

Final report to Volkswagen Foundation 2008 – Sociology and Interproject Comparison

Reinald Döbel, 22 April 2008

1. The subproject in current socio-political context

In none of the areas of field research during the period reported on, did any major political disturbance occur.

Uganda went through presidential elections which confirmed President Yoweri Museveni in his office, after the constitutional limit to two consecutive terms of office had been lifted. While foreign observers and national critics see autocratic tendencies, the local electorate – as evidenced in the interviews with key informants – saw Museveni as a security against a return to civil strife, and they also appreciated the increased democratization of local government.

In Namibia, national politics are not prominent. What forms a backdrop to the fusion of the two Farmers' Associations into the TKFA (Tjohorongo-Kondjee Farmers' Association) are alliances during the independence struggle before 1990: while some were allied – however distantly – to the colonial South African government, others supported the struggle for independence. People do not want to touch memories of these sometimes deeply personal conflicts – and therefore emphasize the “non-political” nature of the TKFA. This only became clear during one of the intensive discussions with the Namibian researcher – and field assistant – Tjeripo Musutua. At the same time, the alliances of local chiefs with different parties of the National Government still influence allocation of development funds – at least in the eyes of local informants.

In Indonesia, the democratization and decentralization movement of the Indonesian Government forms a backdrop to the concealed struggles observed in Toro, where insistence on cultural revitalisation and local autonomy play a big role in the image projected of that village, while local residents claim not to experience improvements in their living conditions despite the progressive image projected to the outside. In other villages, the ethnic-religious clashes in Poso, Sulawesi became the subject of conversations of local people who at the same time took measures to actively prevent these clashes from spreading to their villages.

[Ivory Coast continues to be affected by the Civil War, although conditions have improved to an extent that travel of the sociologist researcher to the Toura area had been planned to support the final evaluation in the context of local celebrations in September 2007. Due to the German Post's failure to deliver the Passport with the already stamped visa, however, the journey had to be cancelled.](#)

2. Overview of subproject activities, as compared with original time plan

Below a complete list of field research activities is given. With variable timing, field research periods followed the original schedule. The one major departure from the original plan was to cut field periods in Uganda to two (instead of three), while adding another research stay in Indonesia, mainly because the aim of the first period in September 2003, together with Frank Wickl, had been to identify potentially fruitful research locations among the 62 villages surrounding Lore Lindu National Park in

Central Sulawesi. It also has to be mentioned that the second period in Uganda had been planned before the Volkswagen Foundation's decision not to extend the inclusion of Uganda for the fourth, additional, year became known.

The field research of the last period focused on issues of leadership in Namibia and Indonesia, and on the functioning of agricultural groups for development in Uganda, with leadership being only one of the relevant topics. In Namibia, this was achieved by being accepted as a guest in the households of two particular leaders – one a woman, the other the most vocal rural branch leader. In Indonesia, where the lead researcher had focused on the two villages of Kaduwaa and Toro, interviews concentrated on the few villagers who had been reported as not being part of any farmer's group, while in Toro, interviews included almost all members of the important village institutions, trying to establish the relationships between these bodies and the effects of this relationship on the sustainability of resource use on one side, and on the welfare of villagers on the other, thus mirroring a topic presently high on the agenda of the international development discourse.

This focus also resulted from continued observation – via literature research offline and online – of this international discourse, as evidenced in the various conference papers published during the last year.

Field Research¹

Namibia: February 24 – March 21, 2006
 Indonesia: September 7 – October
 March 3 – April 24, 2006
 August 26 – September 9, 2006
 Uganda: July 28 – August 19, 2006
 Ivory Coast February 15 – March 3, 2008

Conferences, workshops, and presentations:

- 1) Internal workshop of the three field researchers Rose Marie Beck, Frank Wickl, and Reinald Döbel, to integrate results and perspectives for the remainder of LAGSUS I and with a view towards the application for LAGSUS II; Frankfurt, 8-9 August 2005
- 2) LAGSUS yearly internal workshop in Rockenhausen, October 28 – Nov 1, 2006
- 3) Preparation of the internet presence of the sociology component (Nov. 2006)
- 4) Presentation of LAGSUS II Proposal at Volkswagen Foundation in Hannover, December 2, 2006
- 5) Conference on Crosscultural Communication in Business Enterprises: Kultursynergien oder Kulturkonflikte? December 13-14, 2005 (Umspannwerk Recklinghausen, organized by University of Dortmund)

¹ For the sake of completeness, below is a table with all field research periods for LAGSUS I:

	Indonesia	Namibia	Uganda
2003	September 6-30		
2004	December 16-31 *	July 7 – August 8	
2005	January 1-11 *; September 7 – October 8	July 5 – 29	March 5 – April 11
2006	March 3 – April 24 August 26 – September 9	February 24 – March 21	July 28 – August 19

* What appears in two separate years in the table was in fact one unbroken period from Dec. 16, 2004, to Jan. 11, 2005

- 7) Public Lecture at Institute of Sociology, University of Münster: „Good Leadership“ und Nachhaltigkeit in Namibia, Uganda und Indonesien – Vortrag über Entwicklungskommunikation im Spannungsfeld zwischen Lokalstruktur und Globalisierung, mit Lichtbildern (January 31, 2006 – with the participation of the Namibian researcher Tjeripo Musutua)
- 8) Public Lecture at Institute of Sociology, University of Münster: „Good Leadership“ und Nachhaltigkeit in Namibia, Uganda und Indonesien – Fortsetzung der Diskussion vom 31.1.2006 auf der Basis neuer Ergebnisse (May 30; 2006)
- 9) VAD Conference *Knowledge and the Sciences in Africa* (Frankfurt, July 24-27, 2006) – Presentation of paper on “People in the Driver’s Seat of Development?”
- 10) *World Congress of Action Research - Participatory Research, Standards and Ethics*, (Groningen, Netherlands, August 21-24, 2006) – conducting two workshops:
 - a) Workshop on Notions of Power, based on Conference paper “Action Research - Justice in Action? Some reflections on power, ethics and sustainability”;
 - b) Presentation of Children’s theatre method developed within LAGSUS.
- 11) Participation in LAGSUS-Conference in Palu, Indonesia (September 5-6, 2006) – Presentation of paper “Good leadership and sustainability - evidence from three countries”
- 12) Evaluation of Sustainable Development: *EASY ECO Conference* (Saarbrücken, October 11-14, 2006), presentation of paper “Evaluating communicative and environmental sustainability - an approach to collaborative self-evaluation”
- 13) *Towards a Typology of Trust*, (Basel, Switzerland, December 1-2, 2006), presentation of paper “Trust as an experiential quality versus trust as a measurable quantity?” (Abstract accepted)

3. **Research organisation (collaborators, organigramm, assignments, reporting, institutional affiliation)**

Field research during the last periods could rely on earlier established relationships with interpreters / field assistants: Tjeripo Musutua in Namibia, Moses Sunday and Fred Bugalalio in Uganda, Momy Hunowu and Marthen Lancia in Indonesia (Bani Susanto, who had been involved earlier, had in the meantime taken on a new job in his home town, 600 km away). First contacts had been established through the researcher responsible for the sub-project in that country, or, in the case of Indonesia, through the research project STORMA to which LAGSUS had been affiliated for ease of obtaining a research permit. Relationships with STORMA researchers continued to be good, as evidenced by the suggestion to hire Momy Hunowu as a field assistant, by the offer to introduce me to several NGO activist from Bogor – with whom I had a chance to observe a participatory meeting in a village near Bogor -, and by the invitation to conduct an informal workshop on action research for staff of the NGO SAINS (*Sajogyo Inside*). Presentations for students and staff of the main STORMA counterpart, the IPB (*Institut Pertanian Bogor*) were held on invitation by Pak Felix Sitorus, also the main LAGSUS counterpart, in December 2004 and September 2005. Partly because of heavy commitments to write a comprehensive work on rural sociology in Indonesia, he was not available for meetings and unable to organise more presentations later.

I was, however, invited to contribute one chapter to the STORMA reader of subproject A2 (sociology – to be published in 2007) at a meeting at IPB Bogor in April 2005, as the findings on the relationship between leadership quality and sustainability were

deemed interesting and consistent with STORMA findings.

The times of the various field research periods were organised in order to allow at least partial overlaps – and hence internal discussions – with the field research periods of Frank Wickl in Indonesia, Rose Marie Beck in Namibia, and the visit of Prof. Bearth in Uganda. In particular, this allowed me to be present during some of the interviews of the Indonesian lead researcher in the village of Kaduwaa, to be part of the networking attempts with Ndejje University in Uganda, and to participate in an interview with a remarkable local informant on the history of the Baluli. Dates for field research were also coordinated with the dates for the conferences deemed relevant for the topic and suitable for paper presentations (see section 2: Overview of project activities).

4. **Research objectives, strategies and methodology, including necessary adjustment departing from original design**

The sociology component of LAGSUS continued to investigate the relationship between social positions, decision-making and language use with respect to development and the sustainability of livelihoods, focusing on different qualities of leadership. In addition to the previous focus on interviews with key persons, feedback-workshops (Uganda) and feedback-reports (Namibia and Indonesia) were used to establish a basis for collective self-reflection. As the results showed, the conditions for the applicability of collective self-reflection as a research method need to be more thoroughly thought through. While the Namibian feed-back report to the senior executives of the Tjohorongo-Kondjee Farmers' Association was received positively, the Indonesian feed-back report led to a request that the researcher Döbel should not continue his research, while the researcher Wickl would be welcome to continue. This request was stated in a fax sent to Dr. Wickl. As this came after the finalization of the field work for LAGSUS I, it did not interfere with research plans. Rather, it can be interpreted as a confirmation of the findings stated in the feedback-report (written in Indonesian with the help of the two research assistants – see Appendix 2).

