

SETTLEMENTS, TRADITION AND CHANGE:  
A CASE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL BOTSWANA.

By

34

LAPOLOGANG MAGOLE

A Practicum Submitted To The Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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ISBN 0-612-13335-4

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## ABSTRACT

Although on average rural settlements in Botswana are well furnished with the basic infrastructure and social services, slow economic development, unemployment, and poverty remain unchanged and are in fact increasing. This situation has been attributed to a lack of commitment by government to policy that promotes industrial location in rural areas; a lack of implementation of policy that benefits the rural sector (arable farming; small scale and informal industry); the long standing urban bias in all sectors of development; and lack of public participation.

A study of Bokaa, a small village in Kgatleng District, revealed all the above mentioned conditions in its development. Apart from interviewing some residents and the leaders of Bokaa, an observation was made on the physical and social development of the Village. In addition to the above mentioned problems facing Bokaa and other rural settlements in Botswana, the study found that the Village was losing most of its able-bodied population, who travel to other places to look for employment.

Although there are appropriate policies for rural development in Botswana, these are hardly implemented because of lack of community power and action. As a result the policies have for the most part failed to achieve their goals. Community power and action are necessary in development in order to keep the government focused on rural development policies and the target groups. Although Bokaa, like all rural areas of Botswana, is governed by a set of complex institutions which are supposed to promote local participation, these have failed to stimulate meaningful rural development. The study argues that, as long as *Batswana* remain ignorant of the systems that govern them, as well as the available development options, they will never be participants in their own development. To facilitate real participation, this study recommends the community development model, with the *kgotla* (traditional leadership) used as a vehicle of development. The community should strive for self-earned economic and political power.

To justify this recommendation, part of the study is committed to examining traditional settlements of Botswana; their formation, the traditional pattern, and what it meant to the residents, as well as the way they functioned and dealt with development issues. It is the opinion of this study and many other writers, such as Rapoport, (1969), Oliver, (1979), and Taun, (1979), that tradition is important to societies, because it is their inheritance, foundation and identity. While it may not be possible for all traditions to be carried on over time, especially in times of rapid change, there are some important traditions, which need to be carried on, not only because they are of special value to the society, but also because of their resourcefulness. This is true for the *kgotla* system of administration in Botswana's rural communities. This study has confidence that this institution can become a major resource for rural development in Botswana, and recommends its revival.

Batswana a re boeleng Kgatleng!!!!!!  
Pula bagaetsho!!!!

## ABBREVIATIONS

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

FAP: Financial Assistance Policy

NDP: National Development Plan

NORAD: Norwegian Agency for Development

VEDC: Village Economic Development Committee

VDC: Village Development Committee

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Bakaa:	The name of the people of Bokaa and/or people belonging to that particular clan. (singular: Mokaa)
Batswana:	People of Botswana (singular: Motswana)
Bakgatla:	The name of the people belonging to the Kgatla clan.
Bogwera:	Initiation ceremony for young men.
Bojale:	Initiation ceremony for young women.
Difalana:	Large grain storage containers.
Dikgafela:	Harvest ceremony
Kgosi:	Traditional leader (Chief)
Kgosana:	Sub-Chief
Kgosikgolo:	Paramount Chief
Kgotla:	Traditional meeting place, the meeting and customary Court
Mafisa:	Cattle held by non-owner
Mophato:	Age-group regiment
Morafe:	Nation (plural: merafe)
Lelwapa:	House-hold and/or court yard
Letsema:	Ploughing season official opening ceremony
Ipelegeng:	Self-help
Setswana:	The language and culture of Batswana

# SETSWANA NAMES IN TEXT

Bokaa village	Morwa village
Kgatleng District	Notwane river
Kweneng District	Pilane train station (village)
Mogoditshane village	Rasesa village
Metsimotlhaba river	Tlhagakgama village (present day Bokaa)
Mochudi village	Tlokweg village

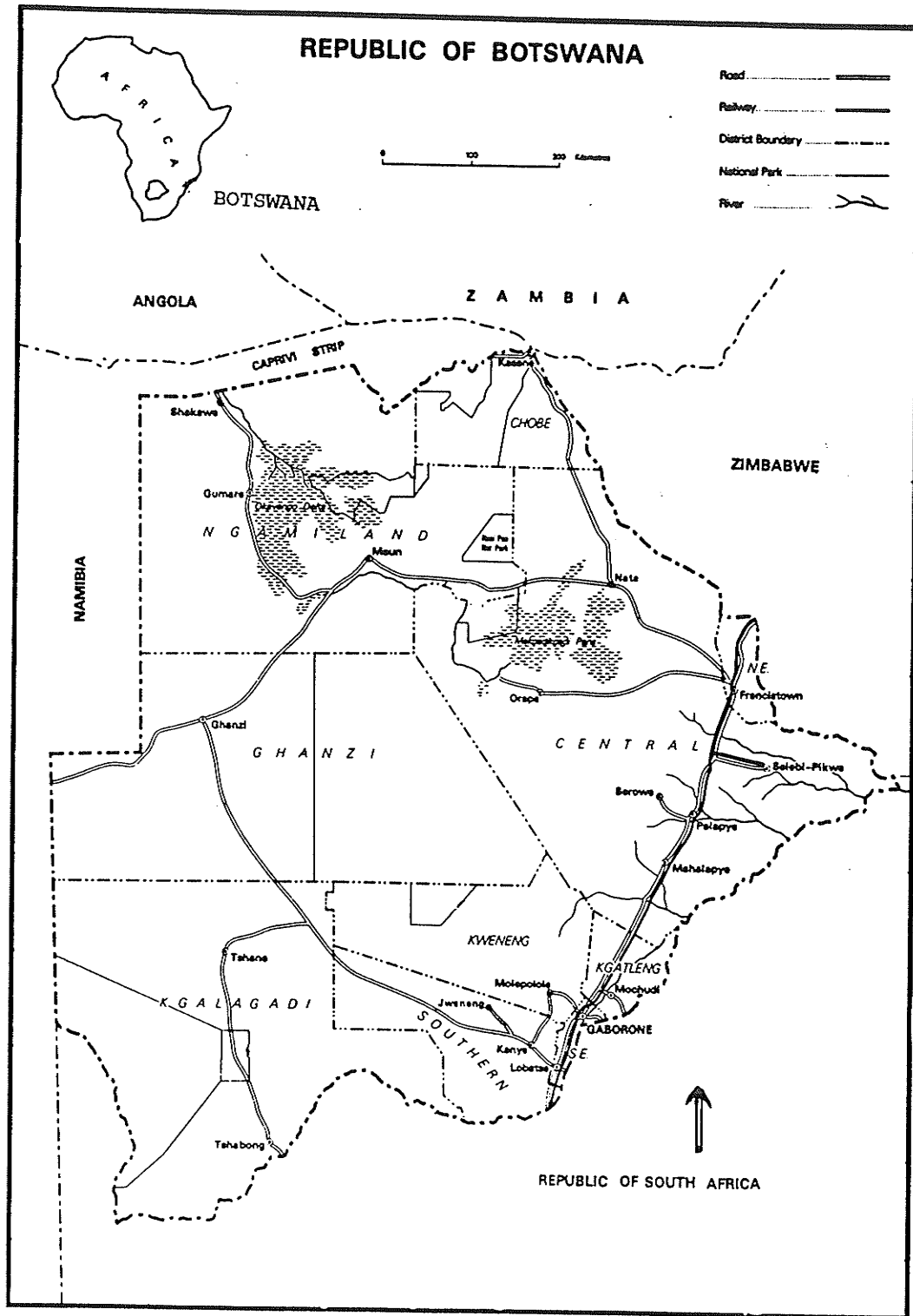


### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost my thanks go to my supervisor Professor Mario Carvalho, my readers Professor Geof Bargh, Professor A. C. Mosha (UB) and Professor Miriam Hutton, for having had the patience to read my work over and over. I would also like to thank both the Department of City Planning (UM), students and staff (in particular Vince), and the Department of Environmental Science (UB) for their support throughout my study in Canada. I thank the UB/UM link for the financial support, and the International Student Centre (UM) for their support. I am also very grateful for the cooperation of the leadership and residents of Bokaa.

My greatest thanks go to the African Community of Manitoba, for facing the cold with me, in particular, Dinkie Ramatlapeng-Idris (my editor). Mr. Siphambe, thank you for the material. Another big thank you goes to Ron and Karen Martens and their families, for making up for my family which is half the world away. I also thank my mother MmaLapo and mother-in-law, MmaDollar for remembering me in their prayers. I cannot thank my dear husband, Inno, enough for the support he has been and for patiently waiting for this degree to end, thank you very much. Above all, I would like to thank my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for making all this possible.

# MAP A



SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND LANDS, 1990.

## PREFACE

### BOTSWANA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Botswana lies at the centre of the Southern African plateau at an average of 1000 metres above sea level. It is land-locked and bordered by South Africa to the south, Namibia to the west, Angola and Zambia to the north and Zimbabwe to the north-east. The country's total land area is 582 000 square kilometres. (see Map A)

Much of the country is flat, with a few rocky outcrops, occurring on the eastern strip. The only wetland in the country is in the north-western corner, formed by the Okavango river which fans out to form the only inland delta in the world. The Limpopo river drains to the east, keeping this part of the country moist, fertile and suitable for crop production. For this reason, the fertile eastern strip is the most populated part of the country. The rest of Botswana, about two thirds, is covered by the Kgalagadi desert, which supports a vegetation of shrubs and grasses.

Rainfall is unreliable, with the northern part of the country receiving an average amount of 600 mm per annum, followed by the eastern strip which receives 450 mm of rain per annum on average. The south-west receives the least rain, about 250 mm on average.

Almost all the rain occurs in summer, between the months of October and April. Winters are relatively dry. Evaporation levels are high, making it difficult to retain surface water. Botswana therefore relies on aquifers, with most having high concentrations of mineral salts.

Temperatures range from maximums of 22°C in July (winter) and 33°C in January (summer), to minimums of 5°C and 19°C respectively. An extreme low of approximately -5°C and a high of 40°C are occasionally experienced in the desert areas.

Botswana's out-door culture, as Larsson, (1984) calls it, may be largely an influence of the prevailing climatic conditions, especially in the eastern part of the country where settlements are concentrated. As will be shown later most activities such as cooking and entertaining are done in the courtyard, outside the house. Houses are mainly used for sleeping and storage of properties such as furniture.

#### POPULATION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The first house to house enumeration of Botswana in 1964 gave a population of 514,876, this increased to 596,944 in 1971, 941,027 in 1981 and was 1,326,796 in 1991, representing 2.0%, 3.6% and 3.5%

rates of growth respectively. According to the 1981 Population Census Report, the high growth rate reflected between 1971 and 1981 was due to the high birth rate and reduced death rate in that period. The crude birth rate was 48.7 per 1000 population, compared to 45.3 in 1971, and the death rate was 13.9 per 1000 population as compared to 14.5 in 1971. It was also due to under enumeration of population in 1971, and also due to refugees from neighbouring, Angola, Zimbabwe, and South Africa who settled in Botswana due to prolonged disturbances in their home countries, hence adding to the population in that year (1981 Housing and Population Census Report). Botswana has a relatively young population, with approximately half of the population under the age of 15.

Traditionally, most *Batswana* are subsistence arable farmers and pastoralists, with a few fishermen in the northern part of the country, and hunter gatherers in the Kgalagadi Desert. Cattle rearing, in particular, has been important to them as cattle was a sign of wealth and was used for bride price. Cattle ownership was, and still is, male dominated. With colonial rule, beginning in 1885, and the introduction of the cash economy, most men went to seek employment in the South African mines and farms, and were later followed by women who went to work as domestic servants and harvesters for the South African commercial farmers. This movement

of people to seek employment increased after independence when towns , (especially the mining towns of Selibi-Phikwe, Orapa and Jwaneng, and the capital town of Gaborone), in Botswana were developed. Employment held by *Batswana* in Botswana at independence was very much the same, (women as domestic servants and men as mine labours) because of their literacy level, which was low because the British protectorate government had not invested much on education of the people of Bechuanaland (the country as it was known prior to independence in 1966).

This situation has since improved greatly from the great investment commitment the government of independent Botswana made in education right from the beginning of its rule in 1966. From nearly nothing at independence, 228 primary schools and 13 secondary schools were built by 1971. This increased to 423 and 41 primary and secondary schools respectively in 1981. According to the 1981 Housing and Population Census Report 40% of males between age 10 and 24, and 51% of females of the same age range, were reported to be literate in 1981, an increase compared to 11.3% and 10% for males and females respectively of the same age group, in 1971. Although both Setswana and English are official languages, the later is not very popular in Botswana as compared to other Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. This is partly because it is mainly taught in schools, and schools have a shorter history

in Botswana than the other countries, but also because *Batswana* have never interacted directly with the British and other Europeans.

### **BATSWANA AND THEIR CULTURE**

*Batswana* are estimated to have occupied the present day Botswana since A.D. 1600 (Hardie, 1980). Their pre-colonial existence was characterised by numerous independent *merafe* or nations, under the leadership of *Dikgosi* (kings or chiefs). These were basically clans that make up the present day *Batswana*. Each *morafe* (singular of *merafe*) had its own capital, for example the capital of the *Bakgatla* clan is Mochudi village. Gaborone, the national capital and administrative centre, was created at independence. This was necessary because the colonial administration of Bechuanaland was previously carried out from Mafikeng in South Africa.

The leadership of a clan as portrayed by the *Kgosi* (singular of *Dikgosi*) and his advisors who were usually his close relatives (uncles), was made up of the first settlers in a particular area, or by the founder of a particular *morafe* (Tlou and Campbell, 1984). People, individuals or groups, who came later would ask for protection and/or a place to settle from the *kgosi*, who would then form part of his subjects. Mixing of clans was rare, mainly

because of the ward system of land allocation which will be discussed later in the study.

As more and more people from the south and occasionally from the north of Botswana, joined different *merafe*, it gave rise to smaller settlements around the main one, even smaller settlements were created for small groups of people who came to ask for land from the *kgosi*. The hierarchical system which exists today gradually developed, whereby the *kgosana* (headman), *kgosi* of small settlement, reported to the *kgosi* (chief) of second level settlement in the hierarchy and the *kgosi* reported directly to the *kgosikgolo* (paramount chief) of the first level which is usually a more populated and larger settlement.

The layout of the villages was such that the centre was marked by the meeting place called the *kgotla*, the seat of the *kgosi* and his advisors. The *kgotla* represented the village parliament and court. The chief's residence as well as his family and close relatives, that is the royal family, were also found at the centre of the village. The settlement then grew outwards from the centre in a series of concentric rings (Hardie 1980), (see Fig 2 p.46).



## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION: SETTLEMENT FORM TRADITION AND CHANGE

#### 1.1 SETTLEMENT FORM

Human activities take place in a specifically delineated space. This space, the built environment, is an expression of tradition. It is the contention of this study that out of the creation of this space comes a power that unites the people and forms a strong community. Thus, traditions influence the form of our physical habitats, and settlement patterns (Rapoport, 1969). This is also expressed by Hardie, (1980), who believes that a people's tradition is observable in their behaviour whether stated or not, and therefore concludes that those culturally determined behaviours define, among other things, the conceptual and practical organization of space.

This chapter examines the processes and forces that shape the space, namely, settlement form and tradition, and further takes a critical look at modernisation as a force that has impacted on traditional settlements and the way their communities function. It is hoped that this will lay a foundation for making a case for community development in rural Botswana.

Members of traditional communities often have a bond between them that allows them to be in a unique form of unity. This study believes that this unity emanates from the way these communities are formed, in particular the level of individual participation in creating and maintaining the community.

Through the study of traditional settlements and dwellings, writers such as Rapoport, (1969) and Oliver, (1969), have concluded that human settlement patterns often communicate a people's social, economic and political values. Oliver, (1969), believes that the various settlement patterns that exist in the world, represent the differences in ways of life and "meet the needs of their respective communities and contain values special to them" (Oliver, 1969, p31).

These writers basically believe that people communicate what is sacred and important to them through their settlement pattern and dwelling form. The ancient Egyptians for example enshrined their religious beliefs by building monumental structures such as pyramids and temples. Oliver, (1975) contends that religious buildings were actually more important to the Egyptians than domestic dwellings. This, he argues, is evidenced by the more permanent building materials used in building these religious structures.

Oliver , (1975) goes on to argue that historically, in most cultures, there has been "no clear distinction between the religious and the secular." (Oliver, 1975, p14). Religious symbols, and the myths that surround them, have therefore, for a long time dominated settlement and dwelling form. On the same point Rapoport, (1969) states, "Religion is so closely linked as to be inseparable from social life and needs." (Rapoport, 1969, p8).

Apart from the importance of religion as demonstrated by the Egyptians, the form and siting of settlements has been influenced by the desire to relate to the natural environment. This has often resulted in human settlements that barely alter the natural environment, or as Rapoport, (1969, p8) states, there is "general lack of differentiation between man and nature." This phenomena is also well captured by Oliver, (1975) in the following quote;

In many tribal societies, man is very aware of his relationship with the rest of nature; he is frequently concerned with maintaining the stability of his environment and attempts to act in harmony with it. (Oliver, 1975, p15).

Together with the importance of expressing their religious beliefs and the need to act in harmony with the environment, is the relationship of the people with the land they occupy, Rapoport, (1975) states that the relationship is more of identification with the land than ownership. Land is the provider for all needs, it is home, and people belong to it.

Rapoport, (1989) further contends that land to traditional societies is not just space to be subdivided and sold, but rather, it is seen in terms of social relationships, history and intimate links between the land and the people. The identity of the group is bound up with that land.

A dwelling, which Lee (1989) describes as the inner structure of a settlement, also reveals cultural and aesthetic values wherever it is found, (Duly, 1979). It reflects the changing standard of living and value systems of a society. For example, in Botswana, concrete walls and corrugated metal roofs and more especially tiled roofs, have replaced the traditional mud walls and thatched roofs, mainly for durability but also for prestige reasons, (Larsson, 1988). Some, however prefer the traditional round-shape dwelling and have thus kept the traditional architecture alive.

Cultural differences depicted by the dwelling, range from the decorations on the house, or hut, to the arrangement of space in the yard. For example, in most Southern African traditional homesteads, different household chores are either conducted in different huts, or different locations in the yard, resulting in numerous huts in one yard, as opposed to the western style of numerous rooms under one roof (Larsson, 1988). Separate sleeping huts are also built for adults and children. This dramatises the respect that people of different ages have for each other and at

the same time assures privacy. (see fig 3)

Although settlements such as those of Botswana in particular are an expression of traditions and culture, the environment and economics, are also considered. While tradition plays a major role in shaping settlements and dwellings, environment and economics have also been found to be very influential especially in settlement location. Huntington (1945), argues that, these factors actually go a long way in influencing a people's value systems. For example the El Qued people in the Sahara desert build mud houses in rows around their underground water sources to protect the wells from being covered by wind-blown sand, (Duly, 1979). The fishermen of Benin, Nigeria, build their dwellings on logs inside a lake to combine home and work place (Duly, 1979).

Nomadic cattle herders and hunter gatherers of West Africa, are known for their temporary dwellings made out of twigs and grass and/or animal skin. It may be argued then that, the way of making a living that is, economics and the environment have great influence on culture, which in turn influences settlement and dwelling form.

The traditional settlements of Botswana were formed on much the same principles. They were built by *Batswana* to express their

tradition, but also gave them a sense of belonging that only these settlements can give. By their concentric design, as well as a complex management system of chieftainship, which will be discussed later in the study, *setswana* settlements encouraged a social interaction which ensured that all participated in community activities.

The three-land system of *Setswana* settlements which will also be described later, is for example, a result of *Batswana's* agricultural practices of arable farming as well as livestock rearing. Finding good land for crop production and animal grazing has always been intertwined with the socio-cultural reasons for finding a new location for a settlement (Hardie, 1980). The architecture of the *setswana* round mud thatched hut conforms to the environment in that, it provides the cool shade needed in summer and is fairly warm in winter.

## 1.2 TRADITION AND CHANGE

While this study appreciates traditional settlements and communities, it recognises the fact that traditional *setswana* settlements in particular, are being impacted on and changed by forces of modernisation. Before discussing and evaluating this change, this study finds it necessary to first discuss the forces

of tradition. It is hoped that an understanding of both tradition and modernisation will also bring about an understanding of the response of traditional communities, especially those of Botswana, to modern development. Particularly highlighted through out the study is how this modern development is administered by those who have the knowledge and economic power necessary to facilitate this new type of development.

Traditions are belief systems and customs that have been passed on, or inherited from, ancestors, or as Tuan, (1989) put it, "is that which has been handed down" (Bourdier & Alsayyad ed. 1989. p 27). It is a complex term used to refer to physical entities, communities, cultures, values, as well as to the activities and lifestyles that express them.

One recurring theme of tradition as given by Rapoport (1989) could be characterized by the term "conservatism", as used in the sense of continuity and of accepting the past, and is succinctly captured by the phrase "what makes a tradition is meaningful repetition" (Bourdier & Alsayyad ed. 1989. p 82)

Tuan, (1989), contends that traditions form people's beliefs and influence their behaviour patterns as well as their value systems. In a way, therefore, traditions are what define a society by giving it its unique characteristics. They form a bond between

individuals, and are a foundation as well as an identity of the society at large.

Under a typical traditional way of living, apart from other people, community members often feel bonded to the land on which they live (Rapoport, 1989). In these traditional societies, land provides a place to live, it provides building materials, food, protection and thus power and independence to the community. There is a total reliance on land as people belong to the land and not vice versa. Hence land, becomes a thing to be respected, and may not be deliberately abused in anyway.

Among the numerous attributes of tradition listed by Rapoport, (1989), is the fact that traditions undergo gradual change over time. Societies make choices or find themselves in situations that require them to adjust, give up parts of, or entire traditions. Despite the importance of traditions there is a limit as to how much of the past can be represented today. It needs to be emphasised though, that the changes that took place under traditional ways of living, are likely to have been preceded by a change in value systems, because given their conservative nature, anything beyond their comprehension could not be accepted. It may be assumed therefore that these changes had a very low impact on the society, not only because of their gradual nature, but also because people often had the knowledge necessary to make a choice



for a change and hence there was no fear of the unknown.

Taun (1989) believes that things that are passed on have value attached to them, and societies make great effort to pass them on to the next generation despite the change that they go through. He states;

Everything that we see in the present has a past, however brief, and is in that literal sense traditional. Only a small proportion of what we see and have today will be passed on to the future -- and the more distant the future the smaller that proportion will be. We wish to pass on what we value, and one way to assign value to something is to say that it is traditional, sanctioned by history, by a Golden Age, by the immemorable ways of one's ancestors or by nature itself. (Alsayyad & Bourdier ed., 1989, pp 27)

The idea of modernisation has greatly altered the rate at which societies change, more so since the industrial revolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Modernisation introduced to this stable and barely innovative system, high levels of growth in population and production. To maintain the growth, rapid changes had to be made, such that even fewer traditions were passed on, hence cutting off a lot of what linked people to their past. Thus, to traditional societies modernisation is a threat to their inheritance and foundation, to their identity, their land and the stability that their traditional lifestyle provide.

Modernisation has also brought about ever improving international communication systems which have accelerated the spread of

knowledge greatly altering the conservative nature of traditions. In Botswana this is evidenced by the labour migration to the South African mines which began in the 1930s, and continues by the ever increasing rural to urban migration.

Modernisation can be broadly described as change over space and time. It is a culture and value system based on technical rationality that has emerged in the present day developed countries, largely as a result of the industrial revolution, and is therefore often equated with westernisation, that is, to be modern is to be like the west (Jones, 1990). Adoption of attitudes and patterns of social behaviours of the west seems to be a prerequisite for developing countries in their pursuit of modernisation. Jones, (1990) argues that;

This would involve widespread changes in social norms, including changes in many of the traditional patterns of kinship support, and the related restrictions and obligations by which the economic freedom of inhabitants of non-industrialised countries is hindered- at least as it appears to Northern eyes. (Jones, 1990; p21)

This idea of modernisation described above, trivialises the traditions of the developing countries, and sees them simply as obstacles to modernisation and not possible facilitators. Smith (1965) challenges the idea, and contends that modernity should be described purely in local terms. He believes that;

To be modern does not mean to live in a particular kind of environment rather than another. It means to live in an environment that one's society has deliberately chosen to construct (or accept); and to do so rationally, self-

consciously. (Smith, 1965; p20)

Taking away from the traditional societies of the developing countries the freedom to choose their own path of development by subjecting them to what Midgley (1981) calls cultural imperialism is to rob them of the very ability to modernise. Cultural imperialism emanates from the belief that western ideas and practices are superior and are therefore worth copying by developing countries (Migley, 1981).

