the setting up of the district planning system, particularly where they filled the posts of District Officer (Development) and Council Planning Officer.

The positions of District Officer (Development) and Council Planning Officer were created with the intention of increasing the district-level planning capacity. The first incumbents of these posts were all expatriate volunteers; by 1980 all the post of Council Planning Officer had been localised and one or two posts of District Officer (Development), out of a possible ten, had been localised.

Staffing these posts with expatriates had a number of short-term advantages. Firstly, most of the posts could be filled rather quickly with relatively well-qualified people and, secondly, a number of experimental years could be spent working out job content and training requirements. But these initial advantages become disadvantages the longer it takes to localise the position. This is because volunteers will only stay in the job for a maximum of two to three years and with their departure a replacement must be trained. Obviously it is more desirable if this replacement is a Motswana and likely to remain in the country permanently. Continuous induction of new expatriate District Officers (Development) is both wasteful and confusing.

Wasteful because if new people are to be trained to take over the job it is better to train Batswana than to constantly be training new expatriates. Confusing because each new expatriate brings his own ideas, developed during his recent university experience and wants to try them out on "his" district. While such initiatives were welcome in the tabula rasa situation when the district planning system was being set up, such initiatives now tend to be more damaging than productive. A number of examples can be pointed to where functioning parts of the district planning system (for example, the District Extension Team's work with nonformal education, or a plan mangement and monitoring system) were left to disintegrate because the new District Officer (Development) had other ideas about what was important.

Part of the problem is also that the District Officer (Development) is given virtually a free hand by his supervising officer, the District Commissioner. The job responsibility of the District Officer (Development) is seen as being in such a specialised field that he is often regarded by his superiors as being the only one in a position to understand

the intricacies of the job and accordingly is left with enough freedom to pursue his own interests.

This situation is likely to continue until the Government takes serious steps to localise these positions, put into operation training porgrammes for locals, and implement schemes of service that make it a requirement for career advancement to serve in the rural areas. Such schemes of service are still at the discussion stage and, at present, there are no incentives or advantages for Batswana graduates to work in these positions in the districts because they are dead-end jobs without promotion possibilities. They provide ideal jobs for an expatriate who wants to go overseas to get experience, but not for a Motswana graduate who is trying to make a career in the public service.

The influence which the expatriates have is by default and is caused by a failure to localise. New expatriates every few years bringing in their new ideas into an on-going programme can work as an extremely disruptive force. However, it is impossible to blame the expatriates for this as the failure to localise is a locally-taken political decision. This failure is caused by (i) the downgrading of the importance of working in the rural areas and the absence of a career and promotion ladder which makes service in the rural areas obligatory and (ii) the pursuance of a policy of high economic growth which demands far more skilled manpower than Botswana is capable of producing locally.

Change of key personnel in the districts roughly every two years and the bringing in of total outsiders as replacements means frequent and regular body blows at the very heart of the district planning system. Without improvement in staff continuity and with continued dependence on expatriates the district planning system will not be able to survive.

The implication for the consultation, of having a new person at the key position where the consultaion data is analysed and translated into district programmes, is that one of the most important elements of the consultation - its on-going nature - is threatened. New people in the job with new ideas and new interest may help to develop the district planning system but, in most cases, they tend to disrupt what their predecessor has built up. Expatriates coming into this key position have even more to learn about Botswana society than the country's own graduates. Even those with the best intentions need a year to get into the job properly - which only leaves one year, or two at the most, in which one can be effective.

7.9. Education as a Barrier

Education is regarded as the solution to the problem of localisation in the public service and the dependence on expatriate manpower (1). But the importance attached to education has, as most important disadvantage, the down-grading in the importance of most other activities. The following statement, contained in an official government publication, underlines this:

> Great importance is attached to the education sector in Botswana for as a developing nation it is here....that the leaders of tomorrow (emphasis added - D.N.) will get their basic grounding.
>
> (Salaries Review, OOP, 1978: 28)

But what about the rest - the children who never make it to primary school, the primary school drop-outs, and the 80% who never reach secondary school?

The emphasis on paper qualifications as the "open sesame" to formal employment means that the exam is everything and that nothing else - not even the content of the curriculum - is important. It is unimportant what is learnt at school because it need not be used afterwards, once employed. The same point is made by Colclough (1976:150) who also draws attention to the inappropriateness of the curriculum. However, the nature of employment in the public service is such that the educational curriculum, whether appropriate or not, is immaterial. The struggle is to achieve the paper qualification necessary for the job; not to perform adquately in the job because there are no sanctions for poor performance and promotion is mostly based on seniority not performance.

Within a situation where there is a structural shortage of manpower (i.e. the high level of the paper qualification required means that there is always a shortage of locals with the required qualifications) those who have succesfully negotiated secondary school and university will always find a job in the formal sector. Those who fail - the majority - are thrown back in the rural subsistence and informal sector, because

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(1) This view is expressed in a number of official documents - see for example, Localisation and Training Commission, OOP, 1977; Salaries Review, OOP, 1978; and the National Commission on Education, 1977.

it tends to be the children from the poor rural families who fail to make the grade (See MOE, 1977 Vol II: 7.3. - 7.17). Of course a few children from poor backgrounds do manage to work their way up into good jobs in the public service but this serves mainly to re-inforce Botswana's version of "the American Dream".

The mirage of a regular monthly income lies at the root of the efforts of the children and the struggle by the parents. For a poor household, even one member of the family with a regular job means a dependable supplement to the family's economy. For this reason education has consistently been one of the top priorities coming up through the consultation and this has been reflected in the District Plans (1).

The most important Government/Council activity at the village level is in primary school construction and Government has been under considerable pressure to institute free primary education through the abolition of school fees. School fees have recently been abolished but, although money for school fees will no longer be a burden for poor families, this does not mean that the many other barriers to primary education have been removed.

In a number of ways the emphasis on formal education is unfortunate. Firstly, because the access to primary education and, particularly, secondary education, favours the well-to-do from the towns and major villages. Secondly, because the primary school curriculum is totally inappropriate as a preparation for life outside the formal employment sector - a prospect which the majority will have to face. Thirdly, the pressure to construct more schools in rapid tempo supports the big construction firms from South Africa. It does not support the local construction industry which does not have the capacity to carry out large projects - but, if given support and encouragement, would be perfectly capable of carrying out the work, albeit more slowly, as well as providing employment and on-the-job training. Fourthly, the provision of more and better trained teachers to staff the schools increases the size of the public service and increases the size of the interest group having a stake in the continuance of the present system, making the task of bringing about educational reform even more difficult.

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(1) The other top priority is water. Considering Botswana's arid climate, lack of surface water and frequent droughts, this is not surprising. A (Swedish-funded) water project is currently working on the installation of water reticulation systems in most villages.