One of the reasons for using resources earlier scheduled for Uganda for an additional research period in Indonesia in the last phase of LAGSUS I, were some indications for highly interesting – and problematic – happenings in the village of Toro in Indonesia. These were indeed confirmed in interviews during the research period in April 2006 but rejected by the village elite in the above-mentioned fax (see Appendix 2).

Some of the indications had been obtained by stepping outside the model of combining key informant interviews with village mapping, as this was found to lead to gain access only to persons belonging to the village elite. To step outside this circle, use was made of a feigned admiration for traditional architecture: Toro prides itself of a traditional village meeting hall (*Lobo*) built strictly according to traditional principles, without using a single nail. Pretending to be taken in by this pride in local culture, the research assistants walked round the village in search of “traditional houses” made exclusively of bamboo and palm leaves. The real reason was that according to prior observation, everybody who could afford it had built a house with concrete flooring, brick walls, and a roof of corrugated iron, meaning that those who still lived in “traditional houses” would in all likelihood belong to those hardly touched by various government assistances for development. This was confirmed by poorer members of the Toro community when interviewed by the research assistants alone.

During the last period in April 2006, such practices of marginalisation were confirmed by members of the village elite itself, some of whom complained that there were

irregularities in the provision of the government's assistance programs for the poor. As poverty alleviation and a narrowing inequalities of wealth and income are globally considered cornerstones of successful development policy, these findings had to be included – in a moderated and polite form – into the feedback report delivered to the village government.

In Namibia, another departure from earlier design was the decision to ask to be accepted as a guest in the households of two of the local leaders – one a female teacher in Ozondati, and the other the (rather prominent) male leader of the branch of Omutianduko –, both of whom were conversant in English. Hence, the Namibian researcher – who had negotiated the visits for me, and later cross-checked with my hosts and found them pleased – was not needed as an intermediary for the interaction. As intended, the proximity – and the explicit attempts to learn at least some Herero - did lead to a closer relationship which enabled a more unrestricted flow of conversation, adding insights into the position of these leaders and leadership in the context of the Herero communal area in general.

Some of the findings concerning the role of women in Herero society were later used in the feedback-workshop conducted in Uganda during the last field research period of LAGSUS I, where they led to a lively discussion about the role of women in Baluli society (which is recorded on mini-disk 12).

In general, the findings thus obtained also point to the need for continuing – and possibly intensifying – the interdisciplinary discussion concerning the role of language in development. This will be taken up in section 8 (Implications for theoretical issues and overall research design).

5. Field data: inventory of data collected so far (audio, video etc.) – and approximate quantity of data, current state of exploitation (recording, transcription, translation, analysis)

See Appendix 1. In addition, it should be stated that the contents of these materials have formed the basis of the publications and conference papers mentioned in the appropriate sections.

6. Extensions and associated research (Toura)

7. First results and working hypothesis based on analysis

For the sociology component the increasing focus on leadership, combined with the original interest in issues of power and issues of trust in social relationships, led to the hypothesis published in several conference papers and the one paper submitted to *Sociologia Ruralis*: that there is a clear relationship between qualities of leadership and the sustainability of resource use. Quality of leadership here includes both ethical issues – particularly adherence to locally accepted norms of justice – and issues of communicative skills – specifically the expectation of followers to be respected by the leader. Despite cultural nuances, there seemed to be a fundamental agreement about “good” leadership in all research areas. The core hypothesis following from these observations is that the attempt to use position power to make up for a lack of abilities in communicative skills or a lack of adherence to locally accepted norms of justice, endangers the sustainability of the leadership position, because it undermines trust in the leader(s) concerned. This, in turn, threatens the sustainability of regulations concerning resource use, and therefore the sustainability of livelihoods based on

resource use: sustainability requires a long-term view of resource use and therefore sustainable regulations.

While this seems to be a common aspect of all the subprojects in all countries, it became especially obvious in the case of Indonesia and Ivory Coast, where the introduction of a National Park aimed at curtailing local patterns of resource use in the name of nature conservation – and, especially in the case of the Lore Lindu National Park, which lies in an area considered a “hot spot” of species diversity, with reference to the preservation of genetic diversity, i.e. global sustainability.

The sustainability of resource use was mentioned as an issue local people are aware of also in the Nakasongola District in Uganda and in the Omatjette Communal Area in Namibia, where issues of land ownership and grazing rights respectively are crucial for economic activities and hence for development. At the same time – as also noted in Thomas’ Bearth’s findings from Ivory Coast – poverty is seen as necessitating the unsustainable resource noted by actors themselves.

More detailed discussions of the relationship of these patterns with qualities of leadership can be found in the conference papers and the submitted paper written during this last period of LAGSUS I.

8. Implications for theoretical issues and for overall research goals as formulated in project description

The findings of the sociology component lend support to the reconsideration of the relationship between language and action which is undertaken in some sections of linguistics – as I understand from interdisciplinary discussions within LAGSUS -, and which tie in with attempts by socio-linguists such as Sealey and Carter (2004), and of sociologists such as Bourdieu and Giddens: to demonstrate that the relationship between structure and action is not uni-directional. This is relevant for theorizing development, as in most understandings – and particularly with respect to sustainable development – changing structures are seen as necessary preconditions for and at the same time expressions of development. The practical expression of this view is a focus on individual decisions and their consequences in outlines of development interventions or suggestions for development policy. At the same time, sociological analysis tends to emphasize the effect of structures on individual dispositions and decisions, often neglecting the role of individual decisions. It is at this juncture that the most prominent attempts to reconcile structure and action – i.e. the suggestions of Bourdieu and Giddens – attain practical relevance. They remain ambivalent, however. This ambivalence is to some extent also present in the findings of LAGSUS field research:

On the one hand, it is clear that the processes leading to the observed instances of exclusion go through channels of personal relationships. In the Indonesian case, particularly in Toro, where pride of indigenous culture and language is prominent, the relevant negotiations are taking place in the local language. Similarly, the information about these cases of exclusion was obtained by the (local) research assistant talking in the local language. Using the national language *bahasa Indonesia* and being strangers, most of this information would not have been forthcoming: more than once even marginalised people emphasized village unity towards outsiders.

On the other hand, similar information about marginalization was obtained in other research areas, which seems to confirm existing views of the (unwanted side-)effects of virtually all processes of economic development, i.e. the effect of increasing inequalities. These processes seem to be similar irrespective of the language in which the relevant negotiations are conducted. It seems that the crucial question – to which

opposing answers exist – is whether or to what extent economic growth and sustainability can be reconciled.

At the local level, however, the understanding of sustainability issues does not seem to be well developed – despite the awareness of a dwindling resource base in some areas, most notably in the Nakasongola District, among defenders of the Lore Lindu National Park in Indonesia, and among parts of the population around Mont Sangbé National Park in Ivory Coast. Here, the initial research question of LAGSUS is of particular relevance: to what extent can a policy based on Local Language Hermeneutics stimulate the necessary understanding of issues of sustainability? Or: what are the conditions for the *local* communicative sustainability of the sustainability discourse itself, which seems to have attained global communicative sustainability, as evidenced in the often quoted sentence: “The problems will not go away.”

In the light of the data obtained in a comparative perspective by the sociological field research in the three countries of Namibia, Indonesia, and Uganda, - which point to the prevalence of local actors’ concerns about economic welfare largely neglecting sustainability considerations – the initial research question might profitably be complemented by another question: are there local models of justice with respect to resource use which could serve as a resource for restricting exploitation of natural resources according to individual wishes? And, to what extent are there different models of justice for different social groups, possibly reflected in different language use?

From the perspective of the sociology component, the continuation of the interdisciplinary discussion between linguistics and sociology could throw two issues in sharp focus:

1) Do the existing data already collected by the other research components give indications of communicative resources with respect to models of justice and with respect to concepts of sustainability? (The data of the sociology component do give some indications in this direction) And: are there indications that models of justice differ according to different social groups, especially if the differences between these groups are based on socially justified privileges?

2) How can we link our findings to the theoretical issues of the relationship of language and action on one hand, and the relationship between action and structure on the other? In this respect, a discussion focusing how existing data fit either the Whorf hypothesis or the opposed view which sees language simply as a tool for the realization of individual intentions might be a promising avenue.

Thus linking empirical findings to an extended version of the original hypothesis of LAGSUS would – from the point of view of the sociology component – address one of the crucial theoretical concerns of modern social science and also one of the crucial concerns of globally networked local attempts towards a sustainable and livable planetary society. The recent emphasis on the need for hope might stem from the seeming contradiction between a huge – global and local – task and the seemingly inadequate resources of individual action.

An additional aspect of the suggested interdisciplinary discussions might be the search in the local language data for expressions of or contradictions to the core hypothesis of the sociology component outlined above: the relationship between “good” leadership and sustainability. If – with the help of local language hermeneutics - an area of overlap between the local discourse and the scientific discourse within LAGSUS could be established, this might constitute a sort of “common ground” for the use of “collaborative self-reflection” in future research. We might in this way furnish at least some scientific evidence for a dictum by anthropologist Margaret Mead which has become prominent enough to find its way into one of the key presentations at the

recent conference on *Sustainability Reporting* in Amsterdam: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.”