Modernisation has also been assumed to be synonymous with development, progress, the new (which is assumed to be good and desirable), and a way to be by all societies and individuals (Smith, 1965). Basically modernisation was described in purely economic terms, that economic growth is what is necessary to modernise the traditional societies (Macpherson, 1982). Although Smith, (1965) agrees that modernisation is a thing to be desired, he draws our attention to the ills of this type of modernisation, in both the modern west, and in the developing countries which are pursuing the state of being modern. Harvey, (1990), quotes Marx who describes modernisation as a new internationalism via the world market, which he argues;

subjects nature's forces to man, machinery application of chemistry to agriculture and industry, steam navigation, railway, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground (Harvey, 1990, p. 99).

This change has taken place, Harvey, (1990) argues, at great cost: violence, destruction of tradition, oppression, reduction of the valuation of all activity to the cold calculus of money and profit." (Harvey, 1990, p.99).

Both Smith, (1965) and Harvey, (1990) contend that modernisation as described above does not necessarily represent progress. Smith, (1965), in particular, brings our attention to the population problem, pollution, over-urbanisation, urban slums, urban and rural poverty and general social decay in India and in many other developing countries. These things, he contends, are new and in that literal sense modern.

The power to control change, and knowledge of the options, of what is possible, is what science and technology makes available to us. Therefore, Smith (1965) argues, that, the technological knowhow which opens up a range of new possibilities and capabilities for a society to take control of their development and determine results, is modernity. He concludes that ignorance is the bar to being modern, not social traditions. Smith (1965), believes that awareness gives a society the ability to evaluate new ways of living and the confidence to choose one and not the other.

Smith, (1965) acknowledges that countries can learn from each other, but care should be taken not to learn and copy what other countries have chosen as a way of life and path for development, but to learn what choices are available. He contends that,

modernity is not a goal but a process, it is not something to adopt, but something to participate in. It is not something that one has, but something that one does, and may succeed or fail (Smith, 1965). Central to Smith's idea of modernisation is awareness of what we are, what we can be and what we want to be.

Botswana like other developing countries is caught in the modernisation web. The nation's desire to modernise has led it to copy ways of the west, in the form of government organization and administration, as well as development patterns; a choice which was made by a few elite who had been educated in the west. The western model of government and development is further enforced and maintained by the use of expatriate services and continued dependence on aid from Britain as well as other developed countries. Foreign aid has been a form of control, through the conditions that are often attached to it (Midgley, 1981).

The existing relationship of developed countries and developing countries, such as Botswana, emanates from the western idea discussed above, that there is only one path to modernisation and development- westernisation (Macpherson, 1982). To follow this path therefore, developing countries need technical and financial assistance from the west. It has also become necessary to adjust the social and economic systems to make them compatible with the new developmental strategies.

In Botswana this has lead to a shift from the *kgotla* or traditional leadership and meeting place, which will be discussed in detail later in the study, to a western form of parliamentary government. Consequently this broke down the traditional family through which the *kgotla* operated. Jones, (1990), contends that the traditional family of the developing countries has been seen to hinder free labour movement, optimum use of resources and presents a disincentive for personal savings.

The new government of Botswana took over from the British at independence in 1966. Although the British did not interfere with the functions and powers of the traditional leadership during their rule, they played a major role in directing the decisions and actions of the government of independent Botswana. The main goal of the new government has always been to stimulate economic growth and improve the standard of living in the country (National Development Plan 7 (NDP 7), 1991-1997). Thus, bringing to the country improved medical facilities, better communication systems, more educational facilities, infrastructure and increased production of goods and services.

According to the meaning of modernisation given by Smith, (1965), the government of Botswana may be said to have missed the whole point of modernisation, and has ventured in a development process

that was not shaped by the society's desires, and knowledge of what is or is not possible. The fact that it became necessary to remove or by-pass the institution (*kgotla*) that for a long time had represented Botswana society, and to formulate new institutions in order to modernise the country, is in itself a validation of this grave error.

As a result of what Smith, (1965) calls an unconscious move into modernisation, development efforts in Botswana have been concentrated largely in urban centres, resulting in rapid urbanisation with related problems of housing shortage and urban poverty and the depopulation of rural areas. Consequently, rural areas have consistently lagged behind in development giving rise to high rates of unemployment and poverty (Gaborone Growth Study, 1977).

As stated earlier, there has been a shift from the *kgotla*, which is the village meeting place and traditional governing institution, as the centre for development, to new institutions specially formed to carry out modern development in both urban and rural centres. The *Kgotla* was the core of Botswana villages. It was at this place that village issues, be they political, social, or economic were dealt with by the community and their traditional leadership. With the new institutions of a national government it has been found

that popular participation has been on the decline, at least as indicated by election turnout over the years, which was 75% for the first election of 1965, 54.9% in 1969 and was estimated at only 32% in 1974 (Parson, 1977). People do not feel like they are part of the system anymore.

Rankopo, (1993) in his thesis on Community Participation in Botswana, notes that "the existence of complex state institutions might be having negative influences on local people's perception about their role in social development." (Rankopo, 1993, p 2). These institutions are deemed necessary for the smooth running of the modern government, but might have, with or without realising it, caused a spirit of undermining the traditional leadership by the society.

Through the new and modern institutions, villages have been provided with infrastructure in the form of roads, schools and other social services. However, this has so far not been able to remedy the main problems of rural communities, namely, lack of employment and poverty. For example, Bokaa village in Botswana, as the study will reveal, has all these services, but still has very slow economic growth and low employment opportunities.



### 1.3.0 THE STUDY

#### 1.3.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The purpose of this practicum, is to introduce community development as a process in the development of traditional communities of Botswana. It seeks to raise rural development issues and concerns and show how community development both as a concept and strategy is inherent in *setswana* tradition. This study maintains that, because of this association, the community development model can be more effective in addressing the issues of rural *Batswana* than the present developmental planning strategies of Botswana, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Bokaa village, in the Kgatleng District, which is located immediately north of the Gaborone City Region, is used as a case study, to demonstrate the applicability of community development process in addressing the issues and concerns of a rural community in Botswana. (see Map B)

Bokaa is selected because it represents a typical rural community on the outskirts of the largest primate and capital city of Gaborone, is undergoing dramatic change, and is faced with the challenges posed by the conflicts between tradition and change.

The community of Bokaa wishes to develop in a way that will preserve its tradition, which in fact is its inheritance and identity, and that will allow it to accommodate and cope with change which is projected to be much more rapid primarily because of its proximity to Gaborone. To present the context for the type of development appropriate for the community of Bokaa, this study will discuss the form and pattern of the traditional settlements of Botswana and their approach to community development. But first the study will examine the development strategy of independent Botswana and its impact on the traditional communities and on the settlement patterns.

The focus of the study is therefore three fold;

- a) to present an evaluation of the development strategy of independent Botswana, with particular reference to rural areas, for which Bokaa will be used as case study;
- b) to present the traditional development system in Botswana and make a case for community development in Botswana;
- c) to demonstrate the use of community development principles and processes in Bokaa as a viable alternative for rural development.

### 1.3.2 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

In Botswana, the impact of modernisation has been most evident in the capital city of Gaborone and in all the other urban centres and

villages, particularly those within the Gaborone urban region. It is through the urban centres that the ideas of modernisation, or what Harvey, (1990) calls the forces of "new internationalism", make their entry into the country. It is therefore, through these centres that Botswana is linked with the international community in the global economy, and which in turn impacts on traditional rural communities such as that of Bokaa.

In an effort to cope with the changes brought about by modernisation, traditional communities in Botswana have given up a large part of their traditional way of life. However, most of this erosion of traditions, was a result of deliberate government effort, and its developmental policies, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Since independence and the introduction of modern development in Botswana, traditional communities gradually lost their authority to affect change and to use their own strategies and systems to develop. Nor were they given a chance to choose and plan their own development (Rankopo, 1993). Both the new developmental system and the institutions that go with it were imposed on them.

Although traditional communities of Botswana do realize that change is inevitable, and wish to adapt to the new way of life in order to gain from the anticipated social and physical development, the challenge it poses is difficult, because as Harvey, (1990) argues,

wherever rapid change occurs there is often an "uninterpreted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation." (Harvey, 1990 p.99). Furthermore, their experience with it so far has not been a pleasant one, given the unemployment rate (on average 31.2% in urban areas and 23.5% in rural areas: Labour Force Survey, 1984/85), poverty and the ever increasing inequality in income and wealth distribution in both rural and urban areas of Botswana after twenty-eight years of the new style of development. Besides not gaining much from the new development, *Batswana* have lost their inheritance and identity as well as the power that was traditionally vested in them.

Berman, (1988) describes the dilemma of tradition and change as follows;

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world - and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. (Berman, 1988, pp.15).

Every society has a deep rooted culture. A culture that forms the identity of the society and indeed the individual. Botswana is no exception. With a society made up of a number of different clans, Botswana is a home of numerous traditions and cultures, all of which are at the brink of disappearance.

All settlements in Botswana have undergone considerable social, economic and political change. This has, in turn, resulted in rapid settlement pattern change, as well as loss of some traditional ways of life which were typical of *setswana* tradition. Hardie, (1980), believes also that these changes have resulted in rapid urbanisation which is characteristic of urban development in Botswana. The changes are also a result of government development policy and its persistent urban bias since independence.

While in the early 1970s the mining towns of Orapa and Selibi-Phikwe were the main destinations of rural to urban migration, the capital city of Gaborone has since overtaken them, and acts as the main catalyst of change in the surrounding communities. Employment, education, health and other opportunities that are available in the City, have resulted in rapid population increase in Gaborone, not only causing problems in the City, but also in the rural areas. It has caused for example, rapid population increases and pressure on land, in the villages of Mogoditshane and Tlokweng (five kilometres west and east of the City respectively, see map C) and also in other surrounding villages. It has also been a human resource drain for the rural areas in general.

Bokaa village is used as a case study because it is not only a typical traditional community of Botswana, but also represents

small communities which are directly under Gaborone's sphere of influence, as they undergo physical and social transformation for modern development. A change which is evident in the emerging grid settlement pattern, as well as the development of the Village. The residents of Bokaa have traditions similar to those of most *Batswana*, traditions which have manifested themselves in all aspects of their lives.

The village of Bokaa has grown outwards from the centre, as defined by the *kgotla*, in a traditional concentric manner. It can be assumed therefore that Bokaa, like most villages in Botswana, has existed under the traditional *kgotla* system of administration, and according to the findings of the study, has a history of community development, and is hence familiar with the basic principles of community action, community power and self-help. The grid pattern which is emerging in the outskirts of the village, represents the new growth pattern of the Village and the shift from the *kgotla* and the social systems that it represented. The Village is also characterised by typical *setswana* households with numerous huts in the yard. (see fig 3).

### 1.3.3 METHOD

The study was primarily undertaken through examination of government documents and relevant studies on Botswana, Gaborone and Bokaa village. Site visits were carried out to interview the residents of Bokaa and their leaders to obtain their perspective of the village and its development and also to observe the physical development of the Village.

The study comprises of five chapters. Chapter One outlines the purpose, scope and intention of the study. It defines the underlying concepts of the study, namely, tradition and modernisation as forces that influence settlement form and transformation respectively. It then gives a brief overview of what the study is about, why it is conducted as well as the reason for the chosen study area of Bokaa village. Chapter Two presents the development strategy and policies of Botswana since independence. It focuses on the institutional transformation, economic growth, development policies and programmes, the forces of urbanisation, and their impact on rural development in particular, and raises rural development concerns before it examines present government action.

Chapter Three presents the community development model and justifies it as a model for Botswana's rural development by

presenting the traditional settlement form in Botswana, the socio-economic systems it represents and the impact of both political and economic changes, especially institutional transformation, on social development.

Chapter Four focuses on the case study of Bokaa village. It presents a practical illustration of the issues raised in Chapter Two. It examines the pressures and challenges the community faces, its perceptions and aspirations and the mechanisms that the community uses in coping with change, as well as its opportunities and constraints to development. Chapter 5 presents alternative developmental plans based on the community development model, that the community can adopt in coping with change in a way that is consistent with their traditional values.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2.0 RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA: GOVERNMENT POLICY AND URBAN BIAS

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION: THE ECONOMY

Botswana's status under British rule as a protectorate and not as a colony, resulted in very limited commitment to its development by Britain (Morgan, 1977). The country had never been of direct value and interest to the British since they came to Southern Africa. Britain agreed to give Botswana protection from the Afrikaners of South Africa in 1885 in response to an appeal by Batswana chiefs, primarily to secure access to the interior.

Unlike its neighbours, South Africa, Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) and Namibia (then South-West Africa), Botswana's arid conditions and landlocked geographical nature made it unattractive to British, or other European settlers. This lack of commitment to Botswana's development led to an under-developed independent Botswana in 1966 which faced among other things a serious problem of lack of skilled manpower (Morgan, 1977). The protectorate government spent very little on the development of man power. Instead the government collaborated with the South African mine labour recruiting organization in mobilising Batswana for mine work so that they would have a source of income with which to pay their head tax (Morgan, 1977).

However, since independence, Botswana has progressed from being one of the poorest countries in the world, with an annual per capita of 60 pula (2.75 pula is equivalent to 1 US dollar), and one fifth of the population receiving famine relief, to experiencing the most rapid growth rate in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the world (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew from 313m pula in 1966 to 1,554m pula in 1977/78, and from 2,613m pula in the period 1982/83 to 4,988m pula during 1988/89 financial year (National Development 7 NDP7,1991-1997). In August 1976 the country established its own Central Bank and currency, the Pula (Parson, 1977). Between 1975 and 1980, Botswana's GDP was growing at a rate of 20% per annum (Molamu, 1992). Over the same period exports grew on average by 53%, while imports grew by 43%.

This growth came primarily as a result of the growth of the mining industry, especially from the sales of diamonds and copper/nickel. Mining grew from non-contributor to the country's GDP in 1966 to contributing approximately 50% in the 1988/89 financial year. This has though been coupled with the decline of the agricultural industry as the main contributor to the GNP from contributing 39.6% of the GDP at independence to 3% in 1988/89, mainly because of persistent drought conditions in the 1980s. Other main contributors recorded for the 1988/89 financial year are tourism and trade, (includes beef exports), which contributes 16.4%, government revenues, 12.8%, and manufacturing which contributes 4.2%.

Although manufacturing has declined from contributing 7.9% to the country's GDP at independence to 4.2% in 1989, unlike agriculture it has increased in absolute figures, from contributing P25m in 1966 to P209m in 1989 (NDP 7 1991-1997). Both the absolute figures and share of GDP from the manufacturing industry are expected to increase due to the new national development policy, which is to diversify from the mining to manufacturing industry. According to NDP 7 the contributions to GDP from agriculture and mining for the 1990/91 to 1996/97 financial planning period, are expected to decline from 3.3% and 42% to 2.6% and 35.2% respectively, and further to 1.2% and 20.8% respectively by the financial year 2015/16 (NDP 7 1991-1997). Meanwhile the manufacturing industry's contribution to the GDP is expected to increase from 11.6% during 1990/91 to 13.2% during 1996/97 and to 21.1% by the 2015/16 financial year. Although the growth rate of GDP is falling and is expected to continue to do so for at least the next two decades, absolute figures of the GDP and GDP per capita are expected to continue to rise. It is expected that the GDP growth rate will eventually stabilize at an average of 5.2% per annum.

## 2.2 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

As shown in Figure 1 (on page 31) the Village Development Committee (VDC) and its affiliated organizations such as the, Farmers Association, Parent Teacher Associations, Village Health Teams, Botswana Red Cross Association, Botswana Council of Women Groups, constitute village level organisations or lobby groups. The *kgotla* is often put at the same level of authority as the VDC although the VDC under the leadership of the Community Development Officer is almost entirely in charge of all development matters.

These institutions have limited authority because they do not have any means of raising funds with which to work, and have to depend on outside aid. While they do good work and serve the community, they have for the most part been rendered ineffective. Some writers on the issue of public participation in Botswana feel that these institutions are also undermined by the higher authorities because the members are often uneducated (formally) and poor (Isaksen, 1983; Rankopo, 1993). Isaksen, (1983) states;

There is often a mistrust of the formally uneducated and poor people and their leaders in rural areas. Attitudes at all levels of government and among foreign observers often takes the form of self-fulfilling prophecies that the rural, uneducated masses and their institutions cannot be counted on to make and implement decisions, handle funds or manage their own affairs. These attitudes in turn promote a vicious circle of loss of confidence and diminished local ability to mobilise resources and manpower (Parkinson ed. 1983; p58)

The helpless attitude of communities in as far as modern development is concerned is also expressed by Rankopo (1993) in his

analysis of the relationship of communities and modern development institutes as he states;

Communities became passive recipients of the new style of development that was led by civil servants and politicians. There was generally some degree of token consultancy with VDCs but the main players were the Central government and District Councils (Rankopo, 1993; p69).

As a result District Councils have more power and authority over village development, although they also depend on funds handed down from the Central Government. Apart from operating with local politicians, or councillors, the District Councils also employ technocrats from different fields, including planners. Central and local government employees who are placed in villages often come together to form an advisory team for the VDC, which is referred to as the Village Extension Team (VET). Normally the team is led by the Community Development Officer, who deals with community welfare and development issues, and hence works closely with the VDC.

At the same level as District Councils are Land Boards, which deal with land allocation and other issues, and the District Administration which represents the central government at the district level. Both the Kgatleng District Council and the Kgatleng Land Board jurisdiction include Bokaa and are based in the district headquarters at Mochudi. These administrative units may be said to set the development agenda for the whole district. It is at this level that the District Development Plan is formulated. For a small village, such as Bokaa, most of its development and

growth is therefore controlled from the district headquarters.

Another district level institution is the Tribal Administration which mainly administers justice and carries out some traditional duties. The duties are mostly of ceremonial nature, and give this institution no authority, but mainly serve to bring history to life by organising stage performances of cultural dances and ceremonies for international guests. The Tribal Administration comprises of district chiefs, sub-chiefs, and village headmen, who according to NDP 7 are expected to participate in rural development initiatives. NDP 7 states:

The Tribal Administration also encourages and supports rural development initiatives, particularly at the village level. The *kgotla* (traditional meeting place) is the institution where community views are sought and where development initiatives and participation is encouraged (NDP 7 1991-1997; p447).

Evidence for this is hard to come by. The *kgotla* appears to be used by extension officers, politicians and administrators as a platform for selling new ideas, rather than carefully listening to those who gather there. These new ideas Isaksen (1983) argues, may not be entirely appropriate to the culture and economy of the rural settlements. Isaksen (1983) also believes that this is due to a perpetuated relationship between people and the government, whereby villagers remain politically unaware and unfamiliar with administrative and political channels, and are hence without any effective channels of making their view known or any power to press for resources, funds, and services at higher levels. He states;

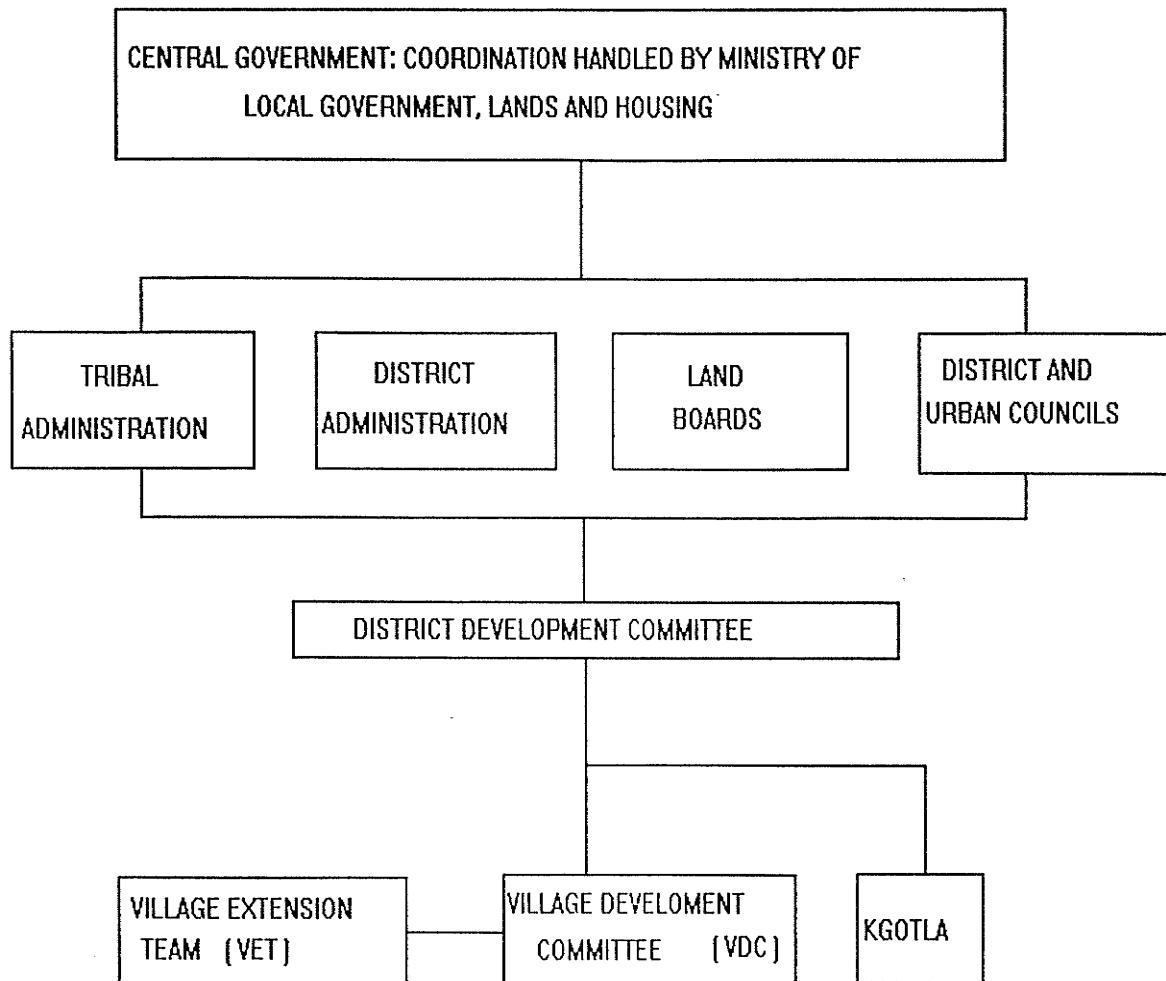
While channels for conveying information from the national and district levels - including the mass media, extension services and other administrative and political outreach programmes - are relatively more effective than those operating the other way, there is nevertheless shortage of information appropriate to the needs of the small village.

Since the channels of listening to the villagers needs are inadequate, it is not surprising that answers provided from 'above' are not always applicable to perceptions or realities in small settlements. (Parkinson, 1983 p56)

The highest level of local administration is the Ministry of Local Government Lands and Housing which coordinates all local development in the country. The power of this Ministry is also questionable, in that, although it is charged with implementation of local development projects, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, controls the funding.

It may be concluded therefore that, considerable power is concentrated at the top level of government where there are economic resources. Policies are formulated with little, or no, input from the village level institutions. The VDC and the *Kgotla* are used mainly as vehicles for the implementation of programs, drawn up by the Government. Even at this implementation level, government employees, not the community, play a major role.

FIG 1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE



Source: NDP 7



### 2.3.0 DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN INDEPENDENT BOTSWANA

In the light of such phenomenal present and expected economic growth, the questions to ask are well captured by Seers (1969) as quoted by Friedman, (1992):

What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?.... If any one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development,' even if per capita income doubled.  
(Friedman, 1992; p1)

The following sections explore these questions from the perspective of Botswana. It has already been established earlier that per capita income has since independence been on the rise. The question to ask next is, what kind of development has this increased per capita income generated? Is the development consistent with Smith's, (1965) definition of development, which is characterised by knowledge and choice? What has been happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality in Botswana?

As stated earlier, at independence Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world, with virtually no physical infrastructure, education and health facilities or access to clean water in both urban and rural areas (Harvey and Lewis, 1990). Basically Botswana had to start the development process from the beginning; from the creation of basic institutions of a civil service, to providing the people with basic social and physical infrastructure, and had to do so with very limited resources, both human and financial.

With such a beginning Botswana had no choice but to depend heavily on aid from Britain, other western donors and the economic linkages it had with South Africa. These linkages included supply of migrant labour and trading links with South Africa, a situation which the British had perpetuated because of the assumption that Botswana would eventually be incorporated into the Union of South Africa (Wass, 1975). However, shortly after the evaluation of the country's economic development crisis in the early 1970s, a diamond deposit was discovered in Orapa by De Beers, and Botswana has since had financial independence and massive economic growth as discussed earlier.