The achievements of the present system amount to the production of yearly-increasing numbers of primary school drop-outs who have learned nothing of value while they were at school. Even the little reading and writing which they were able to master they soon forget because they have little use for it outside the formal sector. The importance attributed the education makes the failure to succeed a catastrophe because failure closes the door to the public service and the formal sector. Education is a barrier which few pass over: those that do can rest on the laurels of their tenured job and those that fail have accepted the values of education but have reaped none of the benefits.

7.10 Conclusions

With the virtual monopoly of formal sector employment by the public service and with the unequal access to public service jobs resulting from the barriers within the educational system, the public service has been able to maintain itself as a strong interest group drawing its membership principally from the already rich and educated families. The inequalities within the public service results in a concentration of the most highly skilled at the centre close to where the major decisions are made, leaving the less skilled to fill the less prestiguous positions in the rural areas.

Individual advancement within the service is more important than the content of the job. Hence lack of job continuity and frequent training courses, which are bad for the implementation of the work programme, are accepted - and even demanded - in the interest of promotion. The distance between the public service and the public is considerable as a result, but the public has no control over the public service and no way of calling individual public servants to account for their neglect of duty.

Present Government policies encourage this. Public servants receive frequent salary increases while nothing is done to create the required thousands of new jobs yearly to provide employment for the majority. Under the present Government policies, infrastructure projects, including social services in the rural areas, are provided - these projects have in common that they require a large number of skilled expatriates to implement them and provide virtually no skil-

led and very few unskilled jobs for Batswana. This lies at the basis of the contradiction: increases in the number of expatriates and increases in the numbers of unemployed school-leavers.

The public service is not interested in a consultation which threatens their favoured position. Concentration of power and skills at the centre and the lack of control or influence by village institutions over the activities of public servants allows for re-interpretation or rejection of the consultation data at both district and national level.

The development of social services is strongly stimulated. Social services do not disrupt the status quo and re-inforce the educational system as the only means to escape from poverty.

Furthermore it is only the capacity to decide on social services which has been (partly) de-centralised to the district level; control over activity and lack of activity in the productive sectors has been retained at the centre.

If consultation is to be more effective in playing a role in district planning and influencing the public service the following will need to happen. Firstly, a more effective decentralisation to the district level of more responsibilities than merely those concerned with the planning and management of social services infrastructure. Secondly, a development policy that supports rural production and employment and actively pursues the creation of jobs and productive activities in the villages. Thirdly, slowing down the growth of the public sector and making the public servant more accountable for their actions to the people they are working for and not to some anonymous public service personnel manager. Training of public servants will need to be geared to the implementation of work programmes and not to the individual's career advancement; this also includes obligatory service in the rural areas for all public servants plus a long period on the job without dangers of imminent transfer. Fourthly, integrating the educational system into these changes through changes in the educational syllabus, in the staffing of schools, in the orientation of teachers and in the selection of pupils.

A system for district planning based on consultation with the people has been developed in Botswana. The introduction of district planning has had a number of positive results: vertical linkages between the national, district and village have been greatly improved; district and village level have had an input into national planning through the District Development Plans; the implementation and management of social services at the district level has improved because of increased control of planning and implementation resources in these sectors at the district level; and through the experience with district planning, both planning and implementation capacity at the district level has increased.

However, by itself, "the system" is not enough to ensure that planning does involve (all) the people. Although the village level is more involved in making decisions about "development" than ever before, it is only a small group (the village elite) who are most directly involved in "planning with the people". Traditional decision-making structures (especially the kgotla) and the absence of large numbers of young people (working as labour migrants in South Africa or in the urban areas) combine to narrow down the numbers of people who are consulted.

The active political commitment on the part of the Government is an essential factor in stimulating a broader involvement in decision-making by the people than is the case under the present circumstances. No indications were found to show that such commitment existed. Consequently involvement has been limited to the planning of social services, a sector which does not effect the economic position of the rich.

Little pressure has come from the majority of the population, the rural poor, to change this situation. On the contrary, the rural poor have retained their loyalty to traditional institutions which insufficiently represent their interests. The level of politicisation is low and the rural poor accept guidance from their traditional (tribal) leaders, thus allowing a party with close links with the traditional elite to retain control of the government.

8.1. Consultation and District Planning

During the period from 1976 until 1980 a major overhaul of the planning process as it operated in Botswana took place. This overhaul has resulted in a number of changes in the way that development planning was carried out.

The main change, is that "the people" are now formally involved in the process and that the legitimacy of the consultation as an integral part of the planning process has been recognised. In practice a lot of the actual plan making is based on initial information from the village level which is integrated at the district level into Five Year District Development Plans and into Annual Plans.

A number of methods for consulting the people have been tried. Although there are differences between the methods employed by the nine districts, all districts have attempted, through the consultation, to provide a regular linkage between the village and the district level thus facilitating an exchange of ideas and information. Through the consultation, initial steps have been taken to create a regular dialogue between village and district level. Through this dialogue a basis has been created for the involvement by the people at the village level in the making of both long term and short term plans for their area. This information from the consultation may be used in the District Development Plans and Annual Plans (long term) as well as in the implementation of small, self-help projects (short term).

The mandate to consult the people is multi-sectoral, covering both social services development as well as the productive sectors. This is the case despite the fact that the body charged with development leadership at the district level (i.e. the District Council) has statutory responsibilities for only a few of these sectors, in particular those related to social services. The mandate to prepare District Plans means that there is a basis for a multi-sectoral integrated approach close to the implementation level.

These changes in the planning process at the district level would have been of little significance without the link between the District Development Plans and the National Development Plans. This

link has been made using a two-phase approach in which district and national plans overlap such that phase two of the district plan overlaps with phase one of the national plan. The two-phase approach, first used in the preparation of the Fifth National Development Plan (the current plan) allows for both qualitative and quantitative information from the district level to be integrated into a national development programme.

Preparation of plans at the district level has made possible a more effective management, monitoring and evaluation of the development programmes being implemented in the district. The public servants involved in these tasks are much closer to the implementation level; hence they are better in a position to monitor progress and step in when problems arise. Further, through the consultation, the people at the village level are also involved in this process.

With the additional tasks which had to be carried out at the district level as a result of the district planning process, a number of district level institutions also increased their importance. In particular the District Council has expanded its political importance through its development leadership role. Secondly, the District Development Committee, the technical committee co-ordinating both Council and Central Government sectors, has in practice taken on greater responsibility. The increase in importance of both these district-level institutions has underlined a move towards district-focused rather than sector-focused development planning. This is also reflected in the attitudes of district level public servants who are beginning to look at development from a district rather than a sectoral viewpoint.

8.2. The Limits of District Planning

Under the present circumstances, district planning does not go beyond the involvement of the village level in the planning of social services and, more especially, the related infrastructure. There are no signs of any move away from this bias in the future. This means that, under the present circumstances, the people at the village level only have an input into deciding what types of social services are needed (e.g. schools, health posts, water facilities), when they will be needed and their priority (as related to other infrastructure and other villages). Several reasons have been advanced for these limitations.