9. Scientific meetings, workshops, contacts

Apart from the conferences mentioned in section 2 (overview of subproject activities), one interesting presentation was attended in Palu: Rachel Diprose of University of Oxford presented preliminary research findings concerning an international comparative study on causes of “ethnic/religious” violence in Palu for a restricted NGO audience. The presentation took place at the offices of the NGO *Bantaya*, 4 September, 2006)

Contacts were also made at the VAD conference in the session presenting results of a Wageningen PhD programme about participatory agricultural research, led by Paul Richards, one of the most important authors in this field. These presentations were of particular interest because two of them came from Uganda, albeit none of them dealt with Nakasongola District. Nonetheless, the powerpoint presentation of Prossy Isubikalu was obtained and later passed on to Fan Diomande in Uganda.

Contacts have also been reinforced to the IPB in Bogor, and extended to at least two NGOs working in the field of rural development and empowerment.

10. Reports, write-ups (pre-publication)

Apart from the two feedback reports in Namibia and Indonesia (circulated only internally and not put on the website), no additional internal reports were produced during the last year, due to field research commitments, preparation of public lectures, and the writing of conference papers and one publication submitted to *Sociologia Ruralis*.

All activities were reported internally, however, through the monthly reports which began to be common practice at the beginning of 2006.

The feedback reports – which were also in themselves a research tool: they were intended to and did give rise to responses concerning how the recipients viewed the picture presented in the two reports in Namibia and Indonesia. Both are reproduced in Appendix 2. These reports were intended as a bridge to what the write up *Reflexivity and Action* termed “collaborative self-reflection.” In the case of the village of Toro in Indonesia, however, the invitation to self-reflection was rejected. This in itself is a significant event which calls for methodological refinement, including reflection on the conditions under which collaborative self-reflection can be deemed applicable.

11. Other forms of publicity and public relations

As mentioned in section 2, two public lectures on “Good Leadership and Sustainability – Development Communication between globalisation and local structures” were at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Muenster, in January and May 2006. These were attended by doctoral candidates, students, and also some members of the public interested in development issues. The overall framework of LAGSUS formed the starting point of these presentations, which then moved on to issues of leadership, illustrated by pictures taken in the course of LAGSUS field research. One result of these presentations is the realization that members of the

sociological community view the topic of “good leadership” as part of the global discourse on “good governance”, which, in turn, is viewed by the more critical sections of the sociological community – and by critics from the Third World / the South itself – as part of ongoing processes of “Western” – or “Northern” - domination. No substantial objections to the arguments themselves, however, were raised.

Translation of project material into matrix languages

Arrangements with Wolfram Lorenz of STORMA, Palu, have been made to have the remainder of video and audio-recordings of the sociology component transcribed by one of the STORMA assistants familiar with transcriptions. Translations from *Bahasa Indonesia* into English could be completed in the remaining period either by the researcher himself, or by someone familiar with translations in STORMA. In the case of the Ugandan material, a transcriber for the material in the *Baluuli* language has been identified by Fan Diomande, while relevant Namibian material can be transcribed and translated by the Namibian assistant, Tjeripo Musutua.

12. Factors enhancing sub-projects

In the case of the sociology component, the main advantage overall was to be able to base field research on established contacts by the researchers responsible for the specific national projects in Namibia, Indonesia, and Uganda. In all cases – except in Indonesia, where I used different assistants than Frank Wickl, who were identified through STORMA and a local NGO director -, the choice of research assistants / translators was based on the choice earlier made by Rose Marie Beck – i.e. concerning Tjeripo Musutua – and Diomande Fan – i.e. concerning Fred Bugalalio and Moses Sunday.

The persons thus identified proved very capable field assistants in the sense that they quickly grasped the concepts and targets of the research, and contributed their own ideas freely to the discussions. The most important supporting factor was the possibility to develop relationships of mutual trust with all research assistants – without which it would not have been possible to obtain the amount of data documented in Appendix 1, and without which these data would not have reached the depth of understanding they sometimes did. This is particularly important with respect to the often reported – and also personally experienced – mistrust against “white” researchers in countries of the South, which is even more pronounced when it comes to matters of development: very often the industrialised North is accused of having caused and of still causing the problems which indigenous and externally induced development is trying to solve.

Therefore it was extremely important to be able to trust the assistants’ understanding of the relevance of local communication processes, including issues of inclusion and exclusion. Only in this manner could they depart from fixed schedules of questions and conduct meaningful conversations with the key informants we interviewed in the course of the field research – conversations which sometimes departed for periods of time from original objectives to allow respondents to follow their own flow of meaning. This was possible because most of the conversations used the medium of the local language: respondents were at ease to express themselves familiar terms. Indonesia was an interesting exception: most of the communication happened in the medium of the national language *Bahasa Indonesia* for which I can claim a reasonable command, but some of the most “sensitive” information surfaced in those parts of the conversations in one village which were conducted in the local language – and the

conversation was conducted by a local already known to the respondents, which made it easier for them to open up. Incidentally, this led to the information contained in the feedback-report mentioned earlier, which was then rejected in the fax mentioned above (see Appendix 2 for that feedback report and the fax).

Overall, it seems that the very topic of the research – interest in local perceptions of development and sustainability, and the impact of local decision-making structures on development and sustainability – was easily perceived as relevant and important by research assistants and local informants alike. It is also worth mentioning that the topic seems to have also heightened local informants' expectations of more concrete benefits from the research itself, directing the sociology component's attention towards existing approaches of action research as a possible solution. This attention has led to the writing of one of the earlier concept notes (*Reflexivity and Action*) and to the participation in the World Conference of Action research in August 2006.

13. Obstacles to accomplishment of objectives in given time frame

There are two obstacles which deserve mention.

One is internal: the time required for literature review concerning three countries and the international discourse concerning sustainable development has been severely underrated. This, together with time required for internal discussions, and the composition and writing of conference contributions has led to a severe backlog in the writing of research reports to be also presented on the website. During the last period of LAGSUS – i.e. the one year extension granted by the Volkswagen Foundation -, field research will be cut to a minimum to analyze and interpret existing data and update the website with combined reports about Namibia (one report covering two periods) and Indonesia (one report covering two periods).

The second concerns the cooperation with the Indonesian lead researcher where differences of opinion concerning the reliability of informants and the suitability of research strategies appeared. Other problems concerned the co-ordination of field research periods and work in the field, which needed the intervention of the supervisors. It is hoped that despite the non-extension of the Indonesian component of LAGSUS, further cross-disciplinary discussions will lead to an integration and synthesis of research findings.

14. Outlook

The above events, the additional data, and the additional literature collected but not yet thoroughly reviewed, has contributed to an emergent theoretical perspective on the relation between the quality of leadership and the sustainability of resource use. This has also led to a changed perspective on the habilitation already planned before the involvement in LAGSUS began: the field research and the additional literature has not only added to the earlier focus on “power and participation”, but broadened the theoretical framework: the focus on *qualities* of leadership leads to a reconsideration of the role of individual decisions in sociological theorizing. Focusing on the role of individual decisions as based on individual attitudes seems an original contribution to sociological theory. Coming from involvement in international field research involving linguistics, this might be seen as an outcome which conforms to the original intentions of the Volkswagen Foundation's program: to re-affirm the relevance of the “Geisteswissenschaften” which – in Germany at least – have had a long tradition of

hermeneutic exegesis and a focus on processes of introspection – exemplified in the phenomenological approach initiated by Edmund Husserl. It appears that some of these reflections are absolutely relevant for the modern concern with global sustainability. To show this in more detail, based partly on the results of LAGSUS, is the aim of the habilitation to be produced in 2007 under the guidance of professor Hanns Wienold at the institute of sociology, University of Münster.

References

Sealey, Alison and Bob Carter (2004): *Applied Linguistics as Social Science*, London and New York (Continuum)

Appendix 1: Field recordings, written interview notes, and stage of transcription:

Videos (most of it also transferred onto DVD):

- 1) Drama at Primary School in Omatjette, Namibia (July 2004) Two versions:
 - a) Version I (in classroom) - recorded on July 29, 2004;
 - b) Version II (outside on the school compound) - recorded August 4, 2004;
Supervision: Howard Tjijendeke; players: grade seven)
Material: video tape and DVD (version b transcribed with the help of Howard Tjijendeke).
- 2) Discussion following a showing of that video, at Primary School in Omatjette, Namibia
Recording date: August 12, 2004
Occasional translation: Howard Tjijendeke
Material: video tape and DVD (English sentences transcribed by Reinald Döbel)
- 3) Video about water problems in Omatjette, Namibia with water officer Tjino (includes various interviews in Otjoherero with live translations into English by Tjino)
Recording Date: August 6, 15, and 16, 2004
Material: Video tape and DVD (no transcription)
- 4) Part of the Ceremony of Remembrance (Hamakari),
Place of Recording: Okakarara, Namibia
Recording Date: August 14&15, 2004
Material: Video tape (no transcription)
- 5) Dramas in schools in Indonesia (December 2004/January 2005)
 - a) Watumaeta – Recording Date: 26 December, 2004 – Place: near and in traditional village meeting hall (*baruga*)
 - b) Sedoa – Recording Date: 29 December 2004 – Place: near extension office and in traditional village meeting hall (*baruga*)
 - c) Betue - Recording Date: 2 January 2005 – Place: outside and in traditional village meeting hall (*baruga*)
 - d) Kaduwaa - Recording Date: 5 January 2005 – Place: near fishpond and at village office;
 - e) Toro - Recording Date: 9 January 2005 – Place: in cocoa plantation and at village office
 - f) Bolapapu – Recording Date: 10 January 2005
Supervision and Director of Drama: Pak UUs
Material: Video tape and DVD
- 6) Discussions in Watumaeta and Betue (following the showing of the respective videos)
Recording Dates:
 - a) Watumaeta – 26 December 2004 (at house of headmaster of school – with members of *Lembaga Adat* and village representatives); and
 - b) Betue - 2 January 2005 (with villagers at village meeting hall = *baruga*)Material: Video tape and DVD
- 7) Scenes from interaction between expert and local women groups in Uganda
Recording Date: (March 2005 about making seedbeds for vegetables)
Material: Video tape and DVD (mainly visual material, not for transcription)

- 8) Group discussion with Prof. Fremerey
Recording Date: 11 March 2006
Material: Video tape and DVD – recording identical with Minidisk No.8
- 9) Cattle auction in Omatjette, Namibia
Recording Date: 15 July 2005 – Place: auction kraal in Omatjette
Material: Video tape and DVD (visual material, not for transcription)
- 10) Production of butter fat in Okatjandjaura, Namibia)
Recording Date: 14 March 2006
Material: Video tape (visual material, not for transcription)
- 11) Group Meeting for Feedback in Kinamuanga, Uganda – “The best story about an experience with groups”
Recording Date: 16 August 2006
Material: Video tape (not transcribed, content see interview notes Uganda 2006)

Mini-disk recordings (still on Mini-disk – possible to convert to MP3 files.

