The impact of Non Governmental organisations (NGOs) on Sustainable Development in Botswana

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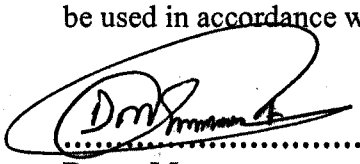
Dedication

In memory of my late mother Mrs. Galefele Mosweunyane.
She was a conscientious woman whose spirit lives on.

Statement of Originality

This serves to certify that I, Dama Mosweunyane authored this thesis entitled, 'The impact of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) on Sustainable Development in Botswana'. It was supervised by Dr. G. Harrison and Professor Jean Grugel as first and second supervisor respectively. I do declare that the work is original and had not been previously published or written by another researcher. Where any ideas from other authors are used in this thesis, they are accordingly acknowledged. This thesis has not been accepted for any qualification in whole or in part by any institution or University.

This thesis is submitted to the Department of Politics in the University of Sheffield and will be used in accordance with legislations prescribed by the aforementioned institution.



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Dama Mosweunyane

5/05/2010

Date

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who have virtually no material possessions can amid their daily hardships and challenges become epitome of kindness and generosity towards strangers.

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Thank you very much.

Le kamoso bagaetsho!!

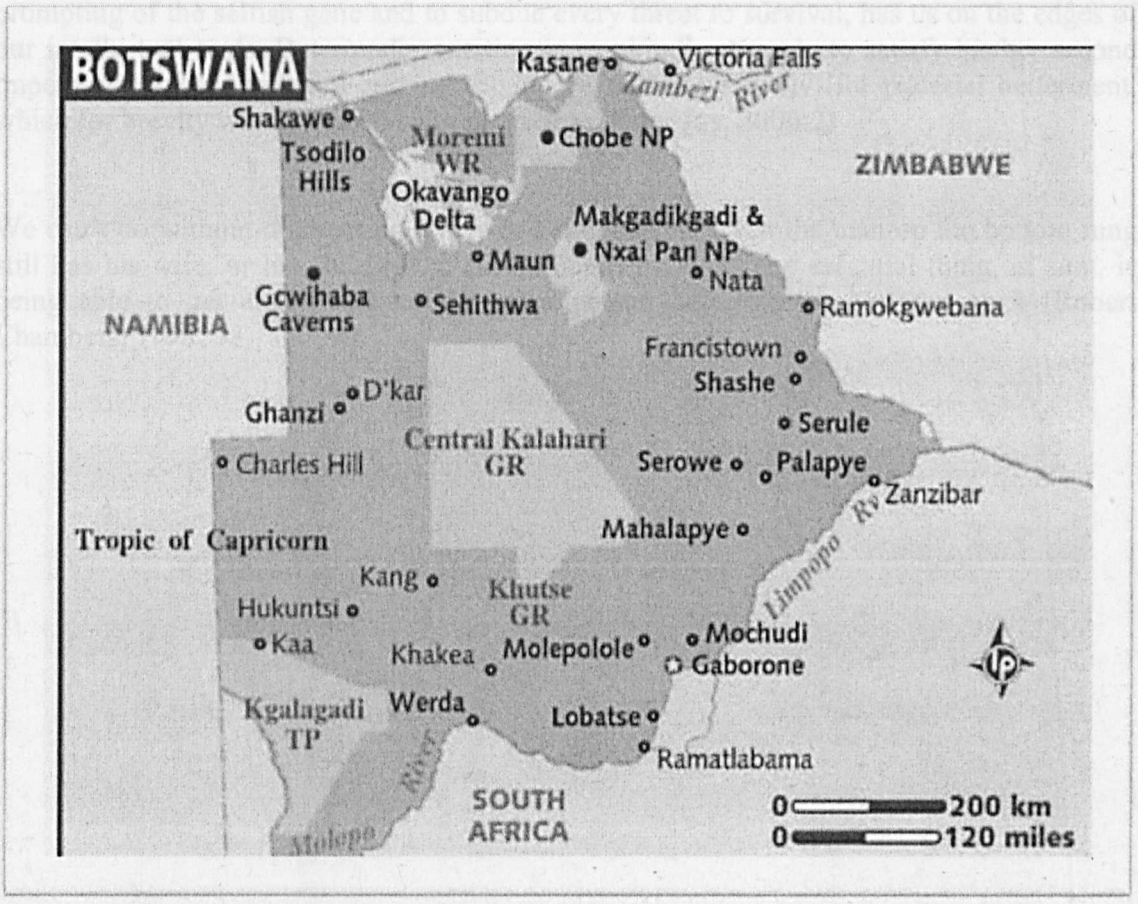

Fig 1: Map of Botswana, a country where the study was conducted (source: www.pickatrail.com/jupiter/map/botswana.gif)

The account of mankind's perennial and ubiquitous urge to reproduce, to obey the prompting of the selfish gene and to subdue every threat to survival, has us on the edges of our intellectual seats. But equally exciting is mankind's struggle to satisfy his/her second imperative, the individual's craving separately, and collectively, for material betterment, which for brevity we may call wealth or welfare (Peter Jay, 2000:2)

We can't do without dominating others or being served. Even the man on the bottom rung still has his wife, or his child, if he's a bachelor, his dog. The essential thing, in sum, is being able to get angry without the other person being able to answer back (Robert Chambers, 1999: 58).

Abstract

Development of Africa has featured in many debates, writings and researches about the continent. It is vivid that there exist a lot of theories that compete for the attention of the continent. This is primarily because there is no approach that can be said to be most suitable for rescuing the continent from its deprivation and economic backwardness. Botswana is a country that unlike others in the continent seems to be doing exceptionally well both economically and politically. However, some experts are not credulous to take the praises that are directed at Botswana without raising questions. They echo that underneath the praises exists abysmal poverty amongst the citizens of this glorified country. The existence of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in this country gives hope to many people who are relegated to deprivation and want, in a country that is acclaimed for its political and economical prosperity.

This study attempts to demonstrate that Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are useful in development. However, they are faced with immense challenges that render them economically and politically powerless. Amongst those challenges is their inability to generate their own resources to fund their own projects, which inevitably makes them dependent on resources from the donors or governments. Most studies on NGOs have indicated that the problem of lack of resources have some negative impact on their relationship with their beneficiaries. This is often as a result of pressure that they exact on their beneficiaries to meet terms and conditions that are drawn by the funding agencies. This arrangement fundamentally defeats the ideals of Sustainable Development that advocates for active participation of those people that are directly affected by their interventions. It comes to light that even in cases where NGOs display some willingness to involve their beneficiaries in their activities; it is always not easy due to insurmountable task of parrying influence from governments. The government of Botswana for instance, maintains its power over disempowered communities, so that it can act unilaterally without having to face resistance from politically and economically empowered communities.

This study pointed out to the problem that is caused by the exclusion of NGOs by governments from their policies formulation structures. For instance, the government of Botswana used policies that were formulated through consultancies instead of those that are

inputted by poor people through NGOs. It has to be made clear that even where NGOs attempt to enlist on the active participation of poor people, such efforts are usually undermined by their unwillingness to formulate some withdrawal strategies. These strategies could fundamentally strengthen their quest to empower communities to realise both acceptable and necessary socio economic and political levels of development. There is a tendency for NGOs to give communities some falsified impression that they would always be available to assist them. This is often not communicated, but has a significant bearing in encouraging dependency of communities on NGOs and other development agencies. Interestingly, this study has found out dependency to be amongst the reasons why Sustainable Development, like other attempts made before, to have not succeeded.

This study demonstrates adequately that NGOs in Botswana did not have any impact on Sustainable Development. It is evident that with programmes and projects that NGOs obtrude on communities that they targeted, their beneficiaries are not empowered enough to sustain their level of economic and political development. They also do not get empowered to account for environmental resources that are supposed to be under their charge. The beneficiaries do not also account for the resources that are made available to them by the donors through NGOs. The beneficiaries cannot demand accountability from their civil leaders because they are not empowered to do that.

Operational Definitions and Abbreviations

In this study the following terms will be defined as follows:

AIDS- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome or Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ALDEP- Arable Land Development Programme

Basarwa - An ethnic group of people also know as San, who are economically and politically deprived in Botswana. Basarwa are found in southern part of Africa and are also derogatorily referred to as Bushmen.

Beneficiaries – The members of a community who are provided with any form of assistance by NGOs.

BIDPA – Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis.

BNDP- Botswana National Development Plans

BOPA – Botswana Press Agency

BOTA – Botswana Training Authority

BMC – Botswana Meat Commission

CBOs – Community Based Organisations

CCFs – Chinese Construction Firms

CITES – Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna

Community Development (CD) – Obtained from Community Development Handbook (1970:p.1) is the definition of community development and goes thus:

The democratic process of involving communities in planning for the type of society they wish for themselves and future generations. Community development involves the projection of community problems, seeking solution to these problems and evolving a work pattern that will effect the desired standard objectives. The aim of community development exercise is to assist build self-relevant communities conscious of their status to add their contributions to independent Botswana.

Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE) – A development NGO in Botswana.

DVET – Department of Vocational Education and Training

e.g – (exempli gratia) means, for example.

EU- European Union

FAO- Food and Agricultural Organisation

HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus

i.e – (id est) means, that is.

INGOs – International Non Governmental Organisations

Kgotla – Is a traditional meeting place where decisions concerning either a specific community or a nation of Botswana are made. The proceedings at the kgotla are presided over by the chief, who is a traditional leader.

MEWT – Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism.

MLHA – Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs

MoE – Ministry of Education

Naro – Is a member of a family of languages used widely in Ghanzi District of Botswana by Basarwa. Orthography has been provided for the language.

NBCC - National Brigades Coordinating Committee

NCSCA – National Conservation Strategy Coordinating Agency

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) – Any organization that is not government owned or run that plays some role or function in the development process for the benefit of the community.

PDL – Poverty Datum Line

PEAS for SD – Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability (PEAS) for Sustainable Development. These pillars are introduced as fundamentally important for Sustainable Development.

Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB) – A development NGO that is keen in dealing with environmental issues and poverty alleviation.

PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal

RADP- Remote Area Development Programme

SADC – Southern African Development Community

Serowe Brigade Development Trust (SBDT) – A development NGO in Botswana that is responsible for skills provision to young adults. It has a rich history of involvement in development activities geared towards poverty alleviation and environmental conservation.

SACU – Southern African Customs Union

Sustainable Development (SD) – That form of development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCDE as cited by Rao, 2000:85).

Tobin Tax – Simple taxes on currency trades across borders, originally proposed by Nobel laureate economist James Tobin. The tax has since attracted interesting debates from development practitioners and activists, who see it as implementable and having potential to address global crisis such as, poverty and hunger, global warming, deforestation and unemployment.

VAT – Value Added Tax

VDCs – Village Development Committees

WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development

Chapter 1

1. 1 Introduction

The African continent is the most poverty stricken in the world today despite attempts to make it realise its development. It became clear even after most African countries got independence in the late 1950s and 1960s that governments alone cannot make the continent emerge from its economic gloom. The abundance of resources in the continent has evidently failed to alleviate poverty and yet the fear of their deterioration continues to mount. Even Botswana, which is hailed by the international community as an economically prosperous country in Africa, does have a significant number of its people submerged in abysmal poverty. This is the reason why interventions by non-state actors, such as NGOs, cannot be ignored or undermined anymore in the African development sphere. It is for this stated reason that this thesis necessitates the examination of the impact that NGOs have on Sustainable Development in Botswana.

The role that is played by NGOs in both economic and political development of Botswana and in other countries in the African continent, can no longer escape the attention of those who are interested in development. As noted, NGOs are increasingly recognised as an important role-player in community or people-centred development, the latter being core aspects of Sustainable Development, as we shall demonstrate in chapter three. NGOs are extremely important mechanisms in rural development and they enjoy the goodwill and acceptance of the communities. They are often touted as a mechanism to give ordinary people greater access to and influence over the state, therefore mitigating the misuse of state power to enrich elites and entrench inequality (Nzimakwe, 2008:090 and Smith, 2010:250). On the other side, authors such as (Shepherd, 1998) argue that, NGOs may be male and elite-dominated, highly opportunistic and career oriented in situations where careers are hard to come by. Indigenous or national NGOs can also serve as intermediaries between communities and international NGOs and therefore form of organisations, which might make them seem like creatures of the aid industry. Unlike democratically elected governments, which are accountable to their citizens, and firms, which are accountable to their owners and shareholders, NGOs serve diverse principals, such as clients, donors, individual members and staff. They operate in environments that provide them with

immunity from transparency (Shepherd, 1998:244; Hayden, 2002 and Florini, 2003). It is intriguing that there are debates for and against the usefulness of NGOs in the development arena, as exemplified above. There have also been studies that take the language and practices of development as their subject and these have been growing in number. However, NGOs have not been very central to the concerns of much of critical development studies. More often than not, NGO do escape scrutiny and are simply posited as alternative signs of hope against dominant development discourse (Hilhorst, 2003:2). Most interestingly, the connection between NGOs and Sustainable Development in the debates on development is often superficial if not completely missing. It is this lack of line of inquiry that makes it germane for contributions that NGOs make in their quest to realise Sustainable Development, worthy of examination.

A paradigm shift in the development debate occurred 15 years before 2003, with the advent of the concept of Sustainable Development. It has since come to dominate a lot of the debates concerning development- especially regarding good development practice (Sofield, 2003:5). It is the emergence of interesting debates on Sustainable Development that place it as offering some hope to those who are relegated to poverty, that make the concept valuable to any research on development. What is even most worthy is to bring NGOs and Sustainable Development together on any research undertaking.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the impact of NGOs on Sustainable Development in Botswana. This undertaking is important as it does by extension provide an understanding on what NGOs in Africa are supposed to be doing in the development arena. This is possible because the impact that NGOs in Botswana is having in realising Sustainable Development, can serve to provide a broader understanding of NGOs' contribution in similar situations elsewhere. This is possible because the findings generated through this thesis can be transferred to similar situations, through what in research is known as transferability. As ably noted by Trichom, transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings (Trichom, 2002:1).

The argument that this thesis raises is that NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development are not a panacea for development. NGOs are instead, as Shepherd rightly

pointed out, mere creatures of the aid industry (Shepherd, 1998). What this means is that NGOs are not as committed to promoting Sustainable Development through the use the participation of their beneficiaries, which means they do not also account to them in the manner that they should if they are to empower their beneficiaries both economically and politically. In other words, at least in Botswana, the ideals of Sustainable Development are, in practice, seldom achieved or even approximated.

Relatedly, this thesis argues that for Sustainable Development to be realised by the NGOs that are inspired by the concept, they should ensure that the most important pillars of the concept are fulfilled. The thesis concretises this argument by deifying the forms of practice that Sustainable Development incurs. These are Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability. The configuration is identified as PEAS for Sustainable Development, for the first time in this thesis. This thesis seeks to promulgate that participation of the beneficiaries of any intervention is key to the amelioration of their living conditions. This argument is adequately supported by some of the authors such as (Lombardi and Brandon, 1997), who echoed that Sustainable Development (SD) is grounded in the principle of futurity. The principle of futurity is concerned about future generations, social equity and concern for today's poor and disadvantaged. The principle of futurity does embrace participation and places it at the centre stage of SD. It advocates for the consumption of resources with the view that the future generations will have to also use them for survival. It calls for those whose lives are wretched to have an opportunity to participate in those activities that are meant to generate decisions that affect them and pass that trait to posterity. Most importantly, the principle does allude to the significance of allowing people to participate in the decision making processes that ascertains that human activities does not threaten the integrity of ecological systems (Lombardi and Brandon, 1997:16). What Lombardi and Brandon brings to the fore is that, people who are often left out in the decision making platforms, such as women and those who are poverty stricken, should also participate in formulating decisions that are necessary to promote parsimonious utilisation of their resources.

The other important SD pillar that this thesis captured, beside participation, is empowerment. This thesis argues that SD can only be realised if its beneficiaries are both economically and politically empowered. Authors such as (Noppen, 1982), are used in

supporting the empowerment drive, which promotes the improvement of the socio-economic status and decision making capacity of those people who benefit from interventions that are inspired by Sustainable Development.

In regards to accountability, one should consider the extent to which NGOs are accountable to their beneficiaries, as opposed to the International Non Governmental Organisations that provide indigenous NGOs with resources. Accountability is also necessitated from the premise that beneficiaries should also be accountable to posterity on resources that it is their responsibility to protect. This means those who consume resources should protect them against exploitation by unscrupulous individuals and organisations, with the understanding that it is their responsibility to pass them on to coming generations. Simply stated, it means those communities that have resources should consume them with full knowledge that they should be available to support future generations. Finally, the thesis connects sustainability to the other pillars, namely: participation, accountability and empowerment, which as pointed out earlier, constitutes a formation for the realisation of Sustainable Development. Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability are each important in making Sustainable Development achieve poverty alleviation and promotion of the parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources. PEAS are important in exploring the ability of the NGOs in realising Sustainable Development. It is an important vehicle for the examination of the realisation of Sustainable Development by those stakeholders that purport to be inspired by the concept. As it would be demonstrated in the coming chapters, PEAS is important in examining the realisation of Sustainable Development, which is pivotal for this PhD.

Interestingly, sustainability is in some cases equated with Sustainable Development or used interchangeably by some of the scholars. This thesis attempts to challenge the view that SD is the same as sustainability. The thesis presents sustainability as a pillar of Sustainable Development, by advancing distinguishing qualifications which support Richard Baker's view that sustainability and Sustainable development are not the same (Baker, 2008). Whilst sustainability often seems to be primarily concerned with protecting the environment from acts of human beings, rather than protecting human beings and human organisations from the environment, Sustainable Development is concerned about both protecting the environment and human beings from leading wretched lives.

Sustainable Development generally recognises that long term sustainability can only be achieved through economic and social development (Baker, 2008:1). What this thesis brings as a new dimension to the argument is that, while sustainability can be achieved without the participation of the beneficiaries, such as through the use of legislations that are enforced to protect the environment, Sustainable Development can only be achieved through participation, accountability, sustainability and empowerment.

The thesis employed the qualitative research paradigm, which according to Taylor and Bogman, refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Taylor and Bogman, 1984:5). As further noted by (Sherman and Webb, 1988), qualitative research is concerned with lived experience. The qualitative paradigm was therefore selected by the researcher as the interest was to get information as expressed by those that were interviewed for the study, without any attempt to quantify essential information that the respondents provided. The research was driven by an interest in the ways that the components of Sustainable Development (PEAS) were taken on board (if at all) within 'target' communities, that is, communities in which NGOs were explicitly pursuing SD. As such, quantitative methods-with their focus on empirical measurement-would not have been appropriate. The researcher had to gather data through methods that allowed even those people who are down trodden to have an opportunity to be heard. This essentially refers to those people whose lives the NGOs want to transform. The qualitative research paradigm allowed beneficiaries of three NGOs that were selected to constitute cases, to respond to questions through which better understanding of their impact was examined.

The selection of the three NGOs namely: Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE), Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB) and Serowe Brigades Development Trust (SBDT) was informed by their ostensible adherence to SD. Beyond this, they had varying attributes. The difference that obtains between the mentioned NGOs leads to further interesting research questions. Firstly, the extent to which there might be transferability of the findings of the study to similar milieus or contexts. Secondly, how might different NGOs pursue different kinds of projects to pursue the same end, that is, SD. CORDE was strategically selected for the study because of its interest in research. Supposedly, CORDE uses research to determine most appropriate strategies that can be

employed in the alleviation of poverty and parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources. The NGO also holds particular ardent desire in promoting the dissemination of knowledge for consumption by stakeholders, such as community organisations that engineer processes aimed at alleviating poverty and saving environmental resources. CORDE also promotes and provides entrepreneurial training to small and medium scale community projects, as well as cooperatives, that are geared towards ameliorating the living conditions of people who are economically and politically deprived. The NGO has provided entrepreneurial skills to poor people in an effort to ameliorate their living conditions through their own efforts.

PTB is an NGO that got selected because of its focus on environmental issues. Its primary objective is to make sure that environmental resources are parsimoniously consumed so that they can be passed on to posterity. PTB as a measure of saving resources did start some tree planting projects and vegetable gardens for its Basarwa beneficiaries. PTB has a worthwhile uniqueness because it provides assistance to indigenous communities of Basarwa in Botswana. Basarwa communities are the most economically and politically deprived in the country, with a unique culture. For example, Botswana since it got its independence has never had a Mosarwa in any influential political or economic position. At issue is that Basarwa are dominated over by other ethnic groupings in Botswana, as evidenced by their lack of constitutional recognition.

The third NGO that was selected for the study is SBDT, which operated in the village of Serowe. What is particularly intriguing about SBDT is that it is an NGO that had a clearly articulated strategy namely: education with production, to guide it in its endeavour to alleviate poverty in the village of Serowe. SBDT had an individual who most importantly spearheaded its activities on its inception. Unlike other NGOs already mentioned, SBDT confined its activities in Serowe village. This is interesting for this thesis as it offers an opportunity to examine if the focussing of interventions to a particular space has any significant bearing in realising SD.

It has to be noted that the three NGOs that were selected to constitute cases for this thesis had some degree of commonality, which is that they are all inspired by SD. However, the similarity is not so significant to jeopardise their diversity that can compromise their quality

of representation. The three NGOs offer the best different attributes that generates enriched data that helps in broadening and creating some understanding of the diverse implementation of SD within varying social structures.

The thesis demonstrates that NGOs are influenced by various factors which militate against their efforts to realise SD. It is observed that International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs) project their influence onto NGOs in the South. This is usually achieved through the influence-material and ideational- that accompanies resources that are made available to NGOs in developing countries. This thesis also argues that governments in developing countries, within which NGOs operates, do not offer them with the necessary support to enable them to achieve SD. NGOs in developing countries do not participate in policy formulation, making it easier or more likely that governments will adopt policies that undermine the activities that are undertaken by NGOs. For example, governments formulate policies that are imposed on the NGOs, which serve as conduits for both resources and policies. The other dimension to it is that, the exclusion of NGOs from policy formulation, might lead them to impose their interventions on their beneficiaries. This imposition makes it difficult or impossible for NGOs to allow their beneficiaries to participate in the decision making process, which is important if SD is to be realised.

The thesis seeks to find out if NGOs that are inspired by SD in Botswana do contribute towards its realisation, which is viewed in the light of the alluded to pillars. It is this drive to establish if NGOs in Botswana, and by extension in Africa, do contribute towards SD that propelled this research undertaking. It is from the answers that are provided, that better understanding of NGOs' impediments is created. Most importantly, the thesis lampoons the smithereens of pillars for SD, by introducing a new formation namely: PEAS for SD.

1.2 Research Questions

It is important for qualitative study to have research questions because they specify exactly what is to be investigated. They helped the researcher to stay focussed on what is to be directly investigated by the research. The questions facilitated the process of data collection, which was characterised by interviews, observations and studying of documents.

Research questions are useful in keeping the research on things that are directly investigated or measured. They help to provoke answers in order to shed light on the broader topic (Hart, 2001:31). It is important that the researcher develops a clear idea of his or her research questions, but remains open to new and perhaps surprising results (Flick, 1998:47). Research questions are like a door to the research field under study. Whether empirical activities investigated produce answers or not depends on their formulation (Flick, 1998 and Strauss, 1987). What influenced activities is the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable and able to be made explicit (Patton, 2002:340).

It is worth to note that the interviews that were conducted were grossly influenced the questions that follow. The researcher formulated questions that gathered information that assisted in answering the following question: Do NGOs in Botswana have any impact on Sustainable Development? It is out of the preceding major question that the following questions emerged:

1. How has the imposition of decisions by INGOs and government affected efforts by NGOs to help realise Sustainable Development in Botswana?

2. How has the relationship between NGOs and communities hampered or promoted Sustainable Development in Botswana?

3. How has NGOs promoted accountability within communities in Botswana?

4. How has NGOs helped in protecting finite resources for future generations in Botswana?

5. How has NGOs helped to empower communities in Botswana to solve their own socio-economic and political problems?

Research questions do not come from nowhere. The decision about a specific question mostly depends on the researcher's practical interest and his or her involvement in certain social context. Questions stimulate the line of investigation in profitable directions. They

lead to the collection of certain classes of data, even general lines of attack on potentially important problems (Flick, 1998 and Strauss, 1987). It is this line of thinking that influenced the formulation of preceding questions.

In an attempt to respond to the stipulated questions, the researcher formulated standardised open-ended interview questions for both NGO officials and beneficiaries of three NGOs, namely: CORDE, PTB and SBDT. This was partly because in qualitative research open ended questions are asked, which encourage respondents to say more rather than less (Flick, 2009:334). The purpose of gathering responses to open ended questions is to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of questionnaire categories (Patton, 2002:21 and May, 2001:121). The researcher did not use dichotomous response questions. These are questions that provide the interview with a grammatical structure suggesting a 'yes' or 'no' answer (Patton, 2002:354). The questions were structured with the view to allow respondents to take whatever direction and use whatever words they wanted to use to express what they wanted the researcher to know. This was premised on what Patton prescribed as the most appropriate way of formulating questions for interviews for qualitative studies.

The questions were asked in a manner that allowed interviewees to furnish much relevant information, undeterred. They were instances where the researcher felt more information was required than that which was provided by the interviewees. This problem was immediately addressed through asking probing questions. Probing questions helped the researcher to have responses clarified and more information advanced for the benefit of the study. It is also interesting to note that in few cases, some respondents did not immediately understand questions that were asked. This did not occur because questions were not well structured. Rather, it was because respondents simply misunderstood the questions. The presence of the researcher to ask questions was important because where some confusion occurred, clarification was immediately availed. More details on how the field work was conducted are readily available in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

The thesis provides some commentary on the ways that the activities of NGOs in the south are connected to dominant external forces, such as International Non Governmental

Organisations (INGOs) in the North. The thesis provides some discourse that is informed by postcolonialism, which necessitates and promulgates the fundamental importance of interpreting development agendas in developing countries through acknowledgement of their uniqueness and heterogeneity, which is best seen by local studies- the spaces within which particular societies and people exist. The thesis places the importance of power relations between developing and developed countries as crucial in creating a better understanding of economic and political disparities that prevail within them. What the thesis is advocating for is the creation of channels through which voices of those that are languishing in poverty in the subaltern can be heard. Postcolonialism creates an accommodative platform that provides an alternative to dominant discourse that undermines diverse contributions that former colonies can make.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The study has various chapters that are useful in providing information that will sufficiently show how the raised questions are responded to.

The first chapter provides the introduction that lays key concepts into perspective. It discusses Sustainable Development, provides information on the Non Governmental Organisations and Botswana.

The second chapter is made up of the literature review, which provides information on participation, sustainability, accountability and empowerment. The aforementioned are important and are held as cornerstones or pilllars for Sustainable Development. The chapter provides information on the related studies and any publications that constitute discourses, narratives and contributions that are useful in making participation, empowerment, accountability and sustainability more understandable.

The third chapter provides information on the paradigm that was used for this study namely: qualitative. It provides some justification for its use over other research paradigms, such as quantitative. The chapter also provides information on the methodology that was utilised in the study, namely: case study. Importantly, the chapter demonstrates how data

was collected from the respondents. The open ended questions, observation and examination of documents were used to gather essential information. The chapter furnishes justifications on the selection of the strategies and techniques for this research project. Most importantly, the chapter also provides and qualifies information on the relevance of qualitative research paradigm in investigating Sustainable Development. It was found out that both Qualitative research and Sustainable Development are concerned about those people who are impoverished and rendered voiceless.