Firstly, although district planning in theory covers all developments at the district level, in practice activities are pursued which are most familiar to the District Counicl i.e. those activities falling within the Councils' statutory responsibilities. These cover the basic social services - primary education, public health, ungazetted roads, rural water supplies - and "the general maintenance of good order".

Secondly, the provision of infrastructure by Government or Council is generally considered to be "free". The people themselves do not have to pay for it; somebody else (either Council or a contractor) is responsible for implementation and there is even the possibility that some villagers will be able to earn some pocket-money for doing some of the neccessary unskilled work. Furthermore, for the villagers there are no risks involved in such developments. The money to pay for the project comes "from Government" and, if nothing happens at all or if there are delays in the construction, the villagers have no investment to lose.

Thirdly, past experiences plays a role. People have been taught to equate "development" with infrastructure provided by Government/ Council. This conception of infrasturcture as a manifestation of development is something which pervades all levels of decision-making. At both national and village levels it is the infrastructure projects which swallow most of the money and the manpower.

Fourthly, initiatives from below covering more than social services-type developments are more difficult to communicate to the decision-making levels because it is exactly these other types of development which fall under a much more centralised control (within the Ministries of Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry). Although these ministries have their own representatives in the districts who are supposed to take part in the district planning process, in practice they do not have the authority to do so. This control is retained at the central government level.

Fifthly, social services infrastructure projects are visible and can be pointed to as examples to show people (and donors) how much is being done about "development". However, while these types of projects provide a "safety-net" of social services from which the poor, unargueably, benefit, such projects do not result in increased economic opportunities for the poor, nor in any closing of the income gap.

Furthermore the social services that are provided also tend to provide the rich with more benefits than the poor.

8.3. Consultation and Non-Commitment

Through the consultation large numbers of people have been involved in discussions about social services developments affecting their village, and the principle of bottom-up planning has been accepted both at the national level and at the district level. A noteworthy achievement considering the short space of time - 1976 to 1980. By the same token it may still be too early to make long-term predictions as to the final form of "district planning in Botswana"; nonetheless the indications are that the future picture will resemble the present one - namely the continued existence of a planning system operating down to the village level which is centred around the provision of social services and which is dominated by elite groups and works in their favour.

a. Village Institutions

In practice the village elite are more involved in the consultation and this is reflected in the type of information coming from the villages. It was argued that this was because the present methods of consultation are based on working with institutions dominated by the village elite (i.e. the kgotla and the Village Development Committee). Neither of these institutions, in practice, function as effective mouthpieces of the rural majority. The consensus approach to discussions, particularly as applied in the kgotla, leaves the poor, the women and other "inferior" groups effectively voiceless. In fact the conflicts that exist between these two village-level institutions amount to little more than a competition between elites and not, as some have argued, a struggle between "traditionalists" and "modernists".

No implementable alternatives to the present methods of consultation have been suggested which might break through this elite-dominated barrier. "Implementable" in the sense that the new ideas and methods to increase the involvement of the majority of the people in the consultation exercise should come from, and will have to be implemented by, local (Batswana) officials. The convenience of a highly legitima-

te but unrepresentative body (i.e. the kgotla) over-rides the difficulties of attempting alternative methods which carry with them the hazards of not only more work but also of changing a situation which operates to the benefit of the elite - a hazardous undertaking indeed.

The other lines of communitcation between the village and the district level are also based primarily on contacts with the local elite. Thus the local District Councillor, although elected by "the people", is simply a village notable in another guise; the influence which he has tends to be used to support the elite-dominated local institutions. The political party, of which the district councillor is a member, has no village- or even district-based party organisation. The political parties in Botswana are run from the national level and this level controls the nomination of candidates. The outcome of most elections, either for the position of district councillor or member of parliament, is practically pre-arranged, This is because the traditional tribal authority, which still enjoys high legitimacy, has allied itself with a political party and forms that party's district-, and village-level organisation at election time. Between elections no need is considered for such an organisation, so political life at the village level remains dormant during these periods.

The domination of political life and political decision-making at the village level by the traditional tribal authorities is an effective blocking mechanism to increased politicisation of the rural majority. It is unlikely that a situation will arise where the poor will break through these barriers and demand an increased share in decision-making as long as the alternatives to dependence on the rural areas and what they can provide remains. The possibility to migrate to South Africa for temporary employment can, in this sense, be seen as a barrier to the creation of employment and productive activities in the rural areas.

Another possibility is that the present government will work towards creating a situation in which politicisation can take place. But to do so would require an about-face by the ruling national elite. The basis has been laid: "nice looking" plans have been prepared and all the appropriate goals and strategies have been adopted. The only part missing has been the commitment to implement the plans.

At the village level, the kgotla and the Village Development Committee remain as the institutions most utilised to maintain contact between the village and the district levels between elections. Although neither institution can be said to represent the majority of the villagers, in the absence of any alternatives these institutions are used as the basis for the consultation.

The kgotla and the Village Development Committee also form the main points of contact between the villagers and the public service, in particular the village-level extension workers. The Government/Council extension worker is an important figure at the village level. However, his potential effectiveness is diminished by his membership of a centralised organisation and his overriding loyalty to that organisation - no matter how much the extension worker may want to be village-oriented, his whole career structure orients him towards the centre and directs his loyalties towards the centre. Officially the extension worker is in no way responsible to any village level institution; neither can these village institutions control the extension worker in any way. Furthermore those contacts that the extension workers do have at the village level tend to be with the village elite.

The way that the extension (and other Government/Council) services are organised actively works against the national development aims - i.e. rural development and social justice. In fact the hierarchical structure of the public service and the limited access into this service serves to reinforce the posititon of the elite - from whose ranks most public servants have come and to which they also belong by virtue of their office. In this situation the extension workers (and the rest of the public service) have become strong instruments of the status quo; the public service operates as its own interest group and tends to be more committed to policies which serve their own interests rather than those of the majority. Together with the politicians, the public servants are more keen to implement policies designed to achieve rapid economic growth than they are to design and implement projects aimed at achieving social justice. The two development principles do not seem to go hand-in-hand.

The role of the rural poor (the majority) has remained rather marginal in the process of district-planning-based-on-consultation. However it would be wrong to claim that nothing has changed. More information is reaching the village level than ever before and more discussion about Government and Council development programmes has been taking place. Although participation is limited much of the discussion takes place at public fora where the people are, at least, allowed to listen and be present. The visible results of these discussions which they have witnessed, are the number of infrastructural developments which have taken place in the village and which are welcome and often necessary improvements.

b. Development Policy

It has been argued that the non-commitment of the politicians and the public service towards the objective of social justice and the favouring of the objective of rapid economic growth has been the principal reason that the present system of district planning based on consultation will never lead to participation by "the people" in this planning process. A number of reasons for this were put forward.