With the financial resource obstacle partly resolved, the government of Botswana drew up a development strategy, which placed provision of physical and social services as its first priority. For rural areas in particular provision of clean water, primary education, basic health care and improved transportation and communication as well as marketing facilities, were to be provided as reflected by the Development Plans prepared by the district councils in the early 1970s. Implementation of these policies started with such institutions as the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) for beef processing and marketing, the Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) for arable crop marketing, and the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) which was established in 1970 to serve as government advocate to encourage private sector development in all sectors of the economy.

### 2.3.1 RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

For rural development, the government produced two White Papers, namely the Rural Development in Botswana (1972) and National Policy for Rural Development (1973). These set out government policies with special emphasis on integrated rural development. For implementation of the policies, a Rural Development Council, chaired by the Vice President and a special Rural Development Unit in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning were established in 1972. The main purpose of the Rural Development Unit was to coordinate the activities of all ministries and government departments to ensure that rural interests would be represented at the central planning forums.

Despite unfavourable climatic conditions, the above mentioned rural policies have since launching, placed great emphasis on improving agricultural production. Mainly for two reasons; firstly because the majority of the rural population (which is the country's majority) depends on agriculture for household consumption and informal employment, secondly because it was also hoped that cash crop development would result in increased household cash income, more rural employment which will absorb many people, especially the rural poor, and facilitate rural economic growth (NDP 7 1991-1997).

This led to such policies as the controversial Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), which was part of the recommendations of the

international consultancy work of Chambers and Feldman in 1970 who produced the National Policy for Rural Development (1973) (Molutsi, 1992). TGLP was adopted for communal grazing land to address the problem of overgrazing. Through the policy, the government leased out parts of the tribal grazing land to individuals or groups of farmers with large cattle herds in order to encourage better farm land management through employment of ranch managers and internal fencing, which would increase the carrying capacity of the land and reduce overgrazing. Veterinary cordon fences for disease control were also built under this programme (National Development Plan 6 (NDP 6). There were also large cattle vaccine campaigns, which lead to near total eradication of foot and mouth and other cattle diseases.

Apart from the fact that the expected ranch management by large cattle owners never occurred, and that land on the private ranch ended up with more overgrazing than communal land, TGLP has been criticised on several accounts. First, that areas chosen for ranches were not empty, so people were displaced. Secondly, it gave rich Batswana cattle owners (many of whom are in the government) a chance to own large parcels of land at a low price, while reducing communal grazing land for local people considerably. Thirdly, there was no policy provision to ensure that the large cattle owners removed their cattle from the communal land, therefore in practice they had dual grazing rights. Fourthly, government's access to international funds at concessionary rates

was used to secure loans for the ranchers from the World Bank through the National Development Bank at sub-market rates, again to the advantage of the rich cattle owning *Batswana*. Lastly, there has been concern by the environmentalists on the amount of fencing involved and its affects on the movement of wild animals (Harvey and Lewis, 1990).

Observers have concluded that government's investment on the cattle industry as a whole and the use of concessionary funds to secure loans for large cattle owners for ranch development in communal areas represented a set of policies which worsened the distribution of income and wealth in Botswana. Based on the Rural Income Distribution study of 1974/75, 45% of the rural households were non-cattle owners, a further 40% owned one-quarter of the total national herd, while 15% owned three quarters of the nation's herd (Colclough and McCarth, 1980). Furthermore the number of households owning no cattle has been recorded to be rising since independence, largely due to drought, but also because of the tendency of TGLP to benefit the large cattle owners. Cattle in Botswana have always been a traditional source of income, a measure of wealth and power, and have always assumed the functions of a bank for *Batswana* as excess funds are often used to purchase cattle (Harvey and Lewis (1990).

While it seems that the distribution of cattle has never been even, traditional *Setswana* societies had a system of *mafisa*, (which will

be discussed in detail in the next chapter) that not only improved the distribution, but also ensured that everyone had draught power and other agricultural implements at ploughing time (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Furthermore, apart from stored community grain which the chief redistributed when necessary, the extended family provided a measure of support for food and money to everyone. With the recent social change, which will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter, these traditional systems are gradually breaking down.

There is an important link between arable agriculture and cattle rearing, in that cattle are used for draught power, and are often a thing to fall back on during drought years when crop production is more likely to fail than livestock. It is for this reason that unequal distribution of cattle and the breakdown of the traditional *mafisa* system has been seen to contribute to rural poverty (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980).

Poverty in rural Botswana is even more related to cattle owning considering the disadvantages suffered by those who own no cattle; first, they have limited access to draught power, secondly they suffer from absolute shortage of labour because of the link between the male head of household and cattle ownership, thus a male headed household is less likely to be non-cattle owning than a female headed one, so there is a high probability that a non-cattle owning household will not have able-bodied men who are necessary in such

labour intensive activity. Furthermore, the non-cattle owning households may suffer from greater poverty because cattle are an important source of income. Non-cattle owners also have limited access to rural credit, because cattle and other fixed assets are required for security. These households also become vulnerable in times of drought because cattle and small livestock represent a reserve of food and wealth. Lastly, it can be concluded that non-cattle owners have not benefitted from agricultural extension which has usually been directed towards cattle owners (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Therefore while alternative draught power such as donkeys are necessary for ploughing, they do not bring the security and other advantages that cattle bring. It is for this reason that most adult males have chosen to migrate to urban centres as the rural economy which is based on agriculture has proven to be unreliable to the poor.

Crop production is vital for many poor rural people, and is their main single most common productive activity, but it has since independence lagged behind in priority of rural development for the government (Lewis and Harvey, 1980). Moreover, arable farming has traditionally been, and still is, the largest rural employment sector (Molutsi, 1992). It is therefore unfortunate that, before the Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP) which was initiated in the late 1970s, there was no government programme for arable agriculture development. This reflects the general attitude of the government of independent Botswana towards traditional systems,

which will also be discussed in the next chapter.

ALDEP was aimed at small farmers who ploughed less than ten hectares. The programme focused on the promotion of affordable alternative techniques for arable farming, such as row planting instead of broadcasting, fencing and the use of donkeys instead of cattle, for which it provided small loans. Apart from the fact that the programme proved to be costly to the government, its initial years were made unproductive by the drought of the 1980s. There was also low response of the target group, namely the poor arable farmers, which could be attributed to the fact that they could not raise the deposit, or as argued above, had no security since it was a loan. An acute shortage of manpower became apparent in the mid 1980s when the drift to urban areas to seek temporary employment became permanent migration. In response to these problems, especially the drought, drought relief programmes as well as a special Arable Recovery Programme (ARAP) were designed to provide assistance to farmers in distumping of new fields, to enable early ploughing by individual farmers, and to subsidise farm implements and inputs. The drought relief government intervention programmes of food-for-work, whereby people were given food for participating in drought relief programmes, has been criticised as discriminatory, because only the poor participated in them, and also for destroying the traditional self-help strategies used in dealing with drought and other developmental issues (Rankopo, 1993). ARAP was reportedly utilised by large numbers of people,



however, indicating the importance of arable agriculture to Botswana.

According to Harvey and Lewis, (1990) until NDP 6 (1985-1991), agriculture spending on livestock, especially cattle, has always been much higher than that on arable farming. During NDP 1 (1966-1969), 59.3% of agricultural spending went to livestock development programmes, while only 10.3% went to arable farming (Harvey and Lewis, 1990). This bias worsened during NDP 2 (1969-1973) when agricultural spending allocated 80.7% to livestock and 6.3% to arable farming, and 74.3% and 6.1% respectively during NDP 3 (1973-1976). For NDP 4 (1976-1979) spending on livestock continued the slight decline from the previous plan and was allocated 68.6%, while funds for arable farming made a slight increase to 11.6%. This trend continued in NDP 5 (1979-1985) where the allocations were 56.6% for livestock development and 22.6% for arable farming, before it changed to favour arable farming during the NDP 6, where only 22.8% of the agriculture spending went to livestock and 46.9% went to arable farming.

The low budget for arable farming has also meant that research necessary to assist farmers to increase yields under arid conditions was never developed. It is hoped that the shift in spending will ensure that Botswana's arable agricultural programmes achieve their objective of increased output and cash income for the poorest in the rural areas as spending on livestock has so far been

seen to worsen the inequality in income, wealth and power distribution.

Also as part of the rural development strategy of 1973 an Accelerated Rural Development Programme (ARDP), a policy for the provision of infrastructure and social services to the rural areas was launched. Above all, this programme served to increase the earlier extremely low government spending on rural infrastructure. Among other criticisms of this programme were lack of skilled personnel to run the social services, such as schools and clinics, and the inability of the programme to stimulate the capacity for rural production of food or income, an objective which many believe could only be achieved through arable farming development (Colcough and McCarthy, 1980, Lewis and Harvey, 1990, Molutsi, 1992).

Another programme which although was designed for the promotion of the manufacturing industry in the whole country, was expected to stimulate and diversify rural economic base for employment creation and income generation, is the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP, 1982). This policy provides loan grants to groups and individuals for small businesses such as tailoring, knitting, bakeries, leatherworks, small carpentry workshops and other ideas that "show a reasonable expectation of producing benefits, in terms of new jobs and incomes, which would outweigh the costs of assistance" (NDP 6; 1985-1991; p239). Since its launching, FAP has provided jobs, but in a very limited way, and hence has not activated the rural economy in any noticeable way. This can also be attributed

to low response of the potential investors (Molutsi, 1992). Molutsi also contends that the projects involved are too small, and feels that, while they have good potential to increase household income, they may not significantly activate the rural economy. He feels that the government needs to put more effort into encouraging industrial locations in rural areas. On the other hand, Molamu (1992) feels that policies like FAP need to be evaluated for practicality and adaptation.

An evaluation of the policy in 1991 found that 48% of the people who did not apply for FAP did not understand it, 14.2% perceived themselves as too poor to be eligible, while 11.1% did not know where to go for help (Molamu, 1992). 18% of those who applied found the application forms too complex, 16% thought the application process was too long and 30% felt that the availability, work attitude, and knowledge of extension officers should be improved to help with the application process. This indicates a communication gap between the policy makers and the target groups, in that while the policies may be good and well intended, they are hardly understood by the people they are intended for. This may be due to the fact that despite the complex local government structure, which is meant to facilitate local people consultation, there is in actual fact no consultation in policy formulation and the village level institutions are hardly used. Therefore, the results are complex bureaucrat produced programmes which are hardly utilised by the people.

#### 2.4.0 THE URBAN BIAS

Since independence none of the National Development Plans of Botswana contain a distinct urban development policy. However, it appears that the whole development policy of employment-creation by diversification from mineral extraction dependence to manufacturing, through infrastructure provision and relevant incentives to attract foreign investors; has in fact constituted an unstated urban bias policy.

NDP 7 states that since independence the Government has given rural development policy a "high priority" (NDP 7, 1991-1997 p.87). A claim which is not reflected in either the current national budget or previous patterns of national development. For example, the Ministry of Local Government Lands and Housing budget allocates in their current budget 16 million pula (approximately \$5 million, US), for rural sanitation programmes as opposed to 48 million pula for urban sanitation programmes. District or rural, housing has been allocated 75 million pula while urban housing receives 445 million pula (NDP 7, 1991-1997). The imbalance is even greater, considering that approximately 80% of Botswana's population resides in rural areas.

Due to the very small infrastructure inherited from colonial rule at the time of independence, it was inevitable that Botswana would

need to spend a considerable amount of money to extend the physical infrastructure. Moreover there was bound to be an urban bias in this spending as the country had to build a new capital town virtually from scratch. This urban bias was further exacerbated when revenues generated from the mining industry provided the funds necessary for the task, but also demanded the building of three new towns of Selibi-Phikwe, Orapa and Jwaneng. As a result, there has been an imbalance between urban and rural development (Harvey and Lewis, 1991). Later on the additional revenue generated from mining was used for job creation mostly in urban centres (Gaborone Growth Study, 1977). This urban bias consequently led to a large outflow of people from villages, in pursuit of the new opportunities offered in the urban centres, initially in the mining centres, and later on, in the capital city of Gaborone. As more industry came to Gaborone, more migrants were attracted to the City (Gaborone Growth Study, 1977). Consequently, the government was forced to concentrate service provision and further employment creation in the City.

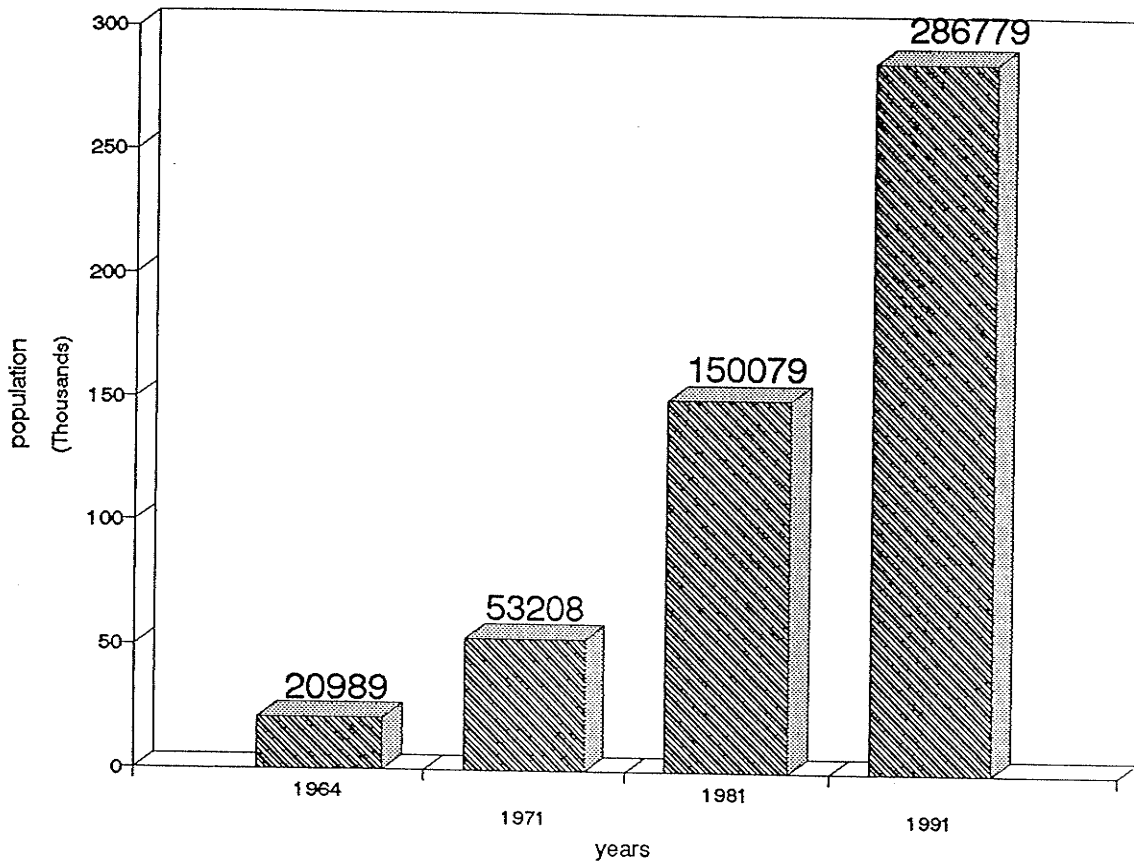
However, problems arose not only in Gaborone, but also in the villages where women, children and the elderly were left in underdeveloped and poor villages. The city started experiencing, a housing shortage, high and increasing unemployment and general urban poverty. Lewis and Harvey, (1990) contend that the general emphasis on urban infrastructure has led to neglect of the production sector, especially agriculture and manufacturing, which

they argue are more effective in employment creation and reduction of poverty, and may have ensured a balanced government spending between urban and rural centres.

#### **2.4.1 URBANISATION**

As a result of the above discussed urban bias, which made urban centres more attractive than rural centres, urban population in Botswana is growing at a rapid rate of 10.3% per annum, which is well above the national growth rate of 3.6%. Between the years 1964 and 1971 the urban population grew by 153% (Government of Botswana, 1980). It tripled during the following decade, 1971-1981, and doubled during the 1981-91 decade (see fig 4 and table 1).

Fig 2: URBAN POPULATION IN BOTSWANA



Source: 1981 & 1991 Population and Housing Census

Gaborone and the mining towns of Selibi-Phikwe, Orapa, and Jwaneng were the main contributors to this urban growth in the 1970's. But when the population of mining towns stabilised in the 1980's and 1990's, the populations of Gaborone and Francistown continued to increase at a rapid rate. The population of Gaborone city grew from 3,856 in 1964, to a population of 17,718 in 1971, and from 59,657 to 133,468 residents by the years 1981 and 1991

respectively, giving an annual average growth rate of 12.9%.

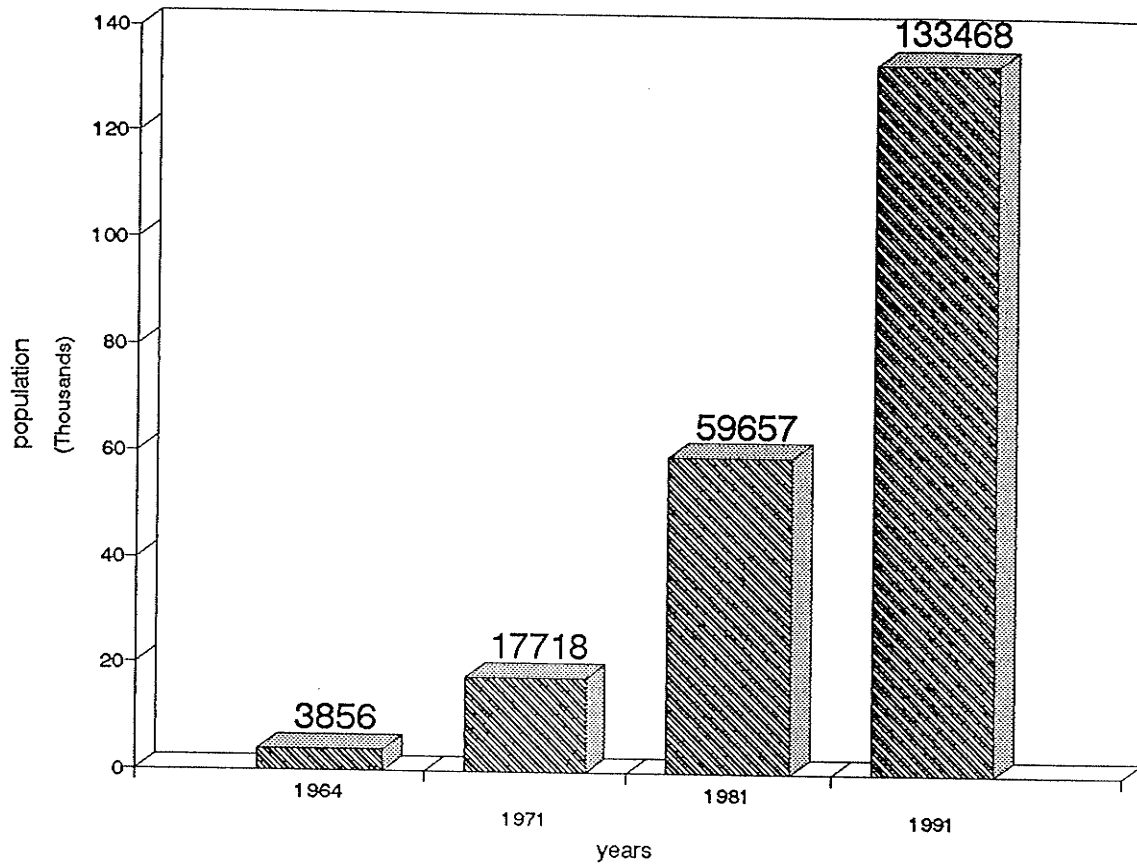
Meanwhile, Francistown moved from a population of 9,521 in 1964 to a population of 18,613 in 1971, 31,065 in 1981 and 65,244 in 1991. Francistown had a relatively slower average annual growth rate of 5.3%.

As shown by Table 1, the urban population constituted 3.9% of the country's total population in 1964, it increased to 10% by 1971, to 15% by 1981 and to 21.6% in 1991. According to the 1981 Population and Housing Census Report, rural to urban migration was estimated to contribute a population of 28,794 per annum to the urban population, that constituted 36.46% of all migration taking place in the country. On the other hand natural increase contributed approximately 5,395 babies per annum. Furthermore, improved primary health care resulted in a lower mortality rate for all ages.

As demonstrated in Figure 5 below, Gaborone since the 1981 census has been the main contributor to urban population growth. The City claimed 3.1% of the country's total population in the 1971 population and housing census, doubling to 6.3% in 1981 and reaching 10% in 1991.



Fig 3: POPULATION OF GABORONE (1964-1991)



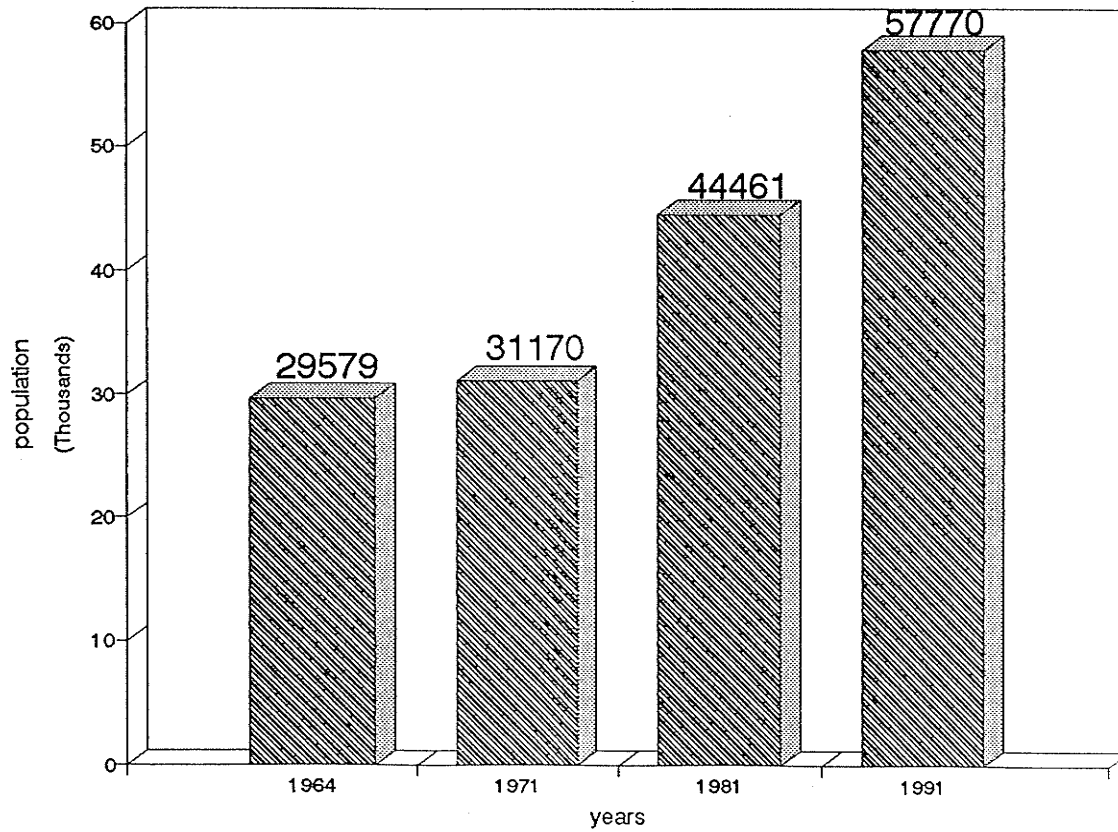
Source: Gaborone Growth Study, (1977) and (1991) Population And Housing Census.

All together, urban centres in Botswana provide 67.1% of all employment in the country. Gaborone has 41.8% of the national

employment, followed by Francistown and Selibi-Phikwe with 10% and 8.6% respectively. Gaborone alone provides 62% of urban employment and hence is the strongest attraction for rural migration (Gaborone Growth Study 1977). Gaborone as the primary city provides opportunities for better health, education as well as other social services.

Although Gaborone attracts people from all parts of Botswana, Kgatleng District is among the top four districts that contribute the most population to the City. These include Kweneng, South East, and Southern District. Up to a maximum of 30% of the people from Kgatleng work outside the District (Rankopo, 1993), and according to the Kgatleng Settlement Strategy (1980) most of them are employed in the City. As a result the district population growth rate is lower than the national growth rate (2.0% vs. 3.6%) (Kgatlang District Development Plan, 1989-1995), (see fig 6). However, like the rest of the country the population of Kgatleng District is growing quite rapidly for the scarce financial, land and other resources. Most of the growth is attributed to natural increase in Mochudi village.

