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.....day of....., 2007.

## **ABSTRACT**

Since independence in 1966, centralized development planning has ensured the availability of basic facilities and services in rural areas of Botswana but has also contributed to over-reliance on the government for the majority of rural people. The consequence of this centralized and accelerated approach to rural development has been the exclusion of rural communities from planning and implementation of facilities meant to benefit them.

The international debate on sustainable rural development led the Botswana government to re-think its rural development policy with a view to establishing more effective strategies for rural development. The Community Based Strategy for Rural Development, introduced in 1997 emphasizes the important role of communities in their own development, by promoting Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).

This study sought to discover insights into the implementation of PRA in Botswana by questioning extension workers and community members in four villages about the application and impact of PRA on their communities. The research uses the frameworks of qualitative research and critical adult education theory to enquire into the basis for participatory rural development in Botswana and the implementation of Community Action Plans (CAPs). Case studies of the four villages were conducted to illuminate problematic areas of programme design and implementation. Interviews with thirty-two people and observations were the main methods of collecting data. Documents, reports and records on PRA training and application in the four villages and from outside were consulted.

The research results show that the application of PRA in the participating villages has had negligible impact in reversing the state-dominated approach to development. PRA facilitators seem disinterested in its application and sustenance. However, the findings also suggest that PRA application in Botswana is not hopeless, but needs a different kind of investment, for example, introducing measures of accountability, addressing paternalistic attitudes among development workers, and exploiting key principles of adult education.

Keywords: Participation; rural development; adult education; extension work; Botswana.

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Finally, I wish to express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to my family, who sacrificed by enduring the loneliness and hardships during the time of my absence.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ARDP	Accelerated Rural Development Programme
BOCOBONET	Botswana Community Based Organizations Network
CAP	Community Action Plan
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CEDA	Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency
DDP	District Development Plan
DET	District Extension Team
FAP	Financial Assistance Policy
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRD	Participatory Rural Development
RDCD	Rural Development Coordination Division
REFLECT	Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approaches
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VDC	Village Development Committee
VDP	Village Development Plan

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Participatory rural development has gathered considerable significance as a contemporary development paradigm in developing countries. In Botswana, as elsewhere, the discourse is largely based on the assumption that rural communities can competently articulate their own needs and opportunities and that governments and development organizations can effectively respond to them. It is also assumed that both rural communities and development agencies can act in democratic and participative ways in the process of development. Debates over the necessity, advisability and effectiveness of community/people's participation in development activities to promote sustainable development are a popular and frequent topic of seminars, conferences, workshops and academic writings. When this discourse was introduced, interest groups, especially NGOs and scholars such as Robert Chambers, (Chambers, 1994; 1981; Kabutha et al, 1989; McCracken, 1988) gained substantial support as architects of participatory development.

Today's world is characterized by endless innovations and experimentation. This means that development and the transfer of new technologies and ideas have become more rapid. Approaches and methods continue to be subjected to critical scrutiny, revision and improvement. Whereas development planning has been the purview of development workers, specifics have changed to the extent that development professionals have come to appreciate the Freirian principle that poor people can and should be enabled to conduct their own analysis of their reality (Freire, 1968). The influences of activist participatory research – a family of approaches and methods such as dialogue and participatory research to enhance people's awareness and confidence and to empower their action – on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in particular and participatory rural development in general has been phenomenal. Activist participatory research has, as its main tenets, three prescriptive ideas: that poor people are creative and able, and can and should do much of their own investigation, analysis and planning; that outsiders have roles as convenors, catalysts and facilitators; and that the weak and marginalized can and should be empowered



(Chambers, 1994). PRA, in its concern with the poor and the underprivileged, appears to represent an extension and application of the methods and ideas of activist participatory research. In this sense, both activist participatory research and PRA seek to offset the biases of 'respectable questionnaire survey' (Chambers, 1994) in favour of cross-fertilization of methods which are quicker and more cost effective.

## **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Participatory rural development assumes that local communities will contribute to the success of development projects and therefore of rural development if they have the responsibility to plan and implement projects relevant to their needs. The need to integrate communities into development activities in Botswana has been necessitated by the realisation that despite the high rates of economic growth recorded since independence in 1966, most people in the rural areas still live below the poverty datum line. One way to explain this is that since independence the government of Botswana has placed emphasis on the provision of infrastructure and services as a deliberate move to correct imbalances between urban and rural areas, although with limited involvement of rural people in the planning and implementation of these projects.

This approach is widely believed (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980; Tsiane and Youngman (eds.), 1985; Picard, 1987; Miti and Chipasula, 1989) to have created an excellent breeding place for dependence on government provision and the erosion of the spirit of self-reliance (a detailed discussion of the historical evolution of rural development in Botswana is provided in Chapter two). The Botswana Government argues that:

There is a considerable appreciation in Botswana and elsewhere that one of the basic factors determining success in rural development is the extent to which communities are involved in planning and undertaking development activities that are intended to benefit them. This applies particularly to schemes aimed at helping rural poor communities to improve their livelihood (Republic of Botswana, 1997b: p.476).

Consequently, in order to stimulate the participation of local communities in development activities the Government sought to conscientize them about their role in activities intended to benefit them. As a result, a variety of participatory development

techniques, particularly Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), are being applied to assist in initiating, stimulating and sustaining community participation in the development process. The government of Botswana initiated a large-scale pilot project between 1995 and 1996 (Prinsen et al, 1996) whose central purpose was to ascertain whether PRA could be effectively integrated into extension and development activities. The pilot project involved training members of four selected District Extension Teams (DETs) in the application of the methodology<sup>1</sup>. Specifically, the pilot project sought to ascertain the value of PRA in extension and development activities through monitoring and evaluating PRA application in Artesia (Kgatleng District) in December 1995, Kedia (Central District) in February 1996, East Hanahai (Gantsi District) in March 1996 and Lentsweletau (Kweneng District) in March 1996.

The positive outcome of the pilot project eventually led to the integration of PRA into extension and development activities after the design and adoption of the Community Based Strategy for Rural Development in 1997 (Republic of Botswana, 1997a). The Community Based Strategy for Rural Development represents a comprehensive community based programme for rural development. The main thrust of this strategy is to transfer major responsibility for development into the hands of rural communities, with a view to enabling them to play a pivotal role “in identifying their own needs, and formulating, implementing, monitoring and evaluating development activities in partnership with government, NGOs and the private sector” (Republic of Botswana, 1997b: p.3). The strategy was specifically developed to give impetus to the wholesale use of PRA in extension and development activities by the government and its partners in development. It represented a deliberate shift in theory and practice from a centralized mode of development to community-driven development initiatives.

Thus, government’s efforts to empower communities through the application of PRA are discernible. Although this shift in emphasis is part of the wider global paradigm

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<sup>1</sup> District Extension Teams (DETs) consist of heads of extension departments at the district level. They are charged with the responsibility for the implementation of extension activities, especially in the area of harmonising activities undertaken by different departments. Sub-DETs are those at the sub-district level. There are ten administrative districts in Botswana, each with a District Extension Team. Large districts have been sub-divided into sub-districts hence Sub-District Extension Teams.

shift in rural (and urban) development planning, there is need to evaluate the PRA initiative with a view to improving its effectiveness.

### **1.3 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The aim of this research was to discover insights into the implementation of participatory rural development in Botswana through the study of PRA and thus contribute to existing knowledge and practices in both PRA and adult education. The research set out to probe the meaning, experiences and impact of the application of PRA on the lives of the target group.

This study heightens our comprehension of the relationship between community members and government officials in relation to the application of PRA and the subsequent implementation of the Community Action Plans (CAP).

The study used the frameworks of adult education and qualitative research (and is both exploratory and evaluative as discussed in detail in Chapter Four) to pursue the following objectives:

1. To investigate the origins of Participatory Rural Appraisal in Botswana.
2. To position current efforts in participatory rural development in the context of the history of rural development in Botswana.
3. To study conceptualizations and implementation of CAPs in four villages, and, through the use of case studies, to illuminate successful and problematic areas of program design and implementation.
4. To analyze the general impact of PRA application for on individuals, their communities and the wider society.

### **1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH**

Botswana, like most Third World countries, is faced with the daunting task of addressing the problem of poverty among its people. As a result, the government periodically reviews its approach and strategies for rural development with a view to improving their effectiveness. Presently the government is investing considerable resources in preparing and re-orienting existing planning and extension structures with a view to facilitating the use of PRA in extension and development activities.

If research can help in identifying problematic areas that derail implementation of PRA and suggest possible solutions, this should significantly improve its implementation. Research could also assist the government and stakeholders to design and provide more effective PRA training (to extension workers and other development workers) which is a sine quanon for effective PRA application.

### **1.5 THE RESEARCHER**

This thesis is being submitted by Kenneth Boago Dipholo, a male of thirty-nine years of age, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. I, Kenneth Boago Dipholo, am a lecturer in the Department of Adult Education of the University of Botswana. My areas of specialisation are Community Based Adult Education and Rural Development. I joined the University of Botswana in 2000 having worked for the Ministry of Local Government since 1993 as a Development Officer. I graduated from the University of Botswana in 1993 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Public Administration. I did my Masters degree in Rural Development at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom between September 1995 and October 1996. I speak *Setswana* and English.

I have written an article published in the *Journal of Social Development in Southern Africa* on 'Trends in Participatory Rural Development'. I have also published paper on 'Decentralisation in Botswana: The Reluctant Process'. I have co-written a paper entitled 'The Role of Adult Education in Sustainable Rural Development' which has been submitted for publication. Another paper entitled 'Privatisation in Botswana: Demise of a Developmental State?' that I co-authored has been submitted for

publication. I have also presented a few papers on extension work and rural development in Botswana at various forums.

In terms of resources for conducting field research, my sponsorship fully covered the costs of fieldwork. I considered myself adventuresome, imaginative and humble enough to undertake qualitative inquiry at doctoral level. I placed myself in a position between a curious inquirer and a critical academic in order to balance attributes required of a learning researcher.

With my knowledge of rural development as well as PRA as a method, I believe I am qualified to do this research. In 2000 I participated in a one week PRA training course organized by the Centre for Training and Development in Botswana. I also had the opportunity to take part in one of the PRA training sessions conducted by the Rural Development Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. In September 2001 I took part in the Egerton University PRA training in Kenya for three weeks. The training included actual field application of the methodology with rural communities. This training developed my deep interest in the area of participatory rural development with particular reference to the application of PRA. Essentially, while I believe I am qualified to do the study, I also believe that my “lust for knowledge” enabled me to do a thorough job.

## **1.6 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT**

The application of PRA in Botswana in the late 1990s was preceded by training in PRA for all District Extension Teams (DETs) conducted by the Rural Development Co-ordination Division (RDCCD) of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. Since then, DETs have been training local communities in the application of PRA, especially as it relates to the formulation of community development plans commonly known as Community Action Plans (CAPs). Thus, a good number of DETs and Sub-DETs (20 out of a total of 22) have been trained in the application of PRA but when this study began in 2004, only four CAPs had been generated and launched. The integration of PRA into extension and development activities and procedures was a conscious effort by the government aimed at improving the delivery of extension services as well as ensuring that the development plans generated

reflected the priorities and capabilities of the beneficiaries. Thus, a Community Action Plan should, to a great extent, reflect what the community wants and can achieve using locally available resources<sup>2</sup>.

Whereas training in PRA has covered almost the entire target group, the generation of CAPs as the subsequent outcome of the application of PRA has lagged behind. Twenty out of a total of twenty-two District Extension Teams (DETs) and Sub-District Extension Teams (Sub-DETs) - each with approximately fifteen members - countrywide have been provided with PRA training by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. Yet by 2006 only five villages had developed CAPs resulting from the ministry's PRA initiatives. Other villages with CAPs (roughly nine villages) benefited from PRA application initiated by NGOs. This study seeks to critically examine this discrepancy and unveil the constraints underlying the formulation and implementation of CAPs.

As a prelude to a discussion of the origins of PRA in Botswana, it is useful to review briefly the historical context of Botswana's rural development planning initiatives. In 1972, the Government of Botswana conceived the Rural Development Policy to guide the overall provision of infrastructure and social services in rural areas. The Policy recognized that the majority of Botswana's population lives in the rural areas and most of these areas are poor, with limited access to economic opportunities. Some lack essential social services. The policy acknowledged that despite rapid urbanization, absolute numbers of people living in rural areas would continue to grow.

The Rural Development Policy further observed that in comparison with the urban population, rural people lagged behind in terms of income and opportunities for employment. It also acknowledged that meaningful and sustainable urban development would largely depend on a sound rural base and that as a fraction of overall national development, rural development could not be downgraded to the status of a recipient of the spillovers of urban development but should by necessity

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<sup>2</sup> The implementation of CAPs relies heavily on the use of a community's own resources though minimal external assistance is provided. This is intended to reduce communities' dependence on external assistance which is often unreliable.

contribute to national development, that is, it deserved particular focus from development planners. This realization necessitated a deliberate bias in resource allocation in favor of rural areas through the Accelerated Rural Development Program (discussed in more detail in Chapter Two). As a result of this focus on the provision of infrastructure and social services in rural areas, the allocation of national resources was weighted in favor of Government Ministries and Departments such as the Ministries of Local Government and Agriculture that had a strong rural development role. They were given generally generous resource allocations (Republic of Botswana, 1968).

This approach resulted in massive provision of infrastructure and social services in rural areas. The planning and implementation of these projects was executed by government officials, mostly based in urban centers, with an entrenched commitment to plan for the people. These centrally conceived interventions (though they may have been in good faith) resulted in a proliferation of subsidies<sup>3</sup> that ultimately sparked the erosion of self-reliance. Among the consequences of this strategy today are undesirable dependence on the state, lack of skills and capacity in rural areas to engage in development, higher levels of rural poverty and unemployment. This has come to be characterized as economic growth without development. Tsiane and Youngman write that ‘...on the other hand, we have the sluggish rural economy with declining living standards, and largely passive recipients of government aid programmes’ (1985: p.35).

Over-emphasis on accelerated growth through a centralized mode of development planning compromised self-help initiative, which is the ability of individuals or households to effectively deal and cope with the problem of poverty. The provision of generous social safety nets led people to abandon traditional practices (extended family systems, community food storages – to store food in a communal facility to be distributed by the chief when there was a drought – and so forth) that they had developed over the years for dealing with their problems. Thus, Botswana’s rural

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<sup>3</sup> Subsidies were originally meant to cushion rural households against the effects of natural disasters, particularly drought. However, these relief measures had the unintended effects of creating dependency on the government. To a lesser extent, subsidies were also initiated with a view to support and promote economic activities in the rural areas in order to increase rural production, especially in the agricultural sector.

areas are distinctively characterized by people with low incomes and limited economic opportunities. So, while seeking to promote a paradigm shift in rural development, the Botswana government still provides relief programmes. The stark reality of the rural areas reflects the fact that Botswana is a dry country, prone to the recurrence of drought, leading to a steady depletion of natural resources which may in turn lead to widespread poverty. This situation presents a huge challenge to the government's development efforts.

Botswana's economy is over-reliant on revenue from minerals, especially diamonds, thus, a major challenge in Botswana is that of enabling rural communities to spearhead the social and economic development of their areas in a way that will revitalize the spirit of self-help among community members, so that they reduce their dependence on the government. This deliberate decision to reduce dependence on government provision will inevitably make the rural communities less vulnerable to the adverse effects of declining government revenue occasioned by a global economic slowdown.

Botswana is a landlocked, semi-arid country located in Southern Africa. Map 1 its location. Its climatic and physical environmental conditions of dry and poor soils account in part for its vulnerability. Due to its semi-arid climate, rainfall is generally low leading to drought as a recurring element of the country's socio-economic milieu. Drought adversely affects the already fragile food and agricultural situation in the country and seriously impairs the rural economy (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). For example, it is documented that the worst sustained drought hit Botswana in the 1980s and in the process the country lost more than 80 percent of its crops for five years in a row (Stedman, 1993). In consequence, both arable and livestock agriculture are highly risky. This situation affects the rural people most since a majority of them depend almost entirely on subsistence agriculture for a living.





Map 1: Map of the Republic of Botswana<sup>4</sup>

Picard characterizes the country as ‘having an underdeveloped open economy, in which primary products are exported and manufactured items are imported (Picard, 1987: p.223)<sup>5</sup>. This is precisely a characteristic of an unbalanced economic strategy occasioned by overdependence on diamonds that does little to stimulate the entire economy. Under this scenario, the Botswana economy is largely dependent on the

<sup>4</sup> The map shows the location of Botswana in Southern Africa, the administrative districts or tribal territories, the major road network and the tribal or district capitals.

<sup>5</sup> The use of Picard, 1987 and other references in this chapter may seem dated, but it should be noted that their use is limited to instances where the conditions discussed at the time of publication continue to exist today. In other cases, dated statistics are used to explain trends and historical conditions.

resilience of the global economy especially economies of regions in the world which form the biggest markets for diamonds, such as Japan and the United States of America (Republic of Botswana, 2003b). Any fall in the price of diamonds is likely to erode government revenue and this may compel the government to scale down expenditure. This may entail discontinuing state subsidies and other relief schemes that were intended to cushion rural families against the effects of drought.

This is why it is crucial to mobilize rural communities to be self-reliant and reduce their dependence on central government which is itself dependent on the export of minerals especially diamonds. For example, it is reported that in 1981 through to 1982, there was a decline in mineral revenue due to a fall in the price of diamonds. This necessitated a reduction in government expenditure which meant that implementation of some planned projects had to be put in abeyance pending improvement in government revenue (Miti and Chipasula, 1989). Parson (1984) argues that Botswana remains part of an international system over which it has no control. This dependent development means that a slow down in economic activity worldwide may result in drastic reductions in demand for its primary exports resulting in declining revenue and ultimately economic stagnation.

On the political front, Hartland-Thunberg comments that 'Botswana.....is vulnerable to political conditions in neighbouring countries, which are beyond its control' (1978: p.74) and Colclough and McCarthy reveal that 'South Africa has on occasions discouraged industries from locating in the BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) by hinting or threatening that it would refuse entry to the resulting imports' (1980: p.164). Tsie quotes Botswana's first president as having said,

Because of the state of our economy (vulnerability, dependence) and because of our geographical position, it will be necessary to maintain good relations with that country, that is, South Africa (1995: p.67).

The above comments point to Botswana's vulnerability occasioned by its geographical location as well as its climatic conditions hence the dangers of rural communities' dependence on government.

In addition to its economic and political vulnerability, Botswana's economic and political system as a liberal democracy operating within the dominant neo-liberal

economic national, regional and global framework makes an interesting case for the seeming contradictions between the government's PRA initiative and actual implementation (the reality on the ground). In pursuance of a market-oriented economic and political framework, the Botswana government recognizes a set of economic policies that promotes government control of economic activity. In general terms, liberal political-economic theorists hold the view that the shape of society should be the outcome of market processes rather than a deliberate plan for society. They hold the view that state should not fix development goals or should not directly interfere with market processes but should allow the processes to determine the outcomes. In essence, social life is determined by market forces. Nevertheless, while giving superior leverage to market forces, liberal frameworks note that the market needs the state more than the state needs it. In other words, state interference in market processes can be justified in terms of internal regulation.

Using the above analysis, it is noted that while the Botswana government maintains control of the development process through regulation, it does not consider itself obligated to pay special attention to disadvantaged groups in society. Put in a more robust fashion, liberal governments like that of Botswana argue that disadvantaged groups should compete with other members of society in an open system. This may imply that rural communities should expect no favours from the government but instead should seek to develop themselves. The Liberal view of poor people's situation is that they are probably poor because they have failed in open competition and should blame themselves for their predicament, in a way that challenges them to re-arrange their lives to maximize their advantages. Liberal democracies are generally hostile to the idea of the redistribution of wealth, opting instead to allow wealth distribution to be a product of market processes.

Drawing inspiration and support from the general principles of liberal philosophy, as they apply in the Botswana context, it would not be incorrect to observe that the Botswana government's talk of empowering poor rural people through PRA and other schemes is largely rhetorical. This is particularly true when one considers the reality that as the Government of Botswana preaches devolution of power to rural people and their local institutions, it continues to regulate the market processes. By and large, the Botswana state, like other liberal democracies, prefers a strong central government.

Thus, it would seem that government's purported interest in participatory rural development is somewhat out of step with its wider economic and political framework.

### **Defining Participation**

It is perhaps useful to make some observations about the way the term 'participatory development' is used in relation to rural development both within Botswana and beyond. In Botswana, participatory development represents a major strategic shift from providing for people through welfare and relief schemes to enabling and empowering them to provide for themselves. The underlying assumption is that there is nothing more basic to the rural development process than people's participation in their own affairs. This paradigm shift generally represents a shift in the theory and practice of development from a bureaucratic, mechanical and autocratic system to a people-centered, decentralized and more flexible mode of development planning and management.

Participation in development activities could mean different things to different people at different times and places. As a result, there is probably no consensus in the definition of participation in development processes. Nevertheless, the following series of interpretations are common:

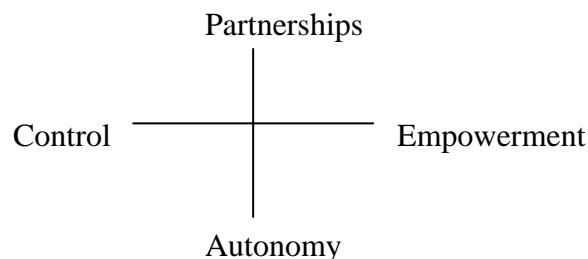
- With regard to rural development...participation includes involvement in decision making process, in implementing programs, their sharing in the benefits of development programs and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programs (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).
- Participation is concerned with...the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control (Pearse and Stifel, 1979).
- Participation can be seen as a process of empowerment of the deprived and the excluded. This view is based on the recognition of the differences in political

and economic power among different social groups and classes. Participation in this sense necessitates the creation of organizations of the poor, which are democratic, independent and self-reliant (Ghai, 1990).

- Participatory development stands for partnership, which is built upon the basis of dialogue among the various actors, during which the agenda is jointly set, and local views and indigenous knowledge are deliberately sought and respected. This implies negotiation rather than the dominance of an externally set project agenda. Thus, people become actors instead of being mere beneficiaries (OECD, 1994).
- Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1994).
- Community participation (is) an active process by which beneficiary or client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (Paul, 1987).

(<http://www.undp.org>) Accessed on 13 -10-2004.

These definitions are not intended to be exhaustive but rather are meant to show that the key areas representing the various interpretations of ‘participation’ are empowerment, partnerships, control and autonomy which can be mapped on an axis as shown below.



From this perspective I posit that participation can be used to represent a sequence of influential activities/actions, involving the project actors/participants, aimed at achieving project success. Three main aspects or components of participation in development activities are discernible from this discussion:

- Community participation could be understood as involving interactive processes in assessing and re-assessing, soliciting, encouraging, assisting and so forth. The process is inductive, the ends are certain whereas the means are not.
- Influential actions imply that the community is neither passive nor just concerned with benefits. It is active, willing and able to commit resources.
- Project success entails not only benefits but also, importantly the sustainability of benefits.

Participatory development initiatives through the application of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in Botswana are largely based on the perceptions of government officials, especially those based in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, about the rationale for and direction of the initial PRA training. The lack of commitment to action and the absence of an assessment of the perceptions of locally based officials and community members regarding the initiatives is a matter of irony and great concern. The recipients of participatory development initiatives constitute both the primary target and the overall context of such initiatives. Failure to take them seriously can impact negatively on the overall success or failure of participatory rural development efforts. This elicits questions about the nature of participatory rural development in general and the effectiveness of the resultant community action plans.

## **1.7 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

Adult education practice in the developing world is often rooted in the radical tradition, which has always been concerned with the struggle for social justice through collective action. In support of collective action, Freire (1972) proposes that nobody liberates anybody else and nobody liberates themselves all alone.

The philosophy of radical adult education is based on the need to develop the consciousness of members of the community in order to facilitate social change (Lovett, 1988). Radical adult education has been influenced by various philosophical positions, particularly Marxism. The relationship between Marxist theory and the practice of adult education can be understood clearly within the concepts of working class consciousness and class struggle in Western capitalist societies. Adult education within Marxist radicalism seeks to develop class-consciousness so that men and women organize themselves to challenge the deplorable conditions under which they work and live.

Freire (in Newman, 1995) writing from experience in Brazil and Africa, linked adult education to social action in which people are motivated to learn from and through the problems they face. The point of departure here is that adults have special needs and aspirations that motivate them to learn. Paulo Freire held the view that:

Adult education has a role in providing learners with the tools and information they need to understand their own histories, to analyse and understand their social contexts and to begin acting on those contexts (Newman, 1995: p.56).

Freire, through what came to be known as Conscientization or Dialogic Education proposed dialogue to specify educational relationships and processes that he regarded as necessary aspects of a socially just way of life. Significantly, dialogue is not primarily to make friends with the students but to challenge them to become critical cultural researchers and actors within their own circumstances (Linden and Renshaw , 2004). Accordingly, dialogue promotes the sharing of information and experiences leading to critical reflection in a way that ensures appropriate remedial action. Mezirow (1990) adds that through critical reflection the learner is enabled to have the will to act upon his or her new convictions, whereas Smith and Pourchot, (1998: p.15) comment that ‘to survive in today’s world, adults must be able to change’. Kaye elaborates that critical adult education based on transformative learning presupposes that ‘one learns to see oneself and the world differently from the way one previously did, and this represents a transformation in attitudes and beliefs about one’s identity’ (2003: p.48). In this sense transformation suggests that what an adult learner has learned represents new knowledge and understanding of a superior type which is by and large a step towards empowerment and ultimately emancipation (Freire, 1970).

Elias and Merriam say,

Human persons know that they know and know that they are able to change their situation and environments. Because persons can do these things, they are subjects rather than objects. For Freire persons lift themselves to a higher level of consciousness and become subjects to the extent of their intervention in society, their reflection on this interaction and their commitment to this engagement in society (1980: p.148).

Freire's main argument is that to become conscious is to be aware of the social forces working upon oneself, reflect upon these forces, and become capable of transforming the world, precisely because to be human is to be an actor (Elias and Merriam, 1980). Walters and Watters argue that 'adult education was integral to processes of political consciousness-raising within a socialist or social democratic vision of the future' (2001: p.103). Yet, this position of Freire's philosophy of critical consciousness has been subjected to criticism for being simplistic. Horowitz (in Elias and Merriam) points out that,

The line between action and interests is far from straight. Even if we ignore the dilemmas arising out of a direct correlation of actions and interests, there is a policy issue involved; namely, the degree of social unrest necessary to stimulate a person to think along developmental lines without creating complete revolutionary upheaval (1980: p.153).

Thus, according to Horowitz, Freire's assumption that a person's knowledge of his or her true interests guarantees participation in remedial action to achieve these interests is flawed and simplistic.

Thus far I have provided a brief introduction to the radical philosophy of adult education, which underpins both PRA.

The paramount moral orientation of adult education is the conviction that adult learners are willing to understand their world not in their desire to adapt to it but rather as part of their efforts to re-form or change (Freire, 1972). Adult education further attempts to aid individuals to regain self-confidence and identity. It creates new attitudes and enthusiasm for social change, as Iman observes:



What is important is first we must educate our adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years, the attitude of adults on the other hand has an impact now (1990: p.233).

Rogers (1992: p.59) elaborates this position by disclosing that, “adult basic education is now seen not just as the development of individual competencies but as a means to put people in the way of perceiving social ills more clearly”. Freire adds to this by saying “truly liberating education can only be put into practice outside the ordinary system, and even then with great cautiousness by those who overcome their naivety and commit themselves to authentic liberation” (1972: p.125).

By engaging in action to free themselves from externally induced dependency roles and relationships, adults seek to be self-directed and proactive. Thus, through adult education, which by and large generates new critical thinking that leads to new understandings of the existing social order, society is enabled to reflect on its situation and thus creates its consciousness through experiential problem solving strategies. Castle (1996: p.12) opines that, “critical analysis, a fundamental by-product and methodological tool of critical theory, is concerned with deconstructing texts for the political and social values which determine action, philosophy and theory”. In this respect, critical or radical analysis or understanding examines commonly held views relating to learning and educational dispensation ‘for the extent to which they perpetuate economic inequity, deny compassion, foster a culture of silence and prevent adults from realizing a sense of common connectedness’ (Brookfield, 1993: p.66).

Critical and radical adult education writers such as Lovett (1980), Newman (1995) and Youngman (2000) do not only limit themselves to cognitive interest (learning for the sake of learning or simple understanding) but seek to transform social practices by clarifying the values and understandings of those involved in educational processes. They probe the nature and consequences of action; the nature of institutions and structures providing the framework for action; and the nature of the educational or enquiry process itself (Castle, 1996). This critical understanding constitutes the *raison d’etre* for transforming society so that it is ‘free of alienating and oppressive social institutions and life forms’ (Giroux, 1981: p.122). Perhaps its most significant

outcome is 'the linking of collective action and intellectual thought, practice and theory in a very powerful educational activity (Walters, 1997: p.42).

In specific terms, Freire's writings espouse the view that education, and adult education in particular, should contribute to social change in favour of the poor and the oppressed. In his view adult education is inherently political as elaborated below:

Liberating education can change our understanding of reality. But this is not the same as changing reality itself. No. Only political action in society can make social transformation, not critical study in the classroom. The structures of society, like the capitalist mode of production, have to be changed for society to be transformed. The issue of social conflict is absolutely important here. In the last analysis, conflict is the midwife of consciousness (Freire and Shor, 1987: 175-76).

Thus, extension workers and villagers could be viewed as potentially critical thinking adults. The introduction of PRA should be the vehicle to take on a radical perspective. Yet extension workers' previous education, based on a traditional curriculum, has inducted them into the language and knowledge of the ruling class (the 'oppressors' to use Freire wording). In the traditional system of education, the adult participant is presented with information in a manner that often does not encourage any kind of critical thought or analysis but rather encourages passive acceptance.

Rogers (1992) commented that adult education is still faced with the problem of operating on short-term goals, especially in helping individuals and groups to solve particular problems or develop particular interests and in this case to develop interests to participate in community development. Information is simply given to participants to accept without question. This style of 'banking education' or training does not respect and appreciate existing knowledge and skills for further development of new ideas, new theories, new plans and eventual action rather it simply prescribes the course of action.

Yet meaningful and genuine adult learning processes give participants the opportunity to develop their own knowledge. They assume that the participant is already an expert in some ways, has learned a great deal in life and that past experiences need to be used to enrich the development of new ideas. They further assume that adults are

continuously solving problems in their everyday lives and making informed decisions about their future. By and large adult education assumes that adults respond favorably to situations where they are active participants. But as already indicated, urban-based architects of participatory rural development in Botswana seem to have overlooked these underlying principles of adult education and proceeded to engage village-based extension workers and community members as passive recipients of PRA. This brings into sharp focus the relationship between adult education and development, explored below and throughout this thesis.

In this chapter I have argued that adult education has the overarching role of stimulating social transformation, mainly through critical reflection; that development in this respect is an attempt to correct distortions in relation to the exclusion of poor people from the decision making process and access to national resources; that the introduction of PRA methodology was intended to weave together, using participatory approaches, the thematic areas of both adult education and development in a way that appreciates the complexity and also the inevitability of their close linkage. A detailed discussion of this premise is provided in Chapter Three, Section 3.9 of this thesis, laying bare this study's theoretical framework.

The use of qualitative research in this study was deemed necessary to uncover the complexity of the overlap between adult education, PRA and development (which constitutes the central themes of this study) using case studies to present the new discoveries. Chapter Four provides a detailed explanation and discussion of qualitative research and case studies.

## **1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS**

This thesis is divided into nine chapters.

Chapter two traces the evolution of rural development practice in Botswana from the pre-colonial and colonial periods to the present day Botswana. The chapter also looks at the influences of traditional self-reliance initiatives on the adoption of PRA in Botswana, providing a backdrop to the village case studies.

Chapter three reviews literature in the field of development, sketching out trends in development theories and practices as shaped by socio-political processes. The chapter looks at the influences of traditional development theories on the practice of rural development in Botswana.

Chapter four provides a rationale for conducting this study sketching out an account of the research design and the justification for selecting a qualitative research paradigm. The chapter outlines the procedures followed in selecting the sample and ways in which discussions, observations and case studies were used to gather and interpret information.

Chapters Five to Eight present case studies of PRA application in four villages. Each chapter explains how and why PRA training and application was initiated. There is also an analysis of CAPs particularly in terms of progress being made in their implementation. The chapters also present an analysis of the modes used to apply PRA in each village focusing on planning and the teaching methods used.

Chapter nine concludes the thesis with a discussion of significant research findings, focusing first on experiences in PRA training and application and then on government policies and strategies that are intended to stimulate and support the PRA initiative. Lessons from the research for PRA application are also addressed.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This Chapter traces the evolution of rural development policy and practice in Botswana. It traces the emergence of state domination in the development process which created a breeding ground for rural communities to depend on the government for their living. The chapter also examines traditional self-reliance initiatives and their influence on PRA in Botswana in a way that explains the ways in which development theory has been taken up, implemented and re-examined over time.

It is therefore without doubt that the body of literature relevant to this section is vast encompassing academic disciplines such as economics, anthropology, history, education and so forth. However, in order to provide a vital historical, geographic and social context of my research, the review focused on key areas of rural development and/or rural livelihoods and the history of extension practices in Botswana.

#### **2.2 THE ECONOMY OF BOTSWANA AT INDEPENDENCE**

Botswana emerged to statehood in 1966 a chronically poor economy. The country was listed as one of the poorest in the world at that time. The political uncertainty of the country owing to impending integration into the Republic of South Africa and the adoption of parallel rule<sup>6</sup> as a means of reducing the costs of administering colonies by Britain resulted in economic stagnation and neglect. Britain did not care to develop the protectorate because she was going to lose it to South Africa, while South Africa did not take an active role to develop it because it was a British protectorate. As a result of this “almost total neglect from 1885 to 1966” (Harvey and Lewis, 1990: p.18), the independent government of Botswana inherited an economic structure that was under-developed even by African standards.

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<sup>6</sup> Parallel rule involved the existence of two separate administrations. The European administration, through a resident commissioner had authority over staff of European officers. On the other side, Tswana chiefs had control over their people although under the supervision of the European layer of administration.

When the British first agreed to declare Botswana a protectorate in 1885, the British Government wanted to ensure the integrity of the territory for British interests even though it was reluctant to commit resources for its development or administration. The main reason for declaring the territory a protectorate was purely to secure British influence and expansion in the region and access to central Africa through the so-called the Road to the North. Thus,

Bechuanaland [now Botswana] when once the Road to the North was secure, was not viewed as being of primary importance. What was required was that one, it should be stable and secure; two, it should be self-supporting and not become a permanent ward of the British treasury, and three, its organisation and economy should complement British interests in the region (Parson, 1984: p.21).

Economic development received very little attention from the British Government as the protectorate was expected to be handed over to the Union of South Africa after 1910. This economic predicament is succinctly summed below by Colclough and McCarthy:

The basic physical and social infrastructure was sadly deficient, if not almost totally lacking. Roads and telecommunications, water and power supplies were totally inadequate to provide a base for industrial development. Most important of all, the colonial Government failed to recognise the need to educate and train our people so they could run their own country. Not a single secondary school was completed by the colonial government during the whole seventy years of British rule. Nor did we inherit any properly equipped institutions for vocational training even at the lowest level of artisan skills. The administration had at its disposal only the most rudimentary information on our national resources. The country was largely unmapped (1980: p.12).

Starting with such an economic base meant that the bulk of national resources had to be channeled towards the development of infrastructure. The Accelerated Rural Development Programme (ARDP) of 1974 was conceived with a view to accelerate the provision of infrastructure and social services in the rural areas of Botswana. It is documented that:

In a very short space of time classrooms, staff houses, health posts, and the like were established in large numbers in settlements all over Botswana. Nobody would quarrel with the need to create such basic facilities as quickly as possible, but at the same time any real public involvement and participation was not possible. The buildings were delivered to the target

groups, and communities became passive recipients of the new style development (Tsiane & Youngman, 1985:p.33).

Uncertainty over her future meant that Botswana had never become a proper colony of Britain and did not benefit from investment, as did other African colonies (Miti and Chipasula, 1989). Kenya, for instance, enjoyed the benefits of colonialism in terms of developed infrastructure. Ergeton University, in Nakuru, Kenya was built specifically to cater for children of the white farming community in the area. This institution later became the property of the independent Government of Kenya at the end of colonial rule. Thus, the benefits of colonialism, which were mostly confined to the inheritance of infrastructure and human capital from the settlers, did not apply in the case of Botswana, which inherited only a three-kilometre track of tarred road.

The political organisation of the protectorate was largely informed by a system of parallel rule, whereupon a resident commissioner based in Mafikeng, South Africa, had authority over a staff of European officers. A parallel African organisation was created enabling each of the Tswana tribal groups to be recognised and to retain their authority under supervision by the European layer of administration. The Europeans supervised the African administration in all cases involving Europeans. This had the effect of establishing a culture of domination and subordination with respect to the African administration. Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana) wished to set up a political and economic structure that would lead the country to sound political and economic independence in the face of strong opposition from “white supremacist capitalism” (Parsons and Palmer, 1977: p.132).

The expansionist tendencies of the South African white regime objected to any move towards self-sufficiency in the protectorate since Bechuanaland was used as a labour reserve for the South African commercial farms and mines. Another concern was that if Bechuanaland was given self rule the decision would expose the rigid and unjust apartheid policies of South Africa to the international community and put South Africa under increasing pressure to end its apartheid policy. In an attempt to destabilize the internal economy of the protectorate, South Africa imposed a series of discriminatory acts to undermine economic growth within Bechuanaland Protectorate.

In 1924 South Africa imposed weight restrictions on the importation of cattle from Bechuanaland but these restrictions did not apply to the White settlers in the protectorate (Parson, 1984). The restrictions made it virtually impossible for native Batswana<sup>7</sup> to market cattle weighing less than eight hundred pounds (800) in South Africa. Following this restriction, Pretoria imposed a more stringent embargo on Bechuanaland exports of every kind on the pretext of quarantine against foot and mouth disease – even on grain, craft and fruits that are not affected by cattle diseases. Parsons and Palmer (1977) believe that the effects of these measures on the economy of Bechuanaland explain the upsurge in labour migration from Bechuanaland to South Africa that occurred in the 1930s.

### **2.3 PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL BOTSWANA SOCIETY**

The economic situation of Botswana at independence was characterised by a net dependence on international aid to maintain a minimum of public services. This set the tone for a specific and tailored development process based on the centralisation of decision-making guided by urban-based bureaucrats in order to promote rapid economic development. The budgetary and human resources situation at the time justified the choice of this development strategy. There was also the important issue of national unity following the colonial divide and rule strategy operationalized through indirect rule<sup>8</sup>. Botswana thus adopted a style of administration that sought to concentrate political and administrative power and resources at the national level both as a measure to avoid regional inequalities and due to its limited revenue (Picard, 1989). Over time this became the accepted way of doing things. A culture of development was established on the basis of what Chambers (1997) calls “normal professionalism” – the ideas, values, methods and behaviour accepted and dominant in professions or disciplines.

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<sup>7</sup> Batswana are the people of Botswana. The name of the national language is Setswana.

<sup>8</sup> Indirect rule was a type of European colonial policy in which the colonial powers ally themselves with traditional local rulers in exchange for their collaboration in matters germane to the colonizers. To a great extent, the traditional local power structure was incorporated into the colonial administrative structure and then given authority to collect tax revenue within their jurisdictions for expenditure by the colonial administration or by the local chiefs on the advice of the colonial administration. Indirect rule largely involves the use of local chiefs to implement colonial policies. This helped to minimise rebellion against European rule.



The pre-colonial economy of Botswana was nearly exclusively rural, characterised by direct exchange of goods or barter. Tswana societies were relatively self-supporting and the gaps in standards of living between the rich and the poor are thought to have been less than today. Colclough and McCarthy document this by arguing that:

The pre-colonial Tswana economy was relatively self-sufficient. Families depended upon land to satisfy their wants. Their diet was a healthy one of sorghum, porridge, milk, the meat of wild and domestic animals, vegetable dishes made from crops and wild plants, and beer (1980: p.8).

Other mechanisms used by pre-colonial Tswana society for maintaining self-sufficiency especially in the area of food security and support of poorer households included the 'mafisa' system, whereby cattle owners loaned relatives some of their cattle to look after and use as draught power for ploughing and also to feed on their milk. In years of good harvest, grain produce would be stored safely in communal storage facilities for subsequent redistribution to needy households when the need arose.

The extended family system and communal living helped community members to satisfy their wants. Shillington (1995) provides additional insights into the pre-colonial African subsistence agriculture that bears testimony to pre-colonial Botswana's situation, by arguing that, for centuries Africans, in the face of considerable difficulties like diseases, extremes of climate and poor soils, have farmed the land only for their immediate needs. In other words, pre-colonial Botswana farmed its land whether good or poor and this subsistence farming was and remains a key strategy for survival. Illife observes that Africa in general "lacked stratified classes with distinct sub-cultures,...poverty was generally absent from these un-stratified societies" (1987: p.3). That they may have been poor compared to their European counterparts is not the main issue, rather the point is that they were more or less self-sufficient and self-supporting (Shillington, 1987).

Colonialism wrought havoc through the seizure and use of land and people for the use of Europeans. It bred both conjunctural and structural poverty. Conjunctural poverty, the temporary poverty into which self-supporting communities were thrown, was precipitated by the dispossession of African land by European settlers. A succinct example is South Africa where white settlers appropriated for themselves land already

settled by Africans on the basis that the land was under utilised. Bundy quotes one settler as stating that, “Abantu<sup>9</sup> (Africans) are probably the worst cultivators and the most wasteful occupiers of land in the world”, adding that “land was just scratched with the plough, unmanured, weeded in slovenly fashion, and yielding scanty and irregular crops” (1993: p.22).

This perception that land in Africa was under utilised and therefore could be appropriated by those who could fully utilise it resulted in greater expansion by the settlers into the native (African) reserves, especially in the Cape with its good cultivable and pasture land. Below is a classic illustration of the land conquest and reaction by the Africans seen through the eyes of a Dutch settler:

They (Khoisan leaders) spoke for a long time about our (white settlers) taking everyday for our own use more of the land which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to pasture their cattle. They also asked whether, if they were to come to Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner, saying, ‘it would not matter if you stayed at the Fort, but you come into the interior, selecting the best land for yourselves, and not never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience’. They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should again be allowed free access to the pasture. They objected that there was not enough grass for their cattle and ours. ‘Are we not right therefore to prevent you from getting any more cattle?’. For, if you get many cattle, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say the land is not wide enough for both of us? Who then with greatest degree of justice, should give way, the natural owner or the foreign invader? They insisted so much on this point that we told them they had now lost that land in war, and therefore could not expect to get it back. It was our intention to keep it (Bundy, 1993: p.215-216).

Those Africans who retained their land got the ‘least favoured land’ (Lye and Murray, 1980).

The South African situation was not identical to the Botswana situation, but the terms of land conquest were similar. In Botswana land is vast but much of it is dry. The small population of white settlers in Botswana appropriated 3% of the total land compared to 87% in the case of South Africa and 50% in the case of Zimbabwe (Bundy, 1993). However, the fact that this 3% represent areas of good soil and abundant rainfall and was suitable for commercial farming makes the case for

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<sup>9</sup> Abantu, Khoisan, Blacks, Africans, Natives are terms used to refer to indigenous people in Southern Africa.

similarities in terms of land seizure and its impact on the native population. The major difference was that in the case of Botswana the settlers opted for a form of neo-colonialism where the chiefs were allowed to rule their subjects with minor interference from the settlers, whereas in the case of South Africa the settlers exercised direct and absolute rule over the indigenous people.

The appropriation of land from the natives (especially in the case of South Africa) meant that the settlers now had abundant land to farm. In order for them to acquire cheap labour, they resorted to mechanisms to force Africans to seek employment especially on the farms and mines. Notable amongst these measures were the taxation and pass laws introduced in South Africa. The pass laws required every black person to carry a pass showing where they lived and whom they work for (Bundy, 1993). Any black person without a pass could be taken by any white farmer who needed labour. In extreme cases, the settlers would simply raid the native's cattle in order to impoverish them, thus compelling them to find employment on the farms so as to avoid starvation.

The integration of the natives' economy with that of the settlers greatly altered the economy of Tswana Society, largely through the imposition of a hut tax. The new taxation was pioneered with a view to "maintain a modest number of officers", (Parson, 1984: p.22) European administrators required to run the protectorate. In a nutshell, "the taxation forced upon the people the necessity of finding a regular sum of money each year." (Parson, 1984: p.23). This coincided with the increased prosperity of South Africa after the discovery of diamonds at Kimberly, and the increased demand for unskilled mine workers.

The hut tax was collected to generate revenue necessary to finance both recurrent and development expenditure. A few years later an additional tax called the Native Tax was imposed on the African population in Botswana in order to finance African education, medical development, the eradication of cattle diseases and other measures, which would be of benefit to the Africans (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980). Nkomo adds that, "the preoccupation and struggle to pay the taxes meant that Africans had to largely abandon agriculture as an adequate source of support" (1985: p.83). In effect the blacks were forced to opt for employment on the settlers' farms. Thus, Africans

became poor because their traditional agriculture was destroyed and the best land grabbed. The settlers also orchestrated a combination of measures to ensure that African labour was cheap. Though inequalities existed in pre-colonial Africa as evidenced by the vulnerability of women, children and people with disabilities (Illife, 1987), sharp inequalities in wealth were created during colonialism.

A few Africans (the ruling elites and their cohorts) who had close ties with the Europeans were able to accumulate wealth. These few inherited wealth and imitated the Europeans by looking down upon the majority who were not so lucky to inherit any wealth. In the long run they (new elites) lost sympathy with the poor majority and instead devised additional measures to increase and consolidate their position in the society.

In Botswana there is a common metaphor that is used to pit the 'cattle society' against the 'donkey society'. Ownership of cattle is often associated with wealth perhaps because cattle are recognised as a source of income, food and prestige. Cattle can also be used as draught power. On the other hand, ownership of donkeys is associated with poverty because a donkey has little value, limited to providing transport for poor families.

## **2.4 TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL LIVELIHOODS**

Whereas the mode of economic operation was altered during the colonial period as Tswana societies came into contact with European communities, the main segment of economic activity – farming - continued into the colonial and post-colonial era. Farming in Botswana has always been dominated by the livestock industry, especially cattle, although the crop sector remains an important source of livelihood for the rural population. Though this sector is dominated by the traditional production system, produce such as maize, sorghum, beans, and watermelons provide an important source of food for most rural people. The few commercial farms in the country specialise in the production of high value crops such as vegetables, cotton, fruits, and sunflowers (Republic of Botswana, 2003: p.178). The increased agricultural products, made possible by the introduction of better agricultural tools such as the plough, were converted into manufactured goods and food items, necessitating trade based on

(limited) cash. This contact with European society resulted in the gradual integration of Tswana society, as subordinate entities, into the European imperial world.

The transformation of the traditional cattle based African economy into a money based economy in the Southern African region came largely as a result of the discovery of minerals in South Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which led to the establishment of diamond (1875) and gold (1886) mines. This era created an unprecedented demand for skilled labour in the region and increased the tempo of the changes already initiated by the white settlers' relatively sophisticated agricultural mode of production.

The demand for cheap labour and the reluctance on the part of local natives to provide labour required the white administration to devise strategies to compel the blacks to part with their labour. The first of such strategies entailed the destruction of traditional agriculture and trade.