Employment, or rather the lack of employment, is a major problem in Botswana. The private sector is very small and largely controlled by foreign companies; the public service, although increasing rapidly, cannot hope to provide work for the whole of the potential labour force, and tends to favour recruitment from the families of the rich and well-educated. This leaves a majority of the population at a subsistence level; their only alternative lies in migration to the urban or mining areas. The lack of "career certainty" involved in such ventures and the insufficently high wages forces the migrant to keep a foothold in his home base. Nonetheless these migrants spend most of their time away from their home area, leaving behind the young, the aged and the infirm. Increasingly too, females are entering into the formerly predominantly male activity of seeking an income outside the village. Only when serious steps are taken to increase the possibilities of making a living in the rural areas will there by anybody around to take part in "participation" and "consultation" activities. Present Government efforts

to increase these possibilities can be regarded as minimal and lacking in the necessary political courage required to support policies which might threaten the status quo. Only in a situation where the majority of the people can work where they (want to) live will there be enough people around who will want to and be able to participate in making decisions about their own future.

Both politician and public servant are drawn from those families owning the large cattle herds and benefitting the most from the educational system. With this as their background they lack the motivation to identify with the problems of the rural poor and find it difficult to involve them in decision-making. The gap between the rural poor and the politicians/public servants is a serous barrier but one which is camouflaged by the continued existence of a traditional tribal authority. Although much of this institutions former authority has been whittled away and taken over by the Government and the major political party, the people in power have not changed and come from the same families. Moreover the hierarchical tribal structure has been preserved and every citizen of Botswana owes formal allegiance to some form of tribal authority. This is a factor of great importance to the rural majority whose main and continuous link with the district and national levels is through a tribal organisation which does not represent their interests. It has not been found neccessary to build up a political party structure operating right down to the village level because the political party (operating at the national level and to a lesser extent at the district level) and the traditional authorities (operating at the district and village levels) control the situation to their satisfaction. The argument used by Government to support this stunted growth of the political party organisation is that the traditional institutions (especially the kgotla) are sufficiently democratic to guarantee that the problems of the rural poor are articulated in these fora. But, as has been argued in the discussions on the kgotla, these fora generally allow neither young men, women, poor people nor any other "inferior" groups any great influence on the decision-making processes of this body.

It would follow from this that one possible way to break through this development impasse would be through a political party organisation operating all levels, and especially at the village level. Second-

ly, the party's actions at the village level would need to be controlled at that level and not from a higher level. In the present situation the majority of the village population have no influence on the choice of their leaders and no control over their actions. The nomination for positions of leadership at all levels is a prerogative of the elite. While the present system may provide a sufficient basis for setting up a system of district planning it does not provide a sufficient basis for the setting up of a system of district planning based on consultation with the people.

Within the present situation formal education provides virtually the only means for somebody from a poor background to join the elite. Therefore education is consistently chosen as one of the top priorities coming out of the consultation. The chances that somebody from a poor background will successfully complete his education are slim but the few that do make it keep the dream alive; for the majority who drop-out, their venture into the educational system has resulted in little gain.

Changes in the present system are unlikely as long as the rural poor tolerate this situation. As to the future it is possible that through their limited involvement in the district planning process - although in practice restricted to involvement in the planning of social services and, as yet, not happening on a sufficiently regular basis to take on the character of an expected and regular dialogue - demands may be made for more involvement. However, this is only likely to happen in conjunction with other events (1) because, in isolation, the grip that the public service has on the system will be sufficient to muzzle it.

The other side of the non-commitment coin is a lack of awareness on the part of the rural poor of their situation together with an unwillingness to attempt to do something to change this situation. One could argue that more serious attempts need to be made by the political elite to encourage such developments within the existing system as not to do so may lead to a revolution.

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(1) One example of a possible "other event" would be the re-patriation of all Batswana migrant workers in South Africa and another, the increasing un- and under-employment in Botswana, which is continuously aggravated by an increasing number of unemployed school leavers.

The first step that needs to be taken is the replacement of the traditional kgotla system of decision-making as the principal means of decision-making at the village level. Increased awareness of their situation by the rural poor will only come through increased political responsibility at the village level and the possibility for the poor to become involved in decision-making- which is not the case in the kgotla. The broadening of the areas effectively included in the consultation depends on the potential results from such involvement. At present potential results in areas other than social services are negligible. Under the present system villagers have no influence on politicians or on political decisions, as these are controlled at the national level. The present situation, where all responsibility is held at the national level, makes it difficult for the people at the village level to see any results from their involvement in the decision-making processes; moreover it makes it easier for public servants and other interest groups to influence decisions if the villagers lose control immediately after the consultation and if no one is accountable to the villagers for decisions not carried out. In other words, political parties need to be active at the village level and build up a grass-roots organisation and, at the same time, political decisions taken at the village level should have visible results.

This needs to go hand-in-hand with the further dismantling of the protected position of the traditional tribal authorities whose present high legitimacy is mostly by default and the present absence of any acceptable alternatives. While the dismantling of traditional authority would not, automatically, mean that the traditional elites would loose their leadership positions, it would mean that removal from office on such grounds as incompetence, self-interest or corruption would be facilitated. It would also open the way for people from "inferior" groups in the village to compete for positions of authority.

As long as all responsibility for decision-making is left at the national level there is only a remote possibility of a "break-through" away from social services development towards a broader development policy involving not only increased participation by the people but also resulting in programmes designed to improve the economic position of the poor. Only the possibility of increased decision-making authority

and better access to resources to implement these decisions will increase the chance of more participation by the poor in district-planning-based-on-consultation. The present situation merely allows the decision-making authority to rest with an elite group who have a vested interest in the continuance of the present pattern of development.

8.4. A Programmatic Approach

District planning in Botswana entails a multi-sectoral integrated approach to development, operating at a de-centralised level. It is flexible in its approach and has the possibility of receiving inputs from the village level and integrating these into the decision-making process. Operating through an institutional framework, it allows for the outlining of broad sectoral programmes based on situation assessments and consultation with the people; within these programmes, district planning operates sufficiently close to the village level to implement and monitor individual projects under these broader programmes. Sufficient funds are available at relatively short notice to allow for immediate project implementation in the case of small projects carried out by villagers themselves under some form of self-help. This then contains the principal elements of the programmatic or process approach to (rural) development (1).

The achievements of district planning are considerable and need to be noted before going on to make a number of recommendations regarding possible improvements. Perhaps the most important achievement has been that the concept of planning and consultation as an activity which "ordinary" people can participate in has been accepted both by public servants and by the people themselves. Nor has this involvement been entirely symbolic: the District Development Plans have utilised data from the consultation and the Fifth National Development Plan has incorporated consultation data into the preparation of the plan. Visible results of the consultation can be pointed to, especially in the social services sector, and experience with consultation and plan implementation at the district level has given considerable experience to District

(1) See the discussion on the "programmatic approach" in chapter one; see also Röling & de Zeeuw, 1981, and Sweet and Weisel, 1979.