FIG 4: KGATLENG DISTRICT POPULATION (1964-1991)



Source: Kgatleng District Development plan (1989-1995)

## 2.5 ISSUES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

There have been significant improvements in infrastructure and social service provision in rural areas, over the years. However, this has not been able to stimulate rural production and economic growth which is necessary to bring employment and reduce rural poverty, despite many programmes directed towards achievement of these objectives. After twenty-five years of phenomenal economic growth the national development plan still states that; "joblessness and poverty is characteristic of the majority of the rural population. Many rural families are poor with limited access to economic opportunities, and some are still without essential social services" (NDP 7, 1991- 1997, p87).

The seriousness and urgency of this situation, the implications and the need for action are well summarised by Molutsi, (1992) in the following quote;

Far from the increasing agricultural production, job opportunities, tapping the rich human resources and improving rural incomes, the changes in rural Botswana have contributed to increased poverty, inequality and dependency on the state and donor support for basic food needs. This type of support is not sustainable. Thus there is need for alternative development strategies (Botswana Society, 1992; p138).

Molamu (1992) made two observations on the development of Botswana, which he feels is characterised by economic growth without economic development. First, he believes that the lack of success of development policies is due to lack of consultation, in that the NDPs are produced at national level by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, with minimal coordination of development

projects across ministries. This is particularly true for the first two National Plans, but still applies to a certain extent in the new plans, because the central planning ministry still has a monopoly on economic power and hence controls what can and cannot be done.

NDP 7, states that the government has recently realised the need for public participation, hence the intensive use of Village Development Committees (VDCs). VDC's as discussed above, are comprised of villagers who are elected every two years. These committees were formed in 1968 as one of the institutions for the promotion of development and administration at the grassroots level. This study, as will be discussed further in the next chapter, believes that they were also part of the government strategy to reduce the traditional powers of chiefs as village authorities.

The Committees have difficulty involving villagers in community development projects as people no longer attend *kgotla* meetings, where village development issues are dealt with (Rankopo, 1993). This is partly due to the absenteeism of educated able-bodied village residents who work in urban centres, as well as the traditional socio-economic lifestyle of *Batswana* which is such that 75% of the year is spent at the "lands" or agricultural area, and only 25% in the village. Rankopo, (1993) also contends that the reluctance of people to participate in village development emanates

from the tendency for politicians to give people the impression that government is there to provide everything for them in order to mobilise support. This has not only depowered people, but has also created a dependency on government which Molutsi (1992) says is "both dangerous and unaffordable" (Botswana Society, 1992; p152).

Also as discussed above, government bureaucrats have taken control from both residents and politicians. Rankopo, (1993) contends that bureaucrats tend to use a language (technical) that the people and even the politicians do not understand. He concluded therefore that in contemporary Botswana development administration, public participation, especially in policy formulation, exists only in principle, as villagers cannot critique policies and projects that they do not understand. Often projects are presented to communities as if they are the only choice they have. In practice therefore projects are selected and delivered to villages without consulting with the respective communities.

This study agrees with Rankopo, (1993) in all counts, and further contends that the deliberate effort to cause the decline of the chiefs as leaders in village development, as will be shown later, has undermined the *kgotla* (and the people it represents) and rendered it both unsuitable and unable to address issues of modern development. It is therefore the view of this study that part of the failure of government policies to successfully deal with rural poverty and development is due to the exclusion of the target

groups in policy formulation, which is hidden in a complex local government system while the *kgotla* and its potential for addressing developmental issues is ignored.

The second observation made by Molamu, (1993) is the lack of effort on the part of the policy makers to identify the rural poor. This is evidenced in that most rural development policies have been seen to benefit the rich and hence increase the income gap. Molamu, (1992) contends that rural women have suffered the most from skewed development between the rural and urban sector, inspite of their central role in the management of the rural economy and also in maintaining the social fabric of the rural areas. Traditionally women in Botswana have always worked in the fields to provide food for the family. The men, however, provided the needed labour at ploughing time, since their main task was to look after the livestock, especially cattle, to ensure the availability of such foods as milk and meat, but most importantly to provide draught power and the savings that cattle represented. The men would also be there in the village after harvest time to attend to village development issues and other important ceremonies which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, beginning in the 1930s, when the cash economy became established and money was needed to pay tax to the colonial government, individuals, especially young men from the poorest households, those without cattle, started to migrate to South Africa (Colclough and McCarthy, (1980). At this time an estimated 10,000 people migrated to South Africa, but by

the 1960s this increased to 50,000 and was estimated at 70,000 in the 1970s. The level of absenteeism, especially of males leaving their wives and children in the villages increased further in the 1970s when towns in Botswana, especially the mining towns, were established. As a result women became the rural majority and were automatically charged with the responsibility of bringing up families and maintaining the rural sector.

Defining poverty as the inability of a household to meet its basic needs, the Rural Income Distribution Survey (RIDS) of 1976 found that 56.3% of rural households were below the poverty datum line. In 1988 the Household Incomes and Employment Study (HIES) found that 69% of the rural households were below the poverty datum line. This indicates an increase in poverty since the first government White Paper on rural development was enacted in 1972. So not only did government policy fail to improve the situation of the poor, it made it worse. The question however as posed by Molamu (1992) is; Who are the rural poor in Botswana?

According to the Labour Force Survey of 1984/85 the rural unemployment rate was 23.5%. The rates by sex were 18.8% for males and 27.4% for females. The earning power of males in rural areas was found to be more than twice that of females at all educational levels (National Manpower Development Planning (1987), and as discussed above cattle ownership has always been male dominated because sons were always encouraged to earn or buy cattle to pay



the bride price and provide for family needs, because traditionally households were rarely headed by women. However, it was found in RIDS 1976 that 35% of all farming households were female-headed and were concentrated among the poor. This reflects the unequal cattle ownership and income distribution between men and women discussed earlier. It was also found that in 1988, 52% of all rural farmers were over 54 years and only 9% were under 35. Therefore it can be concluded from the above that the majority of the rural poor are non cattle owning women, the elderly and children, who's main means of production is subsistence arable farming.

Lack of implementation of government's rural policies may possibly be another factor in the failure of rural development policies to achieve their objectives. Lewis and Harvey (1990) found that implementation of projects dealing with arable production development was only 35% during NDP 5 (1979-1985). The problem of lack of policy implementation seems to be a serious one considering that since 1972 it has been the objective of the government to; "improve marketing and credit facilities in rural areas; create productive employment opportunities in order to reduce the numbers with no visible means of support" (NDP 7 p87). With such objectives, as well as the successful provision of infrastructure and social services it is indeed of great concern that both unemployment and poverty are still prevalent in the rural areas. This study believes that while there are other factors that contributed to failure of rural development policies, problems with

implementation may have played a significant part.

Failure of government policy to activate the rural economy may also be due to the fact that, non-agricultural rural development policy has been directed principally towards service and infrastructure provision. Molamu, (1992) contends that "the impact of these social services infrastructure projects was their visibility to the rural people" (Botswana Society, 1992; p77). He further quotes Noppen, (1982) who contends that;

While these types of projects provide a 'safety net' of social services from which the poor unarguably 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 (Botswana Society, 1992; p.77).

Indeed the rich enjoy benefits such as lower car maintenance costs and affordable service connection fees for telephones and electricity. These services have been given prolonged attention in terms of time and financial resources, while policy towards attracting investors to rural areas has not been given due attention; as a result government incentives to attract investors have not been fruitful and large businesses still remain concentrated in urban centres. The FAP projects (which are small scale and limited in employment creation), remain the only effort towards diversification of the rural economy. This is an important policy, because if well utilised it can lead to community economic power.

## 2.6 GOVERNMENT ACTION: RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER NDP 7

NDP 7 places an emphasis on diversification of the rural economy through identification and exploitation of potential non-agricultural economic activities. It states;

The identification and implementation of productive non-farm rural opportunities will be given higher priority during NDP 7. The National Settlement Policy, currently under review, will address this issue. There are many natural advantages that selective rural locations can offer to prospective business firms, including ready access to labour whose housing is already in place, water supplies that are less limited than in many urban areas, access roads that reduce transport costs to urban markets, and raw materials that can be economically processed on site. A principal feature of the policy will be the promotion of vital economic and spatial linkages between related development projects and among raw material supplies, processing and markets. (NDP 7 p89)

According to NDP 7, therefore, the government hopes to achieve more balanced development in rural and urban areas, by creating interdependence through the provision of improved transportation and communication facilities as well as the creation of diversified employment opportunities in rural areas. Through a national settlement policy, the government will also identify non-agricultural opportunities in rural areas and link them to relevant industries in urban areas.

The momentum of urbanisation has made such government policies extremely important. Rural areas are losing their population to urban centres at a very high rate. Efforts to develop the rural areas and their population are not only limited by the long standing lack of funds, but also by lack of human resources and a comprehensive rural development policy and programme.

For diversified development NDP 7 sets the following goals;

- a) To increase sustained production from land and wildlife through research, coordinated extension services, and conservation planning to promote better land management.
- b) To improve marketing and credit facilities in the rural areas.
- c) To create productive employment opportunities in order to reduce the number of people with no visible income; and
- d) To improve access to social services, such as water, education, and health care, in order to foster healthier, smaller, better educated and better fed families. (NDP 7, p.87)

To support implementation of this rural policy the government will;

- a) Continue to improve infrastructure in order to promote economic interdependence;
- b) Service selected rural industrial sites;
- c) Provide subsidies, mainly through the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP), to rural enterprises that meet the criteria established in the policy. (NDP 7 p. 89)

Apart from the National Development Plans, there are also District Development Plans which address district and village development directly. For example, Bokaa village development (the detail of which will be presented in Chapter Four) is directly affected by the Kgatleng District Development Plan. Priority development policies of Kgatleng District, according to the six year Kgatleng District Development Plan (1989-1995), are generally consistent with national rural development policies.

Some of the Kgatleng District development policies that are relevant to Bokaa are;

1) The District would like to preserve agricultural land and production, but still provide serviced land to attract industry. This would also allow them to diversify employment.

2) While continuing to focus on diversification and employment creation, the District would like to provide easier access to banking and other financial services, especially for small businesses. Through these services Kgatleng District hopes also to promote small scale industries, including activities in the informal sector, such as street vending, fruit and snack kiosks and other home businesses such as dress making, knitting and shoe repairs.

3) The District would also like to put in place a better planning, management, and implementation system for development policies. In addition upgrading, of communication networks such as telephones, road, rail, and postal services are also high priorities in the District Plan.

4) The District also plans to provide better educational facilities, improved medical facilities, safe water supplies and security forces in the current Six Year Plan (Kgatlung District

Development Plan, 1989-1995).

5) To achieve the above goals the District recognises the importance of consultation at village level. Hence regular consultation with villagers will be encouraged by working closely with the VDC.

6) Omang Youth Training Centre, a vocational school in Bokaa will be used to provide training for trades necessary for small and informal businesses listed above.

7) The District also plans to produce Village Development Plans for all the villages in the District during the current planning term.

If achieved, these objectives could result in district development and progress. With the present trend though it is difficult to appreciate government policy without a certain amount of pessimism. Furthermore, as expressed above, there is doubt that meaningful village level consultation takes place in the formulation of District Plans. It is hoped that this problem will be addressed in the village development plans. This study believes that lack of meaningful public participation is the main cause of failure of government policy in Botswana, because it is difficult to identify the primary issues and the concerns of the target group from a distance.

## 2.7 CONCLUSION

While government policies for guiding rural development have existed for some time, many of these policies have not been implemented. As a result an urban bias has persisted and the rural areas continue to suffer from lack of employment, poverty and loss of population. Both the prolonged attention and spending given to urban infrastructure and the cattle industry have done nothing but increase inequality, more especially in the rural areas. Regarding the emphasis of NDP 7 on diversification of the rural economy, it is likely to worsen the situation of the rural poor in that it does not provide a transitional plan. Furthermore, the poor are likely not to have access to the project funds because of lack of the required downpayments and the security for loans, because as was the case in past policies and programmes, NDP 7 does not provide for this.

Concerning bigger projects or industries, while they may benefit the poor by providing employment, there is a danger that their household income may not be improved enough to provide for the basic household needs, while at the same time they may be cut off as a labour resource in arable farming which could at least provide for their food needs. It is for this reason that many writers on rural development in Botswana feel that the answer to rural poverty

lies in arable agriculture development (Colclough, and McCarthy, 1980; Harvey and Lewis, 1990; Molutsi, 1992). The tendency to treat the rural poor as a homogenous group has also misdirected policies and their benefits.

Consultation, at policy formulation level, appears to be non-existent in the rural development strategy of Botswana. Existing community development, agricultural and health extension personnel seem to be oriented more towards selling ideas that are often inappropriate to the culture and economy of the rural settlements, rather than to listening carefully to local needs and priorities. This has rendered the extension service ineffective, in that, while it is supposed to help communities with the knowledge and skills necessary to deal with their concerns, it engages in diagnosis and prescription services to mesh with central government planning, but often fail to identify the root of the problem.

The following chapter looks at the community development model of development and assesses its potential to work in a traditional *setswana* setting. As noted in Chapter One, this study believes that the community development model is inherent in the traditional *setswana* approach to development, which is characterised by community spirit and self-help.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### 3.0 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SETTLEMENT FORM IN BOTSWANA

##### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study maintains that, rural development in Botswana cannot be separated from tradition and settlement form. The symbolic traditional settlement pattern of *Setswana* villages does not only give them identity, but also defines the residents' way of living, and hence has socio-economic implications. Thus, as defined by their traditions and culture, *Setswana* communities often settled in a socially and economically functional way.

This chapter therefore, presents both the community development model and a socio-economic interpretation of the *Setswana* traditional settlement pattern, as well as the community development process it represents, in order to make a case for the popular community development model in Botswana's rural development.

##### 3.2.0 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Although this concept is surrounded by some controversy many writers on the subject agree that, the main aim of community

development is community action, and that community action is about power (Griffiths, 1974; Macpherson, 1982; Chambers, 1983; Friedman, 1992). The objective of community development is simply to promote, sustain, support, and maintain community action (Griffiths, 1974). Community development as the term suggests is concerned with development, with going forward towards defined goals with purposeful activity aimed at real achievements. Friedman, (1992) describes community development, which he calls alternative development, as a process which seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members. He states that;

It is therefore a process that originates both from below and within specific territory-based social formations, such as a village or barrio neighbourhood. It focuses explicitly on the moral relations of individual persons and households, and it draws its values from that sphere rather than from any desire to satisfy material wants, important as they may be. An alternative development cannot be "guided" by governing elites without destroying its alternative character. It is also very different from the impersonal processes that are responsive to the principle of growth efficiency. Alternative development must be seen as a process that seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members through their involvement in socially and politically relevant actions. (Friedman, 1992; p33)

Advocates of community development such as Macpherson, (1982) and Chambers, (1983) believe in community development for national development, in that it serves to improve the standard of living of the poor masses and make them productive for the larger economy, Friedman, (1992) though sees community or alternative development as a separate unit from the larger national economic sphere which is hooked to the global economy. He states;

An alternative development does not negate the need for continued growth in a dynamic world economy. It would be

absurd to attempt to substitute a people-centred for a production-centred development, or to reduce all development questions to the microstructures of household and locality. What it does do is to seek a change in the existing national strategies through a politics of inclusive democracy, appropriate growth, gender equality, and sustainability or inter-generational equity. In short, an alternative development incorporates a political dimension (inclusive democracy) as one of its principal ends of action. (Friedman, (1992); p34)

Friedman (1992) feels that alternative development must be seen as a process that seeks access for individual household members to the process by which decisions, particularly those that affect their future are made. He contends that if an alternative development is to advocate the social empowerment of the community it must also advocate their political empowerment, a goal which he believes, cannot be attained by bypassing the government. Friedman, (1992) believes that disempowerment of communities equals political exclusion and will continue as long as advocates of alternative development encourage separation of community action groups from government elite. Friedman, (1992) believes that without the state's collaboration the poor cannot be significantly improved and that local empowering action requires a strong state. He further argues that, such impurities as tribalism, racism and other forms of discrimination may hamper development and hence a need for government intervention as these conflicts may not be able to be contained locally.

While Friedman, (1992) presents valid arguments, in that community development requires an empowered community, and empowerment is a

two way process, whereby power is sought, given, and received, and hence both the power holders (state) and power seekers (community) should participate, he fails to address the important aspect of power maintenance and sustenance by the community action groups. Macpherson, (1982) believes that, once power is received self-reliance is important to sustain it, and contends that community action groups should avoid reliance on outside sources for economic development, including the state. He contends that self-reliance is the basic principle of community development, and aid only serves to undermine it. He gives an example of what he calls Ghandi's appropriate approach to rural development, of village development for national development in India, which he believes was lost to foreign aid. Macpherson, (1982) is of the opinion that aid takes away the power which community-action groups struggle for as the donors often have a tendency to control the recipients, through the conditions attached to the aid.

Griffiths, (1974), believes in both power sharing and external assistance where necessary, and states that;

In the light of the frightful alternative it is not necessary to be apologetic when making explicit that references to participation, to involvement, the exercise of local initiative and all those other terms that are so commonly used in connection with community development, mean power sharing. And, in practice, power sharing means the diminution of power on the part of those who have it and the acquisition of power by those who seek it. (Griffiths, 1974; Community Development Journal Vol. 9 No. 2; p93)

He contends further that it takes a tremendous amount of work and determination for community action groups to win recognition for

themselves and for the community view-point which they represent. More so, because frequently they have to be supported by external agencies financially, with professional assistance, and with technical aid.

From experience of working with community action groups Griffiths, (1974) has identified four ways by which the groups can adjust the power balance between themselves and the administrative authorities even in the presence of foreign aid:

1. By making themselves less dependent upon external services, doing things for themselves, and determining for themselves what they want done.
  2. By standing up to and opposing official decisions where those decisions cannot be justified or where the decisions, whatever other merit they might have, are seen to operate to the peculiar disadvantage of the community.
  3. By setting up alternative systems of communication alongside the official system so that the messages from the community can be carried as high or as wide as necessary in society without dilution and without censorship.
  4. By securing the support of professional, technical and financial resources from sympathetic statutory agencies and from alternative sources available to them.
- (Griffiths, 1974; Community Development Journal Vol.9 No.2; p94)

This study holds the opinion that for poor communities such as those in Botswana, aid is necessary, more especially at the initial stages of the community development process in order for the community to build an inventory of resources necessary for total self-reliance, but as Griffiths (1974) argues, community development action groups need to have a high level of initiative and independence in decision making in order to maintain the power that comes with the community development process.

Furthermore, there are two categories of development. One is the provision of infrastructural services which should be under the jurisdiction of the government. Thus, government participation should come in the form of technical advice and provision of those basic needs that the community cannot afford, such as roads, schools, medical facilities, security forces and other services, as well as part or all the finance needed for launching local development projects in poor rural communities. The other is the politics of policy formulation and decision making. Local people or the community should be involved in formulation of development policies and programmes including infrastructural development and be the main participants at all levels of local development as the community development model requires.

Griffiths, (1974), also, warns promoters of community development that it is possible for community action to occur without the stimulation of community development. He contends that;

It is possible also for a highly sophisticated and lavishly supported community development programme to complete its scheme of work without ever having produced any form of real community action. And it is also true that it is possible to promote a mindless kind of community action in which the energies and aspirations of participants are frittered away in activities which deviate them from their best interest. (Griffiths, 1974; Community Development Journal Vol.9 No.2, p88)

In his discussion of community development in the developing countries of Africa, Macpherson, (1982) contends that without the mobilisation of genuine and meaningful community consciousness and participation, community development programmes may be seriously

diverted in practice. He gives the example of the Ujamaa projects of Tanzania, the failure of which he feels was due to availability of the opportunity for those with power to use the programme for their own interest.

Macpherson (1982) also warns that community development may require a lot of patience. He contends that expectation of quick results, may result in poor programme performance.

### **3.2.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS**

Community development planning, as are most planning strategies, is a process. The process basically includes ten steps;

1. The first step is to organize the participants. Government officials and or community organisations may initiate the process. In the case of *Setswana* communities, the *kgotla* should mobilise the community to participate in the process.

2. The next step should be to scan the environment: Review the internal and external factors affecting the community: Determine also what these forces are and how they will affect the community in the future. This is where technical advice from government officials like the Community Development Officer is needed. Through their technical knowledge and consultation they should provide

the community with the knowledge base needed for the next step. With this knowledge, all community members should be involved in a brain storming session where they identify issues that affect them as a community.

3. The third step is for the chosen or relevant community action group, to take the problems raised by the community, and using the above information select the key issues and set priorities.

4. Then establish the direction for strategic action and set general goals. A framework within which specific strategies may be developed to deal with the identified issues, should emanate from these goals. This should also include a time frame of how long it will take and the appointment of individuals or groups who will implement the strategies.

5. The next stage is to carry out detailed analysis of internal and external forces that are especially relevant to the set goals. This analysis should include specific information on costs and benefits and evaluation of alternative approaches to the chosen projects.

6. Based on the above information the group should determine what can be done, how it can be done, and who



should do it. All the necessary resources should be mobilised at this stage.

7. At this stage the community action group should have a clear vision of the proposed development, the costs and benefits, stages and time frame of action and expected out-come. This is necessary in order to keep all involved parties focused on the project.

8. Implementation of the action plan may now take place.

9. The organisers, in this case the *kgotla* and the selected action group, should monitor the process closely and be prepared to review periodically and change or update the plan in event of any major changes in the environment (i.e. the economy, government policy etc.).

10. Scan the environment as frequently as necessary in order to develop new plans of action to accommodate new challenges, which emerge during the process.

Community based planning is a well organised, well focused, and flexible process. It involves a thorough analysis of challenges and opportunities that a community is facing and is likely to face in the future, and above all, it is totally community based.

### 3.2.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE OF BOTSWANA

The concept of community development is becoming increasingly popular in developed countries, and like other similar developmental ideas, attempts were made by colonial masters, to spread community development to developing countries, including Botswana. The British colonial authorities introduced not too dissimilar concepts of community planning in the early 1960's (Wass, 1975).

However the interest to influence African community development by Britain lasted less than a decade, before it started to decline and was eventually deemed impossible. Macpherson, (1982) argues that the failure was as a result of Britain's emphasis on community development as a method which could be used in a variety of political contexts, with no attempt to relate the approach to overall patterns of social, economic and political dynamics of the colonies. He further contends that;

Such an approach, in the context of colonial underdevelopment, was at best paternalistic, but more generally a cynical device by which people could, by their own efforts, be more incorporated into the new social and economic formations of externally-oriented economic growth. (Macpherson, 1982; p165)

Wass, (1975) feels that, the effort was further frustrated by the diversities and divergence in the principles and methodology required for exporting community development to developing countries. After several futile attempts to reconcile the

differences, an unnamed Canadian commentator as quoted by Wass, (1975), came to a conclusion that, there is no such thing as community development. Wass, (1975) argues that, these frustrations are an indication of the importance of appropriateness, as well as placing community development strategies in perspective and in local context. Macpherson, (1982) questions this perspective though, because he feels that there is often an assumption of harmony of interests between the people and those in control. The two authors agree, however, that there is a great need to develop rigorous exchange of ideas between developing countries themselves, because western community development ideas are likely to be out of context.

The importance of context is the reason for this study's approach to the issue of rural development in Botswana. This study maintains that, with the right context, principles of community development can be applied to Botswana's rural developmental issues. Before discussing the traditional settlement pattern of Botswana, as a framework for community development in Botswana, a brief description of the term "community" is necessary, to further justify the relevance of community development in rural Botswana.

There is controversy in the use of the term "community". Plant, (1979) as quoted by Rankopo, (1993) in his analysis of the use of the term, concluded that there can never be a consensus on a single definition. He argues that the term can be both descriptive and

evaluative, thus, saying what a community is and what it ought be.

Nevertheless, the term community has been widely used to refer to pre-industrial societies in which strong bonds, kinship ties and a spirit of communalism existed (Rankopo, 1993). "Community" has also been used to refer to people within a specific geographical boundary. Both the above uses of the term community are relevant to this study, but even more relevant are the three characteristics of a community given by Clarke (1975) as quoted by Rankopo (1993);

(1) First, he believes that individuals within a community have a sense of belonging and a belief that they share something with other community members.

(2) Individuals also believe that they have a role to play and functions to perform in their community for the benefit of the larger community.

(3) Lastly, individuals have a sense of security and stability from knowing that one's needs will be met within the community.

In as far as this study is concerned, the above characteristics reflects on those of traditional communities which form rural Botswana. Despite the pressure of nation forming and the national economic growth strategy, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Botswana still exist in closeknit communities which are struggling to keep their traditions, cultures and sense of belonging. In that sense rural Botswana has communities that can

benefit from community development approaches.

At independence the government of Botswana had nation building as its main development focus (Wass, 1975). This goal according to Macpherson, (1982) may not necessarily have been shared by *Batswana* at large. Community development was therefore at this time viewed in the context of national and district development planning. A strategy which Macpherson, (1982) again contends, gave the colonial administrators and in the case of Botswana, the government, an excuse to provide the rural people with minimal services, because all the resources were channelled towards national development and in actual fact toward urban development.