With specific reference to Botswana, Colclough and McCarthy (1980) maintain that while in Botswana taxes were initially levied to raise revenue for recurrent and development expenses, the move had the same effect as in South Africa of pushing out migrants to the mines. They maintain that because there were few sources of cash, “those without cattle were forced to seek paid employment. Since domestic employment was almost non-existent, this meant that most had to look for work abroad – on the farms and increasingly, the mines of South Africa” (1980: p.21).

The net effects of these measures transformed the traditional economy dominated by the barter system (direct exchange of goods) to the modern cash economy. But in the same breath the transformation of the native agricultural economy implies not the total abandonment of agriculture but rather the possibility to improve agriculture and take advantage of the new opportunities created by a demand for food. This entailed some form of commercialisation of traditional agriculture in response to the emerging market for agricultural goods, and the increasing pressure to pay tax and school fees both in Botswana and South Africa (Bundy, 1979: p.91). Thus, despite efforts to strangle native agriculture, some natives took this as an opportunity to improve their production. In South Africa, Nkomo reminds us that,

Some Africans attempted to compete with the subsidized white farmers, making considerable adaptations to avail themselves of the opportunity the white market provided: they departed from the traditional agricultural economy and competed effectively with white farmers (Nkomo, 1985: p.81).

This pattern of economic transformation of agriculture in the Republic of South Africa was inextricably linked to the rest of Southern Africa, which became appendages of the modernizing South African economy. The South African regime's internal policies were extended beyond its borders and its economic domination in the region resulted in a trickle down effect on its peripheries, drawing them into the burgeoning cash economy.

The phenomenon of cross border labour migration has always been a subject of intense political debate in Southern Africa and the entire world (Lye and Murray, 1981; Amin, 2006; Todaro, 1976; Paton, 1995). The migrant labour system normally involves a flow of unskilled/semi-skilled workers from less developed nations to more industrially developed or developing nations. Whereas patterns of this type of migration may differ between and within regions, in Southern Africa the Republic of South Africa has always been the single largest employer of labourers from virtually all other nations in the region (Paton, 1995). This is the legacy of the rapid growth of the mining industry since 1866.

Explanations for the cause of this migrant labour system have their origins in economic models that presume that a mutual advantage exists for the employer and employees and for both the labour sending and labour receiving economies. Put in simple terms, the assumption is that the sending nation benefits from employment opportunities for its nationals who otherwise would probably remain unemployed at home. Migrant labour incomes boost the Gross National Products (GNP) of the labour sending country and taxes paid by migrant labourers supplement existing government revenue sources. But most significantly, migrant labour incomes provide a form of social security for families of the labourers through monthly remittances.

The receiving country benefits from the cheap labour power provided by the labourers. The assumption here is that in most cases migrant labourers are paid wages

far lower than local labourers demand and therefore allow the employer to accumulate profits. Weyl writes that:

In Natal, commercial farmers imported indentured workers [almost slaves] from India for work in the sugar plantations in order to evade the need to pay wages high enough to entice local Africans to abandon independent agricultural production (1981: p.12).

In effect, the migrant labour system involves a degree of exploitation of labourers by employers in order to maximize returns<sup>10</sup>. In such cases, wages are kept below subsistence level (Wilson, 1972). Botswana, for instance, banned recruitment of labour from within her borders simply because conditions in the South African farms were particularly cruel (Paton, 1995). This is notwithstanding the fact that individuals seeking to become migrant labourers often do so on their own volition. Whereas it seems that there is always an option to become or not become a migrant labourer, the push-pull model of migrant labour systems explains that lack of economic opportunities in the country of origin compels individuals to migrate to more industrialized regions. The system offers migrants the prospect of occupational advancement, social adjustment, and last but not least, their incomes are seen as contributing to economic growth and national economic development in their homelands (Nkomo, 1985: p.67).

In essence, the labour receiving country normally has a modern agricultural or industrial infrastructure, as in the case of South Africa in the Southern African region, whereas the labour sending country has a less sophisticated and even an underdeveloped economy that is less attractive to job seekers. In Southern Africa this cross border migration is noticeable in areas where sub-imperial states existed and became the core of the migrant labour system. The sub-imperial state is described as a state that,

Exists at the centre of the periphery; it is a client state that is able to exert dominance in one region of the Third World. It plays an important immediate role in a sphere of influence by dominating a region while still being subordinate to major actors at the centre of global feudal networks (Shaw, 1977: p.376-7).

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<sup>10</sup> It is presumed that this may explain why the Union government of South Africa imposed coercive measures such as making breach of labour contract a criminal offence. These measures were instituted to ensure that labour was always available cheaply and in large quantities.

Since growth in the South African heartland has been accompanied by stagnation in the periphery, it is safe to conclude that South Africa acts as a sub-imperial power having graduated from a peripheral to a developing nation, and then to a sub-metropole. Legassick (1977) points out that since South Africa has graduated into a sub-imperial state it has generated underdevelopment and exploitation on its own periphery within the larger peripheral part of the world economic order.

Whereas it seems true that both the labour exporting country and the labour importing country benefit from the migrant labour system, the long-standing history of relations between exporting and importing regions, which in fact is the history of expansion into capitalist economies (Paton, 1995), indicates that the migration process can be shown to benefit the importing country more than the exporting country.

In the case of Botswana where migrant labourers headed to the South African mines, it is reported that as early as 1933 respected scholar Isaac Schapera pleaded for attention to the social devastation caused by the large-scale male migration from Botswana. Women were left with no choice but to take up farming to feed their families (Paton, 1995)<sup>11</sup>. Weyl adds that, “not only do deficient harvests occur...but there is a general fall in the household income of the domestic economy” (1991: p.30)<sup>12</sup>. Some women resorted to prostitution and selling traditional beer to make ends meet.

In this respect, migration caused uneven development between the sending country, Botswana and the receiving country, South Africa. South Africa experienced a concentration of investment and profit while Botswana experienced gross decline in subsistence agricultural production. In 1933, an investigation report into the effect of the exodus condemned labour migration citing that it was causing underdevelopment in Botswana. In support of the report one Chief is reported to have pointed out that:

Birth rates had fallen; that family ties and traditional morality were declining; that abandoned women were migrating to the towns; and

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<sup>11</sup> Before being forced to take over farming Botswana women were mostly responsible for weeding and harvesting while the tilling of the land was the responsibility of men.

<sup>12</sup> It is assumed that the effects of declining agricultural production outweighed remittances more so that the better part of wages paid to the migrant workers was used to pay tax.



that as a rule (migrants) come back poor and worn out (Paton, 1995: p.275).

Another report in 1939 disclosed that labour migration in Botswana was drastically undermining the cattle industry by discouraging the remaining family members from raising stock. This position is understandable considering that by the 1950s more than 50, 000 Batswana or 10% of the country's population had migrated (Paton, 1995). In conclusion, Paton states that, "with more and more men rounded up for railways, quarries and docks in South Africa, Bechuanaland's [now Botswana] white farmers began to complain again of labour shortages" (1995: p.271).

In Botswana the migrant labour system continued well into the era of political independence in 1966. But the discovery of minerals in Botswana in the early 1970s ushered in a new era of rapid economic growth. More job opportunities were created in Botswana, especially in the construction industry. As a result, the economic significance of migrant labour declined considerably, resulting in the return of many migrant labourers. By the 1990s the estimated number of migrant labourers had fallen from 10% in the 1950s to 2% of the total population.

Internal migration in Botswana mostly revolves around the movement of people from the rural areas to the urban areas in search of employment. Yet few migrate to the mining towns because the mines generally employ a relatively small number of people since they are capital intensive. As a result most people do not perceive them as potential sources for employment. In the 2003 Budget Speech, the government of Botswana notes that, 'of particular concern is the continuous migration of able-bodied youth to the urban areas ...in search of better lives' (Republic of Botswana, 2003b: p.9).

Contemporary trends in labor migration in Southern Africa indicate that the flow of migrant laborers still mainly remains towards South Africa (as the sub-imperial state) and more recently to Botswana because of the two countries' wealth relative to the rest of the region. But it appears that labor migration is no longer appealing to receiving nations both because of the high rates of unemployment among their citizens and because the human rights of labourers are now protected by law, which

means that employers can no longer exploit their employees, hence the migrant labor system is no longer so profitable.

In addition to these migration effects, the agricultural sector has always been subjected to the harsh conditions prevailing in Botswana. Droughts are a permanent feature of the country due to unreliable rainfall patterns. Households that rely on subsistence farming are sometimes unable to produce enough food for their families. The livestock sector is likewise undermined by periodic shortages of grazing pastures and surface water as a result of inadequate rains. Despite these negative factors subsistence agriculture still forms the backbone of the rural economy.

In view of the fact that the rural population, which constitutes the majority of the national population (75 % in the 1980s), continued to depend on agriculture for a living, the government initiated the Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP) in 1981 to increase arable production and achieve food self-sufficiency. This was to be achieved through stimulation of the arable sector by providing target farmers with ploughing implements, water storage tanks, draught animals (especially donkeys), fencing materials and farm inputs. Government also introduced the Accelerated Rain-fed Arable Program (ARAP) in 1985. Through these programs government aimed to enhance rural development and welfare by increasing rural incomes from arable agriculture.

Like other programmes such as the Accelerated Rural Development Program (ARDP) and Arable Land Development Programme (ALDEP), the Accelerated Rain Fed Arable Program (ARAP) was welfarist and centrally conceived. The end effect is the gradual erosion of the pre-colonial spirit of self-help and self-reliance. These centralised programs developed within the centralised planning and management strategy of rural development created an undesirable dependence on the state that has continued to the present day.

## **2.5 A GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA**

In geographical terms, Botswana's area is vast relative to its population. With a landmass of 582 000 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 1,680 683, human settlements are

relatively many and dispersed (Republic of Botswana, 2002). Most people live in rural settlements or villages. Like in many parts of the developing world, settlements in Botswana are constantly changing both in size and structure. This is largely the result of demographic factors such as rural-urban migration and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Nonetheless, the following five settlement patterns are notable in Botswana:

**Seasonal Settlements** - These are mostly settlements inhabited by Basarwa, or Bushmen or San people who were (or are) hunter-gatherers who have to move about in search for food and water. This category also includes lands and cattle posts. Lands are mostly fields reserved for ploughing during the rainy season whereas cattle posts are reserved for grazing cattle. These settlements are generally used on a seasonal basis. During the ploughing season farmers migrate to the lands to plough and after harvesting they move either to the cattle posts or to the main villages<sup>13</sup>. Lye and Murray illustrate this seasonal movement by saying that:

The Tswana are well known for their traditionally large settlements. But this concentrated pattern has always been associated with seasonal movements between the village (July to October) and the lands (November to June). Wealthy cattle owners also had to establish a third base, a cattle post (1980: p.97).

Colclough and McCarthy (1980) add that families move between villages and lands mostly at the dictate of rainfall patterns. For instance, if the rains come early, in October, families will migrate to the lands early enough to utilize the first rains and will remain there until the end of the harvest. If the rains are inadequate it is most likely that families will move back to the villages before June since there will be little or no harvest.

**Farmstead Settlements** – This are small homesteads within commercial farms. These settlements are mostly inhabited by farm workers and their families on commercial farms.

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<sup>13</sup> Most of the cattle remain at the cattle posts through out the year. This means that farming families are usually split into three; some members look after the cattle, some plough and others remain in the central village. Therefore, the planning of community activities should take account of this seasonal pattern so that, for example, community projects are not planned for implementation when most families are looking after their fields, which may lead to shortage of labour and ultimately project failure.

**Dispersed homestead settlements** – This is a pattern of settlement in which households occupy the land permanently for residential, pastoral and arable activities.

**Villages** – These traditional settlements are very diverse in terms of population size, but officially they are denoted by a minimum population of 500 people. To illustrate this diversity I will consider two villages - Molepolole in Kweneng district and Tsabong in Kgalagadi district. According to Botswana's 2001 Population Census (Republic of Botswana, 2002) Molepolole village, which is the political and administrative capital of Kweneng district, has about 54, 600 people whereas Tsabong, the political and administrative capital of Kgalagadi district has about 6,600 people. These administrative capitals serve as commercial and social centers for the smaller settlements in their surroundings. This category is further classified into urban villages and rural villages. Urban villages denote those areas “where at least 75% of its workforce is engaged in non-agricultural activities and its population is at least 5000 people (Republic of Botswana, 2003a; 16). Based on this classification, according to the 2001 National Population Census the overall urban population of Botswana is roughly 910,500 or 54.2% of the whole population of 1,680 683 people.

**Townships/Towns** – These are basically settlements established on state land and have been purposefully declared towns or townships under the Township Act. These include the two cities of Gaborone and Francistown (Republic of Botswana, 1998).

Although settlements in Botswana are relatively numerous and scattered, the country has an integrated road network connecting all towns and district centers. The country has completed a strategic ring road around the country “from which feeder roads radiate to various rural communities” (Republic of Botswana, 2003a; p.143). The Government of Botswana has an ‘access road’ policy that stipulates that all settlements and villages within 10 kilometers of major roads should be provided with access roads to the main *kgotla*- a designated place where formal community meetings are held. This integrated road network allows the rural population to relate closely with the urban population.

It should also be noted that most urban dwellers regard the cities and towns as places of work rather than as homes, which explains why many of them do not cut ties with

their traditional rural homes where they have their cattle and other small stock and ploughing fields. This can be evidenced during public holidays when most people leave the cities and towns to visit their homes. This explains in part why the government continues to emphasize the provision of services and infrastructure such as potable water, health facilities and primary schools to these villages.

Decentralization has been proposed by the government as a means to promote and accelerate rural development. The government established district institutions to spearhead development at the district level, though many projects implemented in the districts are under the authority of the central government through line ministries. At the village level, Village Development Committees (VDCs) were established and made responsible for development in villages through preparing and implementing village development plans.

The fundamental objective of rural development policies and strategies entails the provision of opportunities for a reasonable and rising standard of living for rural people (Republic of Botswana, 1998). In seeking appropriate strategies and approaches for rural development, it is essential to gauge the scale of the problem that necessitates a specific focus on rural development, particularly the number of people who do and will require finding their livelihoods in the rural areas of Botswana.

The absolute number of people for whom support will have to be provided will continue to be a serious concern for those concerned with rural development. Despite the rate of growth, and the relative decrease in the absolute number of people for whom support is needed, high levels of poverty in the rural areas necessitate a specific focus in terms of providing, supporting and sustaining rural livelihoods. Perennial droughts add to this problem. Most rural areas are poor because they have limited access to economic opportunities and that in comparison with urban areas, the rural population lags behind in terms of income and opportunities as well as other social needs. In consequence, the government concentrated on centrally determined programmes to provide livelihoods for the majority of rural people. These programmes included Drought Relief Programmes, the Food-for-Work Programme, Labour Intensive Public Works and many others that contributed to the rapid growth of government services and the proliferation of government subsidies. An unintended

effect of these centrally conceived welfare programmes has been the erosion of the spirit of self-help/self-reliance and the creation of an undesirable dependence on the state.

It is nonetheless noted that these centrally based approaches to rural development have helped to overcome some of the main constraints to development and have instigated improvements in public services in the rural areas with a view to facilitate production and employment in these areas. However, attempts to strengthen the rural economy and improve rural livelihoods have been less successful and therefore rural development remains a priority, though within a new paradigm and guided by a new vision and values.

## **2.6 EMERGING TRENDS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA**

Botswana was once listed among the least developed countries in the world, yet from 1966 to the early 1990s, Botswana experienced the “most rapid rate of growth of GNP per capita (8.3%) of any country in the world” (Harvey and Lewis, 1990: p.1), due to the discovery of minerals. Presently the growth of the economy in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) stands at 7.7% per annum (Republic of Botswana, 2003a).

At independence the economy exhibited a net dependence on international aid to maintain a minimum of public services. This set the tone for a development process based on the need to identify additional sources of revenue for the recurrent and development budget. A conscious decision was made to forego rural development in order to obtain an internal source of Government income by developing the country’s mining industry. It was anticipated that revenue from minerals would be used to alleviate rural poverty and place the country on a sustained self-generating development path. “Mining for rural development” (Picard, 1987: p.237) thus became a prominent reference to the trickle down approach to development based on a growing mining-based economy.

In the context of this thesis, poverty is understood as the lack of necessities, assets, income and security. It is more than being income poor. It is closely linked to physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness. Although Botswana is not poor in terms of national wealth, revenues from mineral exploitation have not resulted in a

prosperous life for the majority of the population. A comprehensive study on poverty in Botswana indicated that in 1993/4 at least 47% of households were living below the poverty datum line (PDL). According to the National Development Plan 9<sup>14</sup>, a consultancy commissioned by the Government to formulate a National Poverty Reduction Strategy in 2001 estimated that the percentage of the population living below the PDL had fallen to 36.7% from 47% (Republic of Botswana, 2003a: p.24). However, there remains a significant income disparity between the rich and poor. The poorest 50% of the population share 17.4 % of national wealth, while the richest 10% of the population control 42% of the total national income.

While major infrastructural projects have been undertaken in rural areas such as the provision of health facilities, schools, roads, and so forth, there is a disturbing lack of support for stimulating of economic activities and rural livelihoods. Government planning still gives priority to the provision of infrastructural projects that are easy to implement, evaluate and quantify. The post independence bias towards infrastructural development focused selectively on the development of major urban centers. As Parson notes “relatively speaking rural areas were left behind” (1984: p.81). This urban bias perhaps informed a sustained demand for infrastructural projects by rural communities wishing to be on par with urban communities. Parson argues that,

For the peasantry, independence promised the possibility of improved agricultural arrangements and more social services in the form of schools, health clinics, and reliable water supplies (1984: p.88).

I believe that these priorities still dominate the development ‘shopping list’ or ‘wish list’ of rural communities in Botswana. Basically, infrastructure projects are what politicians promise to voters during elections and are what the electorate demands in turn from their elected government. This is supported by the fact that at independence formal employment was virtually non-existent. People aspired to self-employment in the agricultural sector. But with the collapse of the sector (as a percentage of GDP) and the accompanying dependence on government, employment in the rural areas became hopelessly deficient.

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<sup>14</sup> The National Development Plan 9 (NDP9) covers a six-year period from 2003/04-2008/9. A financial (e.g. 2003/04) year covers twelve months and commences on April 1 of every calendar year. The plan basically contains government-planned projects, programs and new policy pronouncements.

This realization partly led to the conception of the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) in 1982 whose purpose was to facilitate the development of new productive enterprises and the expansion of existing ones with the aim of creating employment for citizens (particularly unskilled labour) and to diversify the economy, perennially dependent on the cattle and mining sector. A major focus of the FAP was on expanding productive economic opportunities in rural areas. Briefly, FAP led to considerable growth of the manufacturing sector (growth of 5.3% between 1982 and 1990) yielding the highest growth rate of manufacturing value-added in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 1991). FAP also led to an increase in the ratio of locally owned and joint venture enterprises (Isaksen *et al* , 1984).

Nonetheless, a major limitation of the FAP was that it failed to promote geographical diversification by spreading industrialization more evenly throughout the country. Key economic enterprises remained concentrated in the major urban centers and peri-urban areas (Republic of Botswana, 1991).

An evaluation of the FAP eventually recommended its abolition arguing that many medium and large-scale enterprises had other problems, such as marketing and lack of skilled labour, that were not covered by the provisions of FAP. The major focus of the FAP on overcoming finance related constraints, at the expense of other equally significant areas such as managerial and technological assistance, could be used to substantiate the argument of critics of contemporary development approaches that policy makers too often design schemes based on the assumption that they know the need and aspirations of the people they serve. Subsequent to the abolition of the FAP, a new scheme known as the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA) was introduced in 2001 in response to calls to government to restructure its assistance and support to citizen entrepreneurs. CEDA places emphasis not only on funding, but also on the development of citizen entrepreneurs through training. It is expected that in its endeavor to facilitate rural industrialization, CEDA will address some of the problems that dogged the FAP, especially non-financial problems.

The manufacturing sector is relatively young and concentrated in the urban areas. This being the case, rural people believed that employment could only spring out of the construction sector which has its legacy in the Accelerated Rural Development



Programme (ARDP) discussed later in this chapter. These expectations were boosted by the economic boom following the discovery of minerals that resulted in the construction of health clinics, rural roads, primary schools and other infrastructural projects. Rural people secured temporary employment during construction activities and came to believe that this was where their future lay.

For instance, the Botswana's Ministry of Local Government is responsible for funding a development project named *Community projects* that make funds available for improving the economic and social welfare of people in the rural areas (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Yet the bulk of the funds are used by Village Development Committees to construct houses to lease to government workers in the rural areas. The point here is that whereas there may be other avenues for generating income, Village Development Committees (VDCs), have always chosen construction of houses perhaps because such projects are readily visible, appealing and easy to implement, and generally reflect a bias towards infrastructure development.

This is a legacy of the Accelerated Rural Development Programme (ARDP) that selected new projects on the basis of their being located in the rural areas and "capable of speedy implementation" (Colclough and McCarthy, 1980: p.23). It must also be noted that the ARDP was initiated against the prospect of an imminent election in the same year and because the ruling party depended on the rural population to be elected to power. Providing quick, visible and quantifiable development in the rural areas was a good approach to ensure the visibility and ability of the government to deliver. The ruling government still maintains that the increased provision of infrastructure in the rural areas is a sustained effort to improve the distribution of national wealth. This approach tends to satisfy limited basic needs without directly stimulating rural production. The 1997 Community Based Strategy for Rural Development [CBSRD] noted that:

Emphasis on rural development in Botswana in the past has been on infrastructure provision, building of government institutional capacity for providing services in rural areas and implementation of development projects. This has helped to overcome some fundamental constraints to development and has supported improvements in public services in rural areas. However, efforts to strengthen the rural economy and improve rural livelihoods have been less successful. The levels of rural poverty and unemployment have remained high. (Republic of Botswana, 1997b: p.1)

The trickle down approach to development planning and management is premised on an understanding that a strong professional pool of technocrats must lead the team, and that professionals give instructions to lower officers at local level. It is premised on modernization theory (discussed in detail in Chapter three), which contends that lack of development is a condition or pathology that prevents evolutionary progress towards development. In this respect, the development of rural areas must be preceded by the development of urban areas. Accordingly, rural areas will one-day ‘develop’ as knowledge, technologies and wealth are diffused to them. This understanding sets the groundwork for centralized decision making and administration of the development process and created a heavy reliance on government for the majority of the people.

### **People and Governance**

When the British settled and declared Botswana a protectorate, they found Tswana societies organized along tribal groupings. The dominant Tswana ethnic groups (so called principal tribes) included Bangwaketse who live in the southern part of the country, known as Southern District; Bamangwato in the Central District; Bakgatla in Kgatleng District; Bakwena in Kweneng District; Batawana in Ngamiland District; Bamalete in South East District; Barolong who make up part of the Southern District; and Batlokwa who constitute part of the South East District, though they have their own distinct area known as Tlokweneng Sub-district. The table below outlines the tribal territories that form the administrative districts of Botswana.

**Table 2.1: Tribal Territories/administrative Districts and the ‘principal’ tribes.**

<b>Tribal Territory /Administrative District</b>	<b>Tribal/Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Square Miles</b>
Borolong	Barolong	433
Central	Bamangwato	44, 310
Ngamiland	Batawana	35,082
Kgatleng	Bakgatla	2, 798
Kweneng	Bakwena	14, 719

Southern	Bangwaketse	9, 921
South East	Bamalete	167
Tlokweng	Batlokwa	67

Adapted from: *The British Colonial Office 1965*.

**NB:** The table is clearer if read alongside Map 1 (Map of Botswana) provided at the beginning of Chapter One of this thesis.

Non-dominant Tswana groups, commonly referred to as minority tribes, such as Basarwa, Bakalanga, Babirwa and Batswapong were subordinate to the so-called principal tribes and have been somewhat assimilated into them. For instance, within the Bamangwato tribal territory also known as the Central district, there are subordinate ethnic groups such as Babirwa, Batswapong and Bakalanga. These groups have their own distinct territories referred to as sub-districts (subordinate districts) which are within the main Bamangwato tribal territory better known as the Central district.

The subordinate groups are nonetheless under the ultimate rule of the Bamangwato tribe and they do not have their own tribal chiefs but rather Sub-chiefs or Chief Representatives (imposed leaders who represent the main chief). Each principal tribe has a tribal capital and is normally the home of the main chief. Colclough and McCarthy explain that “each tribal capital being the home of the chief was the centre of political and social life of the tribe and was the place where all important gatherings and meetings were held” (1980: p.8).

This arrangement possibly led to the concentration of development in tribal capitals and tended to benefit members of the principal tribes more than it benefited the subordinate groups who lived on the peripheries. These tribal capitals were made district headquarters after independence and are today regarded as the industrial heart of their respective districts. Non- Tswana ethnic groups also had to render tribute to the principal tribes in the form of farm produce and/ or labour which consolidated unequal relations and disparity in wealth between those who paid tribute and those who received it.

The British administration sought not to interfere with this political and social arrangement, and instead consolidated it by recognising tribal reserves for the major chiefdoms/tribes (Lye and Murray, 1980). It is widely recognised that a policy of assimilation always disadvantages members of the subordinate groups since in most cases minorities are excluded from enjoying a fair share of the benefits of national development as a result of power and access differentials (Glazer and Moyihan, 1975: p.233). Through the philosophy of indirect rule, the chiefs were left free to handle their 'internal' affairs independently. This system allowed the British to maintain the administrative system, and "the chiefs were allowed to rule as they had within the existing tribal territories" (Parson, 1984: p.20).

This form of governance operated until independence, with ethnic groups acting as autonomous states with clearly defined boundaries. After independence, the new government sought to promote national unity through the promotion of a national identity in which people were enjoined to identify themselves as Batswana rather than as aligned to their tribal groups. The quest for national unity became one of the four principles upon which the Botswana constitution is based. Yet the present administrative boundaries of Botswana are still largely based on tribal identities.

It has been argued that the dominant Tswana speaking groups were the first to settle in these tribal territories whereas the so-called minor tribes sought the protection of the principal tribes from external enemies. This meant that the minor tribes had to accept suzerainty of the principal tribes. Lye and Murray (1980), give an example of the Ngwato tribe as a principal tribe, observing that:

The Ngwato political community, for example, comprised the following strata- royals (*dikgosana*) descendants of the chief of the ruling family of the Ngwato clan; commoners (*batlhanka*) also belong to the Ngwato clan but including others who had long been absorbed by it; strangers (*bafaladi*) members of alien or refugee communities who accepted Ngwato political domination; and lastly, groups of servile status known as *malata*, the majority of whom were Sarwa and Bakgalagadi (p.89-90)

Equally significant is that the protectorate administration recognized and encouraged the development of political structures based mainly on the Tswana model. Minority groups (non-Tswana speaking ethnic groups) were to be assimilated into the

dominant tribes hence the persistent, and discriminatory distinction between major tribes and minor tribes. While these tribal groups still exist and occupy “their” tribal areas today, their autonomy has been greatly eroded through the establishment of modern institutions of governance. For instance, whereas in the pre-colonial period chiefs were the custodians of tribal land, this responsibility has since been transferred to Land Boards.

Land Boards were established in 1968 mainly to take over the custodianship of tribal land from the chiefs. Land Boards are essentially government structures at the district level, which are precisely the custodians of tribal land. They operate under the political and administrative leadership of the Ministry of Lands and Housing. There are currently twelve (12) main Land Boards distributed in accordance with the administrative districts described above and along tribal lines as their names depict: Ngwato Land Boards in GammaNgwato or Central district; Ngwaketse Land Board for the Ngwaketse tribal group; Tawana Land Board for Batawana, Kgatleng Land Board for Bakgatla and so forth. There are also subordinate Land Boards mainly within sub-tribal territories or what are conveniently called sub-administrative districts- demarcated sub-districts within proper administrative districts. Again, these subordinate Land Boards retain the names of their sub-tribes or minor ethnic groups. For instance, there is the Bobirwa Sub-Land Board for Babirwa as a minor group within the Ngwato tribe.

The political and economic landscape relating to governance and control was considerably altered after independence. The quest for national unity prompted the government to adopt a style of administration that concentrates political and administrative power and resources at the national level to avoid regional inequalities. Thus, the conventional approach of the Botswana government to poverty reduction and re-distribution has been characterized by a highly centralized, top-down approach in which bureaucrats issue instructions and transfer resources to the lower level government officials. These prescriptions include government programmes that are formulated by urban-based officials with a poor understanding of conditions in the rural areas and how local communities address their problems.

Thus, attempts at poverty alleviation initiated by the government and the sustained efforts of those who are poor, excluded and deprived are not neatly intertwined. The poor want to gain access to resources and decision-making, while Government officials want to give them subsidised credit on the assumption that they lack resources to lift themselves from poverty. Despite Botswana's overall impressive achievement in terms of fast economic growth, both absolute and relative poverty remain a major problem.

As indicated above, a consultancy commissioned by the government to formulate a National Poverty Reduction Strategy in 2001 estimated that the percentage of the population living below the poverty datum line was 36.7% (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). In addition to the problem of poverty, environmental damage is another problem for the government. The concern with the environment in Botswana is informed by the global need to satisfy present needs and aspirations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their (own) needs. It is widely believed that modern society is generally arrogant towards the environment, "an arrogance that sees the environment predominantly as a resource to be exploited for profit without care for damage that may be caused in the process" (Main and Williams, 1994: p.3).

Conscious of this general challenge, The Government of Botswana formed the National Conservation Strategy Agency in 1992 as an advisory body in matters relating to the environment. The Agency identified the degradation of rangeland (grazing land) as one of the country's most pressing environmental problem. While range degradation can be attributed to a number of sequential human activities, in Botswana the problem is mainly due to overstocking. It should be noted that much of Botswana's land (over two thirds) is covered with the thick sand layers of the Kalahari Desert, which make the country largely unsuitable for any form of agriculture (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Consequently, the majority of the people live in the eastern part of the country "which has a somewhat less harsh and more fertile soils than elsewhere" (Republic of Botswana, 1997a: p.3). This then means that this limited fertile land is subjected to intense human and animal pressure leading to land and range degradation.

With the acknowledgement of persistent high levels of poverty and environmental damage, Botswana's top-down, bureaucratic and mechanistic development strategy came under the spotlight. It was criticised for failing to improve the standard of living of people, for marginalizing the poor, and most importantly for proving to be ineffective in promoting sustainable and equitable development. Plans, projects and programmes formulated and designed with great care to improve the living standards of the people experienced problems during implementation.

For instance, the Arable Lands Development Programme (ALDEP) which was specifically aimed at improving the production of poorer farmers engaged in subsistence agriculture, could not bring about sustainable improvements in farming outputs and incomes though it had some success in protecting the incomes of poorer arable farmers (Republic of Botswana, 1997a). Other programmes such as the Accelerated Rain-fed Arable Programme (ARAP), which offered 100% subsidy for ploughing, weeding, and destumping, could not be sustained and were terminated because they were financially unviable. Considerable efforts and resources were expended on similar programmes but their outcomes have generally been disappointing<sup>15</sup>. The Community Based Strategy for Rural Development (Republic of Botswana, 1997b) states that:

A common failing has been that rural development activities and processes have often been conceived and implemented by government along technocratic lines, with too little emphasis on finding out what rural people want (pp. 12-13).

These crises of development led to a search for a new paradigm that could offset the inadequacies of the conventional approach to development.

## **2.7 AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

The alternative approach seeks to depart from the premise of centralised rural development planning and management. The major challenge of the new strategy is to place major responsibility for rural development in the hands of rural communities. This shift in rural development planning and management is aptly elaborated in the

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<sup>15</sup> Subsidies, especially in the agricultural sector, were aimed at accelerating rural production, creating employment and self-sufficiency in basic food stuffs, by assisting resource poor households with farming implements and draught power.

*Community Based Strategy for Rural Development*, which is the current benchmark for a long-term rural development strategy in Botswana. The strategy gives a prominent role to local communities in the identification of their own needs. With communities responsible for determining their own development priorities, it is thought that development projects will reflect genuine needs and priorities of rural communities. Thus, the involvement of communities in development activities is a key element of the strategy.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as a planning technique in which extension workers co-operate with villagers in formulating community development plans, called Community Action Plans, entered international development discourse in the late 1980s to early 1990s as a bid to institutionalize participation. This is usually done by undertaking a number of sequential steps based on special techniques for gathering and analyzing data. A Community Action Plan (CAP) is basically an agreed plan of activities to be undertaken by villagers and extension workers in which each party makes itself responsible for undertaking certain activities.

Before PRA was absorbed into development discourse in Botswana, the Government sought to pilot the technique to ascertain its relevance to the Botswana context in terms of strengthening extension services and development planning. The results from the pilot study favoured the introduction of PRA in Botswana. In consequence, the government rolled out an ambitious programme to train extension workers in the application of PRA.

### **Training in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)**

Once the Government of Botswana had adopted PRA as a participatory technique that could stimulate and sustain the participation of local communities in rural development activities, the need to train a core target group in the application of the methodology surfaced. The Rural Development Coordination Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning whose officers are PRA experts provided the training. The responsibility to coordinate rural development activities especially at the policy level lies with the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. This is a powerful economic agency of the state in matters of economic



planning within the operational responsibilities of a developmental state. Within this Ministry the Rural Development Coordination Division (RDCCD), headed by the Coordinator of Rural Development, has the responsibility to provide advice and ideas on policy formulation, priorities and the general management of rural development activities.

With specific reference to the challenges of the implementation of PRA, RDCCD has always been responsible for the provision of training on Participatory Rural Appraisal as a methodology to facilitate and support the implementation of participatory rural development as envisaged. This Division has, under its leadership, the Rural Extension Unit, which is mandated to coordinate or oversee rural extension activities. Staff of this Division have received training in PRA from Egerton University in Kenya and have been training members of the District Extension Teams (DETs) in the application of PRA with the expectation that DETs members will then filter this training to the lower levels where actual application is to take place. Members of the District Extension Team Committees became their immediate target group by virtue of their responsibilities as core extension officers at the district level.<sup>16</sup> This training was also extended to members of the District Extension Teams in the Sub-districts.

### **Structure and Content of the PRA Training**

In conducting training, RDCCD adopted a format developed by Egerton University of Kenya for delivering the PRA training which is included in the appendix section as Appendix Three). The training is structured so that there is a discussion of the shift from the traditional mode of development planning and management to the participatory approach. This is done in order to stimulate a new professional ethos that fosters participatory rural development. Subsequent to the theoretical foundation that has been laid down by theory, trainees apply the methodology in terms of transforming this theory into practice by doing a PRA with a select local community.

The difference between RDCCD PRA training, shown in Figure 2.1 below, and Egerton University PRA training (in Appendix Three) is that RDCCD training takes only 3 days to cover all the material related to training, including the practical component (actual

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<sup>16</sup> All DET members qualify for PRA training irrespective of gender, age, and education level. By virtue of their official positions they automatically become trainees.

application), whereas the Egerton University PRA training takes a minimum of three weeks, including application of the PRA methodology in a village where the training is conducted.

**Figure 2.1: A Typical Three-Day MFDP PRA Training Programme**

**Day one**

0800-0830	Welcome Remarks and introduction of participants
0830-0900	Objectives of the Workshop
0900-0930	Rural Development in Botswana: Historical Approach
0930-1000	Discussions
1000-1030	Tea
1030-1130	Group Reports
1130-1145	Expected outcomes: CBS
1145-1230	Group Discussions & Reports
1230-1400	Lunch
1400-1430	Linkages: CBS & PRA
1430-1500	PRA: Ethics & Assumptions
1500-1530	Tea
1530-1600	PRA: Process

**Day Two**

0730-0815	Team building and Rivers of life
0815-0830	Preliminary Visits & launching
0830-1000	Data gathering-spatial data: sketch map, Transect and time lines
1000-1030	Tea
1030-1230	Simulation tools
1230-1400	Lunch
1400-1430	Group reports
1430-1530	Data gathering continued
1530-1545	Tea
1545-1630	Simulation tools

**Day Three**

0730-0830	Problem Analysis
0830-0945	Simulation tools
0945-1000	Group presentation
1000-1030	Tea
1030-1100	Ranking of problems and opportunity assessment
1100-1200	Simulation tools
1200-1230	Group presentations
1230-1400	Lunch
1400-1415	Introduction to CAP
1445-1515	Simulation of CAP

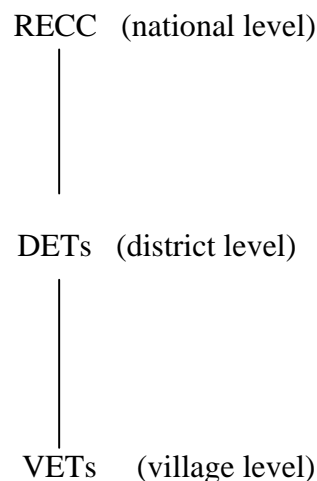
1515-1530	Tea
1530-1600	Simulation of CAP continued
1600-1615	Presentation of CAP

District Extension Teams are composed of Heads of Extension Departments at the district level. They are expected to provide policy and administrative guidance to Village Extension Teams (VETs). They have responsibility to monitor the activities of VETs by reviewing reports, making visits and providing the necessary assistance. In order to effectively support VETs, DETs are required to conduct training needs assessment of VETs and provide training that fulfils the identified gaps.

Thus, in terms of supporting local initiatives as they relate to participatory rural development, DETs are by implication required to guide VETs in this respect. This guidance could be in the form of strategizing or providing administrative support.

Village Extension Teams are composed of extension officers from within a particular village. Their main task is to assist Village Development Committees to prepare and implement village development plans. VETs also have the responsibility to support and advise villagers in carrying out small village projects. With respect to participatory rural development VETs are expected to assist and guide local communities in the implementation of their CAPS.

**Figure 2.2: An illustration of level of authority of extension coordinating structures.**



The Rural Extension Coordinating Committee (RECC) is composed of Directors (HoDs) at the national (Ministerial) level, whereas the DETs are district level committees responsible for extension activities. Village Extension Teams (VETs) comprise of extension workers at the village level. Lower structures report to the higher structures. All the structures are responsible for coordinating extension activities at their designated levels.

### **Extension workers and Extension work**

An extension worker is understood as an individual with specialised knowledge and skills who works with groups or individuals as well as rural communities to improve the quality of life (Republic of Botswana, 1983b). This definition implies that the extension worker cadre is an amalgamation of development workers or change agents such as community development officers, agricultural demonstrators, veterinary officers, family welfare educators, teachers, nurses and so forth. A distinction can be made between frontline extension workers or field extension agents – those that are based in the villages and are charged with field level service provision - and district level extension workers who are based at the administrative headquarters of their respective districts.

By the nature of extension work which has multiple roles an extension worker must be everything to all people), extension workers need a background in various disciplines hence the need to augment their specialised education with in-service training in such areas as project planning and management, community mobilisation, communication skills, inter-departmental coordination, teamwork and so forth.

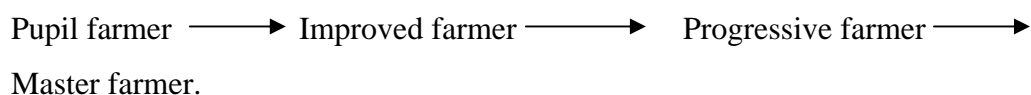
Extension workers constitute both men and women of varying ages and educational backgrounds depending on the level or seniority of the post. Some extension workers are certificate holders while others have diplomas and degrees in their areas of specialities. But of course gender differences based largely on cultural orientation have influenced different career choices for both men and women. For example, most community development officers and family welfare educators are females possibly because both vocations have long been practiced alongside the discipline of social work which is itself associated with women due to their ability to positively respond to emotional stimulation (Kaye, 2003). On the other hand, most veterinary officers

and agricultural demonstrators are males perhaps because of the belief that the jobs are demanding and women who opt for these careers may be thought to be less feminine. In the Botswana context, men are generally associated with tough or risky occupations.

The nature of extension work is such that extension workers deal mostly with illiterate rural people. Extension workers are then faced with prospects for routine difficulties in their daily operations in the rural areas. These difficulties invite human emotions to a depressing degree. Even though most extension workers may have their genetic roots in rural families, they are less likely to willingly extend their experiences with the difficulties of rural life in their choice for a career. Consequently, it is likely that most extension workers opted for a career in extension of their own free will but rather because of the need to earn a salary. This supposition may suggest that most extension workers are not motivated to provide extension services to rural communities.

Extension work is understood as the art of imparting certain knowledge and skills to communities as well as mobilizing them for action. Agricultural extension was the key focus of extension services during the protectorate period. The early agricultural extension model was known as the 'Pupil Farmer Scheme'. Any farmer who joined the scheme was required to abide by set standards of good husbandry and moisture conservation (Bechuanaland, 1965). In return the farmer was assisted to borrow ox-drawn implements such as the plough and was given free supplies of recommended varieties of seeds as well as fertilizers.

It was expected that the farmer (pupil farmer) would graduate to an 'Improved farmer' and assistance would be halted. With improvement in farming practices the 'Improved farmer' was to graduate into a 'Progressive farmer' and ultimately a 'Master farmer'. This is clearly a linear model of progression or social change popularized by modernization theorists (See Chapter three). A Pupil farmer couldn't become a Master farmer before having undergone the laid down process of metamorphosis:



The final phase of metamorphosis, Master farmer, indicates an advanced phase where the farmer practices very high standards of crop husbandry. In recognition of their advancement, Master farmers were awarded badges and framed certificates and were regarded as good examples to the community at large. They were expected to diffuse their knowledge to the other farmers who had not gone through the process of metamorphosis. Thus, they were expected to perform the functions of extension officers. Experiments on new methods and techniques of farming were done on their farms and they benefited from experimentation. It is documented that on average the scheme resulted in increased crop production since:

Pupil farmers had doubled their acreages under cultivation during the first five years after the scheme; their income per acre had gone up from R2 (two Rand) to R10 (ten Rand); and they had not only increased their investments in implements and livestock, but also raised their standards of living by purchasing more consumer goods (Bechuanaland, 1965: p.52).

But as is common with most schemes and programs based on modernization theory, the Pupil Farmer Scheme was limited to only a few farmers, as illustrated below:

Because of the highly individual and concentrated nature of the tuition offered to members of the Pupil Farmer Scheme, it will never be economically possible to extend the scheme to include the majority of the population (Bechuanaland, 1965: p.53).

It may be argued that like similar schemes and programs informed by modernization theory, the early model of agricultural extension in Botswana favoured the minority who were better off, thus exacerbating inequalities in income. Extension approaches have always focused their attention on successful farmers, neglecting the majority, and perhaps unconsciously excluding them from the benefits of rural extension. This discrimination is still favoured by the government as, articulated by the current Minister of Agriculture, Honourable Johnnie Swartz who is quoted as saying,

Consequently, government has no option but to try to make farming a viable, rewarding business and investment option. To achieve this, he said, his Ministry's extension services would focus on serious farmers who would be able to use government intervention programmes effectively to improve productivity in the agricultural sector (Botswana Daily News, July 11, 2006).

Whereas extension work was initially limited to agricultural extension, it has since been broadened and liberalized to incorporate the broad areas of service provision that

are a feature of most international development programs. When extension work started gaining momentum - as an advisory service to farmers as a way of increasing production by providing information about new plant species, better methods of planting and so forth - it was conceived within the narrow framework of agricultural production as a key activity that was associated with community development at the time. When the independent Government secured necessary revenue from minerals it intensified its focus on service and infrastructure provision in the rural areas, and henceforth broadened its approach to extension work beyond the narrow confines of agriculture.

Within the framework of the Rural Development Policy, extension work has been conceived as the vehicle for sustainable, rapid rural development. Extension work presupposes that communities have to be enabled to improve their standard of living by aided self-help education that often originates from the urban centres. To facilitate this education, extension work attempts to break rural isolation by conveying, through extension staff, necessary information, ideas, knowledge and skills to those in the rural areas. In this respect, extension could be simplified as an attempt to reach out to those in the periphery.

Extension work was thus conceived within the framework of the extension worker as a messenger of the government charged with the responsibility to mobilize and persuade (farming) households to adopt research and urban-based innovations and technologies in order to change their style of doing things. Extension work was designed in such a way that the messenger delivered a message that was transmitted to him/her by his/her superiors. The extension worker is not part of the decision making process.

Quite often the extension worker does not entertain questions from recipients regarding the message being delivered for fear of being exposed and ridiculed for inadequate knowledge of 'his message'. In the same breath, the messenger would not allow rural communities to know that he/she is simply delivering a message, and does not own it, for fear of being regarded as 'just a messenger'. Any local who questions the message may be considered a troublesome individual unwilling to change, rather than someone who is willing to change but seeks to understand first. Negative

comments relating to the message are certain to attract a stern warning or sanction as illustrated below.

You should not persist in discussing a policy, which has already been decided...whatever we may talk about here; these things should not be discussed at the district level. These are ticklish subjects and they must await Cabinet and Presidential clearance. All discussions of land development policy have been concluded (Picard, 1987: p.248).

In the first place extension workers are not expected to fully understand the message they deliver. Their task is to deliver the message whether they understand it or not. Extension workers have always been viewed disdainfully by their urban-based supervisors. They were/are thought to be lacking in competence and not to be entrusted with policy issues. Invariably, extension staff view their superiors as powerful individuals whose decisions (including ambiguous and bizarre memoranda) cannot be questioned.

Communication is generally a one-way stream; a top-down process. Urban-based officials issue orders or instructions and expect field based extension staff to communicate back by way of submitting quarterly reports on routine matters. Sharma (in Tsiane and Youngman, 1985; p.19) argues that extension staff often complain that new programmes or projects are imposed upon them with little or no warning, let alone consultation, and their own initiatives receive little support from their superiors and are bogged down in red-tape. Consequently, extension staff often withdraw into their own shells leaving the community to their own devices (Mathur, 1986).

Since extension workers are not afforded a chance to participate at the decision making level, they have no real incentive to involve the people they work with. Besides not being motivated to involve the communities, extension workers have always had clashes with local communities who view them as dispensable, arrogant and opinionated, as illustrated below:

Their higher incomes, their life styles and their education set them apart in a very fundamental manner from the average villager...They are relatively more closely identified with "town people" and government (Republic of Botswana, 1983b: p.8).

This view is reinforced by the tendency of extension workers to focus on and collude with progressive or successful farmers (who likewise prefer to be seen in extension



workers' company) with the expectation that these farmers will then diffuse the advice given by extension staff to the poorer farmers. But evidence has shown that this does not normally happen as progressive farmers tend to stick to themselves. Hence information does not reach the small farmer. Consequently, traditional extension work has unintentionally contributed to bias and perpetuated social exclusion of the poor.

At the same time, this arrangement detaches extension staff from the majority of local community members and creates a network of antagonism and suspicion. It has been shown that community members would prefer to attend public meetings addressed by urban based government officials rather than those called by local extension staff because community members do not have confidence in their abilities. They know that whatever is delivered by the extension worker cannot be questioned since it is being delivered by the messenger not the decision maker. Overall, extension approaches do not value what the people already do but rather attempt to transmit new and often foreign or urban-brewed technologies that do not appeal to local communities.

Similarly, extension workers are not interested in feedback from the users of prescribed practices. Once the message is delivered, the task has been accomplished. This is largely a result of the absence of a genuine partnership between extension workers and community members, but may also be due to the fact that extension workers are not expected to give negative feedback to their superiors lest they were regarded as under-performers or saboteurs. However, extension workers have found it convenient to blame local communities for lack of response. Essentially, most do not want to be criticized, whereas others-

...slink back in fear, never realizing their skills or talents. In their insecurity, they are afraid to try new things and are frightened by the challenges they face, vulnerable to the possibility of failure and humiliation. While these people are often capable and bright, they do not recognize or utilize their skills because their motivation has been so repressed and their fear of failure is so great (Sorensen, 1998: p.57).