- 1) The Ceremony of Remembrance (Hamakari),
Recording Date: July 2004, Namibia
Material: two mini-disks, already transferred to MP3 also (not yet transcribed))
- 2) Discussion after showing of video
Recording Date: 12 August, 2004
Material: one mini-disk, language: English – transcribed
- 3) Discussions after video in Indonesia:
 - a) Watumaeta (one disk) Recording Date: 26 December 2004
 - b) Betue & Kaduwaa (one disk); Recording Dates: 2&5 January 2005, partly transcribed – in Indonesian, the language of conversation)
- 4) Discussion with local conservation group in Bolapapu
Main discussants: Pak Viktor, Pak Marthen Tunku, Pak Ferdi Lumba
Recording Date: 10 January 2005
Material: one mini-disk, transcribed (in *Bahasa Indonesia*)
- 5) Interview (together with Günther Burkhard of STORMA) with Chairman (Pak Amir Hamzah) and Deputy Chairman of National Park Authority (Pak Helmy) in Palu, Indonesia
Recording Date: 13 January 2005 (transcribed in *Bahasa Indonesia*)
- 6) Discussion between local groups and visiting professor Fremerey, Kinamuanga, Uganda
Recording Date: 11 March 2006
Material: one mini-disk (not transcribed)
- 7) Various Interviews in Omihana, Omutiaunaduko, Ozondati, Otjohorong, and Otjiwarongo (July 2005 – the minidisks are with Tjeripo Musutua; for contents see interview notes)
- 8) Meeting between villagers of Kaduwaa and Dodolo for conflict settlement (one disk – not transcribed)
Recording Date: recorded 23 September 2005, from an older cassette recording made during that meeting itself (in 2003)
- 9) Meeting of extension officer with farmers in Toro
Recording Date: (Oct. 2005 – two disks – not transcribed)
 - a) Extension Meeting for starting participatory agricultural development projects; Recording Date: 28 September 2005 Place: Traditional village meeting hall (*lobo*)
 - b) Meeting with representatives of farmers’ groups in Toro, with *Kepala Desa* and the project leader (*pimpro*) for the free distribution of one seedling of a *Durian* tree for each household

- Recording Date: 1 October 2005
Material: Video tape and DVD
- 10) Interview with agricultural extension officer Nicky Kameho about her involvement in the GTZ project at agricultural office in Windhoek, Namibia
Recording Date: 28 February, 2006
Material: one mini-disk (not yet transcribed)
- 11) Group interview in Mayrikiti, Uganda – about work in groups in general, particularly about their own chicken breeding group
Recording Date: 15 August 2006
Material: one mini-disk (not yet transcribed – file as mp3 with Fan Diomande)
- 12) Group Meeting for feedback in Kinamuanga, Uganda
Recording Date: 16 August 2006 at farm of Fred Bugalalio
Material: one minidisk (ca. 2 hrs., not yet transcribed – material as mp3 with Fan Diomande)
Subjects:
* Stories about “most interesting experiences with groups”
* Discussion about which of these stories (three groups) is the most interesting
* Discussion about the role of women in Baluli society, in comparison to the role of women in Herero society.
- 13) Interview with old man (Kristiaan) in Kasoozi;
Main subject: experiences in colonial times, particularly language policy
Recording Date: 17 August, 2006
Place: Kasoozi, Uganda
Material: one mini-disk (not yet transcribed – material as mp3 with Fan Diomande)
- 14) LAGSUS annual conference in Tadulako University, Palu, Indonesia - Afternoon session with presentations by Rainer Vossen and Tjeripo Musutua; and discussion about *musyawarah* and *kono*
Recording Date: 6 September 2006
Material: one mini-disk (Long-Play, ca. 4 hrs – in English, not yet transcribed)
- 15) Feedback Workshop of STORMA A2 at *Balai Taman Nasional Lore Lindu*, Palu, Indonesia
Recording Date: 8 September 2006
Material: one mini-disk (Long-Play, ca. 4 hrs – fully in *Bahasa Indonesia*, not yet transcribed)

Notes from Interviews:

In the form of electronic files of compiled handwritten interview notes:

- 1) From Namibia, July /August 2004 (including transcriptions for theatre play and discussion after video)
 - a) NA 04 Interview in Otupupa.doc
 - b) NA 04 Interview with Mrs Harupara.doc
 - c) NA 04 Interview with Karonge&Ndumeua.doc
 - d) NA 04 Interview with Tjipoza&Else.doc
- 2) From Indonesian Villages (Watumaeta, Sedoa, Betue, Bolapapu, Toro - December2004/January 2005)
 - a) Leadership Resources RD Notes Indonesia 0501.doc
- 3) From Ugandan Villages (Ruunyo, Nakataka, Kinamuanga – March 2005) (not yet classified)
- 4) From Namibia: Interviews in Omihana, Omutiaunaduko, Ozondati, Otjohorong, and Otjiwarongo (July 2005)

- a) NA 05 Handwritten Interview Notes.doc
- b) NA 05 Interview with Kamatuka July 2005.doc
- 5) From Indonesian Villages Kaduwaa and Toro – with leaders of farmer groups (September 2005)
 - a) Leadership Resources Trust RD Notes Indonesia 0509.doc
- 6) From conversations in Ozondati and Okatjandjaura in February/March 2006 (not yet compiled)
- 7) From interviews in Kaduwaa and Toro in April 2006 (not yet classified)
- 8) From Interviews in Uganda (July/August 2006) (not yet classified)

Transcripts from individual and group interviews

In the form of electronic files:

- 1) Transcript of video of school children's theatre play in Omatjette (within
- 2) Transcript of video of discussion after showing of video of theatre play in Omatjette (12 August 2004, mini-disk 2: NA 04 Discussion after video1.doc)
- 3) Transcript of group discussion after showing of video in Kaduwaa (5 January 2005, minidisk 3b: IN 04 Diskusi Kaduwaa.doc)
- 4) Transcript of group discussion in Bolapapu, Indonesia (10 January 2005, mini-disk 4: IN 04 Diskusi Bolapapu.doc, IN 04 Diskusi Bolapapu_A.doc, IN 04 Diskusi Bolapapu_B.doc)
- 5) Transcript of interview with Pak Amir Hamzah, Director of BTNLL (together with Günther Burkhard, 13 January 2005, minidisk 5: IN 04 Pak A. Hamzah.doc)
- 6) Transcript of interview with Pak Helmy of BTNLL (together with Günther Burkhard, 13 January 2005, minidisk 5: IN 04 Pak Helmy.doc)

Village Maps (in the case of maps from Uganda and Indonesia accompanied with lists of names of inhabitants)

- 1) Uganda: Ruunyo and Nakataka (compiled March 2005) and a list of inhabitants of these villages
- 2) Namibia: Omutianduko and Otupupa (compiled July 2005)
- 3) Indonesia: Watumaeta, Sedoa, Betue, Kaduwaa, Bolapapu, Toro (compiled October 2005) and a list of inhabitants of these villages (and their functions in village organisations) – see file DAFTAR NAMA APARAT DAN PENDUDUK DESA.doc

Appendix 2: Feedback reports in Namibia (2005, to TKFA senior executives) and Indonesia (2006, to mayor and chairperson of women's organisation OPANT)

A Brief Report - INDONESIA

Research Results about the Role of institutions in the village of Toro – in the fields of development and conservation

By

Reinald Doebel, Momy A. Hunowu, and Marthen Lancia

Research Focus:

- The relationship between institutions in the village of Toro
- The relationship between institutions and conservation
- The relationship between institutions and development

Research Methods:

- 1) Production of a video of the school children's drama about conservation issues, and a discussion with the chairperson of the *Lembaga Adat* (Customary Law Council)
- 2) Production of a map of the village, including the location of the residences of members of village institutions, chairmen and members of farmer's groups, and inquiring about the local words for conservation, sustainability, and good leadership.
- 3) Interviews with members of the village parliament and the members of the *Lembaga Adat* (Customary Law Council) concerning the three topics mentioned above, and including questions about good leadership and hopes for the future.