While national unity is important, *Batswana* have demonstrated the value of their individual communities in that after twenty-eight years of nationalism every *Motswana* not only still associate themselves with a particular clan, but more strongly with a particular village community. At the time of independence the idea of nationalism seemed to be the only way to deal with the ethnic conflicts that existed between clans, in order to make way for the then important government goal of national development. According to Macpherson (1982) this reflected a colonial mentality. He refers to Butten (1957; 1962), whose work guided community development in British colonies and still influence training in many developing countries. Butten (1962) as stated by Macpherson (1982), identified three obstacles that had to be overcome by the

colonial administration and the emergent elite if development was to be achieved, a) lack of statistical knowledge; b) unwillingness of colonised people to make drastic changes from existing customs c) lack of man-power willing to cooperate with the government. To Butten, (1962) community development meant to change people's attitudes to enable them to participate in projects which were not necessarily in their best interest (Macpherson, 1982). As it will be seen later the government of Botswana in its pursuit of its nationalism policy had to deal with the above obstacles. This included stripping the kgotla, (an institution which this study believes is the power of communities in Botswana), of its powers as guide and guardian of the community.

Botswana government development policy presents a decision making process similar to those of colonial administrators, which Macpherson, (1982) calls top-down. The policy and plans originate at the national level and filter down to the people via the technical activities of the community development officers. The production of self-reliant villages has not been the priority, as this was seen as a threat to the nation-building policy.

### **3.3.0 TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES OF BOTSWANA**

The following is an examination of the traditional setting of *Setswana* villages. This is done to provide a basis for understanding the identity and context of communities of Botswana,

and also to reveal some of the inherent characteristics for community development approach to development issues. It is the contention of this study that development is not simply a beginning, but an ongoing process. It means moving forward, advancing, and developing according to one's ability. As Smith, (1965) says, details of these steps depend on where one is and where they want to be next, as well as the availability of the resources necessary to achieve objectives.

### **3.3.1 THE THREE-LAND SYSTEM**

Although *Batswana* like other Southern African nations have always been agriculturists, they have had, and still practice, a unique three-land system of settlement that has resulted in the present large and dense settlements (Hardie, 1980).

This is a land system whereby each household has three locations (triple-settlement), to which they move seasonally (Larsson & Larsson, 1984). The "lands" (agricultural area) is where the family is normally found during the rainy and ploughing season (October to January), and they stay there until after harvest time (April-June). Families would then move to the village to renovate and redecorate old huts, build new ones, celebrate weddings and run other activities. The "cattlepost" is where livestock is kept and grazed. It is semi-permanent and is given resident or commuting attention throughout the year, more especially by the male members of the family.

Although the least amount of time of the year is normally spent in the village, it is the most important place in this settlement system. The village is home. It is where all the investments in a home or business is made. It is also where all the cultural activities take place, where people come together to operate as a community and attend *kgotla* meetings.

### 3.3.2 SETTLEMENT FORM IN BOTSWANA: THE VILLAGE

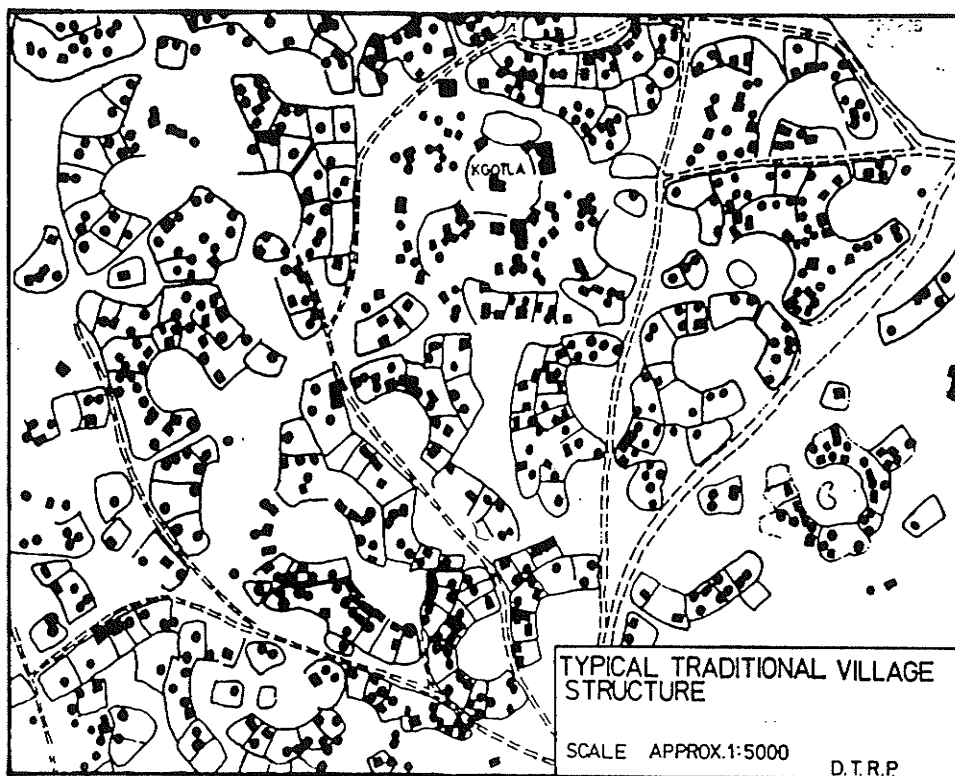
While all human settlement patterns are influenced by physical, economic, and social factors, traditional settlements in Botswana were in particular, most strongly influenced by social factors. Isaac Schapera, (1943), as cited by Hardie, (1980), in his study of *Setswana* settlements found that social status played a major role in shaping these settlements. In the forming of a typical *Setswana* settlement, the *Kgosi*, who is normally the first son of the previous leader, locates his place of residence in a new village site and the rest of the settlement evolves from there. Relocation of a settlement usually occurred at the time of change in leadership. After the death of the *Kgosi*, his oldest son would move the village so that he could assume the central position in the new village (Hardie, 1980).

The rest of the community know their place around *kgosi*. Together with his uncles and other relatives *Kgosi* would form the main ward. (see fig 2) Wards are clusters of households of families who are related. About twenty households form an average ward. After



the Kgosi's ward is positioned, other wards develop around it forming the village (Hardie.G. J., 1980). Households in a ward are often arranged in a semi-circle, and the space in front of each ward as shown in figure 5, is used for family meetings and for play ground for children. As the village grows outwards from the Kgotla the semi-circular wards result in a characteristic concentric pattern. (see fig 5)

Figure 5: Typical Setswana Traditional Settlement Pattern



Source: Botswana Society, 1982.

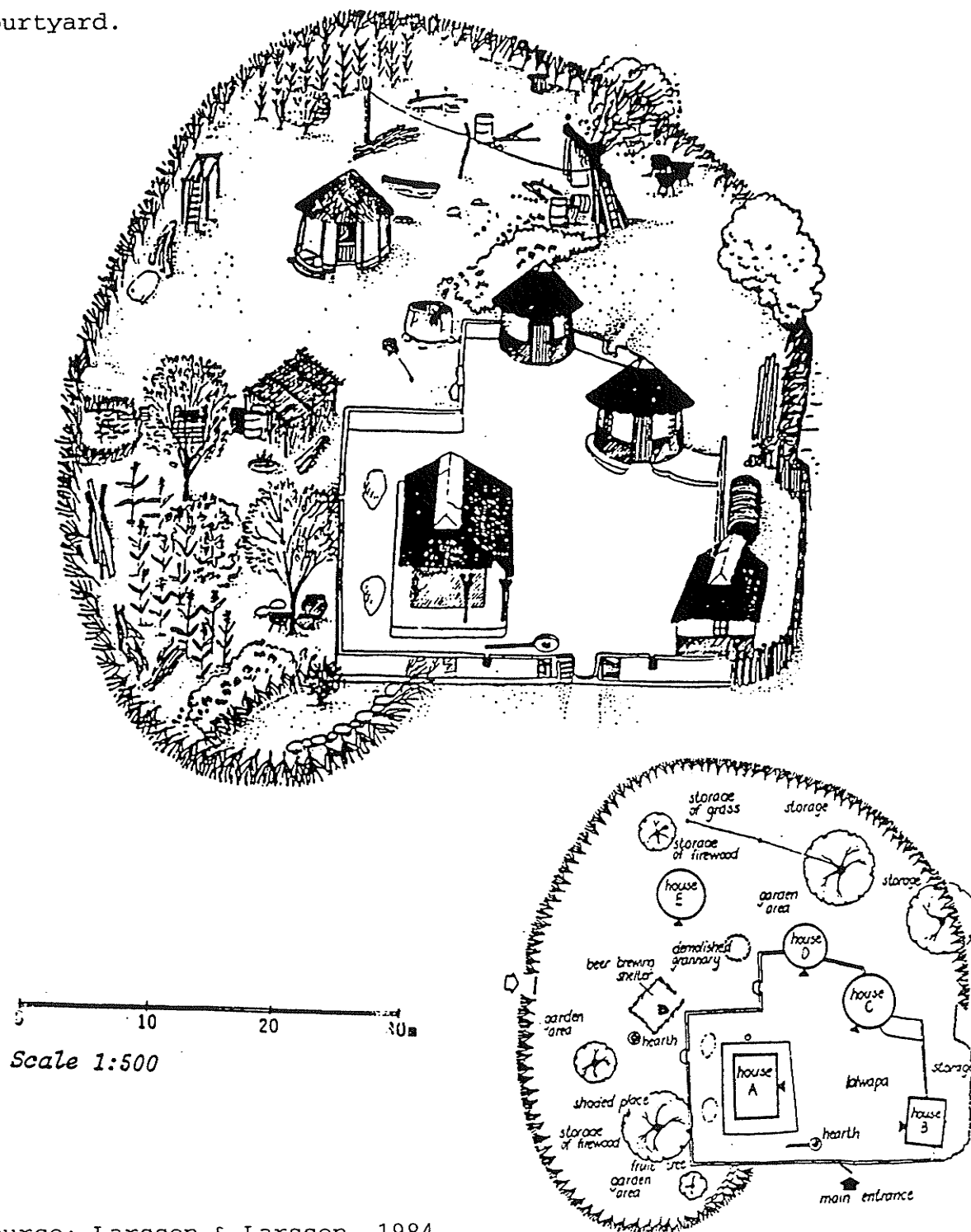
Although wards are normally made up of related families, as the village grows, wards may give refuge to members of other wards and/or people from outside, either running away from oppressive leaders, or escaping punishment. War refugees and prisoners from defeated and conquered clans could also become members of a particular ward, (Tlou and Campbell, 1984). Sometimes smaller and weaker clans voluntarily joined larger ones for security and/or economic reasons.

As described above, settlement location and pattern were primarily determined by the *Kgosi*, nevertheless physical features were still important. It usually earned the *Kgosi* respect and trust if he found a location that had a good water source, fertile land and some hills to serve as protection from invasion by enemies. (Hardie, 1980).

As stated earlier, and illustrated in figure 6, a typical Setswana household live in a yard of about 975 square metres, with numerous huts in it. The huts are used mainly for sleeping, while most activities such as cooking and entertaining take place in the courtyard or *lelwapa*. *Lelwapa* is delineated by a mud wall which is approximately 1 metre high and encloses the majority of the huts as shown in figure 6 below.

The rest of the yard is used for storage of such items as building materials, large traditional brewing pots and calabashes, fire wood and large water containers. As well, activities such as beer brewing, gardening and corn or sorghum grinding also take place in the yard outside the *lelwapa*. An extra hut outside *lelwapa* which may be used as a bathroom or kitchen when it is raining, or windy, is also a common feature in most households. A shelter for small livestock like, chicken, goats, pigs, and sheep, may also be built in or just outside the yard. This is a common feature especially at the 'lands' where people spend most of their time, as these are used for the supply of such foods as milk and meat for household consumption and for entertaining.

Fig 6: A Typical Setswana Household With Numerous Huts In The Courtyard.



Source: Larsson & Larsson, 1984

### 3.4 THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA: THE ROLES OF THE KGOTLA AND THE KGOSI

With an understanding of setswana traditions, the settlement system and the organization of the setswana household we can begin focusing on the *kgotla* and the *kgosi*, as they constitute the most important traditional institution in Botswana.

In traditional setswana communities the *kgotla* was a sacred place where cultural events such as *bogwera* and *bojale* (young men and women's initiation ceremonies), *letsema* (ceremony of official start of ploughing season), *dikgafela* (harvest ceremony) were held. It was the meeting place, the meeting or gathering itself, as well as a place where communication between the leadership and the people took place, and it provided a forum for the people to voice their opinion.

The *kgotla* was also a place from where resources, including land, were allocated. It was the village court, which kept law and order, administered justice and punished wrong doers. (Tlou and Campbell, 1984).

Wylie, (1990) found the meaning and role of *kgosi* as portrayed in setswana proverbs, chief praising poems and tales quite ambiguous. Chiefs were expected to be generous in distribution of food and resources, and be able to provide protection against enemies and

drought, and to be fearsome and brave like a lion, but at the same time be comforting and sympathetic. A *kgosi* was basically expected to be of sound character, versatile, and have the ability to act in a just and fair manner.

There are proverbs such as, *kgosi thipa e sega molootsi* (a chief is a knife that cuts the person sharpening it), implying that a chief can be unfair and turn on a friend, or *foko ja kgosi le agelwa mosako* (build a fence around the chief's word), implying that the chief's word is final, are contradicted by proverbs such as, *kgosi thothobolo e olele matlakala* (a chief is like an ash heap, he takes all garbage), implying that the chief is tolerant to his people and especially referring to *kgotla* meetings, the proverb, *mmowa lebe o bua la gagwe* (everyone has a right to his opinion) implies that the chief listens to everyone. Amidst all these contradictions emerged a chief who was responsible for the well being of his people with their support, and hence the proverb, *kgosi ke kgosi ka batho* (a chief is a chief by the people's support).

To deal with community issues, the *Kgosi* often called the community to the *Kgotla* for consultation and advice. Normally discussions went on until a consensus was reached on a particular issue. Consequently voting on issues was rare and done only when there were strong differences of opinion (Rankopo, 1993).

It was compulsory for all adults to go to *kgotla* meetings.

Projects like building a shelter at the *kgotla*, or doing some renovations at the local school, were implemented through the use of *mephato* (age-regiment groups, these were basically groups of people of the same age). A *mophato* was often led by a member of the royal family. Any *mophato* could be picked to carry out a duty and all members had to participate. A member of a particular *mophato* had a sense of belonging and always felt compelled to participate. Informal competition between different *mephato* (plural of *mophato*) encouraged loyalty of individual members.

Through the use of *mephato*, the *Kgotla* maintained a very high community spirit and achieved a high level of community participation. It was by the use of *mephato* that *Batswana* while still under British Protectorate came together through a programme called "*ipelegeng*" (literally means lets carry ourselves on our backs), and built their first high school. *Ipelegeng* projects were basically self-help projects.

There were often large community fields of agricultural lands on which each household had a responsibility to work. The harvest from these fields were stored at the *kgotla* in *difalana* (large barns). Barns could also be filled with grains contributed by community members during *dikgafela* (harvest ceremony). These served as reserves that fed the poor and the whole community in drought years. There was also a community *kraal* where stray cattle, contributions from the community and court charges were

kept. Apart from his own cattle the chief used this *kraal* to support the poor members of the community. Cattle were, and as discussed above still are, a source of wealth, prestige and power. They provided draught power for ploughing, for carts and sledges, and food in the form of milk and meat, clothing from the leather, and could be exchanged for other goods. Cattle were also important for paying bride price and could be sold to pay children's school fees.

Since cattle practically provided all that households needed, poor family members were loaned cattle under the system of *mafisa*. This system allowed family and other relatives to loan out some of their cattle to the poor relatives, for milk and draught power. The poor members would look after the cattle and could keep one calf every breeding season and in this way they could eventually build their own herds.

History reveals that since their known existence *Batswana* have had traditions and cultures which formed their identity and guided them, as demonstrated in the functions of the *kgotla* and the *kgosi*. Their pre-colonial and pre-independence existence was characterised by a defined lifestyle and a mechanism to maintain it. Although the *kgosi* and his uncles were the highly respected leaders and custodians of the community, their existence has always been a unifying and empowering factor to the community and the *kgotla*, despite certain limitations, has always been the forum for community decision making.



This system was not flawless, especially in its treatment of the minorities, which included the youth, women, the poor and commoners. While all were expected to participate in village activities, the chief's word was final, unless it was opposed by his uncles and other members of the royal family, headmen, elders and the rich members of the community (Wylie, 1990). Although these individuals often protected the interests of the community the same way community action groups do, they have also tended to discriminate against women, youth and the very poor of society. As a safe guard against such practices, Friedman (1992) sees the role of the central government as important.

Some writers on Botswana's chieftainship believe that before British occupation the chief's powers were not considered a threat to community power, because they were rarely carried out, as opposition could easily lead to the removal of the *kgosi* (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). In a complex way, the traditional leadership was such that the chief had to please the whole community. Even the lowest in the hierarchy had power in that, they could always get the support of the "important" people whenever they were not happy and the chief could be in "trouble". In an informal way each of the important people, thus the elders, the rich men, and the chief's male relatives, had a following among the commoners, whose interests they protected all the time. It was never easy for the chief to know his enemies and how threatening they were. It was therefore in his best interest to be good and fair to

practically everyone, because not only could this "trouble" mean the removal of the chief, loss of subjects to the enemy, but could also result in his death.

The British not understanding the unsaid and undocumented traditional structure, recognised and supported *dikgosi* as the sole decision makers. This led to the autocratic behaviour of such chiefs as Tshekedi Khama of Bangwato and Bathoeng II of Bangwaketse (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Therefore, *setswana* communities lost some powers through the British.

While the system fits into the community development model in that it provides the necessary community unity and the spirit of self-reliance, this potential autocracy could undermine the principle of power sharing in decision making. If the *kgotla* is to be the forum for community development and action it has to shed itself of any form of discrimination and dictatorship.

### **3.5.0 CHANGE IN SETSWANA SETTLEMENTS**

*Setswana* communities have had to deal with change long before independence and nation building. For practical reasons *Batswana* have often altered their traditional ways and adapted to new ones. As a result *setswana* settlements have undergone gradual change over the years. However, the most dramatic change occurred at independence when a central government was first established.

Apart from being influential in certain aspects of the traditional administration as stated above, the British did not interfere with the pre-colonial organization of Setswana clans as discussed in the preface.

### **3.5.1 PRE-COLONIAL AND PRE-INDEPENDENCE CHANGES**

The settlement form and organization discussed above prevailed in Botswana for a long time, before British protection and independence. Over time however, changes took place and it was no longer possible to locate the Kgosi in the centre. One of the earliest factors which undermined this tradition or made it difficult to be continued, was the establishment of permanent settlements.

For example, the last *Kgosi* to move Mochudi village, the largest village in Kgatleng District, had twenty nine wives, (Schapera, 1942). When his eldest son took over the throne, he realised that, even though it was culturally ideal for him to settle in the central ward, it was not advisable because of potential conflict in the family. Since he could not move the whole village to assume the central position, he moved his nuclear family to another part of the village forming a branch of the royal ward.

It also became impossible to locate the new *Kgosi* in the centre of the village in a case where he had younger brothers because,

although he is the heir of the throne, he does not inherit his father's home. It is assumed that the youngest son will be the last to leave the family home, and it has therefore become customary for him to inherit the home.

Another feature of the traditional Setswana settlement that has been challenged over time, is the tradition of having people of royal blood only residing at the village centre. Blood relation to the *Kgosi* almost always earned one a high and permanent social status, and hence residence in the inner parts of the village, but loyal immigrants could, over time, earn a place in the centre too, through some kind of wisdom and/or bravery, such as being a great traditional medicine man, or killing a lion.

### **3.5.2 POST-INDEPENDENCE CHANGES**

The main change that occurred after independence was the shift from the *kgotla* as the centre of village development to the new district councils. For delivery of modern development, the government established new and what Rankopo (1993) calls "complex modern institutions" (see Figure 1). Perhaps this was an attempt to separate the traditional from the modern and western, by the western trained government officials under the guidance of western consultants and advisors. Also given the nation-building policy of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), it was deemed necessary to suppress the role of the *kgotla* as it represented tribalism.

In drawing up the national constitution just before the first elections in 1965, it was decided by those who participated, that the authority of chiefs should be given constitutional status by creating a separate chamber, the House of Chiefs, which could only advise the government on matters pertaining to traditional customs and institutions. This decision followed a heated debate on the role of traditional form of government after the election of the new parliamentary government. It was clear from the beginning that the chiefs would not share in the political power, so a definition of their role and power in independent Botswana was necessary, hence the House of Chiefs (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980).

Immediately after the elections the first national government of Botswana began to introduce a series of bills in the National Assembly which were aimed at restricting the power of the chiefs (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). The Chieftainship Bill of 1965 and the Local Government (District Council) Bill also of 1965 were the most prominent ones. The former regulated the appointment and the removal of the chiefs, their salaries, powers and functions. This bill basically stripped the chiefs of their legislative powers and most of their executive authority. The later bill, provided for the establishment of democratically elected district councils which assumed many of the Chief's powers and exercised power over all people in the district. Other legislation such as the Local Government Tax Act, which gave district councils power to raise taxes, the Matimela Act, which transferred powers in relation to

stray cattle from the chiefs to the district councils, and in 1970 the Tribal Land Act, which established local land boards to allocate and administer tribal land, all served to further diminish the power of chiefs.

Attempts by the House of Chiefs to exercise the advisory powers to modify some of the provisions of the legislation failed, as its suggestions were ignored by the government (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Illiteracy, old age and inexperience of many of the chiefs limited their capacity to appeal to the educated elite of the BDP government. To further enable the chiefs to challenge the legislation, for every modern institution established to replace the chiefly authority, the chiefs were incorporated as ex-officio members.

This loss of power by the chiefs, represents in part the loss of power by the people and one of the most effective ways of ensuring the powerlessness of the chiefs and their people was the establishment of the land boards. These Boards changed the face of *setswana* settlements, destroying the ward or family system and weakening the community spirit which came with the family, the chieftainship and the settlement pattern.

The Land Boards have a different system of land allocation from that of *Dikgosi* who allocated land to wards, or families, and not to individuals. At first Land Boards allowed individuals to select

sites, and in this way the system was preserved, since most people chose sites within their wards, except in cases where land was not available in existing wards. The government has found this ward system of land allocation to be inefficient as it left vacant and unused open spaces between wards.

Consequently the Land Boards resorted to a first-come first-serve land allocation system, that forced people to live next to strangers, and led to the breakdown of the ward system. The system was adopted to increase density of settlements in order to facilitate cheaper service provision.

The breakdown of the ward system resulted in the abandonment of the traditional concentric settlement pattern of Botswana villages. The Land Board plot allocation system now follows an informal grid laid out in land subdivision, ignoring any traditional or social considerations (see Map D).

From his 1980 survey of Mochudi village, Hardie found that 80% of the people surveyed, still wanted land to be allocated land by the ward system. From talking to some elders in the community Hardie (1980) found that the ward system was easy to maintain. When the piece of land allocated to a particular ward was filled, any additional members of a family would be moved to a new site under the same family name. In this way the ward, or family, was kept together. Wards were normally lead by the oldest male in the family.

### 3.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Change in settlement pattern was inevitable for Botswana villages. Thus, in the light of the socio-economic changes that have taken place in the past three decades, beginning with the decline of the role of the *kgotla* and the traditions that it represented, population increase, the changing economic base, introduction of modern services by government, and increasing pressures of urbanisation, change was bound to happen. This change has happened at the cost of the social and traditional values of Botswana, that not only gave these villages the traditional pattern, but also held the people together as members of a communities who were willing to take up the responsibility that comes with it. It was a tradition that had brought about mutual respect, sharing of income and property, and the obligation to work for and with the community, all of which is now being lost.