This has tended to stifle individual initiative as well as the evaluation and monitoring of extension programs in case the outcome is negative.

## **The Call for New Extension Practices**

Bearing in mind the international paradigm shift in development planning, the Government of Botswana identified the extension 'machinery' as a key component of the overall strategy and emphasised the need to re-orient it to facilitate the shift. This view was expressed against the stark reality that the conventional extension machinery of information diffusion and technology transfer has often been less effective than desired (Youngman and Maruatona, 1998: p.237). The approach was lambasted for being top-down and for excluding local communities in their own development. It is documented (Shepherd, 1997) that most local people did not adopt new technologies not because they did not want to change but because they were not part of the team that worked on the innovations. Other reasons for ineffective extension included inadequate training of staff, low morale, lack of community participation in planning and implementation of community projects and generally negative attitudes of extension staff. I propose that extension workers should initiate partnerships with communities if the impact of their programmes is to be felt. They must shift their focus from local elites to the poor who often place less confidence in them as change agents. Youngman and Maruatona (1998) show that given an opportunity to participate in the development process, community members can work well with extension staff if they (extension staff) provide support rather than take over the leadership of projects. As a result of these revelations, emphasis on participatory extension work has gained momentum.

Within this framework, participatory extension work involves:

Listening to and learning from local communities and sharing skills and knowledge with them, facilitating the identification of problems and solutions, mobilising people for action and expressing the concerns of rural communities to government officials and politicians and assisting rural communities in gaining access to decision makers and the decision making process (Republic of Botswana, 1983b: p. 4)

From this perspective, participatory extension work should be based upon the following principles:

**Principle of interest and need:** Extension work must be based on the needs and interests of the people (not government alone). These needs and interests differ from individual to individual, and from village to village, hence the need to embrace

diversity. Extension workers should show a deepened commitment to their work hence they should be aware of opportunities available to community members such as funding and other resources.

**Principle of participation:** Extension work helps people to help themselves. Good extension work is directed towards helping rural families to work out their own problems rather than giving them ready-made solutions. Active participation and experiences of these people in their own development creates self-confidence in them and they also learn more by doing.

**Principle of independence with inter-dependence:** Extension staff may retain personal autonomy while depending on other partners to enhance the success of the work at hand. Inter-disciplinary and teamwork work makes the load lighter.

**Principle of cooperation/Visioning together:** Extension work should be a cooperative venture in which staff cooperates with community members as well as among themselves to pursue a common cause. Cooperation allows group members to rise above self-interest and maintain motivation.

**The leadership principle:** Extension work is based on the full utilization of local leadership. People often have faith in local leaders hence they should be used to put across a new idea.

**Whole family / gender focused principle:** Extension work has a better chance of success if extension staff has a whole family approach instead of a piece-meal, separate or disintegrated approach. Extension work is therefore for the whole family: males, females, youth, and people with disabilities.

**Principle of cultural difference:** Extension work is based on the cultural background of the people served. This means that the extension worker needs to know the level of knowledge and skills of the people, methods and tools used by them, their customs, traditions, beliefs, values and so on, to be able to work well with them.

**Principle of satisfaction:** The end product of the efforts of extension is satisfaction for those served. Satisfaction is a key success in extension work as we say, “a satisfied customer is the best advertisement”.

**The evaluation principle:** Extension work needs constant evaluation. The effectiveness of extension work is measured in terms of the changes brought about in

the knowledge, skill, attitude and behaviour of the people served and this can be realized through continuous monitoring and review (Adapted from Dipholo, 2002).

The extension worker represent the government and the way in which the extension worker behaves - wisely, arrogantly, helpfully, indifferently- is often seen as a reflection of the attitudes of the government itself. To work in extension one must be a speaker, a marketer, a writer, an innovator, a magician, an educator, a planner, a manager, an organizer, creative, flexible and willing to be multi-lingual and culturally sensitive. Although it is not easy to find such supermen and women in the extension cadre, their broad and ambiguous responsibilities and high expectations from the communities make them (extension workers) appear as such.

## **2.8 CONCLUSION**

Botswana's history of rural development is characterized by contrasts and contradictions. It is a history of development premised on trial and error strategies, institutional deficiencies and deliberate imbalances in resource allocation. This chapter has attempted to delineate the structure of the economy that was inherited at independence and how the economic predicament at the time shaped the government's overall approach to development in general and rural development in particular. The chapter also attempted to show how sincere government interventions resulted in the gradual erosion of a spirit of self-help and cultivated a culture of dependence on the state for the majority of rural households.

Botswana's rural development trends can be divided into three overarching phases. Phase one represents the period when the government was overly concerned with the provision of physical infrastructure in order to lay down the solid foundations for political independence, often warped by the desire for political prestige.

Phase two represents the period when the government realized that despite massive investment in infrastructure in rural areas, rural production and employment remained critical challenges. This realization contributed to the provision of subsidies especially in the agricultural sector with a view to stimulate and support agricultural production to alleviate poverty.

Phase three represents the present period marked by the realization that past efforts in rural development have not yielded the desired returns in terms of alleviating rural poverty and creating sustainable employment. Community participation in development activities has taken center stage. Government has completed a critical self awareness exercise and has admitted that they cannot orchestrate development on their own, despite the comparative advantage they enjoy.

This chapter has also shown that rural development policies and strategies have changed as a result of internal and external social, economic and political processes, just like the behaviors, attitudes, expectations and experiences of the rural people and development workers. In consequence, several broad conclusions are drawn the deliberations of this chapter.

First of all, through the adoption of a centralized mode of development planning and management, government bureaucrats nurtured unequal relationships based on superior/inferior relations between them and the beneficiaries of development interventions. The relationships created a monopoly of power and authority for the government and at the same time cultivated a feeling of lack of worth and hopelessness amongst rural people. A hierarchy was created in which development workers dominate and direct development, while rural people become passive recipients and near beggars. Thus, development workers have been conditioned to believe in their worth and to disregard the potential contribution of rural communities with serious consequences.

Prior to government efforts to provide infrastructure and social services and to support vulnerable households through generous relief schemes, most rural families were relatively independent and self-supporting, with effective survival skills. Government's pre-occupation with rapid economic growth through the application of a centralized strategy for development had the negative effect of excluding and marginalizing the beneficiaries of development from full participation in decision making, leading to their withdrawal from development activities hence increasing levels of poverty.

The second conclusion is that government has accepted that centralized policies and strategies; their provision of relief measures and subsidies to some households affected by recurrent droughts and other natural calamities; have contributed to a dependency syndrome which entrenches both poverty and inequality. Government is now ready to swallow its pride, admit to errors and ultimately ‘go back to the future’ – the future of rural development.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that it will require major changes in operating systems to influence and change the mindsets of development workers and rural community members to understand and appreciate the intentions of the government and the potential benefits of the new rural development strategy. Thus, the provision of tailored effective adult education for development practitioners and community members is essential.

It has been shown that whereas the paradigm shift in rural development is inevitable and compelling, the reality of Botswana’s rural areas means that the government will have to continue to provide infrastructure and social services to bolster and inject life into the rural economy. In some cases current efforts (which are state-led) will have to be expanded in order to stimulate and support rural production and employment in the rural areas. Government will have to continue to provide relief measures to vulnerable families to cushion them against the effects of recurrence droughts and the general harsh conditioned in most parts of this dry country. These complexities place severe challenges at the feet of government and to challenge the view that government must limit its development role and instead assume a more facilitatory role.

This chapter presented a paradigm shift in development in Botswana at the macro level. The next chapter considers trends in development theory also at the macro level.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW: TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The body of literature relevant to this study is vast, and encompasses a range of academic disciplines such as adult education, sociology, political science, history, economics and so forth. It is therefore essential to draw parameters which sketch out the key areas and delineate some of the main focus of the study. The review of literature focuses on thematic areas of development theories and the emergence of participatory approaches in development at the macro level.

The development theory focus of this study situates the research within the wider context of the paradigm shift in theory and practice of development. In particular, it explores the theoretical justifications for a shift towards participatory approaches in general and in particular towards Participatory Rural Appraisal.

#### **3.2 DEVELOPMENT DEFINED**

Although there is no consensus on what development is (Martunissen, 1997), one important impulse for change in African countries is the desire for economic, political and social advancement. This desire is informed by a commitment to the idea of progress towards a better society, and the need to escape from the undignified condition called underdevelopment (Esteva, 1997; Bernstein, 1983). The concept of development is basically value-laden. It poses questions of what is a more or less desirable society? Who defines progress? What are the gains from this progress and by whom at the expense of whom? On the basis of this founding contention, theories of development have been conceptualised. The theories are essentially intended to provide explanations of social change based on deliberate action.

The paramount focus of development is societal change, a kind of an evolutionary process if one is to borrow Esteva's (1997) metaphoric expression. He argues that in simple terms development describes a process through which the potentialities of an object or organisation are realised, until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged

form. Through this metaphor the direction of development becomes clear – from a certain state marked by lack of development (backwardness) to another level marked by a complete form as represented by a better society that has reached its potential – the state of maturation. Esteva writes:

The word (development) implies a favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal (1997: p.10).

The success of the Marshall Plan in the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led economists to believe that an investment in the economies of newly decolonized countries would yield the same results. The desire by the United States of America to contain the spread of communism as well as to maintain its position as the world's strongest economy also informed the notion of economic development. This view of economic development laid down a firm foundation for the application and spread of the concept of modernization.

### **3.3 MODERNIZATION THEORIES**

Modernization theories are dominated by a categorical reference to two distinctive types of societies: Traditional societies, also called rural, backward, underdeveloped or Third World, and modern societies, which can be referred to as urban, developed, industrialized or First World. Traditional societies are characterized by a simple and undifferentiated/un-specialized structure (with few institutions performing many functions) whereas modern societies are distinguished by their specialized and differentiated structure with each function being performed by a specialized institution. This specialization increases the level of complexity and efficiency. Hence modern societies are assumed to be complex. For instance, within modernization theory education was seen as a productive investment essential for economic growth (Walters and Watters, 2001). For this reason, there was a large expansion of schooling in developing countries based on the need to produce people with specific skills needed for development. For instance,

In Zimbabwe a national literacy campaign was implemented three years after independence in 1983. Despite the rhetoric of needing literacy for



development the state followed a modernization path which was oriented towards human resource development in the formal sector and thus little attention was paid to literacy (Walters and Watters, 2001: p.106).

Thus, specialization meant that other needy areas were neglected.

Traditional societies are also marked by their undeveloped production structures that perhaps explain low levels of economic growth.

In traditional societies, actions are mostly informed by customs and beliefs and authority is based on personal norms rather than abstract norms (Barnett, 1991). In modern societies institutions operate according to the principle of rationality and efficiency. Modernization theorists argue that these two ideal types of societies are historically linked by a continuous evolutionary process that follows laid down general laws. The crux of the general rule is that “ all societies follow a similar historical course which gains in differentiation and complexity as it departs from one polar type and moves towards the other” (Larrian, 1989; p.87). Development meant following, step by step, in idealized footsteps, from tradition to modernity (Chew and Deumark, 1996). Since other societies are already developed, notably, those that are referred to as industrialized, urbanized, or modern, they basically act as a yardstick for an ideal social transition in a linear fashion. Wilber maintains that,

All nations have undergone and will continue to undergo essentially the same process...., at some point in the past all countries were at a stage of economic development that would now be considered underdeveloped (1988: p.124).

Countries seeking to develop must therefore emulate the already developed nations and must follow the same stages and process followed by the developed world. Larrian (1989: p.87) says that developing countries are expected “to follow the same pattern of change undergone earlier on by the developed nations”. Barnett (1991: p.33) says that ‘developing societies could follow the already developed societies along their well-worn path to development’.

Rostow (in Larrian, 1989), proposed that all societies pass through five distinct stages. The first stage is characterized with low productivity due to lack of technology and this stage represents a traditional society. The next stage of ‘pre-condition for take off’ represents the commencement of the transition process through the destruction of

traditional structures. At this stage the society adopts new economic modes and becomes part of the trading world. The destruction of traditional structures ensures that the society experiences growth as a permanent feature through the introduction of new technologies in agriculture to secure sustained growth. This is the stage of 'take-off', which prepares fertile ground for the stage of 'road to maturity' where the economy is modernized through new technology. The last stage, according to Rostow, is the stage of 'high mass consumption' where consumption goes beyond mere basic needs to include luxury goods.

In many developing countries the desire to improve the standard of living of the majority of the people who did not directly benefit from rapid economic growth necessitated the adoption of a welfare approach to development. Welfare programs were concerned with a view to cushion the poor against starvation. In the case of Botswana, the government introduced the Drought Relief programme, Food-for-Work scheme, Destitute programme and other schemes to secure rural livelihoods.<sup>17</sup> This has continued in present-day Botswana with food relief being provided by the government, and to some extent by civil society, to those who cannot survive on their own. This has however cultivated a dependency syndrome among people who expect the government to provide a means of living.

Whereas welfare programs in most developed and developing countries are initiated by civil society, in Botswana most welfare programs are the creation of the Government. This might be due to the dominant role of the state in development. It is my considered view that the government played a leading role in initiating welfare programmes partly as a means to redistribute income generated from the mining sector and partly because of the underdeveloped state of civil society in Botswana. For instance, the state has initiated welfare programs such as the Destitute grant for people who are virtually unable to fend for themselves.

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<sup>17</sup> The Drought Relief Program was conceived as a drought recovery measure. Because of perennial droughts in Botswana the program has become permanent though it can be suspended whenever the food situation is satisfactory. The Food-for-Work programme was actually a scheme meant to engage in work those who needed food relief so that it did not look as though they were being given free food. The Destitute Program provides monthly food rations to citizens who have been screened by social workers as having no other means of survival.

Civil society in Botswana is generally young and still being funded by the state. For instance, Permaculture Botswana is a non-governmental organisation that mostly works with Basarwa and other underprivileged communities. The organisation mostly provides housing. In New Xade (a new settlement that was established by the government to resettle Basarwa from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve) the organisation assists community members to shift away from the construction of traditional mud huts to the construction of brick houses. Community members who wish to be assisted to construct brick houses register with the organisation and do the communal brick moulding. Qualified bricklayers who are paid by the organisation do the construction while the community provides free labour during construction. The organisation obtains the largest share of its income from government funding through the Department of Social and Community Development.

Churches, especially their umbrella body- the Botswana Christian Council, also provide welfare programs especially during emergencies such as flooding, fire outbreaks and so forth, but they do not generally provide long-term welfare assistance programs. It must also be pointed out that the central government seems uncomfortable with some civil society organisations and often attempts to stifle their participation in the provision of welfare assistance.

The Government of Botswana has often chastised NGOs for being controlled by foreign individuals with hidden agendas wishing to dictate terms. For instance, during the official opening of the CIVICUS Fifth World Assembly in Gaborone, Botswana, in March 2004, the state president is said to have remarked that, “some NGOs encroach on the very well being as well as independent identity of the developing world through rigid and self-serving interpretations of what supposedly constitutes international norms” (Botswana Daily News, online edition; March 23, 2004). The state president is also reported to have castigated NGOs for being long arms of external states with agendas that threaten the livelihoods of the people they claim to represent. In a similar way the Government of Zimbabwe not long ago introduced the NGO Bill of 2004 that seeks to ban foreign funding of NGOs in Zimbabwe such as Amnesty International, Transparency International and so forth. Apparently, the Government of President Robert Mugabe has always accused NGOs drumming support for the opposition Movement for Democratic Change that is campaigning for

a regime change in Zimbabwe (The Citizen, September 3, 2004). In some Third World countries, governments, instead of treating NGOs as partners in development, regard them as enemies, saboteurs and stooges of foreign powers.

It is not a secret that much of the developing world mimics industrialized countries. In most cases this mimicking is not optional but rather compulsory having been imposed and reinforced by conditions attached to external aid from the industrialized nations and international financial institutions. For instance, recipients of aid may be ordered to undergo a regime change and institute democratization measures in line with the notion of democracy of the donor state. Whereas Botswana's long history of adherence to democratic principles saved her from pressures to democratize, there are sporadic calls for the country to implement structural adjustment policies especially in terms of downsizing the public service. In this way, the country is being bullied to follow the industrialized nations' development path.

### **Critique of Modernization Theories**

Fanon (1967) lashed out at modernization theorists for reducing the study of socio-historical processes to the mere construction of abstract models of universal applicability. He argued that underdevelopment cannot be construed as a universal original situation, as a stage which all developed countries experienced prior to their development. Underdevelopment makes sense only when it is used to describe the present relationship between developed and developing nations. Basically, critiques of modernization theory contend that the dichotomy between traditional and modern societies is not as simple and rigid as the physical distance between Johannesburg and Gaborone, for instance, because some part of a developed society may remain traditional, coexisting with others that are visibly modern.

Modernization theorists argue that there are explicit stages or steps that the developed nations have gone through and the developing nations should go through sequentially if they are to experience development. These theorists ignore the fact that the international order is uneven, with developed nations dominating and manipulating the order through terms of trade, for instance, for their own interests. Modernization theorists also posit that, as was the case in Western Europe, development of

underdeveloped nations should be propelled by endogenous variables such as internal markets, skills development and so forth but then one can argue that by saying so they are violating their own premise that change within developing nations is, to a large extent, be influenced by international trade and the diffusion of modern values.

### **3.4 DEPENDENCY THEORIES**

Sustained attacks on modernization theory culminated in a new paradigm that construed underdevelopment of the Third World as conditioned by their deliberate domination by advanced capitalist societies. This new paradigm marked the emergence of dependency theory as a radical departure and challenge to the optimism of modernization theory. Dependency theorists, in particular Frank (1981), took the center-periphery relationship as a starting point. The central tenet of dependency theory is that underdevelopment in the Third World (the periphery) is directly caused by their dependence on central economies through the creation of capitalism that divides the world into a chain of metropolises and satellites. By dependency they refer to an arrangement where the economies of the underdeveloped nations are shaped by the development and expansion of the economies of the developed nations.

Dependency theorists also criticized capitalism in the Third World as unable to lead to a desirable state of well being (development) because it is inherently exploitative, allowing the developed nations to control and thus exclude the developing nations from access to resources. This means that some countries are underdeveloped because of the transfer of their resources – through mechanisms of unequal exchange in the international market – to the developed nations. More precisely, dependency theorists posit that the development of the First World produces undesirable consequences in the Third World through the systematic exploitation of their resources, or as Frank puts it, “ development and underdevelopment each cause and are caused by the other in the total development of capitalism” (in Larrain, 1989; p.116). Seers (1981) contends that the development of the core necessarily requires the underdevelopment of the periphery. In elaborating on the work of Baran, Larrain writes:

The exploitation of the less developed countries consists in the transfer of a part of their economic surplus to the developed world and the squandering of another part of it in luxury consumption by backward local oligarchies. It is

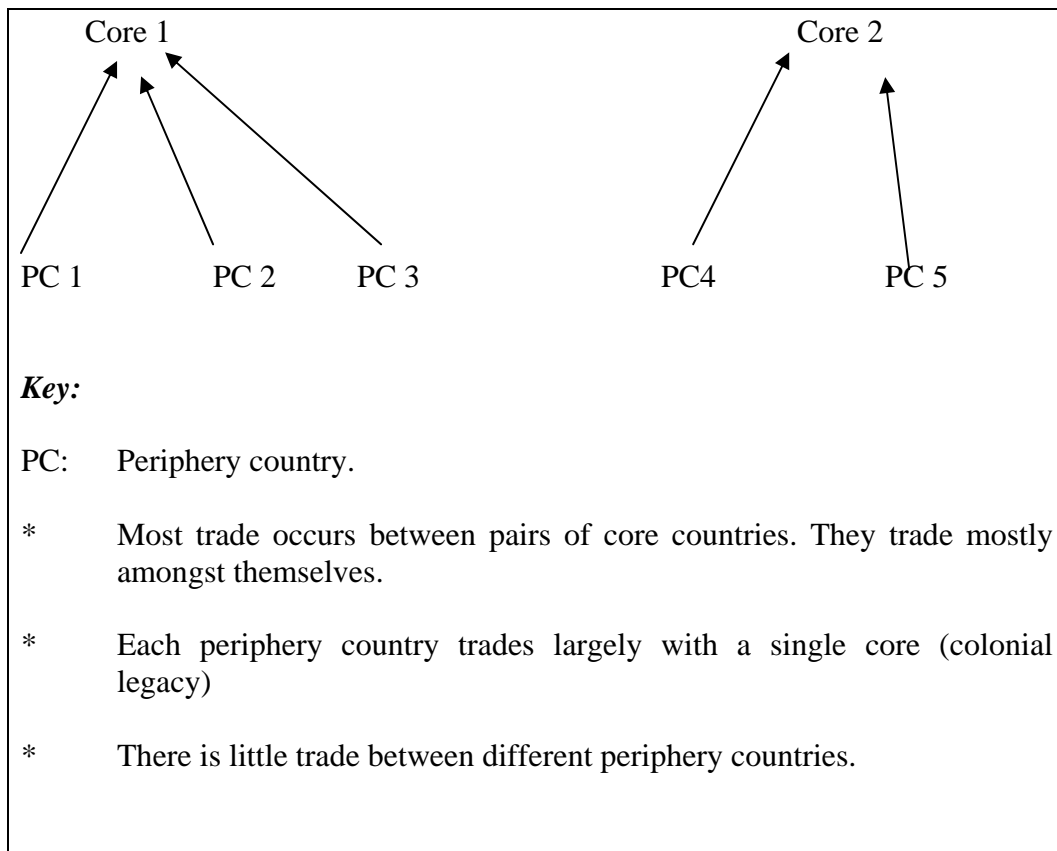
because of the loss and misuse of their economic surplus that backward countries become underdeveloped (1989: p.115).

Frank argues that since the capitalist world system is predicated on unequal relations between the metropolises and the satellites, it means that the chances of satellites developing are greatly diminished. In this sense, underdevelopment is not a condition which predates development, but rather underdevelopment came to birth alongside economic development. That being the case, it can be argued that the present situation of poverty and low productivity in the countries of the Third World produced historically by their subordination into the world market, and was not their original condition resulting from their internal characteristics (Youngman, 2000).

On the basis of this reasoning, dependency theorists point out that faced with these difficulties, conscious of the fact that capitalism is monopolistic and exploitative and that capitalism is opposed to the industrial development of the Third World and in favour of their stagnation, “the only chance for these (underdeveloped) countries is to abandon capitalism and adopt the socialist road to development” (Larrain, 1989: p.115), or as Seers puts it, ‘the only alternative becomes that of breaking completely with the metropolis-satellite network through socialist revolution or continuing to under-develop within it’(1981: p.44). Rapley adds that ‘whereas modernization theorists saw the First World as guiding the Third World development through aid, investment.....the First World actually hindered the emergence from poverty of the Third World’ (1996: p.18).

Wallerstein carries this analysis further and stresses that; “the key factor to note is that within a capitalist world economy, all states cannot develop simultaneously by definition, since the system functions by virtue of having unequal core and peripheral regions” (in Larrain, 1989: p.122). This relationship is a relationship of exploitation whereby the core appropriates the surplus produced by the periphery as illustrated by figure 3.1 below:

**Figure 3.1: A diagrammatic representation of core-periphery relationship**



Responding to the claim of modernization theorists that development entails stages of economic growth which all countries must pass through in transition to development, dependency theorists counter that the advanced capitalist economies were developed on the basis of surplus value drawn from the underdeveloped nations and that this law of linear evolution cannot be repeated by the present day Third World nations.

The famous Egyptian writer Samir Amin also added his voice to dependency theory by exploring the idea of a single capitalist world in which the underdeveloped nations are structurally dependent on the developed world because of the domination of foreign capital over their economies, the repatriation of profit from the peripheries to the centres, and the naked plunder of their raw materials. Rodney in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972) also gave an account of this exploitation with

a simplified version of how Africa was exploited by Europe through a brutal process of resource exploitation.

### **Critique of Dependency Theory**

Critics of dependency theory argue that while dependency theory is critical of modernization theory, it is subjected to the same limitations that haunt modernization theory. Their point here is that dependency theory tries to propose an ideal model of development distinct from the traditional/modern society dichotomy yet it resorts to a similar simplistic categorization of nations between core and periphery. Critics also take a swipe at dependency theory for being what they call 'mechanistic' by positing underdevelopment and development as representing a system of vicious cycles reinforcing each other in such a way that underdevelopment is inevitable. Newly developing countries such as Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore dispute this. The development of these peripheral countries disqualifies the logic followed by dependency theorists. According to Warren (in Larrain, 1989), empirical evidence suggests that significant progress has been noticed in industrial and agrarian transformation in parts of the developing World.

Warren in particular posits that trade is not a zero-sum game in which one side's gain must be the other's loss. He argues that foreign investment, which is abhorred by dependency theorists, usually results in improved state revenue which would not have existed otherwise, unless the so-called surplus drain is indeed an absolute drain (Larrain, 1989).

Critics further point out that since dependency theorists propose a socialist economic order based on the failures of capitalism, then socialism does not have a theoretical foundation without capitalism. In other words:

If the necessity of socialism lies in the impossibility of a capitalist solution to the problems of national development, any suggestion that these may be a capitalist solution seems to be establishing a case for capitalism (Larrain, 1989: 191).

Socialism only becomes a necessity because capitalism is a failure, not on the basis of its own strength.



### **3.5 THE HUMAN-CENTRED APPROACH AND THE BASIC NEEDS APPROACH.**

In between the fierce exchange of arguments between modernization theorists and dependency theorists, the challenges of development were becoming more pronounced as a result of increasing levels of poverty in the Third World, and disparities in wealth between and within nations in the 1980s. The 2003 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) reports that the world's least developed countries, described as the poorest of the poor, are increasing in number despite decades of international efforts to rescue them from the vicious cycle of poverty and aid-dependency. These concerns about poverty and wealth disparities place question marks on the legitimacy and relevance of the dominant development paradigm (based on modernisation theory) that largely focuses on economic aspects of development.

Critique of the dominant development paradigm holds that overall economic growth alone is not a sufficient condition for meaningful development. On the basis of this proposition, the integration of economic and social aspects of development was given prominence after “recognizing the necessary interaction of physical resources, technical processes, economic aspects and social change” (Esteva, 1997: p.14). This new realization took the debate on development to another level noting that, “the goal of development is not to develop things but to develop man [sic] and woman” (Mathur, 1986: 14). The United Nations subsequently adopted a ‘Unified Approach’ to development and planning which would integrate both social and economic aspects in the design of development policies and programmes (Esteva, 1997; UNDP, 2003). The approach was to encompass components designed to:

- Leave no sector of the population outside the scope of change and development.
- Effect structural change which favours national development and to activate all sectors of the population to participate in the development process.
- Aim at social equity, including the achievement of an equitable distribution of income and wealth in the nation (and I would add, in the world).

- Give high priority to the development of human potentials, the provision of employment opportunities and meeting the needs of children. (Esteva, 1997: p.14).

From the above components it is clear that the basis upon which the Unified approach was conceptualised was that poverty and inequalities in wealth were rampant because sectors of the population were excluded from the decision making process and therefore from the process of development; that the existing social structures were hostile to national development; that wealth distribution was inequitable within and between nations, and that the development of human capital has lagged behind.

Components of the Unified approach were later absorbed into a new version of development to be known as human-centred development; a clear reference to a deliberate focus on people as the ultimate beneficiaries of development, elaborated by Rogers (1992) who said that the biggest potential which a nation possesses is its human population and thus nations need to invest in this resource if economic growth is to be achieved. Human or people centred development entails the involvement of people in the process of development in such a way that they are able to discover the possibilities of exercising choice and thereby become capable of managing their own development. The human-centered development approach is thus summarized as:

Development with a human emphasis that recognizes the importance of dignity and confidence building, communication and relationships, critical thinking and learning, and relevant and empowering actions...creating opportunities for people and communities to pursue goals that are their own and which aim to improve the quality of their lives (UNDP, 2003: p.4).

Enlarging people's choices includes allowing them to pursue different routes that lead to development (and possibly the choice not to develop). The 1990 UNDP report further states that:

The process of development should at least create a conducive environment for people, individually and collectively to develop their full potential and to have a reasonable chance of leading productive and creative lives in accord with their needs and interests (p.1).

With this proposition in mind, UNDP proposed at least three conditions needed to realize the goal of human development. The first of these conditions is liberalization, which involves the fostering of private initiatives and the free functioning of market

mechanisms. The second condition proposed by UNDP is democratisation which implies handing over decision making powers to local agents who are accountable to local communities they are meant to serve. UNDP also proposed participation of people in the decision making process so that each individual member of a community should be the principal agent of economic and social progress and ultimately its final beneficiary.

From these proposed conditions, it is clear that the concern with human-centered development hinged on guaranteeing satisfaction of human needs and aspirations of all individuals through their participation both in the generation of wealth and its distribution. The report states that, “people’s needs and aspirations should guide the direction of development, and people should be fully involved in propelling economic growth and social progress” (UNDP, 1990: p.64).

Over the years new insights were gained in the process of implementing development policies and programmes. As a result of continued threats of poverty and inequalities in income, the world through the leadership of the UN demanded a more effective approach with emphasis on the social aspects of development. This led to the emergence of the ‘Basic Needs Approach’, coined at a Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress (Esteve, 1997). The Basic Needs Approach as the name suggests, was aimed at satisfying basic needs related to the challenges of hunger, deprivation, inequalities and other related social ills confronting people. Its apologists posit that “people, not economies, come first; and people come last as well” (Rogers, 1992: p.99). Within this perspective, development interventions should be evaluated by the contribution they make to meeting the basic needs of people and improving their lives.

### **Critique of the Basic Needs and Human-Centred Approaches**

The ‘Basic Needs Approach’ focuses exclusively on meeting immediate human needs, not by the individual or community but by others who have the means to help. It is thus locked in a welfare or charitable approach through social programmes such as child grants, old age pensions, unemployment benefits and so forth – conveniently referred to as social spending. The problem is that, as the population increases, the

number of people who require their basic needs to be met shoots up, requiring that more resources be directed towards these programmes through taxation of others. This may be socially unacceptable, more so if we take into account the position that in a free market economy wealth should be shared among those who contributed to it (Lipton, 1977).

A market-oriented economy would generally exclude anyone who either has nothing or who has something that is not in demand. It is not much concerned with a long-term approach to social ills but rather seeks to meet present needs. It is neither empowering nor does it promote self-reliance. It is also based on the assumption that those who have the means to help the underprivileged are aware of their actual or felt needs. Thus, needs in this respect are essentially outsider-defined and financed. They rarely reflect the exact needs of the majority. It is a process of doing for others not helping them to do for themselves. The approach also seems directionless in that it makes meeting basic needs an end in itself, which means that after meeting those needs there is no further need for development. In summary, the Basic Needs approach is disempowering and by and large promotes the 'dependency syndrome'.

### **3.6 ENGENDERING DEVELOPMENT THEORIES**

Despite the emphasis on people's active participation in development activities, women are still often excluded from the decision making process. This concern led to the first Conference on Women and Development, held in Mexico in 1975, under the theme Equity, Development and Peace. Other conferences followed in 1985 (Nairobi, Kenya) and 1995 in Beijing, China. The conferences highlighted the plight of women and popularised the necessity to integrate women into the decision making process. Early efforts in this regard were limited to targeting women as a specially disadvantaged group, hence special programmes, which were essentially welfare oriented, were designed (Moser, 1993). Specifically, the programmes sought to assist women in their traditional roles particularly in the reproductive sphere. These early schemes did not, as their ultimate goals, aim to empower women by making them self-supporting. Women were rather viewed as victims of underdevelopment and so passive recipients of welfare schemes.

As time went on, it became apparent that this charitable approach to women's problems was not sustainable or empowering. In view of this, a new vision to take into account the relationship between women and men in social and economic spheres became central to development thinking. The notion of equity between women and men became a central point of departure. Within this perspective, it became clear that more aid had gone to men under the pretext that they headed their households. Households headed by women had been ignored and excluded. As a result of this recognition, more funds were channelled towards projects managed by women, most of which targeted meeting immediate basic needs. The allocation of additional funds to women-controlled projects did not, however solve the problem of women's exclusion (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

As a result of this recognition and as women became more conscious of their position in relation to that of men, a new vision emerged. The new approach sought to address the historically based inequalities between women and men by strengthening and extending the power base of women. This marked a departure from the previous charitable approaches to women's problems, essentially by focusing on meeting strategic needs rather than the basic needs (Boellstorff, 1995). The concept of women's empowerment became prominent and calls for women emancipation became louder.

The visible levels of poverty amongst women and increasing environmental destruction stirred a debate on the relationship between women, the environment and development. There was recognition that the effects of environmental destruction are more severely felt by women than men because of women's innate involvement with agriculture (Shiva, 1989). For instance, the collection of firewood for fuel is mostly the responsibility of women, so the depletion of trees for firewood is likely to affect women most. Women are also regarded as more spiritually related to the environment since they are assumed to be caring and nurturing. The story of women in the Indian Himalayas (the Chipko Movement) hugging forest trees 24 hours a day to prevent commercial logging is a dramatic illustration of the intimate relationship between the environment and women (Shepherd, 1997).

These insights into the feminisation of rural poverty led the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission 1987) to argue for the need

for the world to move towards 'sustainable development' - defined by the Commission as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Subsequently in 1992 the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to discuss both the environment and development problems. The conference highlighted the plight of women (rural women mostly) within the environment-development nexus. A new consciousness in the area of eco-feminism gained centre stage. Eco-feminists, led by Vandana Shiva and Moser, felt that women and the environment had suffered at the hands of a male-dominated economic growth model and that the only viable path to equitable development is to draw legitimacy from a feminist perspective (Shiva, 1989; Moser, 1993).

Eco-feminism starts from the premise that there is a connection between the oppression of the environment and the oppression of women that is caused by men. This theory further criticizes charitable women's schemes for being methodologically flawed by restricting their concerns to women only without considering their relationship with men. This perspective gave birth to the Gender and Development (GAD) movement, which not only recognizes women but also recognizes the division of work and the benefits that accrue to women and men (Razavi, 1995). The movement sought to make deliberate efforts to address these issues as a whole. GAD recognizes the different roles played by men and women and this role differentiation assumes the central point for gender analysis and planning whose goal is to emancipate women [without oppressing men]. The approach thus recognizes that men and women live together and will always do so and therefore need each other. Plato, the great philosopher, once said that, "if women are expected to do the same work as men, we must teach them the same things". In other words, if we appreciate that women and men will always live together we must give them equal attention so that they develop at the same time and level.

### **3.7 GLOBALISATION**

Development theories continue to be re-defined along the lines of the early dominant theories of development, modernization and dependency theories. With the end of the

Cold War era and subsequent weakening of the socialist forms of development, the world has been moving towards an economic order or system that is predicated on the concepts of free trade and a global village. Apologists for free trade (such as Dollar and Kraay, 2001; World Bank, 2002; and World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation, 2004) argue that free trade and open borders create jobs and income all over the world. They posit that the existing gap between the rich and poor nations is a result of undue protectionist policies implemented by poor nations. They argue that poor nations have for a long time closed their borders, thus disabling the free flow of capital.

Consequently, the proponents of a free market system propose an economic order where all barriers to international trade are dismantled so as to allow capital to flow freely and to facilitate the transfer of technology from the rich to the poor nations. They maintain that this set up will ultimately facilitate the transition from underdevelopment to development. This marks their entry to the era of globalisation, which is an economic and social scenario marked by increased interaction, or integration of national economies through unhindered growth in international trade, investment and capital flows (Dollar and Kraay, 2001). It represents a cross border social, cultural and technological exchange that will ensure that all national cultural differences disappear in a homogenized world. Globalisation also entails the extension of economic relations between different countries to the point of creating a world economy in which every national economy is dependent on the other.

Globalisation's proponents also maintain that no country can be self-sufficient in the production of all commodities and that trade is better than not trading. This being the case, globalisation will require that countries specialize in the production of a commodity for which they have comparative advantage and then freely trade with one another. This specialization is expected to help each country to grow faster. Proponents of globalisation pose dire questions like 'do you want to be like North Korea?' referring to the fact that North Korea has limited trading links with much of the world due to its communist policy and nuclear program which resulted in economic sanctions hence isolation.

Proponents of globalisation further argue that the nation state has become irrelevant and helpless in dealing with the world's problems. Central to this argument is that instead of creating an atmosphere conducive to international trade most national governments work through hazardous protectionist policies. Against this background, proponents of globalisation advocate an economic order that is determined by the movement of international capital. Under this arrangement multinational corporations will regulate the affairs of former nation states (Korten, 1995). Government regulations and labour laws (such as the imposition of minimum wages) must be liberalized to promote trade and higher productivity for export. Globalisation also promotes privatisation with a view to transferring ownership of some state assets to private companies in order to make them more efficient, effective and profitable.

### **Resistance to Globalisation**

Resistance to globalisation has grown alongside the system itself. At the outset opponents to globalisation saw it as a worldwide drive toward a single economic system dominated by supranational corporate trade and banking institutions that are not accountable to democratic processes and national governments. Others view it as a renewal of imperialism- the highest form of capitalism in which industrialized nations are able to use free trade to consolidate their power and control of wealth. Businesses likewise are able to use globalisation to manipulate and exploit labour.

Since globalisation advocates an economic order in which the role and influence of nation states become increasingly insignificant, the ability of the state to defend and protect labour through the enactment of labour laws has been diminished. For instance, in the absence of minimum wages businesses can pay their employees wages only sufficient to make them come to work the following day. After all, multinational companies need cheap labour as in "China where employees are happy to work a 14-hour day for 50 Pence. And there are four billion new suckers out there to exploit" (*The Midweek Sun*, April 2004 – a Botswana newspaper). This is perhaps why there is pressure all over the world to drive down wages, and multinationals constantly threaten to close down their factories and relocate to places where wage costs are low.



Not long ago, *The Citizen*, a South African private newspaper, reported that the US Secretary of State called on India to open its markets to diffuse worries about “outsourced US jobs”. The paper continued that, “outsourcing – US corporates moving work to lower-wage countries like India – has become an issue ahead of the US Presidential elections because US workers fear resultant job losses” (The Citizen, 17 March 2004: 12). Multinational corporations also use child labour against international norms. “India alone is reported to have some 14 million child labourers, aged six and above working under conditions of virtual slavery for up to 16 hours a day” (Rob Sewell, p8, in [www.globalization.com](http://www.globalization.com)). Opponents of Globalisation view this as capitalist exploitation of the working people, who are expected to work long hours, under dehumanising conditions and paid only what is adequate to survive.

Globalization critics (such as Burbach, 2001; Vandenbroucke, 1998; and Stiglitz, 2003) also contend that big business has too much power over too many aspects of human life; that powerful corporations override national sovereignty and undermine political systems. Vandenbroucke says,

It is widely believed that we live in an era in which the greater part of social life is determined by global processes, in which national cultures, national economies and national borders are dissolving. Central to this perception is the notion of a rapid and recent process of economic globalization. A truly global economy is claimed to have emerged or to be in the process of emerging, in which distinct national economies and, therefore, domestic strategies of national economic management are increasingly irrelevant. The world economy has internationalized in its basic dynamics; it is dominated by uncontrollable market forces, and it has as its principal economic actors and major agents of change truly trans-national corporations, that owe allegiance to no nation state and locate wherever in the globe market advantage dictates (1998: p.9-10).

Big businesses use their financial muscle to bring down elected governments, by sponsoring their own puppets.

Opponents of globalisation also point out that the collective exploitation of developing nations by the US, the EU and Japan through their domination, disguised as free trade and free competition will further impoverish the many people of the Third World. Burbach comments that,

Globalisation has integrated the planet as never before under the dominance of multinational corporations. Simultaneously, globalisation has adversely

impacted living standards around the world, shattering local cultures and societies (2001: p.2)

What these industrialized nations call competition is in fact monopoly since they themselves dictate the terms of trade relating to conditions of sale, terms of payments, quantity and quality of goods to be produced and their prices. Some of these developed nations manufacture hazardous pesticides and other chemicals that they export to developing countries resulting in unprecedented levels of pollution and even loss of human life.

There is currently a heated debate on Genetically Modified (GM) grain offered as food aid to starving citizens of the developing world. Some countries have rejected such aid on the basis that GM food is not safe for human consumption. As a result of this, poor countries find themselves in a dilemma of having to choose between allowing their citizens starve to death or giving them GM food aid that most believe is harmful to human health. Zimbabwe for instance, blocked the delivery of such aid from entering the country despite its being gripped by the worst famine in its history. In Zambia, where some GM grain had already been delivered, it was placed under lock and key and the government banned its distribution (Africa Recovery, 2003). Meanwhile the EU has placed a moratorium on the importation of GM food, yet it permits Europe to grow and export the same to developing countries.

In summary, one can say that the opponents of globalisation see it as a vicious form of capitalism with no respect for human dignity and human life in the developing world. It is seen a system in which small nations will continue to be bullied by big nations in the interest of big businesses so that they (poor nations) remain in their familiar position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. It is a system that perpetuates and consolidates an unequal relationship between the developing and the developed world; a system where developed nations and their corporations form strategic business alliances to destroy labour movements and force regime changes for their own interest. It is a situation in which developing countries that resist becoming part of the global village face deepening economic stagnation, political instability and cultural alienation. It is a system whereby small dependent nations are coerced to toe the line or face the music in the form of alienation and/or military action.

I note that when Iraq attacked Kuwait in 1991, the US maintained that Iraq had declared war on the whole world, perhaps because Kuwait is part of the global family of nations. In 2003 the US attacked Iraq purporting to be acting in the interests of the world to free the people of Iraq from the bondage of dictatorship and for Iraq's presumed role in sponsoring international terrorism. The US mobilized world nations to join the war on its side so that they all contribute to international peace. After the collapse of the Iraqi regime and the bartered infrastructure, an ambitious reconstruction plan was rolled out by the US but what is interesting is that the majority of contracts for reconstruction were awarded to US companies such as Bechtel, Halliburton and Fluor (The Citizen, April 2, 2004).

Globalisation critics have also dubbed globalisation as the rise of 'Americanisation' or 'Westernisation' because globalisation has ushered in an era in which a single culture is hero-worshipped and serves the interests of big businesses. It is an era in which being 'smart' is associated with drinking coca-cola, watching American movies and coping American slang. Critics argue that this American culture is crushing traditional social relationships and family values that have always helped Africans to deal with poverty, in favour of commercially oriented values.

Shiva summarized the impact of globalisation on Indian agriculture by writing;

Economic globalisation is leading to a concentration of seed identity, increased use of pesticides, and, finally increased debts. Capital intensive, corporate controlled agriculture is being spread into regions where peasants are poor, but until now, have been self-sufficient in food. In regions where industrial agriculture has been introduced through globalisation, higher costs are making it virtually impossible for small farmers to survive (2003: p.11).

The basis of this argument is that Indian farmers are being lured into buying new high yield, hybrid cotton seeds called 'white gold', which are vulnerable to pests and drought. As a result, farmers have to spend more on pesticides and irrigation thus becoming indebted. Their traditional seeds are relatively pest and drought resistant.

Nevertheless, the forces in favour of globalisation are powerful and organized. In Botswana for instance, the government, in collaboration with businesses, is vigorously pursuing a privatisation policy that seeks to denationalise some public institutions

because they have not been profitable. The government maintains that privatisation is aimed at increasing the participation of the private sector in the economy. It states that:

The basic objectives of privatisation are to improve efficiency in the delivery of services, and facilitate technology transfer through direct investment in privatised enterprises (Republic of Botswana, 2003a: p.69).

The 2000 Privatisation Policy for Botswana recognizes that there is need to transform government from the roles of provider and regulator to the role of facilitator. This indicates that the government wishes to relinquish some of its responsibilities to the private sector. However, being a facilitator could mean sitting back and handing over the stick (Chambers, 1993), eventually becoming a powerless spectator, hardly attractive propositions for the government.

Despite strong opposition from labour movements such as the National Amalgamated Local and Central Government and the Parastatal Manual Workers' Union, government went ahead in implementing the policy. The Union has contended that "privatisation all over Africa has got a bad history of retrenchment and of transferring the ownership of property into the hands of the very wealthy at the expense of workers and the general public" (Business Report, 8 August, 1999).

Other efforts by the government to drive the economy towards open market principles included the reduction or elimination of subsidies, especially in the agricultural sector. The government is also vigorously pursuing a policy of cost-recovery especially in the education sector, arguing that:

...the level of investment in education that government has made over the years can no longer be sustained unless alternative avenues for complementing government efforts are established (Republic of Botswana, 2003a: p.279).

The effects of these measures are likely to devastate the majority of the population and will push them deeper into misery. At the international level, Botswana has undertaken to continue to seek market liberalization through the development of a competitive policy and greater liberalization of the financial sector. Evidence of this move is that in 1999 the government abolished all exchange controls on both current

and capital account transactions to ensure that the country was marketable as a viable financial services centre. This position is captured below:

With increasing globalisation, greater openness and free mobility of capital are important ingredients for achieving higher levels of investment, technological progress, employment creation and economic growth (Republic of Botswana, 2003a: p.99).

This is the position of the Government of Botswana on globalisation and privatisation, which will be vigorously encouraged and promoted during NDP9, despite social consequences such as retrenchments and increased income disparities. The government finds itself in a complex situation where it aspires to ensure increased productivity through a private sector driven economy and at the same time tries to ensure that privatisation does not hurt ordinary citizens. Loss of jobs is inevitable, yet it remains rare for a government department to retrench staff whereas this is common place in the private sector. It is also true that some public corporations are operating at a loss and rely on the government to bail them out. This may not be sustainable in the long run and the idea of privatising them is probably justified.

It is my view that the effects of globalisation are already taking their toll in much of Southern Africa and possibly elsewhere. For instance, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Trade Protocol aims at creating a free trade area in the SADC region by the year 2008, but with economic and political crisis gripping some member states, in particular the once prosperous Zimbabwe, alarms are already being raised as to the viability of such an idea. Illegal immigrants to both Botswana and South Africa are likely to destabilize the region and derail the proposal. It is reported that there are currently more than 700 000 Zimbabwean emigrants in Botswana and well over 2 million in South Africa. These figures represent Zimbabweans who have entered the two countries legally. The numbers are much higher if illegal immigrants are taken into account (The Midweek Sun, May 19 2004).

Yet globalisation seeks to promote greater economic integration regardless of the consequences (Keet, 1999; Zack-Williams, 2001). The problem of illegal immigrants invites the question of whether greater economic integration in the name of free trade is possible in regions with massive inequalities in wealth. The problem of illegal immigrants to both South Africa and Botswana is currently the subject of intense

political debate with some countries affected by the problem proposing tougher immigration laws and border patrols to keep out aliens. These steps are regarded by some as anti-globalisation and unwelcome symptoms of xenophobia. The US and many Western European countries also try to limit immigration.

Free competition as envisaged under globalisation also applies to humans in the form of labour. In this respect, globalisation promotes a free market system whereby those countries or institutions which are able to pay better wages can recruit and retain qualified personnel whereas those unable to do so lose their qualified people. In the case of Botswana, for instance, the past two years saw an unprecedented exodus of nurses to the better paying market of the UK. Subsequent complaints to the UK authorities by the government of Botswana led to the UK placing a moratorium on the import of nurses. Unfortunately, this intervention did not stop the problem as nurses continued to leave for the UK of their own volition, taking advantage of the weak 'human import' regulatory mechanism in place. The Citizen (March, 2004) quoted the South African Home Affairs Minister as saying:

No one should make the mistake of believing [that] only white people had emigrated- a number of black nurses and top-notch black professionals were among many South Africans leaving the country (p.6).