Research Results:

In general terms it can be said that the respondents feel that the relationship between the village institutions is only mediocre, whereas in the past it had already been good. According to the respondents, there are several issues which caused this change. These issues will be explained after the sketch of the role of the different institutions:

The role of the institutions in the village of Toro

- The role of the *Lembaga Adat* (Customary Law Council) is to guard adherence to the traditional regulations of customary law, and to follow up on cases of violation of these regulations by administering sanctions. These violations concern nature conservation, marriage relationships (including clandestine relationships), and quarrels.
- The role of the BPD (village parliament) is to represent the aspirations of the village people and to work together with the village government in the planning and implementation of policies, such as drafting *Perdes* (*Peraturan Desa = Village regulations*), and drafting development plans and the village budget.
 - The role of OPANT (*Organisasi Perempuan Adat Ngata Toro = Organisation of Adat Women in Toro Village*) is to strengthen the role of women in decision making processes (i.e. the empowerment of women) and to take over the role of PKK (as agreed on in the big [village] meeting of 2003)

BPD

The role of BPD which is considered most important is to carry the aspirations of ordinary village residents to the village governmental institutions and to cooperatively run programs to fulfil the needs of common people. Among the goals mentioned by members of the village parliament are the drafting of village regulations (*Perdes*) and discussions concerning the program of a “Model Village.” They also had made proposals for how the funds granted to Toro could be spent in order to increase the standard of living of ordinary citizen’s of Toro, as, for example, by creating a stock of fertilizer (to decrease dependence on the traders). The aims and usefulness of the purchase of audiovideo equipment and the training for its use was questioned. There was also the opinion that members of BPD felt sidelined in the making of decisions. This was because they felt that their proposals were not taken into account. One of the important issues which caused the feeling of disappointment had been the sentence “You don’t need to know” when clarification about the use of funds given by outside organisations - in particular concerning the UNDP SGF-GEF grant – had been requested. According to BPD members, the village people in general feel disappointed because the said grant did not benefit them, while everybody knows about this grant following a meeting at the *Lobo* in 2004. According to several members of the village parliament, this disappointment is not the result of frustrated ambitions to take over the administration of those funds, but only the lack of clarity about the allocation of those funds.

Apart from the problems mentioned above, there are several specific issues, such as:

- 1) The role of OPANT within the set-up of village institutions
- 2) The use of the fund granted [by the National Park Authority] for the renovation of the *Lobo*
- 3) The building of a new *Bantaya* (assembly hall)
- 4) The status of ownership of the car which had formerly belonged to *pak Rolex*. About this issue there were two conflicting opinions:
 - a) The car had been borrowed for the purpose of the research of *pak Frank*.
 - b) The car had been bought with money from the grant.
- 5) The appointment of two members of village institutions to the village parliament who had not been elected by popular vote (as stipulated in the regional regulations of the year 2000)
- 6) The fact that not all *Kompensasi BBM* (Government payments to poor people to cover increased prices following the cancellation of the subsidy for local prices of oil and petrol) reached the target population. In other words, the *Kompensasi BBM* only benefits those close to the members of ruling village institutions.

OPANT

Almost all members of the village parliament and also of the *Lembaga Adat* expressed their lack of a clear understanding of the true role of OPANT, particularly in the face of a common understanding that OPANT had taken over the functions of PKK. The confusion arose because the activities formerly initiated or performed by PKK had been very clear, had followed the 10 basic programs of PKK and had been run with regional funds coming from *Bangdes*. The use of those funds had always been agreed upon by *musyawarah* and recorded by the treasurer in the official record book. According to the respondents, these practices are no longer followed, giving rise to disappointments because during the times of the functioning of PKK programs, they could benefit directly from such activities such as vegetable gardens, *arisan* (savings groups), *dasa wisma* cooperative groups, and others,

The building of a new *Bantaya* (=assembly hall) – although it was acknowledged that whoever had the means to build one, was entitled to do so by *adat* – gave rise to the fear the function of the *lobo* as the most revered – or sacred – meeting place of the village might get lost. Apart from this, the suspicion surfaced that the building of the *Bantaya* was (partially)

financed through the grants coming from outside the village. Because of this, the status of the ongoing construction work is very unclear to the common people. There are two opinions: one group believes the money used comes from the UNDP grant, while the other group believes that in reality the funds come from the renovations grant for the *lobo*.

Lembaga Adat

All the respondents expressed their conviction that the *Lembaga Adat* plays a very important role, foremost in the arranging and applying of forest conservation regulations. This is done through the application of sanctions to anyone who transgresses these regulations, such as with the felling of trees without a license of the *Kepala Desa* (=village head / mayor). For members of the *Lembaga Adat* the most important function was to preserve and keep alive the culture of Toro through applying sanctions whenever improper – i.e. clandestine - relationships between men and women occurred. This is important because it can protect people of Toro from natural disasters if the cleaning rituals were conducted with the blood of cattle submitted in payment of sanctions. However, there was also the opinion that the relationship between the village government and the *Lembaga Adat* was too close, giving rise to the feeling that members of other institutions, particularly the BPD, experience difficulties of communicating with the village government. The existence of that feeling also has to do with the lack of clarity concerning the financial matters of Toro, reaching a point where attitudes of unwillingness to remain loyal to forest conservation rules begin to appear. The weakness of existing prohibitions is exacerbated by the laxness of the *Tondo Ngata* in following their duties. This, in turn, has to do with the lack of attention paid to their welfare in the form of the lack of satisfactory daily remunerations for their efforts. Another important matter which urgently needs to be solved by the *Lembaga Adat* – the institution which is thought to possess the most accurate knowledge about the history of ownership of pieces of land – is the clarification of the ownership status of land, particularly for migrants. This should avoid the marginalisation of migrants following the reclaiming of land by indigenous inhabitants. Whereas the ownership of these pieces of land originally had come about because the village government had alienated vacant plots to people who did not yet possess land.

Conclusion

All the matters explained above condense the various opinions forwarded in response to explaining the aim and topic of this research to our respondents – following the model given at the beginning of this report – at the beginning of all our interviews. In brief, it appears that the disbursement of grants to the village of Toro has led to feelings of disappointment not only among common village folks, but also for members of village institutions in Toro, because of the lack of transparency concerning the use of these grants. This state of affairs might develop into a threat to the trust of the people in the village government which in fact is still considered to be good. According to the opinions forwarded during this research, however, the disappointment referred to is already felt by the majority of the population. Despite this, however, the hope is strong, that in the future the unity and mutual agreement which had existed before the disbursement of the several grants mentioned, can be revived. With it, it is hoped, the four principles agreed on by all institutions in the *Musbang* (village *musyawarah*) as guiding their actions, can be revived:

- 1) Democratic: all matters are decided upon together
- 2) Participatory: all matters are worked upon together
- 3) Transparent: all matters are known together
- 4) Accountable: all components carry the responsibility together (alternative translation: are accountable to each other)

In the researchers opinion, this corresponds very closely to the image of good leadership which one of the interviewed members of the *Lembaga Adat* gave: according to tradition, a good leader “serves his people with honesty.” At the very least, people hope for two matters concerning such good leadership: first; there has to be openness; second; musyawarah should always be adhered to. Therefore, the majority of our respondents, both male and female, very much hope for another big musyawarah along the lines of the *Musbang/Musrenbang* which had been held several years ago. In this meeting, all the matters mentioned in this report could be clarified. According to the respondents’ explanation, this constitutes a good way towards a better future – a way which can reunite the people, the institutions, and the government of *Nata Toro*.

Addendum 1: The original report (submitted to Pak Naftali and Ibu Rukmini)

LAPORAN RINGKAS

Hasil Penelitian tentang Peranan Lembaga-lembaga di Ngata Toro di dalam Pelestarian dan Pembangunan

oleh:

Reinald Doebel, Momy A. Hunowu, dan Marthen Lancia

Topik Penelitian :

- Hubungan di antara lembaga-lembaga di desa Toro
- Hubungan lembaga dengan pelestarian
- Hubungan lembaga dengan pembangunan

Metode Penelitian :

- 1) Membuat video drama konservasi dengan anak-anak sekolah dan diskusi dengan ketua Lembaga Adat
- 2) Membuat peta desa bersamaan dengan tempat tinggal (lokasi) perangkat desa dan ketua-ketua kelompok tani dan anggota kelompoknya sambil menanyakan istilah lokal mengenai pelestarian, keberlanjutan dan kepemimpinan yang baik
- 3) Wawancara dengan anggota BPD dan Lembaga Adat tentang tiga topik penelitian sebagaimana disebutkan sebelumnya sambil menanyakan bagaimana kepemimpinan yang baik serta harapan ke masa depan.

Hasil Penelitian:

Secara umum dapat dikatakan bahwa orang-orang yang diwawancarai merasa hubungan di antara lembaga-lembaga seperti biasa-biasa saja walaupun sebelumnya sudah terjadi hubungan yang baik. Menurut bapak-bapak dan ibu-ibu yang diwawancarai, ada beberapa hal yang menyebabkan perubahan tersebut. Hal-hal dimaksud akan dijelaskan setelah uraian mengenai peranan lembaga-lembaga berikut ini:

Peranan lembaga-lembaga di Ngata Toro:

- Peranan Lembaga Adat adalah untuk menjaga dan memastikan ketaatan terhadap aturan adat dengan menyelesaikan kasus-kasus pelanggaran adat dengan cara memberi sanksi. Pelanggaran dimaksud adalah pelanggaran yang berkaitan dengan konservasi, perkawinan (termasuk hubungan gelap) dan perkelahian.
- Peranan BPD adalah menyampaikan aspirasi masyarakat serta bekerjasama dengan pemerintah desa dalam urusan dan perencanaan desa, misalnya menyusun Perdes, menyusun rencana pembangunan dan anggaran desa.
- **Peranan OPANT adalah untuk memperkuat peranan perempuan dalam pengambilan keputusan (yaitu pemberdayaan perempuan) serta mengambil alih fungsi PKK (sebagaimana disepakati pada rapat besar tahun 2003).**

Walaupun peranan masing-masing lembaga kelihatan cukup jelas, namun menurut pendapat yang disampaikan masyarakat, terjadi beberapa kekeliruan khususnya tentang peranan BPD dan peranan OPANT.