Council staff, and to a lesser degree to other district staff. In this way institution building has been supported. District Councils have increased their stature as political bodies and planning, at district level, has started to become district-, rather than sector-oriented.

It is possible, theoretically, to improve this system of planning and consultation to such an extent that it nears perfection but that it still does not involve the participation by all the villagers in decision-making. With this as an initial word of warning a number of possible directions for improvements will nevertheless be suggested.

The margin of freedom within which changes to the present system can be made is difficult to determine. Major changes - such as increased political responsibility at the village level and a more effective party organisation - are more likely to be unacceptable than more minor changes which merely make (small) adjustments to the present situation. Ultimately the choice will have to be made between pure rhetoric and no action, on the one hand, or making an attempt to translate some of the rhetoric into action, on the other. Again the most important element is the commitment, on the part of those who have the power, to put their money where their mouth is.

The major and over-riding problems of "commitment" (by the elite) and awareness of their situation (by the poor) have already been discussed. What follows relates primarily to the improved functioning of the system as such and suggests improvements that can be made in the margins.

Firstly, there should be more <u>decentralisation</u> of responsibility for production and employment activities (including agriculture, commerce and rural industries) to the district level. Such decentralisation should - at least initially - be to a District Development Committee with enough powers and authority to be able to operate without constantly having to refer to the centre for authorisation. The role of the District Council needs to be one of strong guidance and direction. Councils do not, at present, have the capacity to take on such a wide range of new tasks in a period where they still need to consolidate their present tasks and build on their development leadership role. More money should be made available to the district level to support activities in these sectors and staff should be made accountable to the district level rather than to the national level (the present situation).

An important consideration here should be that the administration of salaries and the promotion and training of officials should not be allowed to become more important than the quality of the work done, the implementation of the planned work programme and the responsibility that the official has to the area or district where he is working. It needs to be noted that the present focus of development activities is based on a choice to concentrate on social services development and the livestock industry. Although climatic conditions are not the most favourable for arable agriculture and although the population is small, there is no reason for activities in other sectors not to be successful, provided appropriate policy decisions are made and steps are taken to implement these decisions. For example, improved marketing and better producer prices together with a drop in the subsidisation of the livestock sector are likely to have a positive effect in the arable agricultural sector. Concentration of decision making for the productive sectors in the centre is in no way more effective than de-centralisation to the district level. The only proviso being that steps are taken at the national level to create a climate (which includes pricing policy, subsidies, supporting legislation, etc.) in which district staff can operate effectively.

Secondly, public servants should be made accountable for their actions to the people (not to officials) at the various levels at which they work. Thus village officials should be principally responsible to village-level (political/representative) bodies and district officials should be principally responsible to the local District Council and not to the Unified Local Government Service or any other central government personnel administration department. Which is not to say that such personnel administration departments should necessarily be abolished but rather that they should act as service departments and not as in the present situation where they act as policy-making departments. This implies a system of transfers, training and promotions which will depend much more on the actual work that the official has done. This can only happen if those making the final decision have at least some idea regarding the performance of the official in his day-to-day activities, and it also implies a more meaningful de-centralisation of authority.

Thirdly, as regards the consultation, it is important that this takes place on a regular, yearly basis and that it takes place in the villages, not just in the district capital or in a few of the major villages. Visibility is very important if the people at the village

level are going to be involved. The practice of working through village representatives has meant that the majority of the people at the village level have not been involved in the consultation. Consultation should be seen to happen and should be seen to happen regularly. Therefore, district conferences, where these do form part of the consultation, should much more take the form of a training workshop as a preparation for the "real" consultation (of as many people as possible) which takes place in the villages. The major point regarding the consultation is that the people need to see that their views have made a difference. This means that the views, as expressed in the consultation, have to be used as the basis for District Plans. It also means that in certain areas the district level should be willing and able to provide an immediate response to the consultation; this, for example, would include provision of information for and support with the implementation of small village projects based on self-help.

Fourthly, civics education should be combined with consultation. This could be an extremely important tool for awareness-raising amongst the people. Civics education should be aimed at putting accross the idea that development is not simply infrastructure and social services; development embraces a far wider field covering the whole range of activities which influence the lives of the poor and which Government can make decisions on. Thus civics education would have as its most important functions mobilisation and raising of awareness. A second function, equally important as the first, would be the information function - offering solution to problems raised. The solutions offered would need to be "balanced" so that the initiative which the people themselves undertake is supported by Government through, for example, information, new regulations, better price structures, marketing facilities, etc. Participation in the consultation depends on the activity seeming to be worth the effort put into it. This means that the results of the efforts need to be clear and visible - hence the need for a regular (probably yearly) round of activity where the civics education programmes depend on the previous year's consultation and link in with the current year's efforts. Hence there needs to be a strong element of feedback built into civics education. Feedback, as the essential element in the starting of a dialogue, needs to be strongly encouraged.

Fifthly, the responsibility for the preparation, implementation and follow-up of both consultation and civics should lie with a co-ordinating body at the district level, for example the District Extension Team. De-centralisation of more authority to the district level would mean that this body would have a greater potential control over the activities of extension staff at the district level. An annual calendar of regular activities built up around the yearly consultation and civics activities allows for more effective programming of extension activities and avoids the aimlessness characterising much of the present extension activities. But again, decentralisation to public servants at the district level is not enough; for their work to be effective they need to be made more directly accountable to the people for their actions.

As can be seen from the two final recommendations, the dividing line between a recommendation with political implications and one with only administrative implications is a very thin one. Both the decision to promote mobilisation and the raising of awareness through civics education and the decision to make public servants at the district level accountable to the people for their actions can only be implemented if there is a sufficient amount of political will to see these recommendations implemented. Administrative decisions without the political commitment to see them implemented will have to wait on the shelf for the revolution. Without the courage to make a number of improvements to the district planning system as it has developed since 1976, Botswana will be left with an efficient planning system but one which will not involve the participation of the principal target group, the rural poor, or work to their benefit.

Appendix I

Consultation Questionnaire used
Central District - 1977.