In voicing his anguish at the loss, the Minister expressed concern at the extent to which this emigration of skilled people negatively affected the economy since more skilled people were leaving the country than entering it. In effect, more skilled people leave developing countries where they are needed most to help in the fight against poverty, HIV/AIDS and unemployment. The problem is not only limited to highly skilled personnel but also includes semi-skilled labour, as Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe pondered why some of his people went to the UK to "wash the bodies of elderly people in England" (The Citizen, 19 April 2004) in reference to Zimbabweans working as care givers in the UK.

### **3.8 PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT**

Within the Human-centred Development Approach (see section 3.5) which focuses on the development of the full potential of the individual or collectivity of individuals,

there emerged in the 1980s a major shift from providing people with means of livelihoods through welfare schemes to enabling them to provide for themselves through promoting self-reliance. The insight driving this shift was that there was nothing more basic to the development process than people's participation.

It was argued by the United Nations (UNDP, 1990) that despite rapid economic growth in most parts of the world, the majority of the people still lived in poverty due to their exclusion and marginalization from the decision making process and services that were meant for them. Commentators argued that development was not uniform and therefore did not require uniform prescriptions. Consequently, the Human-centered approach sought to combine a series of complimentary concepts that drew their meanings and theoretical formation from a variety of theories of development. For instance, the emerging approach emphasized that development had to be sustainable and that it could only be sustainable if the people who were to benefit were part of the process itself.

A combination of these conceptions came to embrace economic growth through popular participation, development of human capital, environmental sustainability, capacity building, democratisation and elimination of dependency (Dipholo, 2000; Martunissen, 1997). This combination eventually led to participatory development planning as a new paradigm, though not entirely original, but new in emphasis and methods.

Significantly, people became the centre of attention in the development process. Greater attention was placed on the need to formulate programmes that were relevant to the felt needs of the people. This is clearly in contrast with views held by some apologists for centralized planning who argue that:

Too much involvement of the masses in the decision-making would impede growth, because ordinary citizens lacked the foresight and imagination required to plan for the future (Martunissen, 1997: p.232).

Proponents of participatory development, led by Robert Chambers, contend that any approach which prescribes 'packages' for development is likely to lead to dependency on the government or donors. In many cases such development packages or projects are likely to be rejected, neglected and in some cases vandalized. Mathur writes:

It is not uncommon that facilities and services are created and offered to the people, who then fail to use them satisfactorily. Many drinking water supply schemes have been set up, but the women, traditional water carriers, do not use the costly pumps installed by program agency. Rural housing is often built which people refuse to live in...This happens when decision makers exclude the participation of the affected (1986: p.6).

Participatory development seeks to offset instances where infrastructure is not fully utilized because it is perhaps not what the people (themselves) wanted but rather what the development practitioners thought the people wanted. Participatory development admits that development is not uniform but rather it is an adaptive process that is determined by the locale (Webster, 1990). It appreciates that regions or people experience different problems at different levels and that resources vary between and within regions and therefore development initiatives have to reflect the particular rather than the generalized existing state of the target groups (Rogers, 1992).

Participatory development conceives development as a process for the people and by the people through the promotion of indigenous knowledge and relevant new technologies that mostly reflect the situations in the rural areas. Its proponents argue that the efficiency of participatory development is based on the principle that development assistance works best when it contributes to efforts that people are already attempting to carry out (Chambers, 1997).

Participatory development suggests that the fundamental challenge of sustainable development is the transformation of communities themselves into dynamic and self-reliant entities, which by virtue of their effective organization and development capacities and on the strength of their own internal momentum, are capable of solving most of their development problems on their own and on a continuing basis (Dipholo, 2002: p.65). UNDP (1993: p.22) notes that greater participation helps “to maximize the use of human capabilities and is thus a means of increasing levels of social and economic development”.

It is clear that participatory development seeks to eliminate the dependence of communities on governments by rekindling their capabilities as dynamic and self-reliant entities. In departing from traditional development theories, participatory development posits that development includes the choice to develop according to



one's understanding of development, rather than according to outsider-imposed concepts of development. While giving more prominence to needs and priorities of local communities as identified by the communities themselves, participatory development does not intend to invalidate the contribution of development practitioners or change agents but rather it seeks to streamline such contribution because development cannot be planned exclusively on the basis of opinions or studies by external experts. Thus, participatory development does value the contribution of external experts.

Participatory development seeks to develop a better compromise between what people want and what development agencies can offer. The World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995 stressed that people living in poverty must be empowered through organization and participation in all aspects of political, economic, and social life and in planning and implementing policies that affect them (UNDP, 1995). In support of this Rogers writes:

Participation in the local community's and the country's economic, social, cultural and political activities is the intended goal of development, to be achieved through a process of empowerment, people gaining an understanding of and control over social, economic and/or political forces in order to improve their standing in society (1992: p.104).

The emphasis here is that instead of looking at community members as ignorant, lazy, stupid, unwilling to change, uneducated, happily dependent, and short-sighted, we should now view them as potential participants who have been marginalized by the rich and their institutions. Development, then, is a process of community empowerment, helping people to maximize their potential to contribute to society through active participation. I maintain that in empowering the poor, it is equally fundamental to empower the rich and relatively well-off to change their attitudes and behaviours as Freire emphasized that critical conscientisation is important for both the oppressed and the oppressors. In this sense, empowering the rich, including development professionals, means giving them the power to acknowledge and embrace their inherent limitations as a group that is expected to "act on others to give them power or enable them to realise their potential" (Nelson & Wright, 1997; p.7).

Despite the wide use of the word ‘participation’ by governments and other development agencies, participation differs between and within contexts, as shown by the various definitions presented in chapter one. Nonetheless, it has been shown that despite differences in the use of the word ‘participation’, its key elements of partnership, control, autonomy and empowerment often stand out.

Chapter one set out various definitions or interpretations of ‘participation’ to show that the term is interpreted differently within different political and economic development frameworks, even though its key elements of partnerships, control, empowerment and autonomy may be incorporated in its mobilization and implementation strategies. It has been noted that participatory development was introduced after governments and development agencies realized the limitations of top-down interventions and sensed the need for the participation of those who were expected to benefit from development.

Arguments abound that participatory approaches in Africa are not necessarily new initiatives but represent constant improvements and refinements of traditional approaches to self-help. Despite such deep-seated participatory principles in much of the African culture, the paradigm and institutions of participatory development are not well entrenched in the African world, especially as it relates to women and children. Well known negative comments like ‘this meeting is not for women’ are a raw indication that part of the world is still struggling with the concept of participation and most importantly its application. Perhaps this explains why some critics of ‘participation’ argue that it is a Northern invention. The Botswana case as discussed in Chapter Two indicates that whereas the use of the word ‘participation’ is widespread, in reality application lags behind. Government and other development agencies continue to apply it superficially with considerable lack of commitment and in some cases outright rejection or contempt. Government officials continue to disregard existing consultation processes prevalent in rural communities.

In some part of Africa, especially in such parts where the process of decolonialisation entrenched strong feelings of nationalism, as in Zimbabwe for instance, participation in development is seen as a Northern invention. This is despite the fact that participatory education approaches emerged in South America through the writings of

Paulo Freire. Perhaps this is because participation has come to be associated with Northern NGOs, while successful participatory initiatives in Africa are not well known internationally.

Botswana's social context is one of a patriarchal and authoritarian society reflected in communities' attitudes of dependence and ambivalence. For a very long time, the government took on the role of a benevolent dictator, invoking an attitude of 'government knows best and does best at all times'. This has tended to shape the meaning of 'participation' in the context of Botswana's society, as interpreted by both the government and rural communities. The meaning or interpretation adopted by the government determines in no small measure its application and ways of mobilizing for it.

For the government, participation in development may entail informing rural communities about what is in store for them, whereas communities may interpret their participation as accepting what the government has offered. This interpretation of 'participation' is determined by the specific Botswana social milieu which in turn dictates a context-specific mobilization strategy that may not be applicable to, say, Palestine, where due to the absence of a government, NGOs have taken on the role of service providers. In Botswana this is the responsibility of the state. For this reason, mobilizing for participation in development needs to be understood in a specific context. There is no recipe for mobilizing communities to partake in the development process. Strategies for mobilization may be determined by the nature and extent of community participation or its interpretations and application in development by particularly agencies at any given point in time.

For instance, from the perspective of a liberal democracy, participation in development may involve devolution of responsibility for development to local communities without being accompanied by additional resources and logistical or strategic support. Of course this may be a deliberate move by the government to ensure that it retains financial control and power. By extension it maintains the status quo. Autonomy then becomes idle talk. Even in cases where participation is understood from the perspective of partnerships, the government still holds the balance of economic and political power in determining the kind of partnerships that it

will engage in. So the status quo remains. In cases where participation is understood to mean empowerment of local communities in the decision making process, it must be noted that government retains the final word.

Arnstein (1969) and Hart (1992) discuss participation along a continuum of decision-making power at eight different levels:

- Manipulation- in this case communities do not understand the issues with which they are confronted and they are not given feedback on action taken
- Decoration- in this case communities are used as needed. Government and development agencies use communities to support their agendas. Thus, the participation of the communities is incidental.
- Tokenism- under this theme, communities are used in a perfunctory or merely symbolic way to give the appearance of real participation.
- Communities are informed- in this case communities are given accurate information about their actions and understand why their participation is needed. Communities have a meaningful role to play in the development project.
- Communities are consulted, though projects are designed by external agencies, but communities understand the process and their opinions are taken seriously.
- Communities participate in project implementation- in this case decisions may be initiated externally but communities have to contribute their opinions before projects are implemented. Communities have a high degree of responsibility.
- Communities initiate and direct decisions- external agents do not interfere or direct community run projects.
- Communities initiate, plan, direct and implement decisions- communities develop decisions and projects and then implement them.

Yet these levels of participation are in reality not entirely distinct but complement each other in a way that makes 'participation' even more problematic and contextual. From whichever perspective one may seek to understand participation, mobilizing for it may elicit a variety of approaches and responses from government, for example: seeking to enlist local communities' support for existing government efforts; challenging communities to action by raising their awareness about certain community problems; facilitation of dialogue between stakeholders; and complementing a broader community change process by recognizing communities' expertise and appreciating their capacities.

Presently participation is seen as a fundamental 'good' in progressive development thinking. It is in danger of being elevated to the status of an irrefutable good. This creates a danger of using participation superfluously, romantically and cosmetically without paying sufficient attention to the conditions necessary to realize genuine participation. Chambers (1997: p.30) warns that, "first it is used as a cosmetic label to make whatever is proposed appear good".

The modernisation theorists' approach to rapid economic growth has always been accompanied by a rapid expansion of academic schooling. Education was viewed as an integral part of development. In particular, the modernisation theory advocated a large expansion of schooling, informed by the 'human capital theory' of Theodore Schultz. This theory contends that, "Education was not a form of individual consumption but a productive investment indispensable to rapid economic growth" (Schultz, 1977: p.322). This position took on significance by linking education to rapid economic growth through emphasis on investing in the development of human capacity. The position was also given impetus by arguments of modernisation theorists who posited that the third world was underdeveloped because of the lack of education and skilled people in them (Walters and Watters, 2001). On the basis on this argument, many Third World countries expanded their education systems in the 1960s and 1970s.

The rapid expansion of academic schooling in postcolonial societies created problems, especially when the number of schooled people began to outweigh the

available job opportunities, hence the growth of the educated unemployed (Youngman, 2000). It is on the basis of these education crises that some educationists proposed investment in the field of non-formal education, with a view to training the educated jobless. This shift in emphasis helped to draw attention to the prime role of adult education programmes in contributing to development. Consequently, adult education gained a heightened recognition more especially as it relates to helping people in developing countries to absorb the rapid social change associated with the transition from the traditional to modern societies. Thus, 'adult education policies were strongly influenced by modernisation theory and were seen as integral to national development, (Walters and Watters, 2001: p.103).

Education in general and adult education in particular, were seen as indispensable to national development.

The reason why governments in developing countries have to treat adult education seriously is plain enough. Resolved to achieve rapid economic and social change and to promote national unity they must somehow produce a skilled and informed adult population. Capital investment alone will avail them nothing if human skills are wanting (Lowe, 1970: p.1).

Consequently, many Third World governments and aid agencies gave sizeable support to the development of adult education and the trend has continued in many countries well until a new perspective emerged that held the view that, 'poor development performance was a result of erroneous policies by Third World governments which had allowed too large a public sector, had overemphasised physical capital formation to the neglect of human skills..' (Youngman, 2000: p.68). This argument provided an opportunity for a paradigm shift in the practice of adult education, paving the way for the influences by the neo-liberal theory. The theory's influence on adult education has been significant largely because it currently dominates international policy on development. Walters and Watters write,

The implications of these policies for education in regions like Southern Africa have been various but include the orientation of education towards the needs of business and stress the development of human resources necessary for economic growth. For adult education, the policies have ensured a cutback in services through reduced role for the government, more emphasis on adult education for the economy and encouraging the private sector to take a more important role in education provision (Walters and Watters, 2001: p.104).

Within this perspective, one may argue that the practice of adult education merely served to reinforce existing power structure and its socio-economic order because it did not concern itself with processes of political consciousness-raising advocated by radical adult education theorists as shown in Chapter one of this thesis. Essentially it did not attempt to challenge the status quo nor empower the learners to acquire a radical perspective. Stromquist, *quoted in* Walters and Watters states that,

Adult education policies in South Africa, despite their explicit existence, are not resulting in empowering activities....The detailed plans for ABET [Adult Basic Education and Training] policy implementation is to be funded 'in partnership' with others, really a euphemism for limited government support. It is with regard to gender that the symbolic use of policy appears most obvious, given limited follow-up to gender policy documents (Walters and Watters, 2001: p.107).

It is my view that the state or the ruling class cannot fund or tolerate an education system that is critical of existing power structure and its socio-economic order. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why many Third World governments had ensured a cutback in financing adult education unless it is conformist. In Botswana the development of adult education was largely funded by foreign donors and was promulgated as a solution to development needs, very much within the modernisation framework (Walters and Watters, 2001), of which I have argued in Chapter Three that it is still the most influential development theory that is shaping the country's development path. Unlike in Tanzania, for instance, where adult education took on a socialist perspective which led to a reduction in foreign aid, Botswana's adult education continued to attract funding from both the government and foreign agencies largely because of its capitalist orientation which in turn helped to legitimise the country's capitalist development (Youngman, 2000), hence its orientation towards the needs of business as well as its conformist perspective.

### **Origins of Rapid Rural Appraisal**

The search for better ways for outsiders to know more about rural life and conditions culminated in the birth of improved participative methods and approaches in the 1980s (Belshaw, 1981). The family of approaches and methods commonly known as Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) gained increasing recognition and appreciation. By the mid-1980s, the RRA methods were seen to be more cost-effective, culturally acceptable and eliciting a range and quality of information and insights (Chambers, 1994). Chambers comments that,

In establishing the methods and principles of RRA many people and institutions took part. No account can do justice to them, and with imperfect knowledge, there is no avoiding significant omissions. An earlier attempt to list countries where RRA had been developed identifies 12 in Africa, eight in South and South East Asia, three in Latin America, three in Australasia and the Pacific, and one in Europe. (p.956)

Evidently, a confluence of influences has fostered the uptake of participatory approaches, in particular Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Nevertheless, an increasingly evident part of 'participation' as a recurrent theme in development discourse is that PRA has its origins in methodological innovations in India and Kenya in the late 1980s (Kabutha *et al*, 1989; McCracken, 1988 and Cornwall *et al*, 2001). Although the origins of PRA can be traced to Asia and Africa, the former is arguably home to the PRA revolution. In Asia, PRA gained currency in diverse circles and gave rise to as diverse an array of practices such as in agro-forestry, health, irrigation, and so forth. A combination of influences in Asia has fostered the uptake of PRA more than happened in Africa. Prominent among these has been widespread nationalist movements triggered by prevailing conditions at the time, especially imperialism and the political and economic exploitation of local people (Desai, 1997).

The desire for economic equity and social justice triggered mass participation in nationalist movements and by extension fostered and consolidated group consciousness, '*...ushered by a common hostility toward colonial rule imposed by a distant and discriminating people*' (Desai, 1997: p.146). Desai further observes that,

The economic dislocation and distress caused by Western rule were, indeed, very important factors responsible for the growth of nationalism. With the exception of Malaya (and perhaps Laos and Cambodia, which hardly underwent major economic changes), the infusion of Western capital, communications and technology had the effect of actually lowering the economic well-being of the people. Western laws, educational institutions, money economy, immigration policies, and technological development had all helped not only to undermine the traditional structure and values of the rural society but also disrupt its economy and way of life (1997: p.146).

These conditions served as grist for mass participation in nationalist and other social movements in the region. Around the same time, environmental politics – a surge in ecological awareness – assumed prominence in the region's national affairs, with issues ranging from the familiar incessant land shortage and degradation, water shortages and reliance on pesticides and fertilisers, '*adding inexorably to rural*



*impoverishment*' (Wurfel and Barton, 1996: p.54). This led to more outrage and resentment resulting in the emergence of environmental advocacy groups which were fostered by,

..long established community agitation. Village and local associations in Southeast Asia have a pedigree based on pre-colonial traditions. The maintenance of community consensus and cohesion occurred via self-help groups, as in Indonesia's *gotong-royong* or mutual exchange, concepts or in the Philippine *bayanihan*. Similar groupings in Thailand arose from community limits on land and water use in commons - meaning forests, watersheds, hunting or fishing grounds, and sacred areas. A myriad of associational forms emerged and developed in the region. Some remain distinctively indigenous, as in the communitarian organisation of some native people; others like trade unions and other non-government organisations based on livelihood, may have an evidently Western origin but operate in forms more familiar to seeking-consensus traditions (Wurfel and Barton, 1996: p.59).

These historical conditions that existed in Asia were a good foundation for radical adult learning which is necessary for critical reflection, which is in turn, necessary to bring about desirable social change. Class or group consciousness thus grew out of the desire to challenge narrowly defined and self-directed elites that dominate and direct political and economic discourse (Shaplen, 1969; Shah and Sah, 2002). There is therefore an empirical belief that the introduction of PRA in Asia emanated out of the desire to institutionalise existing attitudes and enthusiasm for social change from within. Thus, RRA/PRA in Asia emerged out of existing historical conditions that in turn supported its application and spread.

Project and program planning is usually preceded by a needs analysis. A needs analysis is generally a deliberate systematic process to investigate or probe (from the planner's perspective) the gap between what it is (current situation) and what ought to be (desired situation). The basic rationale for doing a needs analysis is to find out what people want and what can be provided taking account of available resources so that resources are devoted to where they are most needed. In development practice, this takes the form of a survey to collect the necessary data for project or programme planning. For instance, a survey may be instituted to find out what exactly a given community perceive as their immediate and pressing needs in order to avoid the design of inappropriate programmes.

Research surveys have often been done by development agents and in most cases they are based on the ideals and principles common with modernization theory. For example, the research would normally target a few successful farmers who were in many cases near the major centres or cities. It was believed that information collected would be representative of the wider farming households, and would enable development agencies to design programmes that would benefit all farmers. This resonates with the classical style of Farming Systems Research based on an outsider's data collection and analysis (Chambers in Nelson and Wright, 1997). Most research visits were organized during selected seasons, usually during the dry season on the pretext that rural areas are inaccessible during the rainy season due to poor roads. The visits were generally brief to enable development practitioners to get back to their offices as early as possible to attend to office work.

On occasions that development officers decide to visit rural areas that are not closer to major centres, they will in most cases select places that are within short distances of key areas of national and international interest such as game reserves and national parks, so as to combine official work with leisure. For instance, in South Africa they might choose to visit rural areas in the precincts of Kruger National Park, whereas in Botswana they might sample areas in the vicinity of the famous Okavango Delta so that they can have an opportunity to marvel at the beauty of the wildlife and nature in general, at minimal cost since a significant part of the trip would be official and paid for by the employer.

If they are compelled to visit remote rural areas, development agents might select areas along the major national roads and plan their trips in such a way that it is a same-day return trip. They will not spend a night away in the bush, far from the comforts of their homes. This 'rural development tourism' (Chambers, 1993) has always tended to compromise the quality of data gathered and in many cases has led to irrelevant programmes.

With the quest for development in the Third World becoming fierce as a result of increasing inequalities in wealth between the developed and developing nations, criticism started to be levelled at traditional approaches to data gathering and analysis. At the same time development practitioners were becoming frustrated with their

efforts, which were seemingly bearing limited fruits. Farmers were reluctant to adopt new technologies prescribed by development agents because they were not involved in the development of these techniques and therefore did not appreciate the need to adopt them. As a result of this general disillusionment, development agents started exploring new ways of realizing their efforts.

When it was pointed out that the conventional approach to data gathering and programme planning alienates the very people who are supposed to benefit from them, practitioners such as Chambers then proposed an approach that will allow development agents to work closely with local communities. That marked the dawn of a new era premised on close collaboration between change agents and local communities. The phenomenon of hurried, brief and selective visits to the rural areas was criticized for often extracting misleading data, which led to inappropriate programs.

Conventional methods of needs analysis were also castigated for being top-down and not recognizing the value of local knowledge and practices. The methods were top-down in the sense that programs were designed largely on the basis of professionals' understanding of the world. Input from local people was hardly considered due to the commonly held belief that rural people were not educated and therefore could not be expected to make any meaningful input into the development process. Central to the concerns with the conventional methods was that the use of structured questionnaires was a complicated and time-consuming process. Furthermore, questionnaires tended to yield a large mass of data that often presented problems of processing and analysis. In order to address these genuine concerns, a new method or a combination of methods emerged in the late 1970s.

This period marked the birth of Rural Rapid Appraisal (RRA), defined as a qualitative survey methodology using multi-disciplinary teams to formulate problems for agricultural research and development. Its emphasis was on multi-disciplinary teams in order to ensure that different aspects of the social life of local communities are recognized during research, with a view to discover the richness, diversity and value of indigenous knowledge and culture. RRA sought to be rapid as opposed to the conventional survey methods that were time consuming. RRA also sought to be cost

effective by involving local communities rather than merely extracting information from them.

RRA draws much of its methodological/intellectual foundations from Activist Participatory Research based on the work of Paulo Freire. Freire's literary work is renowned for urging and empowering the poor to take charge of their lives. Within this perspective, three key points are discernable which are indispensable to RRA (Chambers, 1992). These are:

- Poor people are creative and capable enough to manage change.
- The outsiders' role is a facilitator.
- The poor and the exploited should be empowered.

RRA also draws significant intellectual inspiration from applied anthropology, especially with regard to the need to recognize and understand the culture of the people at the centre of social enquiry and subsequent development. RRA's key features such as participant observation, field learning and attitudinal and behavioural change are largely based on the principles of anthropology (Nelson & Wright , 1997).

RRA is also inspired by the need to appreciate what farmers already do and how they do it- the use of farmers' knowledge and experiences. This perhaps is why RRA places more emphasis on indigenous technical knowledge (ITK).

### **From Rapid Rural Appraisal to Participatory Rural Appraisal**

Over the years RRA enjoyed considerable popularity because of its advantages over traditional methods of data collection and planning and until the early 1990s, RRA represented a blueprint for social research in the field of development. Despite its advantages, RRA was nonetheless subjected to continuous refinement with a view to perfecting its methods and offsetting some of its limitations. Some new insights were that instead of being rapid RRA must be relaxed in order to take account of the pace at which ordinary citizens are able to cope with change. That is, in order for RRA to facilitate community participation in the process of data collection and analysis, it should not be rushed. In my view what was needed was a Relaxed Rural Appraisal.

RRA was also criticized for being extractive in that while it involved local people in data collection, ultimate analysis and the use of research results were the monopoly of the researchers or development agencies. The results were not shared with the local people. It therefore maintained an element of ‘polite robbery’ by luring people to take part and then disappearing with the data.

### **Participatory Rural Appraisal**

Against these criticisms, there emerged Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), which was simply an improved RRA. The principal feature that distinguishes it from RRA is that whereas RRA was about identifying problems, PRA in sharp contrast, focuses on empowerment through appraisal, analysis and action by the local people themselves. Thus, information collected is not meant for the benefit of outsiders but for the local people to use to make informed decisions.

Since its emergence, PRA has never enjoyed the luxury of a single-all embracing and acceptable definition. My contention is that definitions often mislead, limit and distort a concept. A description makes more sense than attempts to provide a definition for it. PRA has been illustrated as:

A growing family of approaches, methods, attitudes and behaviours to enable and empower people to share, analyse and enhance their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan, act, monitor, evaluate and reflect (Chambers, 1993: p.78).

This passage captures the main features of PRA, which describe what it does rather than what it is – from being a family of approaches, a menu of methods, personal attitudes and behaviours, down to its intended final product of community action. Chambers (1993) posits that PRA must be experienced in order for it to be understood. For instance, in Pakistan PRA now stands for ‘Participation-Reflection-Action’ (Prat, 2001). What perhaps makes it difficult to arrive at a definition of PRA is that it is continually evolving, gaining new experiences and insights, and learning from mistakes. It allows practitioners to use their best judgments at all times (Chambers, in Nelson and Wright, 1997) without being constrained by a definition. Its application varies from place to place; from agriculture, as in the areas of water conservation, forestry and wildlife management to health in such areas as sanitation and hygiene management, to gender awareness and so forth.

PRA has three basic common elements that also distinguish it from RRA. PRA places emphasis on self-critical awareness, requiring practitioners to change their behaviours and attitudes towards others. For a very long time development practitioners have been known for their 'superiority complex' (Chambers, 1993: p.17), believing that they know everything and the local people know nothing<sup>18</sup>. This attitude has led some development practitioners to dominate, intimidate and make unwarranted suggestions instead of facilitating learning and action. PRA seeks to offset this holier-than-thou attitude so that practitioners respect local people's knowledge and practices. PRA requires people to 'hand over the stick' (to give poor people the responsibility to lead) (Chambers, 1993), sit back and listen, learn from the locals rather than interrupt and dominate. Development practitioners are required to adopt the principle of optimal ignorance, to unlearn in order to learn; to recognize that despite their formal education they can still learn more about development and rural life. The main condition necessary to realize this learning is for them to admit some degree of ignorance. Development practitioners are required to facilitate rather than to teach/lecture. They should no longer be transferors of technology from the top down. They now have to assist local people to act in order to own the outcome.

The second element of PRA is its emphasis on empowerment of marginalized, deprived and poor people. It rests on the assumption that poor people are able and willing to take charge of their destiny. If individuals or groups develop the ability and confidence to see and to use more fully their own power, the process of development becomes self-generating (Rogers, 1992) and sustainable because it is built on existing local processes of change and knowledge (Chambers, 1993).

The third key element of PRA is its ability to recognize and promote diversity. Conventional development approaches are known for prescribing uniform solutions to problems of a varying nature for diverse regions with varying resource endowment. PRA seeks to promote domestically induced growth sometimes called indigenous growth.

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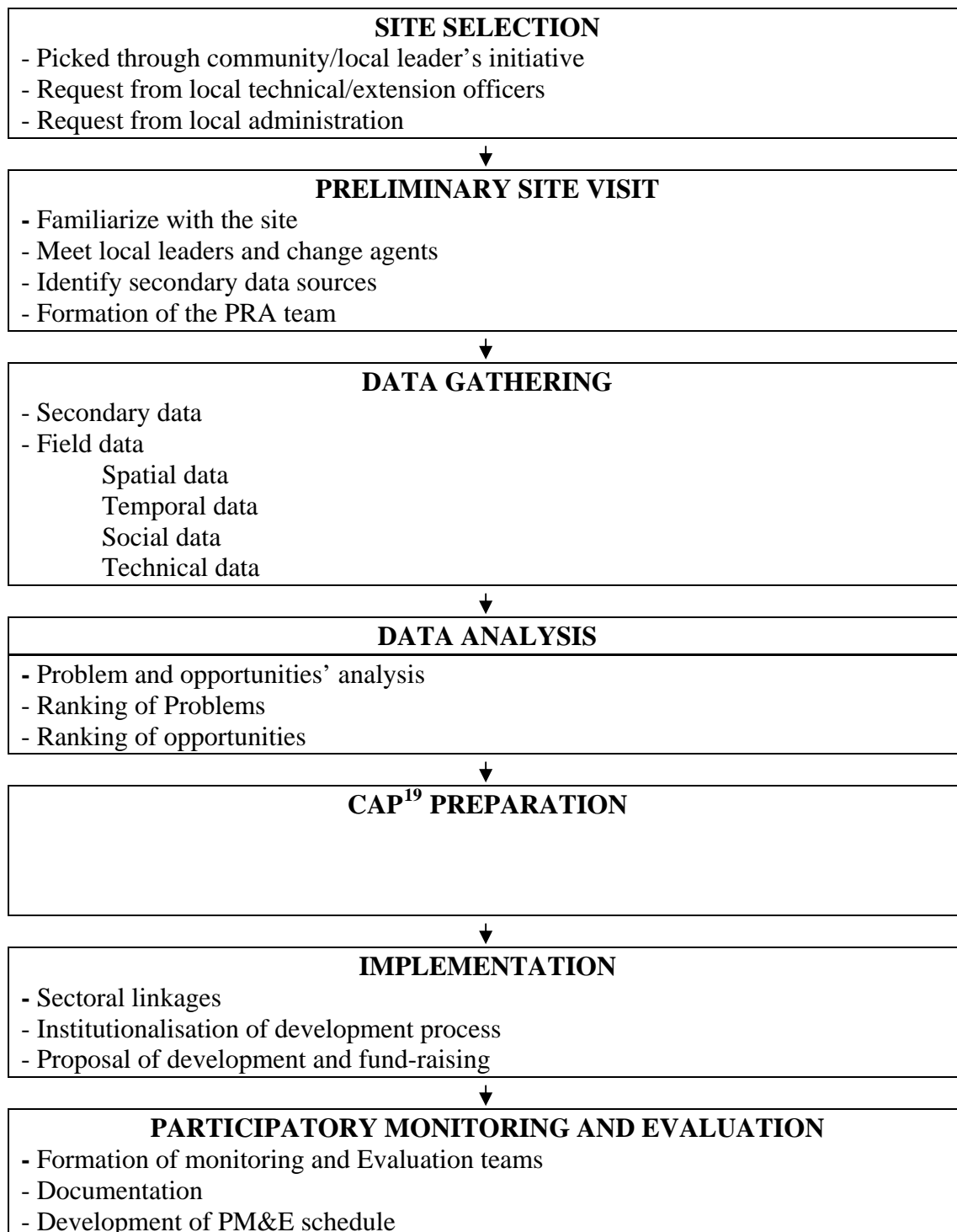
<sup>18</sup> This is presumably influenced by professional education and training they received and the fact that they are officially charged with planning and managing development activities.

Like RRA, PRA seeks to offset biases associated with 'rural development tourism', a phenomenon of brief visits to the rural areas by development practitioners who want to identify problems that confront rural people but who are unwilling or unable to spend longer time in the village (Chambers, 1993: p.10). It attempts to be relaxed, exploratory and interactive. It promotes direct contact between local people and outside experts. Its methods are complimentary and this tends to give it more weight. In using a variety of methods, PRA is able to gain insights, which would probably have remained hidden or undiscovered by a single method. Some of the methods used in PRA include:

- *Visualization* which offsets alphabetical illiteracy by allowing people to draw maps on the ground using stones, dried cow dung, pieces of stick and so forth.
- *Matrix ranking and scoring* for purposes of comparison.
- *Institutional diagramming*, where people start with a random list of local institutions they consider vital for their community. Then they arrange them in order of their perceived importance to the community.
- *Daily time use analysis*, where local people, in groups of men and women, detail the key activities done by each gender group on daily basis.
- *Well-being/Wealth ranking* – local people classify households according to their social status, using local indicators for measuring poverty.
- *Seasonal calendars* are also used specifically to outline major activities undertaken by the community on an annual basis. These may include ploughing, cultural activities, etc.
- *Time lines/Trend lines* are used to identify a chronology of major events, both positive and negative that occur in the community. It may be the history of the settlement, a pandemic, etc.

PRA can also use participant observation, focus group discussion and of course structured or semi-structured interviews. Figure 3.2 below presents a typical flow chart of the PRA process. Nonetheless, it is my view that the application of PRA should not be standardized but instead should reflect variations within and between regions and cultures.

**FIGURE 3.2 A TYPICAL FLOW CHART OF PRA PROCESS**



Adapted from *Egerton PRA Field Handbook, 2000*.

<sup>19</sup> CAP stand for Community Action Plan. A CAP represents the development priorities and aspirations of a community.



Despite the outlined advantages of PRA over traditional methods of gathering data, PRA faces the threat of being distorted or being applied superficially or romantically. These threats are given impetus by a worldwide desire to cascade the application of PRA within the shortest possible time and usually under inappropriate conditions. For instance, it is unfair to preach participation at a village level while maintaining a top-down authoritarian organizational culture at a higher level. This has come to be the single greatest threat to the future of PRA, as Leurs (1996) points out. PRA requires changes in attitudes and behaviours and before these are in place, the application of the methodology will be merely cosmetic. Case studies of Khumaga (Chapter Five) and Masunga (Chapter Seven) indicate that the training in PRA was rushed to the point that the some topics in course curriculum were omitted. The classroom training was not augmented with practical training.

PRA is also in danger of being used superficially without initial preparation such as training. It is often rushed, with training limited to a day or so if any at all. Its application is often dominated by teaching rather than facilitating. Actual implementation at the community level may be limited to a one-off practice driven by urban based officials who immediately disappear to their offices leaving no room for support, follow up and continuity. All the four case studies had shown that there are hardly any preparations prior to PRA application. There is no follow up by either the PRA facilitators or local extension staff after application.

Most donors nowadays require that a project be participatory if it is to qualify for funding. As a consequence, most projects pronounce their participatory nature to qualify for funding when in actual fact they are top-down and outsider initiated. Northern NGOs have a habit of imposing PRA trainers they have recruited from the North on Southern communities (Leurs, 1996). A combination of language barriers, mistrust and snobbish attitudes may collude in the failure of training initiatives.

These dangers present a number of challenges to the application of PRA. Chambers (1997) argues that it is easy to talk about attitudinal and behaviour changes but difficult to actually effect the changes. Most development practitioners are professionals in their own respective fields and their formal education may not easily

be overshadowed by calls for role reversals. Perhaps no one wants to be ignorant after acquiring some level of professional competence. It might be very difficult to change, and more difficult to change backward or reverse one's educational gains. Most practitioners have been conditioned by their education and work experience, and most hold the view that their behaviours and attitudes are correct. It is a tall order to deliberately 'develop backward' or to accept ignorance, but it is possible with appropriate training and support.

Culture is another great obstacle and much of African culture forbids women from engaging in community development activities. Most African women are regarded as minors, housewives who have nothing in their minds other than shopping, gossiping and looking after babies. Possibilities for their involvement are diminished by these portrayals. Their multiple roles add to their already inferior position in society. Feminist movements present some hope, but what of the male-dominated leadership at national level? Rowlands is quoted by Nelson and Wright (1997: p.11) as saying, "any notion of empowerment being given by one group to another, hides an attempt to keep control".

Governments and NGOs worldwide are vigorously pushing for the application of PRA on a large scale. The challenge then is to ensure large coverage and spread without compromising the quality of PRA. Appropriate training and support is necessary to offset this scenario. Kar and Backhaus (1994) observed that much PRA has been reduced to the increasingly mechanical application and standardized sequences and combinations of methods. This observation challenges PRA training programs that are at most a one-off activity and classroom-based. Leurs posits that "the quality of PRA training has suffered, with the lowest levels of PRA support agency staff often receiving the poorest quality training" (1996: p.58).

Although PRA application demands that facilitators be accountable to the communities where the application is taking place, PRA facilitators are nevertheless responsible to their employers. The Otse case study in Chapter Six is an explicit example, where the Chairperson of the Village Extension Team, a school head, made it clear that he gives priority to his immediate core responsibilities as specified in his job description. The pressure from employers to get the training completed soon

makes PRA training rushed rather than relaxed and further compromises the quality of PRA.

The logic and philosophy of PRA demands that the method should contribute to gathering necessary, relevant and up-to-date information as well as analysis and decision making for development at all levels. But in most cases government agencies are inclined towards strategic planning which demands adherence to a set schedule with little room for extended community consultation. Thus, government agencies are most likely to prepare development plans with few inputs from communities. In this case, the application of PRA as a parallel exercise subordinate to strategic planning may produce plans that do not tally with national plans. If this is the case the implementation of Community Action Plans may never see the light of that day as the central government will be eager to deliver the promises contained in the national plan, not CAPs. Should this be the case, it will declare the application of PRA in particular, and participatory development planning and management in general, mere talk.

### **3.9 PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL AND ADULT EDUCATION**

As indicated above, PRA is an offshoot of RRA whose theoretical formations can be traced to Activist Participatory Research and to the writings of Paulo Freire and others. It was also indicated that PRA by and large represents a method of empowering underprivileged members of the society in the same way as radical adult education aims to empower learners.

A Basic Extension Skills Training [BEST] Course was developed in 1997 by the Department of Adult Education of the University of Botswana in response to the need for a more integrated approach to in-service training of field-level extension workers. The government thought that the emphasis on technical education in their pre-service training meant that extension workers' teaching methods and group development techniques were likely to be weak. The general objective of the course therefore was to develop and expand the communication and facilitation skills of trainees as well as their understanding of project management and commitment to inter-departmental co-ordination. The BEST Course training aims to augment the extension workers' pre-

service training by focusing on areas such as teaching methods and group development techniques. The BEST Course, as a form of adult education, aims to assist learners to learn their way out of the constraints imposed by the narrow formal schooling system by learning new ways of dealing with emerging issues, thus confirming that there is an empirical basis for the belief that old dogs can learn new tricks (Youngman, 1998). This may be classified as both emancipatory learning and communicative learning. It is emancipatory learning because it deals with understanding of the self and the world learners live in.

It is also communicative learning because the training has a deliberate focus on the relationship between the learner, who is an extension worker and change agent, and community members as subjects of change. As communicative learning the BEST Course draws on the experiences of extension workers' daily interaction with local community members and uses this experience as a launching pad for further learning and enhanced understanding. Finally it is expected that the BEST Course trainees, who are field based extension workers, will use the knowledge they acquired from the training to involve community members in the development process as espoused by the theory of radical adult education. Radical adult education requires that community members become change agents themselves.

While the objective of the BEST Course is as stated above, it seems to me that the course nonetheless forms an integral part of the wider adult education curriculum in Botswana that is need/change-oriented, learner-centred and geared towards developing the necessary intellectual ability and systematic learning which are necessary conditions for the actualisation of social change. The linking of adult education and (rural) development in Africa has its roots in the 1976 Dar-es Salaam Conference that adopted the resolution that adult education 'contributes decisively to the full participation of the masses of the people in their own development and their active control of social, economic, political and cultural change' (Kidd and Hall, 1978: p.8). The same point is stressed by Bogard who asserts that:

Adult education remains one of the pre-eminent means by which societies and citizens can stimulate, direct and control structured change in the systems of economic, political and social regulation (1992: p.8).

I therefore move that PRA, in so far as it contributes to community empowerment, is a branch of adult education. Moving from these premises, the researcher contends that the BEST Course described above, derives its theoretical formations mainly from adult education. Adult education practice in the developing world is rooted in the philosophy of radical tradition, which has always been concerned with the struggle for social justice through collective action. In support of collective action Freire (1972) states that nobody liberates anybody else and nobody liberate themselves all alone.

It has been shown in chapter one that the philosophy of (radical) adult education is also consistent with the basic concept of the need to develop the consciousness of members of the community in order to facilitate social change (Lovett, 1988).

PRA represents deliberate efforts to stimulate community interest in participatory development. Its application as a tool for community mobilization and empowerment can thus be associated with adult education programs aimed at groups of people excluded or marginalized from the decision making process. Viewed from this perspective, PRA resembles adult education in so far as it relates to issues of empowerment and raising the level of understanding of participants. PRA places emphasis on changes in attitudes and behaviours and so does critical and/or transformative adult education as it seeks to create alternative values and views of the world through critical thinking. Both have a focus on marginalized sections of the society and attempt to make them self-aware political subjects in order to contribute to the process of development. It is my belief that PRA and adult education share the following elements:

- Both have a horizontal relationship between facilitators and participants. This is so because both promote the use of a curriculum customized to the learner's prior knowledge as opposed to a standardized curriculum. PRA emphasizes hands-on problem solving or descriptive analytical techniques based on a goal-orientation principle of adult learning where learning actions are integrated with daily activities of the learner. This fits well into the concept of Action Learning set out by Rogers (1992) where learners are actively trying to make sense of their experiences and taking initiative in their own learning.

- Both are characterized by a response to needs expressed mostly by (organized) groups rather than by individuals. Collaborative learning suggests that social change is learning with people not for them. This aspect is central to both PRA and adult education.
  
- PRA emphasizes group involvement at every stage of its application. Adult education too emphasizes learner involvement in planning and executing and training programmes. Both recognize that adults are autonomous and self-directed and as such both PRA and adult education allow participants to assume responsibility for presentations and group leadership, which further develop and cement their confidence and self-belief. Both PRA and adult education permit learners to see the benefits of learning in order to be motivated to learn. For instance, at the start of a PRA training and application, participants brainstorm what PRA can and cannot do for them so as to avoid raising undue expectations.
  
- Both PRA and adult education acknowledge that the community is a pool of knowledge (Hamilton and Cunningham, 1989; p.443). PRA acknowledges that adults have over the years accumulated vital knowledge and life experiences that must serve as the entry point in the learning milieu. This is in contrast with the traditional school system that assumes that the learner knows nothing and has to be taught basics by the teacher. Adult education relates theories and concepts to the learner's life experiences, and like PRA, it recognizes the value of indigenous knowledge in learning. This is supported by the theory of Constructivism (Larochelle *et al*, 1998) that posits that by reflecting on our experiences, we construct our own understanding of the world we live in (<http://www.comminit.com>). Learning therefore needs to accommodate life experiences in the search for meaning. As Dewey (in Wirth, 1966) points out, "the growth of individuals or societies is dependent upon incorporating accumulated knowledge and thought processes and upon bringing them to bear on life situations".

- On the basis of the above similarities, both PRA and adult education seek to help people reclaim their collective histories so that they can initiate social and structural change that will ensure that they fulfil their needs and aspirations. Both are therefore presented as transformative rather than reforming because they are a form of popular education that works to make space for the collective production of knowledge and insights and builds on what emerges from the experience of the participants (Freire, 1972). People share their experiences with a view to organized collective action to change the unfavourable status quo. Freire (1972) stresses that nobody educates himself and nobody educates anybody else. People educate each other through their interactions with one another and the world.
  
- Both PRA and adult education promote the element of retention in learning and application. Participants must retain information and techniques learned and applied. The extent of retention by participants is directly affected by the degree of simulation during the learning phase. This is perhaps why both PRA and adult education insist on hands-on problem solving where participants take the lead in problem identification and the choice of alternative remedies.

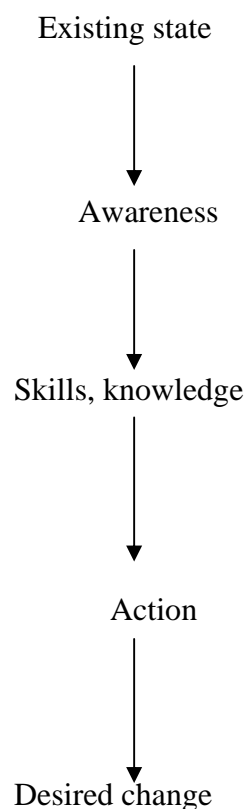
In summary so far, this chapter has shown that development is a continuous process; that development is likely to be more effective if it is self-generating and is built on existing processes of change and knowledge. PRA can be an effective tool for community empowerment, to raise awareness of context and resources and to act on the situation with a view to effect change. Adult education aims to assist learners to reflect on the reality around them and cooperate with one another to effect change. Adult education consists in the ability to use one's powers in a social direction and in the ability to share in the experiences of others and thus widen individual and group consciousness.

### **Development, PRA and Adult Education**

Considering all these propositions, I then conceptualise an overarching link between development as a process, PRA as a methodology and adult education as a field of learning. By analogy, I move that community members exist in varying levels of

awareness of their socio-economic and political condition. Community members can be assisted to become more aware of undesirable conditions and to cultivate a desire to change the situation. Facilitators (not teachers) can assist community members to not only develop their indigenous skills and knowledge, but also to acquire new and relevant ones. The development and acquisition of skills, knowledge and understanding is likely to lead to necessary action being taken to effect the desired changes. Community members may be assisted in this regard through a planned program of adult training and/or education. Below I endeavour to illustrate the desired impact of development, PRA and adult education on community members using Rogers' (1992) model of the development process:

**Figure 3.3: An illustrative model of development, PRA and Adult education.**



**Explanation of the model:**

**Existing state** – Development should start by acknowledging the present condition of the people – where people are, what they do and how they do it.



**Awareness:** Community members are already aware of their conditions in the society. However, they need to raise the present level of awareness by sharing experiences and perceptions.

**Knowledge/skills:** They already have some knowledge. What is necessary is to widen their horizons and broaden the range of knowledge they have.

**Action:** people will be motivated by their confidence to take action having accrued a higher level of understanding.

**Desired change:** A new and favourable socio-economic and political order is made a reality.

Rogers (1992) points out that these stages are not necessarily distinct and rigidly separate. They may overlap depending on the prevailing conditions. But all the same they are necessary if sustainable social change is to be achieved. Reflecting on this model Rogers concludes that, “the education and training of adults (ETA) lies at the heart of every development programme” (1992: p.122). And herein lies the relevance of adult education and PRA to development, as deliberate programs designed to assist participants to improve their knowledge, skills and understanding and to develop new attitudes necessary for social change. For example, without the necessary education and/or training to improve knowledge on hygiene and sanitation, community members who may have been using the bush and other open spaces as communal toilets may not readily appreciate the provision of pit latrines and may either continue relieving themselves in the bush and/or use the latrines on the outside instead of the inside (Rogers, 1992).

The above discussion on adult education and PRA in relation to development interventions has invariably highlighted the key theories of social change and the accompanying assumptions about the nature of social change and how best it can be facilitated from within. The key words are education or training for empowerment, which will facilitate social change and sustain this change through self-propelled development initiatives.

A complimentary way to study the link between adult education and PRA is by examining in REFLECT theory. Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques (REFLECT) is an approach to adult learning and social change pioneered by Action Aid in the 1990s. It combines the education theory of Paulo Freire with a menu of methods used by PRA such as seasonal calendars, matrices, sketch maps, time lines and so forth. REFLECT also employs the use of story-telling and songs which highlight socio-economic, cultural and political issues relevant to a particular community to create literacy or awareness and thereby promote social change. REFLECT is broadly described as:

A structured participatory learning process, which facilitates people's critical analysis of their environment, placing empowerment at the heart of sustainable and equitable development. Through the creation of democratic spaces and the construction and interpretation of locally generated texts, people build their own analysis of local and global reality and redefine power relationships (in both public and private spheres) (<http://www.comminit.com>).