Contemporary rural development policies have demanded a shift from the *kgotla* and its policy of communalism, into a capitalist and competitive system that has ignored tradition in support of change and modernisation. This study maintains that the power for the rural communities of Botswana to develop and address change lies in the *kgotla* and the social systems that it represents. Other writers such as Silitshena, (1992), as quoted by Rankopo (1993), also argue that western approaches to development in Botswana are



inappropriate, and that there is a need to reorganise and adapt traditional institutions in addressing social changes in the process of modernisation. Rankopo (1993), in his study of public participation in Botswana, concluded that the little participation that still exist in Botswana villages is simply an expression of the respect people have for the *kgosi* and the *kgotla* not government extension workers. This is an indication that much can be achieved through the *kgotla* as far as rural development is concerned, as villagers seem to still have faith in the institution. The bypassing of the *kgotla* was indeed a mistake that needs to be rectified if real community participation is to be realised in Botswana's rural development.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 A CASE STUDY OF BOKAA VILLAGE

#### 4.1 HISTORY OF BAKAA

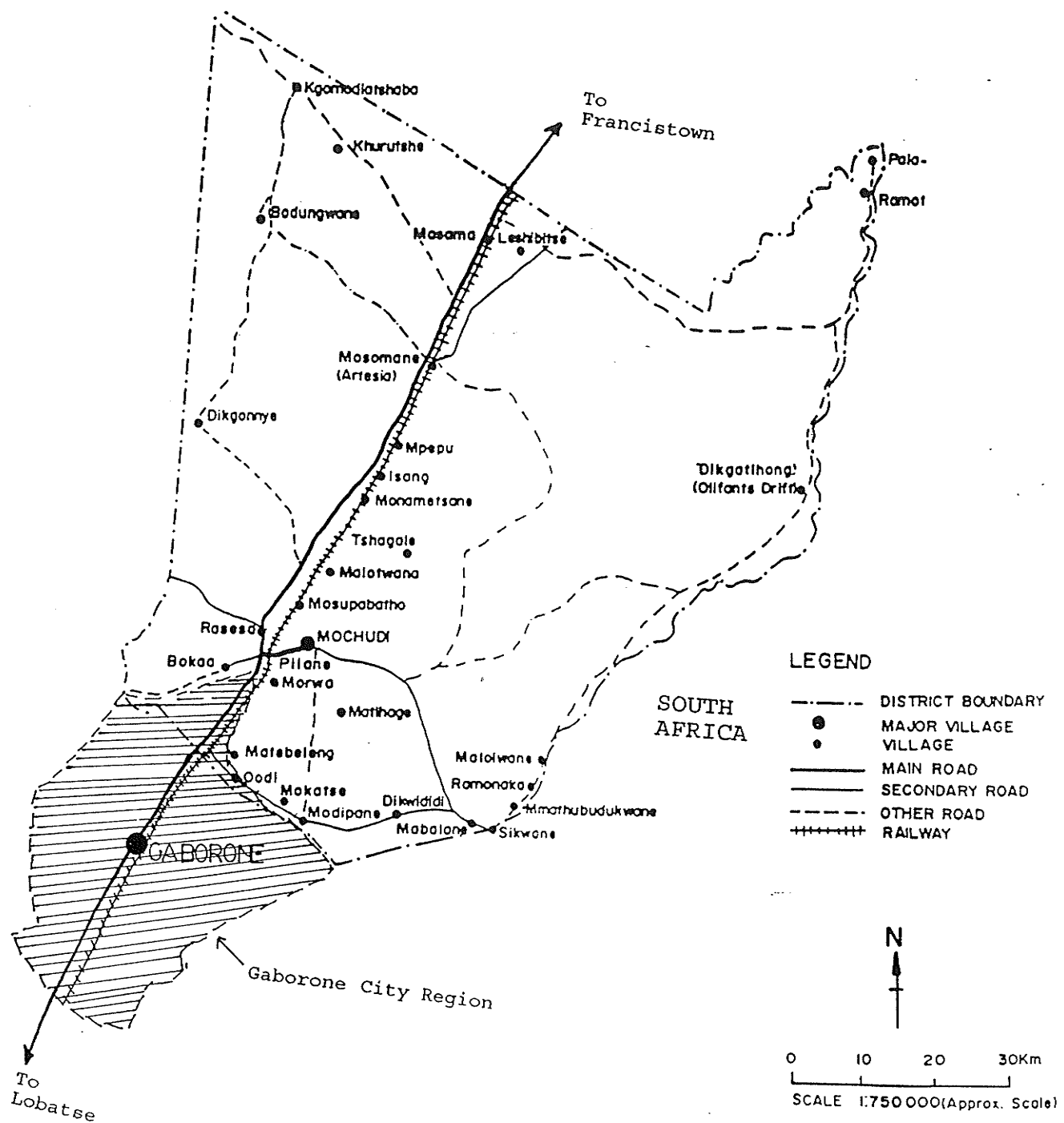
*Bakaa*, (people of *Bokaa*) are recorded to have moved into the Kgatleng District in 1893. This land was already occupied by the *Bakgatla*, so they had to ask for permission to settle from the *Kgatla* monarchy who resided in the district headquarters at Mochudi village. They were granted this permission, and were later granted self- rule. The name of their village was *Tlhagakgama* under the *Bakgatla*, and later changed to *Bokaa* to reflect the *Bakaa's* ethnicity. Another group of *Bakaa* that came from the Central District which is to the north of Kgatleng District, settled in *Rasesa*, north of *Morwa* village and *Pilane* railway station (see Map A) (*Kgatleg Settlement Strategy 1980*).

*Bakaa* are agriculturists who practice both pastoral and arable farming. Therefore, their settlement is organised according to the traditional three-land system of the village, the lands or arable agricultural area, and the cattle post. Farming is at a subsistence level.

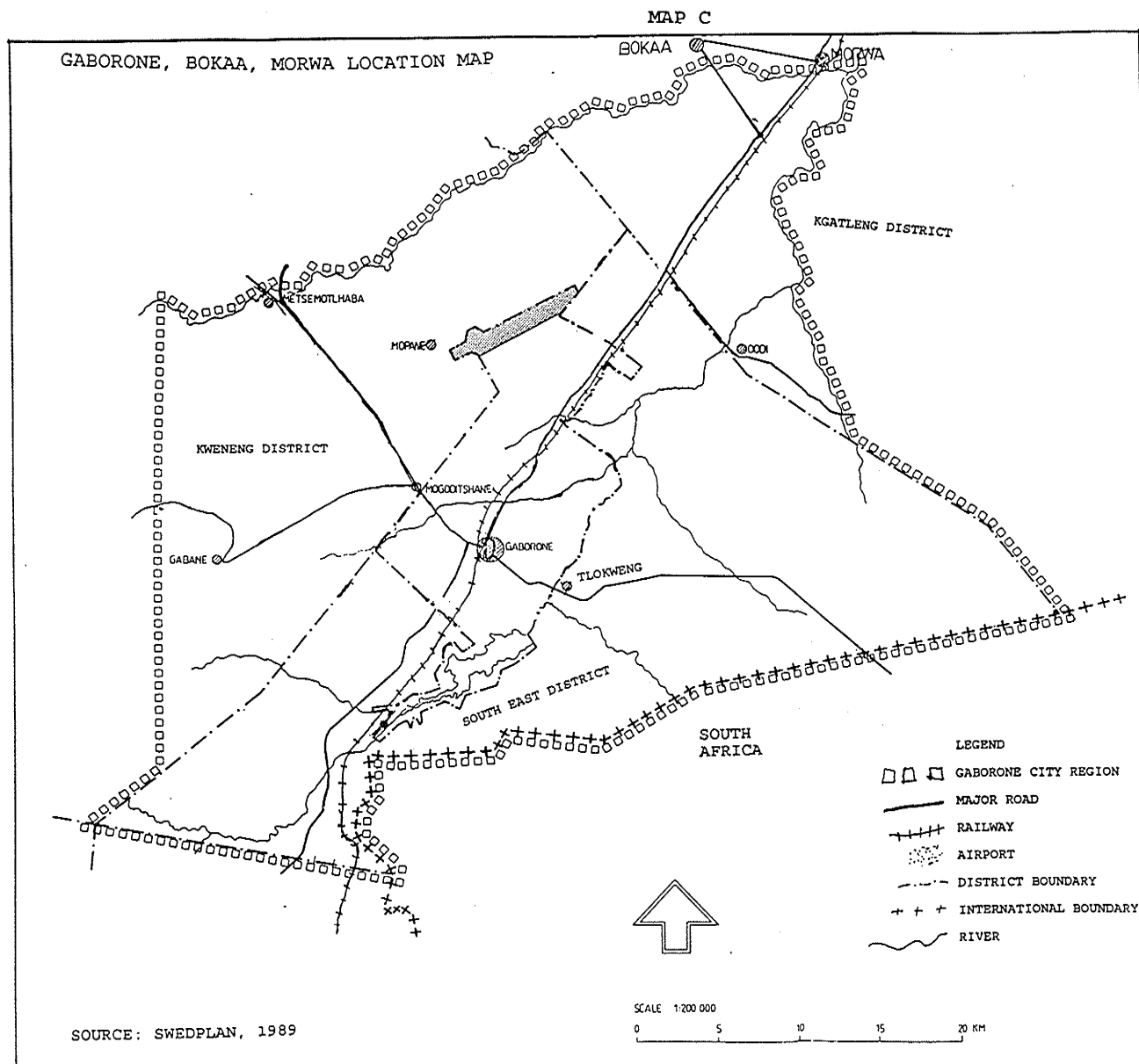
Relative to other villages of its size (population 2420 in 1991), *Bokaa* has a high number of modern houses, namely, concrete wall and corrugated metal sheet roofing. This reflects a significant amount

# KGATLEING DISTRICT

## MAP B



Source: Department of Town And Country Planning, 1991



of cash in the economy of the village and a relatively high standard of living. As will be discussed later in the study, *Bakaa* have cash economy linkages with Gaborone as well as other towns and villages in Botswana and South-Africa. Thus, *Bakaa* are employed in several institutions and industries throughout the country and in the South African mines.

#### **4.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION**

Bokaa is located on the south-western tip of Kgatleng District. The District itself occupies a large part of the heavily populated south-eastern strip of Botswana, which has an average density of 4 persons per square kilometre (Population and Housing Analytical Report (1981)). The District boundaries are less than 10 kilometres from Gaborone city boundary, and extend approximately 90 kilometres to the north (Kgatlang Settlement Strategy 1980). (see Maps A, B and C).

The village of Bokaa is situated approximately 10 kilometres from the Country's main north-south road, to the west of Morwa village. (see Map B). It lies on the plains of one of the tributaries of Notwane river, Metsimotlhaba. This area has reasonably good loam soil, and the land just south of Bokaa village is fertile and is mainly used for crop cultivation (Kgatlang Settlement Strategy 1980).

Average annual rainfall is between 450 and 500 mm, which is high, by Botswana standards (Kgatlang District Development Plan 1989-

1995). The topography is generally flat to the south and hilly to the north. To the west is Kweneng District, and to the east, towards the main road, is Morwa and Bokaa tends to grow in this direction, because land to the south is mainly the lands or agricultural area.

Vegetation is principally shrub savannah and is under considerable pressure from the interaction of livestock and drought (Kgatleng District Development Plan 1989-1995). Firewood collection by both Bokaa and Morwa villagers, as well as by City dwellers, has led to serious tree depletion. Clearing of land for residential development and poor agricultural practices, have resulted in land degradation. This has been further aggravated by small livestock grazing.

#### **4.3 FIELD SURVEY**

In order to gain an understanding of the community's needs and aspirations and to determine the nature of the issues and challenges the community faces, a field survey was undertaken in March and April, 1994. In addition to the people of Bokaa, the *Kgosi* of the village and the Community Development Officer were also interviewed (see survey questionnaire; Appendix B).

To select a sample of households for the survey, a systematic sampling method was used whereby every fourth, (plus or minus one

household) was chosen from 400 households, giving a total sample of a 100 households, i.e. 25% of the sample. The sex of every head of the household interviewed was recorded to check for differences, if any, between the type of issues raised by male and female household heads. Site visits were also carried out to determine the physical pattern in both the old and new areas. Aerial photographs and maps of the Village were used to map the pattern and to differentiate between the traditional and new pattern.

A few problems were experienced in the collection of primary data, one being that the Population and Housing Census Report of 1991 had not been published at time of survey. The other problem was absenteeism from home, (rather than refusal to respond to questions). Absenteeism was more prevalent in the new part of the village, since most people either worked or lived outside the village. The fact that the survey was conducted at harvest time also contributed to the problem, as those people who did not necessarily work outside the village spent their days, and sometimes nights, at the lands, or agricultural area.

Nevertheless, through evening and weekend interviews the survey was successfully completed, and 1991 Population and Housing Census figures were eventually obtained from the Central Statistics Office and were used in the study.

#### 4.4.0 BOKAA COMMUNITY DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

##### 4.4.1 ADMINISTRATION

As illustrated in Chapter 2, Figure 1 above, Bokaa, like all villages in Botswana, has the traditional *kgotla* as the village administration centre. This meeting place is found in the centre of the or older part of the village which is laid out in the traditional pattern (see Map D). The *kgotla* mainly plays the traditional role in its leadership which constitutes the *Kgosi* and his advisors, but also is the operating point of the Village Development Committee (VDC).

The VDC operates from the *kgotla* as a meeting place, either for its own meetings or to meet with the community. The VDC is elected every two years at a *kgotla* meeting. Also included in the village administration is an elected councillor, who is an ex-officio member of the VDC. The councillor is also a member of the next level of local administration, the District Council, which is made up of village counsellors from the whole district. (see Figure 1 for Local Government Structure).

The councillor from Bokaa is responsible for taking issues and concerns of the Village to the District Council at a council meeting, once every year of his five-year term. Potential projects from all the villages in the District compete for the yearly development funds from the central government.



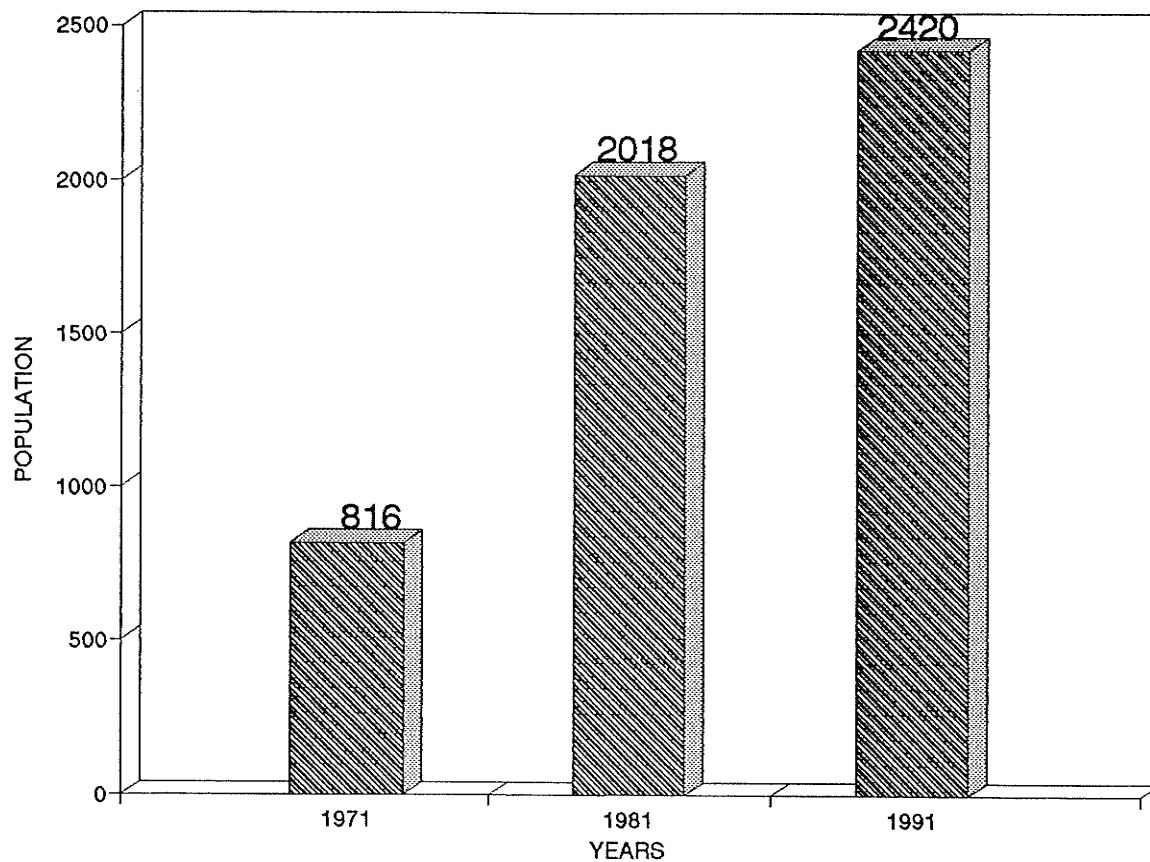
According to the Community Development Officer (CDO), Bokaa has a Village Extension Team that meets and works with the VDC and other village institutions when the need arises. Otherwise CDO works with the VDC on a full time basis. The CDO's view on Bokaa's development is that *Bakaa* are relatively well-off in individual households, but not as a community because the village is not developed, and most of them hardly stay there.

#### **4.4.2 POPULATION**

Bokaa (population 2420 for the actual village, and 3405 when associated localities were added in 1991), is the second largest settlement in Kgatleng District after Mochudi, which is nearly ten times larger. The population of Bokaa which was 816 in 1971, 2018 in 1981, is expected to be 3691 by 1996, 4307 by 2001, 4936 by 2006 and 5576 by the year 2011. These projections are based on the following assumptions: that population will continue to grow at a rapid rate, that the birth rate will remain high at an average of six live births per female, and mortality will continue to drop. Based on the same assumptions the population of Bokaa for 1991 was estimated at 3098, which is much more than the recorded population of 2420. While these assumptions and population projections may hold for big villages such as Mochudi which experience in migration of people from within the district and outside, they are limited in the analysis of populations of small villages like Bokaa, which experience high levels of out migration. Although the rate of

motor vehicle accident deaths and HIV related deaths are not known to this study, these need to be considered in future analysis of population, not only of Bokaa but of Botswana in general.

FIG 7: POPULATION OF BOKAA (1971-1991)



Source: Kgatleng District Development Plan, (1989-1995) and 1991 Population and Housing Census.

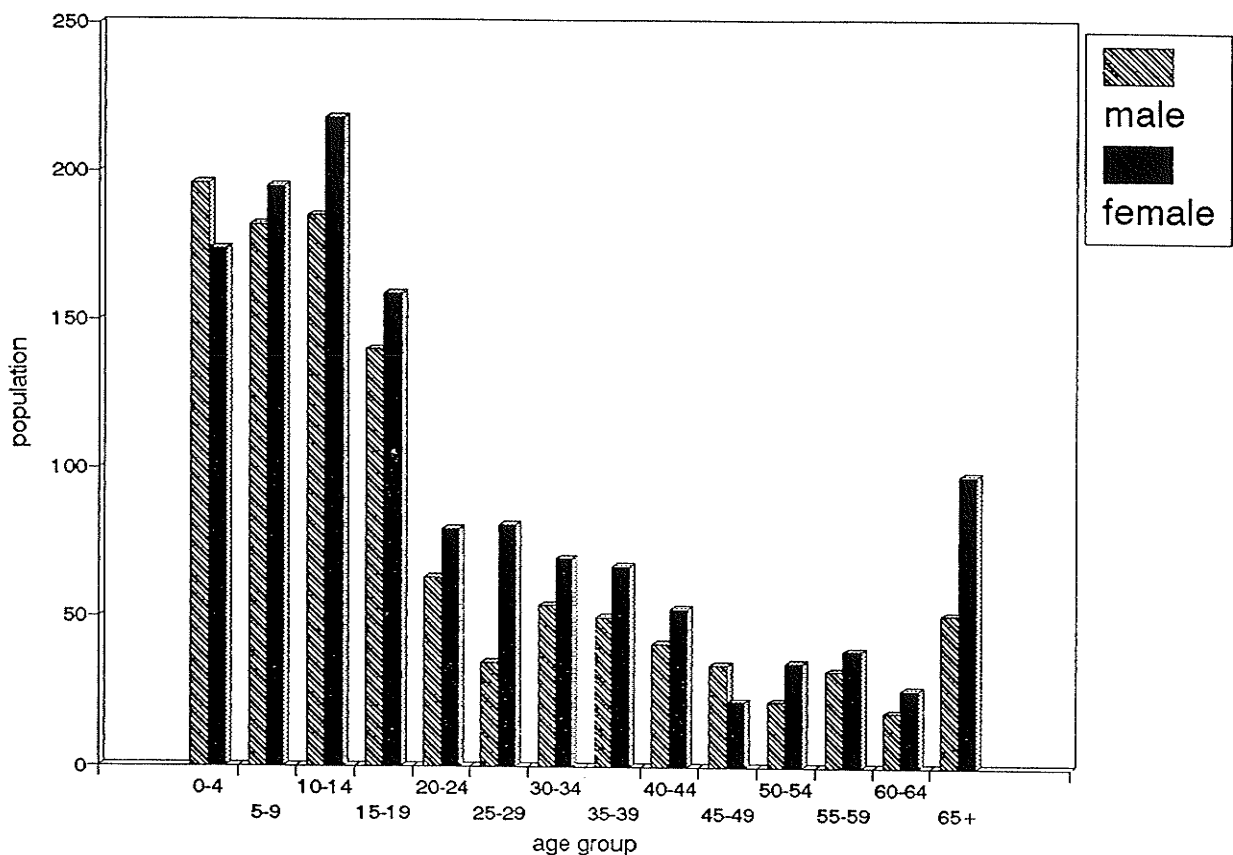
Given its proximity to the city (30 kilometres), one would expect Bokaa village to grow at a rapid rate, partly because recently Gaborone residents have been moving to nearby villages in search of land and housing and using the villages as dormitory towns. Surprisingly, the village of Bokaa registered only 1.04% growth for the period 1981 to 1991, and most of it is due to natural increase (see Fig 7 and table 4). This can be attributed to the loss of the labour force to Gaborone, the South African mines, and to other villages. Out migration therefore accounts for Bokaa's slow growth. However the population of Bokaa like that of the rest of the country is growing too fast for the limited resources of land, water and finances. Human resources are also scarce given the composition of the population and the patterns of out migration of the younger labour force that Bokaa has been experiencing.

The population structure shows a high number of children between the ages of zero and fourteen, then a sharp decline of population and a significant rise at the 65+ age (see fig 8 table 5). This high dependency ratio is expected to stay the same for at least the next decade (Kgatleng District Development Plan (1989-1995)).

Figure 8 also shows the male to female ratio . As they grow older, the male population tends to migrate more than the female population. In the age group 25-29, the ratio of men to women present in the village is lowest, at 1:2.31. This leaves Bokaa with women and elderly to take care of village development and

household needs. Of the surveyed households, 44% were headed by women. According to the 1991 Population and Housing Census, 59% of all households in Bokaa were headed by women. This presents unique challenges and opportunities for Bokaa in its community development efforts which will be addressed in the next chapter.

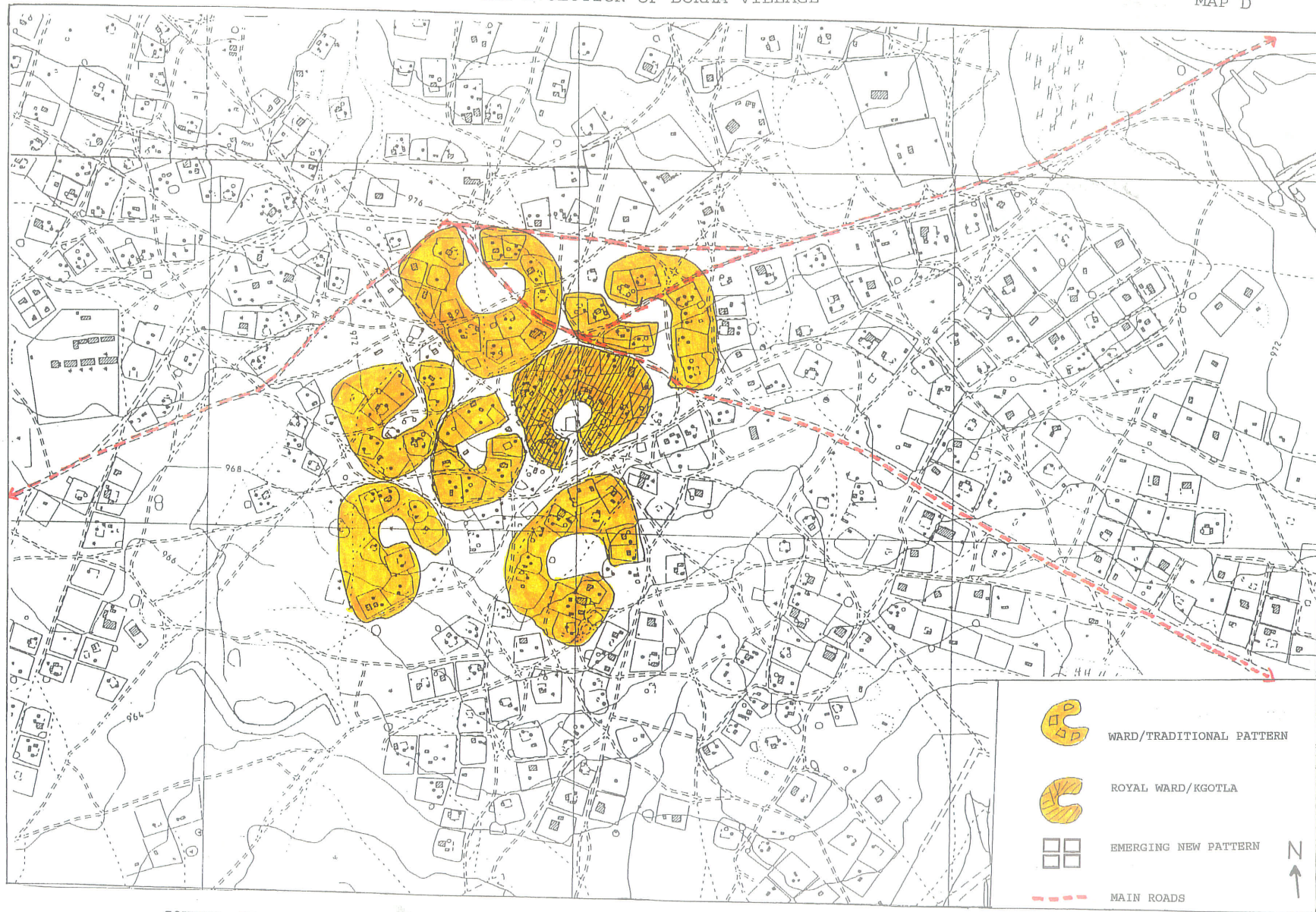
FIG 8: POPULATION OF BOKAA BY AGE GROUP AND SEX (1991)



Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.

# HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF BOKAA VILLAGE

MAP D



SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND LANDS

SCALE 1:5000

#### 4.4.3 COMMUNICATIONS AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

Bokaa at the present moment has an adequate level of services which meets the basic needs of the community. This is perhaps a reflection of the intensive provision of services throughout the country, and partly due to Bokaa being the second largest village in Kgatleng District, and the fact that it is relatively far from the district headquarters where most services are located. Another influencing factor may be that Bokaa area is a proposed subdistrict, and Bokaa itself is earmarked for a subdistrict headquarters, according to the Kgatleng Settlement Strategy of 1980. Often when the administrative load of a district increases to a level that it jeopardises efficiency, the district is divided into subdistricts. This has so far been done only in the Central District but is being proposed for other districts as a decentralisation policy.

The village has a health clinic that was upgraded in 1992 with the addition of a maternity ward. This is a third level health facility after a hospital and a health centre, respectively. The clinic provides basic health care such as treatment for common ailments and minor injuries, as well as maternity, mother and child care. As is the case with health care throughout Botswana, the community of Bokaa is involved through a health team, comprising members of the community, that assist in educating the community on such matters as birth control, AIDS and general hygiene.

Education is a priority for the Bakaa. Nearly half of the total population is still attending school. The village has only one primary school and there is public pressure to build another. Also available to the village is a Community Junior Secondary School that is shared with nearby Morwa, and to some extent the rest of the District.

Bokaa is proud of Omang Youth Training Centre, an idea dating from 1977 (Rankopo, 1993), initiated by the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the Village Extension Team (VET). The main objectives of the Training Centre are mainly to help curb the migration of youth to urban areas and to absorb primary school drop-outs and to provide technical skills education.

The Centre was initially called Bokaa Youth Training Centre, and admitted youth from the village only. The new name was adopted when the centre opened up to the rest of the District. The centre offers night classes for primary school drop-outs, courses in brick laying and home crafts. An early attempt was made to offer auto-mechanics and carpentry but was not successful due to lack of funds. Carpentry has since been reinstated. The success of the centre has enabled it to attract donations from the government of Botswana as well as international donors, such as the Norwegian Agency For Development (NORAD) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Bokaa is connected by a road linking it to the adjoining village of Morwa and the City of Gaborone. A post office was opened in 1993 and the Village is connected to the national electricity and telephone systems.

Bokaa has benefited from its proximity to Gaborone and by the provision of water from the dam that was constructed a short distance from, and to the south of the Village in 1991. The dam was constructed principally for the benefit of Gaborone during drought years. Bakaa therefore have a source of clean, piped, drinking water from the dam and are consequently little-affected by the national shortage of water.

#### **4.4.4 HOUSING AND LAND AVAILABILITY**

Housing in Bokaa consists of both traditional homesteads and newer types of housing. Families still live together in a traditional manner in a compound with four or five mud and grass thatched huts, mud or concrete Boer thatched huts, and more recently, concrete flat corrugated metal roofed houses. An important gesture is that, in Botswana, children can stay in their parents' home until they feel ready to leave. Some male children may never leave, as they will inherit the family home, and the females often leave only when they marry.



Consequently, a resident of Bokaa is very unlikely to have accommodation problems in Bokaa. However, worker immigrants in Bokaa occasionally rent houses from the villagers, otherwise the majority of them live in houses provided by their employers. For example the Agricultural Demonstrator's house is designed to serve as both office and residence. As well, the VDC builds houses to lease out to incoming workers as a way of generating income for the community.

While Bokaa is not experiencing any significant or evident pressure on its land at the present time, there is potential future threat not only from its own population growth, but also from people in Gaborone, who move to neighbouring villages for cheap accommodation, as in the cases of Tlokweng and Mogoditshane. Bokaa is growing to the east towards Morwa village on the main north-south highway (Gaborone- Francistown road, see Map B). The two villages are only seven kilometres apart and this stretch of land provides the only land area available for Bokaa's physical expansion. Expansion to the south is limited by the agricultural area, to the north by the grazing land, and to the east the village is bordered by Kweneng District. (see Map E) Plot allocation has been rather slow over the past years (see Table 6), considering that for 1994, there were 401 applications still awaiting allocation.

Table 6: RESIDENTIAL PLOTS ALLOCATED IN BOKAA BETWEEN 1990 AND 1993.

YEAR	1990	1991	1992	1993
NO. OF ALLOCATED PLOTS	67	80	62	87

Source: Kgatleng Land Board records

Note: Data on number of applications for plots not available.

Although Table 6 does not show significant increase in allocation of land from 1990 to 1993, the claims of the Kgosi and Kgatleng Land Board that there has been great interest in Bokaa village by outsiders who identified themselves as Gaborone residents, is substantiated by the large number of applications for 1994 (estimated at 401 applications). This demand for land in Bokaa is reputed to have increased considerably since Bokaa dam was built in 1991, which provides the village with a good water supply. This is also not surprising given the high cost of housing and shortage of land in the City. Many people have resorted to acquiring land from nearby villages, a phenomena which has led to the scramble for land and illegal land dealings in Mogoditshane and Tlokweng as noted earlier. This practice puts tremendous pressure on tribal land and on the village services. The cases of Mogoditshane and Tlokweng, which are beyond the scope of this study, have been seen as an effort by the rich city dwellers to acquire land at very low

prices, leaving the rural poor with no means of production. From talking to the authorities in Bokaa, Bakaa feel threatened that they too might experience such pressure and lose their agricultural land.

#### **4.4.5 EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME**

Although Bokaa seems to be well situated for local industrial development, given its relatively close distance from Gaborone, and the availability of basic services, the village economy has not yet been able to attract investment. This may be attributed to its lack of labour force. Bokaa like most villages in Botswana exports labour, a tradition which has resulted in depleting local human resources and slow local community development. On the other hand as argued in Chapter Two the lack of implementation of government policies that encourage local industries seems to contribute to this condition.

The national population and housing census figures do not give specific information as to where Bokaa residents are employed, but does indicate that less than a quarter of Bakaa (13.7%, see table 8) are economically active. This is the proportion of the villagers that have visible incomes and therefore excludes those who only practice traditional or subsistence farming.

Table 7 below shows that slightly more than half (230) of the

households of Bokaa village have at least one cash-earning member, who according to Setswana tradition, may be assumed to be supporting the family. The other half of the households in Bokaa do not have a single cash earning member. These households are either totally dependent on subsistence farming or are engaged in the informal sector, that may include such services as yard clearing and hut thatching.

Table 7: SUMMARY OF BOKAA'S CASH ECONOMY BY HOUSEHOLD.

	no. of households	Dependent Population
At least one cash earning member	230	1416
No cash earning member	210	1004

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.

Both the local and central government are the largest employers of Bakaa (see Table 8). This is reflective of the national situation. Also reflective of a country-wide phenomenon, is the boom in building construction, which is the second-highest employment industry for Bakaa. Commercial agriculture is also making a significant contribution to the cash economy of Bokaa.

The government has a number of financial aid programmes for the commercial farming of vegetables, and small stock rearing.

Table 8: EMPLOYMENT OF BAKAA BY TYPE (1991).

EMPLOYMENT	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL POP
AGRICULTURE	68	24	92	2.70
MINING	13	-	13	0.38
MANUFACTURING AND WHOLESALE	28	46	74	2.20
CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT	59	49	108	3.17
CONSTRUCTION	88	6	94	2.76
COMMUNITY AND PRIVATE	20	52	72	2.10
OTHERS	11	3	14	0.40
TOTAL	287	180	467	13.71

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.

About 56% of the households surveyed indicated that they have at least one family member who is employed. Of these 60% worked in Gaborone, 24% in Mochudi, the District headquarters. The

remainder, (16%) were employed in Bokaa, South Africa and other parts of Botswana.

Contrary to what was originally anticipated by the study, the survey sample revealed very little commuting between the city and Bokaa village. As the *Kgosi* expressed it, most people seem to prefer to associate more with the City as a place to live, rather than the village. About 89% of all employment recorded in the study was outside the village, the bulk of which was in Gaborone but only 11% of the workers commuted between the City and Bokaa village. This may be due to a perceived high transportation cost between the City and Bokaa, but these costs may be far below the cost of living in the City.

The findings above give an indication that Bokaa village does lose a considerable portion of its labour force to Gaborone and other places, not only to work, but to reside in the City as well. These, as mentioned above, are surprising results, because considering the housing problem that prevails in Gaborone, one would expect Bakaa to live and commute from the Village. This is perhaps indicative of Bokaa's lack of employment opportunities, and also lack of recreational facilities particularly for the youth.

Although 44.9% of Bakaa are literate, according to the 1991 census, that is, they have gone through some formal education, only 9% (see table 9) have secondary or higher (tertiary) education and are

likely therefore to obtain employment in Gaborone. This means that most of *Bakaa* who leave the village in search of employment in other places, including Gaborone, are unlikely to find jobs due to lack of education or marketable skills. The Community Development Officer of Bokaa believes that most youth that leave the Village in fact end up worse off in the City, because of lack of regular employment for unskilled labour.

Table 9. NUMBER OF BAKAA WHO HAVE GONE THROUGH FORMAL EDUCATION (std 1-higher).

EDUCATION LEVEL	POP. AFFECTED	% OF BOKAA'S POP.
Std. 1 (not completed)	120	3.5
Std 1-4	518	15.2
Std 5-7	581	17.1
Form 1-3	249	7.3
Form 4-6	42	1.2
Higher (Tertiary)	18	0.5
TOTAL	1528	44.9

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.

It may be concluded therefore, that, while Gaborone offers *Bakaa* employment, recreational facilities and other services, it drains

the Village of the labour force which is needed for its own development.

All the respondents of the survey felt that lack of employment opportunities was a major problem in Bokaa and the reason for out migration of young men and women to the City, to the other urban centres and to the big villages. The chief in particular expressed concern over old people, children and wives who are left alone for periods of up to a year, possibly without any financial support from the absent family members and relatives. All the people interviewed, including the chief, expressed that they felt that job creation as well as solutions to many of their problems, must be addressed by both the local and central government as their responsibility. They insisted that inspite of their repeated requests for certain development projects the government has not responded. Bakaa's reliance on the government confirms Rankopo's, (1993) allegation that politicians often give people the impression that, while they had to do everything for themselves under the old system of chiefs, the new form of government is there to provide everything. This is also an indication of their loss of confidence in their ability to help themselves due to the constant undermining attitudes of educated government officials described in chapter two. This particular issue requires further study.

It was clear from talking to the people of Bokaa that they want modern development, but at the same time wish to preserve their tradition. All the respondents of the survey wanted craft



industries to come to Bokaa. About 65% of the respondents wanted more agricultural based economic activity as well. To them, industry provides more income that can be used for household needs, as well as for investment in agriculture. All households surveyed were involved in arable farming, and had no intentions of leaving the industry. This demonstrates the importance of arable farming as a culture and way of making a living for *Bakaa*.

#### **4.4.6 SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CHANGES IN SETTLEMENT**

The inner, or traditional, part of Bokaa is arranged in wards and reflects the typical concentric pattern of a *Setswana* settlement. The *Kgotla*, together with the tribal administrative offices, are located about 200 metres from the Kgosi's residence, but are still central to the village today. A new grid pattern is emerging, however, around the traditional pattern, due to the new land allocation system by the Land Board. (see Map D).

There is, therefore, at least some physical evidence that Bokaa is under going physical transformation. This transformation is also reflective of the social changes that the village is experiencing. Moreover while the inner part of Bokaa resembles the traditional organization of a *setswana* village, needless to say the social systems that go with the traditional pattern no longer exist, or at least not in the same form. However, based on the fact that all members of households interviewed claimed to be *Bakaa* and none of

them had tenants in their homes, Bokaa can perhaps still claim a homogenous population and therefore a certain degree of conservatism.

Although the land allocation and settlement pattern changes seem to be generally accepted by the community, 73% of the respondents indicated their desire to live next to their relatives in family wards. The main reason for this was the support and help they could receive from or give to their extended family in times of need. All respondents stated that they realised that their traditional ward system was fast dissipating. The chief in particular felt very strongly for the ward system, which above all, he felt was important for keeping the family together in a way that did not give people a chance to escape their extended family responsibilities.

When asked what they think should be done to revive it, most felt that their *Kgosi* should be given power over land allocation. Some older respondents shared the chief's concern for the family and felt that the younger home owners prefer and encourage the new system of land allocation because it frees them from family responsibilities. Indeed, the younger respondents were the bulk of the 27% who did not strongly favour the ward system. Of the 27% respondents that did not want to stay close to their families, 62% were female respondents. The main reason stated was to get away from family conflicts. These findings are similar to those of

Hardie, (1980), in his study of Mochudi village. He contended that most women wanted freedom from their in-laws.

The other indicator of change is the high number of modern houses in Bokaa. 60% of the surveyed yards had a combination of modern and traditional houses; 25% had only traditional houses, while 15% had only modern houses. Yards that had only modern houses tended to be those located in the periphery of the village and looked fairly new, were female headed, and belonged to fairly young home owners who had a source of cash income either from an absent husband or child. Most of the modern houses were built of cement walls and corrugated iron sheet roofing. These houses are extremely hot in summer and very cold in winter. When asked why they did not use the traditional thatch; the main response of home owners was that, thatch is increasingly becoming difficult to find and also too expensive, as those who sell it have to go far to harvest it. This is another indication of the depletion of resources by both a growing population and mismanagement of resources.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be made about Bokaa: the Village is losing population to other places; it has not been able to attract City dwellers like other villages in the vicinity of the City; most residents of Bokaa who are employed in Gaborone do not commute from the Village as was expected; there is a serious lack of employment especially for the young and educated; and community development is slow partly because of low community participation. Furthermore, Bokaa does not have much land for physical growth. However, the Village has most services necessary for development, as well as a good water source nearby. Its proximity to Gaborone can be of great advantage as the City can provide a market for buying and selling of local goods and services, agricultural and handicraft products, and agro industrial product.

**CHAPTER FIVE****5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS****5.1 INTRODUCTION**

It is evident from this and other studies referred to in this report, that Bokaa village while not representative of all rural settlements in Botswana, it does share some common socio economic characteristics with other rural communities in the Country. Its physical morphology, the infrastructure, and the challenges it faces are similar to those experienced by other villages in rural Botswana. The only difference being that Bokaa is directly under the shadow of the fast growing city of Gaborone, and has a good water source as well as relatively more social services as compared to other villages of its size.

Bokaa however experiences unique challenges many of which were outlined in the previous chapter. In particular Bokaa faces the following issues; a) declining labour force population, b) lack of employment, c) inability to attract industries hence lack of economic activity, d) the desire to preserve tradition while adapting to the changing environment.

This section focuses on community development as a strategy for community empowerment and for the community to begin the process of

recovery and development. It is also an attempt at addressing the challenges of reconciling tradition and the pressures of modernisation. It addresses the *kgotla* and other traditional systems and their role in the changing Botswana environment. It continues to use Bokaa as a case study for the recommendation of the *kgotla* as a forum for the community development model for rural development in Botswana. The chapter will then conclude by making some physical development proposals for Bokaa village.

## **5.2 ISSUES OF DEVELOPMENT RAISED BY THE CASE STUDY**

Bokaa village is, as indicated earlier, a small community which is struggling in its attempt to reconcile change and tradition. As is the case in most rural areas across Botswana, the Village has most of the essential infrastructural and social services. Considering its size, Bokaa may be said to have more than an adequate level of infrastructural services. However, the village faces a number of issues that requires serious consideration and community action.

Lack of employment is the main issue facing Bokaa. Unemployment is a serious problem considering that it is central to all the other problems of poverty, absenteeism and slow economic growth. Bokaa village like other rural settlements of Botswana is a victim to lack of implementation of rural developmental policies, especially those that promote rural investment. Consequently the village has not been able to attract investment that can provide employment for

its residents. The local economy is also lagging behind development, it is still agriculture based. Agriculture, especially arable farming, which is undertaken by almost all residents of Bokaa, is, as was discussed in Chapter Two, underdeveloped and is hence not very productive. This means that like all rural communities in Botswana, the community of Bokaa does not have economic power and the funds necessary to develop or attract industries. The village is totally dependent on government support. Dependence on government for finance not only takes power away from the people but also means competing with other Villages for limited financial resources, and the village may have to wait many years before its projects are financed.

Slow economic growth and unemployment have contributed to poverty, and although more than half (56%) of the households of Bokaa, as found by the study (the Population and Housing Survey indicated 51%), have at least one member working, this does not guarantee support for these households, nor does it mean that the wages earned meet the basic needs of the household. As discussed earlier, the wage earner in a traditional *Setswana* society is responsible for supporting the entire extended family household. While this system still exists to a certain extent, its viability in today's market economy is debatable and needs further study.

The village is losing its youth and the educated to Gaborone and other urban centres as well as big villages. This critical labour

force travel to the above places in search for employment opportunities and for perceived better standards of living. In reality most of them, more especially those without an education, or any job skills, are likely to end up worse off in the City than they were in the village, given the lack of employment, housing shortage, and high cost of living in the City. Otherwise for Bokaa this means a high level of absenteeism of residents. Most people, especially those who come from Bokaa, build houses and own property in the village without establishing permanent residence in the village, and are thus not involved in the village development projects. For these people Bokaa provides an opportunity to own property on cheap land that is easy to acquire.

Loss of the able-bodied *Bakaa* and the decline of the *kgotla* has resulted in low community participation. The VDC often finds it difficult to motivate the community for village development projects. Rankopo, (1993) also believes that the loss of the educated in particular is unfortunate, because they could take a leading role in community development by bridging the communication gap between the people and the educated government officials.

Special to Bokaa and other villages located on the periphery of Gaborone is that, there is pressure (potential or real) for residential plots from the City dwellers. To them Bokaa promises potential cheap housing at an affordable commuting distance. It is common knowledge that city dwellers are moving to the neighbouring villages for land and housing. If this pressure continues, Bokaa



may lose its agricultural land, since it does not have a physical development policy and plan to guide its present and future growth.

### 5.3 DEVELOPMENT IMPLICATIONS

Studies on developmental planning in Botswana and this study in particular indicate that there is lack of community participation and involvement in rural development policy formulation and implementation. This has led to policies and programmes that do not address the central issues of rural development, namely; poverty, unemployment, lack of economic growth and opportunities. This in turn results in depopulation of rural settlements, migration of the young labour force to urban centres and consequently reliance on governmental support.

Rural communities need to work towards economic power, through simultaneous development of both a diversified rural market economy, thus manufacturing, and improved arable farming strategies. For this, setswana communities need to revive the basic power of self-help and community spirit that has been eroded with the decline of the *kgotla*. Such power will enable the community to assert its influence in discussions addressing issues that they face; in planning their development; and to keep the government focused on policies that specifically address issues that rural communities such as that of Bokaa face.

Most writers on community development believe that empowering communities is a two way process: It is about wanting power and taking power; and is also about giving power (Arnstein, 1969; Chambers, 1983; Friedman, 1992; Gerecke, 1991). For this reason rural communities and institutions in Botswana need to be educated about the political processes, about their role and the role of government in development. They need to be encouraged to participate in the development process through self-help initiatives. They should be informed about resources available to them, including technical assistance, and above all that they can and must empower themselves to affect desired change.

While this study believes that the *kgotla* will empower communities such as that of Bokaa there is however need to develop mechanisms and institutional systems for the community to achieve economic power. This study proposes the formation of a separate village institution, the Village Economic Development Committee VEDC, which will be responsible for initiating and facilitating project ideas aimed at gaining economic power for individual households and the community as a whole. It is believed that this type of institution will enable the VDC to remain as a non-profit village institution that deals solely with infrastructural and social service development, while the *kgotla* serves to identify issues, set goals and coordinate all development in the village.

The VEDC will then be charged with the responsibility of promoting local industries and for lobbying to attract small scale industries that can tap the local resource skills and provide employment. Bokaa village through Omang Youth Training Centre can continue training and upgrading of all the necessary skills for industrial development. The VEDC should work towards establishing a community fund through cooperative investments with local and outside investors. Once the community is financially established, the VEDC can provide villagers with cheap loans. The VEDC should also have the responsibility of evaluating the viability of proposed projects, as well as monitoring ongoing economic projects. Its contribution to the success of local manufacturing industries would be through collection and dissemination of research information on small business development and on financial management, as well as by assisting in accessing both government and private financial resources and programmes available for individuals and groups. Some examples for local industries for Bokaa include, carpentry workshops, tailoring, commercial vegetable gardening, leather works, and brick making. As these industries grow, opportunities may be opened for kiosks and caravans selling take-away foods.

For initial capital to be used by the VEDC contributions should be sought from community members. Batswana have a history of making personal financial contributions towards developmental projects. A good example of this is the 'one man one beast' campaign that helped in the building of the University of Botswana. Every

family in Botswana was asked to contribute a beast or 100 pula towards building the University. One man one beast or 100 pula campaigns have since become popular in raising initial capital for community projects. Such fund raising strategies in project development empower communities towards self-help and can provide bargaining power in seeking government grants and loans for projects.

Along with manufacturing industries, the VEDC could promote development of arable agriculture. Arable agriculture as seen in previous chapters is important to Bokaa and to rural areas in Botswana, because it provides employment and food needs for the very poor of the rural population. The agricultural training programme at Omang Youth Training Centre which is presently limited to vegetable gardening should be expanded to help in developing skills to assist local farmers. The VEDC should also work closely with the research unit of the Ministry of Agriculture in order to keep the farmers updated with information on new innovations and inventions that can enhance crop production.

#### **5.4 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE KGOTLA**

The deliberate effort on the part of the government to take away the powers of the chiefs has eroded the traditional values that the *kgotla* represented, and in turn brought about identity problems as well as powerlessness to the rural communities, who had always

identified with the *kgotla* and its role in development. Although people still respect the *kgotla*, they are aware of its loss of power, and so they look to government where the power is perceived to be.

It is the finding of this study that the power of *Bakaa* and *Batswana* at large lies in the *kgotla*, and its social systems *Silitshena* (1992), among other writers, argues that western approaches to developmental issues in Botswana are inappropriate and that there is a need to revive traditional institutions to address social changes. Rankopo (1993), concluded that the little community participation that still exist in Botswana villages is mostly in respect for the *kgosi* and the *kgotla* and not for government extension workers. Isaksen (1983) believes that there is evidence that villagers would have faith in the *kgotla* system if it was revived as a vehicle of development. The power of chiefs is also evident in their ability to sway the people to support a particular political party. It seems clear therefore, that the *kgotla* if given more power could guide and lead village development much more effectively.

Botswana has a history of community participation as discussed in Chapter Three, and the *kgotla* has always played an important role as a place where community meetings and activities are held. The *kgotla* also had the ability to cultivate a self-help and community spirit which are central to community development. It encouraged

collective rights over individualism and hence created a strong bond among community members. This system created mutual respect, sharing of income and property, and the obligation to work for and with the community, qualities which have been lost in modern Botswana. These qualities are essential for rural development in Botswana and can be revived by giving the *kgotla* more power.

However, the *kgotla* and the community need to have a change of attitude towards modern development and the government. While traditionally the *kgotla* used to coordinate projects undertaken by the community, today the tendency is to rely on the government to provide all services. One of the tasks of the government extension workers should be to educate people about the limited governmental resources and remind them of the benefits of self-help. It is through the understanding of these concepts that the *kgotla* and the community can realize that their communities will lag behind in development if they do not initiate projects.