The fourth chapter presents the first case study namely: Serowe Brigade Development Trust. The chapter generates some discussion that is heavily influenced by responses that were provided by the respondents.

The firth chapter provides information and discussions about Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE). It furnishes some responses that are used in providing information that was obtained through interviews, observations and examination of documents.

The sixth chapter provides information on and about Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB), which is an NGO that forms a case study that was picked for this research. It provides a fruitful discussion that is guided by what transpired when beneficiaries of the mentioned NGO were interviewed. It gives some useful information through a discussion that is facilitated through data that was obtained through interviews of beneficiaries and NGO officials, examination of documents from the NGO as well as observations, which were made during field work.

The seventh chapter provides discussion, conclusion and recommendations that are derived from analyses of data. The conclusion and bibliography constitute the last piece of information on this thesis.

1.4 Understanding PEAS and Sustainable Development

The concept of Sustainable Development is commonly defined as, that form of development that meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCDE as cited by Rao, 2000:85). Unfortunately, according to Baker, this definition has been difficult to implement in practical terms (Baker, 2008:1). This limitation led Baker to formulate the following definition: a process through which there is satisfaction of human needs while simultaneously preserving the quality of the natural environment (Baker, 2008:1). This definition does not indicate how implementation of SD can be realised. The obvious limitation about both definitions is their inability to capture the important pillars that should be emphasised if SD is to become a relevant concept for poverty alleviation and parsimonious utilisation of resources. This thesis offers the definition that encapsulates the four pillars of Sustainable Development, namely: Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability (PEAS). The most relevant definition of Sustainable Development that is published through this thesis is the following: the form of development that is achieved through active participation and empowerment of the individuals and communities, which should be characterised by a strong sense of accountability and the parsimonious utilisation of resources to meet present and future human exigencies.

The best way of understanding SD as advanced through this thesis, is to have the concept influenced by the participation of those people who are ostracised from both economic and political activities. This view of SD broadens the narrow view of it as a concept that promotes the keeping of life-supporting ecosystems and inter-related socio-economic systems resilient, avoiding irreversibilities, and keeping the scale and impact of human activities within regenerative and carrying capacities (Thomas, James and Tara-shelomith, 1995:879). This narrow view does not clearly indicate how power will be transferred to those people who are both economically and politically marginalised. On the other hand, the best understanding of SD that is advocated for within this thesis advocates for the participation of those people who are marginalised, promotes accountability, empowerment and parsimonious utilisation of resources. It is interesting to note that (Thomas, James and Tara-Shelomith, 1995) does connect sustainability to SD. However, the mentioned authors

ignore participation, empowerment and accountability, which are pivotal for SD, as promulgated within this thesis. The thesis provides an approach that can best promote the implementation of SD, with a better sense of purpose, engineered through participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability (PEAS).

Sustainable Development can be traced back to Malthus (1766-1834) and William Stanley Jevons (1835-82), Eva Balfour, the founder of soil association, the International Institute for Environment and Development and Wes Jackson, the American geneticist and biodynamic farmer (Sustainable Development Commission, 2008:1). It is clear that despite SD having been around for a lengthy duration it has never included participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability (PEAS) as part of its configuration. It is clear why SD was brought into existence. Sustainable Development emerged as a result of the concerns about poverty and the detrimental effects of modern civilization on the environment. All of the thinkers mentioned in the previous paragraph were worried about resource scarcity, especially in the face of concerns with global population growth. The issue of environmental deterioration was also raised in the 1950s due to the concern that the environmental resources were deteriorating. At the end of the 1960s some members of the Rome Club issued a warning that everyone should be aware that certain economic activities were causing serious harm to the planet. This view about SD served to confine it to sustainability, which promotes the understanding of the concept as concerned with the use of environmental resources with a view of passing them on to future generations.

Despite warning about the deterioration of global resources, no significant activity took place until in 1972, when a United Nations Summit on the environment alerted countries to the exhaustion of natural resources (Veolia Environment, 2006:1). A considerable number of discussions that were stimulated led to a lot of contributions on Sustainable Development. However, SD remained generally trapped within an ecological resource management concern which marginalised issues of human action and social relations. The other limitation was also that natural resources were described and mapped, but most studies did not give any guidance on how these resources were to be used on a sustainable basis, or how they could be developed to serve economic progress (Barnhoorn et. al, 1994:17). To cut the chase, Sustainable Development (SD) did not receive any significant

attention until it was re-ignited in the late 80s with a new shift towards issues on human action and social relations.

The most important attention to Sustainable Development came in 1987 when Ms Gro Harlem Brundtland, a Norwegian Prime Minister, indicated that in 50 years before 1987 the standard of living of part of the World's population had developed greatly, but that on the other hand, ecological damage was huge. Ms Gro Harlem Brundtland is recognised as having used the term, 'Sustainable Development' for the first time to describe how behaviour would have to change so that people can become aware of the need to protect future generations, by curtailing excessive consumption of natural resources (Veolia Environment, 2006 and Daly, 1991). This observation by Brundtland led to the creation of The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which its role was to make SD become central guiding principle of the United Nations, governments and private institutions, organisations and enterprises. WCED critical objective was to preserve peace, reviving growth and changing its quality, remedying the problems of poverty and satisfying human needs, addressing the problems of population growth and of conservation and enhancing the resource base, reorienting technology and managing risk, and merging environment and economic decision making (United Nations, 1987:1 and Daly, 1991:1). Sustainable Development became a challenge to the conventional form of development, which sees development as simply modernisation of the globe along Western lines, for example, Western form of development that promotes economic growth through the use of industries that emit effluents that damage environmental resources. Instead, the role of Sustainable Development was to emphasise 'appropriate' or 'intermediate' technologies that increase resource productivity (development), rather than technologies for increasing the resource through-put itself (growth). The commission served to give SD a new direction, where those affected by the process are called upon to participate (Pepper as cited by Baker, 2006: 1). What is clear is that this call to allow disempowered people to participate was not actualised with the view of clearly bringing accountability, participation, empowerment and sustainability together. For example, WCED did not explicitly demonstrate how the people in the South will be involved in the global decision making processes on international bodies such as United Nations and World Bank.

At the WCED and the various stakeholders who took part made it clear that Sustainable Development was intended to overcome some of the problems that are associated with modernisation. Modernisation is understood to be a system for multinational control of trade and capital without restriction from nation states. It is based on neo-classical economic theory, and promoting and supporting capitalist economic development. This perspective assumes that the Western model of economic growth is applicable elsewhere, and that the introduction of modern technologies is important for development. Evidence of modernisation can be readily observed in local-level projects that aim to persuade people to adopt technologies, and also in the macro-level policies of governments and aid organisations that pressure Third World countries to sacrifice education and human services for economic growth (Scott, 1996:151 and Melkote and Steeves, 2001:34). Most of the stakeholders who took part on WCED deliberated on what Sustainable Development has to be geared towards. Amongst them was Aristides Katoppo, who captured important points that form an important contribution towards Sustainable Development. Aristides Katoppo asserted that:

> I think this commission should give attention on how to look into the question of more participation for those people who are the object of development. Their basic needs include the right to preserve their cultural identity, and their right not to be alienated from their own society, and their own community. So, the point I want to make is that we cannot discuss environment or development without discussing political development. And you cannot eradicate poverty, at least not only by redistributing wealth or income, but there must be more redistribution of power (United Nations, 1987:31).

The commission also opened up debates on Sustainable Development which centred on our relationship with the natural world, about what constitutes social progress and about the character of development, both in the North and the South, in the present and into the future (Baker, 2006:1). This brought the focus more clearly onto the issues of poverty. Poverty was not only seen as an evil in itself by the commission, but Sustainable Development required meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all, the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. The commission also concluded that a world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes (United Nations, 1987:8). The commission revitalised and reoriented discussions and deliberations on environment and development and enhanced understanding of the causes of present environmental and development problems, as well as demonstrating the ways in which they

transcend institutional frontiers and in opening new perspectives on the interrelationship between environment and development as a guide to the future (United Nations, 1987:2).

It is important to state that as Daly noted, Sustainable Development did not have operational content and logical consistency (Daly, 1991:6). This means the concept articulated its broad ambitions without providing strategies that could be actualised for desired results. For example, poverty alleviation was pronounced as a priority without ways on how it will be alleviated, how participation will be enhanced in its alleviation, how accountability amongst poverty stricken communities will be promoted and how such communities will be empowered.

Some questions that emerged from the commission still remain unanswered. For instance, it was emphasised that countries should draw up Sustainable Development strategies, the goals of which was to ensure socially responsible economic development while protecting environmental resources for the benefit of future generations. However, this recommendation was not accompanied by an explanation on what socially responsible goals are, how far we should protect the resources base and what legitimate interests of future generations were to be protected (Beckerman, 1994:192). This is an indication that SD was never directed through bringing any formation such as PEAS. They was no clear explanation on how participation would be realised, how institutions and organisations were to account to their constituents, how sustainability was to be realised amid growing demand for resources by multinational corporations and how economic and political empowerment will be achieved for those who are marginalised. Even where participation and sustainability featured in the discourses meant to give SD a new direction, such pillars were often disjointed and or lacking in content.

In 1992, the United Nations held a conference on the environment and development in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), known as the Earth Summit. One of the decisions was Agenda 21, a joint program for the implementation of Sustainable Development in the 21st century, the Rio declaration on the environment and development, and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the convention on biological diversity, and agreements on desertification and fishing on the high seas. A year before the conference referred to above, Herman E. Daly an economist in the World Bank, made an important contribution to

Sustainable Development. He indicated that poverty reduction will require population control and re-distribution aimed at limiting wealth inequalities. He further noted that these implications of Sustainable Development are too radical to be openly affirmed, but they cannot be sustainably evaded (Daly, 1991:7).

What is important to note is that Daly's contribution did not indicate whose responsibility it was to control the population and redistribution of wealth. It also did not indicate where the resources would come from for that undertaking to be realised. It further failed to indicate how a sustainable consumption of resources would be realised against other interests, such as those of multinational corporations that command massive influence in the political and economic arena. Over time, conferences have been held on SD in various places and yet they did not come close to realising the need to bring participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability pointedly together.

The emergence of PEAS that is presented through this thesis serves to make poverty alleviation and parsimonious consumption of finite resources the responsibility of those who are directly affected. SD in the use of PEAS provides an avenue by which both economic and political disparities can be curtailed. For instance, through participation, empowerment and accountability, poor people can be rescued from poverty through their own efforts. There is no how SD can alleviate poverty unless there is a deliberate effort to economically empower those who are languishing in poverty and to make them accountable for resources that they receive.

In 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (South Africa) was attended by 22,000 delegates amongst them representatives of NGOs. The summit ended with a commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 5.2% during the next ten years and to bring together governments and people to implement joint plan of action (Veolia Environment, 2006:1). What is clear is that even at this summit there were no deliberate efforts employed to discuss how the economically and politically disempowered members of communities in developing countries, would be assisted in the face of proposed reductions. Accountability to the poverty stricken communities in developing countries by decision makers was undermined if not deliberately ignored. The participation, accountability and empowerment of the poor were once more not discussed to usher

reforms to the concept of SD. The focus of the discussion was directed at saving environmental resources and addressing economic deprivation without explicitly making pillars of SD, namely: PEAS the main focus. This was despite the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development of 1987 having shifted the focus from means of remedying environmental degradation to a preventive and human-centred approach to Sustainable Development (Chanda, 2000:495). This thesis believes strongly that an opportunity for SD to adopt PEAS as its pillars, to truly become human-centred, should have been grasped at least at Johannesburg summit. This is owing to the summit having been held in the twenty first century with evidence that poverty and deterioration of environmental resources was continuing unabated.

Lack of participation of poor people in re-defining SD is problematic in two major ways. Firstly, it has denied developing countries taking a lead in formulating strategies that can be employed for the alleviation of poverty and protection of their environmental resources. This arrangement has perpetuated dominance in decision making by developed countries on issues that affect developing countries. Secondly, marginalisation of poor people in decision making on matters that pertain to SD has denied them opportunities to inject their influence emanating from their experiences and aspirations. This means SD has remained in the bosom of powerful forces, which made it less responsive to the challenges that face those who are economically and politically disadvantaged. Even where SD was re-directed at helping the disempowered, such as where it attempted to reverse colonial rural development approach, which narrowly focused either on securing labour supplies for mines or commercial agriculture from rural areas, which produced raw materials cheaply for the metropolitan industries (Shepherd, 1998:23), it did not promote the participation and empowerment of those who are relegated to the periphery. This partly explains why there is still a strong feeling that development remains a value-laden concept, whose definition often reflects the values of the definer (Lancaster, 1999:241). PEAS is geared towards transforming SD to create an opportunity for those who are voiceless to have a voice, by promoting their participation and enhancing their empowerment. This can be achieved if those who are inspired by SD get to take it as their responsibility to account to those who are often marginalised on the process. SD should allow the beneficiaries of development to decide the form their development should take and be empowered to generate meaningful

decisions and take part in their development, which should be guided by their own agendas and priorities (Veolia Environment, 2006:1 and Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2006:8).

The participation of beneficiaries that the WCED and other forums necessitated was embraced without bringing to the fore other important pillars for SD, namely: empowerment and accountability. In other words, PEAS was not formulated to give SD some new focus to enable the concept to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources through the efforts of those who are directly affected. This thesis serves to highlight such disjointed efforts and ushers a new lexicon for SD, which will go a long way to make it more realistic and appealing to stakeholders in the development arena. It is clear that SD has often demonstrated interest in protecting the environment. However, this objective is often not accompanied by the drive to empower poor people to take full control over their resources.

It is important to note that Sustainable Development, sustainable agriculture, participation, women's involvement, indigenous knowledge and integration are phrases and words which are usually uttered ritualistically when need arises. They fall easily off the tongue or from the pen, but are less easily translated into reality, precisely because they are difficult (but not impossible) for the development industry to realise (Shepherd, 1998:19). The obvious challenge for SD is its lack of valuable strategies that can be actualised to make it more beneficial to those who are submerged in poverty. SD has continued to utter promissory slogans from the experts, such as the biologists and the tropical ecologists, despite all efforts to free it from such bondage. It is therefore important to note that through PEAS, SD is not only demystified, but it can be made suitable for implementation and evaluation. For instance, the level of participation of the disempowered or lack thereof can be determined, accountability to the beneficiaries by the organisations and institutions can be determined; the level of empowerment an intervention is making can be evaluated and the impact that the activities of development are making can be determined.

It is clear that SD has always generated intriguing discourses. However, the concept has not clearly stated what it stands for against other competing economic and political considerations. For example, SD is portrayed as having concern for both human welfare and ecological health, which offers hope and encouragement both to those who are

appalled by the amount of extreme poverty and those who do not accept that, economic 'success' can be satisfactorily gauged by quantitative economic indicator such as Gross National Product (GNP) (Reid, 1995:xiv).

In its current form, SD will struggle to find ways by which economic growth which is closely linked to simple development can be harmonised, so as not to pose any danger to natural resources (Agrawal, 2005:xi), without success. It is worth noting that Sustainable Development on its re-emergence from the Commission required a utopian vision of a world order in which the relationship between the human world and the natural environment is structured differently from the one that underpins capitalist accumulation that is associated with capitalism. To realise goals of SD, it must be liberated from the embeddedness in the ideology and institutional parameters of capitalism. This calls for a departure from the current reformist character of development theory and the practice and articulation of an alternative vision of political economy, as well as a politically strong commitment to realising it. The endeavour should be global in scope: not in an attempt to create a homogenous World order but rather to prevent social diversity from being reconfigured and disciplined according to the imperatives of capital. The state must play a pivotal role if social transformative efforts are to bear fruit and break through the impasse capitalism has imposed on realising the goals of SD (Fernando, 2003:27). It is worth noting that governments in the developing world are not always accountable to their rural populations, which allow the exploitation of resources from such communities without them directly benefitting. There is currently some concern that the exploitation of resources may get aggravated. As noted by Taylor and Mokhawa, environmental resources are getting exploited at an alarming rate, with emerging forces such as China joining the exploitative regimes in Africa (Taylor and Mokhawa, 2003). This situation can only be overcome through SD that embraces PEAS, since exploitative forces within countries like China can be curtailed through the empowerment of communities, and accountability of such forces directly to such communities. It is worth mentioning that poor communities are still sites of resource exploitation by extra-local interests. Thus, they inconveniently find themselves sitting on top of high value resources of which they have little to no ownership (Glasmeier and Farrigan, 2003:132).

PEAS for SD advocates for the galvanising of efforts by those inspired by the concept to transfer power from where it is centralised to the impoverished communities, so that they can have full control over their destinies. This view is partly supported by environmental economists who see growth via market mechanisms as variously perpetuating poverty and underdevelopment, deepening economic and social disparities, giving privileges to a wealthy minority at the expense of the majority, exhausting and dispersing a one-time inheritance of natural capital and marginalising communities that depend on environmental resources (Daly and Cobb, 1994 and Ehrlich, 1994). This is clearly what justifies the need for PEAS within SD, with its deliberate endeavour to empower those who do not benefit from economic and political prosperity of their respective countries.

Botswana can be mentioned as a country with economic and political prosperity that does not benefit majority of its citizens. It can be argued that Botswana is not a sustainable society, in the sense of being foresighted, flexible and wise enough not to undermine either its physical or its social systems that provide the required support for those in need (Meadows, Meadows and Randers, 1992:209). It is a country that does not foster accountability by government to its citizens, their empowerment and their participation. This situation has to a large extent denied the country a culture that brings non state actors, such as NGOs, to promote participation and empowerment of those who are ostracised from both political and economic activities. We will see these characteristics embedded within the case studies reviewed in later chapters.

The re-defining of the concept of Sustainable Development by the World Commission on Environment and Development did not prevent it from some confusion on its utilisation and interpretations. It is considered as having different origins, but also different meanings. These different origins, in combination with the overwhelming academic and political attention over the past years, have given Sustainable Development the characteristics of a mega-concept: a term adopted by everyone, encompassing everything, but hardly explaining anything (Barnhoorn, et. al. 1994:19). Part of the problem leading to this situation is that Sustainable Development still presents key conceptual and methodological challenges, (Drummond and Marsden, 1999:2). For example, there is a view amongst some that for some time influenced Sustainable Development thinking, which is that, if poverty is to be reduced and standard of living of the average person improved, economic growth

must remain a legitimate objective of national governments and the world community (Pearce and Warford, 1993:3). What this thesis attempts to do is to argue strongly that placing economic growth at the helm of SD, has only undermined any arrangements to promote the participation of the poor people but also perpetuated their economic and political disempowerment. It has also presented SD as a grandiloquent concept that is theoretical and practically meaningless for poor people to identify with. It is important to note that Sustainable Development is still viewed in some quarters, such as those of neo classical economics, as impeding simple development that is profit driven, that which is based on economic growth (Pearce and Warford, 1993:3). There is still confusion about the role of economic growth and about the concepts of sustainability and participation (Lele, 1991:1). PEAS within SD offers itself as the best formulation by which the mentioned confusion can be eliminated because it brings participation, empowerment, accountability and sustainability clearly together. It strongly believes that communities should be empowered through education and be allowed to participate on those interventions that are necessary for their economic and political uplift.

NGOs can only succeed in realising SD if they acknowledge that removal of poverty, participation of the beneficiaries and sustainability are the major objectives of Sustainable Development (Lele, 1991: 608 and Murphy and Bendell, 1997:2), which should be brought together with empowerment and accountability.

Lack of participation, accountability and empowerment on activities that are meant to realise SD in developing countries has promoted resentment of the concept. For instance, some countries in the South resents strongly the idea that the rest of the world should see fit to tell them how to manage their forests, particularly after the North's exploitation of its own over many centuries (Reid, 1995:184). This situation is worsened by lack of participation and empowerment for decision making by developing countries, on which decisions to protect environmental resources are imposed by developed countries.

This thesis presents participation of disempowered countries and their communities, accountability within and amongst them, their economic and political empowerment, as prerequisites for the realisation of Sustainable Development. It argues that through PEAS, poverty can be alleviated and protection of environmental resources can be enhanced

through efforts of both developing and developed countries. This is essential as it will rescue SD from its inability to address problems of inequality that exist between and among the people of the South and North. It will also make discourses on SD broader and eliminate the narrow understanding of development only in relation to 'developing countries' (Potter et al, 1999: 10). PEAS will also make SD more responsive to the challenges of poverty and deterioration of environmental resources because of its closeness to the following principles: futurity, which is a concern for future generations, social equity, concern for today's poor and disadvantaged, public participation, a concern that individuals should have an opportunity to participate in decisions that affect them and their environment, which ensures that human activity does not threaten the integrity of ecological systems (Lombardi and Brandon, 1997:16 and Selman, 1996:11).

PEAS within SD is important as it makes it difficult for SD to be abused, as is the case at the moment, because it calls for the participation of the beneficiaries, accountability to them and by them and their empowerment. Notably, few development interventions or research initiatives these days cannot successfully attract funding unless the words 'sustainability' and 'sustainable' appear somewhere in the proposal to the funding agency (Bell and Morse, 1999). What this means is that, the participation of beneficiaries, accountability to them, their empowerment and sustainability are not a prerequisite for funding SD projects. SD through PEAS will emerge as a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making and an economic system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development (Elliott, 1994:9).

PEAS ushers SD as an important vehicle through which participation, empowerment, accountability and sustainability can be promoted in poverty alleviation efforts. It provides an important assessment tool by which SD inspired interventions can be evaluated. This is pivotal for this PhD, which aims to appraise the impact of NGOs on SD in Botswana. In the coming chapters, PEAS will demonstrate its usefulness in providing better understanding on what can be achieved through SD that fully embraces PEAS.

1.5 Postcolonialism and Sustainable Development

It is interesting also to note that the usefulness of postcolonialism on Sustainable Development needs to be underscored. Postcolonialism does acknowledge the reality that the world today is a world of inequality and much of the difference falls across the broad division between people of the West and those of non West (Young, 2003:2). It is this same problem that Sustainable Development identifies as of concern. It was observed during SD Johannesburg summit that the deep fault line that divides human society between the rich and the poor and ever increasing gap between the developed and developing worlds pose a major threat to global prosperity, security and stability (United Nations, 2002:2).

A central tenet of postcolonialism is its concern with the ontological and epistemological status of the voices of subaltern peoples in Western knowledge systems and the postcolonial interrogation of the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in development (Briggs and Sharps, 2004:664). On the other hand, knowledge is becoming the chief currency of the modern age and a decisive resource for Sustainable Development. The role of scientific and technical knowledge is particularly emphasised as the main driver of Sustainable Development and the potential contribution of indigenous and mythological knowledge is also stressed (Hamel, 2005:216). A development challenge that Botswana and the rest of Africa is facing has to do with knowledge. The current state of knowledge in Africa, as it relates to the radical transformations that are necessary for achieving a meaningful transition to SD, is far from being on track for at least half of the region (Hamel, 2005:216). This means that even if people who are affected by Sustainable Development are required to participate, they do not have the required knowledge to enable them to make informed decisions to ameliorate their living conditions. This means through PEAS, Sustainable Development should go a step further to make sure that disempowered people get involved in the creation and consumption of knowledge.

1.6 Sustainable Development in Botswana

The concept of Sustainable Development in Botswana has taken various dimensions because of how it is actualised by different actors, but it revolves around ecological

Sustainable Development, sustainable agricultural development and sustainable economic development. The concept is understood as a mantra for promoting ecological patterns of development that promotes parsimonious use of resources through regeneration, recycling and reuse. In Botswana as in other parts of the world, SD remains wanting in promoting participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability (PEAS). It is this limitation that makes PEAS relevant for SD in Botswana.

Botswana has the beautiful fauna and flora, which can be used to attract financial resources through tourism. However, they are some activities that either directly or indirectly threaten these valuable resources. For example, the mining sector such as the copper mine in Selibe-Phikwe Township, emits a lot of sulphur dioxide and other wastes that endangers the environment. The littering of the environment by the mining industry, retailers and individuals is causing a lot of damage to environmental resources. Indiscriminate harvesting of medicinal plants both for use and commercial purposes, has been a major concern in Botswana in recent years. The over grazing of pastures by pastoral farmers is a major problem for the environment as well. A considerable part of Botswana's success has been achieved at the expense of the environment. The rapid economic growth has taken little account of the long-term environmental effects, and economic pressures threaten the sustainable use of some natural resources. The most adverse and damaging effects on the environment include rangeland degradation caused by high cattle densities and subsequent overgrazing (Barnhoorn, et. al, 1994:44).

Poor people are accused of cutting trees indiscriminately for energy use, which may lead to deforestation and extinction of plant species. In view of the preceding problems, Sustainable Development is indisputably not promoting sustainability, which is important in making sure that environmental resources are well protected. This also demonstrates that people in affected areas are not empowered to take responsibility to challenge the status quo and end devastation of their resources. PEAS is necessary to promote participation, empowerment and accountability within affected communities, in order to end the deterioration of resources in Botswana.

Botswana is made up of agricultural communities that are both arable and pastoral. It will not be beneficial for the concept of Sustainable Development to ignore agriculture, which is

the cornerstone of economies of most communities in the country. The agro support services to increase the per capita food production are necessary if poverty is to be alleviated. It is important to note that there is a need for Sustainable Development to provide necessary knowledge and skills to peasants, so that they can increase food production without endangering the environment. For example, the problems of poor crop yields can be addressed through the use of manure and crop rotation. It is indisputable that PEAS is important if SD is to promote agricultural skills provision for the benefit of the peasants in Botswana. The participation of peasants is necessary if they are to benefit from agricultural programmes, which can empower them both economically and politically. There is a need for peasants to be accountable in their use of resources for food production. They also need to employ farming practices that are in harmony with resources, such as land. It is important to note that through SD, that recognises PEAS, communities in Botswana can be empowered to formulate their own conservation strategies.

The climate conditions of most parts of Botswana are affected by lack of water, resulting from low rainfall. The problem of water shortage for both animals and domestic use (portable) is critical. The concept of Sustainable Development has over the years been utilised to inform the water conservation strategies, which are employed to overcome the aforementioned problem. For example, rainfall averages from 650 mm in the North to less than 250 mm in the South West per annum. Flat topography and sandy permeable soils promote evaporation rates that exceed 2000 mm per annum (Finkel, 1996:4). This condition though consistently communicated to the populace, it has never been made important to make sure that disempowered communities participate in the formulation of best conservation strategies directed at addressing the problem. PEAS is important if SD is to utilise the best strategies for the conservation of water in Botswana through tapping on indigenous knowledge systems.

In Botswana, as in other countries, Sustainable Development was initially narrowed to a search for ways to re-direct developments that are more benign for nature conservation (Adams, 1990:184). This was important because the concept of SD is based on the recognition that a nation cannot reach its economic goals without also achieving its social and environmental goals (World Resources Institute, 1994:43). It has to be noted that

imposition of ideas from the government and other stakeholders on communities, at the expense of participation, has served to undermine SD efforts.

It is important to indicate that some NGOs in Botswana, which is a former British colony, have adopted Sustainable Development. However, what is clear is that they do not attach any importance on PEAS. This thesis advances that SD did not contribute to Botswana meaningfully because organisations that claim to be inspired by SD did not attach importance to its fundamental pillars, namely: Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability (PEAS).