REFLECT fuses adult learning with PRA and in so doing cements their close linkage for combined efforts. REFLECT, PRA and adult education start from the premise that participants are not passive containers into which outsider knowledge has to be poured, but that participants already have some valuable knowledge which is either despised and relegated to the wayside by the elites. What is needed and should be at the centre of REFLECT, PRA and adult education is to inspire participants individually or collectively to gain access to the decision making process and to exercise control over local resources. REFLECT, PRA and adult education facilitate change through action and reflection by men and women upon their social conditions.

### **3.10 SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES**

A newer approach to development planning and implementation is the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA). SLA is a framework for development that brings individual approaches together in order to achieve development. Although many of the core elements of this approach are not peculiar to it, the synthesis of good practices from various fields and disciplines in a coherent framework and a set of principles for development action with a specific focus on livelihoods makes the approach appear new. SLA focuses on achieving a deeper understanding of community process and people's complex livelihoods. It starts from the premise that

traditional approaches to development (that seek to promote high rates of economic growth) have not led to sustainable benefits for the majority. Achieving sustainable livelihoods requires the integration of local knowledge and community strengths with appropriate technology, enabling policies, effective and transparent governance structures, and appropriate training. SLA recognises that an effective development strategy should involve the assessment of community strengths, adaptive strategies, local knowledge and technologies constituting the overall livelihood strategy. The core of this exercise would be to identify the main constraints and opportunities available to a particular community as expressed by members themselves with a view to improving the productivity of existing livelihood systems and creating new opportunities.

The use of the SLA seeks to ensure that people are the main concern rather than the resources they use or have to use. As part of the empowerment of communities, SLA allows for the development of indicators to measure improvements in livelihood systems and their sustainability. In this respect it differs from the PRA approach adopted by the Botswana government that is devoid of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

### **3.11 CONCLUSION**

The present chapter has reviewed literature on development in general and in particular, participatory development across the world and in Botswana with a view to tracing the theoretical origins of PRA and to identify national policy direction and civil society initiatives that impact on it. The review sketched the social and theoretical context of the study so as to understand trends in development that have informed the choice of participatory rural development in Botswana. The review also provides a platform from which to analyse the implementation of participatory rural development through the CAPs in the four villages studied.

The review has also shown that the principles of adult education and PRA which were drawn in this Chapter are very compatible with the principles of qualitative research design and methodology which are the subject of the next Chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Chapter One introduced the aims and objectives of the research. The present chapter describes the way in which the research project was conceived. The chapter opens with a discussion of the methodological approach. It then describes how the sample was selected. The chapter also gives an account of the methods and techniques that were used to collect, analyze and interpret data. It also describes how issues of research ethics were treated. Issues of generalizability and validity conclude the chapter.

#### **4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

In the opening chapter of this thesis I disclosed that qualitative research would constitute the methodological framework for this study. Discussions of adult education in Chapter One and Three revealed that adult educators believe that one of the social roles associated with being an adult is the responsibility to help others to respond and contribute to social change. These theorists contend that society is in a state of flux and that knowledge, experiences and personal values are direct products of a social process and as a result are not static but in a state of perpetual change. The theorists further posit that critical thinking constitutes a deliberate assessment of personal experiences and an awareness of the conditions that are oppressive, leading to a deliberate undertaking to challenge the status quo. In doing, so adults assess potential alternatives, available resources, and possible outcomes of their participation in the envisaged action for social transformation.

This study sought to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of the application of PRA, particularly in so far as the formulation and implementation of CAPs is concerned. It further sought to document the experiences and perceptions of local communities and village based extension workers with regard to the application of

PRA and the implementation of the CAPs. Consequently, this study uses qualitative research as its methodological framework.

A qualitative methodology was deemed appropriate for this study as it explores the perceptions and experiences of community members and government officials on the application of PRA that results in the formulation and subsequent implementation of CAPs. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that the word 'qualitative' implies an emphasis on processes and meanings. In this respect, qualitative research wants to know what kind of purposes and goals inform participants' acts, what kind of problems, constraints and contingencies they see in the worlds they occupy.

In qualitative research the cardinal concern is to discover meanings and communicate them so as to make them intelligible to others. This focus on experiences and perceptions allows a phenomenon to be studied as it occurs in its natural setting. Qualitative research is a powerful methodology for data collection since the researcher collects data from the participants in their living environment or situation (Patton, 1990). As with adult education, qualitative research offers participants the opportunity to examine the beliefs and attitudes underlying their actions or inactions; they are invited to consider alternative ways of believing and acting. As a naturalistic and multidisciplinary enquiry, qualitative research seeks to gain access to the meanings people attach to things they do or don't do since it is from these meanings that they construct their own personal views of realities.

Merriam (1995) argues that qualitative research methods are most appropriate when little is known about a phenomenon or when theory is considered insufficient and lacking. This is so with the application of PRA in Botswana. Qualitative research is also consistent with the theoretical base of PRA, and so the methodological and theoretical approaches are compatible. Merriam, advising researchers about the purpose of qualitative research in relation to quantitative research writes, "If you want to understand a phenomenon, uncover the meaning it has for those involved, or delineate process- how things happen- then qualitative design would be the most appropriate" (1995: p.99). Qualitative research is based on the assumption that reality is constructed by individuals in interaction with the social world and that knowledge changes continuously; new knowledge permits new perspectives and subsequent

claims to better and enhanced knowledge (Merriam, 1995). Qualitative research is about how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, what meaning they attribute to their experiences. The overall purpose is therefore to achieve an understanding of how people make sense of their lives by entering into a person's perspective, or gaining new perspectives on their own experiences (Merriam, 1995).

The quantitative paradigm, by way of contrast, is based on the ideals of research in the natural sciences that aim to predict, direct and control events. Scientific researchers construct theories about the world in which it is believed that facts are readily observable (Torbert, 1981). Their subsequent research activities entail, by and large, experiments that are designed to verify their theories or speculations. The researcher is detached from the research activity in order for there to be minimal contact with the subjects of research. Quantitative or positivist research assumes that the researcher's superior knowledge allows him/her to determine the direction of the research activity with minimal involvement of the subjects of the investigation.

Essentially, the whole process of positivist research is extractive and is based on outsiders' direct command of the extraction of information from and acting upon 'docile' participants. Critics such as Miles and Huberman (1984) argue that positivist research is undemocratic in that it marginalizes the research participants from the research activities. They in particular argue that it is un-educational because it does not allow a dialogue or a balanced discussion between the researcher and the participants for further learning and knowledge creation. Positivist research is essentially rigid and authoritarian since it assumes that the researcher has superior and unparalleled knowledge that should enable him/her to dictate terms in deciding on the contents of the research and the entire research activities.

### **4.3 RESEARCH SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES**

A significant part of this study was conducted in four rural villages in Botswana. These villages are Dibete, Khumaga, Masunga and Otse. Earlier on in this chapter it was indicated that this research sought to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses in the application of PRA with specific emphasis on the formulation and implementation

of CAPs. It therefore follows that I purposefully selected villages where the PRA had been applied and where CAPs had been formulated. This task of selecting the villages was made relatively easy by the stark reality that although PRA training has covered almost the entire target group, as Chapter One has shown, only a few villages have actually applied PRA.

I selected a single village, Masunga, where PRA training (only) was done without actual application of the methodology and the subsequent formulation of the CAPs. This was intended to specifically probe issues related to PRA training with a view to cross fertilize information and perhaps provide a comparative analysis of PRA training in terms of quality and or cultural acceptability and demographic factors impinging or likely to impinge on PRA application.

The nature of my teaching and research interests (elaborated in Chapter One) – community-based adult education and rural development – facilitated regular contact with organizations responsible for PRA training and the coordination of rural development, particularly the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) and the Botswana Community Based Organizations Network (BOCOBONET). This contact facilitated a fair amount of general knowledge on PRA training and application in Botswana. Discussions with senior employees of these organizations, in particular Mr. S. Baruti, Principal Communal Resources Coordinator in the Rural Development Coordination Division of MFDP and Mr. Lecholo, Training Coordinator at BOCOBNET enabled me to compile a list of districts which received PRA training; those where PRA has been applied and those which developed CAPSs as depicted in Table 4.1 below. I then chose study villages from the few where PRA has been applied.

**FIGURE 4.1: PRA STATUS BY DISTRICT/SUB-DISTRICT**

Name of District	Name of Sub-district	PRA training provided	CAPs developed
<b>Central</b>		No	
	Boteti	Yes	Yes (2 villages)
	Bobirwa	Yes	
	Serowe/Palapye	Yes	

	Mahalapye	Yes	
	Tutume	Yes	
<b>Southern</b>		Yes	
	Goodhope	Yes	Yes (1 village)
	Mabutsane	Yes	Yes (1 village)
<b>Kweneng</b>		Yes	
	Letlhakeng	Yes	
<b>Ghanzi</b>		Yes	Yes (1 village)
	Charleshill	No	
<b>Northeast</b>		Yes	
<b>Southeast</b>		Yes	
<b>Kgatleng</b>		Yes	
<b>Northwest</b>		Yes	
	Chobe	Yes	
	Gumare	Yes	
<b>Kgalagadi</b>		Yes	
	Hukuntsi	Yes	

The four villages selected were then chosen from the list for reasons outlined below.

My original intention was to choose study areas so as to represent the various aspects of the social and economic context of rural development in Botswana, taking account of geographical location and other important attributes like population size, class differentials and issues of ethnicity. The limited number of areas appropriate for the study made it difficult for me to attain this objective. Nonetheless, the four selected villages illustrate a range of economic and social contexts with specific aspects that help to illuminate the key issues highlighted in Chapter One.

Dibete village has a population of about 1,100 people -2001 Population census- (Republic of Botswana, 2002). The village was recommended by Mr. Lecholo of BOCOBONET as a small rural village with great opportunities for development. It is located along the Gaborone-Francistown highway and this location makes access to major centers relatively easy. PRA application in the village was done by BOCOBONET in 2005. I decided on Dibete because PRA application was relatively



recent and I believed that this would make it easy for me to get the necessary information on PRA and CAPs. Its proximity to my place of residence also contributed to the decision to select it.

Khumaga<sup>20</sup> was also chosen because PRA application and CAPs formulation were carried out in 2002, by the government, and I believed that it would be relatively easy to get information. In addition, Khumaga was selected on the basis of its being far from major administrative centers (its remoteness) and its small population of about 925 people. However, the small population meant it was difficult to find a pool of suitable participants for the research. For example, the number of extension workers in the village is very small and consists mostly of government employees who do not consider extension work as part of their immediate concern, for example, school teachers.

Khumaga village also has a variety of ethnic groups as subsets of the village population. It is located in the western part of the Central district, one of the poorest regions in the country, which might explain its poverty (a detailed description of the village is found in Chapter five of this thesis). Preliminary discussions indicated that the initial focus of PRA application in the village was to facilitate implementation of the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). CBNRM is a strategy initiated by the government to promote conservation of natural resources and communities' social and economic development through income generation and employment creation. The strategy seeks to promote and support communities' use of natural resources to meet community and households needs while at the same time promoting conservation. Its final focus was however generalized in that the development of the CAPs was not restricted to the objectives of the CBNRM strategy but covered areas that reflected the varying needs of the community of Khumaga. This aspect is necessary to compare the nature and extent of success or failure of a broad based PRA application against a specific or narrow PRA application.

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<sup>20</sup> In the text I use 'Khumaga' while the map showing the location of study villages identifies it as Xhumaga which is the how it should be pronounced in accordance with the main ethnic language in the village.

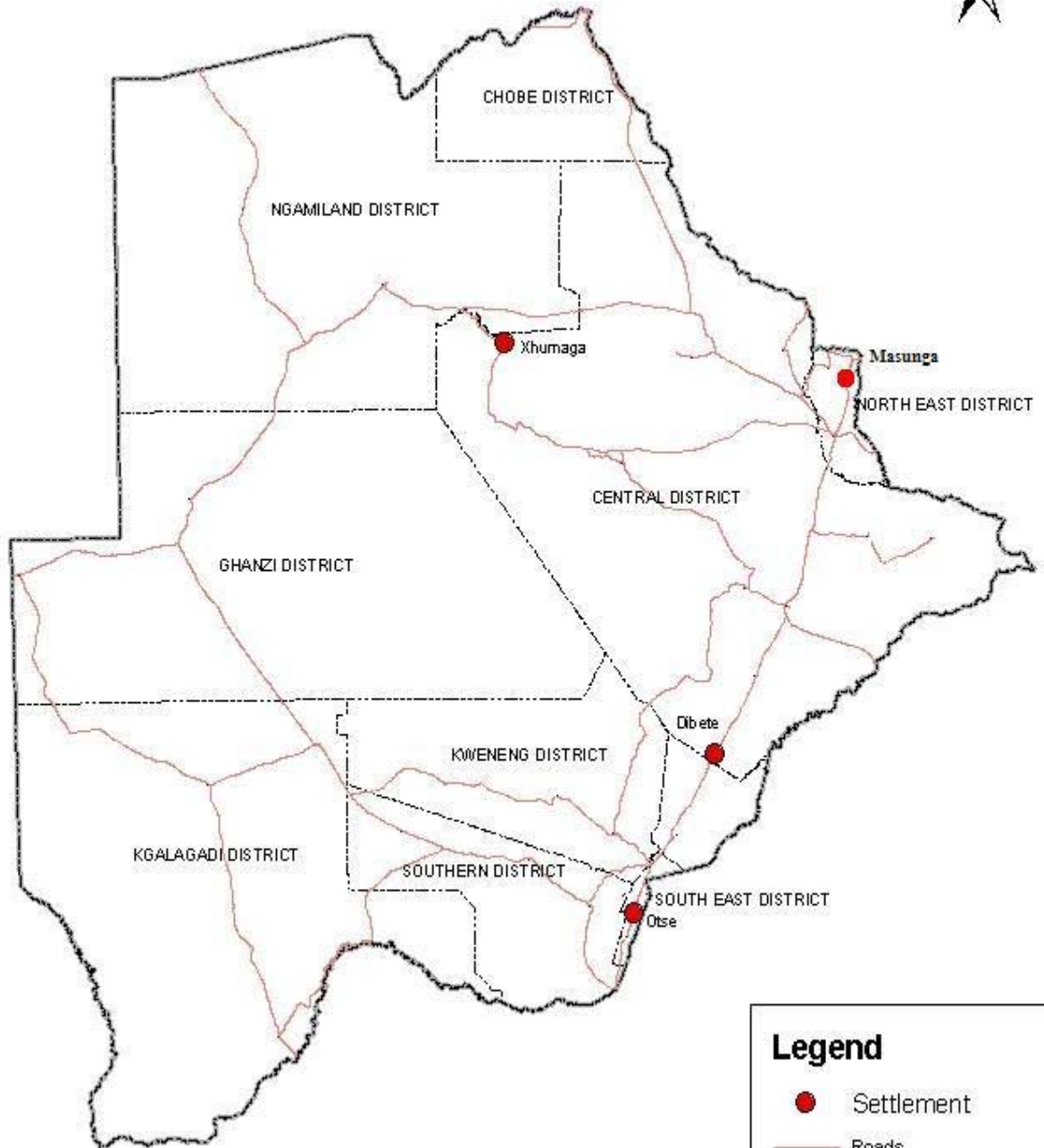
Otse village, with a population of about 3,500 is a relatively large village compared to Khumaga. Its PRA application was also carried out by BOCOBONET and this informed, in part, its selection. Here my intention was to compare government induced PRA application and the subsequent formulation of the CAPs and PRA applications propelled by NGOs. Otse village was also selected on the basis of its being near the major centers of Gaborone and Lobatse.

Residents of Otse are members of the 'principal tribes'. I considered it essential to compare PRA application in areas that are predominantly inhabited by members of the minority groups and those inhabited by members of the principal tribes in order to probe issues of cultural acceptability and support of PRA activities by external organizations. It was also my intention to investigate the influence of urban life on PRA application hence the deliberate decision to select areas that are predominantly rural in character and those that can be considered peri-urban, like Otse.

Masunga is the only village selected where PRA application has not been carried out despite the provision of PRA training to the target group. This study area was chosen to probe issues related to the quality of PRA training as provided by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. Masunga is the administrative headquarters of the North East District predominantly inhabited by the Bakalanga, a minority group.

Map 2 below shows the location of the study villages. The Map should be read alongside Map 1 provided at the start of Chapter One so that the reader may comprehend the location of these villages in relation to their proximity to other places mentioned in the thesis.

# REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA



**Legend**

- Settlement
- Roads
- International Boundary
- - - Administrative Boundary

SCALE 1:6000 000



After selecting the four villages, I approached the village leaders to seek permission to conduct the study. Although the government had approved the researcher's application for a permit to do research (shown in Appendix Four), permission from the village leaders is necessary for reasons of courtesy and cultural appropriateness and also to cultivate a climate of hospitality and reciprocity. It is not uncommon for community members to decline to speak to visitors or strangers who have not introduced themselves to the village elders.

I thereafter approached key extension workers such as community development officers and wildlife officers to carry out preliminary investigations, specifically to identify suitable participants. Thus, to a larger extent the extension workers identified villagers who could be helpful, particularly those who participated in the PRA workshops or who were considered active in community activities. The villagers were supposed to be the immediate beneficiaries of the PRA application.

The development and implementation of CAPs is the responsibility of the villagers. The extension workers, on the other hand, are required to facilitate a PRA exercise once they have been trained in the use of the PRA methodology. During implementation of the CAP, extension workers are required to help the community by providing technical expertise whenever necessary and they should also help the community to identify funding sources.

Sample members were selected to reflect possible variations in perceptions and understanding of key research issues by individuals in the different villages. The underlying criterion for selection of participants was the individuals' willingness to participate in the discussions and her/his ability to communicate well and freely. I, to a larger extent, sought to select participants in a position of authority, especially an expert or authoritative individual who was capable of giving answers with insight, what Gillham (2000) calls 'elite interviewing'. In the case of this research, for instance, elderly people were more likely to give a helpful and comprehensive account on trends in the development of their communities than younger people who could not readily appreciate traditional practices whose disappearance was often

blamed for the present high levels of poverty. This selection criterion was largely dependent on my preliminary contacts and recommendations by extension workers and other guides. Key informants such as extension workers and local influential people generally constitute guides. It is however noted that the opinions of the guides were not instructional but rather advisory, and the researcher reserved the right to make the final selection. This was meant to inhibit the guides from stage-managing the selection process and by extension the research project.

A further criterion was based on gender and age but this criterion was fairly flexible taking note that in some societies women are culturally forbidden from talking to strangers, whereas the youth tend to lack sound understanding of traditional practices.

I also acknowledged that it was unrealistic to expect everyone to be willing to participate in the research. On the basis of this I approached `brave` and `willing or inquisitive` faces<sup>21</sup>. Those who indicated willingness to participate were asked to recommend others who could make a meaningful contribution to the study. Appendix Two contains a list of the research participants.

The researcher also sought the participation of other individuals involved in the application of PRA through the direct involvement of their organizations. Of particular interest here were urban-based senior employees of the Rural Development Coordination Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP); employees of Botswana Community Based Organizations Network (BOCOBONET), and to a lesser extent employees of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks who are closely involved in the implementation of the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) strategy.

#### **4.4 CASE STUDIES**

Case studies are good at bringing about an understanding of complex issues and can actually extend experience and add strength to what is already known or being done.

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<sup>21</sup> These are described as villagers whose faces tend to suggest that they are wondering what the mission of the visitor is and are willing to help. These are the people who seem less threatened by the presence of strangers; villagers who normally wouldn't shy away from enquiring about one's visit.

Case study research is the method of choice when the phenomenon under investigation is not readily distinguishable from its context.

A case study is one of the most familiar methodology used in qualitative research (Yin, 2003a; Rossman and Rallis, 2003; Yin, 2003b) having been used in the fields of social work (a social worker using a case study method to report on child neglect), medicine (a doctor using a case study method to report on a child's illness) (Rossman and Rallis, 2003), psychology, law and education (Merriam and Simpson, 1995). A case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used. It is both the process of learning about the case and the product of our learning. Denzin and Lincoln (1994), contend that to study a case, researchers will gather information on most of the following aspects:

- The nature of the case
- Its historical background
- Geographical or physical setting
- Other contexts or aspects including economic, political, etc.
- Other cases through which the case is recognized
- Those informants through whom the case can be known

In the field of education, case studies usually represent a variety of interests and views rather than one dependable or authoritative view, indicating that participant's accounts of their concerns, experiences, descriptions and problems form the core of the study. Case studies are particularly useful for their rich description and heuristic value (Yin, 2003b). Description generally illustrates complexities of a situation, depicts how the passage of time has shaped events and presents differing perspectives or opinions. Case studies emphasize capturing and presenting the world as it appears to the people in it. Such a presentation of the world may be likened to taking pictures of certain objects and presenting the pictures without editing them.

Essentially, a particular case may be examined to provide insight into an issue. The case is of secondary interest and plays a supportive role in facilitating our understanding of something else. In such instances, the case is looked at in depth, its

contexts scrutinized and its ordinary activities detailed (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The case may be seen as typical of other cases or may be not. The choice of the case is made because it is expected to advance our understanding of that *other* interest.

In case study research it is not uncommon for researchers to call for letting the case 'tell its story' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: p.239). Of course in letting the case tell its story researchers do not surrender to the whims of the case and its story but rather continue to make input in the unfolding scenario. Qualitative case study is characterized by the main researcher spending substantial time with the participants at their locations, personally in contact with local activities and operations of the case, 'reflecting and revising meanings of what is going on' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: p.242).

#### **4.5 ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION**

This study sought to investigate the effectiveness of Community Action Plans (CAPS) generated through Participatory Rural Appraisal. It places emphasis on describing and evaluating the formulation and implementation of CAPs; hence it was appropriate to employ implementation focused evaluation techniques. In essence, implementation focused evaluation aims to generate critical information that can be used to ascertain the degree to which the PRA program is being effectively and successfully executed. Implementation focused evaluation sought to generate illuminative information that can be used to assess or gauge the effectiveness of Community Action Plans.

Whereas evaluation may be defined differently at different times, there are some common attributes of the concept. In general terms, evaluation must generate usable information (Bhola, 1990). Such information must be defensible and pertinent to be used for the improvement of a developmental or training program. It will identify the key factors that work in favour of or militate against implementation of the program. Consequently, it was important for this study to combine elements of discrepancy evaluation model and those of an illuminative model. Discrepancy evaluation basically describes a discrepancy between expectations and performance. The task here was to compare performance against expectations based on original set

objectives in order to determine the discrepancy and thereby make judgements (about the worth or adequacy of a program (Bhola, 1990).

Illuminative evaluation on the other hand contends that training programmes and development cannot be separated from their learning environment. Thus, actors in the learning milieu and the structures of the milieu become part of the training system. Illuminative evaluation collects data or evidence on the worth or otherwise of a program or technique with the aim of establishing a basis for decision-making (whether to terminate, modify or keep intact). It involves an immediate problem and is likely to have an immediate impact upon practice.

#### **4.6 INTERVIEWS**

This study used in-depth semi-structured interview (an interview technique that rests between structured and un-structured interview) in order to allow for flexibility as required by qualitative research. Its advantage is its ability to draw the good attributes of both the structured and the unstructured interview format. An interview is defined as “a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives” (Cohen and Manion, 1980: p.241). In supporting the use of qualitative interview Cohen and Manion (1980) say, “the ability to tap into the experiences of others in the natural language, while utilising their value and belief frameworks, is virtually impossible without a face-to-face and verbal interaction with them” (Cohen and Manion, 1980: p.106). The face-to-face interview allows for on-the-spot clarification, restatement and detailed explanations hence encouraging authentic responses from the participants.

Interviews are reputed to enable the researcher to establish rapport with subjects and so motivate respondents to provide crucial information they might not normally disclose. In contrast to the questionnaire which provides no immediate feedback, the “interview permits the research worker to follow up leads that show up during the interview and thus obtain more data and greater clarity” (Borg, 1981: pp.86-87). According to Patton (1990), a flexible interview method allows the researcher to develop and modify the interview questions as new patterns emerge and change as a



result of new discoveries and as understanding of the phenomenon increases. In this case research questions can be changed according to information provided so that more insights are discovered. This is why the interview should be open-ended or loosely structured to avoid rigidity and pre-determining the subjects responses and hence their views or reality (Merriam and Simpson, 1995). This procedure is sometimes called ‘pseudo conversation’ because it has all the warmth and personal exchange of a conversation, but includes the clarity and rigour of scientific searching – a conversation with a purpose (Merriam and Simpson, 1995).

Holstein and Gubrium (1995: p.13) mention creative interviewing as involving the use of many strategies and tactics of interaction, largely based on an understanding of friendly feelings and intimacy to “optimise cooperative, mutual disclosure and a creative search for mutual understanding”. For instance, in the case of this work I did my national service in a village not too distant from one of the study sites- Khumaga. When this was revealed to the participants during my visits to Khumaga, it seemed participants felt relieved and became free to disclose information. This is perhaps because the villagers appreciated that I was not a complete stranger but rather a member, however past and distant, of the larger family.

It was my intention to tape-record some of the interviews, with permission from respondents, in order to safeguard vital information that might be lost during the interview or that might be missed while taking notes. Tape recording allows the researcher to capture key statements from the interviews, which can be used to authenticate the study. Merriam and Simpson (1995: p.101) argue that in qualitative researching, “ the best rule of thumb is to be sure to present as much data in the form of quotes from interviews, episodes from the field observations, or documentary evidence to adequately and convincingly support your findings”.

Nonetheless, this method of recording information was summarily rejected by participants who argued that their privacy would be irreversibly broken by ‘technology’<sup>22</sup>. Participants assured the researcher that he was at liberty to take notes

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<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, it is believed that failure to tape-record interviews did not significantly compromise data collection due to the responsibilities of interviewing and take notes at the same time. Interviews

of the entire conversation, but tape-recording was seen as a form of information extraction. More so it compromised a friendly atmosphere because it resembled a gadget has been concealed to record events or scenes for ulterior motives. Some participants rejected this method because they thought it had the potential to capture information that was released off the record. One of the participants expressed fear that the recorded tapes might be leaked to untrustworthy and unscrupulous elements that might use them to incriminate participants.

The information letter and interview guide (in Appendix One) were written in English but the actual interviews (the face-to-face conversations) with participants were conducted in the national language- *Setswana*, in order to make the interview understandable to the respondents. Setswana is the national language of Botswana, whereas English is the official language. Both are compulsory subjects in state owned/run schools from the earliest grade. Setswana is therefore the main medium of communication (*lingua franca*) all over the country despite the existence of local ethnic languages.

Despite the fact that the communities chosen have their own ethnic languages, they are competent in the use of *Setswana* for communication. Interviews were conducted at participant's homes and other public places of their choice such as village meeting places or markets where they felt comfortable and confident. Conducting interviews at public places also gave the researcher greater scope for observations. Questions were asked in a way as to encourage open-ended discussions. For instance, 'a general view among development workers is that local people are most likely to participate in community projects that they identify with. What are your views on this? In what way do you think PRA facilitates community cohesion and initiatives?' 'What are your suggestions for improving the application of PRA in your community?' 'Can you please tell me about...'

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and note taking were made manageable by the conception of repeat visits (several rounds of interviews with same respondents) as discussed in Section 4.11 of this chapter.

## **4.7 OBSERVATIONS**

In order to augment the interview technique, I also engaged in observation as it relates to how community members conduct their daily lives as individuals or in groups. For instance, the researcher observed such community activities as weddings and funerals so as to understand group cohesion or lack of it and to make inferences. In qualitative research, observation is not entirely restricted to observing the exact phenomenon under inquiry but is also based on the assumption that the context of data is important in itself and that key variables and questions of interest exist in an environment which is itself important to observe (Cohen and Manion, 1980). According to Patton (1990) direct observation is a basic source of data in qualitative inquiry, revealing respondents' depth of emotions, the way they organize their world, their thoughts about what is happening, their experiences, and their basic perceptions. One of the hallmarks of observation has traditionally been its non-interventionist nature, since observers neither manipulate nor stimulate their subjects.

My observations also focused on interactions between community members themselves and between them and the extension agents. This kind of observation stimulated thoughts on aspects of working relations amongst community members and between them and local based change agents. The behaviours and attitudes of community members towards each other and towards change agents were also key issues of interest. By and large, in qualitative research the observer "attempts to provide as complete and non-selective a description as possible" (Delamont, 1992: p.177). Delamont (1992: p.51) pointed out that, "our data are only as good as our field notes", noting that speeches, informal conversations, recording what is on notice boards in local offices or such other places where notices (public/private) are placed should be part of what is observed.

## **4.8 DOCUMENTS ANALYSIS**

I reviewed reports, records and other relevant documents on PRA in the study villages and those obtained from outside the villages. In particular I reviewed records of PRA training and/or application in the study villages.

#### **4.9 SITE VISITS**

I commenced work with a preliminary visit to each of the study areas. The preliminary visits were intended for personal introductions and to establish overall local protocol as well as to identify and brief research participants about the nature of the study. Preliminary visits were followed by discussion visits that constituted actual discussions with participants. Follow-up visits were also undertaken specifically to follow up on issues that may have been left out during discussion visits and also to seek clarification on aspects already raised or arising from new insights gleaned from review of on-going analysis and relevant documents. These visits also allowed the researcher to discuss preliminary observations with participants with a view to getting feedback on tentative interpretations.

I originally planned to undertake concluding visits following follow up visits. The concluding visits were intended to give overall feedback on the research outcomes to participants but these visits could not be undertaken owing to resource and time constraints.

#### **4.10 RESEARCH ETHICS**

The success of the interviews depended, to a greater extent, on the willingness of the selected respondents to voluntarily participate in the interviews. Permission was sought from the respondents after I had explained the nature of the research to them. A consent form, included in this thesis in Appendix One, was used orally to capture consent of the respondents. Respondents were informed that they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any point should they wish to. They were also informed that their privacy and confidentiality would be safeguarded. Whereas respondents were willing to give their names, I used my discretion to either disclose or withhold the names of respondents when presenting the research results, especially when reporting a response verbatim.

#### 4.11 ISSUES OF VALIDITY AND GENERALIZABILITY

The aim of this study was to shed light on the strength and weaknesses of the application of PRA with particular reference to the implementation of the CAPs. In order to do so it was necessary to gain insights from people who are involved in PRA application and CAPs implementation. The issue of validity emanates from the proposition that readers of the final research product want to be assured that the findings of the study can be believed and trusted both in terms of the information presented and the interpretations of it. Readers want to know how congruent the findings are with reality. This is an important aspect of validity. Keeves (1988: p.322) states that, “a measure is valid if it does what it is intended to do”.

According to Merriam (1995), internal validity asks whether we are observing or measuring what we think we are observing or measuring since there are multiple changing realities constructed by individuals. In qualitative research the understanding of reality is by and large the researcher’s interpretation of someone else’s interpretation or perception. “Because qualitative researchers are the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, interpretations of reality are accessed directly through observation and interviews” (Merriam, 1995: p.102), hence internal validity is considered a strength of qualitative research. The following strategies were used to ensure internal validity and hence the trustworthiness of the findings:

**Triangulation** – this is the use of multiple sources of data or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings. This study used semi-structured interviews, observations and document analysis. It used villagers, extension workers and government officials as sources of data.

**Member checks** – this is where one takes the data collected and tentative interpretations back to the participants from whom they were derived, asking if the data ring true, but noting that respondents do not entirely own the truth (Delamont, 1992). This lends credibility to interpretive validity, the researcher’s

interpretation of what objects, events and situations mean to the people involved in them. In the case of this study, follow up visits fulfilled this role.

**Collegial Examination** – A colleague, Marietjie Van Der Merwe, a University of Botswana education lecturer who is also a PhD candidate researching “Capacity Enhancement of Extension Workers in Botswana” agreed to comment on my early interpretations and conclusions.

**Submersion** – this is where one collects data for extended periods of time to ensure in-depth understanding. Several rounds of interview with the same respondent is useful in helping respondents to shift positions from polite and often times convenient responses towards more personal views. I have earlier on in Section 4.7 of this chapter indicated that my visits to the study areas were categorised as preliminary visits, discussion visits or main visits and follow up visits. Whereas this may not be ‘submersion’ in the truest sense, the separate visits developed trust and thoroughness in the collection of data.

In terms of external generalizations, qualitative researchers point out that it is not up to them to speculate whether the findings can be generalized to other situations, but it is up to the consumer of the research (Merriam, 1995), or the people involved in other situations. Maxwell (1996) emphasizes that external generalizability is often not a crucial issue for qualitative studies. Consequently, I make no claims to external generalizability (extending an account of a particular setting or population to other setting or population; generalizing beyond the group studied) in this work. It is possible that the approach to PRA application in Botswana is not the same as in other countries with similar or different socio-economic challenges. Even in instances where the approach was to be identical, external generalizability could be problematic because of the differences in constraints and dynamics. For example, PRA application in Botswana could be less successful owing to the culture of dependence on government and the willingness and ability of the government to fulfill, to some extent, the expectations leading to some form of institutionalized laziness. This conclusion may not be applicable in Lesotho for instance, where the government does not play a prominent role in the provision of relief schemes which are generally responsible for cultivating a sense of dependence on the state.

In terms of reliability, which is the extent to which a test or a procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions (Bell, 1999 quoted in Kaye, 2003), I believe that it was sufficiently honoured. The in-depth interviews allowed open discussions that revealed and produced similar results at the various study villages.

#### **4.12 CONCLUSION**

In the opening chapter of this thesis the researcher proposed that qualitative research and adult learning theory would constitute the methodological framework for the study. Qualitative research design is essentially interactive. What actually obtains at the research setting interacts with the theory underpinning it. Adult learning theory and the application of PRA interact in such a way that the relationship is mutual and cyclical. Qualitative research also demands that the principal researcher interacts with people, activities and operations of the case.

Adult learning theories (Freire, 1978; Rogers, 1992; Linden and Renshaw, 2004; Mezirow, 1990) enjoin adult participants to acquire understanding and drive to change the status quo. However, I do not claim that the combination of qualitative research design and the framework of critical adult learning is a magic wand for the creation of knowledge. I believe that qualitative research design offers an appropriate avenue for a full and enriched understanding of the phenomenon under investigation as contrasted with positivist research practices. It is on the basis of this that I hold the view that this framework is relevant and crucial to this particular work bearing in mind its aims and objectives.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES AND PRA APPLICATION AT KHUMAGA**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES**

In constructing the four (4) case studies which follow, I asked questions to villagers relating to contemporary development practices as compared to past development practices in their villages especially in terms of self-help initiatives, challenges facing the community and how the community attempted to address the challenges. I sought to find out how the community had addressed their problems and any notable differences in terms of past and present modes of intervention.

I also inquired about the changes that had taken place over the years in terms of life styles and community cohesion. I also sought to know how most development projects in the village were initiated, specifically by whom and who owned the infrastructure on completion. I enquired about participation in project identification and implementation and in this regard a specific question was asked on why a particular project was initiated (participants/respondents were requested to identify any village project they were familiar with). Discussions regarding this particular question helped me to understand the level of villagers' participation in the identification of development projects in their community.

I asked questions to extension workers relating to PRA training and application. Specifically I inquired about whether the extension worker was ever trained in the PRA methodology, how the training was conducted and whether such training had been of use in terms of skills and knowledge acquired. I inquired about the procedures that were followed in conducting the PRA leading to the development of a Community Action Plan (CAP). I also inquired whether such plans were of any use to the community and/or the government, their quality and the commitment of relevant stakeholders in implementing the CAPs. I also sought to know the opinions of extension workers regarding extension work in general, and their views on the working relations between themselves and villagers.



Each case study represents an account of PRA training and/or application, and the problems encountered by the villagers and extension workers in developing and implementing the CAPs. As discussed in Chapter Four, information for the case studies was mainly derived from discussions with the selected villagers and extension workers in each village. This information was augmented with a review of reports available on PRA application in each village, in particular records of PRA training and/or application. Other information for the case studies came from observations especially relating to how villagers interacted with extension workers and how each of these two groups interacted among themselves.

The names of the study villages where the research was conducted are specified, as are the names of the participants. This identification of the villages and participants is borne out of the nature of the research which asks general questions about the nature of community development and hardly intrudes into the personal lives of the respondents, or solicits answers that may be considered risky. Nonetheless, in instances where I was of the opinion that a particular response was sensitive especially in cases of apportioning blame and stinging criticism, the identities of participants were concealed and names were withheld. The case studies are documented in the following order: Khumaga, the river village (Chapter Five), Otse, the rural and urban mix (Chapter Six), Masunga, the administrative center (Chapter Seven), and Dibete, the truck's base (Chapter Eight). The sequence of presentation corresponds to the sequence of site visits to the villages.

## **5.2 KHUMAGA, THE RIVER VILLAGE**

Khumaga village is located in the Boteti Sub-district of the Central district. Boteti sub-district is bordered by Makgadikgadi Game reserve in the north and Makgadikgadi pans in the northeast, indicating that availability of land is a serious problem for the sub-district.

The Makgadikgadi Pans, one of the largest pans in the world, are the residue of a great lake that once covered much of northern Botswana, fed by rivers carrying salts leached from the lake's catchment area. Ancient lakeshore terraces reveal that the

water depth fluctuated by as much as 33 metres, and, at its greatest extent, the lake covered an area of 60,000 sq km. Because the basin had no outlet, the salts were concentrated in low lying areas. Less than 10,000 years ago, climactic changes caused the lake to evaporate, leaving only salt deposits. Makgadikgadi was initially state land. People have never been resident in its waterless interior, but in times of drought, surrounding villagers were permitted to graze their livestock within the area, withdrawing them to their homes when conditions improved. The area was declared a game reserve in 1970 and in December 1992, the boundaries were extended and National Park status was attained. The present park covers some 4,900 square kilometres. The name 'makgadikgadi' implies a vast open lifeless land (<http://makgadikgadi-pans.botswana.co.za>) - lifeless in that it is not suitable for human habitation.

The headquarters of the sub-district are in Letlhakane, some 240 kilometres east of Khumaga. This long distance from the administrative centre could jeopardize timely service delivery and render the village a forgotten one. Whereas Khumaga village's vicinity to the game reserve and the pans has the potential to benefit the community in terms of the development of the tourism industry, it also has negative effects as voiced by the community members interviewed who indicated that lions and other predators killed their livestock, and other animals, such elephants, destroyed their crops, hence there was a serious conflict over land use between humans and wildlife.

Khumaga village is positioned, as are most of the villages in the sub-district, along the Boteti river which is a seasonal overflow of the Okavangto Delta, hence they are often referred to as Boteti river villages. The village is connected to a highway by a 1km-tarred road. The population of Khumaga is about 925 people -2001 national census-(Republic of Botswana, 2002) made up of various minority ethnic groups such as Bayei, Bakalanga, Banambjwa, and so on. The groups, although settling in the village at different times, were attracted by the opportunities presented by the Boteti river, such as water and wildlife. The existence of these distinct ethnic groups is a source of considerable friction in the village as each group attempts to dominate the others. More precisely, these ethnic factions are reported to be undermining community development efforts due to deliberate sabotage and backstabbing. Community members interviewed gave the example of the struggle between Bakalanga and Bayei

to control village institutions. This power struggle has the potential to cripple village institutions.

Khumaga is essentially an agricultural village since most of the households rely on arable and/or pastoral farming for a living, with households producing just enough to sustain themselves. There are very few opportunities for formal employment. Nonetheless, the village has basic social infrastructure such as a primary school, a health post and water supply. There are some government offices in the village such as the departments of Wildlife, and Tribal Administration. There is also a small business community in the village, selling mostly basic food items such as sugar, maize meal, toiletries, and soft drinks.

Despite these apparent limitations, Khumaga is blessed with numerous opportunities. Being on the banks of the Boteti river, the Khumaga community could take advantage of the water held by the river for crop cultivation and other related income generating activities. Although the river is seasonal and only flows after heavy rains, it has deep sand filled beds which hold a considerable amount of water long after the rainy season (Republic of Botswana, 2003c). It is documented that like other communities in the sub-district, Khumaga residents settled on the banks of the Boteti river to tap its potential such as water for livestock, crop farming, fishing and abundant wildlife along the river (Mogalakwe, 1983). Nonetheless, this potential has never been fully exploited.

Until the collapse of crop farming (arable agriculture's contribution to the national economy has been on the decline since the discovery of minerals in the 1970s), the Khumaga community was relatively self-sufficient and self-supporting. Even during dry seasons occasioned by poor rains, the community would normally take advantage of the wet riverbanks for cultivation, which came to be known as *molapo* farming (flood plain farming). Livestock farming was also a viable subsistence economic activity supported by the availability of both surface and underground water sources. The nearby Makgadikgadi Game reserve ensured the availability of wildlife resources, which was another source of food.

Despite these opportunities, the Khumaga community remains poor and looks set to become poorer in comparison with its past economic status. The community is experiencing declining standards of living due to, amongst others, persistent droughts that make farming unproductive and risky. Community members interviewed reported that poverty is also exacerbated by the disappearance of traditional survival strategies, especially the communal way of living. Essentially, under the traditional arrangement members of the community considered themselves as belonging to a large extended family where an individual's problem was another person's concern. This set-up enabled community members to assist each other when the need arose. This social structure has changed drastically. Community members are concerned with their immediate family challenges and rarely extend a helping hand to other households during difficult times. Community members have become inward looking largely because of the adoption of modern values which promote individualism.

Community members interviewed contend that families no longer take farming seriously because there are no rains. They argued that even during times of good rains only a few families tilled the land while the majority idled in the village pleading for government assistance. They cited alcohol abuse as another factor contributing to neglect of agriculture and high levels of poverty. Most able-bodied people, especially the youth, spend most of their time consuming alcohol, usually the local brew called *mbere*. This prevents them from engaging in productive activities and instead they depend on the government's relief schemes.

Most residents line up to register themselves as destitute so as to receive monthly food rations/stipends from the government through the Destitute Scheme that is meant to cater for people unable to survive on their own.

The Destitute Policy of 1980 and the revised one of 2002 were designed to assist individuals within the society, who due to their lack of capabilities cannot provide for their family's basic human needs such as food, shelter and clothing. Most of the beneficiaries of the destitute programme are old people, children in need of care; drought induced destitute people and the mentally handicapped (Republic of Botswana, 2003c: p.296).

In the past it was repugnant for a person to clamour for membership to this group but nowadays a person is not ashamed to be identified as destitute. In any case they queue up for registration and according to extension workers interviewed, those who are

turned away because they do not meet the requirement for registration blame social workers for denying them the chance to benefit from government subsidy.

According to the National Settlement Policy of 1998, the growth centre strategy is the preferred approach to spatial planning and location of development in all the districts. Basically, the National Settlement Strategy is the basis for the creation of a national settlement hierarchy to facilitate planning and equitable provision of infrastructure and services in a cost-effective manner to all settlements. Accordingly, the level of investment in infrastructure and social services will depend on population size, the settlement's potential and the availability of natural resources to sustain growth in the long term (Republic of Botswana, 2003c: p.15).

The Policy categorises settlements as: Primary centres with a population of at least 20, 000 people; Secondary centres with a population ranging from 10, 000 to 19, 999 and Tertiary centres which mostly include small villages, land communities, cattle posts and small groupings of people in the remote areas. In accordance with the Growth Centre Strategy emphasis is on concentrating development investment in primary centres from 'which the benefits of economic development will trickle down to smaller communities' (Republic of Botswana, 2003c: p.21). Khumaga village is classified as a Tertiary centre, hence, investment in physical infrastructure is lacking. This has tended to lead to outward migration, which in turn perpetuates economic stagnation as most able-bodied people migrate to major centres in search of work and better social services. While migrants could benefit the community in terms of remittances and transfer of new ideas, knowledge and skills, such benefits appear negligible as evidenced by the stagnant and even regressing economy.

Community members interviewed revealed that more successful people, especially those with a decent education, were deserting the village and settling in places like Rakops and Motlopi (neighbouring villages), where there were far better facilities. This scenario has the potential to create a vicious cycle of underdevelopment because district authorities are constrained by the provisions of the National Settlement Policy from providing additional infrastructure and social services to Khumaga's small population. On the other hand community members are not induced to remain in their village, and as they leave, the population becomes smaller and the justification for

additional services becomes difficult. Community members revealed that out-migration is also caused by predation, droughts and the destruction of crops by wildlife, especially elephants.

### **5.3 NOTES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS.**

The task of identifying participants or respondents was relatively easy because when I arrived in the village on the morning of June 2, 2005 there was a village gathering at the *Kgotla* (village meeting place) to commemorate the annual 'Teachers Day'. In order to take full advantage of the event, I immediately approached the village chief to seek permission to conduct the study (specifically to speak to his subjects). The chief then called some of the village elders (headmen) to attend my briefing and then I was given permission to do the study in the village.

I then approached the Community Development Assistant who was introduced to me by the chief during my briefing. Community development staff are key figures in community activities and their centrality in community development issues acquaint them well with the villagers. As such they are in a much better position to know most of the active members of the community or local influential persons, especially in villages with a small population like Khumaga. With the help of the Community Development Assistant I was able to identify provisional participants. Four (4) villagers and three extension workers (3), all of whom were at the *kgotla* meeting, were selected. Identified individuals were then approached and individually briefed about the nature and purpose of the research. The introductions and briefings constituted preliminary discussions whereupon the identified people were asked to assist in the study as respondents. Having agreed to participate in the study, participants were then requested to indicate dates and times suitable or convenient to them for discussions.

I was able to have discussions with all the participants at least thrice, as indicated in Chapter Four of this thesis. Main discussions took place in June 2005 and follow up visits were undertaken in September 2005.

#### 5.4 AN ANALYSIS OF PRA TRAINING AND APPLICATION

Taking account of the challenges facing the Khumaga community and also cognisant of the opportunities available in the area, the Botswana government through its Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism recognized that Khumaga had great potential for the development of the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) initiatives within the wildlife sector. CBNRM in Botswana started with the launch of the USAID-funded Natural Resources Management Project in 1989 with the design of a Botswana specific approach. It was only after 1993 that implementation at the community level commenced. The CBNRM project was born out of the realisation that there was a decline in wildlife due to poaching. It attempts to enlist the commitment and cooperation of local communities in conservation and sustainable utilisation of wildlife and other natural resources.

This project assumes that people who depend on natural resources for their livelihood are the ones with the greatest interest in conserving and using them in a sustainable way, provided they believe they own them. Otherwise if the community believe that the resources are not theirs, they will be less motivated to conserve them, as this comment illustrates. *Game warders should drive these animals away. What if the kudu had killed my ailing mother? Where would I get another? Bone kana ditholo tsa bone ditletse naga e (Their [game wardens] kudus are all over) (Midweek Sun, 2005).* This was after a kudu got lost and ended up in a village, prompting a villager to comment to the effect that the government seemed to have more love for wildlife than people.

The approach creates incentives for the community to conserve natural resources and encourages the community to be co-managers of wildlife. It gives greater authority and responsibility to local people to decide how to use (harvest) and take care of the available resources. CBNRM is a strategy aimed at boosting the rural economy through, among others, the expansion of rural economic activities. In the process it seeks to introduce a more effective and sustainable rural development process by increasing the role of communities and their leadership structures in identifying their economic needs and aspirations, formulating and setting up their own action plans to

address them. CBNRM helps the community to realize their potential for organizing themselves, assembling and analysing their information, setting their priorities, developing their plans and executing them. CBNRM uses the PRA methodology to achieve these goals.

Remarkable progress has been recorded since the inception of the strategy, especially its impact on rural development in terms of income and employment creation. However considerable challenges still lie ahead. CBNRM is still largely focused on wildlife although there are other natural resources that hold value such as forests, fish and veld products. The challenge is therefore to expand its focus beyond wildlife utilisation. There is also need to decentralise authority and skills to communities to take up management of natural resources. CBNRM has to deal with the topical issue that in many cases important decisions do not positively impact on community members, particularly in terms of financial benefits. There is also poor planning for the use of natural resources and in many cases such use is not properly regulated.