Together with other village level institutions the *kgotla* should be an active participant in the development process of the village to direct change through setting objectives and finding ways to achieve them. This will result in a bottom-up planning process, in which through the *kgotla*, the VDC and other village institutions, the community of Bokaa can be the main participants and beneficiaries in the change and development process of their village.

In Bokaa, while the other institutions such as the VDC, Village Health Team, Women's Associations deal with village matters in their field, the *kgotla* could serve to coordinate the activities of these institutions to encourage cooperation and avoid duplication of projects and tasks. The *kgotla* could also work more closely with the VET to lobby for outside help and represent the village at district and national levels. It will also be helpful for the *kgotla* to solicit voluntary help from educated villagers who work outside the village. This is already happening, whereby some villages have informal VDCs in the City, who attend village meetings during public holidays and bring necessary information. They also act as intermediary between the villagers and the government officials.

There is a low literacy level among chiefs across the whole Country. An issue which the *kgotla* has to deal with in order to prepare itself for leading the people in modern development. This study recommends that in the same way that the *kgotla* employs court clerks to help in the administration of justice, it could also employ development officers. These unlike the present community development officers (who are in fact social workers) could work for the *kgotla* as advisers and could be local villagers. While their formal education level may not be any higher than high school, they could be trained in organisational skills and to be familiar with developmental matters. This has worked well for health campaigns in Botswana.

The health department has a programme that trains locals on basic health issues and posts them in local clinics as Family Welfare Educators. When the programme started, potential candidates were required to have a primary school leaving certificate, but now they are required to have a junior high school certificate. They work closely with Local Health Teams (a team of volunteers from the community who help in health campaigns) to present health issues to the community in a language that people can understand. People in Botswana tend to be more willing to work with their own people than with strangers as most government officials are often considered to be. A similar programme for developmental issues would prove to be helpful to motivate the community to participate in local community projects. The knowledge of the development officers could be upgraded through regular seminars and workshops given by professionals, planners and social workers. These could be arranged by the *kgotla*.

Something which will perhaps come with economic power, is for the *kgotla* to begin developing their own information base and to undertake research on issues of local importance such as, to scan for resources, to assess new technologies, and government programmes. Such activities will also begin to educate the local community. The development officers could together with relevant professionals committed by the *kgotla* be involved in the research work to ensure that these studies are understood by the community.



The *kgotla* should also take it upon itself to disseminate information to the people. According to Kgatleng District Plan (1989-1995) literacy in the district has improved to the extent that almost every household has at least one person who can read. This suggests that the community could start a newsletter that could be published at an affordable frequency to inform the community about local issues and about the activities of the village institutions. This could be sold so that it is self sustaining. Billboards at public places will also help announce meetings and events. Unlike what happens today, where by government officials and politicians come to the village and to the *kgotla* to sell ideas to the community, the *kgotla* could make it its duty to call relevant officials and politicians on regular basis, to address *kgotla* meetings on issues of community interest and to answer questions from the villagers.

As an idea to motivate the rest of the community who are not members of any of the formal institutions, this study suggests that villages be divided into sections which can be identified with names or numbers. Such divisions already exist in most villages for identification purposes. It is the belief of this study that if tasks are allocated according to these smaller sections, every member of the community will have an opportunity and feel the need to participate. This will be necessary for project implementation as were the traditional *mephato* as described in Chapter Three. Rankopo, (1993) found that most self-help projects are either done

by the institutions such as the VDC or by poor people (most of whom are women) who hope to benefit from such projects. This has led to an attitude of despising self-help projects among community members, where participation is a sign of poverty. Having small implementation groups will help involve all community members. Also to change this attitude there is need to highlight both the direct and indirect benefits of such developmental projects.

Lastly, chiefs have always been replaced by another member of the royal family, especially the uncle, if for any reason they were deemed not fit to rule. Although under the present government chiefs are civil servants and have to apply for the post, the government has in most cases appointed members of the royal family. In a rapidly changing Botswana society, it might be prudent for the position of the chief to be opened to all members of the community and applications should be assessed by the community who then should appoint a chief of their choice through a secret ballot. This is one change that the *kgotla* needs to make, which will no doubt be difficult for most communities. Community leadership should not be seen as a source of power but as a service to one's community. Although acceptance of women and the poor in community leadership institutions such as the VDC was a result of both the fall of the *kgotla* and absence of men, it is imperative that such a policy continue, and the author contends that the *kgotla* can and should enforce such an open policy.

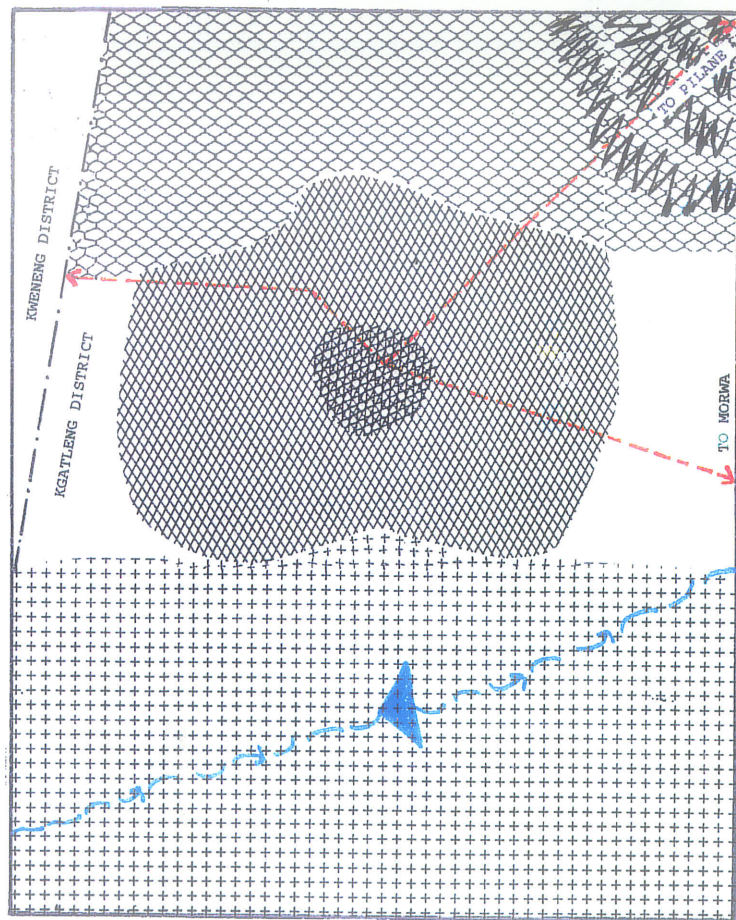
While some formal education could be seen as a necessary requirement for the position of chief, it should not be the only qualification. Leadership qualities, such as the ability to communicate, to listen and work well with people and acceptance by people are equally or more important qualities that must be sought in potential holders of this office. It surely does not require formal education to know who you are, to know your environment, and to make decisions about what you want to be, and to get help when needed.

#### **5.5.0 PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT**

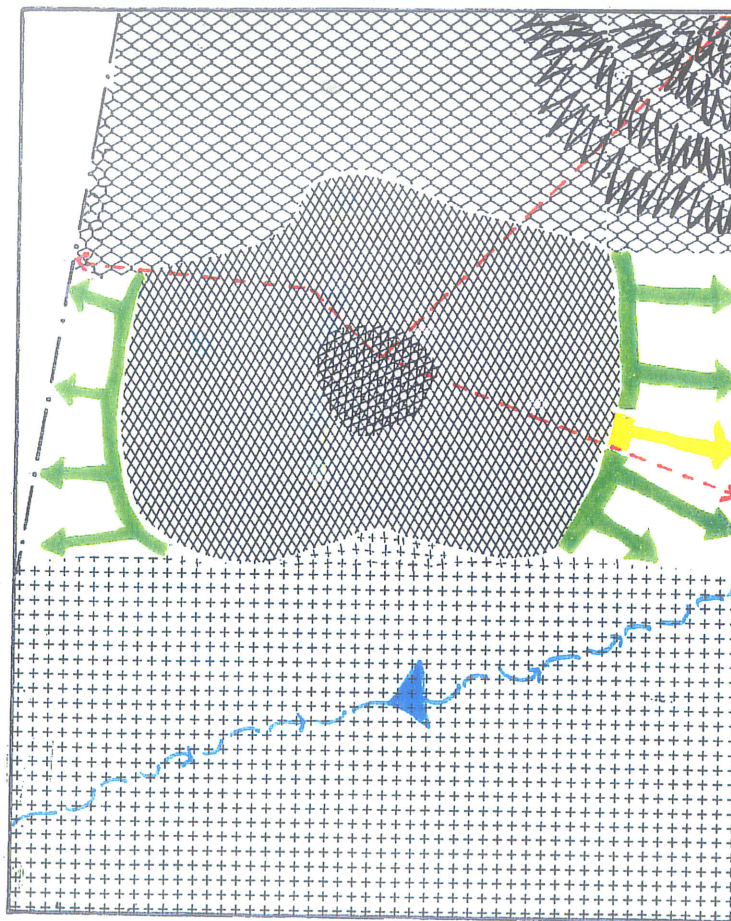
While this study does not present a detailed comprehensive physical development plan, it makes recommendations in terms of community development policies, the establishment of the VEDC for economic growth, and in terms of a conceptual land use plan. At present Bokaa is not pressured by physical growth, it is nonetheless experiencing several other equally serious issues as discussed earlier. It is therefore important that Bokaa through the *kgotla* initiate community development strategies and begin the process of planning for the physical development consistent with the community's needs and aspirations.

Any physical development plan for Bokaa must respect the community's tradition, its local natural environment and at the same time address the needs and aspirations of its people. The Village as stated earlier has a number of constraints for its

BOKAA: PRESENT LAND USE AND PHYSICAL FEATURES



PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY



MAP E

SCALE: 1: 23 000



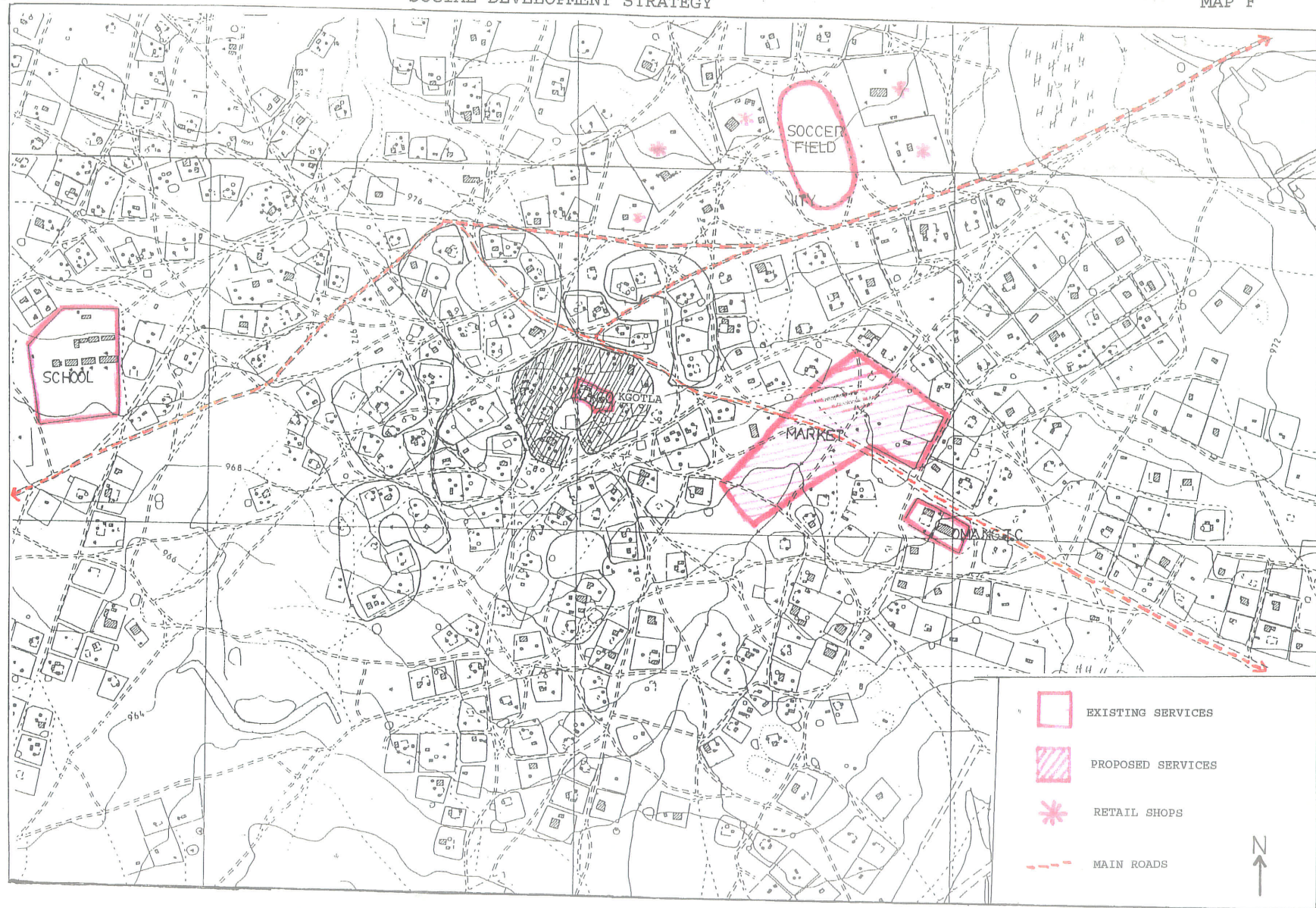
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physical growth (see Map E). To the north is the grazing land for Bokaa and other villages in the district. Apart from the fact that this area is hilly and can be costly to develop, this study recommends that the communal grazing land be preserved. Likewise the "lands" or agricultural land to the south of the Village should be preserved. Expansion to the west of the village is also limited by the Kweneng District boundary. The only land available for the future growth of Bokaa is on the east side where in fact much of the present physical growth is taking place. (see Map E).

However, the expansion to the east is also limited by the presence of Morwa village, about seven kilometres away. It is suggested therefore that infill development in the older part of the village should be initiated in stages to absorb some of the natural population increase. This infill should be done consistent with community traditions and in sympathy with the local design and settlement pattern. It should not appear as an intrusion but as a natural growth process. Bokaa could also begin expanding as far as possible to the west, towards Kweneng District, to avoid leap-frogging and to use the available land in a most efficient way.

In the centre of the village are the administration offices, these include, the *kgotla* (traditionally marked with poles placed in a horse shoe pattern, a shelter, and offices), and the community development officer's office. About twenty metres away is the Agricultural Demonstrator's house and office. Not more than fifty





SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND LANDS

SCALE 1:5000

metres away are three retail shops, two butchers and three liquor stores. These form the centre of the village, with a few scattered residential plots between them.

This study recommends that this area be zoned commercial as well as a local market area, to accommodate open market stalls that could be leased to residents to sell local produce and for the local industries to sell their products (see map F). This area could also serve the informal sector industries in marketing of local crafts and trades. The market should be under the management of the VEDC with revenues going to the community development fund. Homes that are already in the central area should not be moved, but the zoning should allow for both residential and commercial uses.

Such commercial activities in the centre of the village will help revitalise the centre and bring attention to the *kgotla* as the centre for development. It is also proposed that a limited number of industrial plots along the road to Morwa village be established (see Map E). This is good location for both small scale and local industries because of easy access to the main road and to the railway. The VEDC could provide potential developers with information on the government's rural industrial plot servicing programme, assist in obtaining financing and in other developmental matters. These plots should be community property, managed by the VEDC, and either lease or sold to developers. This will bring revenue to the community for its developmental programs.

As a way of introducing the local community to this type of development and its potential, the VEDC could begin with a pilot industrial development project. This will educate both the community institutions and local residents of opportunities and responsibilities, as well as costs and benefits of such a project. With good management this type of development can benefit the economy of Bokaa and create jobs for Bakaa. It will also preserve both the grazing and agricultural land, while still allowing for physical growth.

#### 5.5.1 THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

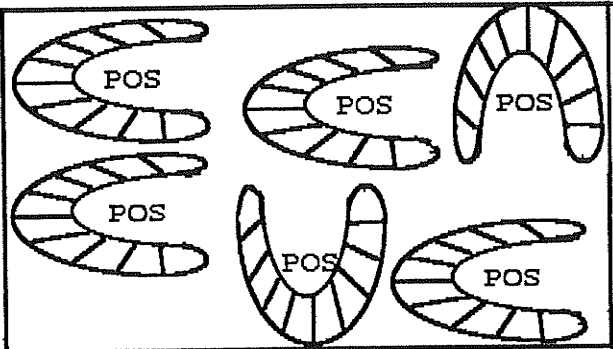
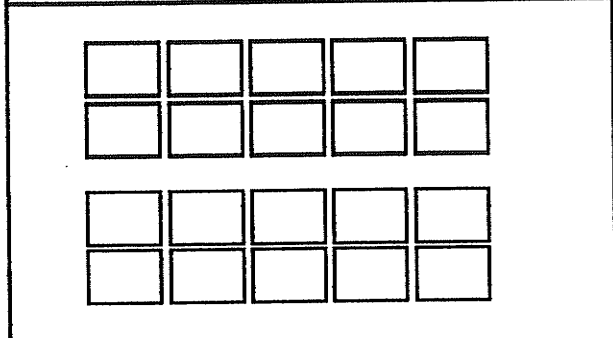
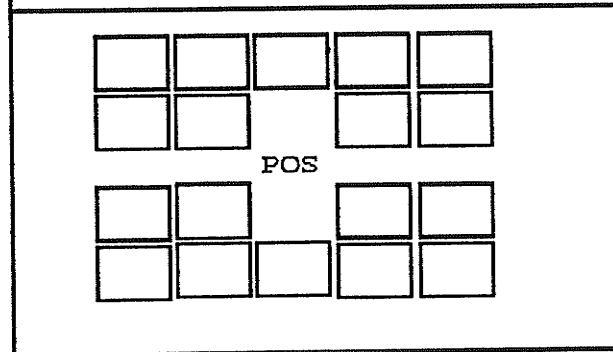
The traditional *Setswana* settlement pattern has always emphasised, the local traditional, the social and cultural aspects of its communities as discussed in Chapter Three. Figure 9, shows the traditional concentric pattern and the existing new grid pattern. The most important difference between these two patterns is the loss of public open space that existed in the traditional ward system. This customary space was used for family meetings, and gatherings, open feasts, singing and dancing entertainment for by local choirs and by children as play grounds, as well as for some of the informal sector activities such as shoe repairing, tailoring and crafts, such as, basket making, wood carving and pottery. Some churches are also known to have started in such spaces. These public spaces also provide the families with a sense of belonging, community, and affinity. It is important therefore to recreate



such open spaces in the new development. Figure 9 presents a conceptual model as to how such spaces can be integrated in the new grid pattern.

The proposed settlement pattern (Fig. 9) takes into consideration the need to economize on land and provide services at minimal cost, which is why the grid pattern was adopted in Botswana, but also maintains the traditional public or family open space. The experience with open spaces in other places like Gaborone is that they are often used as garbage dumping ground. But this can be prevented if ownership of the open space is entrusted to the community, and provided with proper community facilities such as children play spaces and equipment, and other recreational facilities.

Fig 9: TRADITIONAL, NEW GRID AND PROPOSED PATTERN

	<p><b><u>TRADITIONAL PATTERN</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. ARRANGED IN WARDS/FAMILIES</li> <li>2. PUBLIC OPEN SPACE PROVIDED</li> <li>3. FENCE SHARING IS COMMON</li> <li>4. NON-ECONOMICAL USE OF LAND</li> <li>5. COSTLY TO SERVICE</li> </ol>
	<p><b><u>NEW GRID PATTERN</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. HAS NO SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS</li> <li>2. NO PUBLIC OPEN SPACE</li> <li>3. FENCE SHARING NOT COMMON</li> <li>4. ECONOMICAL USE OF LAND</li> <li>5. LESS COSTLY TO SERVICE</li> </ol>
	<p><b><u>PROPOSED PATTERN</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. HAS NO SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS</li> <li>2. PUBLIC OPEN SPACE PROVIDED</li> <li>3. NO FENCE SHARING</li> <li>4. ECONOMICAL USE OF LAND</li> <li>5. LESS COSTLY TO SERVICE</li> </ol>

POS = Public Open Space

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion this study recommends a three way approach for the development of Bokaa, through a community development strategy;

1) socio-cultural development, 2) economic development, and 3) physical infrastructure development. These must be undertaken concurrently and in unison as a holistic approach. Each of these approaches is critical for Bokaa's future development. This approach has a unique strength in that it begins with the community, with the traditional *kgotla* and operates through self-help. It is the best way Bokaa can begin to address the challenges it faces and will continue to face.

There are two lessons that can be learnt from the failure of rural policies in Botswana to improve the lives of the rural poor: First, is that without genuine community consciousness and participation, community development programmes may be diverted in practice: Second, that development is more than provision of funds or the establishment of services, it is about mobilising the people. Mobilisation is more than motivating community members for self-help projects, it is encouraging people to take control of the conditions under which they live, and this takes educating communities through well defined educational programmes which raises people's awareness, knowledge, self confidence, and the power to translate ideas into action. Finally, planners and other professionals that deal with community development, have to learn

to listen to communities and to provide the people with the information they need to make choices and decisions for their development.

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## APPENDIX A

Table 1. URBAN POPULATION IN BOTSWANA: 1964-1991.

YEAR	POPULATION	ANNUAL GROWTH RATE %	% OF NATIONAL POPULATION
1964	20,989	-	3.9
1971	53,208	13.9	10
1981	150,079	11.7	15
1991	286,779	10.3	21.6

Source: 1981 & 1991 Population and Housing Census.

Table 2. GABORONE CITY POPULATION: 1964-1991.

YEAR	POPULATION	% OF NATIONAL TOTAL
1964	3,856	0.7
1971	17,718	3.0
1981	59,657	6.3
1991	133,468	10

Source: Gaborone Growth Study, 1977 and 1991 Population and Housing Census.

Table 3: KGATLENG DISTRICT POPULATION: 1964-1991

YEAR	POPULATION	GROWTH RATE %
1964	29,579	-
1971	31,170	2.0
1981	44,461	2.04
1991	57,770	2.39

Source: Kgatleng District Development Plan (1989-1995).

TABLE 4: POPULATION OF BOKAA: 1971-1991

YEAR	POPULATION	GROWTH RATE %
1971	816	-
1981	2,018	1.09
1991	3,405	1.04

Source: Kgatleng District Development Plan (1989-1995) and 1991 Population and Housing Census.

Table 5: POPULATION OF BOKAA BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1991.

AGE GROUP	MALE (RATIO)	FEMALE (RATIO)	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
0-4	196 (1)	174 (0.9)	370	15.3
5-9	182 (1)	195 (1.1)	377	15.6
10-14	185 (1)	218 (1.2)	403	16.7
15-19	140 (1)	159 (1.1)	299	12.4
20-24	63 (1)	80 (1.3)	143	5.9
25-29	35 (1)	81 (2.3)	116	4.8
30-34	54 (1)	70 (1.3)	124	5.1
35-39	50 (1)	67 (1.3)	117	4.8
40-44	41 (1)	53 (1.3)	94	3.9
45-49	34 (1)	22 (0.6)	56	2.3
50-54	22 (1)	35 (1.6)	57	2.4
55-59	32 (1)	39 (1.2)	71	2.9
60-64	18 (1)	26 (1.4)	44	1.8
65+	51 (1)	98 (1.9)	149	6.2

Source: 1991 Population and Housing Census.

## APPENDIX B

### SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

#### Personal Information

Q1. Age and Sex:

- a) 18-55
- b) 55+
- c) male
- d) female

Q2. Do you come from Bokaa Village?

- a) yes
- b) no

Q3. If no, why did you move to the Village?

#### Traditional Family:

Q4. Do other members of your extended family live in the same ward as you? If not where do they live?

Q5. Given a choice would you rather live close to or away from the extended family members? Give Reasons.

- a) yes
- b) no

Q6 In your opinion, does the ward system still exist in Bokaa?

- a) yes
- b) no

Q7. If not do you wish it could be revived? Give reason.

#### Economy

Q8. How many members of the family are economically active?

Q9. Are they in the modern or traditional agricultural industry?

Q10. Where are /is the working member(s) employed?

- a) in Bokaa
- b) in Gaborone

- iii) other
- b) outskirts
  - i) horse shoe pattern
  - ii) subdivision
  - iii) other

3. Services - list existing services

4. Industries and other modern employment centres - list them by type and give number of Bakaa employed in each.