EXAMPLE

LEUBA
Village

VILLAGE CONSULTATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

Please read and explain the following text in introducing the questionnaire -

1. *During 1977 the Central District is making a district development plan for the next five years. In this plan each government department will explain what it hopes to achieve over this period. In addition those making the plan also want to take account of what each village feels should be included in the plan.*

2. *The purpose of this meeting is to agree on the major problems of our village and what services we need from government to deal with these problems. We also want your comments on existing government services and projects being planning for our village by district or central government. By providing this information to Council and other government departments we will give them a guide as to what development efforts should be aimed at our village.*

3. *Facilities and services that were requested for our village and the area include -*

   6 classrooms

   new borehole

   clinic and nurse

4. *Planning Process*

   a) *In this meeting we will record your views on the most important development needs of our village.*

   b) *This record of your views will be discussed at the kgotla to make sure it has the agreement and support of the whole village.*

   c) *Then this questionnaire will be mailed to Serowe where it will be processed and your proposals where feasible will be included in a draft District Development Plan.*

   d) *During the August - September school holidays we want you to send VDC and village representatives to a conference in* Mahalapye *(Serowe, Mahalapye, Tutume, or Bobohong). At the conference your delegates will be able to comment on the draft plan and suggest improvements. In September the plan will be finished.*

HOW TO CONDUCT THIS INTERVIEW

1. *VDC MEETING*

1.1 Explain the introduction on the cover page.

1.2 Warn the VDC that it's a long questionnaire and ask them to be patient.

1.3 Then lead the VDC through each section of the Questionnaire, trying to get an answer for each section -

a) Record as much detail as possible. We want to know what people want and why they want it.

b) Write notes, not complete sentences.

c) Number each point eg. see Mock Questionnaire.

1.4 On the 'priorities' section, write all of the projects mentioned on the backboard. Then ask the VDC to choose the five most important in order of priority.

2. *KGOTLA MEETING*

2.1 Explain the purpose of the consultation.

2.2 Ask the VDC Chairman to explain the priorities chosen by the VDC.

2.3 Ask the kgotla meeting to discuss these priorities.

2.4 Ask the kgotla meeting if there are other major areas for improvement in the village.

1. WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN OUR VILLAGE?

1. We need a clinic - people dying - too far to Pula clinic.

2. Few of our children get secondary school places.

3. Drought - BMC too far away - forced to sell at low prices to speculators.

4. Borehole broken - Council is taking too long to fix it.

5. Inflation - prices going up and up.

2. *PRODUCTION/EMPLOYMENT*

2.1 LIVESTOCK

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

(1) Mainly cattle, some goats. (2) drought this year - we're told sell our cattle - BMC too far way - if we trek them, we'll lose them all. (3) speculator cheating us - prices very low and he collects bonus. (4) cattle theft high even though court fines have increased. (5) no market available for our goats and other small stock. (6) too many ticks this year. (7) good dam but cattle pollute it.

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. marketing co-op
2. VDC to fence the dam
3. government should regulate cattle prices

2.2 CROPS

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. Lands - 8 kilometres from village - people tend to move out and stay there permanently - don't support VDC.
2. main crops: sorghum, maize - surplus sold to village store
3. lands fenced, yet cattle still get in and destroy crops
4. this year kwelea birds and drought - will government give us mealie meal this year?
5. The AD is stationed too far away.
6. too many weevils in our stored grain.

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. We want an AD stationed in our village.
2. want to learn more about new ploughing techniques.
3. want to know more about BAMB - how can we get better prices for our grain?

2.3 WILDLIFE

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. little hunting - people discouraged by permits (difficult to get and too expensive for ordinary people - too far to Serowe)
2. people don't understand quotas and seasons

b) What else needs to be done?

1. government should allow us to hunt down animals who endanger our cattle
2. hunting permit officers should visit our village during the hunting season

c) What do people in our village hunt?

kgaka, phuduhudu, noko, phala, phuthi, tshepe

d) What do people in our village gather?

morula, moretlwa, phane

e) How many people in our village rely on hunting and gathering for their subsistence?

no one - we only hunt to supplement our meat

2.4 *LOCAL PRODUCTION OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE*

(eg. beer-brewing, crafts, brick-making, etc.)

a) What are the major forms of local production in our village other than agriculture?
What materials do people collect and use from the neighbourhood? (eg. firewood, sand, merogo, etc.)

1. beer-brewing
2. brick-making
3. many people leaving for jobs in town - no potential for work in village

b) What other local recources might be used for production?

crafts

c) What needs to be done?

government should promote craft production in our village - we hear it's happening in southern Botswana - why not in Leuba

2.5 *LAND*

a) Where do most people in our village have their lands?

Lesala, Lephane, Phalaneng

b) How far away is that?

about 8 kilometres from village

c) Do most people spend the night at the lands or in the village during the ploughing season?

at the lands

d) Is there a shortage of land in and ndear our village -

1 for housing? no

2 for crops? no

3 for cattle? no

POPULATION

a) Is our village growing?

yes

b) Where are people moving from/to?

- natural increase by birth
- yet many people staying more and more at lands

3. *COMMUNAL SERVICES*

3.1 *WATER (FOR PEOPLE AND CATTLE)*

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. Council is planning to give us a new borehole, but our existing one is not working properly - the engine keeps breaking down and the pumper doesn't know how to fix or maintain it - so at present we're getting water from a private borehole
2. there are always long queues at the standpipe - what we need is reticulation

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. fix borehole engine
2. government to set up water reticulation - village will provide free labour (ie. digging trenches)

3.2 EDUCATION

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. standard VII school - 6 more classrooms being built - in the meantime we're using double-shift system
2. very few children from our village find secondary school places - results poor - why? automatic promotion - children should repeat if they have not passed a grade
3. PTA - just talk, no action
4. ARDP built several teachers' quarters - still standing empty - teachers refuse to pay high rents

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. we want to help Pula Village construct a private secondary school

3.3 HEALTH

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. health post + FWE
2. mobile clinic visits not regular - too far to clinic at Pula Village - when river is in flood, we're in danger without a doctor or nurse - we want our own clinic and nurse
3. sanitation:

a) people are starting to dig their own pit latrines

b) several cases of measles reported

- Health Inspector never inspects meat sold in village

c) cartons of Chibuku scattered everywhere

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. government to provide clinic + nurse
2. VDC is planning a clean-up campaign

3.4 ROADS

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. bad roads - water in road - no drainage - black cotton soil
2. no drift across Pula River

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

government should improve our road and build a drift across the Pula River

c) Which is the most important road for village? (the road to where?)

road to Pula Village

d) What are the worst stretches on it (if any):

Rivers (name) Pula River

Black-cotton soil *(place)* between school

Flooding *(place)* and bottle store

Other

3.5 PUBLIC TRANSPORT

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. truck to Pula Siding - Monday - Wednesday - Saturday
2. 15-20 people on average make journey
3. very irregular and transport charges too high
4. in rainy season truck is always stuck in river

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

3.6 POSTAL AND PHONE SERVICES

a) What is the present situation? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. no post office
2. truck picks up post 3 times a week from Pula Village
3. money often disappears, even in registered letters
4. no telephones (in emergency we're in trouble)

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

we want post office + telephone

3.7 COMMERCIAL SERVICES (STORES, MARKETS, BANKS)

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. 2 shops - general dealer + bottle store - prices higher than in town
2. our village is expanding - we need more shops
3. no banks - no savings facilities at all - VDC money kept by trader
4. National Development Bank (NDB) only helps the rich people - NDB always want security but we have none - only big cattle-owners are able to get loans

b) What else needs to be done? By whom?