Despite the above challenges, CBNRM has proved that communities have the potential to use, in a sustainable way, and conserve natural resources.

CBNRM creates new economic opportunities for the communities living adjacent to wildlife, as is the case with Khumaga. Yet the people pay huge costs for the conservation of wildlife since it has been nationalized in order to avoid regional inequalities. For instance, some tribes may believe that they have exclusive ownership of wildlife that is within their tribal territories, as explained in Chapter Two. They suffer loss of crops, livestock, property and human life as community members interviewed opined.

### **PRA TRAINING**

Recognising this potential, the Botswana government sought to kick start an initiative to raise the Khumaga community's interest in the sustainable use of natural resources especially wildlife. PRA application in a village can be initiated by members of the community who might have heard about PRA methodology and are willing to try it by inviting PRA practitioners to conduct PRA in the village. It can be initiated by extension workers and other change agents who identify a community needing



development assistance. In other cases Non-governmental organisations whose spheres of operation focus on community empowerment may propose a PRA application. PRA practitioners may approach a community and introduce the idea.

In the Khumaga case, the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism invited the Rural Development Coordination Division (RDCCD) of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning to conduct PRA training for the Sub-district's Technical Advisory Committee, a select committee comprising village based and district based extension workers responsible for overseeing the implementation of CBNRM activities. The purpose of the training was to impart knowledge and skills in the use of PRA methodology to trainees so that they could later use PRA to implement a CBNRM project in the sub-district, particularly Khumaga. Training was conducted from April 18 through to April 20, 2002. In addition to the primary purpose of the PRA training, the following objectives formed a basis for the training. The PRA training was intended to prepare the Technical Advisory Committee members to be able to:

- Mobilize the community's human and natural resources.
- Assist the community to identify and express their problems.
- Consider past efforts in Khumaga village development, the successes and failures.
- Assist the community to evaluate local institutions' capacities.
- Assist the villagers to prioritise opportunities.
- Assist the community to prepare a site-specific action plan

(MFDP, Report of the proceedings of the Khumaga PRA Training Workshop; 2002).

The report indicates that a paper entitled 'Rural Development in Botswana: A Historical Approach' was to have been presented, but due to time constraints the paper was simply handed out to trainees. This part of the training was meant to acquaint trainees with evolving themes and approaches in rural development, specifically in relation to the paradigm shift in rural development from the top-down to the bottom-up approach. This was expected to help trainees appreciate and locate the use of participatory methodologies in particular PRA in rural development

planning and management. It is essential that PRA trainees are provided with an enriching introductory briefing on the shift in emphasis from government initiated and controlled rural development to people-centred approach in rural development with a view to rehabilitate or relinquish their control-oriented attitudes, behaviours and practices so that they appreciate the benefits of involving community members in project identification, planning and implementation.

Nonetheless, the training proceeded focusing on the standard steps followed in PRA application. Training commenced with a presentation on 'rivers of life', which basically depicts a community's timeline showing troughs and peaks representing constraints and opportunities. A good lesson presentation is supposed to remind the community of problems they have encountered throughout their history and how they endeavoured to address them.

The 'sketch map and transect' presentation was intended to locate major resources and opportunities available in the community. This is necessary during the planning stage when the community has to ascertain if they will have the necessary resources to implement their proposals.

An 'Institutional analysis' presentation focused on the activities of the various institutions in the village such as the Village Development Committee (VDC), Village Health Committee (VHC), Village Extension Team (VET) and others. The purpose of the analysis was to understand how the community viewed these institutions in terms of their contribution to the development of the community as well as their relationships. During the development of the CAP, the community must allocate tasks to vibrant institutions in order to ensure implementation.

'Gender daily calendar' captured the roles and responsibilities allocated to both genders, based on the socio-cultural, historical and political background of the community. When allocating responsibilities, it is necessary to avoid burdening an already overwhelmed gender group.

'Livelihood Mapping' was intended to help trainees to identify basic resources used by the community.

‘Data analysis and Problem identification’ sought to arm the trainees with the knowledge of organising and making sense of disaggregated information showing causes and possible solutions to identified problems. This includes an assessment of opportunities based on a set criterion.

The last presentation was ‘Participatory monitoring and valuation’ which is necessary to acquaint trainees with the skills to keep track of development activities and assess their contribution in meeting set goals.

The following themes emerged from discussions with respondents:

### **PRA training rushed**

The training was completed in three days. Perhaps recognizing that time was not adequate to cover all the planned presentations, the PRA trainers omitted some topics opting to simply give handouts to trainees to read at a later stage. I believe that the omission, especially the topic on ‘Rural Development in Botswana: A Historical Approach’ may have robbed the trainees of an opportunity to understand and appreciate the paradigm shift in rural development planning and its benefits to both the planners and the villagers. This understanding is required to prepare development planners to relinquish their superior attitudes in their dealings with local communities. It must be noted that the top-down approach to rural development is known for bestowing superior status on development workers in their relations with rural communities. This arrangement has tended to drain the rural people’s confidence and self-belief in a way that makes it hard for rural communities to fully appreciate their capabilities.

A rushed PRA training may have had the consequence of giving the trainees a superficial understanding of the PRA process without imparting skills for facilitating PRA with villagers. Trainees are unlikely to perform PRA activities if they have not acquired skills and knowledge of facilitating the activities. That is to say, trainees can do PRA but may not be able to share these skills with others or train others in the application of PRA. For instance, the community did an institutional analysis but failed to recognize the significance of this task by failing to allocate tasks to worthy

institutions or at least individuals with a respectable track record. This may also explain why the CAP was of such a poor quality. A participant commented that:

*The trainers told us that time for the training was limited and as such some planned presentations will have to be omitted and instead we will be given some handouts to read at a later stage (Luke Bojosi, extension worker).*

A PRA training and application which zooms into a community like a tropical rain storm and after a few days whirls out again, leaving trainees and community members in a daze, definitely borders on development tourism (PRA Handbook, 2000; p5).

This rural development tourism is the very evil that the PRA framework seeks to offset. It will be tragic if the PRA process itself becomes part of the problem rather than part of the solution to development problems.

### **Training dominated by the trainers**

Since the duration for the training was limited, it was not surprising that the PRA trainers dominated the training as a measure to firmly control and direct the proceedings. Trainees' participation was limited and not encouraged. PRA training is predicated on the concept of teamwork and the fullest possible involvement, participation and cooperation of those involved. Exclusion of the trainees in facilitating the training may result in most trainees feeling unimportant and ultimately disinterested, as one participant remarked:

*They were actually teaching us the PRA methodology and we were just listening. To be fair they tried to provoke discussions but time did not permit prolonged discussions (Luke Bojosi, extension worker).*

Rather than challenging exclusionism, the hurried PRA training helped to cement it by excluding the beneficiaries of the training.

### **Training venue inappropriate**

The venue for the PRA training was within a short distance of some of the village based trainees' offices. This close proximity to their offices tended to be disruptive in

that trainees were often called to attend to office matters or simply absented themselves occasionally to avoid boredom. Comments below capture this scenario.

*We were alternating. I attended on the first day and my colleague attended training on the second day. Unfortunately, I also had to go away on an official trip before the training was concluded (Chalengwa Senamolela, community member).*

*If you are nearby and you are told that you have a phone call, you rush to the office and answer the call. Who knows it might be your supervisor. Ultimately trainees kept going out and coming back at intervals and you couldn't tell whether such movements in and out were genuine or people were just playing truant (Luke Bojosi, extension worker).*

### **PRA handbook not issued**

The rushed training not only compromised a relaxed learning atmosphere, but participants were not given the PRA handbook for future reference and guidance. The handbook stipulates all the PRA steps and their sequence during application. The handbook could have been helpful, especially to village based extension workers who may have to conduct PRAs with different communities long after their initial training.

### **PRA APPLICATION**

Following the training of the Technical Advisory Committee, actual application of the PRA with the community of Khumaga commenced on April 21, 2002 and ended on April 25, 2002. Facilitation was done by the members of the Technical Advisory Committee since the MFDP PRA trainers had returned to their base (Gaborone) on completion of training.

PRA application is supposed to be launched at a community gathering where it can be explained to the community. Extension workers interviewed indicated that a village meeting was announced by the chief and it was at this meeting that the PRA was explained and launched. It was explained that the PRA exercise in the village was intended to assist the community to draw up and own their development plan. It was disclosed that the Technical Advisory Committee informed the community that

the success of the PRA would depend on their active participation. The Committee explained all the steps that would be followed.

The villagers welcomed the idea and expressed hope that conducting this PRA would assist them in finding solutions to their problems, especially the problem of predation. Participants disclosed that attendance at the PRA meetings fluctuated between twenty-five to forty people on a daily basis. The community used all the PRA tools to collect data. This was followed by data analysis and synthesis by listing the problems and assessing their opportunities in a way that led to the development of a Community Action Plan (CAP).

There are a few issues that emerged from discussions with respondents in relation to PRA application that I consider significant. The issues are captured below.

#### **PRA application rushed**

PRA application with the community seems to have experienced the same problem of limited time that afflicted initial training for the Technical Advisory Committee. This might explain why attendance was poor, but yet the exercise carried on. Respondents revealed that at the beginning attendance was better but the situation got worse everyday. When this concern was raised it was revealed that the Technical Advisory Committee argued that application had to proceed because there was no guarantee that there would ever be better attendance and that they had other pressing activities to undertake elsewhere. It was clear that the facilitators were not much concerned with details but rather had resolved to complete the exercise within a set time frame. A hurried application has the potential to lead to an ill-conceived Community Action Plan and render PRA application a formality rather than a critical tool for community planning and empowerment. It was also revealed that the exercise took up the whole day which meant villagers had no time to attend to their immediate family chores. This had the effect of scaring villagers off attending the subsequent meetings.

In my view the Khumaga CAP as presented below is illustrative of a poorly conducted PRA.

**FIGURE 5.1**

**KHUMAGA COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN**

<b>PROBLEM</b>	<b>OPPORTUNITIES</b>
1. Unemployment	Income generating activities Horticulture Commercial farming
2. Predation	Erect a fence to separate game park and livestock grazing areas Provide water in the park
3. Lack of participation in community planning	Training seminars
4. Tribalism	Sensitize the community on the dangers of tribalism People to speak the national language (setswana) at official gatherings.
5. Shortage of water for livestock	Borehole drilling
6. Littering	Clean up campaigns Provision of waste bins Cleanliness competitions

This CAP is dominated by action items that require significant government involvement and so does not depart from traditional development approaches based on prescriptive interventions by the state. The CAP is no different from the common ‘shopping list’ that communities present to the government as their development needs. The community of Khumaga hardly committed their own resources toward implementation of the CAP, either as sole implementers or in collaboration with the government and other funding agencies.

It was reported that attendance levels were very low and got worse towards the end of the exercise. This raises questions such as; is it reasonable and advisable to plan for a community of around 900 people when not more than 40 people are present? Whose plan is it? Who will take responsibility for coordination and implementation? What are the chances of it being implemented?

The CAP contains, as a planned activity, the need to erect a fence that will separate wildlife areas from grazing areas for the community’s livestock in order to minimise predation. Government has since erected the fence. This could mean that it was

already in the national plan but the extension workers failed to advise the community. This could indicate lack of commitment to the PRA methodology or rather lack of effective and proactive support. Whatever the case, the fact that government erected the fence trivializes PRA and renders the CAP and community development useless. The message is that the government is doing what it knows best- planning and implementing projects for the people.

### **Inconsiderate timing**

Despite the argument that most families no longer practice farming as a source of livelihood, the month of April is the time when those who still cultivate their fields start harvesting. Conducting a PRA around this time is both inconsiderate and careless. Even though villagers who were in the village during application did not attend the meetings, conducting a PRA around this time gives villagers a good excuse to stay away, claiming that they are still tending their crops. This is what one of the respondents said with regard to the timing of the exercise:

*How can they do this (apply PRA) in April when most of us were still tending our fields? If we leave our fields alone and come here livestock and wild animals will destroy our crops (Keboaketswe Manchebu, community member).*

### **The CAP not elaborate**

A good CAP would normally identify a problem and its various opportunities or proposed solutions. For each opportunity, the CAP should capture action required and resources needed. The CAP will then specify individuals or entities to be tasked with the responsibility to provide the needed resources or inputs. The CAP will also specify the time frame for each opportunity or planned project and specific individuals or institutions are charged with the responsibility for follow up in order to ensure that planned activities are actually carried out.

The Khumaga CAP lacks detail and is not elaborate. Essentially the CAP lists the community's problems and possible solutions. It is not clear whether the problems are listed in order of priority. The CAP does not elaborate on who will carry out the planned activities. Whereas the CAP represents the development priorities of the



community, it cannot be assumed that all planned activities are to be carried out by the community. It is possible and admissible for a CAP to contain planned activities whose implementation is the responsibility of external organisations, hence the need to allocate specific tasks to specific entities.

The CAP does not have a time frame for implementation of planned activities and as such it is extremely difficult to evaluate progress.

## **PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING THE CAP**

Whereas the formulation of the community's development plan might be achieved with relative ease, the real test lies with implementation of the plan to satisfy the community's needs and aspirations. There are a number of factors that seem to have derailed implementation of the Khumaga CAP and they are discussed below.

### **Poor preparation**

It is necessary for the PRA team to make preparations in advance in order to mobilize and get commitment from the villagers and village based extension staff. The preparations could also help the PRA practitioners and the community to agree on the timing of application. In this case study, we have seen that the community was not adequately prepared for the exercise ahead of the launch. Perhaps this is why attendance was so poor. Yet the facilitators remained unperturbed and proceeded with their work. The extent of state domination in the lives of rural communities is illustrated by the village's case study post script in the box below. This post script is an unedited extract of news article from a Botswana private newspaper – Mmegi, The Reporter – authored by its reporter, Emphraim Keoreng.

**“KHUMAGA:** Residents of Khumaga have read malice in last week's cancellation of a Kgotla meeting in the village where they were to be addressed by Vice-President Ian Khama. Some influential residents read malice in the move, while others blame each other for acting in a manner that gave the organisers reason to exclude the settlement from the VP's schedule.

Khama skipped Khumaga though it was originally in the schedule of his tour of Letlhakane villages. Some village elders say they have been punished by the organizers from Letlhakane district office for rejecting demands to contribute towards making the VP's visit to the village comfortable.

The organizing committee from Letlhakane district office had proposed that the villagers contribute funds and buy bottled water and snacks for the convenience of the visiting VP, a suggestion that was rejected by the village leaders. They said residents, who are largely subsistence farmers, were too poor to afford the contributions. Village Development Committee (VDC) chairperson, Kgothatso Dihawa said they were also asked to get better furniture from nearby villages.

"When we told them we had tables and chairs from the Kgotla office, the wildlife office and the school which we could use for the meeting, they (organizing committee) said these were worn out and we should look for better furniture in Moreomaoto and Motopi, something which we didn't take kindly to, as we felt undermined," he said.

He said that he is still at a loss as to why they have been bypassed by the VP because the cancelled *Kgotla* [village meeting place] meeting would have been a good forum to air their grievances. These include dirty drinking water and lack of a vehicle for the police. "Nowadays thieves are complicated and use cars to carry out criminal activities. Of late, they are taking advantage of the fact that our police have no vehicles to patrol and chase them. The Customary Court office is also small, though all civil servants except the wildlife department use it. Our drinking water is terrible. We have always complained that it was unhealthy and not good for consumption. When you open the tap, a pungent smell will hit you. The water is salty. That is why we have been looking forward to this meeting, for we had hoped it will help in getting the attention of the VP, who is well known for ensuring rural dwellers' problems are solved right away," he said.

Khumaga tribal authority, Keeditse Orapeleng, said a meeting between the organizing committee from Letlhakane and village leaders descended into a quagmire as the two parties disagreed.

"There was a complaint by the Khumaga team that the programme should have been done by the VDC instead of the organizing committee as it is usually done. Then there was that water and furniture issue which was turning into a heated debate. I had to stand up and call for calm from my people who looked very agitated. I then advised that the organizers should be allowed to go back to Letlhakane and we on the other hand would discuss it amongst ourselves as village leaders and later send a delegation to state our position. Unfortunately later, they came back to tell us the VP will not come here," he said.

He added that they have been looking forward to the meeting, as it would help people to raise their concerns with the VP.

In a desperate attempt to have the VP come to his *Kgotla*, the headman is reportedly said to have gone out of his way to ask old age pensioners to contribute to buy snacks. "We managed to gather about P100, but unfortunately the decision was made that he will not come," he said.

Bapaletswe Motamma, former VDC chairman has however pointed an accusing finger at the village leaders for lack of interest in the VP's visit. He said he blames the way people spoke to the organizing committee. "You could see they were not

welcoming. People like the VDC chairperson and the councillor were on the warpath as they rudely suggested that the VP should be made to drink the unhealthy water we have here. It was a sign of disrespect for a government leader. How can you offer the worst stuff to your visiting dignitary," he wondered.

The Letlhakane district office referred queries on the matter to the District Commissioner's office in Serowe, which in turn shifted the onus to the Office of the President (OP) in Gaborone. "We get the itinerary from the OP and then we forward it to the necessary people. I can't give you anything besides that," an officer in Serowe said.

Private Secretary to the Vice President, Louis Malikongwa however dismissed allegations that his office ejected Khumaga out of the VP's itinerary out of spite. "We look at the itinerary and see if the VP will be able to cover the places in time, for they are many, the itinerary is made in such a way that the VP has to use a day to address about four villages" (August 23<sup>rd</sup> 2006). The post script story shows that,

- Issues concerning communities are decided, concluded and sealed without the involvement of concerned communities and village based extension workers.
- Government officials have the power to impose sanctions on communities that do not toe the line.
- There is widespread poverty in Khumaga, but it seems that government officials do not acknowledge it.
- It appears that government officials intended to conceal the harsh living conditions in the village from the VP.

In conclusion, this addendum shows that the government of Botswana still adheres to a top-down approach despite claiming to be fully committed to bottom-up planning through consultation and increased community involvement in decision making. It is therefore safe to argue that PRA has still to be taken beyond its symbolic use. The biggest challenge is that there has to be more to it than political oratory.

### **Limited ownership and commitment**

The PRA application failed to cultivate a sense of urgency and commitment to cardinal principles among the community. It failed to motivate and inspire both extension workers and the villagers. It has also failed to cultivate a sense of ambition, pro-activeness, creativity, innovation and time consciousness and this is why respondents admit that the application of PRA in the village has not resulted in the betterment of living standards – *'things remain the same'* (Luke Bojosi, extension worker).

### **Responsibility and Accountability**

In the absence of clear roles, specific tasks and institutions or individuals responsible for coordinating activities of the CAP, implementation was bound to fail. It is important that the community recommend specific actions necessary to accomplish planned activities and also task specific individuals or institutions with the responsibility to ensure that planned activities are executed. These individuals or institutions will have to account for failure if there is no progress.

*No one ever reminded anybody about this pending work. Is it supposed to be our chief or these government officers (extension workers)?* (Keboaketswe Manchebu, community member).

This means that there is no regular follow up and feedback on progress.

### **Inactive village institutions**

Key village institutions, which could spearhead the implementation of the CAP, are virtually dormant. For instance, the Village Extension Team (VET), which should be mobilizing the community to carry out planned activities, is dysfunctional. Inter-departmental coordination, joint planning and communication are poor. The Village Development Committee (VDC), which is perhaps the only visible and active institution, is focused on implementing its projects (as contained in the Village Development Plan) that are funded by the government through the district council. This plan might contain some of the items on the CAP since there is little collaboration or joint planning. This may also be due to lack of clarity about developmental roles and responsibilities.

*The community should implement their CAP and come to us if they need help* (Chalengwa Senamolela, extension worker).

Support from the VET and DET is conspicuous in its absence hence lack of proactive and effective guidance for the community.

### **PRA as foreign**

In *setswana* culture and in accordance with the top-down approach to development planning, the local leadership and village elders plan for the whole community. Community members are not expected to leave their homes en masse to gather and talk about development, especially women who should be taking care of babies and other household chores. PRA encourages participation across gender and age. It may therefore create conflict between *setswana* ways of doing things (tradition) and modernity. Since PRA suggests that the village leadership is not the focal point of all PRA activities, it becomes difficult for the leadership to push for implementation. Traditional leaders remain disinterested, powerless and hapless. Yet things done the *setswana* way will have the blessing and unquestionable support of village leaders and chances are that they will be implemented to some degree.

### **Information management**

The storage or safe keeping of PRA records for future reference is poor. In fact no participant was able to indicate where the official reports of the PRA workshop could be found. A copy of the report was sourced from the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, yet those who should be in possession of it could not locate it. It is therefore unlikely that the community will implement projects contained in the CAP. In the first place they do not have the document. This may explain why some respondents had difficulties in recalling that the PRA exercise was once done in their village until I produced the report with their names listed on the attendance list. This may also be related to the *Setswana* way of doing things in which important things will be remembered and record keeping is not essential.

### **Monitoring and follow up**

Related to the problem of the absence of a local PRA co-ordinator, is the issue of monitoring and evaluation. It is imperative that once the CAP has been developed, someone or some institutions should be charged with the task of following up on planned activities. The purpose of monitoring and evaluation is to keep the community and other stakeholders abreast of the status of development activities contained in the CAP, so that they are jointly responsible for revising the

implementation strategies. This exercise enhances community ownership of projects and to a larger extent motivates the community to see their plan through.

Regarding the Khumaga case study, no individual or a group of individuals had followed up. Because the village institutions were inactive, nothing could be expected of them in this regard. The Technical Advisory Committee or at least its village based members did not bother to follow up preferring to leave implementation to the villagers who are the “owners” of the CAP. In any case, most members of the Technical Advisory Committee have either left the village or the district through transfers, resignations, retirement and/or death. It is therefore apparent that the provision of once-off PRA training to extension workers is not effective. The PRA training team from the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning has not made any attempt to check progress because *‘we were only asked to facilitate training for the target group. We are not responsible for implementation or follow up’* (Mr. J. Baruti, government official).

As a result of the above factors, the Khumaga Community Action Plan is yet to be implemented and chances that it will be implemented anytime soon are very slim. It is almost four years since the CAP was developed and there is no indication that implementation will commence soon. As a result the application of PRA in Khumaga has not resulted in improvement in the people’s standards of living, yet life goes on and the community is not bothered.

In view of this failed PRA initiative, The Botswana Community Based Organisations Network (BOCOBONET) plans to conduct another PRA in the village in the future, presumably because they are convinced that the previous PRA was bound to fail. Prior to the recent PRA exercise by the government, an organisation by the name of ACCORD also did a PRA in the village<sup>23</sup>. This organisation is reported to be defunct. While the gesture by BOCOBONET may be a wise move, it might lead to PRA fatigue among the Khumaga community. This fatigue may also lead to wholesale disenchantment with the PRA framework in particular and the participatory development planning in general.

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<sup>23</sup> I have failed to get useful information on ACCORD presumably because it is defunct. It was externally funded by USAID.

The events also point to a need to have all PRA initiatives by different institutions coordinated by an established and authoritative organ. This will ensure that such initiatives compliment rather than compete with each other. It will also ensure that communities are not swamped by PRA agents.

## **5.5 STEPS TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE PRA TRAINING AND APPLICATION IN KHUMAGA**

A key question of this research is ‘what can to be done to improve this PRA process?’ Extension workers argue that the government must review all social welfare schemes since the schemes promote and sustain dependency on the government. Unless such schemes are strictly targeted and discriminatory (for instance, in Lesotho, community members who consider themselves poor have to participate in community projects in order to qualify for food aid) the PRA methodology will not get support from most rural communities. Most villagers are convinced that the government has the responsibility to take care of them and so they are not motivated to play an active role in the development process. This curt and somewhat rude comment explains it all:

*Government must do away with most of these relief and assistance schemes even if some people will starve. They will then wake up to the realization that they are responsible for their lives. Current assistance programmes are spoiling and dis-empowering them. That is why they are so lazy (Name withheld).*

Villagers on the other hand contend that their village is remote and distant from potential markets for products such as crafts, crops, livestock and livestock products, wild fruits and thatching grass. They decry the fact that their village is situated in the dry part of the country and that the village is so close to the Makgadikgadi Game Reserve that predators kill their livestock and render them poor. Consequently, they opine that all these factors justify the provision of government relief measures to cushion them against these stark realities. I consider this a realistic call, but I also believe that government intervention should assist those without any means of

livelihood. It would be very sad if rural communities viewed relief measures as entitlements.

It is interesting that extension workers appear to be in support of the paradigm shift in rural development, yet in practice they seldom support activities intended to facilitate it. Perhaps they find themselves in a situation where they have to speak the master's language or toe the line. They may not be seen to antagonise the government that employs them. Villagers, on the other hand, are unequivocal in their resistance to the proposed changes. Where there are murmurs in support of participatory initiatives such are very few and largely rhetorical. Villagers are clear that in the present circumstances they must be fed and clothed by the government.

## **5.6 CONCLUSION**

Lack of administrative and logistical support at district and national levels in respect to the implementation of the CAP suggests lack of serious commitment to the integration of the PRA methodology into the planning and consultative activities of the government. Supervisors may talk about involving rural communities in project identification, design and implementation but actually promote a centralized set-up by not involving their juniors at the village level, and, more disturbingly, not supporting participatory efforts at the village level. This set-up is supported by existing procedures such as rigid funding procedures and the demand for departmental allegiance. The application of PRA in Khumaga did not effect any structural changes to existing procedures. The case study's post script is a classic example of failing to walk the talk.

Failure by extension workers to provide effective and proactive guidance to the villagers in respect of the CAP implementation suggests that they either lack the necessary skills in facilitating a PRA process or that they are simply not interested. A poor quality CAP suggests that activities leading to its development were poorly planned. These factors coupled with the villagers' unwillingness to invest their own resources (perhaps due to the difficult living conditions induced by, among others, drought and predation) toward the implementation of planned activities, suggests that the PRA process is a mere formality. It seems to me that PRA relegated traditional



leaders to the periphery, with the unintended effect of subduing the influence of traditional leaders in community mobilization. The struggle for power and control of village institutions by the various ethnic groups stifles the PRA process.

Villagers continue to embrace the dependency pattern. While they may clamour for empowerment and self-development, in reality they prefer to be clothed and fed. On the other hand, extension workers lambaste villagers for their laziness, lack of innovation and inventiveness while they cherish the status quo, where lines of authority run top-down. Decisions and innovations are introduced by the development workers and this arrangement gives them a sense of power, status and contentment. These attitudes among both the villagers and extension workers continue to haunt the PRA process.

In conclusion, the Khumga case study provides fascinating and revealing themes that will be explored further in the subsequent case studies.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **PRA APPLICATION AT OTSE**

#### **6.1 OTSE, THE RURAL AND URBAN MIX**

Otse village is located along the Gaborone – Lobatse highway, about 40 km south east of Gaborone and about 25 km north east of Lobatse. It is predominantly inhabited by Balete, one of the constitutionally recognized principal tribes. It has a population of roughly 5, 010 people - 2001 Population Census- (Republic of Botswana, 2002). Otse is surrounded by large hills in the south and west that make soils poor and lead to poor grazing pastures through soil erosion. The area is rugged yet this ruggedness makes it one of the most scenically beautiful parts of the country. Rainfall in the larger area is generally good.

Otse is experiencing an increasing population as a spill over effect occasioned by the rapid growth of Gaborone and Lobatse. This inward migration has the potential to affect existing social structures especially in terms of having a lasting impact on the culture of the people of Otse, which is already reeling from the enormous effects of being close to both the city of Gaborone and the town of Lobatse. However, Otse's proximity to both Gaborone and Lobatse also represents a unique development opportunity. The two urban areas are rich markets for a variety of products such as poultry products, dairy products, farm produce and so forth.

The two primary economic activities in Otse are agriculture and formal employment. Formal employment opportunities are mostly in the education sector. There is a senior secondary school, a community junior school, a primary school, a pre-school center, village library and so forth that employ a few people. There are also government offices in the village. Agriculture is the mainstay of the village but it is experiencing a decline like elsewhere in the country, as explained in Chapter Two of this thesis.

Wildlife resources are scarce though there is a community of baboons in the hills and a colony of vultures. These represent possible tourist attractions especially for those tourists en route to places like Chobe and Okavango, which have ample wildlife resources.

However, the village is confronted with a number of problems such as truancy, alcoholism, teenage pregnancy and break down in the extended family system. Residents blame these problems on the bad influence exerted from nearby urban centers. The youth are reported to be shunning their (traditional) culture in preference for the urban style of living. This has resulted in the erosion of family oriented social structures and an increase in social problems. The recurrence of droughts has forced the government to periodically provide relief assistance to affected families. This concomitantly negates the spirit of self-help. Ultimately, most people look to the government to provide them with a means of living.

## 6.2 NOTES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

I first approached the village leaders on the morning of July 25<sup>th</sup>, 2005 to seek permission to do research in the village and at the same time to identify respondents. The visit to the village was combined with initial identification or selection of respondents because it was expected that permission would be granted without any difficulties since the Office of the President already granted a general research permit. On the morning of the day of my visit, community members had converged at the *kgotla* (village meeting place) for a meeting addressed by the Southeast District Council Chairman, Mr. Matshidiso Fologang, to officially announce the commencement of the Drought Relief Programme.

Immediately after the meeting I approached the village chief and briefed him about the purpose of my visit and the nature of the study. Once permission was granted, I then approached the Chairperson of the Village Development Committee (VDC), Mr. Lawrence Mashe to assist me in selecting suitable villagers to participate in the study. Whereas the study requires the participation of three community members, I asked the

VDC Chairperson to propose five possible participants using the simple criterion of a person's activism in community development issues, possible knowledge of local development issues and being influential in the village. I also suggested that he propose names of people who were in the gathering so that I could approach them immediately before they dispersed to their homes. I acknowledged that it would be taxing to follow them to their homes given that Otse is relatively big and spread out.

After briefly discussing the proposed respondents with the VDC chairperson, three respondents/participants were chosen. The identified individuals were then approached and briefed individually about the purpose of the study and the nature of the research activity. The selected participants agreed to participate in the study. The introductions and the briefing constituted preliminary discussions whereupon participants were asked to indicate dates and times suitable for them for the next visit.

The task of selecting suitable extension workers who could participate in the study proved arduous. Since it was relatively easy to locate extension workers (most have a work specific uniform, name tags and can be followed to their offices), I opted to do this task without assistance. I resolved to select key extension workers especially those who, through the demands of their job, would be active in extension service delivery, such as the Chairperson of the VET. I also opted to select those who participated or attended the village PRA workshop that was held in August 2000. This proved a difficult task since most extension workers I approached claimed that they were new in the village or that they did not attend the said PRA workshop.

In the end I selected only two extension workers based in the village. For the sake of the research I tracked a third extension worker to Gaborone Game Reserve where he had since been transferred. I considered this respondent crucial to my study. I was able to have discussions with all selected respondents at least thrice (as indicated in Chapter Three of this thesis).

Main discussions were conducted in August 2005, except for one extension worker who only availed himself for discussion in April 2006. Follow up visits were undertaken in September 2005.

### **6.3 AN ANALYSIS OF PRA APPLICATION AT OTSE**

PRA application in Otse was conducted from 16 to 25 August 2000. The exercise was facilitated by the Botswana Orientation Center (BOC), which was contracted by BOCOBONET.

Earlier in this Chapter I stated that Otse village had abundant opportunities for community economic development, but that these opportunities remained untapped. Its natural elegance, the advantages of its being located in the vicinity of Gaborone and the town of Lobatse and its being located along a highway remain unexploited, while at the same time development challenges such as unemployment, insufficient infrastructure, cultural disintegration continue to confront the community.

Against this realization, particularly in recognizing the challenges confronting young people in Otse, a group of young women founded Botlhale Jwa Phala Development Trust. The Trust was intended to mobilize out-of-school, female youth in Otse to pool together and confront their problems as an organized group. Group members sought to share important information on reproductive health and other challenges associated with the transition to adulthood. The group later conducted a needs assessment that revealed that youth in Otse were faced with an assortment of challenges such as peer pressure, lack of opportunities for continuing education, unemployment, teenage pregnancy and lack of recreational facilities. The assessment also revealed that there were no organized youth groups and other related formal structures that could advance the interests of the youth in Otse. As a result of this, the group resolved to formalize their operations and encompass all the youth, irrespective of gender, in order to direct and push the process of change towards a desired state.

In order to enhance their operational capacity and initiate relevant and suitable programmes for the youth, Botlhale Jwa Phala Development Trust approached

BOCOBONET seeking relevant or appropriate training that could enable them to effectively and efficiently execute their mandate.

BOCOBONET proposed a PRA application for the entire village noting that it could be a self-defeating approach if efforts in development are limited to the youth only. BOCOBONET reasoned that for development efforts to be meaningful and sustainable, they should be broad based and target all sectors of development in the community as proposed within the framework of the Unified Approach to development which advocates that development efforts should leave no sector of the population outside the scope of change and development (UNDP, 2003). This approach is often justified on the grounds that ‘the causes of underdevelopment lie not so much in the individual as in society as a whole; the problems can not be solved without addressing those basic causes’ (Rogers, 1992: p.87).

Consequently, BOCOBONET advocated PRA application as a relevant and appropriate methodology that enables rural communities to direct and determine their community specific interventions in a way that would reduce the amount of outsider involvement and increase the amount of insider involvement (Rogers, 1992).

More precisely, the PRA exercise was intended to appraise and sensitize the participants to be actively involved or participate in making decisions that affect their lives as well as to take an active role in the development of their community. The PRA was conducted with the following broad objectives:

- To mobilize Botlhale Jwa Phala Development Trust and residents of Otse village and introduce them to PRA techniques, which would assist them to gather data, set priorities, design their community action plan and implement the plan using locally available resources.
- To mobilize Botlhale Jwa Phala Development Trust and Otse community to carry out a community appraisal and generate their own implementable Community Action Plan.
- To move a step further towards the enhancement of the Botswana Orientation Center’s capacity to develop a local PRA team.

Otse PRA application commenced on August 16<sup>th</sup> 2000 with initial preparatory arrangements, which comprised meetings between BOCOBONET, Botswana Orientation Center, Southeast District Council Chairman, the village councillor, the village chief and elders, extension staff in the village and members of village institutions such as the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the Village Extension Team (VET). Preparations were intended to mobilize and solicit the commitment of those who would be involved and also to prepare the community for the exercise.

Subsequent to the preparations, the PRA exercise was officially launched on August 21<sup>st</sup> 2000 during a community/village meeting held at the village community hall. At the launch the PRA team was introduced to the villagers. The objectives of the exercise were explained to the community. The roles of various players were also elaborated, particularly the significance of active participation of the community in the whole PRA exercise. Subsequent to the launch, the PRA team facilitated the data gathering exercise, which was done in the following sequence:

Community sketch map – a map was drawn to capture what the community perceived as their geographical space. The map captures the location of major resources and social features that the community holds in high esteem.

Transect – The exercise commenced at the community hall where its purpose and procedures were explained by the PRA facilitators. The transect is a ‘ground truthing’ exercise which verifies the information on the sketch map by showing specific characteristics such as cropping patterns, trees and other vegetation, land use practices, community problems prevalent at particular locations and opportunities available in the village. For instance, the transect identified unemployment, idling and truancy, cultural erosion, youth pregnancy and HIV/AIDS to be widely spread in the village.

Institutional analysis – Institutional analysis helps the community and the PRA team to understand how the community views the activities and relevance of the various groups and organizations in the community. The analysis helps both the change agents and the community to know which institutions have the respect and trust of the

community and can be tasked to oversee some community activities during implementation.

Seasonal Calendar – this provided discussions on what the community considered to be key events/activities that take place in the village during any particular year. These yearly cycles are crucial in determining, for example, the timing for a particular community project.

Livelihood mapping – The mapping identified the basic resources used by the community. It helps the community to identify their basic life support resources in order to determine resource availability and whether they are self-sufficient in the resources or they acquire them from outside. Project planning needs to recognize this so that the community does not plan projects for which they have insufficient resources.

Data analysis – In an attempt to make sense of data that had been collected, the community first listed all the problems identified and possible solutions for each problem. Next, the community ranked the identified problems by starting with problems that present the most pressing constraints to the development of the community. A systematic pair-wise ranking matrix (see the diagram below) was used. Opportunities or possible solutions for each problem were also prioritized by the use of the pair-wise ranking matrix.



**Diagram: Pair wise Ranking Matrix**

Problems	UNE	LEO	CE	LEY	TP	LC	HIV	TY	PR	Total	Rank
Unemployment (UNE)		UNE	CE	UNE	TP	LC	UNE	TY	UNE	4	4
Lack of Education opportunities (LEO)			CE	LEY	TP	LC	HIV	TY	LEO	1	8
Cultural Erosion (CE)				CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	CE	8	1
Lack of entertainment for youth (LEY)					LEY	LC	HIV	LEY	LEY	4	5
Teenage Pregnancy (TP)						TP	HIV	TY	TP	4	6
Lack of Cooperation (LC)							HIV	TY	LC	4	7
HIV/AIDS								HIV	HIV	6	2
Truancy (TY)									TY		
Poor Roads (PR)										0	9

This process ultimately led to the conception of a Community Action Plan (CAP), which is a record of all the community's development priorities and potential and is used as a basis for sustainable development planning. The CAP covered the community's development priorities, proposed actions and requirements (inputs) for each planned activity, duties and responsibilities for individuals and groups or institutions, work schedules and specification of areas for external assistance as shown on the CAP in Figure 6.1.

**FIGURE 6.1**

**OTSE COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN**

Problem: Cultural Erosion

<b>Opportunity</b>	<b>Action needed</b>	<b>Who will provide</b>	<b>Date to begin</b>	<b>Who will follow up</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Cultural village	Plot Funds Work force Training Proposal Construction Materials.	Land Board ADF, FAP, BOCOBONET	10/09/2000	Coordinator (Pinkie), Council Chairperson, Village chief	The coordinator will liaise with BOC to ensure that everything is in place.
Training in traditional dance and arts	Funds Facilitators Materials food	BOCOBONET Community members	October 2000	Pinkie, Benjamin Masego	Group members need something to keep them going

Problem: Unemployment

<b>Opportunity</b>	<b>Action needed</b>	<b>Who will provide</b>	<b>Date to begin</b>	<b>Who will follow up</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Cultural village	Plot Funds Work force Training Proposal Construction Materials.	Land Board ADF, FAP, BOCOBONET	10/09/2000	Coordinator (Pinkie), Council Chairperson, Village chief	The coordinator will liaise with BOC to ensure that everything is in place.
Self-help projects	Tuck shops Curio/craft shop Houses for rental	FAP, Community, Donors	January 2001	Mrs. Nyati and Edith Makele	Members should draw inspiration from those who have started tuck shops

A CAP should have a clear and unambiguous format in order to increase chances for its implementation. Since the CAP is the basis for sustainable development planning, it must be attractive to both the community and possible external financiers. The Otse CAP is specific and simple with clearly recommended activities to accomplish planned projects. The CAP has a time frame for implementation of specific activities, which would make monitoring and progress evaluation possible.

There emerge some fascinating themes that contrast sharply with the previous case study. One such issue relates to the amalgamation of PRA training and application. The reader will recall that in the Khumaga case study initial PRA training was provided for the Technical Advisory Committee that was separate from the PRA application with the community. In Otse there was no attempt to reserve initial training for extension workers. Both the extension workers and the community were introduced to the PRA concept at the same time. The advantage of this arrangement was that both could own the process since the community did not have to rely on the intervention of the extension workers to apply PRA. The arrangement did not make any group more superior or knowledgeable than the other. This in a way reduces the superior/inferior relations that are associated with the centralized mode of development planning.

The arrangement also ensures that when village or district based extension workers leave, they do not take the PRA process with them. The villagers retain their skills and knowledge in the application of PRA. This arrangement has the potential to promote ownership and accountability for CAP implementation. The disadvantage of this approach is that in reality there is no training. The 'outsider' PRA facilitators facilitate application and it cannot be expected that extension workers will be able to conduct PRA. In other words the PRA facilitators keep the skills and knowledge to facilitate PRA to themselves.

Unlike in the Khumaga case study where there were no initial preparations, the Otse case study shows that prior preparations were made for community mobilization to sell the idea to the community before actual application. The ten days duration

(inclusive of preparation) for the application was also reasonable compared to the Khumaga three-day PRA application, as the comment below illustrates:

*I believe the ten days are adequate for conducting a PRA. It is neither too short nor too long. A too short duration may compromise quality whereas a longer duration might discourage attendance since villagers have to do other things (Mr. Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

It is also interesting that the PRA exercise followed a needs assessment that was conducted by Botlhale Jwa Phala Development Trust. This links the PRA application to an identified need. This contrasts with the Khumaga case study where the government imposed the PRA on the villagers.

## **PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING THE CAP**

Whereas I indicated that the Otse CAP is detailed and unambiguous and therefore likely to be successfully implemented, the research showed that a host of other factors negatively impacted on the success of the CAP. These factors are discussed below:

### **Financial constraints**

It is a truism that rural communities are poor and thus unable to generate income to finance most of their planned projects. This partly explains why the Community Action Plan specifies that funding for most activities would be sought from donors. This is reasonable under the present circumstances, though it makes implementation of planned activities too dependent on outsider intervention, which challenges the much talked about spirit of self reliance. The community may also seek funding for some of the activities from the central government, but again this perpetuates dependence on the government even though it may be argued that the community did project identification. Extension workers in Otse considered this constraint as the midwife of all other constraints:

*Rural communities are poor and the meagre household income has to be channelled towards immediate family wants. How then can they be expected to financially contribute to implementation of projects? (Elisha Makhumalo, extension worker).*

*Prospects for self-reliance are very slim. Either the community has to seek funding from the government or from donor agencies. Whether the funds are sought for projects identified by the community or extension workers, the bottom line is that communities will continue to depend on others for funding and development (Lawrence Mashe, community member).*

### **Limited human capacity**

It has been stated that the PRA framework aims in part to reduce the amount of outsider involvement in planned change while at the same time increasing insider participation. In practice, few development planners in Botswana are insiders (originate from the places they are stationed), which explains why outsiders (development professionals) continue to take the lead in determining development interventions. For a very long time community members have come to be identified as worthless beggars in the eyes of the development workers (in whom they have placed trust) because they (community members) believed in the work of the development workers and have on many occasions accepted development goals set by these professionals. The task of changing the mindset of extension workers and making them appreciate the worth of community members is an arduous one, as the comments below indicate:

*Most of these villagers are lazy, some only interested in their immediate family needs. In fact our educated children now live in towns despite that Otse is a short distance from the towns. Most extension workers based in small villages are of poor quality. The government cannot waste their resources by posting high performers to villages where development challenges are simple and routine (Name withheld).*

*Most villagers are not conversant with government policies and as such they sometimes make outrageous demands and plans and often times the disinterested or uncommitted (my emphasis) extension workers would not offer good advice (Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

### **Lack of support**

Village based institutions in Otse such as the Village Extension Team (VET), are inactive and fail to provide support to community initiatives. Villagers do not take kindly to this lack of support.

*These government officers are useless. We hardly see them in the village. They stay in their offices throughout the day (Name withheld).*

*I want to register as a destitute so that the government can build a house for me through the drought relief programme but I don't know where to go (unknown).*

A villager made the above comment during a village meeting held on the day of my first visit to the village. Its relevance to the lack of support from the extension workers lies in the fact that the villager does not know where to direct his enquiries.

On the other hand, VET members apportion the blame to the DET for forgetting and not recognizing them. VET members maintain that the DETs hardly visit them to appreciate their difficulties and assist them, especially in terms of the provision of administrative and logistical support. VET members contend that their own activities are exceedingly broad and too general (as shown in Chapter Two, extension workers hold other roles and responsibilities in the community), their roles are ambiguous and the multiplicity and disharmony of their tasks is a recipe for failure. For example, each department has its own specialized priorities which they consider immediate, paramount, possible and desirable to achieve above all others.

*I certainly give priority to my immediate core responsibilities specified in my job description. Of course I can attend to VET activities but only when they do not clash with my core schedule. As a school head I am duty bound to be within the premises of the school at all times during working hours so that routines and emergencies are promptly attended to. I know of a case in which an officer (a school head) was reprimanded by his supervisor for allegedly giving preference to VET matters at the expense of his immediate*

*duties. This was after the said school head opted to attend a VET meeting and during his absence the supervisor made a call wishing to discuss an outstanding issue with him only to be told by the secretary that he was out for VET meeting (Elisha Makhumalo, extension worker).*

*Remember that while we are required to provide guidance on a wide range of issues we do not possess the wisdom of Solomon and we have other office matters to attend to. People must not think that we are robots (Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

### **Parallel planning**

The Village Development Committee (VDC) is required to consult the villagers when drawing up the village development plan. The planned projects are funded by the central government through the Community Projects vote. Since they are assured of funding, the projects have a very high rate of success. On the other hand, the community has to literally scout for funds to finance implementation of its CAP, because there is no guaranteed funding from the government. This arrangement indicates that the dual planning approach is unhealthy, and perhaps unworkable. The CAP is susceptible to failure due to lack of funding. The subsequent low success rate may demotivate the community and lead to discontentment with the CAP and the whole PRA process.

*At least there is always progress with regard to VDC projects. The implementation of the CAP is proving difficult because of funding. I think it will be wise to incorporate the CAP into the VDC plan (Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

### **Inappropriate attitudes**

There is an unhealthy culture of blame between the villagers and the extension workers. Members of the community interviewed believe that their village is underdeveloped because of the low calibre of extension workers posted to their village. They also blame government (political representatives) for renegeing on their election promises.

On the other hand, the decision by the Botswana Orientation Centre to apply PRA for the whole village instead of limiting it to those who requested it (the community organisation by the name Botlhale jwa Phala) may well indicate how often development goals of particular groups are overridden by those who have been tasked to serve communities.

*They promised to bring development (infrastructure and services) to the village. We voted for them on the basis of their promises but now we hear people saying we should develop our own village (Name withheld).*

*These government employees are only interested in getting a salary. They are self-serving and do not care about our village (Name withheld).*

Extension workers complain that villagers do not come forward to seek assistance from them.

*They hardly attend meetings we call to brief them about government policies and programmes that they could utilize, but later on they will say we do not help them with information on government policies and schemes (Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

### **Urban influence and demographics**

Due to the village's vicinity to the towns, many people, especially young people, reject traditional norms and values in preference for city or modern life styles. For instance, the community of Otse had planned to revive their culture through the establishment of a cultural village and training youth in traditional dance and arts but this did not materialize partly because the youth did not come forward,

*They preferred to spend most of their time in bars, or simply idling in the village, consuming alcohol, which they see as a sign of sophistication, wealth, power and prestige. They consider village activities as backward and appropriate [only] for old people (Margaret Mokgwaela, community member).*



In addition, the population of Otse village is relatively large which makes coordination of village activities cumbersome.

### **Truancy and alcoholism**

Most programmes for community development are based on community social and economic needs rather than the needs of individual members of the community. Participation of members of the community in the development of their community should thus benefit both the individual and the community. Rogers (1992: p.87) notes that in principle ‘what is of value to the state must necessarily be of value to the individual, it is argued, and what benefits the individual will benefit the whole community’. Individual community members should be driven by a sense of moral and social responsibility in participating in community development activities. There should be no free riders in development and by extension there should be no free gifts.