1.7 The role of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

In the last decade or so NGOs have generally been described as a force of democracy, or in a more evocative language, as a movement 'advanced by a planetary citizen alliance known as global civil society' (Korten, 2000:1). To some, NGOs are part of the civil society, which is defined as an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities-economic and cultural production, voluntary associations, and household life- and who in this way preserve and transform their identity by exercising all sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions. For most of Africa, in terms of this working definition, civil society would include trade unions, professional associations and other special interest associations and various types of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Makumbe, 1998:305).

The most appropriate definition that portrays NGOs as vehicles through which SD can be realised is provided by the World Bank. The World Bank defines NGOs as private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the environment, provide social services, or undertake community development (World Bank, 2005:1). The World Bank further identifies three types of NGOs namely: advocacy, operational and development (The World Bank Group, 2001:1). This thesis takes a particular interest in development NGOs, which date back to the 1970s (Hilhorst, 2003:12). This is because development NGOs are involved in the alleviation of poverty and protection of environmental resources, which resonates well with what SD wants to realise.

In Botswana, NGOs are defined as legally formed autonomous organisations that possess non-profit status whose primary motivation is to improve the well being of the people. They are service driven and serve in diverse and complex activities that relate to the development processes that promote social transformation and Sustainable Development (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2001:9). The definition that is used in Botswana is closely related to that of the World Bank. Both definitions demonstrate that NGOs are non-state run structures that are supposed to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources.

The NGOs have an interesting history that is well captured by (Clark, 1991) who stated that NGOs gained recognition in the twentieth century in the North, where they concentrated in relief and welfare activities. As problems of poverty and environmental resources depletion emerged, NGOs got more involved in undertaking programmes that are necessitated for alleviating poverty and saving environmental resources. This dictated that they work closely with the poor in ameliorating their socio-economic status. This was necessary because NGOs had to resume the new role of carers of the poor if their work was to be effective. They needed to address the root cause of suffering, not just the symptoms, and this involves taking sides and supporting the poor in the grassroots struggles (Rice and Ritchie, 1995:254 and Clark, 1991:19).

It is noted that due to poverty, the 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of more NGOs that moved their focus into development activities (Clark, 1991). Clark further echoes that, following a realisation that relief only attacked the symptoms of poverty, the NGOs with the new initiative moved more towards increasing the capacity of the poor people to meet their own needs, with their own resources. They promoted local participation through implementing projects in direct collaboration with target beneficiary groups (Marcussen, 1996:408). However, NGOs conveyed the modernising idea and thought of North-South technology transfer, ideological and Northern expertise importation into countries in the South (Clark, 1991). This arrangement is laden with examples of projects that were designed to introduce new technologies and production schemes that helped destroy local capacities and the fabric of social structures (Gordenker and Weiss, 1995:551). For example, some projects were implemented and evaluated by the NGOs with less

participation of such communities, which undermined the capacity of communities to continue running such projects when the NGOs withdrew support.

The NGOs got involved in addressing problems of poverty and depletion of environmental resources because governments felt they were better in doing that compared to the private sector. In many situations it was left to NGOs rather than the market to fill the vacuum left by the state in addressing problems of poverty (Marcussen, 1996:406). In developing countries, due to declining financial resources and deepening poverty, both donors and national governments are looking to NGOs as a means of getting benefits more directly and cheaply to the poor than governments have been able to accomplish on their own (Korten, 1987:147). It is this function of NGOs that renders them as more efficient project implementors, particularly at local level using participatory methods. Another important role is as service delivery agents (in health, education etc.) substituting the state (Marcussen, 1996:408). However, governments mostly in Africa are not always comfortable with the influence that NGOs may have in working with the ordinary people. Mostly, greatest tension arises when an NGO subscribes to a development theory different from that of the government. This is especially so in cases of NGOs which stress people's participation, empowerment and democracy to the poorest in remote areas informed by SD principles (Clark, 1992:151 and Marcussen, 1996:408). It is important to note that participation and empowerment are SD pillars, which means NGOs that subscribe to PEAS are likely to face antagonism from governments, going by abovementioned observation. This is because through participation and empowerment communities can demand governments to become accountable and responsible. For example, a politically empowered community can challenge the government to become more responsive to its needs and demand resources for its uplift from the government.

In the period immediately after independence, there was a profound belief in the ability of the state to manage and steer the development path. The strategy was based on economic growth and a top-down approach which would produce major changes in the living conditions of ordinary people by a trickle-down effect (Marcussen, 1996:406). It does not come as a surprise that there is a school of thought that views SD as guided by the same principle. As noted by Ouattara, SD means economic growth that brings lasting employment gains and poverty reduction; provides greater equality of opportunities,

including for women and protects the environment (Ouattara, 1997:1). It is important to argue that the interpretation of SD according to Ouattara has influenced the thinking within the NGO community that subscribes to SD. Some NGOs though inspired by SD, do not challenge multinational corporations that are responsible for the massive exploitation of resources because such corporations promote economic growth. For example, mining companies in Botswana exploit minerals and pollute the environment and yet NGOs that are inspired by SD do not object to such engagements.

The events in the 1980s got on the horizon that were to qualitatively transform the 'development' arena (Manji and O'Coill, (2002:9). This was as a result of the realisation that development that provided materially, such as providing farming machinery, was not addressing the problem of poverty adequately. This led to NGOs embarking on a transformative process of attaching value on the participation of poor people in those activities that are necessitated for poverty alleviation, guided by SD. This situation was also encouraged by 'Development from below', which became a label for the new, conceptual eclectic approach and embracing of SD by NGOs. For example, the approach argued that small farmers and micro-businesses were more efficient than big farmers and large businesses and that small farmers and micro-businesses were been discriminated against by the wrong state policies, those guided not by general public interest but by particular interests of politicians and bureaucrats (Sanyal, 1997:26). Interestingly, this change that made NGOs to be concerned about the participation of poor people happened in the same decade in which SD was re-ignited through WCED, which necessitated the participation of poor people and directed the attention at problems of environmental deterioration. It is at the same time that NGOs embraced SD in their quest to fully participate in the development of developing countries.

The process of transforming NGOs to promote participation did not explicitly necessitate other important pillars for SD, namely: empowerment, accountability and sustainability. It can be safely argued that some of the NGOs were inspired by the concept of Sustainable Development, but did not necessitate PEAS for its realisation. In Africa, some good examples of such activities that NGOs undertook was to raise funds for community projects from International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs), which were keen to satisfy conditions that were reached through WCED. Some of the support that NGOs received was

meant to make people take over aspects of development from the overbearing, autocratic, inefficient and corrupt states that commonly ruled Africa. NGOs were also to strength people's ability to hold civil servants and politicians accountable for their (in) actions and foster democratic change by expanding social pluralism (Marcussen, 1996:406). The NGOs emphasised the need for a democratic environment to be created for SD to succeed.

These assignments that NGOs undertook were in most cases executed without understanding by the NGOs that they needed to let their beneficiaries take such responsibilities from the NGOs following their empowerment. This is because NGOs, mostly those in developing countries, did not receive any form of training on how they can best empower, account to their beneficiaries, promote participation of those submerged in abject poverty and promote sustainability. The NGOs were not made to account to the people there were supposed to serve, but remained vehicles through which INGOs realised their objectives of undermining powers of the states in Africa and conduits of international aid. Notably, during the past 20 years before 1996, aid channeled through NGOs increased dramatically, from $2.7 billion in 1970 to $7.2 billion in 1990 (Fowler, 1992). It is this aid that made some NGOs in developing countries, which were dependent on such aid, to remain powerless because of conditions that accompanied such aid.

The aid that is provided to NGOs in developing countries is blamed for their inability to enjoy their autonomy in making decisions and evaluation of their interventions. If the donations given to the NGOs are free of all obligations, acts of pure giving, the situation at the other end of the chain that links giver and receiver is very different. Here, the act of receiving is hedged with conditionality at best; while at worst the gift may become a form of patronage and a means of control (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:72). The reliance of NGOs in the developing countries on aid undermines their ability to undertake processes that are necessary if their SD programmes are to be effective. NGOs have generally believed that human and financial resources devoted to policy analysis and evaluation are irrelevant and even wasteful (Gordenker and Weiss, 1995:555). This is a view that is held by NGOs in the developed countries that provide resources to their counterparts in the developing countries. This means that even if NGOs in the developing countries such as in Africa necessitates policy analysis and evaluation, lack of resources for such processes undermines their

capacity to undertake aforementioned processes. This limitation makes NGOs in the developing countries to compromise on the evaluation of SD activities that they undertake.

Some NGOs, mostly in developing countries, are founded mainly to secure funding and not because they are motivated by the willingness to empower, both economically and politically, those people they pretend to serve. It is important to note that they are those NGOs that are founded to serve as vehicles that attract funding and still pretend that they exist to improve lives of the poor and promote the prevention of excise exploitation of environmental resources. This is because NGOs in the South are lured by resources and growth opportunities, which easily stands on their way in realising their SD agendas (Shepherd, 1998:267). NGOs are also faced with a problem of free rider, whereby, a given individual can form and use an NGO to reap rewards of the collective action (Teegen, Doh and Vachani, 2004:465). This situation results in resources meant to empower poor people getting siphoned by individuals within the NGOs to enrich themselves.

The 1980s also saw NGOs speaking out against injustice and deprivation both in the North and South (Manji and O'Coill, 1992:13). The focus of the NGOs had to be in the political domain, supporting those that seek to challenge a social system that benefits a few and impoverish many (Manji and O'Coill, 1992:13). Even when faced with the mentioned challenge, NGOs remained as structures that are registered with relevant government authority in their countries and as such required to abide by state regulations governing their administration (Michael, 2004:3). This means NGOs can be disempowered by governments that are uncomfortable with their activities through employing state regulations.

Some of the NGOs embark in the development of poor people without challenging the status quo that ignores participation of such people, undermining accountability and empowerment. This situation is partly responsible for NGOs not educating their beneficiaries about the importance of participating in the decision making process, which could empower them to make informed decisions and challenge the status quo. It is important to mention that in their attempt to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources, NGOs strive to realise goals of Sustainable Development. However, NGOs in most cases do not educate their beneficiaries about SD and what they can achieve through

it. This is in most cases prompted by the fear that NGOs have in challenging governments and other stakeholders in the development arena on their reluctance in promoting participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability.

Some NGOs do prefer to embrace strategies that are employed by governments even if they militate against their efforts to realise SD. It is this situation that can partly explain why despite efforts by various stakeholders including NGOs, during the past decade, one that was theoretically committed to poverty reduction; the number of people living under conditions of actual poverty increased (Fernando, 2003:6). This situation can be attributed to failure by NGOs in Africa and other developing countries, to embrace PEAS when employing SD in their interventions, as well as to challenge governments to be committed to PEAS within SD. This is despite NGOs been supposed to act as a counter weight to state power, protecting human rights and promoting participation (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:4).

The failure by NGOs to succeed in alleviate poverty and empowering their beneficiaries to curtail environmental deterioration in their areas of engagement, led to the emergence of some doubts on their commitment to alleviating poverty and preventing environmental deterioration. NGOs have played minor parts, doing good works but largely irrelevant to the overall plan of alleviating poverty and promote parsimonious use of environmental resources. It is feared that NGO leaders sometimes push their personal agendas rather than those of constituents that they are supposed to empower (Gordenker and Weiss, 1995:553).

The problem with NGOs in developing countries is that as poverty prevailed some of them claimed to be inspired by SD, which made them embrace the view that 'development' was a process of liberating poor people, both from their oppressors and from their own resignation to poverty. However, few rural people ever get absorbed into the running of rural development NGOs. This is because NGOs are far too often centralised in cities, close to sponsors and regulators, in with the elite, but far from their rural base (Shepherd, 1998:226). This situation is partly responsible for the imposition of decisions on the beneficiaries in the rural areas by NGO officials because their do not spend time with their beneficiaries empowering them politically, so that they can make informed decisions pertaining to their development. It is important to note that imposing any form of development, including Sustainable Development may very well fail to produce lasting

results (Stiglitz, 2002:163). This is because individuals and groups can offer ideas, suggestions and leadership, but the ultimate efficacy lies in the willingness of the people to adopt them as part of their daily existence (Thomas, 1988:352). NGOs can strength the inherent capacity of the people so that they define development goals and draw up strategies for self reliance and be masters of their own destiny (Friedmann, 1992). However, this goal can only be achieved if NGOs gravitate to rural areas where majority of poor people in the developing countries live.

The problem that undermines efforts by NGOs in developing countries to realise SD is their inability to influence global decisions through articulating their experiences and decisions. Whilst NGOs in developed countries do play an important role within the United Nations and other international institutions, NGOs in developing countries do not have such an opportunity. NGOs in developed countries do provide expert knowledge and advice, both to the decision making bodies of the UN and to the Secretariat which implements UN decisions (Rice and Ritch, 1995:3). This has largely been prompted by Western governments, international financial organisations, and donor agencies' ideological predisposition to cutting back the state and withdrawing it from the social arena (Fisher, 1997:440). The neo-liberal orthodoxy was espoused and led by Thatcher in Britain and Reagan administration in the United States of America and infected the thinking of international financial institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund, other Western governments and donors the world over (Reddy, 2003:33 and Tvedt, 1998:4). The imposition of this decision of cutting the state was not done through getting NGOs in developing countries and their governments to understand its importance, if any. This resulted in relationships between the governments and NGOs becoming severed, as governments regarded NGOs as promoting agendas of developed countries meant to undermine their political power. It is this kind of relationship that negatively affected SD activities by NGOs, as governments in developing countries feared to loss control of their populations if withdrawn from the social arena.

In the 1990s the image of NGOs became dented. Discussions erupted about their proclaimed effectiveness, their alleged close connections to the grassroots and their possible lack of accountability (Clark, 1991 and Hilhorst, 2003). This was partly because while the second half of the century has seen some important advances in developing

countries, the underlying problems remain firmly entrenched. Child mortality rates have improved in the wake of medical advances and improvements in social services. But these changes have simply enabled people to survive their poverty, not freed them from it, they are more hungry people in developing countries than ever before (Clark, 1991:3-4).

As discussions on NGOs intensified, it was argued that poverty in developing countries benefits the NGOs in the North through what is termed, 'development pornography', which entails the use of the 'shock and astonish' strategies in soliciting donations (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007). People through the strategy are shocked and astonished, with pictures of poverty and disease from the developing world, for fund raising purposes (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007 and Sankore, 2006). This situation means NGOs that benefit from funds raised through 'shock and astonish' strategies in soliciting donations are likely not to promote economic and political empowerment of their beneficiaries so that they can continue to use their pictures for fund raising purposes.

The other important criticism dismissed NGOs as inappropriate to assist the poor in alleviating poverty and curtailing excessive exploitation of environmental resources, despite their continued claims to do so. This is because NGOs rely on some multinational corporations that are responsible for the exploitation of natural resources and poverty, in order to have resources that they expend on their activities. The NGOs receive assistance from companies in the mining industries that exploit minerals from countries like Botswana, as well as from the private sector that pays lower wages to some of its workers, which contributes to poverty. NGOs cover their costs by tapping into surpluses generated by the for-profit capitalist market economy, an economic mode of production that has displaced all others, on its expansion across the world even into countries in the South (Fowler, 1992:10). Fowler raises some moral issue that portray NGOs as amassing resources for their activities even from entities that creates poverty through their exploitative behaviour. This could be the reason why even NGOs that are inspired by SD do not empower their beneficiaries to curtail exploitation of resources that are necessary for posterity. Despite NGOs claiming to employ SD, SD practices that directly contradict the interest of capitalism are rare (Drummond and Marsden, 1999:19). This is because NGOs in most cases ebb and flow with tides of financial opportunities (Hilhorst, 2003:12).

It is important to note that NGOs in Africa are fragile and weak, as well as ephemeral or short lived. They are also less effective in finding long-term solutions than in identifying short-term responses (Cemea, 1988:3 and Clark, 1991). This situation is encouraged by the reliance of NGOs on ideologies that are channelled to them for particular projects that run for short durations. This means weak and ephemeral NGOs often undermine people's incentives to develop their capacities and weaken their confidence in using their own intelligence (Stiglitz, 2002:163), which is often a result of the pressure that NGOs experience when working towards targets that are set by the donors. What is disturbing is that weak NGOs are likely to continue being weak because they are in a dependent position with respect to the North from which they are unlikely to escape (Fowler, 1992:19).

NGOs in the developing countries, such as those in Botswana, are supposed to empower their beneficiaries and yet they are both economically and politically powerless themselves. The powerless NGOs can't specialise in their priority areas of interest or expertise because of their dependence on overseas donors or government favours. The powerful NGOs on the other hand can speak with authority, on issues affecting the poor and marginalised, and can influence the highest levels of national and international policy making (Michael, 2004:1). It can be argued that in order for NGOs in Africa to speak with authority, they should first be transformed into powerful entities. A good example that demonstrates the powerlessness of the NGOs in developing countries can be drawn from what happened at the first round of negotiations on climate change in February, 1991 conference. At that conference, US-based NGOs came with a position paper, which developing countries' NGOs complained that they were not consulted on, prior to the conference (Porter and Brown, 1991:60). Even with that objection, the conference went ahead to make resolutions that powerful NGOs felt were necessary.

The powerlessness of NGOs militates against the commonly held believe that development can best be promoted by NGOs, because their privileged relations with the local populations enable them to work in different climates with confidence (MGLS, 1990). This view is flawed because it does not differentiate powerful NGOs from those that are powerless. It also ignores the power dynamics that prevail between the North and the South. The reality about powerless NGOs is that, unfortunately, collectively, they have sold their souls for money: offered the opportunity to bid for projects and roles in official

programmes, most have taken these up with alacrity, going for organisational growth over and above all other values (Shephard, 1998:225).

The powerless NGOs cannot promote PEAS sufficiently because they are controlled by the powerful forces such as International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs) based in developed countries. It is this control that undermines their abilities to promote participation of their beneficiaries in their activities, promote accountability, empower their beneficiaries and foster sustainability. In order for NGOs in Africa to become truly committed to realising SD, through PEAS, there is need for them to make a radical reappraisal of their development strategies and roles, as well as taking strategic decisions on how to secure the autonomy of their funding base (Fowler, 1992:9).

1.8 NGOs in Botswana

In Botswana, development orientated NGOs took responsibilities that either due to limited financial and human resources the government left unattended. In some cases, the government of Botswana provided financial support to some NGOs and mandated them to undertake development assignments that are supposed to benefit the people. The most important reason the NGOs are regarded as partners in development and are assigned certain development-oriented functions, in Botswana, is because they are supposed to be quick in addressing problems that besiege communities, mostly those in the rural areas. NGOs in Botswana, as in some African countries, have gained reputation for being swift, innovative and creative and for taking on tasks left undone by the government (Theunis, 1992:7). This does not reduce the power that the government has on what has to be done in pursuing development agendas. The government remains with political power and authority on how development of a country should be formulated, including rural development. This raises a question of legitimacy. The government of Botswana has legitimacy by virtue of being elected into power by the people, which NGOs do not have because they are not elected by the people to undertake their operations. This excuse is often used by the government of Botswana to formulate policies that undermine efforts by NGOs that do not embrace development strategies that the government prescribes.

NGOs in Botswana can plan, implement and evaluate development projects, but it is not made a condition to involve the community members who are affected by their interventions. The swiftness, creativity and innovativeness of NGOs are a disadvantage instead of strength. In attaining the mentioned qualities that are mentioned by Thenius above, poor people are in most cases are denied the opportunity to demonstrate their creative abilities and innovativeness. The swiftness should also be taken with some 'grain of salt' because it means poor people can be denied the opportunity to fully participate in the important activities designed to ameliorate their living conditions. For example, poor people can be denied an opportunity to learn about the activities that are to be undertaken to ameliorate their living conditions just because some projects should be finished within a specified duration for purposes of accountability to the government of Botswana. The swiftness in development ignores that service provision requires closeness to the poor and a willingness to spend large amounts of time in awareness raising and dialogue (Hulme and Edwards, 1997:7). It is important to note that NGOs in Botswana that are inspired by SD to do not embrace PEAS because the government of Botswana does not embrace the PEAS within its development strategies. This situation does not make the government of Botswana support the NGOs through policies that are appropriate for PEAS.

Because of their independence, and often because of their relative smallness of scale, the voluntary body is able to experiment, by doing old things in new ways, or trying out quite new services and in doing so take the risks, which might be more difficult for a large and essentially more bureaucratic state (Mellor, 1985:11). This view suggests that NGOs can conduct their own experiments than the state, which can make them more effective. This view ignores the reality about NGOs in the South, such as in Botswana, which are usually limited by their economic incapacities to undertake such activities as experiments or research, which could inform them on how best to impact on their respective areas of operation. For example, NGOs in Botswana, most often than not, do not conduct feasibility studies before starting their projects, despite this process being important in determining the success or lack thereof of projects before they are commenced.

It is evident that service delivery of the nature described by Hulme and Edwards is common amongst NGOs in Botswana, as it is in most NGOs in the South. NGOs in the South maintain a wide gap between themselves and poor people. They have become the new rural

development bureaucracies, are poorly coordinated and often weakly linked to national policies and professional groups which are far more influential. They are more likely to be influenced than to influence (Shepherd, 1998:225). NGOs in Botswana are influenced by the government and donor agencies. This is because they do not have capacity to generate their own resources as earlier mentioned, which forces them to rely on resources that they have no control over. This defeats their efforts to realise Sustainable Development, which is generically a human-centred construct or arrangement that aims at ensuring a safe, healthy, high quality standard of living for those who are currently downtrodden and for future generations (U.S of America President's Council on Sustainable Development, 1994:1).

1.9 Bechuanaland to Botswana: postcolonial history

Botswana is a developing country in Southern Africa that is landlocked, sparsely populated and shares its borders with Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and Zambia. It rests in an area of 581,730 square kilometres, which means it is the same size as France and Kenya. It is eighty four percent (84%) covered by the Kalahari (Kgalagadi) desert. Botswana is a former British colony that got its independence on the 30th September 1966.

Botswana's economy is dependence on the South African economy, which is massively encouraged by the Customs Union Agreement, which was set up in 1910 as a prelude to transferring the territories to the Union of South Africa. The Customs Union Agreement permitted South Africa to develop the markets of Bechuanaland, now Botswana, and the other members, namely: Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, as integral parts of the Union's economy. The Union was able to encourage its secondary industries by instituting a protective tariff and quantitative imports restrictions. The protection was afforded to South African commercial firms, which made them to assume a dominant position in the markets of union members. The excess between the cost of the South African products and what such imports would have cost overseas fell on the members, amongst them Botswana. The existence of the Customs Union ensured that Botswana could produce very little at costs that were lower than those prevailing in South Africa. Although goods moving into South Africa from Botswana and other members were duty free, those goods only had limited

access to South Africa's vast market. South Africa did impose quantitative restrictions upon goods from Botswana and other members (Picard, 1987:107).

The Customs Union Agreement was replaced by Southern African Customs Union which came into existence on the 11 December 1969, with the signature of the Customs Union members (Department of foreign Affairs, 2003:1).What is clear about the new agreement is that it has not in any way curtailed the dominance of South African economy over those of other members. Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland remained restricted from gaining economic independence from South African economy, which jeopardises the chances of member countries from expanding their markets. This has a negative impact in the creation of jobs for the populations of the following countries: Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland, which are Union members. It is hoped that a draft bill for the establishment of the National Body for tariff administration within SACU, which was approved in September 2008, will deal with challenges that face member countries upon coming to existence in October 2010 (Matambo, 2010:4).

The dependence of Botswana on the South African economy, which is encouraged through SACU, has negatively affected the growth of the private sector in Botswana. This is due to lack of market for goods and services from Botswana within the massive South African market. This arrangement has made the Botswana government to be the main employer at the expense of self employment in the agricultural and entrepreneurial sectors, which are necessary for private sector growth. The public service has been expanding rapidly since independence, as have the rewards attached to a position in the public service. Although having been expanding rapidly over the years, the public sector cannot meet the demand for formal employment, and the absence of the significant number of jobs being offered in the private sector, there is a very fierce competition for the jobs in the public service (Noppen, 1982:12). The situation is also aggravated by the impact of global recession in the Botswana labour market as evidenced by, among others, the loss of employment in the private sector through retrenchments (Matambo, 2010:7).

Disparities are also evident in the public sector and private sector remunerations. In Botswana, the gap between the highest income-earners and the lowest is much wider. In late 1990 the salary of the Permanent Secretary to the President was Pula 113, 380 (about

£11, 338) per annum, while the starting annual wage of an industrial class labourer was P2, 844 (about £284, 40) per annum, a differential of 39:9:1 (Good, 1993:204). This vast disparity in salaries is responsible for the ever widening gap between the rich and the poor in Botswana. This condition is also partly responsible for poverty amongst lowly paid workers in Botswana, both in the private and public sector employment. The lowly paid workers do not in most instances invest or save any resources, which makes them lead their lives as paupers upon retirement.

Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world at independence, with its predominantly rural population depending on livestock and arable agriculture for its livelihood. It however experienced rapid economic growth that averaged over 13% in the twenty years after political independence. The performance of the Botswana economy has developed from amongst the poorest in the world to the current classification of the middle-income country (NCSCA, 2002:22).

Since the discovery of Botswana's mineral wealth (diamonds and copper-nickel), exports in this sector have taken over from beef as the principal export. From 1977 onwards the contribution of diamonds exports to foreign exchange earnings and government revenue surpassed that of beef exports. The commissioning of the Jwaneng diamond mine in 1982 further reinforced this structural change in Botswana's economy from one dominated by beef exports to a diamond-dependent one (Tsie, 1996:599). The beef exports were a corner stone of Botswana's economy, with Botswana Meat Commission having been nationalised in the year of the country's independence. The Botswana Meat Commission's throughput for the year 1966 stood at 132,232 tonnes and increased to 158,624 tonnes in 1994 (Samatar and Oldfield, 1995:663). It is important to note that the need to compete effectively in the international beef market led to strategies that have had a telling effect on the country's environment (Atlholang, et al, 1998:4).

The natural vegetation of Botswana provides the main forage for livestock, but rangelands are overgrazed (Mogome-Ntsatsi and Adeola, 1995:281). Overgrazing is partly a result of commercial farmers who own ranches that were established through Tribal Land Grazing Policy (TGLP) being allowed to utilise facilities within communal areas. The wealthy ranchers thus rotate their cattle between the communal areas and their own ranches, making

communal areas which are to be free from large herds of cattle overgrazed (Frimpong, 1986:11). Veterinary fences are erected to control the spread of diseases in order to protect the European Union beef market where Botswana's beef is largely exported. Migratory wildlife species such as wildebeests, zebras, giraffes and buffalos have their migratory routes blocked by such veterinary fences and hence die from dehydration and entanglements in the fences (Mbaiwa and Mbaiwa, 2006:17).

Decision making within the BMC is the domain of the middle class. Of the 52 members who have been members of the policy-making body of the BMC since its formation, 24 are large and medium cattle producers, 21civil servants, 11 businessmen, 4 politicians, and only one representative of small traditional producers (Samatar and Oldfield, 1995:661).

The mining industry on which Botswana is heavily reliant is highly capital intensive, requiring principally highly skilled manpower which dictates that experts be hired from outside and highly skilled locals be employed. This means the alleviation of poverty through formal employment in the mining sector is minimal. The Botswana government has little control over how the mining companies run their business (Noppen, 1982:10), which marginalises the people of Botswana from making decisions on how their minerals should be managed and consumed. This also means the mining companies most often than not serve their profit motives than dedicate their commitment to alleviating poverty and saving environmental resources.