1. Council should allow more shops to be set up in our village
2. want visits from mobile bank
3. NDB must help the small man

3.8 OTHER GOVERNMENT SERVICES

(COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, MATIMELA, TAX, REVENUE, ETC)

a) What is the present situation and what are the problems? Are there any complaints about existing services?

1. We never see ACDO - she's always very busy in Pula
2. We don't like the tax and short time limit on our lost cattle taken as Matimela

b) What else needs to be done. By whom?

1. change Matimela laws
2. ACDO in our village

4. *COMMUNICATION WITH GOVERNMENT*

4.1 Have you ever asked Council or other Government departments for something and got no action?

What? Who? When? Is it still a problem?

1. In 1975 VDC requested money to help put up a clinic - no action to date
2. Council taking too long to fix borehole
3. asked P & T for post office and telephone

4.2 Are there any Government policies you want more information on?

TGL policy - don't understand limits on stock - if a person has more than 50 cattle, why can't I mafisa them to others in the communal area? I don't want to move my cattle to a commercial area

4.3 What Government services are most satisfactory?

school

4.4 Which are least satisfactory?

1. health services - need clinic
2. borehole
3. NDB

5. *ANY PROBLEMS NOT COVERED AND SOLUTIONS PROPOSED*

1. prices rising very rapidly - what can we do?
2. young people have nothing to do - no places in secondary school or further training possibilities - no jobs - what can we do?
3. gumba-gumba seems to create a lot of disturbance in the village - recently the kgotla decided to limit the hours of these parties and the noise of the music

6. *PRIORITIES*

Out of all the things we have considered, name the five things (in order of priority) that would make the biggest improvement to the life of the village.

1. clinic
2. water reticulation
3. post office + telephone
4. marketing co-op
5. development of crafts would provide some cash income

1. *Interviewers' Names and Positions:*

M. Setlhare (Councillor), R. Dithuto (Headteacher), E. Lebelebele (AD), E. Dikotlo (FWE)

2. *Date of VDC Meeting:* 1st April 1977

3. *VDC Members Present at Interview:*

J. Boroko, E. Setlhare (Chairman), M. Mogotsi (Secretary), A. Maselwa, A. Lebani, S. Letebele, B. Molefe, A. Phiri, F. Dipholo

4. *Length of Interview:* ½ *hour* 1 *hour* 2 *hours* (3) *hours*

5. *Date of Kgotla meeting:* 7th April 1977

6. *No. of people present at kgotla meeting:*

50

7. *Interviewing problems:*

1. initial suspicion - people complained "we want more action, fewer surveys"

2. after the use of the questionnaire was explained, there was no more problem

3. at first one person did all the talking - after a while we were able to get everyone talking

4. people know what they want - they feel government must respond more quickly to their requests

Appendix II: Planning in Choosing

(Training materials used at Central District extension worker training course - 1977)

TO PLAN IS TO CHOOSE

1. *Development planning seems difficult. It is done by highly-trained people and often seems very remote from our work in the villages. But it is not so difficult and it can be very useful in our work.*

2. *What do we mean by development planning? It is largely concerned with allocating government money for various projects. This money is raised from taxes and is used for promoting and supporting development.*

3. *Planning starts with requests. Government receives requests from villages for various development projects - a new borehole, extra classrooms, a health post, a drift across the river, etc. Planners then make a list of all these requests received from villages in their areas and how much each costs and the total cost.*

4. *Out of all these requests we must decide which requests we can satisfy immediately. Government can not meet all of the requests coming in from villages. There is not enough money. In addition there is not enough government staff to cope with all the projects requested. So government must choose which projects to start with.*

5. *We can now see that 'planning is choosing'. Government decides out of all the requests it receives which ones it has sufficient money and manpower to handle.*

6. *How do we decide? What criteria do we use in choosing? The answer is not complex or difficult. It is a matter of common sense. We must decide:*

   a) *How urgens is the need? Can the people wait a few years? Do they have any alternative source?*

   b) *How much money does it cost? Is this within the budget we have?*

   c) *Do we have the skilled people needed to carry out the project?*

7. *The following exercise will show how planners choose projects for a real budget and a real area in the Central District.*

FUND ALLOCATION EXERCISE (EXPLANATION)

1. *You are planning officers for the Central District Council. Your job is to work out proposals for allocating funds to water, health, education, and roads in one part of the Central District - which includes a sub-district capital (Bobonong) and eight villages.*

2. *Central Government has given the Central District Council the following two - year budget (1976 - 1978):*

	Whole District P	Bobonong Area P	
A. Water	600,00	50,000	
B. Health	400,000	30,000	
C. Education	1 800,000	150,000	
D. Roads	7 000,000	500,000	(5 years)

3. *In making your allocation decisions you must refer to:*

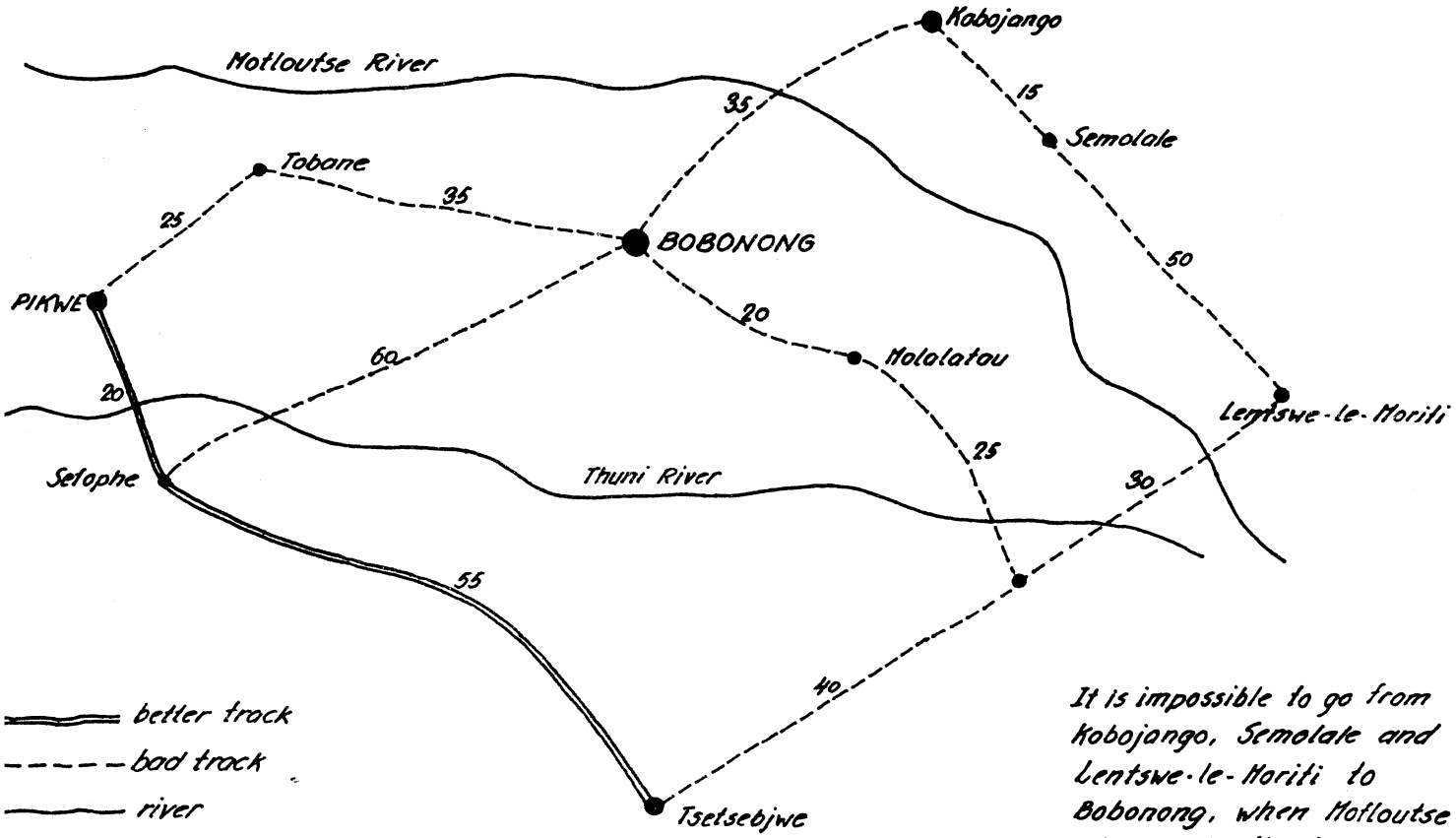
   a) *the facilities that each village has already*
   b) *the requests made by each village for new facilities (at the last VDC Conference)*
   c) *the costs for each facility (eg. P 7 000 for a classroom)*
   d) *other factors (eg. population, distance, pupil/classroom ratio, etc.)*