BPD

Peranan BPD yang dianggap paling penting adalah menyampaikan aspirasi masyarakat kepada pemerintah dan secara bersama-sama menyelenggarakan program-program untuk memenuhi kebutuhan masyarakat. Dengan tujuan seperti yang disebut anggota BPD adalah termasuk menyusun Perdes serta pertemuan yang membicarakan program desa Model. Mereka juga mengusulkan agar dana-dana yang turun ke desa Toro digunakan untuk

meningkatkan taraf hidup masyarakat desa Toro, misalnya pengadaan pupuk (untuk mengurangi ketergantungan dengan tengkulak). Pengadaan alat audiovisual dan pelatihan audiovisual juga dipertanyakan tujuannya. Ada juga pandangan di antara anggota BPD yang merasa disisihkan dalam pengambilan keputusan. Ini karena usulan yang mereka sampaikan kurang diperhatikan. Salah satu hal penting yang menyebabkan perasaan kecewa adalah kalimat "kamu tidak perlu tahu" apabila dimintai penjelasan mengenai jumlah dan penggunaan dana yang diberikan oleh beberapa organisasi luar desa atau luar negeri, khususnya dana UNDP SGF-GEF. Menurut pendapat anggota BPD bahwa pada umumnya masyarakat Toro merasa kecewa karena dana tersebut tidak dapat dinikmati masyarakat. Padahal masyarakat mengetahui adanya dana tersebut ketika menghadiri pertemuan di Lobo pada tahun 2004 saat dana itu diserahkan. Dan menurut beberapa anggota BPD bahwa kekecewaan tersebut bukan karena mereka hendak mengambil kewenangan untuk mengelola dana tersebut melainkan karena tidak ada penjelasan yang sejelas-jelasnya kepada masyarakat tentang alokasi penggunaan dan tersebut.

Selain persoalan di atas, ada juga beberapa hal spesifik seperti:

- 1) Peranan OPANT dalam kelembagaan di desa
- 2) Penggunaan dana untuk renovasi Lobo
- 3) Pembangunan Bantaya yang baru
- 4) Status kepemilikan mobil yang sebelumnya milik pak Rolex. Dalam hal ini ada dua pandangan yang bertentangan:
 - a) Mobil itu dipinjamkan untuk keperluan penelitian pak Frank.
 - b) Mobil tersebut dibeli dengan menggunakan dana hibah.
- 5) Kedudukan dua anggota BPD dari unsur Lembaga Adat yang tidak melalui mekanisme pemungutan suara (sebagaimana diatur dalam Perda tahun 2000).
- 6) Kompensasi BBM yang tidak tepat sasaran. Dengan kata lain hanya dapat dinikmati oleh mereka yang dekat dengan aparat desa.

OPANT

Hampir semua anggota BPD dan juga anggota Lembaga Adat mengaku bingung tentang apa sebenarnya peranan OPANT sebagaimana telah diumumkan bahwa OPANT telah mengambil alih peranan PKK. Yang menjadi indikator mengapa hal ini dipersoalkan adalah bahwa kegiatan yang sebelumnya dijalankan PKK seperti Dasa Wisma dan Arisan sudah tidak berjalan sama sekali. Padahal kegiatan PKK sangat jelas sebagaimana tertuang dalam 10 program pokok PKK yang dijalankan dengan anggaran dari daerah melalui dana Bangdes. Dalam pelaksanaannya, penggunaan dana senantiasa dimusyawarahkan dan tercatat dalam buku administrasi bendahara. Menurut mereka, hal-hal seperti ini tidak lagi kelihatan akibatnya banyak masyarakat yang kecewa karena pada saat program PKK berjalan mereka dapat merasakan manfaatnya, misalnya taman gizi, arisan, dasa wisma dll.

Dengan pembangunan Bantaya baru - walaupun itu diakui bisa diadakan oleh mereka yang mampu mendirikannya - menimbulkan perasaan khawatir akan hilangnya fungsi Lobo sebagai tempat pertemuan paling sakral di desa. Selain itu, muncul pula kecurigaan bahwa pembangunan Bantaya menggunakan dana yang diberikan dari luar. Oleh karena itu keberadaan pembangunan Bantaya yang sedang dilaksanakan sangat tidak jelasnya statusnya terhadap masyarakat pada umumnya. Ada dua pendapat: Di satu pihak, ada yang menyatakan bahwa uang yang digunakan adalah dana dari UNDP, sementara di pihak lain ada yang menyatakan bahwa dana yang digunakan sebenarnya untuk renovasi Lobo.

Lembaga Adat

Semua orang yang diwawancarai mengaku bahwa Lembaga Adat memiliki peranan yang sangat penting, terutama dalam menerapkan peraturan tentang pelestarian hutan dengan jalan

memberi sanksi bagi siapapun yang melanggar peraturan dimaksud, misalnya penebangan kayu tanpa izin dari Kepala Desa. Anggota Lembaga Adat sendiri, peranannya yang terpenting adalah juga menjaga kelangsungan budaya Ngata Toro dengan memberi sanksi jika terjadi kasus asusila seperti kasus hubungan gelap. Ini penting karena dapat melindungi masyarakat Toro dari bencana alam apabila dilakukan pensucian desa dengan darah sapi hasil denda. Namun, ada juga pendapat yang mengatakan bahwa hubungan Lembaga Adat dengan pemerintah desa terlalu rapat sehingga lembaga lain seperti BPD merasa kesulitan untuk berinteraksi dengan pemerintah desa. Perasaan tersebut muncul bersamaan dengan ketidakjelasan keuangan Toro, akibatnya adalah munculnya sikap tidak mau lagi mentaati aturan adat menyangkut pelestarian hutan. Pelanggaran ini semakin longgar karena didukung oleh melemahnya kinerja Tondo Ngata dalam menjalankan tugasnya karena tidak diperhatikan kesejahteraan menyusul pemberian gaji harian yang tidak memuaskan. Hal penting lainnya yang harus diupayakan penyelesaiannya oleh Lembaga Adat - lembaga yang dianggap paling mengetahui sejarah kepemilikan lahan - adalah menyangkut kejelasan status kepemilikan lahan masyarakat, terutama pendatang. Ini untuk menghindari terjadinya keterpinggiran masyarakat pendatang menyusul reklamasi lahan oleh penduduk asli. Padahal sebetulnya kepemilikan lahan oleh pendatang merupakan lahan kosong yang diberikan pemerintah desa untuk masyarakat yang belum memiliki lahan.

KESIMPULAN

Semua hal yang dipaparkan di atas merupakan kesimpulan dari penuturan yang disampaikan masyarakat setelah tujuan dan topik penelitian ini - sebagaimana diuraikan di atas - dijelaskan pada saat memulai wawancara.

Secara ringkas dapat dikatakan bahwa kucuran dana yang mengalir ke desa Toro telah menimbulkan kekecewaan tidak hanya bagi masyarakat pada umumnya melainkan juga bagi anggota lembaga-lembaga desa Toro lantaran tidak transparannya ke mana dana itu digunakan. Kondisi ini bisa menjadi ancaman bagi kepercayaan masyarakat terhadap pemerintah desa yang sebetulnya masih dianggap baik. Walaupun - menurut pendapat-pendapat yang diperoleh dalam penelitian ini - kekecewaan sudah dirasakan oleh kebanyakan masyarakat. Namun demikian, masih ada harapan besar ke masa depan bahwa persatuan dan kesepakatan yang sebelum datangnya beberapa dana tersebut dibuktikan oleh 4 prinsip yang harus dipegang oleh semua lembaga di Ngata Toro sebagaimana disepakati dalam Musbang adalah:

- 1) Demokratis: segala sesuatu diputuskan bersama.
- 2) Partisipatif: segala sesuatu dikerjakan secara bersama.
- 3) Transparansi: segala sesuatu diketahui bersama.
- 4) Akuntabilitas: semua komponen bertanggung jawab bersama.

Dengan demikian, menurut pendapat peneliti, ini sangat sesuai dengan gambaran kepemimpinan yang baik yang disampaikan oleh anggota-anggota lembaga yang diwawancarai. Menurut tradisi, seorang pemimpin yang baik adalah "melayani masyarakat dengan jujur". Paling tidak, ada dua harapan masyarakat mengenai kepemimpinan dimaksud, pertama; harus ada keterbukaan, kedua, selalu bermusyawarah. Untuk ini kebanyakan masyarakat yang diwawancarai, baik laki-laki maupun perempuan, sangat mengharapkan diadakannya musyawarah besar seperti Musbang/Musrenbang sebagaimana yang pernah diselenggarakan beberapa tahun lalu di mana semua hal yang diungkap laporan ini bisa dijelaskan. Menurut penjelasan mereka bahwa itu merupakan jalan yang baik menuju masa depan yang lebih baik pula yaitu jalan yang bisa menyatukan kembali masyarakat, lembaga-lembaga dan pemerintah Ngata Toro.