The mining industry in Botswana provides relatively few jobs for unskilled Batswana (Noppen, 1982:10). This is partly to blame for the remarkable economic growth that is marred by the concealing of the extreme inequalities in the economy. In particular, the majority of the population remain poor and dependent on the rural economy. Poverty and unemployment remain major issues and are likely to be so for many years (NCSCA, 2002:22). Poverty and unemployment in Botswana are also associated with the unequal distribution of wealth (MLHA, 2001:5 and Jefferis and Kelly, 1997:12). The distribution of wealth is very uneven. The bulk of the rural population exists at level which, at best, is only a little above subsistence. Their access to resources such as cattle, but also modern resources, such as education, is limited. Botswana falls into the group of countries with the skewed income distribution. Its inequalities of wealth and income are particularly severe,

both in international and domestic comparisons (Noppen, 1982:12). Conditions of absolute poverty in Botswana still persist (Matambo, 2010:7).

The study on poverty that was conducted in Botswana, which was published in February 1997 based on 1993/4 data, revealed the following striking conclusions:

- Nationwide, 47% of the population was living below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL)
- In rural areas, 55% fell below the PDL, as compared with 46% in urban villages and 29% in urban areas
- In rural areas 40% were classified as very poor, compared to 9% in urban areas. They were households whose income was insufficient to cover food component of their PDL. This means in simple terms that, they had no enough food to eat
- The Central and North East districts, containing one third of Botswana's population, were found to have the largest number of poor people
- The two western districts of Ghanzi and Kgalagadi experienced the most severe poverty, with 71% of households living in the PDL and 59% in the very poor category (BIDPA, 1997 and Barnhoorn et al, 1994).

The major problem that has also contributed to abject poverty in the rural areas is the major decline in the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector declined as a proportion of GDP from 45.3% in 1968/69 to 2.5% in 200/01 whilst mining sector's contribution increased from 0.4% in 1968/69 to 36.5% in 2000/01. The agricultural sector remains at less than 5% of the total output whereas the mining sector is above 40% (NCSCA, 2002:23). This means majority of people who relied in the agriculture sector for their livelihood are left with no means of survival.

Due to the decline in performance of its agricultural sector, Botswana imports its food from neighbouring South Africa. As indicated by Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in its 2009 report entitled, 'The state of food insecurity in the world', 500,000 people in Botswana, which has a population estimated at 1.8 million people, are without enough food (FAO, 2009). This is despite encouragement and assistance through government-funded

subsidies, such as the subsidization of the hiring of draft power (usually tractors) from private farmers by those lacking ploughing resources, and provision of free seed packages (sorghum and maize). By 1984-1985, these schemes were reaching about 25% of farming households (Morgan, 1986:31 and Jefferis and Kelly, 1998:12). What is evidently lacking is information that is generated through research to guide farmers on how they can best improve their yields from available government-funded subsidies.

The reliance of the people of Botswana in arable farming has declined over the years, partly because the country is prone to droughts. Even when there is no drought, rainfall is erratic and unreliable. The soil is generally poor as two thirds of the country is covered with the Kalahari sand. The remaining one third in the eastern part of the country is semi-arid, making some form of arable farming possible. However, even under these slightly improved climatic conditions, drought and erratic rainfall wreak havoc on arable farming (Tsie, 1996:603). Analyses of trends in temperature over a 30 year period show an increase in temperature in both Gaborone and Francistown cities. This trend conforms to the observations all over the globe and perhaps indicates that there is evidence of a progressive change in climate in Botswana (NCSCA, 2002:16). Although it is a popularly held view that the low level of agricultural incomes is because of worse rainfall and temperature now than 'long ago', it is more likely that increasing population pressure has meant that more and more farmers are being forced onto ever more marginal lands where there is little prospects of making an adequate living (Jefferis and Kelly, 1998:13).

The challenge for SD in the described circumstances is for it to promote better farming practices amongst the farming communities in Botswana, through the provision of appropriate agricultural training programmes. The agriculture sector, especially livestock, provides last resort employment and a social safety net. The effective strength of this net may become unsustainable if Botswana fails to pursue policies that will effectively conserve water, pastures and diminishing rapid population growth (Perrings, 1996). PEAS within SD can be useful in promoting participation of people in both arable and pastoral farming activities. This is important in allowing them to share their experiences, which are necessary if indigenous knowledge systems are to be incorporated into imported farming practices.

The rural population in Botswana is not only economically disempowered on the political front; the rural poor are only marginally involved through consultation on issues that concern them. Development and decision-making about development is elite occupation- even when it takes place at the village level. The positions of the village elite and the public servants serve as effective blocking mechanisms to the participation by the rural majority in decision making. The dominant class in Botswana firmly protects its collective interests (Noppen, 1982:151 and Samatar and Oldfield, 1995:652). This is an obvious defeat of both political and economic empowerment of the rural population. This situation is also partly responsible for the depletion of resources in the rural areas in Botswana, because poverty has been and remains a major cause and consequence of environmental degradation and resource depletion. This is because poor people rely on environmental resources for their survival (NCSCA, 2002:14 and Mogome-Ntsatsi and Adeola, 1995:282).

Poverty in Botswana prevails despite the principle of Democracy, Development and Social Justice been the guiding principles for Botswana since its independence. In his address to the nation in 1976, the first President of Botswana, His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama, warned that it would be pointless to seek the participation of all the people in democracy, if development were something which benefitted only a few. Development is therefore not matter for urban centres, or industrial areas alone. It is not to be considered only in terms of mineral wealth, tourist accommodation or modern airfields. The idea of development should be linked strongly with the idea of democracy- but no less strongly with the concept of social justice (Botswana Government, 1976:4).

Botswana's economic prosperity can be attributed to the government's sound fiscal policy, despite three consecutive budget deficits in 2002-2004, and a negligible level of foreign debt. Foreign exchange reserves were US $5 billion at the end of December 2005, equivalent to 22 months of imports of goods and services (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2001:4-6). However, Botswana's economy is an underdeveloped economy in relation to the South African economy and the international capitalist system. Botswana's industrial production is almost non-existent. The country imports most if not all consumer goods, building materials etc. This means it is difficult for the unskilled Batswana to find wage labour within their own country, and there was the tradition, going back three generations of migration to South Africa for work in the mines and farms, a reflection of

the country's traditional role as having been a labour reserve economy (Noppen, 1982:9 and Bell, 1980:405). Since South Africa got its independence, Botswana's unskilled labourers are no longer absorbed by South African mines and farms. This situation has a negative impact in the rural economies that relied on such employment. The transfers of financial resources from migrant workers who went to South African mines and farms, was an invaluable source of income for poor households in Botswana (Noppen, 1982:10).

Botswana is facing a serious problem of influx of unskilled workers from the neighbouring Zimbabwe, which is facing economic sanctions and political unrest. The coming in large numbers of unskilled workers from Zimbabwe into Botswana results in Botswana spending large sums of money in repatriating them. The government of Botswana spends more than P5 million (£50.000) monthly to repatriate Zimbabwean illegal immigrants (Grey, 2010:1). The influx of Zimbabwean unskilled workers who accepts low wages under illegal conditions, add to the worsening situation of unemployment in Botswana.

Botswana is also experiencing the influx of Chinese traders and constructors. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the countries that record the highest number of active Chinese Construction Firms (CCFs) is Angola, Nigeria, Botswana, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, South Africa and Uganda (Che, et al, 2007:455). This influx reflects on the Chinese's companies and firms' tendency to import labourers into a country when engaged to do construction work and other economic activities. A decade ago there was little evidence of China in Africa; today there are hundreds of major Chinese businesses, bolstered by tens of thousands of Chinese labourers and retailers. Over 800 Chinese companies are doing business in 49 African countries including Botswana. Thousands of Chinese retail trading shops are strung across much of the continent, including in Botswana, selling low-value products made in China directly to Africa's population (Alden, 2007:14).

Chinese shops are generally family owned and staffed and rely upon a supply chain stretching back to Hong Kong and the mainland. Criminal gangs from Hong Kong have moved into Africa as well, joining other unscrupulous traders who use front companies to illegally export everything from diamonds and products based on endangered wildlife to China (Alden, 2007:14). The presence of large numbers of Chinese workers in Botswana has not helped in addressing the unemployment problem and poverty that Botswana is

facing. This is because Chinese companies employ only a few Botswana as they prefer to bring with them workers from China. The importation of manufactured goods from China means Batswana does not benefit from working in factories that manufacture such goods.

There is also a problem of Chinese nationals who smuggle ivory to China from Botswana. Some Chinese nationals were arrested in Botswana for attempting to smuggle illicit ivory out of the country to China (ELE News, 2010:1). It is worth noting that the smuggling of ivory and other resources by Chinese nationals from Botswana jeopardises the country's efforts to save its natural resources.

The government of Botswana claims to recognise and re-affirms Agenda 21, which aims at addressing the exigencies of the current population, without necessarily compromising the quality of life of its citizens in the future. The country theoretically has the highest commitment to socio economic development and parsimonious use of environmental resources. Botswana believes strongly in the long term planning perspectives that are grounded on the following resource development initiatives: (a) Human resources development (b) Sustainable use of natural resources (c) Sustainable economic growth and diversification (d) Timely policies, management and decision making combined with democracy, rapid economic growth, political stability, Sustainable Development and social justice (MEWT, 2002).

Botswana is a member of Southern African Developed Community (SADC), which was formed in April 1980 as Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) by governments of the nine Southern African countries of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Regional Economic Communities, 2001:1). The transformation occurred in August 1992, when the Heads of State and government of Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference met in Windhoek, Namibia, to sign a declaration and treaty establishing the new Southern African Development Community. The objectives of SADC are to:

- Achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standards and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration

- Evolve common political values, systems and institutions
- Promote and defend peace and security
- Promote self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the independence of member states
- Achieve complementary between national and regional strategies and programmes
- Promote and maximise productivity employment and utilisation of resources of the region
- Achieve sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment
- Strengthen and consolidate the long standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the region ((Regional Economic Communities, 2001:2).

SADC recommended improving intra and interring NGO cooperation. This is cooperation between NGOs and member states, as well as between NGOs and SADC, which is important in helping member states address economic and political problems such as Zimbabwean economic and political situation (Mbuende, 2000:28). It is important to note that objectives of SADC point out that it is meant to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources of the member states. This resonates well with what SD is supposed to realise. However, there is an indication that SADC has experienced significant loss of revenues, which increased the deficit on the current account of the balance of payments for the region from 3.7 percent of GDP in 2007, to 7.8 percent in 2008 (Matambo, 2010:3). SADC has also failed to deal with the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe because of ever-growing negative competition for influence among the SADC leaders (Zimbabwe Independent, 2008:1).

The political and economic problems in Zimbabwe has engulfed the region, discouraging investment into neighbouring states and donor aid, particularly to SADC itself which depends on aid for its operations (Zimbabwe Independent, 2008:1). Zimbabweans continue to flee in increasing numbers across borders to escape repression and the economic meltdown to neighbouring states, which causes deterioration of environmental resources which they depend on for their survival in host states (Zimbabwe Independent, 2008:1).

Botswana's development performance has attracted considerable attention from academics, policy makers and international financial institutions. Since the early 1980s, Botswana has been widely regarded as one of the best managed economies in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), a 'shining example of liberal democracy' in Southern Africa, an 'oasis of tolerance' and a voice of moderation in regional politics (Tsie, 1996:599). However, there is fear that Botswana is fast gravitating into a dictatorship with incidences of suppression of those who hold different views from those of the government. In April 2007 a list of journalists and researchers was published, requiring them to obtain special visas before entering Botswana. One common theme links them together: they all showed interest in the Basarwa communities. Freedom of speech is also hampered in another way. In 2005 Kenneth Good, professor of Political Science at the University of Botswana, was ordered to leave the country within 48 hours. This was only a few days before he was about to deliver a public seminar on the conduct of Botswana's former president and his vice (Du Plessis, 2007:18).

Since the succession of Lieutenant-General Ian Khama to the presidency in April, 2008, an escalation in the militarisation and personalisation of power in Botswana has taken place. Repressive agencies have been operationalised, military personal have entered government in increased number, an informal coterie of advisers has come into being around the president, and a spate of accusation of extra-judicial killings by state agents have been made. Governance and democracy are thus seriously undermined in what is conventionally represented as an African success (Good, 2009:315).

The situation in Botswana is disturbing because it means NGOs that are inspired by SD can no longer operate freely in the country as they did before. It also means the country's development practitioners will no longer be comfortable to remain in a country that does not respect democratic values.

It is important to note that PEAS within SD is important for SADC member states and Botswana in particular, which served as an African economic and political success story and is now in its twilight. PEAS within SD can be employed to promote accountability of member states to their citizenry, which is important if sustainability and poverty alleviation are to be achieved.

The case study chapters will demonstrate how the Botswana context that is discussed in this section has impeded SD in its endeavour to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources.

1.10 Conclusion

The first chapter of this thesis serve to introduce Sustainable Development as a concept that inspired some NGOs in Botswana. However, the concept was found to be marred with confusion emanating from its lack of sufficient information on how it can be actualised. It seeks to alleviate poverty and promote the protection of environmental resources without indicating how that would be achieved. This is in the light of the prevalence of a system that advocates for economic growth, which undermines efforts for alleviating poverty and excessive exploitation of resources. Sustainable Development has been around for a long time though it took different forms throughout its existence. The concept was supposed to inspire NGOs and other stakeholders, such as governments, in an attempt to alleviate poverty and curb unscrupulous consumption of resources, which could pose a strong challenge for posterity. It is this believes on Sustainable Development that has led NGOs in Botswana to employ the concept in alleviating poverty and saving environmental resources. It did emerge that Sustainable Development despite its lengthy of existence; it has not been fully strengthened and readied for its actualisation. This limitation has enabled some entities that masquerade as acting under the influence of Sustainable Development to abuse the concept.

Chapter 2

2.1 Literature Review

2.2 Introduction

A literature review process is important for any study, if the study is to make a meaningful contribution to knowledge. The review of literature gives the researcher an opportunity to know what information is available in the field of study or topic. It is important to note that:

> A literature review is a critical summary and assessment of the range of existing materials dealing with knowledge and understanding in a given field. It may be restricted to books and papers in one discipline or sub-discipline, or may be wider ranging in approach. Its purpose is to locate the research project, to form its context or background, and to provide insights into previous work (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996:10).

In this thesis the literature review chapter is meant to explore and discuss the concepts that are essentially associated with Sustainable Development, namely: Participation, empowerment, accountability and sustainability. They will throughout this thesis be referred to as pillars. The chapter serves to demonstrate the importance of sustainability, promotion of participation, accountability and empowerment of the disempowered in realising Sustainable Development. The chapter will discuss why Sustainable Development is important for NGOs, which are engaged in the activities that are essential for development. Sustainable Development is important because in recent years it was supposed to foster the kind of development that can meet the exigencies of the world's poor through their efforts, in order to end human suffering and deterioration of resources. This is necessitated by the realisation that communities live beyond their means, without taking proper care of the environment, which results in the depletion of the resources that are important to people now and in the future.

The World body; United Nations has also come up with the Millennium development goals that amongst them have specified the need to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, promote gender equality and empower women, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development. It is in the light of this development that it becomes even most important to place participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability into perspective as important pillars for Sustainable Development.

There is no doubt that Sustainable Development can be instrumental in eradicating poverty and protecting the environment. This cannot be achieved if participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability are not entertained as fundamental pillars for Sustainable Development.

Sustainable Development has become the watchword for international aid agencies, the jargon of development planners, the theme of conferences and learned papers, and the slogan of developmental and environmental activists. For example, conservation organisations use the ideas of Sustainable Development to claim to represent the true interests of rural people and yet they do not allow them space to express such interests or even participate (Lele as cited by Bell and Morse, 1999:3 and Adams, 1990:184).

Sustainable Development should allow NGOs to promote participation of poor community members, so that they can be involved in alleviating their own poverty. The concept should attach value on the participation of members of communities who are economically and politically disempowered. It also should advocate for the participation of the marginalised agencies that are in developing countries in the decision making process at both national and international levels. However, there is concern that Sustainable Development does not promote the participation of developing countries on international affairs. For instance, the NGOs in developing countries hardly participate in the decision making processes at international level. They are just recipients of concepts and ideas, as well as assistance from developed countries. It is appropriate that a thought provoking question be asks. For Sustainable Development to become a reality it is necessary for the livelihoods of the poor to be given priority. But how can this priority be pursued at the local level while the effects of international development systematically marginalises them? (Redclift, 1992:36).

There is a strong conviction in some quarters that Sustainable Development can be achieved through promotion of economic growth that brings lasting employment gains and poverty reduction; provision of greater equality of opportunities, including for women and protection of the environment (Ouattara, 1997:1). This form of approach towards achieving Sustainable Development does not clearly attach value on participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability. It therefore militates against pillars that are necessitated for the literature review section of this study.

2.3 Participation, Accountability, Empowerment and Sustainability

2.4 Introduction

Participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability are regarded as the pillars in Sustainable Development. Participation is the organised effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions by groups and movements of those excluded from such control (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979:8). To some, such as the World Bank, participation is a process through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives and over decisions and resources that affect them. Participation does promote and develop 'ownership' as solutions are worked out to solve problems encountered by communities. This is in the understanding that decisions made in a participatory context are generally more feasible and sustainable than decisions made by experts alone (The World Bank Group, 2001:1). What comes out clearly in both definitions is that participation calls for the involvement of those who are affected by any intervention. For example, it calls for poor people whose conditions are to be improved to have opportunities to make decisions, implement and evaluate them. The objectives of participation include: empowerment, capacity building, goal attainment and cost sharing (Munene, Schwartz and Kibanja, 2005:103). That is why over the past thirty years participation has become one of the shibboleths of contemporary development theory and practice, often directly linked to claims of empowerment and transformation (Hickey and Mohan, 2005:237). It is the link of participation to empowerment that is even most interesting because they are both pillars for Sustainable Development. What this means is that if participation of poor people is

achieved, they could be empowered to make decisions and to rely on their own resources. Empowerment places the locus of control with the individuals or groups involved and not with experts, professionals of the sponsoring organisations. While the professionals may have a role to play in designing intervention strategies, they are not the key actors. The key players are the people handling their problems in local settings and learning and honing their competencies in the concrete experiences of their existential realities (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:353).

Empowerment is often described in terms of processes that help marginalised or oppressed people recognise and exercise their agency (Friendmann, 1992:78). It is the relocation of the poor within the prevailing order: bringing them in, finding them a place, lending them opportunities, inviting them to participate (World Bank as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2004:78). Empowerment requires that power shifts from where it is concentrated to those people who are without it. If power cannot change, if it is inherent in positions or people, then empowerment is not possible, nor is empowerment conceivable in any meaningful way (Page and Czuba, 1999:1). It is important to indicate that the people should be politically, economically and socially empowered, if they are to actively participate in development. They should be fully informed about avenues that are necessitated for their empowerment. Empowerment schemes and rules must be transparent (Gergis, 1999:15). When poor people are empowered they stand a better chance of demanding accountability and becoming accountable themselves. For example, if poor people cherish accountability, they take responsibility to parsimoniously utilise resources knowing that they are accountable to posterity for such resources. Accountability is an important pillar for Sustainable Development as earlier noted.

Accountability is the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority or authorities and are held responsible for their actions. It is answerability and implies a duty to explain one's conduct and be open to criticism (Edwards and Hulme as cited by Hilhorst, 2003 and Heywood 2000). It is important for accountability to be fulfilled if Sustainable Development is to be realised. This is because where accountability is undermined, poor people end up without knowing what and how much resources they have at their disposal. They also do not feel obliged to account for actions that they take, such as for consumption of resources.

It is important to note that if participation, empowerment and accountability are achieved, there is a need for sustainability to be embraced if Sustainable Development is to be achieved. It is therefore important at this juncture to introduce sustainability.

The following definition explicitly and correctly places sustainability into perspective. The definition states that:

> Sustainability is a community's control and prudent use of capital, all forms of capital, human capital, human created capital and cultural capital, to ensure to the degree possible that present and future generations can attain high degree of economic security and achieve democracy; while maintaining the integrity of the ecological systems upon which life and all production depend (Viedermen as cited by Lafferty and Langhelle, 1999:14).

What the definition provides is that communities should have control over their resources including their human resources. They should utilise their skills and knowledge to meet their exigencies and utilise they resources to sustain desirable level of economic and political development. The definition is broad and introduces the economic and social dimensions. It highlights that development should be achieved and maintained by the people themselves and not for them. It strengthens the view that democracy is important in development, as it gives the people the liberty to make informed choices pertaining to their lives. For example, they can make choices on which income generating projects they should undertake. The definition qualifies sustainability as having the required strength to safe guard resources that are both natural and artificial, as it alludes to both human capital, which means human resources and human created capital, which means those resources that are produced by the people. It has to be noted that, although most would agree that sustainability implies 'not cheating on your kids', a clearer definition has proved to be elusive (Bell and Morse, 1999:9).

Good assessments of definitions that are provided for participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability were conducted, which led to their use. They were found to be relevant and appropriate for this section because they attach required importance on what Sustainable Development stand for. For example, the definition of empowerment places poor people at the centre stage. Those people who are without any form of economic and political power. However, sustainability have tended to assert itself as the same as

Sustainable Development. In this thesis, a major change pertaining to sustainability is advanced, which would go a long way to distinguish Sustainable Development from sustainability. Sustainability is not the same as Sustainable Development because the former does not advocate for participation, accountability and empowerment. For example, under sustainability, poverty can be alleviated and environmental resources parsimoniously utilised through enforcement of some legislation by the state. This does not promote the participation of the people who would be affected, does not make them accountable and does not empower them to rely on their abilities to make decisions for themselves.

2.5 Participation

Participation in theory and practice can help to foster a positive image of development. Participation can be a wolf in sheep's clothing, a vehicle for a new form of manipulation (Rocheleau, 1994). There is a concern that emphasise is often placed on participation, though that is often just a formal commitment of paying lip service to it (Theaker, 2008:1). The participation of poor people on activities that are meant to ameliorate their living conditions should not be manipulative and exploitative. It should create opportunities for them to make meaningful and informed decisions, which they can implement and evaluate.

The form of participation that is appropriate for Sustainable Development should be informed by the view that, people have a right to a say and involvement in the services they use, in the neighbourhoods where they live and the institutions that affect them (Beresford and Croft, 1992: X).

Participation is interpreted differently in most cases, depending on organisation's or individual's interests. For example:

> Government agencies view "participation" as a means to reach expenditure targets through enrolling NGOs or community institutions in implementation; public works agencies view "participation" as a means to reduce operations and maintenance costs; marketing agencies may see "participation" as a means to enhance an organisational profile, or the "seed" for future markets, while for NGOs participation may mean patronage and reputation building (As observed by Mosse, 2002:29).

The term participation as used in Botswana means the involvement in decision making by all social strata, so that decisions that are taken do not favour only those groups that already have privileged access to resources. It also demands that people take an active part in implementing decisions arrived at rather than leaving this to an outside agency (Noppen, 1982:13). Participation as viewed by Noppen emphasises that people themselves should take active part in actualising their decisions.

People need to participate on those activities meant to improve their livelihood because if they do, they get to experiment and learn in the process. For example, if poor people take part in the running of a project, which is meant to improve their socio economic status, they can learn about its challenges and how to overcome them. This is important because when left on their own, they can apply themselves very well to the other challenges, thereby eliminating the dependency on external forces such as NGOs, for solving their problems. It is very important for people to have capacity to make decisions. Decision making is a very important component of participation. It is on such basis that people should be encouraged to get more involved in decision making (Theaker, 2008:1). This can be realised through training programmes that are designed to educate poor people on how decisions are made and evaluated. It is important to note that where poor people are allowed to make decisions that they later implement, they become motivated. Participation of the people in performing activities that are essential for their livelihood makes them more committed. Participation brings with it commitment, and commitment brings with it great effort, the kind of effort that is required to make any project succeed (Stiglitz, 2002:2).

Participation raises an important point of making people more responsible for judging their situation and finding best ways by which to improve it. Allowing poor people to make decisions is most important for development orientated NGOs because some of them are started and controlled by charismatic individuals, who limits participatory decision making (Wood as cited by Fruttero and Gauri, 1997:762). It is disturbing that some NGOs limit participatory decision making, because they are in most cases viewed as most responsive and flexible than the states (Vivian, 1994:229).

Participation of people in implementing decisions that are made for them does not foster Sustainable Development, which militates against dependency on external agents for

decisions. Participation in development asserts the importance of placing local realities at the heart of development interventions, and the need to transform agents of development from being directive "experts" to "facilitators" of local knowledge and capacities (Chambers as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2005:241). It is important that participation starts at grassroots level, through creation of an enabling environment, which allows poor people to have space to partake on those activities that are meant to improve their living conditions.

It is not always easy for people who have suffered both economic and political disempowerment to participate, even in situations where they are given a chance to. For example, in societies where women are not allowed to participate in the public domain, they will not participate in public meetings as their male counterparts would. They are cases where participation may be at odds with real life situations in poor communities where people lack the skills and the confidence to make participatory mechanism work (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005:938). Participation in decision making in some cases is impeded by allowing people who are not comfortable working with each other to make decisions together. A good example, in Botswana, is where members of Basarwa communities in Botswana are expected to make decisions in the presence of members of the Bangwato tribe. These tribes do not work harmoniously because of a long standing rift resulting from exploitative relationship, characterised by Bangwato's dominance and Basarwa's subjugation.

In Botswana, participation in the 'sense of having a say' in decision making process may be restricted, where only members of the dominant ethnic groups in heterogeneous societies are allowed to make decisions. Where outsiders succeed in involving poor people in local development processes, there may be reprisals against them for defying the status quo (Mompati and Prinsen, 2000:630). Participation is difficult to operationalise in a low trust, low cohesion context where social relations are adversarial and punctuated by mutual suspicion (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005:938). They are cases where participation in decision making is undermined because some dominant groups are of the view that in some circumstances, top-down approaches may well do a better job of bringing about positive change in deprived communities (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005:955). The view that top-down

approaches can promote development is flawed, because it promotes dependency and undermines Sustainable Development, whose emphasise is to shift decision making responsibility away from the agencies and development workers, into the participating people (Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5). This advocates for deliberate involvement of others in decision making, which implies a readiness to work with people rather than to do things for them (Levi and Litwin, 1986:26).

Top-down approaches can improve socio economic status of poor people, albeit momentarily. It is the participation of people in decision making, implementation and evaluation of their efforts that can promote Sustainable Development. It is therefore important for those who want the people to participate in decision making to ensure that they use forms and forums which are accessible, appropriate, familiar and effective (Beresford and Croft, 1993:39). It is only when people can decide on their destinies without any form of coercion that Sustainable Development can be realised. It is important to note that, by allowing people to participate, development becomes a process by which members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations (Carley and Christie, 1992:41).

Participation needs to be practised in the broader spaces of the political community beyond the project level, and recognizes the need to "reconnect" populist methods of participation with more politicized understanding of social change (Mayo, 1999:133). What is meant here is that participation should not be confined to small scale projects, but should be promoted amongst people in a wider social setting, such as in a community. For example, participation of poor people in a poultry project is not enough if they are denied opportunities to participate in decision making on political and economic matters affecting their village. Participation entail broad civil engagement, and it requires that individuals have a voice in the decisions that will either directly or indirectly affect them (Stiglitz, 2002:165), beyond the confines of small projects activities. By involving the poor directly in decision-making and implementation, participatory approaches are said to have the potential to make poverty reduction efforts "more responsive" and development more inclusive and sustainable (Chambers, 1995; Narayan et al, 2000). Through participation, poor people do not only gradually practice self development, but they also contribute to

modifying existing systems that are non participatory (Stephens and Putman, 1998:1). It is disturbing that majority of projects into which most public resources go, pay only lip service to notions of participation, impose their ideas, or operate with restrictive idea of participation (Shepherd, 1998:183).