4. *For each sectoral budget (water, health, education, roads) work out a list of facilities which can be covered with the budget available. Give reasons for your choices.*

5. *At the end of the exercise summarize*

   a) *your reasons for making choices*
   b) *what you have learned from the exercise..*

MAP OF BOBONONG AREA



It is impossible to go from Kobojango, Semolale and Lentswe-le-Moriti to Bobonong, when Motloutse River is in flood.

A. WATER

1. Existing Facilities and Requests

VILLAGE	POPULATION	EXISTING FACILITIES	REQUESTS
Bobonong	5 000	Retic System serving 4 000 people	Water reticula Extension
Kobojango	1 000	Adequate Borehole	Water reticula
Lentswe-le-Moriti	1 000	Borehole (no equipment)	BH Equipmen
Mathathane	1 100	Adequate Borehole	-
Malalatau	2 500	Borehole (no equipment small yield)	BH Equipmen and Reticul
Sefhophe	1 500	Adequate Borehole	Water Reticulatio
Semolale	2 000	Borehole (small yield)	New borehol
Tobane	1 100	Borehole (small yield)	New borehol
Tsetsebjwe	1 500	Borehole (small yield)	New borehol

2. Water Budget (1976 - 1978): P 50 000

3. Costs

a) Borehole - P 5 000

b) Borehole Equipment - P 1000

c) Water Reticulation - P 10 000 for 1 000 people

B. HEALTH

1. Existing Facilities and Requests

VILLAGE	POPULATION	EXISTING FACILITIES	REQUESTS
Bobonong	5 000	Clinic	Maternity Ward
Kobojango	1 000	Health Post	-
Lentswe-le-Moriti	1 000	-	Health Post
Mathathane	1 100	Health Post	Clinic
Malalatau	2 500	-	Health Post
Sefhophe	1 500	Clinic	-
Semolale	2 000	Health Post	-
Tobane	1 100	Health Post	-
Tsetsebjwe	1 500	Health Post	-

Bobonong mobile clinic visit Kobojango, Semolale, Lentswe-le-Moriti, Molalatau, and Tsetsebjwe.

2. Health Budget (1976 - 1978): P 30 000

3. Costs

a) Health Post - P 7 500
b) Clinic - P 15 000
c) Maternity Ward - P 15 000

C. EDUCATION

1. Existing Facilities and Requests

VILLAGE	ESTIMATED POPULATION	POP. INCREASE	NO. CLASSES	NO. ROOMS	NO. PUPILS	PUPIL/ ROOM RATIO	CLASSRO REQUEST
Bobonong (3 Schools)	5 000	A	18 14 20	15 14 15	900 561 883	60 40 59	6
Koboja-ngo	1 000	B	7	3	232	77	2
Lentswe-le-Moriti	1 000	D	7	7	206	29	4
Mathatane	1 000	D	15	8	429	54	4
Molalatau	2 500	D	12	11	346	31	4
Sefhophe (3 schools)	1 500	D	13	6	394	66	5
Semolale	2 000	D	9	5	234	47	3
Tobane	1 100	D	11	7	294	42	2
Tsetse-bjwe	1 500	C	16	10	476	48	4
							34

A = more than trebled during period 1972 - 1976
B = more than doubled during period 1972 - 1976
C = more than 50% increase during the period 1972 - 1976
D = less than 50% increase during the period 1972 - 1976

2. Education Budget (1976 - 1978): P 150 000 (for 21 classrooms)

3. Costs
Classroom - P 7000

D. ROADS

1. Existing Facilities and Requests

   a) See map which shows existing tracks.

   b) Kobojango has requested that a drift be built across the Motloutse River, since when it is in flood, it is impossible to cross over to Bobonong. Mathatane has requested a road to Bobonong.

2. Roads Budget (1976 - 1981)

   The Central District has been allocated P 7 000 000 for rural roads over a 5-year period. If this was allocated evenly, this Bobonong sub-area would get P 500 000.

3. Costs

   a) 1 kilometre of road P 20 000

   b) A drift over the Motloutse River would cost P 100 000

   c) A drift over the Thini River would cost P 50 000

Appendix III

Village Development Committee Training Conferences - A selection of Reports and Training Materials.

Bophirima District Training Material.
Ministry of Local Government and Lands, May 1978.

Central District: District Development Conferences - January 1974.
Botswana Extension College, 1974.

Chobe District Development Conference - December 1976.
UBS/Department of Extra-Mural Services, 1976.

Lobilelo Village. A Youth Worker Training Kit.
Commonwealth Youth Programme, 1975.

Funding For Small Projects. Information for Extension Workers.
Rural Extension Co-ordinating Committee, 1980

Report on Central District District Development Conferences - December 1975 - January 1976.
Botswana Extension College, 1976.

Tsabong VDC/Councillor Course - Report.
UBS/Department of Extra-Mural Services, 1976.

Village Development Committee Conferences - Central District.
UBS/Department of Extra-Mural Services, 1974.

VDC Handbook (1975 version)
Botswana Extension College, 1975

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