Despite high levels of poverty among the residents of Otse, alcoholism is reported to be a significant factor inhibiting active participation by villagers in community activities. Since the implementation of the CAP or any other community project relies heavily on voluntary participation and/or the contribution of individual members, those who stay away may not be coerced to participate. Of course there are cases where the community may reward members with negative sanctions such as when certain individuals habitually absent themselves from attending funerals in the village. Respondents such as Julius Kwambala and Margaret Mokgwaela argue that other members may then decide, individually or collectively, to withhold their labour and other resources as a form of punishment if there is death in the family of a truant community member. Despite these harsh, even cruel sanctions, respondents disclosed that a good number of residents (old, young, males and females) spend most of their valuable time and meagre resources on alcohol, be it traditional sorghum brew or commercial brew.

*You may wonder where they get the money to buy alcohol. It seems a mystery that people do not have money to purchase basic foodstuffs but yet they are always drinking alcohol, seven days a week. The most painful part being that this habit cuts across age and gender and it is sometimes embarrassing to witness elderly men spoiling young girls with a constant flow of alcohol.*

*They have no time for serious issues, hence the CAP is largely forgotten (Margaret Mokgwela, community member).*

*Responsible parenting is a thing of the past. Parents no longer discipline their children for fear of being accused of abusing the children. Children also threaten to report us to the police if we beat them. Ultimately we have no firm control over them and that is why we intermingle with them in bars and shebeens. They absolutely do not want to be part of the community development process (Horitius Isaccs, community member).*

### **Weak leadership**

Related to the above theme, it was repeatedly pointed out to me that traditional leadership, which used to be the driving force for societal discipline and good behaviour, has degenerated. Respondents pointed out that traditionally chiefs had duties and responsibilities to ensure discipline and civil decorum in the community by administering corporal punishment on wayward members. Chiefs also boasted of considerable respect from the tribesmen. Mompati and Prinsen (2000) observe that the chief headed the governance system and was the custodian of the customs, culture and welfare of the community. But since government established modern institutions such as magistrates' courts, the traditional powers of the chiefs were undercut and they were not able to maintain law and order within their communities. Most importantly, chiefs used to preside over traditional structures for local level planning and implementation and to a great extent they were able to mobilize the commitment and activism of their communities towards the collective course. It has been observed that,

Prior to independence, local level planning was characterized by the active involvement of community members in project identification and implementation. The kgotla was a kind of a village or community parliament. The identification of community development projects was done at the kgotla by community members, whereas implementation of these projects was done by the local age regiments<sup>24</sup> (Dipholo and Mothusi, 2005: p. 47).

The creation of new state institutions significantly altered the existing socio-political context of community development in Botswana and in the process curtailed the

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<sup>24</sup> Age regiments are organized age groups.

spheres of influence of traditional leaders in community development. Their abilities to mobilize communities has been minimized, as one village respondent remarked,

*They [chiefs] are hapless and powerless. Nowadays even when they call community meetings to discuss community problems residents hardly attend these meetings. The institution of traditional leadership has greatly lost influence, especially in community mobilization and the maintenance of law and order. Nonetheless, it will be tragic if development agencies do not involve the chiefs (Margaret Mokgwaela, community member).*

It is clear that a lot of factors contribute to the success or failure of the CAP. A well-crafted CAP, which is a product of quality PRA application does not guarantee implementation, but it has better chances for implementation than a vague and fluffy CAP.

#### **6.4 STEPS TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE PRA APPLICATION AND CAP IMPLEMENTATION IN OTSE**

Respondents, more especially extension workers, were generally doubtful about the commitment of the government to participatory development in general and the PRA process in particular. They pointed out that existing government policies and procedures are incongruent with the spirit and letter of participatory methodology. They argued that as long as the government was reluctant to decentralize some of its planning and implementation roles and responsibilities to local institutions, participatory development would remain a myth. A respondent remarked that,

*Government officers always talk about involving villagers in development planning but in reality all plans originate in Gaborone. Consultations are merely meant to legitimise the plans. Even us [extension workers] we hardly make contributions because everything is done in Gaborone (Julius Kwambala, extension worker).*

*How can government officers from Gaborone talk about people's participation when they cannot involve their counter parts in the district and village level? The fact that they look down upon us is enough to suggest that*

*their relationship with members of the communities is highly unequal and it is hard to believe that they can sit down together to plan (Itireleng Mosime, extension worker).*

The above comments are in tandem with the following extract:

Experience also shows that local authorities have, in most cases, been instructed by the centre to re-prioritise or back away from a project they had conceptualised. As central government retains the ultimate authority to approve all new development projects that have to be publicly funded, it can strike out local authority planned projects and replace them with ones conceived by the central government without giving reasons. This limits the operational autonomy of these bodies and makes them mere appendages of the centre (Dipholo and Mothusi, 2005: p.45).

From the above comments it is clear why village based extension workers are resigned to never getting recognition and respect from their counter parts at the centre, and why they are not motivated to involve the community in extension service delivery.

Community members interviewed on the other hand contend that the government has never been sincere in its approach. They posit that whereas it is desirable that people should take control and direct their own development process, present circumstances negate the proposed arrangement. In a candid and revealing opinion, one participant remarked that self-reliance is itself a parable.

*Yes, most families used to be food self-sufficient but you should note that even then the government provided incentives and very generous subsidies to boost subsistence production and rural livelihoods. I don't think it is helpful and fair to generalize and conclude that in the past, people were not dependent on government. What we tend to ignore is that at the time government revenue was very limited and therefore government intervention through social welfare programmes was minimal. In any case, these social welfare schemes increased after the discovery of minerals indicating that the government has always been willing to intervene but was constrained by limited revenue. Increased expenditure in social support schemes was not*

*done because the government did not know how to spend the revenue but precisely because many households genuinely needed urgent assistance. It is therefore inappropriate to say that people should revive the spirit of self-help when in fact this was far too little and insignificant as a reference point (Horitius Issacs, community member).*

*Isn't it the responsibility of the government to provide development to its people? Why would we have a government in the first place? What will be the use of government planners if we are expected to do the planning ourselves? What are they paid for? My point is that the decision to create institutions for development and man them with educated, qualified and competent professionals was a deliberate and wise one and must be seen to be so (Name withheld).*

These comments by both the villagers and extension workers indicate that PRA application and subsequent CAP implementation is perceived as insincere and a remote possibility at least under the present conditions. Whereas extension staff blame this scenario on the insensitivity and reluctance of urban-based government officials, their modus operandi at the village level does not suggest that they are any better than those they admonish. Their attitudes mirror those of their superiors.

Community members on the other hand are not prepared to accommodate this new approach, at least not in terms of controlling, financing and directing their own development. Their participation at the PRA workshop and the subsequent development of the CAP was superficial. Though villagers were briefed about the rationale for the application and even consented to participate, the low attendance level of between forty and sixty people in a village with a population of more than 5000 people tells a different story – that their consent was probably given without much thought, a normal and workable tactic to get rid of unwanted visitors or charlatans. This low turnout raises the question of whether the CAP could have been implemented by people most of whom boycotted the process leading to its conception. Yet, the low turnout could also be understood from the perspective of the concept of 'home' being the village where one originates in spite of working in the cities and spending most of one's time there, as discussed in Chapter Two, Section

2.5. With this in mind, it is possible that absentee villagers did not necessarily boycott the PRA exercise but were at work and so could still be mobilized to implement it.

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

Extension workers who participated in this study cast serious aspersions on government commitment to participatory rural development and the PRA methodology in particular. These negative views about the pace and direction of the PRA process are not entirely misplaced considering that extension workers are expected to be the leading agents in operationalizing the methodology through mobilization and provision of administrative and technical guidance to the villagers.

Whereas the PRA process in this case study evolved from within the community, it is clear that in the end the application of PRA was essentially an experimental game played half-heartedly, merely mimicking the potentialities of the methodology. Whereas the PRA process could have been initiated to enable the community of Otse to direct, manage and control their development, it is my contention that ambition without commitment is inconsequential. The development of the CAP without corresponding resource allocation makes it no more than a wish list.

In the absence of clear evidence that the net gains to the community from taking this (PRA) development path exceed the opportunity costs of the conventional approach, it will not be easy to persuade people to act against what they perceive to be their own best interest. It is possible that the community is acting rationally by resisting the new approach in so far as they can continue to pursue their development goals through existing structures, especially the VDC. And the VDC is more trustworthy than PRA since projects under the VDCs have high rates of success.

In an empowerment approach to development, such as PRA, people are supposed to perceive progress towards goals such as self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Some community members interviewed in Otse considered this an unrealistic and untenable goal. They posited that government should keep the momentum going and even double its efforts in the provision of infrastructure and social services without worrying much about taking the beneficiaries of development on board.

Whereas the involvement of villagers in rural development planning and implementation has the potential to sustain investment as well as providing additional resources in terms of contributions from the community, indications are that this is not always the case. On the contrary, in Otse community members were content with development packages they received from the government. For example, I asked village respondents to tell me about how projects were initiated in the village and who owned them. Villagers responded that most projects are initiated by the government and ownership was transferred to the community once the project was operational, but only in relation to usage.

*This arrangement is both practical and sensible. How can we make plans when we do not control the funds? When you go to a shop and place items in the trolley, you know you have money to pay for them or at least some. Otherwise it will be a waste of time to draft plans only to be told that there are no funds to implement the plan or that what has been planned is not in accordance with government policy (Mr Issacs, community member).*

In this respect, the Khumaga and Otse case studies show similarities. However, the reader will recall that extension workers in Khumaga recommended that the government review and in some cases freeze relief schemes to coerce the community to provide for themselves. In Otse extension workers agreed with the villagers that government should continue to initiate and implement development projects for villagers and in some cases to provide livelihoods to vulnerable families as a matter of social, moral and political responsibility. In my view, these differences may be due to the contextual disparities and economic potential of the two villages. The high levels of apathy among community members occasioned by poverty in Khumaga may have compelled extension workers to demand radical changes to the government's relief schemes.

Whereas Khumaga based extension workers favour a self-help approach, institutions they are expected to manage in order to mobilize community members towards realizing the ideals of self-help are virtually dormant, suggesting that extension workers are not proactive and supportive of the philosophy they claim to subscribe to.

It can then be concluded that their position is motivated more by idealism (drawing considerable inspiration from the potentialities associated with self-development and the global winds of change) than pragmatism.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **PRA TRAINING AT MASUNGA**

#### **7.1 MASUNGA, THE ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER**

Masunga is situated about 70 km north of Francistown. The main economic activity in the village is traditional agriculture, usually a mixture of livestock farming and crop farming. Traditional arable agriculture is mostly for household consumption, while small surpluses are sold for cash. Arable agriculture often has low yields due to poor soils and small ploughing fields. Fields are small because arable and grazing land is scarce. The area is covered with dongas, flood plains, rocky and eroded areas. The village is on the edge of freehold farms. Freehold farms are commercial farms, though 'commercial' in this particular context signifies private ownership rather than high levels of productivity. These farms, while constituting a large part of the district's arable and grazing land, are owned by a small number of people. This type of agriculture depends very much on the availability of labour and draught power.

There are also opportunities for employment in the formal sector. Since the village is the administrative headquarters of the Northeast district, there are a number of central government and local government offices. Public sector employment guarantees regular cash income that often supports commercial and industrial businesses. Unfortunately, the many opportunities in the formal sector have negatively impacted on the traditional forms of survival especially traditional agriculture, as people prefer to move to the main centres in search of formal employment, thus neglecting traditional agriculture. There is therefore a general downward trend in agricultural production, consistent with what is happening in the whole country. As a result of this and other factors, standards of living are low.

There is very little wildlife hence opportunities for wildlife tourism are slim. Nonetheless, there is potential for eco-tourism because there are sites of historical interest near the village especially the Domboshaba ruins and rock paintings. These

opportunities could be exploited for the benefit of the village and its surrounding areas.

## **7.2 NOTES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS**

The research procedures for this particular case study deviated from the pattern established in the previous case studies. In this particular case study the paramount focus was not to investigate the strength and weaknesses of PRA application, particularly the processes leading to the development and implementation of the CAPs, but rather to probe issues central to PRA training as a *sine qua non* for conducting a PRA.

As disclosed in Chapter Three of this thesis, nineteen out of twenty-one District Extension Teams (DETs) countrywide were provided with PRA training by staff of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. But by 2006 only five villages had developed CAPs resulting from the Ministry's PRA initiatives.

Masunga was selected out of a possible fourteen suitable areas for study under the category of districts and sub-districts where PRA training had been provided but application had not taken place. Masunga is the administrative capital of the Northeast District predominantly inhabited by Bakalanga, a large and very vocal minority group. I wished to find out if there was any relationship between PRA (for self-development) and ethnicity. This was necessitated by an earlier claim, explained in Chapter Three, that PRA is more relevant to relatively disadvantaged minority groups. Masunga was also chosen because even NGOs such as BOCOBONET, which had carried out PRA in Otse and Dibete, had not initiated PRA in Masunga.

Since the paramount concern in this particular case study was PRA training, I wanted to select the PRA training target group members who were members of the DET as spelt out in the Committee's terms of reference. Thus, the main criterion for selection of respondents was that they had to be substantive members of the DET and have participated in the PRA training that was conducted in Masunga or elsewhere. I

believed that DET members who had not received any PRA training might not contribute useful information on the training. I was able to find only four participants who met this criterion. Although it was my intention to scout for former office bearers who had since moved out of the district, it proved extremely difficult to establish their whereabouts.

Since the focus in this case study was on government employees, I did not seek permission from the village chief because I was not going to speak to his subjects, the villagers. Permission from the village leader was sought in instances where I planned to select community members for participation in the study.

Subsequent discussions with selected participants followed the pattern already established in the other case studies. The research process commenced with a preliminary visit, followed by discussions and concluded with a follow up visit.

Participants were approached in the second week of September 2005. They consented to the study and also set aside time for discussions. Discussions were conducted in the offices of the participants during the second and third week of September 2005. Some participants suggested that discussions be conducted immediately after my initial briefing. Follow up visits were carried out in November 2005 and in one case I had to trace a participant to a different organization after he resigned from the public service.

### **7.3 AN ANALYSIS OF PRA TRAINING AT MASUNGA**

As in the case of the Khumaga case study, PRA training was envisaged as a sine qua non for the application of PRA. Training was limited to members of the District Extension Team. It was hoped that this arrangement would promote greater sectoral work and planning among various extension workers since DETs members are Heads of Department and as such could use their authority over their juniors to embrace the PRA concept.

The training model was basically a duplicate of the standard format used by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning as described in Chapter Four.

Discussions with respondents revealed some critical issues that resonate with the Khumaga case study on PRA training. These issues are discussed below.

### **Training rushed**

Respondents contended that the three (3) days' duration was too short for meaningful coverage of the standard PRA course curriculum. This explains why trainees were given notes and in some cases handouts and enjoined to read them in their spare time without discussion of the topics. One respondent remarked that,

*Even if they (trainees) were knowledgeable and willing to discuss topics in depth, the duration wouldn't accommodate frank and extended discussions. I don't want to believe that they (trainers) deliberately wanted to minimize opportunities for discussions, especially our (trainees') inputs. I think they were constrained by time (Mbako Ramashaba, extension worker).*

A hurried PRA training has the potential to diminish the scope and relevance of the training.

### **Training dominated by trainers**

It was reported that the training was classroom based and modeled along the ideals of the formal schooling system where the teacher dominates and the learners are filled up with information. The PRA team dominated the training from start to finish as captured by this comment:

*Throughout the training we remained very attentive, silent and inactive. Actually they were feeding us with information and we simply absorbed that which we were given. They even gave us some handouts to read after class but we couldn't discuss them the next day (Mbako Ramashaba, extension worker).*

### **Inappropriate training venues**

Respondents disclosed that training was conducted within the Rural Administration Center (a block of offices that accommodates the majority of central government and local government staff). While the venue was convenient to the trainees since they did not have to travel to distant places, it nonetheless proved disadvantageous because,

*Our supervisors occasionally summoned us (the trainees) to attend to urgent office matters. There was nothing we could do. We had to comply and in the process we missed some deliberations (Barbara Matenge, extension worker).*

It is possible that some trainees were not able to attend the training, despite its short duration either because their supervisors called them out or they were called to answer telephone calls. This situation also prevailed in the Khumaga case study.

### **PRA handbook not provided**

Though trainees were given some notes to read at a later stage, they wished that they had been given the PRA handbook for future reference especially as some planned topics had been omitted.

*If I have to facilitate a PRA now I have to revise thoroughly in order to acquaint myself with its processes and tools, but I don't have all the necessary materials especially materials on the steps that have to be followed in a given sequence and the rationale for using certain tools. My scribbled notes can't be very helpful (Mbako Ramashaba, extension worker).*

*To be honest I have forgotten much about how to do a PRA. I know that it is meant to assist the community to make their own plans but I can't facilitate its application. There is nothing to read either. They (PRA trainers) will have to come back and refresh us if we are required to do a PRA (Barbara Matenge, extension worker).*

### **Training not reinforced with practice**

As already indicated, training was classroom based. Trainees were not given the opportunity to experience a PRA application as a way of internalizing knowledge and

skills. Field experience could have given the trainees an opportunity to hone their newly acquired skills and knowledge and in the process learn more about conducting PRA. Knowledge is power but internalizing the knowledge by way of simulation and experimentation enhances power, as discussed in Chapter Three. Rowlands adds that ‘mistakes, if used critically, can be the richest source of learning about what works, why and how’ (2003: p.9).

*It is easier to forget what was said to me or even demonstrated by someone else than to forget what I did. I am sure if we had done some fieldwork we could have acquired long lasting skills and knowledge (Mbako Ramashaba, extension worker).*

One lesson is that the PRA training as conducted in Masunga provided the trainees with an overview of PRA but the same cannot be said about the acquisition of skills for facilitating PRA. Understanding what PRA is and does is not the same as the ability to facilitate it. Trainees were not given the opportunity to do practical application with a view to developing and testing their facilitation skills. This observation is in tandem with Rowlands’ observation that ‘participatory methods are vulnerable to be applied mechanically and without the levels of awareness, self-awareness and skills required on the part of the facilitators’ (2003: p.14).

When asked the question ‘did you acquire worthwhile skills and knowledge from the training?’ some respondents replied that ‘yes we know what PRA is or purports to do but we were not told why PRA tools have to follow a particular sequence or why they have to be done’. This suggests that the quality of the training was below standard and by extension CAP(s) may be of the same quality. In the end, it is safe to posit that trainees may be able to draw a community sketch map but may not know the rationale for it which means they may not be able to facilitate this task with community members.

Responding to the question ‘have you been utilizing the knowledge and skills acquired from PRA training?’ respondents answered in the negative and pointed out that this is one of the reasons why PRA had not been done within their area of jurisdiction. Aside from the problems immediate to the PRA training, respondents

raised other pertinent issues which frustrated intentions to apply PRA in the area. These problems are discussed below:

### **Regular workload**

Respondents commented that they had a heavy workload and because their hands were already full they considered the PRA assignment an additional burden. Considering that PRA application (the use of all PRA tools to generate, analyze data and develop the CAP) is labour intensive, possibilities for application by those who believe they already have too much to do remain very slim, more so when its application is voluntary and dependent on the good will of DET members. Routine office work and the requirement to attend planned and emergency meetings get the better of extension workers.

It was also revealed that the DET had in the past scheduled PRA application in their (respondents') annual plan but that its application coincided with and had to give way to other activities, notably preparations for annual independence celebrations.<sup>25</sup>

### **Absence of a PRA coordinator**

Whereas PRA application falls within the broad mandate of the DET, respondents commented that there should be a specific officer to oversee PRA. They maintained that the existing workload of the DET members could not accommodate additional responsibilities. As things were, no one could be held accountable for failing to initiate a PRA. Its application was dependent on the benevolence of DET members.

### **Provision of PRA training to new members of the DET**

The DETs have a very unstable membership due to frequent transfers and resignations. The majority of the DET members who attended PRA training in Masunga have relocated from the district. The majority of the officers who were brought in to replace the departed members did not have training in PRA. Respondents observed that most of the newcomers were transferred to Masunga on

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<sup>25</sup> Every year on September 30 Botswana celebrates her political independence. Every year, numerous activities are planned for the day.

promotion, which means that prior to their promotion they were not substantive members of the DETs and hence have not benefited from PRA training. It is apparent that PRA training is necessary at least for the new members.

### **Irregular DET meetings**

DET meetings are reportedly erratic and often poorly attended as most officers show little interest in interdepartmental cooperation and joint planning. DET rarely meet their annual targets because of their irregular operations. Follow up on PRA application is therefore a remote possibility.

### **Financial constraints**

All planned projects for a particular district are contained in the District Development Plan. Such projects have funds reserved for their implementation. Respondents commented that the identification and planning of new projects in the course of the fiscal year makes little sense because budgeting procedures are rigid and cannot accommodate new projects. Respondents argue that securing funding for additional projects during the course of the financial YEAR will always be difficult unless some planned projects are shelved to give way to new projects. This possibility discourages the application of PRA, particularly when the government does not guarantee funds for the development of CAPs.

## **7.4 STEPS TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE PRA TRAINING**

Respondents appreciated that the PRA concept has great potential and believed that background training in PRA was a prerequisite for application. Thus, the success or failure of PRA application will depend on the quality of the PRA training provided. Respondents observed that PRA trainers should be knowledgeable and willing to share their knowledge and skills with extension workers. Whereas the respondents did not doubt the competences of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning PRA trainers, the manner in which the training was organized and delivered compromised quality and besmirched the integrity of the trainers.

*These people [trainers] were in such a hurry. I think they should opt for a relaxed training, may be five working days for training and five working days for immediate application (Barbara Matenge, extension worker).*



Effective PRA training requires active participation of the trainees rather than domination by the trainers. Active participation will create excitement and motivate the trainees to take the training seriously and at the same time enjoy it.

The other recommendation made by respondents concerns the course venue.

*For us [trainees] to participate and concentrate fully for the entire duration of the training, training should be conducted far away from our offices so that it is not easy to be summoned by our supervisors (Barbara Matenge, extension worker).*

Respondents also recommended that trainees should be given training or course materials well in advance so that they could familiarize themselves with key concepts, especially in cases where the duration of training was short.

Above all participants recommended that trainees should be given the PRA handbook for future guidance. They also recommended that training should include village based extension workers so that in cases where the DETs are not able or willing to apply PRA, village based extension workers can go ahead and put to use their acquired skills when consulting and dealing with villagers. This approach will also ensure that trainers cover as many extension workers as possible.

*They must include our counterparts at the villages so that they can also benefit from the training without having to wait for us [district based extension workers] (Veronica Chaibe, community member).*

## **7.5 CONCLUSION**

Respondents believed that PRA had great potential. They agreed that training should precede PRA application. Respondents also believed that good PRA training had the potential to lead to good application and an excellent CAP.

Nonetheless, respondents cast doubts on the success of the PRA framework under the present circumstances. The success of PRA is contingent on factors some of which are outside the control of the DETs. Therefore PRA training must be accompanied by a re-alignment of current procedures for planning and budgeting. PRA is a complex process whose success is closely linked to a chain of supportive events. Its application and the subsequent implementation of the CAP cannot be done in isolation.

District Extension Teams have a very unstable membership. Their constant moving about plagues the application of PRA and subsequent implementation of the CAP. Swanepoel observes that 'inappropriate transfers can be disastrous and can mean the end of projects....It also happens that posts vacated by transfers are not filled immediately' (2002: p.48). There is a need for thorough examination of this concern with a view to ensuring a reasonable level of continuity and stability.

Readers will recall that I selected this case (where PRA training has been done but application has not carried out) with a view to probing issues central to PRA training as a sine qua non for conducting a PRA. It is interesting that this case study, in so far as PRA training is concerned, lend credibility to tentative conclusions already drawn from the case studies of Khumaga and Otse by revealing that a poorly planned and delivered PRA training is likely to lead to overall PRA failure. More precisely, a hurried PRA training compromises quality and has the potential to diminish the scope and relevance of the training and ultimately no one is motivated to carry out a PRA. Other issues raised by respondents in this case study regarding the quality of training also point to the conclusion, raised in earlier case studies, that PRA application is contingent on other factors such as existing procedures and budgeting and these issues are partly responsible for the failure to carry out a PRA.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **PRA APPLICATION AT DIBETE**

#### **8.1 DIBETE, THE TRUCK STOP**

Dibete village is situated along the Gaborone – Francistown highway, approximately 120km north east of Gaborone and 65km south east of Mahalapye. The village is inhabited mostly by Bamangwato people who constitute one of the constitutionally recognized principal tribes. The reader will recall that Chapter Two attempted to describe the distinction between principal (major) and minor tribes and their perceived unequal relations and access to resources, which are tilted in favour of major tribes. Dibete's population is approximately 1, 002 people- 2001 Population Census – (Republic of Botswana, 2002).

The main economic activity in the village is traditional agriculture, a mixture of livestock and crop farming at subsistence level. Few surpluses from this type of production are sold for cash. There are very few opportunities for formal employment because there are few government institutions or commercial and industrial businesses in the village. As a result many people migrate to urban villages, especially Mahalapye and Palapye in search of cash employment. This out-migration has tended to disrupt the traditional economy, especially the agricultural sector, which depends heavily on the availability of labour. The departure of able-bodied people accounts, in part, for the general decline in agricultural production in the village. This is coupled with a shortage of infrastructure and social services due to the smallness of the village. The village has a primary school, a clinic and Tribal Administration offices.

Nonetheless, the village has some great opportunities for development. Its location along the highway means that it is easily accessible. Residents have easy access to the market for their farm produce however little and erratic. In most instances, villagers who are engaged in the production of crafts such as wooden chairs line them along the highway to attract potential customers, especially motorists.

There is a road traffic regulation in Botswana, which stipulates that heavy or abnormal size trucks should not be on the roads after 18h00. Most of the truck drivers using the highway opt to use Dibete as a night stopover hence I refer to it as a truck stop. Although the drivers inject cash into the local economy, they are also vilified for encouraging prostitution in the village. It is alleged that the truck drivers entice young girls with cash before using them. The villagers claim that the truck drivers are responsible for the high rates of HIV/AIDS infection in the village and also contribute to teenage pregnancy and truancy.

## **8.2 NOTES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS**

As was the case in other case studies where I intended to enlist villagers as respondents in the study, my first contact in the village was the village chief. After introducing myself and explaining the purpose and nature of the study, the chief gave his permission and immediately summoned and instructed a community member to walk me to the residence of the Secretary for the Village Development Committee. I had explained to the chief that the most appropriate persons for the study would be those who were known to be active in community activities.

After a brief conversation with the VDC secretary, a date was set for discussions. The secretary then suggested another possible respondent. It should be noted that unlike in other case studies, particularly the case studies of Khumaga and Otse where a list of possible participants was drawn with the assistance of the first key respondent approached, in Dibete I opted for snowball sampling. Each community member selected was requested to suggest the next possible respondent. In the end, most respondents suggested names of members of the VDC or the Bokgoni/Dibete Economic Development Trust – the Trust formed during the application of the PRA to coordinate PRA activities especially implementation of the CAP. It also emerged that some people doubled as members of the VDC and the Trust. A member of the Trust gave me a copy of the CAP.

Extension workers were selected as respondents on the basis of their positions in relation to the Village Extension Team. More precisely, it was my intention to select

key members of the VET - the chairperson and the secretary. Due to the unavailability of the secretary, I settled for other VET members available. Generally, VET members were reluctant to consent to participate in the study because,

*Our Village Extension Team (VET) is not active at all and we might end up implicating ourselves or others who are expected to take lead in seeing to it that the VET is operational (Name withheld).*

But after I assured the members that they could remain anonymous, and that discussions were not confined to the activities of the VET, they relented.

### **8.3 AN ANALYSIS OF PRA APPLICATION AT DIBETE**

As stated earlier on, PRA Application in Dibete was conducted by BOCOBONET (note that with regard to Otse, the PRA process was initiated by BOCOBONET but sub-contracted to the Botswana Orientation Centre).

As an umbrella organization for community-based organizations, BOCOBONET has keen interest in uplifting living standards of people living in rural villages. The organization was registered in 1994 and was intended to;

- Disseminate information regarding CBNRM related policy development and implementation,
- Provide training opportunities to CBOs to strengthen their capacity, and
- Facilitate the sharing of information on CVNRM between CBOs.

In line with their to mandate to assist rural villages to do their own identification, planning and implementation of village projects, BOCOBONET usually identifies villages which are in need of assistance especially in terms of revitalizing or strengthening community leadership structures and village institutions. On many occasions BOCOBONET use their discretion in selecting beneficiary villages. In other cases communities approach BOCOBONET for assistance. The community of Dibete had approached BOCOBONET after receiving advice from some of the extension workers in the village.

BOCOBONET then held preliminary meetings with the community to determine their needs and the best possible way to address them. Preliminary discussions revealed that community leadership was weak and failing the community. Other concerns raised during preliminary discussions included prostitution and unemployment.

Subsequent to the preliminary discussions which served as preparatory meetings, a PRA process was launched on August 23,2005. It must be noted here that whereas this particular application had all the hallmarks of PRA application as documented in previous case studies, BOCOBONET used a simplified format for application. BOCOBONET deviated from the steps captured by the PRA flow chart in Figure 3.2 and instead improvised a training and application format tailored to rural people, especially taking account of their education levels. They used Setswana rather than English as the medium of instruction, without necessarily compromising the delivery of training. In this way the community was enabled to develop their own training materials which they own and understand.

BOCOBONET reported that this approach had been a success in terms of mobilizing and motivating the community to participate in the process. Attendance and participation levels were satisfactory.

### **PROFILE OF THE DIBETE CAP**

It was been suggested in Chapters Five and Six that a CAP with a clear and unambiguous format increases its chances for implementation. Since the CAP is a form of strategic planning, it must be attractive and relevant to the community. The CAP for Dibete community is clear and simple with specific tasks and stated performance indicators as shown below. The CAP has a 2005-2010 time frame for implementation - a style of setting targets which makes progress evaluation a bit cumbersome because it does not specify which project (s) will be completed first and last. It implies that evaluation of progress will be done at the end of the planning period (2010) for all projects.

**FIGURE 8.1**  
**DIBETE COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN**

<b>Development Goal</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Expected output</b>	<b>Role players</b>	<b>Performance indicators</b>
Community leadership	-To strengthen collaborative decision making -To promote informed decision making	- Conduct workshop - Invite facilitators - Request workshop funding	-Improved decision making - Assertive and accountable community leadership	-Community leaders - VDC -Trust - BOCOBONET	- Workshop reports in place
Conduct Village Census	-To know the village statistics for planning	-Conduct training -Count the community	-Informed decision making	-Trust -VDC -Community	-Statistics in place
Convert Community into a Resource learning and trade center.	-To bring HIV/AIDS education nearer to the community -To bring building materials nearer to the community	-Consult the community - Stock learning and building materials	-Reduced HIV/AIDS transmission.  -Improved buildings	-Trust -VDC -Community -District Council	Deuced number of HIV/AIDS patients.
Start a vegetable garden	Improved nutrition in the community	-Install water - Buy tools - Prepare plots	-Improved nutrition -Generate income	-VDC -Trust -Water Affairs	-Plots and vegetables in place -Improved standards of living

Most planned projects seem to be within the capacity of the community for implementation. Perhaps this supports the view that the simplified PRA process was understood and served the community well. There is thus a clear departure from the ‘shopping list’ style that is often mistaken for community project identification and planning.

The CAP is also clear that implementation is the responsibility of various role players such as the community and its institutions, village based extension workers, government agencies and non-governmental organizations.

## **PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTING THE CAP**

### **Financial constraints**

Although I have stated that projects contained in the Dibete CAP are within the capacity of the community, rural communities are poor and often find it difficult to raise funds to finance planned activities. When asked which CAP projects had been implemented, members of the Dibete/Bokgoni Economic Development Trust indicated that they had applied for funding from the District Council and were still waiting for funds. For instance, the community had planned to conduct workshops for community leaders in order to strengthen collaborative decision -making. In order to achieve this target the community planned to request funding from the Department of Non Formal Education. It is therefore possible that the success of this activity is dependent on funding from an external organization. One participant summed up this scenario by stating that:

*We are so eager to implement our plan but we still have to seek financial assistance from elsewhere. This is one of the greatest impediments to self-development initiatives in the rural areas (Kekgopye Nnopi, community member).*

### **Lack of support**

Village based institutions in Dibete such as the Village Extension Team, are dormant and extension workers do not collaborate with one another to give advice to the community. This explains why most extension workers in the village were reluctant to participate in the study.

*We only appreciate the contribution of the nurse in the village. We never see other government officers except when the Member of Parliament for the area is visiting the village (Goitsewang Moesi, community member).*



This lack of support may be partly responsible for the inclusion of some apparently irrelevant projects in the CAP. For instance, the community planned to conduct a village census for precise planning purposes, yet the government conducted a national census in 2001 and even made annual projections for all villages in the country, which the Dibete community could use without undertaking costly training sessions for census officials.

### **Parallel planning**

The Village Development Committee (VDC) continues to produce annual village development plans, which the government believes are a product of consultations with the community. These projects are funded by the central government and therefore their implementation is not hindered by lack of funding. They have a high success rate and are therefore attractive. On the other hand, projects contained in the CAP rely on donor aid for implementation. They are highly susceptible to failure although they represent the felt needs of the community. There is a deliberate bias on the part of the VDC and community members towards identification with village development plans in a way that neglects the CAP. Ultimately, community members lack motivation to put more effort into implementing the CAP.

### **Dual membership**

Some VDC members are also members of the Bokgoni/Dibete Economic Development Trust, which is new and bankrupt as compared to the VDC. As members of the VDC they get a sitting allowance, that is, for every VDC meeting they attend, they are paid an allowance. The Trust does not financially reward its members. VDC members who are in the Trust are therefore likely to be biased towards VDC activities, which are financially rewarding. In order to retain their superior status in the community as members of the village parliament, VDC members who are also members of the Trust may deliberately sabotage the activities of the Trust to thwart any possible competition for recognition or funding and or survival.

### **Urban bias**

Government policy to concentrate development in urban centres and big villages means that small villages receive meagre resources for development. This leads to

emigration (out-migration) as sophisticated or urbanized villagers desert their village in favour of big villages with superior services and infrastructure.

*Our children prefer to settle in Mahalapye (an urban village about 50km north of Dibete) once they secure employment there. Even though they send us money, they do not help in developing our village especially in terms of advocacy. They now speak for Mahalapye where they have settled (Gabaikannwe Moesi, community member).*

This out-migration robs the village of its capable people, which partly explains why some people doubled as members of the Trust and the VDC.

### **Alcoholism**

Respondents agreed that alcoholism was a significant factor inhibiting active participation in community work by the majority of the people. This was despite the fact that most people in the community were poor. Since participation in the implementation of the CAP is voluntary, community members who decide to stay away may not be coerced to contribute either financially or in kind. Most people drink home-made brews, often on credit, so they are indebted and end up selling their small stock to settle debts. The villagers commit a lot of their valuable time and resources to drinking alcohol.

### **Weak leadership**

Asked what problems were encountered in the village, some respondents cited ill-discipline, especially among the youth, as one of the key problems. They maintained that this lack of discipline was due to weak leadership structures. Community leaders no longer have the power to call villagers to order and may not prevail upon them to take part in community development activities.

*Our kgosi (village leader) is very negative and divisive. Maybe it is because he does not have the interest of the village at heart. We do not consider him as our own because he originates from Mookane (a village east of Dibete) (Gabaikannwe Moesi, community member).*

### **Inappropriate attitudes**

Although it is true that the community is poor and perhaps unable to generate income to finance some of their projects, there is a disturbing and consolidated dependency syndrome among the community members. Members hardly attempt to address their household and community needs, preferring to blame the government for their misery.

*You see the grass over there? (Pointing to some bundles of thatching grass). I cut it and sell it to sustain my family. I also sell farm produce such as watermelons and sweet reed. Farming has always been our means of livelihood. But suddenly people want the government to give us food, water and everything while we sit down. I don't think it is proper. Families who used to be self-sufficient in food are now beggars because they abandoned farming to depend on government food supplies. But of course I appreciate that circumstances have changed. For example, rains are unpredictable these days and are inadequate. I understand why the government has to help the poor (Grace Banantwa, community member).*

*Politicians promise people food if they vote for them, and because of low levels of education among most of the villagers, they believe in these promises and simply sit back and wait for food handouts after voting them into political office (Shiela Keipeile, extension worker).*

*In the good old days it was an insult to be classified as a destitute. These days everyone queues for registration as a destitute so that they receive monthly food rations (Grace Banantwa, community member).*

### **8.4 STEPS TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE PRA APPLICATION**

Community members were divided over the issue of participatory rural development. Some welcomed the initiative though I suspect that even this group desires to uphold the status quo and only opted for PRA to project themselves as progressive. Others clearly view it as a sinister motive by the government to abdicate its developmental mandate and shift responsibility for development to communities. Community members' main gripe is that they do not have the resources to implement identified projects. They also contend that development planning and implementation is a huge

and complex responsibility that cannot be relinquished to rural communities. In any case, development projects that are identified by planners have always been relevant to the needs of the community.

*We have never doubted their [development planners] foresight and professionalism. They have always been spot on with their prescriptions mostly because they consult us during planning. We are certainly convinced that they will continue to prescribe relevant development projects. This new talk about people planning for themselves is just not possible. The planners should continue to do the planning for us* (Goitsewang Moesi, community member).

*We are happy with the performance of the government in the provision of infrastructure and social services. These people [development planners] are educated more than us and are therefore qualified to do the planning on our behalf* (Goitsewang Moesi, community member).

So much for participatory development. The situation does not look very rosy considering that these comments were made after the PRA workshop whose objective was to cultivate the spirit of self-help and reverse over-dependence on the state. Under the PRA framework community members are expected to recognize and value their own participation. The continued lack of self-confidence and support for outsider domination after PRA suggests that villagers are content with a status quo that preserves the monopoly of knowledge by development experts in a way that legitimizes a top-down approach to rural development planning.

Extension workers do not find fault with the conventional approach to rural development either. In any case, they are not doing much to embrace and support efforts in the direction of PRA.

*In the many years I have been working for the government I have never received or overheard complains from the community members that they are being sidelined or ignored by the planners. Their main concern is always that development is slow in coming to the village* (Sheila Keipeile, extension worker).

Bearing in mind that the VET is not active, it is not surprising that extension workers are content with the status quo. The current situation looks normal and realistic under the circumstances. The PRA framework with its emphasis on self-help competes poorly with the conventional and established approach to development planning and management.

## **8.5 CONCLUSION**

The PRA methodology has not attracted adherents in Dibete, most probably because of rival planning tools that produce rival plans (the Community Action Plan competes with the Village Development Plan).

The processes of consultation and participation encapsulated in the PRA concept have not contributed to new skills or self-help and have not introduced a departure from the conventional model of development planning. Village institutions remain inactive. Community members and extension workers seem content with the status quo.

The role played by BOCOBONET in PRA training and application is nevertheless commendable especially in terms of the relative quality of the CAP compared with those developed by the government. Nonetheless, BOCOBONET should ensure that they follow up implementation of CAPs. This will ensure that problems hindering effective implementation of CAPs are identified and addressed. In particular, BOCOBONET should focus attention on strengthening local leadership capacity through training.

This case study confirms tentative conclusions made in previous case studies ranging from poor preparations for PRA application; inappropriate attitudes of both extension and community members; parallel planning; lack of commitment on the part of the government, including extension workers and so forth. These key themes that has emerged from the four case studies are weaved together in the next chapter (Chapter Nine), in a way that attempt to consolidate the results of the study in relation to the main areas of the study set out in Chapter One.

## CHAPTER NINE

### **PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF PRA TRAINING AND APPLICATION: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

This study opened up an enquiry into the purposes and impact of the PRA concept from the point of view of PRA agents (PRA trainers/practitioners) and the recipients of PRA methodology (communities and village based extension workers). The study enquired whether PRA was a powerful tool for social mobilization and a source of alternative ways of development intervention, as its apologists argue, and whether the training that precedes application was given adequate thought to ensure sustainable behaviour and attitude changes. The study enquired whether the PRA methodology might be considered a meaningful and effective tool for social change.

Consistent with the critical adult education paradigm, I developed a qualitative design for the study as documented in Chapter Four of this thesis. A series of interviews were conducted with select members of selected communities, extension workers based in these villages, as well as senior personnel in organizations that have an interest in the use of PRA methodology for community empowerment, particularly the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning and BOCOBONET. Respondents' views about contemporary development paradigms were elicited to determine their perceptions of participatory rural development through the application of PRA.

This Chapter of the thesis discusses the key findings of the research, focusing specifically on experiences in PRA training and application and CAPs implementation.

The introduction and application of PRA in Botswana originated partly in response to a recognition that despite increased effort and investment in rural development, rural communities continued to live in poverty. It also originated in response to an

international paradigm shift towards people's participation in development. An important assumption surrounding PRA's introduction and application was that rural communities would be empowered to take responsibility for planning and undertaking development activities that were intended to benefit them and reduce dependence on government.

This chapter attempts to weave together some of the key themes that emerged from the four case studies, by reflecting on the main areas of the study set out in Chapter One of this thesis. Before proceeding to discuss the main research findings, I propose to present a brief summary of the research approach used and some of the key issues arising from the literature review.

### **My position as researcher**

My own position in relation to the case studies can be summarized in what Merriam *et al* (2000) call indigenous-outsider. My outsider status was underscored by residing outside my country of origin while a student, and at a distance from the communities studied. Studying in a foreign country, South Africa, reinforced my outsider status in relation to the respondents. Although my origin in a rural village in Botswana - Bobonong- could have neutralized my outsider status (in the sense of being rural like respondents and perhaps sharing similar rural life experiences and difficulties), the fact that my village of origin is far from their villages and relatively bigger made me an outsider.

While my situation as an employee of the only university in the country at the time (University of Botswana) could have been perceived as more prestigious than theirs, the relatively low levels of education among the respondents, especially community members, averted this possible danger. My being a student was seen as less rewarding and perhaps a waste of time in relation to their struggle to make ends meet. The advantage of this position was that respondents did not assume that I already knew the issues under discussion and so were willing and prepared to provide explanations of the phenomena under investigation. The fact that I did my national service in one of

the villages in the area from April 1988 through to April 1989, made me a 'member' of the community and made it easier for them to welcome me.

### **Research design**

The methodology I employed to construct the four case studies included interviews and/or discussions with respondents, study and analysis of documents, examination of relevant secondary materials, reference to my observations and discussions with key officers relevant organisations such as the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP), Botswana Community Based Organisations Network (BOCOBONET) and the Department of Wild Life and National Parks. I located my research in a qualitative research paradigm, and sought to understand the phenomena under study from the participants' perspectives.

### **Key issues from the literature**

The review of relevant literature in Chapter Three identified a number of thematic areas that have a bearing on the research results. I situated the study within the context of a paradigm shift in development theory and practice, a shift from state-led development planning and implementation to people's participation in the development process through the application of PRA. This laid down the foundation of the study.

PRA is a complex and contextual transformative process that requires careful application, commitment and a considerable amount of patience because it focuses on attitudinal and behaviour changes among different groups of people. These changes cannot be effected overnight. While it might be true that the PRA framework requires, by and large, a re-birth of traditional African values and practices which revolved around consultation, self-help and collaborative work - societies have changed over time and in the process have adopted new values and practices that have become entrenched as the established way of doing things. Attempts to go back to the past in a manner that suggests developing backwards may get a hostile reception. In particular, development professionals may find it hard to deliberately reverse their educational



gains and accompanying competences, real or imagined. For a long time development professionals were regarded as experts and communities respected and in some cases feared them - to the extent that they would hardly decline or reject their development prescriptions, however inappropriate. The relationship between development workers and communities was a highly unequal one premised on a superior-inferior arrangement. This was established as the order of the universe and attempts to overturn this blueprint are bound to be resisted by both the experts and rural communities.

Development professionals may not be ready to relinquish their erstwhile superior position in the development process, a position that carries certain powers and privileges, like deciding for others. Communities on the other hand may not be fully convinced about the sincerity of the proposed changes, more so when these changes are spearheaded by the very people whose love of power, privilege and publicity was never in doubt. Rowlands comments that 'it is certainly the case that some people stand to lose out if more equitable arrangements are to be implemented' (2003: p.16), and may not be willing to lose their erstwhile power. Rural communities do not believe that it is possible for one group to empower another group. This position is consistent with the observation that 'any notion of empowerment being given by one group to another hides an attempt to keep control' (in Nelson and Wright, 1997; p.11).

In Botswana for instance, PRA methodology was introduced at a time when the government was experiencing declining revenues and contemplating cost cutting and cost recovery measures such as payment of school fees. It is therefore not unreasonable for citizens to suspect that the PRA framework is intended to fool people into believing that it is about empowerment whereas in reality the government is trying to make them contribute towards their own development, which is corroborated by the issue I raised in Chapter Two which is that government has admitted that it can not shoulder the burden of development alone. Government's decision to take communities on board may also be influenced by a concluding theme raised in Chapter Two that prior to the proliferation of government relief schemes, many rural households were relatively self-supporting such that it is not impossible to

go back to the past in order to reverse over-dependence on government. The four case studies show that PRA failed largely because of lack of commitment on the part of the government, PRA practitioners and extension workers; inappropriate attitudes of communities members and extension workers; adherence to top-down planning and budgeting procedures and persistent poverty that discourages active participation in community work which is considered financially unrewarding. In many cases, rural-urban migration depletes rural areas of skilled and energetic people and breaks down the traditional value system leading to truancy, delinquency and alcoholism.

### **Summary of research results**

The Khumaga case study showed that two PRAs had been conducted in the village by different organizations and a third was planned by yet another organization, yet the results of the previous two PRAs were disappointing and hardly justified another attempt. This is certain to give PRA a bad name and image within the affected and neighbouring communities or at least those which have experienced or heard about PRA. Rowlands comments that,

for participatory approaches to be sustainable, people need to see the results or at least that the results will be forth coming as these approaches require an investment of time and effort that could easily be directed elsewhere if no positive changes emerge (2003: p.15).

The Otse village case study revealed that the development of a CAP without corresponding resource allocation and the commitment of the community is no more than a wish list. The Dibete case study, on the other hand, showed that parallel planning created competition between the Village Development Plan and the Community Action Plan. The Masunga case study confirmed that in most cases PRA training was rushed and perhaps geared towards familiarization with the concepts, rather than the practice of PRA. Leurs classifies this short PRA training as 'short-term classroom-based events for people who will not be facilitating PRA in the field, but whose support might be required for a PRA application' (2003: p.222) and warns that 'growing experience is showing that an understanding of the methods and practice of PRA principles is not enough. Facilitation and communication skills are crucial' (2003: p.223).

Readers will recall that one of the objectives of this study was to investigate the origins of PRA in Botswana. The review of literature as well as the results of the case studies indicates that Botswana lacks the conditions that helped to foster popular participation, especially the socio-economic and political conditions, which led to the development of social movements in Southeast Asia. This means that, to a great extent, Botswana lacks group consciousness and cohesion. The case studies show that, by and large, Botswana still adheres to a centralised mode of development planning that perpetuates dependence on the state. In conclusion, it is safe to argue that the adoption and application of PRA in Botswana did not entirely emanate from internal processes and events as happened in Southeast Asia, for instance, but was rather super-imposed by global trends especially the paradigm shift in development; and perhaps declining revenues which required government to adopt cost cutting measures. This analysis also locates current efforts in participatory development in Botswana and as such ensures that objective number two of the study, which was 'to position current efforts in participatory rural development in the context of the history of rural development in Botswana', was achieved.