The reason most practitioners confine participation in decision making at project level, is because there is a tendency for certain agents of participatory development to treat participation as a technical method of project work rather than as a political methodology of empowerment (Cleaver, 1999 and Rahman, 1990). It is important that the connection between participation and empowerment is further highlighted here. This calls for participation to be treated as an important vehicle for transferring both political and economic power to those who are disempowered. Simply put, participation should promote economic, political and social empowerment that is sustainable. The long range objectives of every community action programme should be to effect a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities afflicted by poverty to deal effectively with their own problems so that they need no further assistance (Kramer, 1969:10).

Sustainable Development broad aim should be to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalised people in decision making over their lives (Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5). This involvement is important because within communities they exists opinion leaders, who are sometimes blamed for the economic deprivations that characterise most rural communities. Powerlessness is reflected in the ease with which rural elites act as a net to intercept benefits intended for the poor, in the way people are robbed and cheated, and in the inability of poorer people to bargain. It is evident that in order for people to appreciate the value of decision making, they should be allowed to participate in the process, rather than to be excluded (Chambers, 1988:104).

In Botswana for an example, there is need for what can be referred to as the democratisation of the environmental question. This refers to allowing groups to define, identify, prioritise and suggest solutions for environmental problems confronting them. The democratisation of the environmental question implies recognition of the area specific nature of environmental problems (Atlhopheng, et al, 1998:5). There is a call for democratisation of the environmental question in Botswana because poor people are not allowed to have a say in the formulation of policies that concern their resources. This is a

blow on participation, which can be instrumental in the realisation of the environmental question. People should be involved in identifying their problems, finding solutions and implementing them (Shepherd, 1998:183).

There is a problem that usually makes it difficult for organisations promoting Sustainable Development to educate people about projects before the implementation stage. The problem is that such organisations usually work in arriving at pre determined targets, some of which are prescribed by the donors. The most damage that is common to most organisations that are supposed to operate in a participatory manner is the drive to disburse and to achieve physical targets. In a situation where organisations work towards pre determined targets they destroy participation (Chambers, 1999:224). This could partly explain why for more than two decades development theorists and practitioners have lectured the world about the need for participation of ordinary people in development and yet participation has remained at a very idealistic and ideological level (Shepherd, 1998:179). Participation is most effective when it respects people's knowledge and skills, local beliefs and methods and insights based on years of experience which cannot be underestimated (World Vision, 2003:1). A commitment to participation requires the searching out of all potential stakeholders, especially those with less power, little or no voice, and are distances from the mainstream, whether geographically or in their ideas and allegiances (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2005:4 and Levi and Litwin, 1986:25).

To obtain a cost efficient design and implementation of a project, beneficiaries should contribute more in project planning and implementation by way of contributing ideas, manpower, labour and other resources (Food Agricultural Organization, 2006:1). In many cases participatory development is most successful when implemented by agencies that make developing sustainable patterns of participation and self help one of the primary goals of their field programs (Jennings, 2000:5).

The participatory approaches allow community members to express and analyse the realities of their lives, plan themselves what action to take to change their situation, and monitor and evaluate the results themselves (WEDC, 2002:1).

Poor people are not always waiting for interventions so that they can participate. There is a need to make sure that they are prepared enough through education to make decisions, implement and evaluate them. For example, people who start an income generating project should be fully prepared so that they can make decisions and prioritise them. They should be provided with information on why it is necessary for them to participate on those activities that are important for poverty alleviation. It is important to note that development practitioners excel in perpetuating the myth that communities are capable of anything, and all that is required is sufficient mobilisation (through institutions) and the latent capacities of the community will be unleashed in the interest of development (Cooke and Kothari, 2002:46). It is this misguided view that make most practitioners believe that poor people are always ready to participate when ordered or instructed to do so by outsiders.

2.6 Sustainability

It is important to note that sustainability is an important pillar for Sustainable Development. It advocates for the realisation of the form of economic, political and social advancement, which guards against exploitation of environmental resources. Sustainability is a process that creates and pursues a vision of community that respects and makes prudent use of all its resources, natural, human created, social, cultural, and scientific (Thomas, James and Tara-Shelomith, 1995:877). Sustainability is close to Sustainable Development and it is its closeness that has in most cases made some technocrats and scholars, to use both Sustainable Development and sustainability interchangeably. Sustainability provides sufficient influence on what should be considered as important and executed for Sustainable Development according to this study. However, it can be safely adduced that, sustainability is marred with inconsistencies resulting from various interpretations and definitions. As noted:

> Almost every article, paper or book on sustainability bemoans the fact that the concept is broad and lacks a broad consensus; this is usually followed by the authors' own preferred definitions which in turn add to the lack of consensus. We have tended to refer to "sustainability" in a generic sense, and our discussions of sustainability could be employed to anything which has sustainable as an adjective (Bell and Morse, 1999:5-9).

In this study, sustainability will be understood to provide tools by which poverty can be alleviated and environmental resources parsimoniously consumed. It is necessary to foster a state that is necessary if Sustainable Development is to be achieved. For example, sustainability provides that poverty should be alleviated and an acceptable standard of living realised. Sustainable Development then has to maintain that standard for the benefit of future generations. According to this study, sustainability, participation, accountability and empowerment are the pillars that together constitute Sustainable Development.

It is noted that sustainability has become important because humans might take irreversible steps that could threaten the long-term future of many species, possibly including the human species itself. The extinction rate over the last 11,000 years is sometimes seen as a warning that humans should take a more cautious approach to life management on earth (Jean-Paul, 1993:73). Sustainability can therefore be more properly thought of as an effort to sustain the social and economic development of society, combined with effort to protect natural environment (Baker, 2008:1).

The other most prominent challenge for sustainability is to reduce disparities by capacity building. This can be achieved through the provision of everyone with basic human requirements and with access to the knowledge and resources needed for a meaningful life (Inter-academic Panel of International Issues, 2002:2). The description of sustainability advanced by the preceding author is important. However, it fails to show the importance of those whose life is made meaningful to take charge after they are helped from a precarious situation. This defeats the necessity that is attached on the participation of the populace in alleviating poverty. It also undermines the connection that should be strengthened between Sustainable Development and sustainability.

Sustainability can be realised through collective effort by all stakeholders, including the beneficiaries. Therefore, there is a need for all parties to be well informed and committed to the concept. The common understanding needs to prevail on the significance of sustainability. The concept should be observed and cherished as important by those geared towards alleviating poverty and conserving resources. It is so because; it can serve to provide guidance that can be relied upon for development of the people who are subjected to economic deprivation. It can also be instrumental in the realisation of ecological benefits,

where the level of consumption of resources is minimized. The term sustainability needs to vividly spell out what should be sustained and how it should be sustained, to avoid confusion. It should not remain a theoretical jargon that is distant from practical reality. Sustainability should not remain a concept that everyone purports to understand intuitively, but somehow finds very difficult to operationalize into concrete terms (Gunder, 2006:211). Sustainability, a philosophical goal, provides neither destination nor direction. Once identified and prioritized, however, specific biological/ecological concerns can provide both the foundation for sustainability and the basic for comprehensive planning and evaluation guidelines (Lautenschlager, 1998:176).

There is no doubt that sustainability is strongly recommended as appropriate for poverty alleviation. This is because sustainability is based on three aspects namely: environmental, social and economic. Economic sustainability focuses on efficiency of use of goods and on equity of distribution. This form of sustainability needs to be made explicit to those who are geared towards alleviating poverty. It is important because economic sustainability 'maintenance of capital', has been used by accountants since the middle ages, to enable merchant traders to know how much of their sales receipts they and their families could consume without reducing their ability to continue trading (Goodland, 1995:3).

It is important to note that, economic sustainability can only be useful in correcting economic maladies such as poverty, if it moves from its original narrow interpretation, which is associated with merchant traders. The limitation of this interpretation is that it values things in money terms, and is having major problems valuing natural capital, intangible, intergenerational, and especially common access to resources (Goodland, 1995:3). Environmental aspect of sustainability emphasises life support system without which neither production nor humanity can exist. This means that continuous depletion or damage by human activities to irreplaceable environmental resources would be incompatible with sustainability.

Closely related to economic sustainability is social sustainability. Social sustainability provides that poverty reduction should come from qualitative development, from redistribution and sharing, from population stability and from community sodality, rather than from throughput growth (Goodland, 1995:2). Social sustainability therefore negates

the view that, mankind will never act immediately on existing knowledge and struggle with never ending new unsustainable problems related to the use of natural resources (Anderson, et al, 2005:276). It identifies as a problem the natural resources exploitation from developing countries by developed countries. It blames this arrangement for having led to a large number of management related species losses, and present rates of extinction increasing (Lautenschlager, 1998:181).

The economic interests of developed countries make it difficult if not impossible for resources in developing countries to be saved. It is the exploitation of resources by developed countries that undermines sustainability's underlying message that we must change our consumption behaviour and employ ways that are consistent with the carrying capacity of our planet. The messages that are conveyed through sustainability are overlooked, if not negated (Gunder, 2006:209) because the focus is on economic growth. However, what is interesting is that public agencies including natural resource management agencies, are attempting to identify research and management priorities that address major environmental concerns at local and broad scale (Lautenschlager, 1998:176). The negative side to it is that, developing countries, mostly Africa countries, do not have much or any control over the identified research and management priorities. The indigenous knowledge systems of Africa are most often neglected or at worst disapproved. The problem that is also common to sustainability in developing countries is that rather than breaking away from the colonising attitudes of the past, there is greater evidence of continuity in the preservation of Western centred attitudes, as well as an arrogant confidence in the almost unquestionable validity of science and Western knowledge (Nustard, 2001 and Pretty, 1994).

There is no doubt that sustainability is important in protecting resources, so that they do not get depleted. The call for the parsimonious use of resources is triggered by the sobering reality that the level of consumption of resources is a challenge that must be resolved. This calls for a collective effort by all stakeholders and experts in relevant fields to work towards stopping denudation of resources. Sustainability should be viewed in a holistic sense, including economic, social and ecological components. This will broaden it from its narrow confines of ecology (Bell and Morse, 1999:17). In sustainability there is little if any, consideration of the financial or other costs of attaining it. It equates to what some call

ecological sustainability and the focus is primarily on the environment (Bell and Morse, 1999:13). Even where the focus is on ecological sustainability, they are still some questions that remain unanswered. For instance, although biodiversity conservation is becoming a general ideal for nations and development agencies, there is no agreement on how much should be conserved, and at what cost (Goodland, 1995:7). However, there is a common agreement that the concept of sustainability in its modern sense emerged in the early 70's in response to a dramatic growth in understanding that modern development practices were leading to worldwide environmental and social crisis (Wheeler, 2004:19). Despite the agreement that modern development practices were leading to worldwide environmental and social crisis, there is some resistance that works against sustainability. Much of the resistance to accepting the necessity of a sustainability approach is that politicians have considered the consequences of doing so, controlling consumerism and waste, halting human population growth, and probably reducing population size, and relying on renewable energy to be politically unacceptable. These are all felt to be politically damaging, so they are not put forward as much needed societal goals (Goodland, 1995:13). It is clear that though sustainability is important for Sustainable Development, it is resisted by those who are interested in continued gargantuan exploitation of finite resources.

Most of the African countries are submerged in poverty and lack of political will on the side of the leaders to free the continent from shackles of deprivation. It goes without saying that, if Africa has to take its own path of development, more resources will be required for research. So, to suggest that the continent of Africa can determine its own prospect of development in its current economic position is just, 'wishful thinking'. If the achievement of sustainability is to be realised, the disparities that prevail between developing and developed countries should be harmonised if not eliminated. This also calls for the amelioration of the living conditions of poor people in developing countries, so that they can have power to make decisions pertaining to the protection of their resources. It is true that the wide adoption of sustainability principles will require that economic systems and distribution patterns provide basic human needs, reliable livelihoods, and freedom from drudgery (Gallopin and Raskin, 2002:32). The concept of sustainability is premised on decision making which reflects a balance among economic efficiency, ecological integrity and human well being, including equity considerations (Nteta, Hermans with Jeskova, 1996:383).

If sustainability is to be achieved, it becomes important that developed countries should reduce their levels of consumption, which puts a strain on finite resources mostly in the developing World. There is a problem, which is that, the industrial world consumes in excess of the basic needs because it understands development primarily in terms of ever increasing material consumption (Baker, 2006:20).

They are three most important points to be made here. Firstly, sustainability cannot be achieved in a situation where poor countries, majority of which are in Africa are characterised by poverty. Secondly, sustainability cannot be achieved if a significant number of people in a given country, such as Botswana, are economically deprived. Thirdly, sustainability cannot be achieved if the level of exploitation of resources from the developing World by the developed World is not curtailed. Important tension persists, for example, between the environmental concerns of rich and poor countries, between those who wish to exploit resources and those who wish to conserve them (Elliot, 1994:6). It is this disharmony that should be rigorously addressed by those who are committed to parsimonious utilisation of resources.

Botswana which is believed to be performing well economically, has a lot of its citizenry languishing in poverty (Refer to chapter 1 for statistical prove). This means they do not take part in both economic and political activities that are necessary if they are to escape from poverty. They do not contribute decisions that are necessary for the promotion of sustainability. This militates against sustainability which requires that, people being offered assistance should play pivotal part in defining, what can be done so that they do not feel inadequate, powerless and dependent (World Vision, 2002:1). It is important that poor people wherever they are, get an opportunity to take part in contributing to sustainability, such as through contributing their indigenous knowledge. They should also be allowed to formulate their own definition of sustainability and localise it. This therefore, requires that some thorough information dissemination be undertaken to create required understanding about sustainability. It is important that communities be allowed to make sustainability relevant and appropriate for their respective contexts. This is encouraged because no single blueprint of sustainability will be found, as economic and social systems and ecological conditions differ widely among countries (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:40).

The stakeholders such as NGOs that are committed to achieving sustainability need to make some deliberate effort to educate poor people about it. This form of education should serve to provide clear understanding between sustainability and Sustainable Development. The stakeholders need to have poor people as key in their endeavours, by way of attaching value to their understanding of the importance of sustainability. It is important for the stakeholders to understand and appreciate that:

> The notion of social sustainability calls attention to the stability, quality of life, and social cohesion in society to the degree that distributional equity, political participation and access to education, health and cultural services are perceived to be acceptable social systems that should enjoy the commitment, loyalty and affiliation of participants in order to better be prepared to respond to changing endogenous and exogenous circumstances (Gallopin and Raskin, 2002:32).

The social sustainability is introduced as important in meeting the exigencies of the people who need assistance through access to health, education and cultural services. What is important to note is that, social sustainability values the need for society to have knowledge in order to improve its socio-economic and political status. Social sustainability views people as an important resource in development, that should be made to function if change is to be realised. It is through education that people can be enlightened to appreciate sustainability and change their attitudes towards the use of finite resources. There is a concern that local people find it difficult to voice their concerns about environment and issues of sustainability given power relations involved in 'participatory' process (Twyman, 2000:323). It should also be qualified that in some cases people find it difficult to voice their concerns as a result of lack of understanding of their roles in sustainability. This could be blamed for problems associated with the inabilities of sustainability to bring desired results such as the alleviation of poverty. It is therefore important that individuals and organisations entrusted with achieving sustainability embrace the view that sustainability, like development, is all about people, and there may be little point achieving a sustainable system that reduces the quality of life of the people (Bell and Morse, 1999:15). However, this needs to be qualified, in order not to confuse Sustainable Development with sustainability in the manner that it has happened in many forums.

The exclusion of poor people from inputting on sustainability and reliance on policy makers to find best approaches for its achievement has proven to be less effective. Some of

the interventions which most preoccupy policy makers at the present are sterile in sustainability terms (Levett, 1998:299). This explains why after years of formulation of policies for the alleviation of poverty and conservation of resources by most countries and organisations, no positive result is forthcoming. The essential needs of vast numbers of people in developing countries for food, clothing, shelter and jobs are not being met. This creates problems because a world in which poverty and inequality are endemic will always be prone to ecological and other crisis (Lafferty and langhelle, 1999:50).

It is clear that sustainability cannot be achieved amidst poverty, because it is indisputable that,

> Many environmental problems in developing countries are related to poverty, as poor people often have no choice but to opt for immediate economic benefits at the expense of the long terms of sustainability of their livelihoods (Barnhoorn et. al, 1994:27).

The problem that bedevils sustainability is that some policy makers who are suppose to make it work for poor people do not understand their realities. Most professionals are directly and indirectly committed to the reduction of poverty and injustice. At the same time most of them are isolated and insulated from poor and marginalised people and lack opportunities for direct experiential learning about their lives and conditions (Irvine, Chambers and Eyben, 2004: 4). This limitation undermines sustainability because sustainability must be made operational in each specific context, depending on specific problems that obtains (Heinen, 1994:22-33).

It is important to note that professionals within NGOs in Africa, where sustainability is most pivotal because of levels of poverty, also suffer from the same limitation. Many NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa are staffed by urban, middle class elite with no substantive roots in underprivileged groups (Fowler as cited by Mercer, 2002:10).

Ecological sustainability is important in Sustainable Development as it advocates for the people to utilise the resources with due care. Most of the resources that are currently being consumed are finite and can be unavailable for the coming generations if not utilised parsimoniously. There is need to attach some importance to forms of development that do

not raise the consumption levels too high, to the point where the resources get depleted or deteriorate. Ecological sustainability is necessary for Sustainable Development. It is so because Sustainable Development requires that the natural systems which support life on earth, such as, atmosphere, water, soil, and other living beings are not endangered (Lafferty and Langhelle, 1999:6). The reason why there is growing concern for ecological sustainability is because there is evidence to suggest that the resources that are necessary to sustain humanity, now and in the future, are deteriorating as earlier noted. There is a concern that,

> The most accessible and economic non-renewable resources, such as minerals or energy resources are gradually being depleted. Of even greater concern is the depletion and degradation of the so-called renewable resources such as water, marine resources, forests and other ecosystems. Resources are harvested at rates greater than they can be replenished. This over exploitation is damaging the natural systems that sustain renewable resources. At the same time, pollution and climate change reduce the productivity and resilience of natural systems (Gilberto and Raskin, 2002:21).

It must be realized that people can sustain their development, if they are healthy and having resources to sustain them. That is why it is important that resources are not endangered. The knowledge of ecological sustainability therefore becomes important. What knowledge is important for ecological sustainability? The understanding of the natural world and how production and consumption activities impinge upon it, understanding of human perceptions and motivations, so we can know why we indulge in behaviour which is destructive to nature, understanding of ethical systems, so we can determine if human motivations which are destructive to nature might be morally constrained and understanding of the effectiveness of various systems of incentives and restrictions on human actions. For instance, appropriate restraining measures can be embodied in law, which constitutes the essential components of the knowledge that is important for ecological sustainability (Proops and Wilkinson, 2000:19).

It is important that people be educated about the importance of ecological sustainability in an effort to prevent conflict that account for environmental deterioration. Adult education is a powerful concept that can be used for fostering ecological sustainability, by building a world in which violent conflicts are replaced by dialogue and a culture based on justice

(UNESCO as cited by Youngman, 2000:48). What UNESCO is voicing here is that, resolving differences peacefully instead of resorting to violence can promote ecological sustainability. In order to prevent violence between countries and within countries, there should be a culture based on fairness and justice. This is referring to a culture where equitable distribution of resources is pivotal. If resources are depleted and become scarce, then humanity will even be more endangered, because human conflict is usually bred by a fierce competition for merger resources.

Destruction of resources in some cases is caused by governments in developing countries despite having knowledge of the consequences of their actions. Within the current global economy, national economies have to respond to international demands. Unfortunately, such demands are not always in the interests of the majority of the people, particularly the poor in developing countries. Such demands may have negative effects on the environment if not managed correctly by the country entering the international economy, as it has the effect of increasing pressure on diminishing resources (Atlhopheng, et al, 1998:4). In the case of Botswana, for example, the need to compete effectively in the international beef market has led to strategies that have had a telling effect on the country's environment (Atlhopheng, et al, 1998:4).

It is important to note that if resources are not available for future generations, then humanity may perish due to self-destruction. This would inevitably jeopardise Sustainable Development, which requires that resources be parsimoniously utilised, with the view that they are important for future generations. Sustainability is important for Sustainable Development. According to this study sustainability alone cannot promote Sustainable Development. Sustainability has to be amalgamated with participation, accountability and empowerment to constitute Sustainable Development.

2.7 Accountability

Accountability is a fundamental pillar for Sustainable Development, together with empowerment, sustainability and participation. One of the hottest topics for discussion among NGO practitioners and observers today concerns the issue of accountability. For

example, to whom NGOs are accountable is one of the major questions raised. As intermediary organisations that provide development for poor and otherwise marginalised people, NGOs must answer for the quality and impact of their work (Hilhorst, 2003:125). This means their accountability should not only be skewed towards those structures that wield power, but to the marginalised as well.

Accountability is also important in promoting transparency, which is important if poor people are to have confidence in those structures that are entrusted with resources meant to improve their livelihood. Accountability is important in ensuring that social structures necessitate actions that are meant to benefit those that they are meant to serve. The failure to account is partly responsible for some of the accusations that are often levelled against those in charge of resources within social structures. It is common for poor people to blame those in charge of resources for embezzlement, even where concrete evidence is unavailable for such accusations. Accountability should not only be for the benefit of those who provide resources, such as international donors. It should be for all stakeholders. Stakeholders in this case means, individuals or organisations that stand to gain or lose from the success or failure of a system or a project (Towards Earth Summit, 2002:1). It means those who have an interest in a particular decision, either as individuals or representatives or a group. This includes people who influence a decision, or can influence it, as well as those affected by such a decision (Boutelle, 2004:1).

Accountability should not only be confined within powerless communities. It should be engineered between poor people and NGOs, governments and international bodies. For example, it is only the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna (CITES) that can account to the poor people of Africa on the denudation that is caused by swelling population of elephants in their countries. An estimated 600,000 elephants roam the African continent, destroying massive tones of crops produced for food (Shumba, 2006:1). If Sustainable Development is to be achieved, international bodies should be made to account for their decisions that are partly responsible for poverty and environmental degradation in Africa and other parts of the developing world.

Most importantly, accountability should be enhanced in a way that promotes dissemination of information to all stakeholders, irrespective of their social, political and economic

positions. Accountability is a critical issue, but can be assured in ways other than upward reporting and accounting. Horizontal (peer review) and downward communication (accountability to the community) is most important (Shepherd, 1998:240).

It is essential that accountability can also promote transparency, as poor people get to know about their resources and how they are expended for their betterment. This form of accountability is sometimes referred to as rational accountability. Rational accountability is based on the idea that accountability produces transparency (Hilhorst, 2003:103). Rational accountability guards against resources getting swindled by those in powerful positions, as they are required to account for resources that are placed under their charge. Lacking both transparency and accountability leads not only to faulty policy choices, but inevitably to the diversion of many of those resources meant for poor people for political ends, favouring influential people (Lancaster, 1999:27). In order to prevent diversion of resources that are meant for poor people, accountability even becomes more important. This is because accountability enables poor people to gain a voice and some control over the social and economic processes that affect them. This voice is necessary if they are to improve their productive capacities and quality of life more generally (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992:275).

There is a need for communities that receive resources to also account for them. This is important as it can inculcate a strong sense of responsibility amongst them and improve their accounting capabilities. In order for the undertaking of accounting to be conducted effectively and circumspectly, proper training should be provided by those structures that are responsible for development. For example, if an NGO provides resources to poor people, that should be accompanied by rigorous training for accountability to be realised. The process of accounting, which forms an important component of accountability should at the end of the day be internalised by poor people. This is important as it would enable rural communities to account to posterity on those environmental resources that are under their care. It is important for people to account because that discourages irresponsible behaviour, such as vandalism of community properties and over exploitation of environmental resources.

Accountability can be employed to overcome 'dependency trap', which is partly responsible for poverty. For example, NGOs may provide the only way that small, locally used groups of the rural poor can obtain support for their projects and improvements to their livelihoods whether through material resources, skill training or other enabling inputs. But this too can have problems, such as the "dependency trap" where certain rural groups end up relying on financial aid for their survival and social cohesion (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992:275). It is important to echo that through accountability poor people can escape the dependency trap because they are required to pass knowledge to others on matters of the economy. This means they are duty bound to account to future generations on how they improved the economy, which would be inherited by posterity.

Those organisations that have responsibility to ameliorate socio-economic status of poor people should be conscious of multiple accountabilities. They should be mindful of their downward accountability to their partners, beneficiaries, staff and supporters, and upward to their trustees, donors and governments (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9). However, there is a concern that NGO accountability is increasingly upwards to the donors rather than downwards to the grassroots (Zaidi as cited by Mercer, 2002:15). Balancing accountability upwards and downwards and mutual understanding between financing agencies and participating groups, communities and organizations is a challenge for most organizations (Shepherd, 1998:240).

Unlike other organisations, accountability is important for the development orientated NGOs because as intermediary organizations that provide development for the poor and otherwise marginalized people, they must answer for the quality and impact of their work (Hilhorst, 2003:125). It should be acknowledge that accountability is a complex pillar, mostly in regard to NGOs because relatively little research has been conducted on this topic with regard to NGOs (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9). It is disturbing that NGOs do not invest their energies in researching about accountability. Rather, they prefer to provide the skewed type of accountability, which only benefits powerful entities such as donors. This incapacitation denies poor people opportunities to acquire essential knowledge pertaining to best ways of accounting. It is important to note that through training of poor people on accountability, the concept can be demystified. Its demystification can promote its support amongst the poor people, which means they can account when left on their own to manage

their projects. This will render accountability integral part of Sustainable Development in every community that is inspired by the concept.

In order for accountability to be beneficial, there is need for it to be conducted in a manner that meets the standards that are laid down for that process. It is important that fundamental steps be followed, if accountability is to be entertained for both resource management and transparency. It has to be noted that,

> Effective accountability requires a statement of goals (whether in adherence to certain rules or achievement of identified performance levels), transparency of decision making and relationships, honest reporting of what resources have been used and what has been achieved, an appraisal process for overseeing authority (ies) to judge whether results are satisfactory and concrete mechanisms for holding to account (i.e. reward and penalising) those responsible for performance (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9).

It is important to point out that accountability does not necessarily have to be a colossal undertaking that requires large amounts of resources. For example, accountability can be necessitated for some specific area or purpose in a project. Accountability can be employed as observed below,

> Accountability may be formal (for example, an evaluation of whether agreed objectives in a programme have been met) or informal (for example, ongoing discussions between partners), it may emphasise the honesty and efficiency with which resources are used (commonly referred to as probity) or the impact and effectiveness of work (commonly called performance) (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9).