Addendum 2: The Fax from the village authorities

From: Koperasi 'Telkom' Palu

Fax No. : 0451 421226 May 03 2006 09:51 Pm P1

Toro, 29 April 2006
Kepada Yth:
DR. Frank D. Wickl
Fax No: 001 496186201426
e-mail: frankwickl@aol.com
di -
Frankfurt - Jerman

Respectfully,

In connection with the research activities conducted by Mr. Reinald, we herewith *menyatakan*:

1. The research activities of Mr. Reinald are not clear. It is not clear what is researched and what is the purpose/aim because there is no socialisation (i.e. no dissemination of results)

2. He (Mr. Reinald) moves more (*lebih banyak melusuri*) into internal problems in the village, and his way of posing questions (*mengajukan pertanyaan*) seeks more to seek out shortcomings and weaknesses which could pit the village community (*mengadu domba anggota masyarakat*) and the existing institutions against each other. This issue could give rise to conflicts, for example asking about the sources and the amount of grants, the procurement (*pengadaan*) of the car and the motorbike, the building of the Bantaya and of matters which according to our knowledge do not constitute *urusan* for Mr. Reinald as a researchers. ***The sources for the information are also not clear and cannot be held accountable (tidak dapat dipertanggung jawabkan = cannot be made responsible for)***

3. From the research brief about the results which was submitted, we cannot accept the contents because the conclusion which has been reached is very partial / biased and could lead to conflicts between the people and the existing institutions. This matter has already been discussed in a meeting between the village government, the village representative body (LPN = Lembaga Perwakilan/Permusyawaratan Ngata) and adat institutions like OPANT, and we agreed that we do not accept the above matter because it can damage the order of life of the people (*tatanan kehidupan masyarakat*). ***Mr. Reinald, according to adat, could be given an Adat Sanction (Givu).***

Based on these matters, we herewith declare that ***we do not principally reject research in our village - but we do not like the model, the ways, and the behaviour of Mr. Reinald, and we do not wish Mr. Reinald to continue his activities in our village.***

On the contrary, we very much support the activities conducted by Bapak Frank and Pak Rolex and we see the benefits, because these activities are clear enough, involve local people as enumerators and field assistants, the findings of the research can be confirmed and cross-checked, and we can also benefit from the results of the research, such as a village map, the number of households, and others.

We made this statement / pronouncement to be used as is needed.

Head of Village of Toro
Naftali B. Porentjo

Lembaga Adat
Ch. Towaha

Lembaga Perwakilan
Ferdinand Kandou

Organisasi Perempuan Adat
Rukmini P. Toheke

Addendum 3: The Fax from the village authorities in the original

From: Koperasi 'Telkom' Palu

Fax No. : 0451 421226 May 03 2006 09:51 Pm P1

Toro, 29 April 2006

Kepada Yth:

DR. Frank D. Wickl

Fax No: 001 496186201426

e-mail: frankwickl@aol.com

di -

Franfkurt - Jerman

Dengan hormat,

Sehubungan dengan kegiatan penelitian yang dilaksanakan oleh Mr. Reinald, dengan ini kami menyekakan sebagai berikut:

1. Kegiatan penelitian Mr. Reinald tidak jelas apa yang diteliti dan apa tujuannya karena tidak disosialisasikan.

2. Dia (Mr. Reinald) lebih banyak melusuri persoalan-persoalan intern dalam kampung; dan caranya mengajukan pertanyaan lebih banyak mencari kekurangan dan kelemahan yang dapat mengadu domba anggota masyarakat dan lembaga yang ada. Hal tersebut dapat menimbulkan konflik, misalnya; menanyakan sumber dan jumlah dana serta penggunaanya; pengadaan mobil dan sepeda motor, pembangunan Bantaya serta hal-hal lain yang setahu kami bukan merupakan urusan dari Mr. Reinald sebagai peneliti. Sumber dari informasi yang diperoleh juga tidak jelas dan tidak dapat dipertanggung jawabkan.

3. Dari resume hasil penelitian yang disampaikan, isinya tidak dapat kami terima karena kesimpulan yang diambil sangat sepihak dan dapat menimbulkan konflik diantara masyarakat dan lembaga yang ada. Hal ini telah dibahas dalam rapat antara Pemerintah Desa, LPN dan Lembaga adat serta OPANT; dan kami sepakat untuk tidak menerima hal tersebut kerana dapat merusak tatanan kehidupan masyarakat. Mr. Reinald secara adat dapat dikenakan Sanksi Adat (Givu).

Berdasarkan hal-hal tersebut, dengan ini kami menyatakan bahwa kami pada dasarnya ***tidak menolak adanya kegiatan penelitian di desa kami*** - tetapi ***kami tidak suka dengan model, cara-cara dan tingkah laku Mr. Reinald, dan kami tidak menginginkan Mr. Reinald melanjutkan kegiatannya di desa kami.***

Sebaliknya, kegiatan yang dilakukan oleh Bapak Frank dan Pak Rolex sangat kami dukung dan dirasakan manfaatnya karena; kegiatannya cukup jelas, melibatkan masyarakat lokal sebagai enumerator dan asisten lapangan, temuan-temuan dalam penelitiannya dikonfirmasi dan di cross-check serta hasil penelitian tersebut juga dapat kami manfaatkan seperti: Peta Desa, Jumlahh KK, dan lain-lainnya.

Demikian pernyataan ini kami buat untuk dipergunakan seperlunya.

Kepala NGATA TORO

Naftali B. Porentjo

**Lembaga Adat
Perempuan Adat
Ch. Towaha**

**Lembaga Perwakilan Ngata Toro
Ferdinand Kandou**

**Organisasi
Rukmini P. Toheke**

B Brief Report – NAMIBIA

The TKFA as viewed by members and non-members in Windhoek, Walvisbay, Omatjette, Omihana, Otupupa, Otjohorongo, Ozondati, Okongue and Otjiwarongo

Draft report on a short field research between July 5 and July 27, 2005

Reinald Döbel

Introduction

As part of the research project *Language, Gender and Sustainability* the author of this report, together with Tjeripo Musutua, observed the first permit in the new auction kraal in Omatjette on Friday, July 15, attended the review meeting in Omatjette on Saturday, July 16, and held a series of interviews in the Omatjette area with individuals and small groups in the villages of Otupupa, Omihana, Ozondati, Okongue, and Otjohorongo. These discussions were focussed on the views of members and non-members of the TKFA on the way forward for the organisation. Based on earlier observations the topic suggested on the part of the researchers for these discussions was on the relationship between urban and rural branches and the resource use in the rural areas. All interviews took in the rural areas took place between Monday, July 17, and Saturday, July 23. This draft report is presented to the management of the TKFA with a view towards making available the information which was offered to the researchers mostly by members of the local leadership, but also by some ordinary members and non-members. It is hoped that this information will assist the TKFA management in the process of strengthening the organisation at all levels and in attracting new members to the organisation.

The relationship between rural and urban branches

The issue of the relationship between rural and urban branches has been taken up as a starting point for the discussions because it has played an important role during earlier meetings of the TKFA. This importance was confirmed during our discussions. There were different views concerning whether urban branches should be allowed to continue or whether their membership should be merged into rural branches – and opinions were divided even amongst rural members. But all agreed that this was an important unresolved issue. The main rural concern seems to be the benefit for rural areas in terms of finance and in terms of farming and other knowledge: rural members often see urban members as concentrating the benefits they acquire to themselves and feel left out – left out of the knowledge urban members acquire in trainings and left out of the benefit of financial resources accumulated in urban branches. In their view, the TKFA is meant to be an organisation for *farmers*, i.e. people “who stay with the animals all the time.” At the same time, there is a recognition of the need of urban branches to be supported more by rural branches.

The main urban concerns, on the other hand, are to maintain the exchange of information between urban members themselves, particularly within the widely distributed membership of the coastal branch, and between urban and rural areas: in the absence of urban branches it would be difficult for urban members to keep themselves informed about what is happening in the rural areas: while maintaining a strong interest and strong family ties, the infrequency of travelling of individuals makes it necessary that they can exchange information during

meetings in the city. During the meeting with members of the Otjiwarongo branch it became clear that there is a great willingness to share the knowledge gained in workshops with rural members, particularly during auctions and farmer' days. At the same time, there is a felt need to be supported by rural members with the livestock kept in their area. The most striking impression during this meeting was the high commitment of members towards the organization in terms of attendance to the regular meetings and the willingness to put in voluntary effort for necessary work.

These discussions did not confirm the impression gained from studying records of earlier discussions during annual meetings and the Congress of the TKF: the impression that urban and rural views are very difficult to reconcile. There is a willingness on both sides to cooperate, but this is made difficult by the lack of a full understanding of the situation of the "other side" and their needs. While there is contact between individuals whenever urban members return home, the exchange of opinions taking place during these occasions seems to be strictly private and is not reflected in the organisation's decisions and activities at branch level. Therefore, the creation of opportunities for a better mutual understanding rural and urban members – concerning differing and converging views – with a view towards achieving decisions at branch level about mutually beneficial activities would seem a good way to resolve remaining misunderstandings. This might be achieved in the framework of a well-advertised and well-attended workshop the main agenda of which could be the development of such mutual understanding through an open and direct exchange between rural and urban members – unencumbered other matters and free of the necessity to adopt any concrete decisions (which might nonetheless follow from such an exchange). It seems that both urban and rural members would highly value the opportunity for such an exchange and for participation in any decisions at the organisational level following from such an exchange. Without such a direct exchange, any decision taken by the management committee might be resisted, because it would be felt as an imposition on the right to make decisions at branch level.