The research also sought to study conceptualisations and implementation of CAPs in four villages, and, through the use of case studies, to illuminate successful and problematic areas of programme design and implementation. All four case studies have shown that PRA application in Botswana is failed by, among others, poor quality training; lack of commitment on the part of the government including, extension workers and PRA practitioners; the ambivalence of communities; and a generally unfavourable environment for participation. Nevertheless, the case studies also show that there are opportunities for successful PRA in Botswana especially noting that before the proliferation of government assistance schemes, many rural households were relatively independent and self-supporting.

Lastly, the research sought to analyse the general impact of PRA application on communities and the wider society. Respondents (both extension workers and community members) have unequivocally stated that in spite of the application of PRA in their communities, things remain the same.

## 9.2 EXPERIENCES OF PRA TRAINING

This study started with the premise that a meaningful and effective PRA application has to be preceded by effective and well-executed PRA training. That was the reason for probing the perceptions of PRA trainees in a study area where the PRA process had not gone beyond PRA training, that is, where PRA training had been undertaken but application had not been done. The government of Botswana opted to provide initial training to members of the District Extension Teams (DETs) to develop their knowledge skills and attitudes to be able to conduct PRAs at a later stage.

On the other hand, BOCOBONET opted to combine the training of both villagers and extension workers with actual application. In this instance there was no separate or initial PRA training for extension workers and application is not something `deferred` to a later stage.

Despite the differences in approach between the government (represented by MFDP) and BOCOBONET, the purpose of the PRA training was essentially the same since both aimed at developing knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for conducting PRAs. In justifying the rationale for adult education, Rogers commented that,

Evaluation has demonstrated that the major barriers to development lay not so much in the lack of knowledge and skills or resources but rather in attitudes- especially lack of confidence or an unwillingness to change. And attitudes can only be changed through a programme of education and training. Or, put another way, the process of changing attitudes as well as providing the new knowledge and skills and understanding which our development programmes need is what is properly meant by education and training (1992: p.3).

PRA training is therefore aimed at facilitating changes in attitudes as well as cultivating a sense of self-belief through the development of appropriate skills and new knowledge. Village based extension workers are supposed to be the repository for the PRA framework, especially at the local level, on account of their frequent contact with local communities.

However, this study has discovered that the focal point for the MFDP PRA training has been district based extension workers who are members of the District Extension Teams based at the district headquarters rather than in the villages. The rationale for this arrangement was that it would encourage greater multi-sectoral work and planning among various extension workers since the DETS members comprise Heads of extension department at the district level. They were thought to be in a position to prevail upon their departments to embrace the PRA framework. This study posits that despite the good intentions of this arrangement, a combination of factors have led to mixed results, as we shall see below.

### **Rushed PRA Training**

In case studies of Khumaga and Masunga, PRA trainees interviewed indicated that the 3-day duration was far too short for meaningful and effective coverage of the PRA curriculum. In both instances trainees were given study materials to read after training because there was limited time to cover all the necessary aspects of the curriculum.

Interestingly, we have seen that the PRA framework is intended to stimulate a participatory approach to development planning to offset the bias towards “rural development tourism”-representing a superficial and hurried approach to data collection for needs analysis, usually undertaken exclusively by development experts.

The experts have limited time, don't want to get off the beaten track, or get their hands dirty, and either give themselves or allow themselves to be conducted on a guided development tour by interested parties (Lelo *et al*, 1999: p.5).

The PRA training offered by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning fell into this trap. The desire by the MFDP PRA practitioners or trainers to push the training and adoption of the approach into an unreasonable time frame was a recipe for failure. By so doing the MFDP PRA practitioners compromised a key principle of adult learning that emphasises that the adult learner should be treated as an active participant. Yet the MFDP officials appear to have been keen to present learners with ready-made information in a manner that did not encourage critical thought or active participation. This meant that the top-down style of training for development was

retained. Leurs (2003) comments that much of the PRA training focuses on content rather than process which is perhaps why reports on PRA training obtained from the study villages emphasized what was learned rather than issues such as who participated, what they did, how they did it.

The efficient PRA trainer who tries to squeeze too much into limited time becomes the guilty party. Information with little depth results from such haste. If your PRA training programme feels rushed and you are trying to cram too much into a limited time, you may be falling into the development tourism trap (Lelo *et al*, 1999: p.5).

Rowlands agrees that,

There is a practical risk in ‘scaling up’ which becomes immediately apparent when one tries to adopt something on a large scale. Suddenly one will need the skills that were being used in a small scale activity, but one needs them quickly and widely. Very often the skills in question will be the ones that take time to develop and will be available in small quantities. The whole scaling up will then depend on whether you soldier on with poor skills to implement the approach, or how quickly and effectively you can train new people – and often what looked like a promising approach is deemed a failure, when it is not the approach that was a problem but the lack of sufficient people with adequate skills, knowledge, and resources to implement it effectively (2003: p.8).

The regular work pattern and workload of MFDP officials designated as PRA trainers may have dictated that they shorten the PRA training programme so that they did not compromise their other responsibilities. Delegating these responsibilities to well established and credible PRA trainers may be a good option.

### **Training Dominated by Trainers**

PRA training aims at facilitating changes in attitudes as well as cultivating a sense of self-belief among community members and extension workers. This can be achieved effectively if PRA trainers involve trainees throughout the training programme. The Khumaga and Masunga case studies revealed that much of the PRA training programme was dominated by the trainers who acted more like teachers than facilitators. This method of instruction may have been necessitated by the course’s short duration. A significant guiding principle for adult learning is that,

The facilitator of adult learning must realize that adults come to class with enquiring minds. They are also goal-oriented and activity oriented. Much of the learning they engage in is geared towards immediate application (Fasokun *et al*, 2005: p.40).

Adult learners are likely to resist learning techniques that lower their self-esteem, especially when the method of instruction does not treat them as responsible and respectable partners. The PRA training programmes for both Khumaga and Masunga were dominated by trainers, with insignificant involvement on the part of learners. This atmosphere of learning had the potential to de-motivate learners to the extent that their participation was not motivated by the desire to acquire new skills and knowledge but simply to conform. Meaningful and genuine adult learning processes give learners the opportunity to own and direct their training. Domination by external facilitators is likely to compromise this principle and may lead to failure of a training programme. As Fasokun remarks, “Adult learners are encouraged to contribute to their learning when they realize that they themselves ... have something to offer” (2005: p.123).

An atmosphere of learning where trainers dominate the training runs counter to principles of adult learning and creates opportunities for covert resistance and outright rejection, as in the case of the Masunga case study, or where application is half-hearted, resulting in a poorly conceived CAP.

It is possible that the PRA trainers adopted a top-down method of instruction to offset their limited knowledge of facilitating PRA. Experience shows that where an instructor faces a crisis of confidence in knowledge and skills (apprehension and uncertainty) she/he tends to be authoritarian or domineering in order to force the trainees into fear and submission. A training atmosphere like this does not create space for participation and is always shortened to avoid discussions that could expose the trainer’s limitations. Such a way of operating is incongruent with the principles of adult education and PRA.

## **The PRA handbook**

The application of the PRA framework is not cast in stone, but rather is contextualised by specific social expectations. The PRA training that usually precedes application may also vary in accordance with the problems that the PRA is expected to address. In a given environment certain PRA tools may get more prominence than others. A rigid sequence of the tools is neither mandatory nor necessary. Nonetheless, a standardized curriculum helps trainers from different PRA training institutions to cover relevant topics. A PRA handbook is essential as a common point of reference. The handbook is even more essential for future application of PRA, especially for facilitators who may not have had an opportunity for practical experience and/or who may have to conduct a PRA long after training. The unavailability of the handbook for the trainees in all the study villages and the language of instruction (English) in Khumaga and Masunga were a concern for concern.

## **Practical Training**

The objective of PRA training for extension workers was to ensure that they understood the techniques of PRA and developed their ability to facilitate the PRA process with villagers. As already indicated, the training was classroom-based and did not accord the trainees an opportunity to facilitate PRA and learn more about the challenges of PRA application. This lack of practical experience may lead to low levels of confidence and ultimately to apprehension and uncertainty. Fearing failure and embarrassment, extension workers may then opt not to do any PRA.

The practical part of PRA training is also informed by the adult education principle that learning is problem-centered and geared towards empowerment of the learner and the larger community. That is, adult learning must be geared towards solving specific social problems for individuals or the community at large.

Much of the PRA training is done in the field. It is action-based and that is to its credit. Nevertheless, both trainees and trainers must be reminded that PRA training in the field is not simply a simulation game, which is taking place outdoors rather than in the classroom (Lelo *et al*, 1999: p.5).



Fasokun *et al.* comment that,

There is also a need to build in the practical application of new knowledge or skills. For example, adults who are learning the skills of maintaining a vehicle would want to practice this skill almost immediately. This is done as a way of reinforcing learning and reducing boredom (2005: p.43).

I believe that the midwives of PRA application are the PRA trainers who provide background training on the PRA methodology. A meaningful and goal-oriented PRA training with a problem-based methodology will determine the quality of PRA application. PRA training that is half-hearted or simply a formality may lead to apprehension and uncertainty.

In this study, PRA trainers were more concerned with providing the training to the targeted trainees than with the outcomes of the training. It seemed to me that they were not interested in making sure that the obligations that began with PRA training were fulfilled for the benefit of both the trainees and the communities at large. The PRA trainers had little commitment to impart skills and knowledge to the district-based extension workers who were expected to facilitate it to the village-based extension workers for ultimate use. The mission of this training seems not to have been to impart meaningful and useful skills and knowledge nor to enable the trainers to “reflect critically on the reality around and cooperate with others to change that reality” (Rogers, 1992: .p33) but simply to induct, familiarize or sensitize extension workers into the PRA framework as a philosophy for participatory planning. Training was therefore an end in itself rather than a means to an end and it is reasonably safe to say that the PRA training has not significantly changed the attitudes and behaviour of extension workers, both at the district and village level.

PRA training and application, especially that conducted by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, resulted in a poorly conceived Community Action Plan (CAP) in the Khumaga case study. The poor quality of the CAP was a direct result of poor quality training that was offered to the extension workers by the MFDP PRA trainers, perhaps coupled with limited interest and commitment on the part of the extension workers.

### **9.3 EXPERIENCES IN PRA APPLICATION**

In section 9.2 I argued that training in PRA is meant to lay down a foundation for PRA application. It may therefore be assumed that the quality of the training determines, to a great extent, the quality of its application and subsequent implementation of the CAP. This part of the thesis focuses on respondents' experiences in PRA application and implementation.

#### **Limited commitment to the PRA framework**

The Government of Botswana adopted the PRA methodology after a large-scale pilot project commissioned to establish whether PRA could strengthen existing extension and consultation practices. The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) as the agency responsible for coordinating rural development activities appreciated the relevance of the methodology and subsequently decided to integrate it into extension and development activities. While the coordination of rural development activities is the purview of The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP), the responsibility for implementation of many rural development activities lies with line ministries. Because many government ministries are not active in PRA, and because the design and implementation of the PRA framework was prescriptive and alienated other role players, levels of commitment and a sense of ownership in other government departments are weak. This is perhaps why chairpersons of the Village Extension Teams (VETs), who are, in all instances, head teachers, as explained in Chapter Two, continue to give priority to their core (school education) activities at the expense of PRA implementation. Rowlands supports this assertion by saying,

Much of development work falters when the people entrusted with actually implementing change do not have ownership of the task with which they are charged. So often, approaches and policies which have been carefully crafted do not lead to the changes intended, because key individuals did not have the commitment or the skills or the knowledge or the wish to see to it that change happens (2003: p.8).

Even the PRA facilitators employed by the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning show little commitment beyond the simple task of providing PRA training. There is no monitoring and coordination of PRA training and this perhaps explains why different organizations can conduct a PRA in the same village at different times, without necessarily complementing past efforts, as was the case in Khumaga.

This lack of commitment may also explain why there has not been any evaluation to assess progress or why the implementation of CAPs is not being followed up, either by members of the DETs or VETs.

### **Proliferation of Government programmes**

Over the years the government of Botswana has initiated many programmes whose failures were more notable than their successes. Such programmes, which were considered to have had negligible impact on the lives of the people, were terminated and replaced by new ones that experienced similar misfortunes. This is close to a trial and error initiative. It is confusing and disillusioning people in rural areas who may conclude that government does not know what should be done and should be left alone to make its mistakes. Comments by both villagers and extension workers to the effect that things have remained the same or even worsened, despite government efforts, are unfortunate but indicative of disillusionment among the people.

### **Responsibility and accountability**

District and village based extension workers are the custodians of PRA but may not coordinate or supervise the implementation of CAPs once a PRA has been done in a village. They may also not be held answerable for not conducting PRA. Support for VET activities from the DETs has not been satisfactory, reportedly due to their (DETs) workload. VETs and other institutional support for village projects is negligible because these structures are often dysfunctional. The study found out that immediately after providing PRA training and/or observing application, PRA trainers/facilitators from the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP) withdrew to their base leaving uncertain district based and village based extension

workers to their own devices. This lack of support undermines initiative and fails to provide a long-term vision of PRA to guide local action. But no one can be held responsible for abdicating responsibility or even for unsatisfactory performance. PRA is not an enforceable component of extension workers' appraisal. There is no officer designated to coordinate the activities of PRA. This is why extension workers argue that PRA is an additional workload.

### **Top-down approach to planning**

Within the frameworks of the top-down planning and management procedures, budgetary autonomy at the district level is inconceivable. Botswana's development strategy represents a composite commitment to accelerating the process of rapid economic development. This is in keeping with most developing countries, which adopted a five-year model of economic development planning to achieve rapid economic advancement (Conyers and Hills, 1992). Centralised state planning was seen as a way of bringing about rapid social and economic change.

Conscious of the limited resources at its disposal, and also aware of the absence of an active and mature private sector, the Government of Botswana undertook to single-handedly spearhead economic transformation. Thus, the government which emerged post-independence not only played a leading role in economic development but also set the groundwork for state domination of the economy (Dipholo and Mothusi, 2005: p.43).

Eventually, state or centralized planning became the cardinal feature of the Botswana economic development model. This is particularly in line with the liberal economic and political framework discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. Government purports to involve communities in planning and implementation of development activities but also seeks to retain control, justifying this as internal regulation of economic and political processes. Botswana's economic and political system certainly promotes contradictions between policy pronouncements and actual practices. It is therefore highly possible that some of the changes that government initiates are a result of pressures from international development communities and may therefore lack local

political and administrative will. The shift towards participatory development in Botswana may thus be a case of ‘internationalisation’ or globalisation rather than a genuine will to transform the community development process for the benefit of rural communities. The transfer of responsibility for development to local communities unaccompanied by additional resources is a case of contempt and reluctance.

While the government has incorporated the district planning process as a means to provide decentralized planning and implementation capacity which is sensitive and responsive to needs, problems and priorities of local communities, many of the projects that are planned and implemented at the local level are under the authority of the central government via planners at the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. ‘Development expenditure’ for the district authorities is set by the central government and so is the disbursement of funds for district level projects. Central government retains the final authority to approve or reject all new publicly funded development projects. The central government can strike out projects planned by local authorities and replace them with ones conceived by central government bureaucrats without giving reasons. The central government defends this interference by arguing that they have to account for the use or misuse of public finances. A common trend therefore is that ‘central government officials virtually initiate, sign, seal and deliver turnkey packages to the districts for implementation’ (Dipholo and Mothusi, 2005: p.46).

Under this arrangement, extension officers at the local level are not motivated to embrace the practice of participatory development since they are themselves excluded from development planning and are required to refer even trivial matters to the center for endorsement. Brunckerhoff, cited in Swanepoel, points out that ‘community workers who feel powerless and uninvolved are unlikely to empower the people they work with’ (2002: p.46). Dipholo and Mothusi opine that,

Basically, extension officers view themselves as locally based bureaucrats with powers and privileges similar to those of the urban based government officials. They are in a sense, representatives of the central government at the local level. This being the case, extension workers are essentially detached from the communities they are expected to serve. Similarly, community members view extension workers as indispensable, powerful and arrogant individuals without a

conscience. This makes it difficult for extension workers to effectively mobilize local communities to contribute to rural development. This situation invariably creates a network of antagonism and suspicion and makes it difficult for all parties to work together to promote rural development (2005: p.42).

Here is an explicit case of this antagonism and mistrust which so often leads to passivity among local communities. The *Botswana Daily News, Online edition*, reports that a veld or bush fire that started more than two months previously in the Chobe district in Botswana ravaged more than 5 500 square kilometres of land. Civil servants in the area were mobilized to help put out the fire. Local communities that directly benefited from wildlife resources through community development trusts did not show interest in assisting to fight the fire. The report states,

KALEPA Community Trust Board Chairman Samuel Dihentse said in an interview that the community was unwilling to help fire-fighters because they [community members] say the officers are making a lot of money in the form of subsistence allowance whereas the community is not entitled to any allowances (October 12, 2006).

This explains, in part, why most village institutions such as Village Extension Teams (VETs) are dormant. Even if members of VETs are inactive, the central government will deliver development to local communities, or put differently, even if they work hard and consult local communities in prioritizing development projects, they will eventually have to give way to the center. So, in order not to be embarrassed, they back off or concentrate only on their immediate responsibilities.

Following the same line of argument, local communities can be certain that even when they are not active partners in the development process, the government will deliver on its mandate to provide development to the people. There is a mismatch between PRA and the existing centralized planning procedures. Under the present circumstances, state planned activities emerge victorious, thereby invalidating any PRA momentum. Alternatively, it may be that the introduction of PRA by the government was a publicity exercise for symbolic political value – to deceive poor people into believing that they are recognized and valued. This may account for the government's seeming indifference to its (PRA) introduction, application and implementation. Central government officials who were interviewed revealed that

their responsibility in relation to PRA was limited to the provision of training, insinuating that the rest was up to local communities, and it seems it did not matter much if they failed to apply it.

Thus, the success of PRA application and implementation depends in large part on government's commitment to genuine decentralization and a degree of flexibility in budget allocation in order to accommodate the funding of CAPs. Both of these key elements for successful PRA application have been shown to be non-existent. Government maintains that financial centralization is necessary to limit disparities between regions and most importantly to account for the use of public monies. The government maintains that its efforts towards greater decentralisation are calculated and cautious so that the process does not come back to haunt both the government and local institutions when circumstances change and possibly hurt rural communities. Essentially, government maintains that it is committed to enabling greater self-reliance by local communities but that this process does not entail abrogation of its responsibilities for regulation and overall direction. What this means is that government pronounces its intentions to empower local communities to promote greater self-reliance, but its practices run counter to its purports. Determination to reduce dependency and promote community participation is by and large rhetorical.

In any case, the government's calculated, over-cautious or even reluctant approach to empower local communities seems to receive direct and or indirect support from local communities through attitudes of dependence and indifference to self-help. This gives the government reason to strengthen its grip on power and control. This thesis has shown that a considerable percentage of community members interviewed are content with the present situation where government provides them with a means of livelihood. The provision of PRA training within radical adult education philosophy in a liberal or neo-conservative economic and political framework was always going to fail to instil socialist sensibilities or radicalism in its learners. It may look as though such training was flawed but on closer scrutiny, it would have been very strange for a conservative government to be willing to provide radical or critical adult learning with all the likely consequences. It is inconceivable that the government of Botswana

would facilitate a possible uprising against itself occasioned by the provision of radical or critical adult education philosophy. So it is highly possible that the design, planning and provision of the PRA training was such that it perpetuates capitalist sensibilities in a way that depicts participatory development as unnecessary and superfluous.

In their discussion of the government of Botswana's slow and seemingly reluctant approach to decentralisation, Dipholo and Mothusi (2005) conclude that,

It will be said if the process of decentralising becomes miserably slow that it is never achieved. On the whole, the government's approach to decentralisation has been moving one step forward and two steps backward, showing itself to be excessively cautious and reluctant to change (pp.56-57).

They further comment that,

The central government has always argued that it is necessary for it to retain the functions which local authorities may not be able to undertake due to the magnitude of the tasks, the level of resources and expertise required, the need to ensure equitable distribution of resources (such as finance, manpower and raw materials) country wide and the desire to reduce or eliminate corruption (p. 47).

Thus, the government may use this laudable proposition to justify its reluctant position in relation to decentralisation. The same tactics may be employed by the Botswana government to frustrate participatory development.

### **Unfavourable environment for participation**

As noted above, existing planning procedures are not favourable for participatory development. Central government agencies dominate district and village institutions. The government's approach to decentralization is excessively cautious, reluctant and half-hearted.

Extension workers on the other hand lack motivation to involve local communities branding them lazy and risk averse or unwilling to change. At the other end of the spectrum, local communities are resigned to the centralized mode of development that gives development experts, extension workers included, the responsibility to deliver development packages. Resistance to change must therefore be attributed not only to



deliberate hostility or lack of interest by bureaucrats but to the culture of perpetuating existing ways of doing things. In an economy such as Botswana's where the majority of the people are preoccupied with minimizing risk due to adverse climate conditions (Valentine, 1993), persuading people to make a shift toward participatory forms of development activity is no small task. Over-dependence on government means that it would be difficult for community members to reverse these attitudes. It also means that it would be obscene for community members to demonise the government. It is ridiculous to bite the hand that feeds you. This thesis asserts that dependence on government by rural communities is the antithesis of empowerment because it invariably gives government control over its subjects; it substitutes the judgement of the government for the freedom and judgement of local communities. This inevitably leads to a monopoly of power and the possibility of corruption and abuse. Reliance on government discourages initiative and entrepreneurship by individuals and communities.

There is very little support for participatory development in general and the PRA concept in particular from the government. The Botswana government sees demands for greater decentralization as a problem rather than an opportunity (Dipholo and Mothusi, 2005). The quest for rapid economic development is such that PRA, which is calculated, intensive and delivered at the pace of local communities, appears to cause undue delays. Civil society, which often represents the pillars of participatory development, is weak in Botswana auguring poorly for PRA methodology.

Botswana is a dry and drought prone country. The government is repeatedly required to provide drought relief packages to cushion families that have been affected by droughts. These drought relief grants come in the form of food supplements, free seedlings and generous subsidies. Whereas this intervention by the government is pragmatic and reasonable, beneficiaries of the packages consider this assistance to be permanent and part of an obligation on the part of the government to provide livelihoods, to the extent that even when conditions have significantly improved, rural people still expect drought relief packages to be rolled out. Thus, well-intended relief

programmes end up perpetuating and consolidating a culture of dependence on the state.

Although the phenomenon of cross border migration discussed in Chapter Two has drastically reversed, internal migration (movement of people from the rural areas to the urban areas) has intensified. Whereas cross border migration was necessitated by the need to find cash to pay taxes, internal migration is urged on by the need to find paid (formal) employment in order to escape poverty. Lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas pushes people to the urban centres. As was shown in the Khumaga case study, internal migration stagnates the growth of the rural areas by depriving them of quality services and other amenities that are, by government arrangement, reserved for villages with larger populations. The situation is exacerbated by conditions of poverty that discourage people from partaking in community work, which is not financially rewarding.

### **PRA and Setswana language**

PRA materials are mostly written in the English language and presentations are normally conducted in English. Translating Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) into the national language may prove cumbersome and distorts the material. Even when it is reported that PRAs were conducted in Setswana, reports of the proceedings including the CAPs are captured in English. For instance, in some cases it was difficult for respondents to remember the PRA exercise that was conducted in their villages. Some participants recalled it as a ‘BOCOBONET workshop’ referring to the organization whose officers facilitated the PRA application. The abbreviation P.R.A. itself was the greatest problem and only after repeated descriptions did some extension workers remember it as a ‘development seminar’ conducted by officials from Gaborone. It was far easier for the community members interviewed to remember these PRA exercises by the names of the lead officials who conducted them. For example, with regard to the Otse and Dibete case studies, resident participants would say ‘oh you mean the seminar that was conducted by Mr. Lecholo’ – referring to the training coordinator at BOCOBONET.

The absence of a proper Setswana name or acronym for the PRA methodology may make communities view it as foreign. In agreeing that PRA be conducted in the village, village leaders may give their consent without understanding what they are getting into or what they are consenting to but they perhaps consider it as a formality. Village leaders may not withhold permission because in most cases a government ministry has already given permission. Again the village leaders may be of the opinion that, as usual, outsiders know what has to be done for the community.

The use of English in conducting a PRA, or attempts to translate it into Setswana, may distort things and compromise the quality of deliberations and information generated. This may lead to poor quality CAPs with low prospects of implementation. Perhaps this is why some participants in Khumaga said the PRA concept is a foreign methodology because translation into Setswana during presentations was cumbersome. This could be so since instead of adapting the concept to local circumstances, the government preferred to replicate it as a blueprint. This is given more weight by the conflict between 'the Setswana' ways of doing things and the modern practices and procedures.

As the Khumaga case study has already shown, PRA does not rely on local leadership for implementation. In many respects the local leaders are not distinguished from the rest of the community members. Under these circumstances, PRA as a new practice may be seen as modern, English or Western and invariably the community may be reluctant to use it. In her study already cited, Kaye (2003) also discovered that there is a possibility for conflict between Setswana ways of doing things and training that is perceived as Western and English and that this conflict has the potential to make the training irrelevant. It is my view that this conflict implies an unhealthy competition between tradition or culture and modernity. A community's unwillingness to part with the Setswana ways of doing things draws us back to modernisation theorists' view that the Third World is underdeveloped because it lacks modern values such as achievement motivation (Youngman, 2000) and quality education (Walters and Watters, 2001).

### **PRA application in big villages**

Available literature (Chambers, 1992; Oakley and Marsden, 1987; Lelo *et al*, 1999) indicates that PRA is best suited to small and rural communities because it purports to empower under-privileged members of societies who are in most cases found in remote rural settlements. It is assumed that poor communities will be willing to participate in activities that are likely to benefit/empower them. It is also assumed that small communities are relatively united and easy to organize for collective work, unlike large communities. This study used the Otse case study to investigate the application of PRA in a large and peri-urban village.

Although Otse village has a population of more than 5,000 people, only 40 to 60 people attended the PRA sessions, raising the question of whether so few people could legitimately plan for more than 5,000 people. Aside from this question, this study did not discover any significant difference in PRA application between small and big villages. The CAPs in small villages of Khumaga and Dibete revealed the same problems as in Otse. In principle therefore, PRA can be carried out in both small and big villages but for reasons of manageability, PRA application favours small ones unless a series of PRAs are done in smaller units in bigger villages. However, the inevitable process of modernisation that confronts rural communities, and in particular peri-urban centres, may have far-reaching implications for PRA application. The tension created by the process of modernisation and the stubbornness of some people in the community to preserve traditional culture may create such problems that even genuine interventions are frustrated. Truancy and alcoholism may be examples of the harmful effects of modernisation and the dilemmas of addressing these problems could mean that the focus shifts from core development issues. The breakdown of the village life and traditional livelihood strategies due to the process of modernisation may signal the end of community life. This will require that development approaches be constantly revised and integrated to reflect these realities, hence the promise of a sustainable livelihood approach to development with its possibility of addressing the kinds of problems identified in the application of PRA in Botswana.

## **PRA and ethnicity**

The Khumaga case study revealed that differences between ethnic groups in a village might scupper community development and by extension, PRA application and CAP implementation, especially if the groups are engaged in a struggle for resources and power. A power struggle is often characterized by sabotage and counter attack whose intention is to frustrate other groups' efforts. PRA appears more likely to succeed in homogeneous groups where hostility and suspicion on the basis of ethnicity are limited.

## **9.4 STEPS TOWARDS MORE EFFECTIVE PRA TRAINING AND APPLICATION**

PRA is still a young concept in Botswana having been piloted in the mid-nineties and adopted for integration into planning and extension procedures in the late nineties. Despite the problems associated with its application and implementation, PRA also represents great opportunities for improvement. A lot of work still needs to be done by PRA agents, especially government representatives, to ensure that the PRA framework is taken seriously. A significant challenge for government PRA agents is to supply unequivocal commitment to district and village based extension workers in terms of providing training to those who do not have training; encouraging and supporting those with training to conduct PRA in order to acquire the necessary expertise, and most importantly supporting the implementation of the CAPs in order to raise motivation and instil confidence in PRA. This will require the government to make an explicit policy pronouncement in respect of PRA and designate personnel who can be called to account for progress in PRA application and implementation.

It is not enough for the government to simply 'sell' PRA. There must be commitment on the part of government officials, especially bearing in mind that 'the people who set priorities for change on behalf of others very often have good intentions, but do not always have sufficient information or skills to interpret it accurately' (Rowlands, 2003: p.7). Existing structures for the coordination of extension services and rural development activities such as VETs and DETs are ineffective and cannot be

entrusted with the responsibility to oversee PRA activities. It has been shown that these structures have been inactive for a long time and any hope that they can be revamped may be misplaced, hence my earlier recommendation that government should appoint specific persons who will be charged with the responsibility to coordinate PRA activities.

An appropriate model for the integration of PRA into planning and extension procedures and practices could be developed for use by the government without having to mimic the Asian PRA model which is, by and large, rooted in the traditional Asian development planning framework and is suited to the region's social milieu, and cultural ethos (Desai, 1997). As has been shown in Chapter Three, the conditions that helped usher in a PRA revolution in Asia are, to a great extent, lacking in Botswana. Firstly, Botswana did not experience full-scale colonial exploitation experienced in many colonies presumably because the colonial powers were not interested in occupying a desert. Although there is widespread poverty in Botswana, the government has been able to extinguish dissent or avert nationalist tendencies by its social welfare schemes, which ensures that no person, however poor, dies from hunger (Chapter Two provided a discussion of relief schemes in Botswana).

These relief schemes have invariably cultivated a mixture of indifference and passivity among the people of Botswana. People's dependence on government means that they may find it obscene to revolt against the government that feeds them. In the same line of argument, Botswana has not been faced with many of the challenges that led to the emergence of most social movements in Asia such as shortage of land, illegal commercial logging or ruination of forests and so forth. On the contrary, Botswana still has abundant land (582 000 square kilometres), however arid, perhaps due to its small population of approximately 1, 680 683 (Republic of Botswana, 2003a). Although Botswana experiences water shortages, government takes full responsibility to address the problem mostly through the construction of dams under the National Water Master Plan (Republic of Botswana, 2003a), in a way that consolidates dependence on government and extended passivity.

Thus, prevailing social, economic and political conditions in Botswana have not helped to foster social movements and as such Botswana lacks group consciousness, cohesion and a drive for self-help. The conditions that existed in Asia which helped usher in nationalist movements and by extension community activism were missing in Botswana. Rowlands (2003) reminds us that the exact replication of something that succeeded elsewhere in a different place can work if circumstances are similar. One of the planning principles of the Asian Model starts from the premise that rural policies for growth ought not be imposed from above but must emerge through self directed peasants' initiatives. These conditions for PRA application and its spread are limited in Botswana. PRA in Botswana has to be adapted to local conditions. Botswana's social milieu has to dictate its (PRA) structure and content. The Asian model will however provide stimulus for experimentation and piloting of new techniques.

It is important to form a taskforce for monitoring and coordinating PRA activities. The Taskforce or Reference Group/Team will work out an operational plan to identify problem areas and address them. It will be important to win the support of district and village based extension workers so that they feel appreciated, noticed and valued. This will require deliberate efforts to re-orient existing planning and administrative structures, especially in terms of promoting greater decentralization and flexible budgeting in order to accommodate CAPs.

With respect to training, it is clear that PRA trainers in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning focus on providing blanket PRA training without reflecting on the results. This experimental approach compromises the quality of the training that is a pre-condition for PRA application and subsequent implementation of the CAP. Regular training opportunities are necessary for new members of the target group (the extension cadre, particularly village based extension workers) and PRA trainers from the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning will be stretched to the limit. Independent trainers and/or facilitators, for example, BOCOBONET, could be the answer to this problem, to support and guide district and village based extension workers as and when necessary. Alternatively, the government may train a core group of trainers, either at the center or the district level, to provide PRA training as and when the need arises. This will ensure wider coverage without compromising quality.

It has also been shown that the provision of training to members of the DETs is problematic. First, DET members give priority to the requirements of their core jobs. Secondly, as Heads of Department they are already overwhelmed by committee responsibilities and may consider PRA work as an additional burden. Given this scenario, it is not surprising that DET members have limited time to promote, apply and support PRA. It is therefore desirable that preliminary PRA training incorporates village based extension workers so that they are not made to depend on the DETs for PRA skills and knowledge. This arrangement will also ensure that PRA training and application are not separated – that is, a PRA application should be conducted immediately after training when there is still enthusiasm and confidence levels are high.

Little progress will be made in PRA implementation unless consideration is given to creating interest among community leaders and local communities in the philosophy of PRA through advocacy and experimentation. Seminars and workshops are ideal for these groups.

## **9.5 CONCLUSION**

From what has been discussed above and also taking note that the CAPs in all the study villages are yet to be implemented satisfactorily, PRA looks destined to fail. While it is true that PRA tools are designed to foster the traditional self-help mode of operations, implementation failures suggest that circumstances have changed so much that what was traditionally envied is now despised and unwelcome.

Botswana's society has changed since independence in 1966 and continues to experience rapid change. Traditional methods of extension work encompassing consultation, planning and delivery are encountering difficulties in attracting people's attention and motivating them for active involvement in planning and implementation. Many extension workers interviewed indicated that unless welfare is provided, people are not motivated to actively take part in development planning and implementation.



Historically, Botswana society was relatively self-supporting and self-sufficient. The thesis has also shown that Botswana society has not suddenly grown dependent on government, but that government's sincere intervention measures especially in its efforts to cushion rural families against the effects of persistent drought, have had the effect of increasing dependency. The general situation of poverty in rural areas is a disincentive for voluntary work. Existing centralized structures and procedures, especially for planning and budgeting, combined with a long history of paternalism promote dependency.

PRA methodology is important as an initiative to stem the tide of the dependency syndrome and promote greater participation by members of the society in development planning and implementation. This need derives in large part from international and national demands for political and economic empowerment of the beneficiaries of development. These demands comprise the right to full participation in the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenry, especially the responsibility to play a leading role in identification, planning and implementation of community development projects. PRA has the overarching goal of ensuring that citizens participate fully, and at all stages of the development process. It by and large seeks to reverse the current benefactor/beneficiary relationship between the government and its citizens.

At the same time, the Botswana government is feeling the burden occasioned by dwindling revenues and has come to realize that it can no longer go it alone. The PRA framework envisages partnerships between communities and the government. The CAPs that are the result of PRAs can be considered as a deal or an accord between the communities and the government. Both parties are expected to contribute knowledge, skills, and resources to keep and fulfil the promise.

However, this research has shown that PRA methodology, at least in the villages studied, has made negligible progress in addressing the legacies of state dominated development planning and implementation. Government planners are not keen to

support the new initiative perhaps because they consider themselves as development experts whose responsibilities include planning for the people. These paternalistic attitudes are not helped by what appears to be resistance to change on the part of rural people. The aims of PRA are not made explicit nor are they communicated well. The entire process is left in the hands of a few government officers whose commitment to the concept is suspect. Measures of accountability are hardly an integral part of the PRA process from training through to implementation. Under these circumstances, PRA is destined to fail. However, many of the problems afflicting PRA could be addressed by exploiting some of the key principles and techniques of adult education such as involving adult learners in the design of the training curriculum; valuing learners by acknowledging their past experiences and applying them to construct new knowledge and skills; creating a climate of mutual respect and trust to enhance their self-esteem and creating a conducive environment where each person has something to learn and teach.

The case studies reported here are hardly the success stories needed to create excitement and cause celebrations. The current situation is characterized by apprehension and uncertainty yet it is difficult to ignore PRA because of its success in other countries and its appeal to scholars and development workers. This should create room for introspection, re-testing and re-introduction of the approach infused with relevant, adaptable and locally grounded innovations.

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## **APPENDIX ONE**

### **INFORMATION LETTER, CONSENT FORM AND INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### **INFORMATION SHEET**

I, Kenneth Boago Dipholo, am a doctoral candidate at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. The research I am conducting is a requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

#### **Aims of research:**

The aim of this research is to discover insights into the implementation of participatory rural development in Botswana through the application of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), and thus contribute to knowledge and practices in PRA and adult education. The government of Botswana has trained some extension workers and community members in the use of PRA in community development, through the formulation of Community Action Plans (CAPS). It is important to ascertain whether the training and the subsequent formulation of CAPs is sustainable and beneficial to the government and to rural communities.

#### **Nature of research:**

This research is development-based. It asks general questions about the nature of community development and does not invade the privacy or the personal lives of respondents.

#### **Procedures for the research:**

Participation in the research is dependent on the individual's (PRA facilitators and community members) willingness to participate in a series of interviews. Individuals who are most likely to have some knowledge about the subject are preferred. Questions are asked in a manner that resembles a conversation in that respondents are given the opportunity to explain their answers/comments at length. Participants will

be encouraged to raise issues that they consider important which the researcher's questions may have omitted. In addition to the quasi-conversation, the researcher will engage in observation of critical incidences that may illustrate the way the community conducts its daily life in a way that adds value to the study. Photographing and tape recording may be used where appropriate, with the full permission of the subjects.

The researcher offers to answer enquiries related to the study at all the stages of the research. Participants selected for the study will participate of their own free will and may withdraw their participation at any point of the research.

## CONSENT FORM

The contents of the Information Sheet have been fully explained to me. I fully understand them and agree to participate in the research.

Researcher's signature

Respondent's name

Date:

Date:



## **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **COMMUNITY PROFILE** *(for community members)*

- How long have you lived in this community?
- What do you like/dislike most about it?
- What are the problems faced by the community?
- How have the community been addressing the problems its encounters?
- Compare present day development practices with those of the distant past. Are there any significant differences? For example;
  - a) Differences in the level of self-help?
  - b) Differences in the ways in which community problems are solved?
    - How has this community changed over the years? For example, in terms of life styles?
    - Can you tell me about development plans/ projects in this area? Specifically, who starts/initiates them? Who owns them? (At this stage I will request the respondent to identify a specific project s/he is familiar with. I will then ask him or her to say when it was started, how (who participates in the project and why?) and why it was started? (It is expected that this information should assist me to compare the history of community development with PRA induced community development in a particular village).
    - What are your views on the relations between community members and extension staff in this village?

### **PRA APPLICATION** *(for extension staff)*

- What is your understanding of PRA?
- When was it applied in this community?
- Why was it applied?
- How was it applied? (Issues of collaboration between stakeholders).
- What are your views about its success or failure?

- What are your views about PRA application (its worth)? (Personal attitudes)
- What particular community activities do you think benefit most from PRA application? Give examples and possible reasons.
- What do you think should be the role of community members/extension staff in enhancing effective PRA?
- Is there any information you may want to provide in relation to the application of PRA?
- Do you think PRA facilitates community cohesion/belongingness and initiatives? Why/why not? In what ways?

**FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF CAPs** (*for extension staff*)

- Has this community formulated any CAPs?
- Who developed them?
- How were they developed?
- Who owns them now?
- What has happened to them? (Have they been implemented?).
- What are your opinions on the usefulness of these plans to:
  - a) The community?
  - b) The government and NGOs? (Personal attitude towards the CAPs).
- Can you tell me your views on the quality of the CAPs formulated by (in) this community?
- What do you think influences their quality?
- What are your suggestions for improving the quality of CAPs?
- What do you think affects their implementation in terms of:
  - a) Community commitment?
  - b) Government commitment?
  - c) NGOs commitment?
  - d) Other relevant issues?
- What are your general suggestions for improving the implementation of CAPs?

## **GENERAL ISSUES**

- What is your educational level?
- How long have you been working as an extension officer?
- What are your opinions about extension work in general, and in particular, about working with local communities?
- What are your views on the working relations between extension workers and community members?
- Have you been trained in the use of PRA? When?
- Did you acquire some worthwhile skills and knowledge from the training?
- Have you been utilising the knowledge and skills acquired from the PRA training? Why? How?

## **OBSERVATIONS**

I will observe:

- How community members interact among themselves.
- How extension workers interact among themselves.
- How community members interact with extension workers and the behaviours thereof.
- How community members carry out their community activities as individuals and in groups (in activities such as weddings, funerals and other similar social gatherings).
- During observations I will note down relevant comments and remarks, both formal and informal speeches and interesting conversations.

## **NOTES ON RESPONDENTS** *(with full permission of the respondent)*

Name:

Name of village:

Gender:

Age:

.....

...

**(For extension workers)**

Employer:

Department:

Designation:

Length of service:

.....

**Supplementary notes.**

It will be necessary to review reports available on PRA application in selected study sites. Information gleaned may be useful in understanding community members/extension workers perceptions on PRA application and CAPs implementation. For instance, it will give some insights into which projects were planned, and which have been implemented/not implemented? This will certainly highlight on community/government commitment, cultural acceptability of PRA and similar issues.

## APPENDIX TWO

### THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Village/organisation</b>	<b>Description</b>
Luke Bojosi	Khumaga	Extension worker
Nyaladzo Kgetse	Khumaga	Extension worker
Mosalagae Dikago	Khumaga	Extension worker (VET chairperson)
Chalengwa Senamolela	Khumaga	Extension worker
Chebukani Makonyela	Khumaga	Villager
Keboaketswe Manchebu	Khumaga	Villager
Gaobonale Tsatsilebe	Khumaga	Villager
Elisha Makhumalo	Otse	Extension worker (VET chairperson)
Julius Kwambala	Otse	Extension worker
Itireleng Mosime	Otse	Extension worker
Horitius Issacs	Otse	Villager
Abel Moalosi	Otse	Villager
Keneilwe Moiwa	Otse	Villager
Amogelang Mosanawe	Otse	Villager
Margaret Mokgwaela	Otse	Villager
Lawrence Mashe	Otse	Villager (VDC chairperson)
Gabaikanngwe Moesi	Dibete	Villager (VDC secretary)
Grace Banantwa	Dibete	Villager
Goitsewang Moesi	Dibete	Villager
Kekgopye Nnopi	Dibete	Villager
Sheila Keipeile	Dibete	Extension worker
Molapise Basupi	Dibete	Extension worker
Barbara Matenge	Masunga	Extension worker
Mbako Ramashaba	Masunga	Extension worker
Veronica Chaibe	Masunga	Extension worker

Dingalo Pule	Masunga	Extension worker
Molelo Molelo	MFDP/Gaborone	Principal Rural Extension Coordinator
James Baruti	MFDP/Gaborone	Principal Communal Resources Coordinator
Sam Digwa	MFDP/Gaborone	Rural Extension Coordinator
Elias Mpofu	Wildlife/Gaborone	
Abel Lecholo	BOCOBONET	Training Officer
Chris Mabei	BOCOBONET	Executive Secretary

## APPENDIX THREE

### A TYPICAL THREE WEEK EGERTON PRA TRAINING PROGRAMME

Day	Time	Activity
1	700 pm	Arrival & Registration
2	0700	Breakfast
	0830	Personal introductions
		Overview of the training (history, logistics & expectations)
	1030	Tea break
	1100	Formal opening Introduction to concept of participation Lunch break
	1300	Introduction to PRA
	1400	Tea break
	1600	The PRA Process
	1630	Adjourn
	1900	Dinner
3	0830	Recap previous day's work Continue with PRA Process
	1030	Tea Break
	1100	Continue with PRA Process
	1300	Lunch break
	1400	Introduction to community life simulation Break into discussion groups
	1600	Tea break
	1630	Continue group work
	1730	Adjourn
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Review case studies
4	0830	Recap previous day's work Group work
	1030	Tea break
	1100	Continue group work
	1300	Lunch break
	1400	Continue group work
	1600	Tea break
	1630	Groups prepare charts for plenary presentation
	1900	Dinner
5	0830	Groups polish charts for plenary presentation
	1030	Tea break
	1100	Plenary to present the simulation case study
	1300	Lunch break
	1400	Continue plenary presentations
	1600	Tea break
	1630	Lessons from simulation exercise
	1900	Dinner
6	0830	Recap previous day's work

		Facilitation skills
	1030	Tea break
	1100	Preparations for the launching
	1300	Lunch break
	1400	Evaluation of phase 1
	1900	Dinner
7	0700	Breakfast
	0800	Field trip to previous PRA sits
	1900	Dinner
8	0700	Breakfast
	0800	Prepare for launching
	0930	Leave for the launching site
	1900	Summarize day's activity
	2000	Dinner
9	0700	Breakfast Leave for the site Prepare Community Sketch maps & Transect
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups polish their work/prepare for following day
10	0700	Breakfast Review previous day's work Leave for the field In the field: Farm sketches & household interviews
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups polish their work/prepare for following day
11	0700	Breakfast
	0830	Leave for the field In the field: Time lines, Trends and Seasonal calendar
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups polish their work/prepare for following day
12	0700	Breakfast Leave for field In the field: Institutions, Gender daily calendar and Livelihood Mapping of the community
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups polish their work/prepare for following day
13	0700 0830	Breakfast Leave for the field In the field: Organisation of problems and opportunities
	2000	Technical team in the field Groups polish their work/prepare for following day



14	0700	Breakfast
	0830	Leave for the field In the field: ranking of problems and opportunities
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups polish their work/prepare for following day
15	0700	Breakfast Leave for the field In the field: Ranking of opportunities
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups prepare charts for CAPs
16	0700	Breakfast Leave for the field In the field: make Community Action Plan
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Groups prepare charts/prepare for following day
17	0700	Breakfast Leave for the field Continue with CAP
	1900	Dinner
	2000	Discuss & prepare for CAP presentation
18	0700	Breakfast Leave for field Baraza to present the CAP
	1900	Dinner and closing ceremony

## APPENDIX FOUR (a)



### REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

To: Mr. Kenneth B. Dipholo  
P.O.BOX 601839  
GABORONE

Dear Sir,

#### **RE: APPLICATION FOR A RESEARCH PERMIT**

1. Your application for a research permit refers.
2. You are granted a research permit to conduct a study titled 'Implementing Participatory rural Development: A study of the Effectiveness of Community Action Plans Generated Through Participatory Rural Appraisal'.
3. The is granted subject to the following conditions:
  - Copies of the final report of the research are to be directly deposited with Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance and development Planning; Permanent Secretary to the President; Permanent Secretary Ministry of Local Government; Director, Botswana National Library Service; Director, Botswana National Archives and Record Services; Director, Research and Development, University of Botswana and University of Botswana Library.
  - The permit does not give you authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected areas. Permission for entry of such premises should be negotiated with those who are concerned.
  - You should conduct your study according to particulars furnished in your application taking into account the above conditions.
  - The study is to be conducted from June 2005 in Masunga, Khumaga, Otse and Keng.

- Failure to comply with any of the above stipulated conditions and those furnished in the application will result in the immediate cancellation of this permit.

4. Thank you.  
Yours faithfully,

Nonofu K. Kjelepula  
**For/Permanent Secretary**

**APPENDIX FOUR (b)**



**REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA**

To: Mr. Kenneth B. Dipholo  
P.O.BOX 601839  
GABORONE

Dear Sir,

**RE: APPLICATION FOR VARIATION OF YOUR RESEARCH PERMIT:  
YOURSELF**

1. Reference is made to your letter of October 10, 2005 through which you apply for variation of your Research Permit by substituting Dibete for Keng.
2. Authority is granted for you to conduct research in Masunga, Khumaga, Otse and Dibete instead of Keng. Dibete is now substituted for Keng in your Research Permit referenced FDPC 71/6/25 XVII (82) of May 30, 2005.

Yours Faithfully,

Nonofa Kejelepula  
**For/Permanent Secretary**