It is important to note that they are high standards of accountability that cannot be left either to organisations or communities that receive resources. For example, where large amounts of financial resources are involved, there is a need for certain standards of accounting to be observed, such as audits of financial records. Even then, this process should not be carried out without poor people getting involved. The accounting procedures should axiomatically distinguish between accounting and accountability. Accountability should involve poor people because,

> Accountability needs to be negotiated and is ideal primarily to rural people and their organizations. Where there are legal requirements for accountability to funding agencies for money spent, these two accountability requirements sit together uneasily and auditors and regulators need to be brought along as far as they will go towards accepting accountability measures which satisfy rural people (Shepherd, 1998:228).

Accountability can be achieved through promoting communication between the stakeholders. Communication is important in planning, decision taking, mobilization and action. It needs to be understood as more than a mechanical process of selective, transforming action and interaction among professionals, decision takers, media communicators and businessmen, women, workers, youth and peasants (Ndengwa, Mureithi and Green, 1985:250). It has to be understood as a process by which accountability can be facilitated and enhanced.

It is notably essential for information to be shared in a reciprocal manner, as this promotes transparency and eventually, communicative accountability. The importance of communicative accountability is that, it links environmental obligations to moral precepts of harm prevention, inclusiveness and impartiality (Mason, 2001:409). The people need to know what views the stakeholders hold about them and vice visa. This can be effective in bridging the communication gap that may exist between the stakeholders. For example, if experts regard themselves as superior and not obliged to share information with poor people, then they cannot be accountable. This is because they may not disseminate information that can best guide poor people on how to avoid those activities that make them poor or confine them on doldrums of poverty. A good example is where some members of the communities, such as women, are sidelined in communication channels, which denies them essential information for their economic and political uplift.

In Botswana, most women are treated like second class citizens. They have no control over intellectual resources, which consists of knowledge, information and ideas. They also do not have that unique combination of intelligence, creativity, self-esteem and confidence. Nor do they have control over ideologies, which means the ability to determine beliefs, values, attitudes, and ways of thinking and perceiving situations (Gergis, 1999:13). Where some members of society are denied information and creation of knowledge, such as women in Botswana, they cannot make significant contributions that are important if

poverty is to be alleviated. It is therefore important for communicative accountability to take place if the situation is to be reversed.

Imparting of skills and provision of knowledge cannot be achieved if information remains for consumption only by those in privileged positions. There is growing awareness that access to information and knowledge is crucial for the advancement of the poor, in particular the rural poor (Schilderman as cited by Lynch, 2005:143). It is important in view of the acknowledged realisation to establish procedures and channels through which information can be relayed to the people, mostly the poor. There is need for communication channels which facilitate accountability, enabling those with least access to decision making to be heard.

It is disheartening to note that, in some cases communicative accountability gets ignored, leading to organisations wanting poor people to listen to them than them listening to poor people. Where the objectives of the intervention are not fully communicated to the poor, no matter how good the intention could be, they will be information deficit, which will result in poor people not fully participating in decision making. An implication of this limitation is elaborately discussed under participation section of this chapter. Communication like any other important process of development should be conducted in a manner that does not make it intricate for poor people.

As a result of recognition of accountability, a number of initiatives have been developed which are based on the existing skills of the poor people and on communicating in languages and using media that are easily understandable. One of the way in which informediaries have achieved this is through adapting existing forms of cultural expressions (Schilderman as cited by Lynch, 2005:150). This arrangement has promoted communicative accountability in some development activities.

The preceding achievement is commendable, though it does not make any particular reference to NGOs having benefitted from such development. The NGOs need to conduct research on certain areas in order to have some theoretical base from which to formulate approaches, views, strategies, and methodologies to facilitate communication and ultimately, accountability. It is important to register that research can be beneficial if it is

conducted with the involvement of poor people, so that a platform can be created for them to share their experiences. For instance, through research, NGOs can be informed on why majority of the people are poor. Such findings can be communicated to the stakeholders for them to take informed decisions. It is observed that,

> The poorest are usually considered being most ignorant, those from whom there is least to learn. But how much do outsiders know about how the poorest cope? To enable the poorest to do better, the starting point is to understand how they manage at present (Chambers, 1983:102).

Lack of information about poor people means they do not benefit as they should from transformational interventions, such as those designed to alleviate poverty. Social exclusion of certain groups can also mean their exclusion from access to accurate and appropriate information (Schilderman as cited by Lynch, 2005:150), which leads to lack of accountability.

It is important to note that organisations and individuals need to cherish accountability if they are serious about achieving Sustainable Development. Therefore, there is need for them to invest their energies in broadening accountability. The broadening of accountability will ensure that it benefits all stakeholders. Poor people should know how resources that they are supposed to receive are expended as earlier noted. They should also know the amount of resources that are provided to them through the NGOs and where they are from. For example, poor people should be provided with information on how much donors give to the NGOs for interventions, which are meant to ameliorate their living standards. This arrangement is important in making poor people attach value on accountability, which will enable them to account as well. For example, people who are running community projects can account for resources that are entrusted to them by their communities. It is fundamental that accountability be held in high regard if Sustainable Development is to be achieved.

2.8 Empowerment

Where empowerment is the objective of any undertaking people should decide their agenda themselves. Empowerment is particularly linked with supporting those who are most disadvantaged and disempowered (Beresford and Croft, 1993:49). Empowerment process is based on four assumptions that suggest criterion for examining efforts aimed at helping rural communities. These are, recognizing and fostering strength and competencies of those receiving help, acknowledging and utilising the wisdom of everyday experience, promoting diversity of ideas and approaches and strengthening social networks and community institutions (Rappaport, 1981:5). It is indisputable that empowerment places beneficiaries at the centre stage of the development process. It is located within the discourse of community development and is connected to concepts of self-help, participation, networking and equity (Gergis, 1993:5).

In the 1990s, there has been a new paradigm shift in development thinking. Empowerment got to the centre of this paradigm shift and the attempt to re-conceptualise development and development strategies aimed at poverty alleviation, particularly in the rural areas. Empowerment, therefore, is seen as a response to the failure of modernization and 'trickle down' economics of the 1970s and the 1980s, and the widespread perception of the state's inability to intervene successfully on behalf of the poor or other disempowered groups in societies (Gergis, 1999:3). Empowerment is also a rejection of the top-down imposition of many development schemes and shifting of focus towards bottom-up development. This entails a vibrant civil society created through grassroots collective organising (Waylen, 1996:44). It is interesting that Waylen brings into the discourse of empowerment the intriguing realm of gender. The scholar signifies the value of empowerment that in a selective manner makes deliberate efforts to uplift women both economically and politically. This is justified because instead of improving women's rights and status, the development process was at best bypassing them and at worst contributing to deterioration in women's position in developing countries (Pearson, 2000:390).

Empowerment is supposed to improve the economic and political status of rural communities, bringing both economic and political empowerment to the marginalised and deprived. This arrangement as qualified by Waylen, should bring women to the fore by

creating opportunities for them in a wider public domain. This is important because empowerment also implies that they are changes going on in the wider society as a result of grassroots changes (Rahman, 1990:45-9). This signifies the contributions that minorities groups, such as women groups, make to add value to the broader economic sector.

The people who benefit from Sustainable Development are supposed to wield power, which is necessary if they are to partake in activities that are meant to alleviate poverty. Through economic empowerment poor people can have social amenities to enable them to lead lives characterised by freedom from oppression, isolation and poverty. People need to be made to change their interpretations and attitudes, so that they can have confidence in themselves to meet their exigencies. This confidence cannot be achieved through obtrusion of ideas from experts on poor people, nor from men on women. For example, confidence cannot be realised in a situation where poor people are given projects that are tailor made for them by development practitioners. Confidence cannot be realised in situations where women are given projects that are tailor made by men for them. In the absence of confidence, empowerment becomes elusive.

People need political power if they are to have their lives improved, because without power, they continue to rely on outsiders for decisions. Some of such decisions may not be appropriate for their contexts. Poor people need to engage in processes that give them power to collectively take responsibility to overcome their disadvantaged positions. This in some instances requires them to be trained so that they can be in a position to engage on those activities that are necessary for their political empowerment. Through advocacy programmes poor people can be provided with the necessary training, so that they can engage in those activities that can make them face political challenges, such as making policies that challenge those structures that render them politically disempowered. For example, where ethnic minority groups are discriminated and therefore politically disempowered, they are likely to remain submerged in poverty unless they are politically empowered first. The same goes for women. For example, where women are not politically empowered through training on issues that are important in their lives, they are often left behind in the decision making processes. Women's empowerment requires that the population in general as well as the women themselves, know the extent of their problems, so that proper strategies can be adopted to reverse their situations (Fonjong, 2001:230). To

borrow Fonjong's words, it is important that members of minority groups get versed about the enormity of their problems, so that they can employ appropriate strategies to reverse their deplorable situations.

It is important for poor people to have opportunities to work together so that they can generate and consolidate their political power. It is important for poor people to have both political and economic power if they are to alleviate poverty. The main reason poor people remain in poverty is because one of the most important and most overlooked development assets is the capacity of poor people to mobilise and organise for collective action (World Bank, 2002:39). People who are well organised can challenge the status quo and demand change that can result in their empowerment. In a situation where poor people are not given any platform to present their grievances to those in political positions, they are bound to remain in their disadvantaged positions. Empowerment can be achieved through encouragement of social settings of poor people to depend on their ability to determine their destinies.

Empowerment needs to be based on support of many different local groups rather than the large centralised social agencies and institutions which control resources, use convergent reasoning, and attempt to standardize the ways in which people live their lives (Rappaport, 1981:19). Empowerment conveys both psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence and political power. It is the process whereby decisions are made by people who have to bear the consequences of such decisions (Rappartport, 1987 and McArdle, 1989).

There is evidence that most approaches in the past did not foster political empowerment, which resulted in poor people remaining politically disempowered. However, an alternative development insists on the primacy of politics in the protection of people's interests, especially of the disempowered sectors and of future generations (Friedmann, 1992:31). It is the alternative development that is compatible with Sustainable Development. It is so because it advocates for political empowerment of those people who are politically marginalised. It rests on the assumption that all individuals and communities have some strengths and/or competencies. It argues that, recipients of help are not totally dysfunctional, but hold qualities that are necessary for their political empowerment. This

assumption believes that people have some valid and valuable knowledge of their own needs, values, and goals that can be put into action. This assumption suggests that 'experts' are not the only source of ideas for changing or improving a situation and that helpers should respect this knowledge by assuming the role of collaborators rather than experts (Rappaport, 1981:15).

The politically empowered community normally develops strong social structures through which it can constructively generate its ideas, views and decisions. The people who are political empowered should be prepared to explore political avenues, which allow them to continue to meet new challenges in life that require them to exercise their mental faculties. The political empowered communities can exhibit capacity to guide future generations to generate viable, realistic and applicable political decisions, which they can evaluate and prioritise. This should be in recognition of the notion that people have always been agents of their own development, sometimes working alone, sometimes through collective endeavours (Kothari and Monigue, 2002:93). It is important to note that Sustainable Development, as any other form of development that has to benefit poor people, can only be achieved if such people are politically empowered.

Most NGOs are to blame for the poverty and deprivation of poor people by shunning political responsibility and resorting to the status of avoiding political involvement. It is important to mention that no NGO can realise Sustainable Development by remaining apolitical. This is because development by its nature is a political process, which cannot be divorced from decision making. It has to be noted that part of the reason Sustainable Development has not succeeded in transforming communities politically is because,

> Community development has become distracted from its commitment to social justice by allowing its radical agenda to be diluted by mere reactionary theories that lead to ameliorative rather than transformative approaches. This is linked to an ongoing tension in practice that emphasises doing at the expense of thinking, and action without reflection is uncritical (Legwith, 2005:28-29).

In view of what obtains in regard to political empowerment, it is clear that development concepts have become monopoly of those structures that are distant from poor people. Development is solely controlled by exploitative, manipulative and dominant forces that

disperse political contributions that poor people are capable of making. The interest of such forces in formulating projects is meant to undermine the capacity of poor people to make informed decisions regarding their political disempowerment. Projects are imposed structures, which blind poor people not to see through the power structures that frustrate their political participation. For example, poor people when made to run projects do not question those with political power to account. One of the key weaknesses of the project based work is its inability to challenge the wider structures of marginalisation and impoverishment (Hickey and Mohan, 2004:165).

NGOs cannot empower poor people politically if they do not equip them with information so that they can challenge the status quo. They should be prepared to deal with the causes of poverty, than to only confine their efforts to dealing with poverty itself. It is important for Sustainable Development activists to place advocacy on their developmental agendas. This is because,

> The increasing shift towards advocacy work contains greater potential for transformation by engaging with and making claims with excluded people. This should be done in ways that increase their capacity to demand their rights of citizenship and help them participate in wider arenas of decision making (Nyamugarira as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2004:165).

The structures that are committed to Sustainable Development cannot afford to ignore political realities that characterise poverty stricken communities. They should view development as a process of political empowerment, of helping people or communities or sectors to identify and maximize their own potential to contribute to society by participating more fully in all its political activities. The poorest region, the most illiterate groups, the itinerants, the aged, the poorest of the poor, the slum dwellers, are already part of the society in which they live, and not outsiders needing to be brought in. They should be allowed to influence and make political, social and economic contributions (Rogers, 1992:104). It is only through their contributions that they can become truly empowered.

The powerless sections of the community should through conscientization process be reached and educated to get political opportunities that are rightfully theirs. The people should be made aware of what is happening around them. Sustainable Development cannot

be achieved if important political activities remain the domain of those people that are educated.

Political empowerment in some cases requires cultural transformation so that people can rise from false consciousness and see development as possible and important. Political empowerment requires that prior process of social empowerment through which effective participation in politics becomes possible is realised (Friedmann, 1992:34). It is important to take development as a multi dimensional process, which can only be achieved through bringing efforts from different sectors together. Where people are assisted to consciously challenge the status quo, they should maintain that momentum even when left on their own. That is what Sustainable Development entails. It is about development getting realised and getting sustained. If poor people are politically empowered and do not maintain that level of consciousness and relapse into political powerlessness, it can be safely concluded that they failed to sustain that level of political empowerment, which has a negative bearing on Sustainable Development. If the people sustain the required level of political empowerment, but do not pass those traits to future generations, then it can be safely concluded that they have not sustained the required level of political empowerment.

Economic empowerment is a process by which people without resources are afforded such resources to better their socio economic status. This process should be necessitated to ameliorate the socio economic conditions of poor people who in most cases suffer deprivation and exploitation. People cannot be economically empowered if they cannot meet their basic needs. This is because the less people have, the more vulnerable they are, and the harder it is for them to rise (Chambers, 1983:130). Notably, poor people can only improve their socio economic status if they have resources to enable them to do so. The people must possess the power to continue to fund their own projects or programmes after they are hand-upped. Economic empowerment should be grounded at the grassroots level (Gergis, 1999:15). This preceding observation by Gergis is well supported by Friedmann who echoed that,

> If social and economic development means anything at all, it must mean a clear improvement in the conditions of life and livelihood of the ordinary people. There is no intrinsic reason, moral or otherwise, why large numbers of people should be systematically excluded from development, in this sense or even

> worse, should become the unwitting victims of other people's progress. People have an equal and fundamental right to better conditions of life and livelihood (Friedmann, 1992:9).

Economic empowerment gives the people the bargaining power to enter into dialogue with the external forces on matters that concern their economic well-being. Economic deprivation is a source of political deprivation; and political deprivation in turn helps to maintain and confirm economic deprivation. In other words, the different elements of the network of deprivation reinforce each other (Webberburn, 1975:183). The development practitioners need to be aware that if people are economically empowered then they are likely to achieve political empowerment as well. For example, In Botswana like in other African countries, it is usually those who are economically empowered that make decisions, influence policies and give meanings to concepts. There is a strong connection between economic and political power that cannot be ignored if any of the two is to be achieved. People who are politically and economically empowered have a strong disregard for poor people hence they continue to stay in economic deprivation. Even where some economic empowerment interventions are made, there is usually no well defined empowerment strategy that can be employed. To design an economic empowerment strategy, it is necessary to first identify the individuals or groups that need to be empowered and then to understand the source of their disempowerment (Gergis, 1999:12). It is through understanding their plight that their involvement can best be entertained. Friedmann stakes out that,

> Those who regard themselves as the social superiors of the poor traditionally define poverty. Hence it comes about that the poor are widely regarded with suspicion. The nineteenth century called them the dangerous classes, harbourers of indolence and vice. These negative perceptions have not disappeared. To be poor is still widely perceived to be dirty, dumb wanting in skills, drugged, prone to violence and criminality, and generally irresponsible. People with these traits must be controlled, institutionalised, and managed. Because poverty is degrading, the poor people should be raised at least to the level of a decent minimum, with a roof over their heads, clothes to cover their nakedness and food on the table (Friedmann, 1992:56).

The development practitioners need to demonstrate their commitment to ending poverty if they are to realise Sustainable Development. This demands that they adopt some positive attitudes towards poor people, by believing in their own ability to change their economic

positions if appropriately assisted. They should be assisted with a view to leave them on their own after reaching an improved socio economic position. Most importantly, they should be able to maintain that level of economic achievement and pass it on to posterity, as earlier noted. This is also a challenge for practitioners who are within the NGOs. There is need for them to change the top-down approach that government officers know best. This approach presupposes that government officers know what is needed and what should be done to solve problems of rural development (Youngman and Maruatona, 1998:242).

Where people are economically empowered they can reject any assistance that they are suspicious about or calling for them to compromise on their values, if they happen to need any assistance at all. Economic empowerment is necessary as it enables the communities to function without handouts and have pride in doing things for themselves. The communities that are economically empowered can decide on their priorities and provide funding for the development that they attach value on. This can be verified even by what the affluent are capable of doing now. If we genuinely want to empower communities we must do it in such a way that they become self-reliant. They should be able to sustain their own development without our help. It should not be the outsiders bringing resources every time to the people. The people should be able to meet their basic necessities (Bartle, 2006:1). This qualifies as self-empowerment, which is core of any real empowerment (Gergis, 1999:15).

The economic power can be used to realize equality among the different classes in a given community, which can promote unity, collective responsibility and communication. It is common that the communities that are economically empowered are also in most cases informed; this is because they can afford to pay for the information through engaging consultants or intellectuals. For example, they can pay for strategies that are important for sustenance of their development. Power will depend on who has information and money. It will also depend on people's confidence and skills (Bartle, 2006:2). If NGOs are to provide Sustainable Development, they should economically liberate the communities through economic empowerment activities, such as skills and information provision. It should be poor people themselves who should hold power to transform their own lives and continually respond to emerging changes. Most perspectives on empowerment emphasise

the need to build capacity in societies to respond to the ever changing economic environment (Gergis, 1999:6). This is important because as Rogers averred,

> The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape the virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (Rogers, 1992:121).

If Sustainable Development is to be realised, there is need for economic empowerment to be held as an important ingredient of development. It should be made to start from those whose economic condition is mortifying. It is only when economic power is attained by the poverty stricken that, as Rogers indicated, both the oppressors and oppressed can be free. When people are economically disempowered they become dependent on external forces for resources, which also affect their ability to make democratic choices regarding their development. For example, poor people most often than not do not determine the duration of interventions that are necessitated for them.

Social empowerment is important for Sustainable Development because it is instrumental in the alleviation of poverty. Social empowerment should afford the poor people social welfare provisions such as, health, education, proper housing and good use of the environmental resources. Through social empowerment there should be some understanding that,

> Poverty is the socio-economic phenomenon whereby the resources available to a society are used to satisfy the wants of the few while the many do not have even their basic needs met. This conceptualisation features the point of view that poverty is essentially a social phenomenon and only secondarily a material or physical phenomenon (Kurien as cited by Chambers, 1983:36).

Social empowerment requires that some environment be created for poor people to access information and technology that is necessary for their development. For example, if peasants are to be socially empowered, there should acquire skills on modern farming and agro technology, such as incubators for their poultry farms. This is important because education and training are fundamental vehicles for social empowerment. Education and training can foster assertiveness and self-confidence, promote greater awareness of legal

and social rights; and improve access to and use of economic resources such as land and information (Gergis, 1999:13).

Poor people need to visualise a much better future than to remain desolated, if they are to invest their energies in moving towards that future. Poor people are required through social empowerment to appreciate that through collective effort, including their own, they can achieve Sustainable Development. It can be safely argued that social empowerment promotes social integration. Social integration which is part of social empowerment should foster inclusive societies that are stable, safe, and just; based on the promotion and protection of all human rights. They should be non discriminatory, tolerant, have respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2005:3).

The socially empowered community can promote Sustainable Development because it is made up of members who do not vandalize and embezzle resources to meet their selfish interests. It is a community that is not threatened by civil strives, social animosity, dehumanization, unscrupulous exploitation of resources, indulgence in illicit activities and any form of social calamities or ills. It is usually a community characterized by industriousness, selflessness, patriotism, cooperation, peace and tranquillity, voluntarism and positive attitude towards realization of societal goals.

Social empowerment enables societies to realise the form of development that involves a shift from an outward oriented dependent status, to a self-reliant position with regard not only to the processes of decision making, but more importantly, to the patterns and styles of production and consumption (Mabogunje, 1980:82). This is often rooted on the philosophy that,

> While environmental concerns threaten the quality of life, the pollution of poverty may threaten life itself. Sustainable Development encapsulates the realisation that to achieve the goals of either conservation or development, the welfare needs of the poorest groups must be addressed (Bale and Drakakis as cited by Elliot, 1994:23).

They cannot be Sustainable Development where people die of famine and curable ailments and are leading lives characterised by social tension and disharmony. It is indisputable that social empowerment is important for Sustainable Development. Where there is civil strife and peace is threatened, Sustainable Development gets into jeopardy. It is firmly established that the route to empowerment is through involvement, accompaniment and active participation. This requires the strengthening of the meaning and reality of principles of inclusiveness and accountability, which gives legitimacy to any process or decisions reached (Gergis, 1999:14). It is important for empowerment to be achieved if Sustainable Development is to be realised, as constructively argued in this section. If empowerment of the disempowered fails in its entirety, Sustainable Development would remain disguised in scientific language, as warned by (Harvey Brooks as cited by Beckerman, 1994:192).

2.9 Conclusion

The literature review section raised very important debates that support the view that participation, empowerment, accountability and sustainability are important pillars for Sustainable Development. The most important contributions allude to the fact that Sustainable Development cannot be realised without full involvement of the people who should benefit from interventions that are necessitated. The participation of the people, mostly those who are economically and politically disempowered, is seen as essential if the fruits of development are to benefit poor people.

The literature also pointed to the need for the observance of sustainability in Sustainable Development. Unless deliberate efforts are employed to maintain the required level of sustainability, no positive results can be achieved in alleviating poverty. Sustainability is seen as fundamental in making sure that development is not achieved at the expense of environmental resources that are necessary for future generations. They are numerous well supported arguments that underscore the point that poverty alleviation is of immense benefit to environmental resources. There is a strongly held conviction that the amelioration of socio economic status of poor people makes them less likely to over exploit environmental resources for their survival. The amelioration of socio economic status of

poor people will only partially solve the problem because resources in developing countries are consumed largely by corporations that poor countries have no control over.

Economic, social and political empowerment of the people that are relegated to the periphery featured as significant in the realisation of SD. However, it came to light that the forces that wield power are not always willing to release or share it for the benefit of those without it. The points that came to the surface vividly indicated that empowerment is important in fighting poverty as well as saving environmental resources. The need to have the people making decisions and determining their destiny is fundamental for Sustainable Development. However, in heterogeneous communities social, economic and political dynamics always render some community members less resourced than others. This translates into less resourced individuals also getting politically incapacitated, which denies them the opportunity to make decisions, execute and evaluate them.

This section of the thesis also manifested the need for the stakeholders concerned with the development of the people to account to them, so that they get informed of the benefits that they can accrue from the development endeavours that are necessitated. Does this recommend a skewed form of accountability that ignores the need for the beneficiaries to account for resources that they receive? The literature provides that beneficiaries cannot in anyway escape to account for resources that are available to them, including environmental resources that should be passed on to future generations. It emerged that some NGOs have a tendency to account to the donors than the people that they are supposed to empower. This was read as what is partly responsible for their failure to realise Sustainable Development because it distances them from the marginalised.

In a nutshell, it was found that there is need for the stakeholders that are inspired by SD to make development a participatory process, where the people are fully involved. It stood out axiomatically that, if the NGOs do not cherish sustainability, empowerment, do not account and do not embrace active participation, Sustainable Development will remain an elusive concept.

Chapter 3

3.1. Research information

3.2. Introduction

In this chapter of the thesis the researcher outlines the research design, setting, population that was sampled for data collection and how data is analyzed. It is important that the study provide details on how data, which is systematically collected, provides important elements of information about the world (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994:11). The chapter gives details on how data were obtained to make the study more informative, from whom such data were collected and what theoretically guided the processes. Most importantly, this chapter lays the qualitative research paradigm, which was found to be appropriate and usable for this study into perspective.

3.3 Research Design

Qualitative research methods should be selected for the study both because the researcher does not know what would be found and because of the desire to generate data that is rich in detail and embedded in context (Maxwell, 1996:127). It is these words that informed the selection of qualitative research for this study. The researcher also wanted qualitative research paradigm because the study was not intended to quantify. Qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers. The findings are not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Punch, 1998:4 and Strauss and Corbin, 1998:10).

The study was interested in aspirations, feelings, interpretations, expressions and judgements of NGO beneficiaries. It was interested in those people that Sustainable Development seeks to economically, politically and socially empower. The researcher also obtained data from NGO officials, whose role is important in making sure that NGOs that are inspired by SD fulfil their obligation of alleviating poverty and promoting parsimonious consumption of resources. Interaction between the researcher and both NGO officials and

NGO beneficiaries was fundamental in establishing power relations that exist between groups that are in different rungs of power. This interest necessitated the use of qualitative paradigm, which is often directly concerned with experience as it is 'lived' or 'felt' or 'undergone' (Sherman and Webb, 1988:7). Qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984:5). Qualitative researchers stress the reality as it is constructed and understood within a social setting, such as a community, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry (Dale, 2000 and Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative researchers want those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspective in words and other actions (Sherman and Webb, 1988:7 and Ely, et al, 1991:4).

The research was interested in employing a paradigm that allows for the use of various research techniques, such as observations, semi structured interviews, group interviews and examination of essential documents. Qualitative research was selected for the study because it can cover a vast range of research styles (Silverman, 1993:23), which is important in the generation of enriched data.

The use of the qualitative paradigm allowed for the participation of poor people, who are NGO beneficiaries, in the research process. They were able to shape their responses in the manner that they were most comfortable with. Instead of responding to predetermined questions that seem to undermine their ability to formulate decisions and express them, the beneficiaries were allowed to freely express their views. This was possible because qualitative research is not necessarily guided by 'traditional' perspectives, nor is it propelled by literature-driven questions. However, this does not mean that qualitative research occurs within a literature vacuum (Ambert, et al, 1995:880).

In quantitative research researchers formulate questions which poor people are then required to respond to, which is restricting. For example, in quantitative research respondents are given a list of answers and instructed to select. On the other hand, in qualitative research beneficiaries were freely given the opportunity to share their experiences through answering open-ended questions. In quantitative research paradigms the researcher could have restricted the beneficiaries and confined them to his areas of

interest. It is important to allow respondents to freely express their views because that is compatible with principles of Sustainable Development. The principle of Sustainable Development emphasises the need for professionals to listen to those who are relegated to inferior economic and political positions, such as those who are poverty-stricken or down trodden. Qualitative methods enable great participation by non-professionals such as local community inhabitants (Dale, 2000:236). It is local community inhabitants who are an important constituent for Sustainable Development because it is through their efforts that poverty alleviation can be realised.