Contact between leadership / management and membership

The most striking point of all was the very strong wish by all rural members to get to know the leadership – i.e.: the *top leadership* of the organisation not just the local leaders. As one rural branch leader put it: "People want to know who their leaders are. If they can meet them, then they are much more willing to come to meetings." And non-members would also become more interested. The organisation would gain credibility by allowing rural people to know who stands for the organisation and what are the goals of that organisation.

It is clear that this request is extremely difficult to fulfill for fully employed urban members of the management committee. At the same time this seems to be presently the most effective way to retain the commitment of – particularly rural – members and to attract new members. Some of the most active rural committee members saw the necessity of management visits to rural areas in the light of images of good leadership in general: good leaders show their concern by coming and listening to the concerns of members. This is particularly true for the more remote branches who lack their own transport and therefore have difficulties in travelling to Omatjette even for infrequent meetings and to find up-to-date information. We repeatedly hear that even a short meeting with the chairperson would attract a rather large crowd of interested persons – more than any other single measure.

Information flow within the organisation

- Information about meetings and agendas
 We came across at least one concrete case where the difficulty of travelling from remote rural areas combined with conflicting information about the date of the review meeting in Omatjette to prevent the presence of a branch during that meeting: Omihana. Despite the efforts by the administrative officer it seems that information about meetings does not reach the rural branches effectively and contributes to the often observed seeming lack of interest of members to attend meetings. A second aspect of the same problem of information flow is that branches who were not present seem to lack information about what actually happened during those meetings. Finding better ways of informing members in the branches – through direct contacts or through timely written information might go a long way to increase attendance, commitment, and in the long run coherence of the organisation.

- Information about the office in Omatjette
 The establishment of the administrative office in Omatjette is undoubtedly a great achievement for the organisation. Yet not all members are aware of the existence and location of this office, or of its function. It therefore seems premature to expect members to come to the office to actively seek information about the activities of the organisation at the present time. Giving the office the means to advertise itself – possibly through the provision of independent means of transport – might change this situation. Maybe even resulting in creating a more active information-seeking behaviour among them.

- Information about goals and aims of the organisation
 Both members and non-members often do not understand the goals and objectives of the organisation clearly and therefore lack an appreciation of the benefits of being a member. This statement was made even in the face of the acknowledgement of the organisation of effective vaccination campaigns (although at least one member reported cases of non-vaccination) with differential prices and the acknowledgement of the organisation of permits and auctions. In some cases this was linked to the absence of information about the constitution of the TKFA. Many members – and particularly rural leaders – would highly appreciate access to copies of the constitution in their own language. Where this issue was touched in the discussions, the rural leaders also felt that possession of copies of the constitution in Otjiherero would be an effective means for increasing membership. Even more effective, however, would be the speedy production of membership cards: for rural people the possession of membership cards seems to be an almost indispensable proof not only for membership, but for the very existence of the organisation.

- Information about the current functioning of the organisation
 - a) positions and their roles
 For most members in the rural areas, the “leadership” seems to be a homogenous group without a clear picture of the distribution of responsibilities. A certain degree of uncertainty about the functions of the different offices both at central and at branch level was expressed even by some of the new members of the executive committee. One of the suggestions made in this respect was to organise trainings for new members of the executive committee and at branch level. To the extent that the positions are clarified in the constitution, its translation into Otjiherero and its wide distribution might also contribute to
 - b) information about activities and financial information
 A considerable number of the people we talked to mentioned the lack of information

about the activities of the organisation – both planned and completed activities - as one of the reasons why both members and non-members often did not see the benefit of being a member in the TKFA. More seriously for the reputation of the organisation, a lack of clear information about activities and particularly about the financial side of transactions seems to have contributed to suspicions of mishandling of finances. Taking the chance meetings with non-members (one of which occurred during a shop visit with councillor Hivirikee Uasauapuani, the other at the “Get Sum More” Groceries and Bottle Store in Omatjette) as indicators of circulating rumours, the building of the auction kraal and the handling of membership fees are regarded with suspicion by some members of the public. While one farmer wanted to see bank account statements along the lines of those published by AGRA, it seems that timely and regularly published audited information would easily clear away such rumours.

Some issues of concern to members

- Membership cards

This is a long-standing issue mentioned at many meetings. The one point coming out of our conversations is that many members do not feel they belong to the TKFA because they have no proof to show – i.e. no membership cards.

- Auctions and prices

Apart from the concrete concern about membership cards, prices for livestock are the one issue which virtually forwarded as the most central concern for all farmers and the most direct way to uplifting the lives of the rural population. We heard again and again the expression “It is hurtful to come to the auction because you count on the price announced on the radio – and when you are there you are told that you will only get a lower price.” This is also contrasted with the knowledge that prices for livestock are much higher in Omaruru or at MeatCo and leads some (or many) to the conclusion that the Association is either not negotiating powerfully enough or even giving in to buyers. During a group discussion in Omutianduko people also questioned the practice of paying lower prices with the justification of the export levy on cattle: a buyer may say he wants to export and therefore cannot pay more, but may then in fact not export that cattle bought at the lower price, as there are no government controls over this in place. There was also an awareness that the buyers form a network within which competition is reduced by agreement on price levels - which makes negotiation difficult for the TKFA.

- Additional training

While several areas were mentioned, the greatest concern of farmers in the area seems to be about marketing information. In this respect the TKFA is to be congratulated for distributing the NNFU-leaflet concerning the best ways of marketing cattle – particularly about when to get the best prices. The wide distribution of an Otjiherero version of this leaflet would probably lead to a much better understanding on the part of farmers what they themselves can do to get better prices, particularly if the distribution was coupled with group discussions and training.

Other areas mentioned as training needs were capacity building at the branch level, vaccination and gardening, some also mentioned training about the “blue book” – which they wanted translated into Otjiherero. While the “blue book” is clearly not the responsibility of the TKFA, farmers still seem to have an expectation that “their” organisation should do something about their need in this respect.

- Improvement of livestock

Quite often the interview partners mentioned a strong desire to improve the quality of livestock in the area. As a possible way to achieve this, they would like the association to buy improved bulls or rams and distribute them to the branches. Presently, this seems to be beyond the financial capabilities of the organisation. In a long-term perspective, donors might be found for a scheme of rotational loaning out of high-breed animals to members of rural branches.

Farming other than livestock

This point is mentioned here as a wish expressed by youth during a group meeting last year, and by a shop-keeper who was convinced that gardening falls into the area of farming and is a concern to a number of people in the area.

- Water problems

Water is clearly a problem in some areas, and particularly so in the Otjihinamea area of Omihana. In Omihana the small group discussion was in part dominated by the community's frustration over the inaction of the responsible authorities with respect to repairing the broken pump and with respect to continuing the already begun work on a second borehole. There was a strong feeling of being abandoned despite repeated reports and pleas. As the livestock is beginning to be affected by this water shortage people started asking why the Farmers Association did not assist them.

- Electricity

While nobody suggested that the TKFA should get involved in procuring electricity, the urgency with which the need for electricity was mentioned again and again deserves to be mentioned as the most outstanding general concern apart from water.

Some remarks by non-members

The few non-members we were able to meet by chance quite simply claimed not to see any benefit in being members, because in their eyes the organisation was not effective in addressing the most crucial issue for fulltime farmers: to negotiate effectively for higher prices during sales. Another issue was the comparison with other Farmers Organisations believed to be more effective in bringing benefits to their members – such as giving vouchers to members, which allowed for a certain discount when buying at AGRA. A third issue was the suspicion created by a perceived lack of transparency with respect to the finances of the organisation.

Concerning the felt hurt about discrepancies between prices announced over the radio and those offered during permits – as experienced again during the first sale in the new auction kraal in Omatjette – there was even a solution offered by one of these outsiders: the fence around the former cattle post in or near Omatjette could be repaired – possibly using the old auction poles from the dismantled auction kraal. After repair, the cattle post could be used for its old purpose, which had been to keep animals there if the prices offered during a sale did not satisfy the sellers. In this manner, additional costs for non-sale could be avoided and the buyers could be forced to keep to the prices announced earlier. Additionally, the association might step in to buy animals of members particularly in need of money, and to resell these animals during the next permit or auction.

Finally, a suggestion was made that a tangible benefit to members would be emergency grazing areas on commercial farms in times of drought – whether these farms were owned by the Farmers Association or only rented.

Conclusions

The two researchers are very much aware that the picture of the situation gained during such a short stay is possibly very much biased and may not justify recommendations at all. At the same time we were struck by the insistence of virtually all our interview partners on very few key points. Because of this similarity of points and the insistence on these points it is difficult to imagine that these points do not reflect concerns of a majority of farmers in the area – whether they are members or not. Therefore these “recommendations” are really simply a summary of the views about the wishes expressed by the people we were able to talk to. The only “recommendation” is really to take these views into account in the planning of future actions of the association, both with a view towards consolidating the organisation and with a view towards achieving the goal of increasing the number of members. After much consideration, this “taking into account” would be beneficial even if some of the requests forwarded by our respondents are unreasonable in the light of previous experience.

Of all the points mentioned above, action on the following ones will probably produce the greatest beneficial effects because they are seen to be the most crucial ones by the people we talked to:

- 1) Production of Membership cards
- 2) Organisation of direct meetings between rural members and the leadership, with a view towards giving members the feeling that their concerns are addressed by the leadership
- 3) Visibly effective action on preventing discrepancies between prices announced on the radio and prices offered at permits organised by the TKFA
- 4) Production and distribution of written information about activities, including audited financial statements, in Otjiherero - similar to the vaccination report already produced for the review meeting.
- 5) Organisation of a workshop focused on an exchange between members of urban and rural branches

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