The qualitative design proved to be appropriate for this study because of its appealing character and its ability to empower. Qualitative research is inductive, meaning that researchers develop concepts, insights and understanding from patterns in the data, rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypothesis or theories. In qualitative methodology the researcher looks at settings and people holistically. This is possible because people, settings or groups are not reduced to variables, but are viewed as a whole. Qualitative researchers are sensitive to the effects on the people they study. They try to understand people from their own frame of reference. The qualitative researcher suspends, or set aside, his or her own beliefs, perspectives, and predispositions. The researchers seek not "truth" or "morality" but rather a detailed understanding of other people's perspectives in qualitative studies. Those whom society ignores, the poor, are often received favourably within qualitative studies (Taylor and Bogdan, 1994:5).

In this study the researcher interacted with poor people who are most affected by poverty and environmental deterioration. The researcher interacted with poor people who are targeted through Sustainable Development because they are often denied opportunities to contribute knowledge. In fact, in quantitative research they are often treated as objects of research than subjects. The qualitative researcher got valuable information from poor people who shared their experiences and hardships, expressing them in their own words and gestures. This became possible because qualitative researchers seek to answer questions in the real world than in laboratories or through written surveys (Rossman and Rallis, 2003:5).

The qualitative design allowed the researcher to 'go to the field' for a duration of six months to gather data. This was possible because qualitative research is conducted through

an intense and/or prolonged contact with the "field" or life situations. These situations are typically "banal" or normal ones, reflective of the everyday life of individuals, groups, societies, and organisations (Miles and Huberman, 1994 and Flick, Von Kardorff and Steinke, 2004).

The observations that were made in the field about situations are invaluable for this study. It is so because it explicates the ways people in particular settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day to day situations (Miles and Huberman, 1994:6). Sustainable Development has particular interest in harnessing knowledge systems that originates from poor people themselves. These resources according to Sustainable Development are essential in empowering those who are disempowered to have confidence in sharing their knowledge. For example, Sustainable Development holds indigenous knowledge in high regard because it empowers poor people from whom such knowledge originates. They see themselves as having something valuable to contribute. This was also reinforced because qualitative research is good at tapping into the thought processes or narratives that people construct (Bryman, 1988:62 and Devine, 2002:199).

Qualitative methods are humanistic and therefore maintain that people are empowered to interpret or give meaning to their realities. Therefore, qualitative methods do not reduce people's words and acts to statistical equations, which make researchers lose sight of the human side of social life.

By observing people in their everyday lives, listening to them talk about what is in their minds and looking at the documents they produce, the qualitative researcher obtains first-hand knowledge of social life unfiltered through concepts, operational definitions and rating scales (Silverman, 1993 and Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Both qualitative and quantitative researchers are concerned with individual's point of view. However, qualitative investigators get closer to the actor's perspective through detailed interviewing and observation (Silverman, 1993 and Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In this study the researcher interviewed, read documents and made observations in order to gather necessary data. The discussion of issues was allowed to flow naturally, which allowed the researcher to understand the logic of the interviewees' arguments and the associative thinking that led them to particular conclusions (Devine, 2002:199).

In view of the nature of the study, the qualitative design offered itself as the only design through which the beneficiaries of the NGO services and products were reached to share their experiences.

The NGOs are themselves social structures that needed to be studied with the design that allowed for free interrogation of their operations, reports and documents, as well as offering opportunities for observations. It is important to note that through qualitative paradigm the NGOs were extensively studied. It became possible because,

> Organisational and institutional settings are distinctive sites for observing and analysing social life. They are, for example, often formally organised social arenas involving distinctive social roles, political relationships, and even vocabularies for making sense of and responding to practical issues. A major task of qualitative researchers, then, involves observing and specifying the unique and shared features of these socially organised settings, as well as analysing the implications of institutional structures and processes for people's lives and/or social settings (Miller and Holstein, 1995:37-59).

Studying the NGOs through qualitative research paradigm is important for Sustainable Development. It is important because both Sustainable Development and qualitative research seeks to empower those people who are disempowered. An empowerment agenda requires that, 'the means of acquiring data do not contradict the aims of empowerment, regardless of the contents of the research' and such aims favour qualitative research (Rappaport, 1990:53).

The researcher used the case study approach, which is an intensive examination of a setting (Bryman, 2004:49), to examine three cases studies. These were case studies of NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development concept.

Case studies were well received under the qualitative paradigm because qualitative research designs tend to work with a small number of cases (Silverman, 2005:9). The researcher wanted to have an in-depth understanding of the cases by examining them in their real contexts, through the use of interviews, observations and examination of documents. This was encouraged by the notion that, case studies can establish cause and effect, indeed one

of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognising that a context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects. The case studies were also apposite because they are useful where multiple sources of evidence are used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000 and Yin, 1984). It is through case studies that the researcher studied the context to establish and deduce meaning from events and experiences that define societal realities. Unlike the experimenter who manipulates variables to determine their causal significance or the surveyor who asks standardised questions of large representative samples of individuals, the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit such as a community or organisation. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit, with a view to establishing understandings about the wider populations to which that unit belongs (Cohen, et. al, and 2000:185).

It is important when studying the behaviour of the people or events that affects them in communities or organisations, to employ an approach that can unearth covert, unique and complex interpretations that attach meanings to human actions. The case study has the quality to reveal understanding and meanings of what is taking place within social settings. It is this quality that prompted Cohen and other authors to assert that,

> Distinguishing feature of case studies is that they recognise that human systems have a wholeness or integrity to them rather than being a loose connection of traits, necessitating in-depth investigation....Contexts are unique and dynamic, hence case studies investigate and report the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance (Cohen et. al, 2000:181).

The case study research became useful in this study in examining and investigating interactive processes, which happen within NGOs as decisions are generated and actualised. The strength of the case study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify, or attempt to identify, the various interactive processes at work. These processes may remain hidden in a large scale survey, but may be crucial to the success or failure of systems or organisations (Bell, 1999:11). The case study was found to be appropriate for this study because it is concerned about the organisations and their impact on Sustainable Development. It was important to

make in-depth investigation through case study method to reveal essential processes that happen within organisations, between organisations and other systems/forces.

The researcher used semi-structured interviews, observations and examined documents as earlier noted. This was necessitated because qualitative methods consist of three kinds of data collection: in-depth, open-ended interviews, direct observation and reading of written documents. Semi-structured interviewing can provide a greater breadth of data than the other types, given its qualitative nature (Best and Kahn, 1993 and Fantana and Frey, 2000).

The researcher managed to get a lot of information through semi-structured interview because the same open ended questions were asked. This confirmed the point that, semi-structured interview manages to both address the need for comparable responses, that is, they are the same questions being asked each interviewee. The interview is developed through a conversation between interviewer and interviewee, which is often very rich and rewarding. They can unearth valuable information that tight questions do not allow (Wisker, 2001:188 and Ely, et al, 1991:66). A major advantage of the interview is its adaptability. A skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaire can never do. The way in which a response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression and hesitation) can provide information that a written response would conceal.

Questionnaire responses have to be taken at face value, but a response in an interview can be developed and clarified (Bell, 2003:135). The investigator must be open to possible changes in direction during research to ascertain that necessary and useful information is collected (Silverman, 1985). During field work the researcher managed to effect necessary adjustments to questions in order to get required information. Most importantly, the researcher came up with probing questions, which provided necessary clarity and gathered a lot of information from how responses were made. For example, gestures that accompanied answers were noted.

The case study permitted the use of semi-structured interviews, observations and examination of documents, which provided enriched data. The researcher managed to observe beneficiaries and the activities that they undertook in their projects. For example,

some of the dilapidated houses that were built by PTB were visited and some beneficiaries were observed working on their projects. It could have been difficult to believe that some projects were working if no activities had taken place during the presence of the researcher.

Observation proved to be an effective source of information. Observation enabled the researcher to capture what people actually do rather than what they say they do (Wisker, 2001:178). This was possible because observation allows researchers to understand much more about what goes on in complex real world situations, than through questionnaires and interviews (Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003:117). The researcher developed the observation schedule that enhanced the recording of activities. This arrangement made the researcher come up with some questions for the semi-structured interview, which were influenced by what was observed. The observation was well planned so that the field was narrowed and notes were carefully made to sift out irrelevant data (Wisker, 2001:180).

The use of semi-structured interviews by the researcher allowed for the necessary adjustments to be made. It was possible to make adjustments because semi-structured interviews are an open situation, having greater flexibility and freedom (Cohen and Manion, 1981 and Kerlinger, 1970). The interviewer maintained a neutral stance on all questions to avoid biasing the responses (Borg and Gall, 1989:453). The study used open ended questions, which enhanced the flow of information and flexibility. Open-ended questions also encouraged interviewees to express qualitative knowledge in their normal language (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:272).

The group in-depth interviews were also necessitated for the study. The use of in-depth group interviews made it possible for the researcher to get important data, which the individual interviews could have not been able to source. It came to light that, the interaction among group members stimulated new ideas regarding the topic, which could have not been mentioned in individual interviewing. The group in-depth interviews provided some ideas of the dynamics of attitudes and opinions (Goldman, 1962:62). The advantages of in-depth group interviews are that, group setting is emotionally provocative in a way that an individual interview cannot be, discussion in a group often provokes considerably greater spontaneity and candour than can be expected in an individual interview. Candour is permitted not only because the members of the group understand and

feel comfortable with one another, but also because they draw social strength from each other (Goldman, 1962:62-63).

The examination and analysing of documents was also necessitated. Documents do not simply reflect, but they also construct social reality and versions of events. Documents are viewed as media through which social power is expressed (May, 2001:183). However, the researcher was mindful of the reality that, documents, whatever their nature (statistics or words, official or unofficial, public or private), cannot be taken at face value. They are artificial and partial accounts, which need to be critically assessed if they are used for research purposes (Blaxer, Hughes and Tight, 2006:208).

Data that are collected for this study are highly enriched because various data collection techniques were employed, namely: Interviews, observations and examination of documents. The data was placed in groups, sub-sets and categories on the basis of some clear criterion namely: meanings, relationships and settings, as echoed by (Lecompte and Preissle, 1993:257). The researcher clustered units of relevant meanings, determined themes from clusters of meanings, contextualised themes and composed findings and conclusions, guided by what (Hycner as cited by Cohen and Manion, 1994:292-6) averred. This arrangement enhanced analysis of data, which consists of examining, categorising, tabulating or otherwise re-combining the evidence, to address the initial propositions of a study (Yin, 1984:99). It has to be noted that, in qualitative analysis several simultaneous activities engage the researcher, namely: Collecting information from the field, sorting the information into categories, formatting information into a story or picture and actually writing the qualitative text (Creswell, 1994:153).

The recording of field notes in this study enhanced its quality. As interviews were conducted, with permission of the interviewees, field notes were written so that important information does not get lost in the process of interviewing. This process was executed during the interviews in situations where it proved to be not distractive. Field notes were necessitated in recording those occurrences that the researcher observed, immediately as they occurred, or later after observation. During interviews they were a few instances when the researcher had to conduct interviews first before writing notes. It is important to note that as recommended by (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996:351), field notes that were written were

detailed, concrete, descriptive and reflective. As recommended, when taking notes it was ascertained that anacolutha and paralinguistic information is not lost (Powney and Watts, 1987:27).

The researcher used a tape recorder to record during interviews. This process was conducted with permission of the interviewees. It is worth noting that, in majority of cases Basarwa interviewees did not want to be tape recorded which resulted in the avoidance of the use of a tape recorder. The use of the tape recorder was necessary because the two most common methods of recording interviews are by field notes and audio tape recording (Powney and Watts, 1987:27). During the field work the researcher held to ethical values and ascertained that data was not passed on to any entity or individual. This was necessary because it was expressed upon research participants that information that they provided will be held in strict confidence, as recommended by (Berg, 1995:105).

3.4 Study Population

The population is the aggregate of all observations of interest to the researcher (Sax, 1979:180). In this study the researcher had a population of members of communities who benefited from interventions by three NGOs that were identified. The three NGOs namely; Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE), Serowe Brigade Development Trust (SBDT) and Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB) formed the cases that were thoroughly studied. The officials of Three NGOs who work directly with communities in realising Sustainable Development formed part of the population. In a nutshell, NGO workers were interviewed as well as members of selected communities that benefit or have benefitted from interventions by the three aforementioned NGOs. Most importantly, the nonagenarian who founded brigades' movement in Botswana was also interviewed. The NGO officials were also interviewed having been selected purposively. The role that an individual plays in the organisation influenced his/her selection.

They were twenty one (21) elite interviews that were conducted. They involved two (2) Directors, One (1) founder/pioneer of the brigade movement, two (2) Coordinators, three (3) Managers, one (1) Consultant, three (3) Board members, three (3) Projects Officers,

three (3) former board members and three (3) traditional leaders. Thirteen (13) respondents were men and eight (8) were women. Four (4) respondents were of ages ranging from eighteen to thirty (18-30) years, seven (7) of ages range thirty one to forty (31-40) years, five (5) of age range forty one to fifty (41-50) years, two (2) of age range fifty one to sixty (51-60) years, one (1) of age range sixty one to seventy (61-70) years, one (1) of age range seventy one to eighty (71-80) years and one (1) of age range ninety and beyond (91+) years. The marital status of the interviewees is as follows: two (2) never married, two (2) widowed, one (1) divorced, three (3) separated, five (5) co-habiting and eight (8) married.

The researcher interviewed sixty one (61) beneficiaries amongst them twenty seven (27) who were in five (5) groups. The aforementioned benefitted from interventions of three identified NGOs namely: SBDT, CORDE and PTB. Forty four (44) of the interviewees were men whilst seventeen (17) of them were women. Ten (10) respondents were of age range eighteen to thirty (18-30) years of age, fourteen (14) of thirty one to forty (31-40), nine (9) of age range forty one to fifty (41-50), fourteen (14) of fifty one to sixty (51-60), seven (7) of sixty one to seventy (61-70), four (4) of seventy one to eighty (71-80), and three (3) of eighty one to ninety (81-90) age range. The marital status of the interviewees was as follows: twelve (12) never married, five (5) widowed, five (5) divorced, four (4) separated, twenty (20) co-habiting and fifteen (15) married.

Interviews and observations of the aforementioned were conducted in Serowe and Mahalapye villages, Tshimoyapula village, Mogobe-wa Mosu in the Boteti area, Mmatshumu and Makalamabedi villages, Mosu village, Lentswe le moriti village, Mothabaneng village, Paje village, Kwee settlement and Robelela settlement in the Central District. Letlhakeng village, Dutlwe village and Kaudwane settlement in the Kweneng District. Ramotswa in South East district. East and West Hanahai, Qabo and Ghanzi Township in the Ghanzi District. Mochudi and Mathobudukwane villages in Kgatleng district, Kanye in Southern District. Lobatse Town and Gaborone City. Documents were obtained from SBDT and PTB in Serowe village and from CORDE in Gaborone City. It is important to note that SBDT and PTB have their head offices in Serowe village and CORDE in the capital city of Gaborone, which is the capital city of Botswana.

The group interviews were conducted in Khwee settlement, East Hanahai settlement, West Hanahai settlement, Lentswe le moriti village and Ramotswa village.

The study was undertaken for duration of six months starting from the 18/06/07 ending on the 08/01/08. The activities that were undertaken involved the securing of the research permit, visiting the NGOs for introductions, observations, conducting of interviews and studying of documents. All aforementioned activities were undertaken with the view that interviewees and documents were an important resource for the study.

3.5 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

It is impractical if not impossible for any research to study the whole population (Best and Kahn, 1993:13). This is the main reason why it is important to employ strategies that are appropriate in selecting a study population. In purposive sampling which is a non-probability strategy, researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the bases of their judgment and their typicality. In this way, they build up a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs (Cohen, Mansion and Morrion, 2000:103). In accomplishing this goal, 'information rich' cases were selected, that is individuals, groups and organisations that provided the greatest insight into the research question (Miles and Huberman, 1994:34). Since the study is qualitative, the researcher had to employ the strategy that was appropriate for the mentioned paradigm. Qualitative research most often uses 'purposive' rather than random sampling strategies (Devers and Frankel, 2000:263). The use of purposive sampling was important because the selection of the NGOs that were studied was done in a way that ascertains that proper representation was enhanced.

The selection of beneficiaries was also done with the purpose of establishing proper representation. The following areas influenced the selection of the respondents: age, gender, type of assistance received, socio-economic status, location of respondent, political status, such as the role the respondent plays in the community, social status, such as some disability and or ethnicity.

What made three NGOs qualify for this study is because they are inspired by the concept of Sustainable Development. They were also selected because of their different attributes, such as the approach that each of them employ in an attempt to achieve SD. The Cooperation for Research, Development and Education (CORDE) is an NGO that conduct research in the areas of development and education. It is concerned about the education of the people on development issues. The second NGO that was studied is, Serowe Brigades Development Trust (SBDT), which is concerned about the provision of survival skills in an effort to alleviate poverty amongst the rural populace. The last of the three NGOs is, The Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB), which has a strong focus on ecological issues than the other two that are already mentioned.

3.6 Transferability and conformability

The researcher thoroughly described the research context, so that the findings can be transferred to similar contexts or settings. This process is known as transferability, which refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts or settings (Trichom, 2002:1). The study enhanced transferability because the researcher circumspectly described research contexts and strongly maintained the required level of objectivity. The researcher also provided questions that the research intended to address, which is important for transferability. Most importantly, the necessary information on how the study was conducted is provided, such as how the study population was identified. The study results can be confirmed or corroborated because the researcher documented the procedures and checked and re-checked the data throughout the period of the study. The researcher conducted some data audit that helped in the examination of the data collection and analysis procedures.

3.7 Significance of the Study

The study looked at the impact of Non Governmental Organizations in Sustainable Development in Botswana. This study was conducted as partial fulfilment of a doctoral programme in the Department of Politics of the University of Sheffield. However, the study

is not only significant for the mentioned purpose because its spin-offs will go a long way to assist the government and other stakeholders, such as NGOs that are concerned with community development issues. The findings that emerged from the study will provide some justification for the contextualisation of the activities of some NGOs, mostly those in developing countries where abject poverty is prevalent. The study may also influence the empowerment of communities, so that they take charge of their own lives.

The study is also likely to inform the donors, on how the resources that are channelled to developing countries help in improving the socio-economic status of the people. It will also provide avenues for discourses on whether such improvements can be sustained.

The study is likely to assist government and other stakeholders in both developed and developing countries to bring to existence some legislations or policy framework, to help in making NGOs more responsive to the challenges that are faced by the communities. It may also inform NGOs in developing countries to demand power, to make their own plans with less or no interference from governments and donors, on areas that can best help the underprivileged.

Since it was found out that NGOs are not fully contributing towards Sustainable Development because of various reasons conveyed in this thesis, the information is available on how NGOs can improve their performance.

The absence of a large body of reliable evidence on the impact and effectiveness of NGOs makes it very difficult to generalise about them. Most studies of NGOs' impact are often restricted to agencies working in a particular sector, which makes measurement easier. Internal evaluations are rarely released, and what is released comes closer to propaganda than rigorous assessment (Fowler as cited by Edwards and Hulme, 2002:6). This study to a significant extent does provide some useful information on NGOs. This information can be utilised in instigating some useful discourse on the development industry.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

The study is of a qualitative nature, with concentration only in NGOs in Botswana. The research did not reach other parts of Southern Africa to give it some regional perspective and coverage. The researcher wanted to interview civil servants and International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs) officials, but was constrained by financial resources and limited time allocated to the study.

The NGOs that were studied are still providing some necessary assistance to some respective communities. This situation may have generated some fear on the beneficiaries and made it difficult for them to provide some information, which they felt would jeopardise their future interaction with NGOs.

The researcher conducted the study as an assignment for the intended qualification, with a well-specified duration and limited resources.

3.9 Protection of informants

The most important thing that the researcher was concerned about was to maintain an excellent relationship with the informants, through observing the necessary ethics. The researcher was aware that any unethical behaviour can tarnish the image of the institution, which in this case is, The University of Sheffield. It could also jeopardise chances of other researchers getting the same privilege extended to them in the future. As some of the informants wanted their identities concealed, the researcher abided and allowed them to go incognito. This was done in the light of the understanding that, the researcher has a moral and professional obligation to be ethical, even when research subjects are unaware of or unconcerned about ethics (Neuman, 2000:90).

The case study design does recognise the importance of ethics. Nearly every case study presents an investigator with a choice regarding the anonymity of the case. The anonymity issue can be raised at two levels: that of the entire case (or cases) and that of an individual person within a case (or cases). The most common rationale is that, when the case study is

on a controversial topic, anonymity serves to protect the real case and its real participants (Yin, 1984:137). The essence of anonymity is that information provided by participants should in no way reveal their identities (Cohen and Manion, 1994:366).

The researcher met the potential informants before gathering information and informed them about the purpose of the study and their rights as informants, such as withdrawing at anytime from study. It is important to state that no informant withdrew from the study. Had it happened, it could have been recorded, adduced and thoroughly analysed.

3.10 Conclusion

The qualitative research is important to qualitative researchers just in a way quantitative research is to quantitative researchers. It is important to make qualitative research projects reliable and worthwhile. In the light of this view, methodology section of a qualitative study should be written in a manner that furnishes explicit information on how data were gathered. Inadequate information on how information was gathered and analysed can only help to undermine qualitative studies. Qualitative studies provide hope for those people that quantitative studies have succeeded in relegating to the periphery. Qualitative studies achieve this through demystification of strategies and techniques, which is reinforced in this study by explicit narration of processes that were necessitated by the researcher.

In the methodology section of this study the research design is laid into perspective with the help of literature that is generated by authorities that subscribe to qualitative research paradigm. The section provides information on the case study method that was used in this study. The section also touches on sampling that provides information on how organisations and people who participated in the research project were indentified. They were identified through purposive sampling, which was found to be most appropriate.

It is important to note that, this section provides justification and qualifications for the use of qualitative paradigm. The question whether case study, purposive sampling, semi-structured interview, open ended questions, observation, group interviews and examination of documents were appropriate for this study is satisfactorily answered.

Disempowered members of communities do not trust researchers. They are usually mistaken for disguised security agents who obtain information which they use against their victims. It is in the light of this reality that the researcher provided some assurance to respondents that information that they provide would not be used against them. The issue of protection of interviewees is important not only in this study. The researcher wanted to ensure that future researchers who will go to the same communities are welcome without any fear of betrayal. The researcher re-assured those who participated in the study that their rights will be observed to ensure that they are protected against victimization. For example, the researcher assured respondents that their identities will under no circumstances be disclosed. This was also in compliance with conditions of a research permit that was given for the study by the Ministry of Home Affairs in Botswana.

Chapter 4

4.1 Serowe Brigade Development Trust (SBDT)

4.2. Education with production for Sustainable Development

4.3 Introduction

The importance of this chapter in the study cannot be overemphasised. It places important points into perspective regarding how SBDT was started and changed overtime. Patrick Van Rensburg, who was a driving force behind a philosophy of 'education with production' that influenced SBDT, ably spread it in Serowe village. Education with production was aimed at functioning to economically and politically empower poor people of Serowe village, who heavily relied on agricultural activities. It provided them with necessary skills for their livelihood, such as those on animal husbandry and building construction. Patrick

Van Rensburg through SBDT, helped in the establishment of some income generating activities through the running of cooperatives and brigades. It was his guidance and leadership that proved instrumental in taking poor people on board, so that they can escape from poverty through their own efforts. This arrangement embraced the understanding that people should have a right to a say and involvement in the services they use and the institutions that affect them (Beresford, and Croft, 1992: X), if they are to be empowered.

Patrick Van Rensburg's leadership contributed to making SBDT achieve its objective of getting poor people to participate in the decision making and evaluation processes. It is worth mentioning that the processes were arranged by SBDT officials who invited the people of Serowe village to partake in such processes. For example, people of Serowe village were invited to meetings that were arranged by SBDT. It was at such meetings that community members were given room to make decisions on specific activities of SBDT.

What is interesting is that SBDT amongst its activities had those projects that were specifically meant for women, such as Boiteko project. At the time Boiteko was started, it had emerged that the exploitation of women was severe, since they often carried the burdens of parenthood alone and had no voice on matters concerning their welfare and development (Van Rensburg, 1978:71). The arrangement was important because decisions that are made in the participatory context are generally more feasible and sustainable than decisions that are made by experts alone (The World Bank Group, 2001:1).

It has to be made clear that, despite SBDT's efforts to introduce projects specifically for women, it remains hard to believe that they were politically empowering, even though they may have been economically empowering. This is chiefly because SBDT did not deal with women's oppression in a broader sense. For example, gender political empowerment programme was not designed with women, so that they can challenge the status quo that perpetuated their lack of political power in the public domain.

This chapter of the thesis will argue that, the Government of Botswana and its subsequent interference, which was accompanied by resources that were given to SBDT, impacted negatively on the participation of poor people in the decision making and evaluation processes. It is demonstrated in this chapter that participation of people took a nosedive,

when the government injected its influence and resources. The policies by the government meant that people who are not poor and those not from Serowe village got benefits from SBDT. For example, they enrolled in its training programmes, which would have not been easy during its inception. SBDT is now involved in the broad scope of development, which the government advocates for. The arrangement undermines SBDT's efforts to alleviate poverty amongst the Serowe community. It also does not promote parsimonious utilisation of resources in the community, nor accountability amongst community members. For example, SBDT accountability was re-defined to place emphasise on production of reports for consumption by the Ministry of Education. This means SBDT no longer necessitated accountability for the benefit of its beneficiaries. Lack of accountability as earlier noted in this thesis, can lead to the diversion of many of those resources meant for poor people for political ends, favouring influential people (Lancaster, 1999:27).

The Government of Botswana wanted all development efforts to be aimed at improving the life of its citizens who live in rural areas by increasing their ability to participate in their own development (Botswana Government, 1976:6). This broad pronouncement was used by the Government of Botswana to justify its control of SBDT. The point that the government raised was that SBDT and government pursued the same objective of promoting participation of poor people in alleviating poverty. It is important to note that government agencies view participation as a means to reach expenditure targets through enrolling NGOs or community institutions in implementation (Mosse, 2002:29). This form of participation does not serve to empower communities because plans and strategies for development are designed by the government and channelled to communities for implementation.

SBDT was focused in the development of Serowe village and not on any national agenda before the government imposed its policies and resources on it. The imposition of government policies means that political and economic power that poor people had is undermined and will be systematically eroded. It is so because Botswana's democracy has not responded to the modern needs of greater participation and responsiveness beyond the electoral process (Edge and Lekorwe, 1998:375).

The failure of the government to promote participation and responsiveness beyond electoral process means that SBDT was affected by such failure when the government strongly injected its influence. This means the objectives on which SBDT was established are undermined.

The following are objectives on which SBDT was established:

- To provide education and training while drawing minimally on scarce resources

- To create resources that adds value to the stock of the community's wealth while preventing over exploitation of such finite resources

-To produce goods and services not otherwise available to the community in order to achieve a measure of import substitution

- To create employment for the poor as a measure of poverty alleviation

- To innovate in various ways through introduction of new skills, new techniques and methods of production

- To provide a humane, people centred orientation to development, through promotion of a sense of, and pride in, craftsmanship and job satisfaction

- To provide an orientation to work, production and development, this is often missing from more conventional forms of trade training (Van Rensburg, 1978:15).

It has to be mentioned that the aforementioned objectives were formulated with consultation with the people of Serowe village through their traditional structures, such as Village Development Committees (VDCs). A Village Development Committee is the institutional mechanism for bringing together for village development purposes headman, district councillor, government extension officials, village representatives and other village leaders in a context supposedly free of party politics (Stevens and Speed, 1977:72). It was through the VDC and other avenues, such as community kgotla meetings, that Patrick Van

Rensburg managed to mobilise support in the village of Serowe for purposes of starting SBDT. However, it is worth noting that these structures are not always conducive for decision making because they are often controlled by people who are both politically and economically empowered.

They are two intriguing points to be made about PTB's aforementioned objectives. Firstly, they were formulated through structures that are not always appropriate in promoting full participation of minority groups such as women. This is because members of minority groups, such as women, are usually not confident enough to express their views on societies that undermine their contributions. Secondly, the objectives do not show any time frame indicating when they should be achieved. This inevitably makes it difficult for them to be evaluated to determine their realisation or lack thereof.

4.4 Historical Background

The Serowe Brigades Development Trust (SBDT) was started around 1962 with the help of Patrick Van Rensburg who was an exile from Republic of South Africa, which then was still under the apartheid rule. He confined his effort to Serowe village where he worked with the people to start the first brigade in Botswana. Patrick Van Rensburg believed that the rural and urban areas are closely inter-related, and that the stagnation of the former is the direct consequence of the growth of the latter. According to him, rural areas act as a 'colony' to the towns, supplying cheap materials, foodstuffs and labour, while at the same time their own output is reduced in the face of urban mass-produced finished goods. Van Rensburg suggested that the process may be reversed only if the relationship is broken, and if the self-sufficiency and internal trade of the rural areas are raised by increasing their range of productive activities (Fisher, 1975:158-9). SBDT was therefore started in an attempt to achieve self-sufficiency through increasing and maintaining internal trade in the village of Serowe, so that the village can be economically empowered. The arrangement supported the view that, power cannot change if it is inherent in positions or people (Page and Czuba, 1991:1). This was achieved through transferring economic power, in form of both financial and human resources, to the community of Serowe that had no such power.

In 1963 Patrick Van Rensburg together with the people of Serowe had already begun a builder's brigade (Ward, 1972:613). In 1966, on the initiative of members of Swaneng Hill School staff, in co-operation with the village of Serowe, a women's self help group known as the *Basadi ba ba Ithusang* (Women who help themselves) was also established as part of SBDT. In 1967 a textile workshop was started, which taught fabric printing, dress making, spinning and weaving as well as a farmers' brigade (Ward, 1972:613). In a nutshell, the first brigade to be established was the builder's brigade; which had low capital costs to launch and played the role of constructing buildings of the newer brigades, at costs considerably below those of commercial contractors (Van Rensburg, 1978:3). The capital costs for launching the farmers' brigade were provided by the Danish Government and for the textile workshop by the Peace Corps, the Botswana Government Community Development Department, the Dulverton Trust and other private sources. The funding was made available on the basis of an already conceived model of education with production, which was engineered by Patrick Van Rensburg. It is important to note that, though funding came from outside Serowe village, poor people of Serowe were well consulted by Patrick Van Rensburg and the team of villagers which was formed. The donors provided funding for SBDT with full knowledge that Patrick Van Rensburg was to lead the development agenda in Serowe village, based on already conceived principle of education with production.

At the time Patrick Van Rensburg initiated the inception of the first brigade, together with the people of Serowe, he had already started a secondary school in 1962 in Serowe village; as a response to local call for a need for secondary education. Even after inception of a secondary school, that could not fully satisfy Patrick Van Rensburg and the people of Serowe. They felt a secondary school was an island of privilege, separate from and yet heavily subsidised by the rural community, and used by the few to qualify for urban white collar jobs (Fisher, 1975:158). There was a feeling in Serowe village that some limitation of formal education was that it lacked the ingredients necessary to equip people with appropriate life skills, particularly those of self confidence and self reliance. This, it was promulgated, resulted in many people leaving the educational system poorly equipped to earn a livelihood and support themselves and their communities (Douglass, 1979:1). It is argued that, Van Rensburg was against elitism and was for popularly based programmes, which could create village opportunities and correct a tendency to concentrate much on

modern sector development and wage employment, which did not have capacity to end poverty in the community (Werbner, 1976: 213).

SBDT was necessitated to provide training at various levels in different skills namely: building, plumbing, stonemasonry, thatching, farming, intensive horticulture, pottery, tanning, printing, mechanics and panel beating, welding and metal work, electrical, textile and book-keeping. The courses were provided as post primary education for the majority of young adults who could not gain places into the secondary school system. The courses were conducted in a very distinctive way, providing on the job apprenticeship scheme mainly on building, but also on farming, textiles, tanning, pottery, printing, mechanical and electrical engineering. SBDT was established both as an enterprise and a centre for education and skills provision (Van Rensburg, 1978:5).

The dual functions were of equal significance and served to augment each other. The trainees received their training at the same time performing related jobs, such as guiding poor farmers on improving their livestock rearing skills. The people of Serowe had the willingness to participate in activities of the brigades. This is important because if development is to change people's lives, they should be willing to embrace change. Individuals and groups can offer ideas, suggestions and leadership, but the ultimate efficacy lies in the willingness of the people to adopt them as part of their daily existence (Thomas, 1988:352).

Alongside the brigades emerged cooperatives, through which people of Serowe sold their produce and imported goods that they needed into their village. Simultaneous running of a cooperative and brigades allowed the costs of running the brigades and multi-purpose co-operative to be partly paid for from the productive work done by the trainees (Van Rensburg, 1978:18). The drive to realise set targets to generate production to recoup costs incurred on training and education were of paramount importance. The village co-operative was highly diversified and maximized the use of local materials and pooled surpluses into a fund that was jointly shared among the villagers who worked on the diverse lines of production (Werbner, 1976:212). The working together of villagers promoted participation, which brings with it commitment, and commitment brings with it great effort, the kind of effort that is required to make any project succeed (Stiglitz, 2002:2).

SBDT believed that the expended resources should add value to the community's wealth, than to enrich individuals or be taken away from the village. This form of organisation was relevant because it epitomised the need of poor rural people to work together and spread the benefits of their economic activity (Fisher, 1975:159). This arrangement added value to sustainability since resources were exploited for the benefit of poor people in the village instead of outsiders. SBDT was also geared towards maximum utilisation of all available resources, so that a high percentage of the daily needs of the people can be locally produced by small industries and a diversified agriculture (Ward, 1972:612). This was important for the economic empowerment of the people, because for economic empowerment to be achieved people should be provided with the necessary skills, which enhances their confidence (Bartle, 2006:2).

What is already said points to the fact that, SBDT was started with the aim of ameliorating living standard of the people of Serowe village. It also aimed at saving environmental resources. For example, through good farming methods resources that could have been destroyed were saved. This provokes the most intriguing question, which is, how did poor people of Serowe village participate in SBDT activities? They participated chiefly through making decisions concerning the running of SBDT at meetings that were organised by the NGO itself. For example, kgotla meetings were called at which reports on the performance of SBDT were presented. Poor people were at liberty to raise questions and inject their decisions that were immediately taken on board for assessment by experts. It can be argued that, SBDT employed participation by consultation, but allowed the people to also retain control over how resources are used (Centre for Environment and Society, 2006:1). This arrangement enhanced their participation and political empowerment because they supposedly contributed to the decision making process, which is important for SD.

Poor families that needed assistance were given skills that enabled them to produce food for themselves and undertake tasks for income generation. For example, they produced vegetables and handicrafts that they consumed and sold for some income. Young adults from such families were provided with free skills training by SBDT. The contents of the courses that SBDT provided were designed to meet the needs of more mature and poorer people with less educational background than that of trainees at other levels (Van

Rensburg, 1978:57). For example, they received skills on brick-laying and carpentry that enabled them to form syndicates and provide service and products to Serowe village, which had an estimated population of 52,831 people in 2001 (Central Statistics Office, 2008:1).

The young adults who received training from SBDT also volunteered to provide poor people with skills, so that they can start their own projects (Van Rensburg, 1978:17). It has to be noted that the level of participation that SBDT promoted was not enough to allow villagers to continue running brigades and cooperatives unaided. However, SBDT ascertained availability of good leaders and helpful procedures, such as accountability of SBDT to the people of Serowe, which was guided by education with production, technologies which were meant to promote autonomy and self reliance, which according to (Oakley as cited by Shepherd, 1998:182) are important for both economic and political empowerment of the ordinary people. However, this form of empowerment does not build capacity for people to run a complex structure such as an NGO on their own because they do not get training specifically for such responsibility.

4.5 Government dominance

4.6 Government disempowering process

This section like any other section of this thesis has an important specific purpose. It is meant to demonstrate how Serowe Brigades Development Trust (SBDT) emerged as an NGO that was geared towards serving the economically deprived section of Serowe community, before the Government of Botswana "Spiked the gun". The section will show that the people of Serowe village felt SBDT on its inception took their decisions on board and helped them directly in fighting poverty in their village. This manifestation cannot be misconstrued to mean that the people of Serowe village had absolute power in the running of SBDT. However, SBDT was more accountable to them than it is under the Government of Botswana. It will be demonstrated that the Government of Botswana through its Ministry of Education injected its financial resources and imposed its policies on SBDT. This arrangement inevitably ostracised poor people from SBDT's activities and undermined

participation, which brings with it the willingness that is necessary if the people are to contribute to their development (Stiglitz, 2002:2).

The Government of Botswana started its imposition by engaging a vocational training administrator and a sociologist, both from Sweden, to appraise the performance of SBDT and other brigades in Botswana. The experts in fulfilling the government assignment produced a controversial and highly critical report on the performance of brigades in Botswana (Van Rensburg, 1978:15). As a response to that report, the Government of Botswana established National Brigades Co-ordinating Committee, which represented all centres and served as an advisory body to the Ministry of Education (Mitchison, 1973:458).

The establishment of National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC) was necessitated by the government and no measures were taken to educate the people of Serowe about its functions. This was because the government did not value any participation of Serowe people on SBDT activities, despite the NGO having been started with them. The targets that were to be achieved, such as the form of certification SBDT was to embark on, were set by government officials. This is the kind of situation that is most damaging because it places the drive to disburse and to achieve physical targets above participation (Chambers, 1999:224).

Botswana government through its Ministry of Education appointed a brigade survey mission in 1973. Its mission was largely to advise the Ministry of Education on the relationship it should adopt in dealing with the brigades. All decisions pertaining to that relationship, which the government adopted, were arrived at without active participation of SBDT beneficiaries. The government relied on information that it received from experts from Sweden and brigades survey mission respectively, ignoring positive results that SBDT made in Serowe village. SBDT produced very good results as exemplified by 1973 performance. Nearly nine hundred (900) brigade and one thousand four hundred (1,400) secondary school students were being trained during 1973 in schemes set up or inspired by Van Rensburg together with the people of Serowe village, and this was achieved at very low cost (Fisher, 1975:160).

The involvement of the government in the running of SBDT as well as Swaneng Hill School, from which SBDT trainees were drawn, meant that experts were brought in to take full control of both the school and SBDT. This means that the government undermines development that is necessary for empowerment, which meets the needs of the people of Serowe village. Needs cannot be fully met neither through economic development that serve alien economic and political interests nor by external agencies which assume that local people have nothing to contribute in terms of decisions and resources (Reid, 1995:87 and Clark, 1991).

The Ministry of Education set standards that are observed when enrolling potential trainees. The standards emphasise good performance on theoretical subjects such as mathematics, geography, religious education, physics, chemistry and others. As a result of the obtrusion of policies by government, Swaneng Hill School stopped its old emphasis on involvement with practical village life. It stopped educating students so that they develop a commitment to their community, not shun physical work and possess skills relevant for their rural situation (Fisher, 1975:158). This arrangement ignores the view that schooling cannot respond to the needs of the population as a whole, neither in terms of absorbing everyone, nor in terms of creating a dedicated leadership able to make the sacrifices that are required for local and national development (Van Rensburg, 1978:15).

Under the government, the school is back to standard examination passing with all emphasis placed on classroom work. The government system of schooling leaves most pupils aiming either to get the white collar professions or office jobs both in the daily increasing ranks of the public and private sector, stranded (Mitchison, 1973:458). Initially, the secondary school students and the brigade trainees combined as a way of relating intellectual and manual work, which meant they were made to appreciate theory and practice. Work was used as a means to generate income, to prepare for a future occupation, and above all as a means to combat elitism and poverty (Parsons, 1983 and Van Rensburg, 1978). SBDT was constituted to rapidly become all round tool of social and economic development in Serowe village, which provided education and training while drawing minimally on resources of the village (Van Rensburg, 1978:1).

As a result of the imposition of policies and resources by the government, gains that were realised through education with production, such as production of food for the needy, is reversed. The need to empower the people of Serowe village economically and politically is no longer paramount. The brigades were transformed into industrial brigades, from the agricultural or craft type (Mitchison, 1973:458). This means that they provide advanced form of training programmes. SBDT no longer acts as a 'social safety valve', harnessing the energies of large numbers of rural youth who might otherwise have become idle, disaffected and alienated (Van Rensburg, 2005: 2).

Under the government the school got back to standard examination passing, with all the emphasis on class collar professions and office jobs (Mitchison, 1972:458). The training programmes are not meant for immediate application in Serowe village. Instead, they are meant for formal employment in the civil service and private sector. This form of education and training does not resonate with what Gergis advanced as appropriate for the empowerment of poor people. It does not provide the poor and the disadvantaged with the means to increase their productivity and income earning power. It does not enhance the bargaining power of the poor, foster assertiveness and self confidence (Gergis, 1999:13). This means the training that is provided by SBDT does not empower its beneficiaries as it did before the government injected its influence.

SBDT does not account to the poor people but to the Department of Vocational Education and Training (DVET), which is under the Ministry of Education. SBDT does account to DVET in line with policies of the Government of Botswana. It is important to note that, NGOs are supposed to protect human rights by opening up channels of communication and participation if they want to achieve Sustainable Development (Edwards and Hulme, 1995: 4). It is clear that SBDT cannot achieve what is recommended by Edwards and Hulme because it fails to communicate with poor people, who are not of the theoretical or notional aptitude to understand reports that are produced for DVET. This arrangement compromises accountability, which should be conducted in other ways than upward reporting and accounting, which undermines downward communication to the community (Shepherd, 1998:240). Instead, it reinforces implicit assumption that people can not behave in a communicatively rational way, which justifies their exclusion from communication channels through which accountability gets fulfilled (Leeuwis, 2000:939).

It is examined that, the Government of Botswana through its policies, managed to transform SBDT from an NGO, to become pseudo NGO that is under its control. NGOs are said to work with grassroots organisations that are often comprised of poor and marginalised groups. They are normally hailed for working in rural areas, where majority of the poor are confined and languishing in abysmal poverty (Mercer 2002, Green and Matthias 1997). It is notable that in most cases the assessment of NGOs does not take into consideration the influence that other forces have over them. SBDT serves as a good example of an NGO that due to government policies deviated from its original plan and became completely unreachable to poor people of Serowe village. The flaw that came from government policies defeats the dictates of Sustainable Development, which advocates for the beneficiaries of development to decide the form their development should take and fully participate in actualising such decisions (Veolia Environment, 2006:1).

The failure of the NGO such as SBDT can be attributed to its lack of power to challenge or change policies that are imposed by the Government. NGOs in Botswana do not have capacity to challenge policies except to make contributions, which are either accepted or rejected by the government. For example, NGOs have a say in the statement of environmental problems, the extent to which the input from these organisations is actually included in the national environmental agenda remains questionable (Atlhopheng, Molebatsi, Toteng and Totolo, 1998:5).

It is important to note that according to (Beresford and Croft, 1993:x), the control through the use of policies by the governments is not always wrong, provided the aim is to increase people's participation than to inhibit it. As earlier noted in this chapter, the government of Botswana imposed policies that undermined participation of the beneficiaries of SBDT. This situation confirms that governments often overpower NGOs and put them under their control (Sesan, 2006:2) and yet governments in developing countries are controlled by western powers. Western powers through such things as economic aid programmes and diplomatic initiatives tend strongly to support the very governments whose policies are responsible for perpetuating poverty and hunger and oppose reformist, radical and revolutionary regimes which hold out hope of a better life to the poor (Griffin, 1987:17).

It is indisputable that SBDT was founded by an individual. However, that individual took the poor people of Serowe village on board, so that they participated in its activities and ultimately benefit from its interventions. One of the elders in the village of Serowe who benefitted from the SBDT through training, in an interview held on the 30/08/07, echoed that,

> Before the brigades started a committee that was made up of elected members of the community went from ward to ward informing people of Serowe about the intended project. The committee solicited decisions from members of the community on how they wished the brigades to run. After some consultations on the wards in the village, kgotla (Traditional podium) meetings were called to further discuss how the project would be undertaken. Initially, some people were suspicious that SBDT was not going to benefit poor people in the village, who were sidelined by the economic system that the Government of Botswana adopted at independence. It emerged that the brigades were meant to benefit poor people when their children were enrolled to acquire skills, such as bricklaying, which proved to be of immediate use in the village. The brigades operated hand in hand with their sister cooperatives, which sold goods produced by the brigades at reasonable prices to community members. The cooperatives directly engaged poor people in generating income for re-investment and for their economic uplift. The brigades and cooperatives provided income generating opportunities, such as employment, that improved the socio-economic status of poor people in Serowe village. The villagers also jealously guarded against exploitation of resources from their village, such as soil, which they used to produce bricks for the builders' brigade. They got direct benefits from their resources.

It is important to note that efforts were employed to consult the people of Serowe village, who later benefitted from SBDT by Patrick Van Rensburg. However, it is worth noting that consultations were undertaken on decisions that were already formulated. For example, people of Serowe village were not approached with a broad view of alleviating poverty and conservation of finite environmental resources, with a view of allowing them to advance their own projects or strategies. However, SBDT sold to the people of Serowe village ideas that could attract funding from the donors. This arrangement went against a conviction that, for assistance to be meaningful and long lasting, it must be responsive to needs determined by the people themselves and not by outsiders (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007: 92).

It would certainly be fair to say, it is not always true that the needs of the people cannot be identified and met by outsiders. Outsiders can achieve important development goals, if they

do not dominate, but allow poor people to participate in the activities that are designed collectively by outsiders and themselves. The other point is that, if people who propose interventions in villages stay in the environment where the activities take place, this allows them to interact with the marginalised and know them better, which allows them to help in addressing their needs better. This is important in encapsulating the realisation that in order to achieve the goals of development through SD, the welfare needs of the poorest groups must be addressed (Bale, Drakakis as cited by Elliot, 1994:23).

They are three important points that can be raised here. Firstly, Patrick Van Rensburg stayed in the village of Serowe and was no longer regarded as an outsider by villagers because they reached for him whenever they wanted to. Secondly, he was readily available to oversee SBDT activities, which influenced its expansion. Thirdly, Patrick Van Rensburg employed the concept of education with production through traditional village structures that people of Serowe village were familiar with, which was appropriate for SD because when people join a project in order to master their environments and to acquire new competencies, they are more likely to sustain their commitments to the project over a long time (Munene, Schwartz and Kibanja, 2005:110).

When the power to allow poor people to participate in their own development or determine their needs was taken from SBDT, poor people feel left out. It is indisputable that SBDT's loss of power to the government distanced it from poor people who directly benefitted from it upon its inception. Like most NGOs, SBDT is not valued, recognised and rewarded as a partner of government in national development activities, and does not have real policy influence over the government, all with the aim of advocating for, and with, the poor and marginalised (Michael, 2004:20). This confirms the view that, one of the weaknesses of the project based work is its inability to challenge the wider structures of marginalisation and impoverishment (Hickey and Mohan, 2004:165).

The project based work that SBDT adopted did not challenge the government to come up with policies to foster the empowerment of the people of Serowe village. There is a considerable consensus that if SD is to be achieved, poor people should not be alienated, marginalised or isolated from efforts that are constructed for poverty alleviation. Many poor people's realities are local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable. They often

differ from those imposed on them by professionals (Chambers, 1999:162). It is important to note that, government policies isolated and marginalised SBDT beneficiaries because such policies came from professionals who work for the government and ignored poor people's realities.

The government of Botswana's ploy on its centralised policy making continued, when in 2001 it launched an investigation through DVET. Ministry of Education invited tenders for a consultancy to look on the future of brigades. On its report dated 2001 and not titled, the consultants recommended organisational separation of training from production (Van Rensburg, 2005:4). It is with the guidance of the report that was produced by consultants who were engaged by DVET, that SBDT no longer take as its responsibility to directly help the poverty stricken in the village of Serowe. For instance, the production of milk and other dairy products, eggs and vegetables that were made available in Serowe village by SBDT are no longer of any importance to the NGO. These products did not have to be imported at prohibitive costs that most people could not afford (Van Rensburg, 1978:22). The importation of products that SBDT could produce locally undermines its effort to economically empower its beneficiaries. This is because the people spend their financial resources on products that they were able to produce for themselves, which as a result saved them financial resources. Spending of resources on products that are imported into the village makes poor people of Serowe village economically disempowered. This situation militates against the empowerment of the people of Serowe because the less people have, the more vulnerable they are, and the harder it is for them to rise from doldrums of poverty (Chambers, 1983:130).

The Government of Botswana's hijack of SBDT meant that the use of cooperatives, labour intensive efforts, which required little capital investment and maximum utilisation of all available resources were aborted. This means that a large percentage of the daily needs of poor people that were met by small industries and a diversified agriculture (Ward, 1972:612), do not receive due attention. A programme such as *Boiteko*, a Setswana (National language) name for *self help*, which provided self employment opportunities along cooperative lines for unemployed women (Van Rensburg, 1978:22), is also abandoned. The relationship that the government initiated with SBDT confirmed that, governments may regulate or even restrict NGOs out of fear that they challenge state

ideology. It can also be said that in some cases the rural projects of the NGOs undermine the control which government has established in the rural areas (Hulme and Edwards 1997 and Sesan 2006). This arrangement works against SD initiatives which seek to establish permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups and communities affected by poverty to deal effectively with their own problems, so as to achieve economic and political empowerment (Kramer, 1969:10).

There is no grain of doubt that SBDT challenged state ideology. Botswana had to entertain a substantial convergence in the educational systems of many countries. Both advanced and developing countries have developed similar educational ideologies, institutions and curricula. An important link among some common developments is the orientation of education around the preparation of its recipients for labour markets (Grubb, 1985:526). This form of education relegates traditional familial and communal socialisation (just like traditional work patterns) into a dustbin of culture, which is seen as authoritarian and even abusive in modern times (Meyer, Nagel and Snyder, Jr, 1993: 459).

It has to be noted that, Botswana Government always regarded education offered by SBDT as rural and therefore inferior, because it did not strictly conform to the government's traditional type of education that emphasised theory over skills acquisition. In Africa, vocational education was resisted in the colonial period because it was considered inferior, since it was simply used to alleviate unemployment, reorienting student attitudes towards rural life and halting urban migration (Lillis and Hogan, 1983:89). Simply put, education with production was seen as militating against government's agenda of civilising rural communities into accepting that rural life submerged them into barbarism. The Government of Botswana like other African countries, placed importance on the form of education that prepared its recipients for the job markets that exists in the urban areas.

The government of Botswana pursued an agenda to promote national building, unity and cost sharing in education. This development resulted in its reformulation of SBDT's policies to allow the NGO to enrol trainees from every part of the country. On an interview held on the 10/09/07, a senior officer of SBDT echoed that,

> We admit the students that qualify for our courses from all over the country. We do not discriminate against applicants from rich families. Our programmes are meant to produce skilled manpower for our country and the global market. Since the government provided resources to SBDT our courses are accredited by Botswana Training Authority (BOTA). We do not confine our courses to the needs of Serowe village as before.

The running of SBDT for the benefit of the whole country and not specifically for Serowe village means that the courses that are offered do not specifically meet the training needs of a specific society. This explains why courses that are offered by SBDT are designed not in Serowe village anymore. The accreditation by BOTA provides three explicit arguments. Firstly, it means the suitability of SBDT courses is determined by experts without involving people of Serowe village. Secondly, courses that are given by SBDT do not necessarily have to be of immediate application in alleviating poverty and protecting the environment. Thirdly, it means the courses are of much higher standards since they are influenced by both national and international markets demands. DVET insists on educational qualifications that large number of school levers do not have (Van Rensburg, 2005:3). As observed by the then Botswana's Minister of Education Mr. K. Kgoroba, in order for Botswana to meet the demands of a globalised economy, it must provide training programmes that must prepare the youth to diversify the economy. Training programmes must now produce flexible and innovative workers who are multi-skilled and meet international standards (BOPA, 2003:5).

In 2003, the then Minister of Education stated that government has invested more than P13 million (about US $2.1 million) on SBDT (BOPA, 2003:6). This was done in order to enable the government to pursue its agenda of producing multi-skilled workers that can compete globally. This inevitably raised standards of courses that are offered by SBDT. For example, the government as echoed by the then Minister of Education, facilitated the expansion and upgrading of the Serowe brigades to offer the National Craft Certificate (BOPA, 2003:6). Botswana government's new strategy was informed by its interest in increasing the training programmes in order to meet new demands of the industry, as a result of new technologies and globalisation (Ministry of Education, 2007:1). This manifestation confirms that, no matter how sympathetic a funding agency can be, its interests will usually come first (Hilhorst, 2003:55). This process was partly meant to make

SBDT accountable to the government and not to its beneficiaries, which would also take away economic power from them. This is because accountability enables people to gain a voice and some control over economic processes that affect them (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992:275).

The raising of standards to meet the demands of international market is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it introduced a selection criterion that excludes a lot of young adults who cannot attain high grades from secondary schools. This is as a result of DVET insistence on educational qualifications that large numbers of school levers do not have, which SBDT initially did not insist on to the same extent (Van Rensburg, 2005:3). This rejection has made a lot of youth from Serowe village to remain unskilled and unemployed because many people leave the educational system at their level poorly equipped to earn a livelihood or support themselves (Douglass, 1979:1). It is these individuals that SBDT used to train so that they can have skills that are necessary for the amelioration of their socio economic standards. Secondly, it means higher standards further takes away the responsibility of running SBDT away from poor people of Serowe village, who due to their low standard of education, do not readily comprehend them, so as to lend their decisions. This situation undermines empowerment through education, which is important in fostering assertiveness and self-confidence and improvement of access to resources (Gergis, 1999:13).

The parsimonious consumption of resources in Serowe village is jeopardised because poor people no longer feel the need to protect resources, which they have no direct control over. They do not directly benefit from resources in their village in a way they did in the past. SBDT emphasised the use of local raw materials and the use of simple technologies that did not have immense negative impact on the environment, which made the people of Serowe village mindful in the use of their resources (Van Rensburg, 1978:12). It is important to highlight that SBDT was committed to sustainability as it saved resources, which was reinforced by the beneficial value villagers got from such resources.

The promotion of sustainability is important for SD, which is supposed to be effective in assisting poor people on matters affecting them, so as to gain more control over their lives and their resources (Nzimakwe, 2008:93). It is important to note that SBDT on its inception

assisted poor people on matters affecting them and made them take control over their resources from which they benefited immensely. However, the amount of control that poor people had over their lives cannot be sufficiently qualified. This is because SBDT did not have full plan stating when it intended to withdraw its support so that the people of Serowe village can take over and fully control the NGO. The outside agency, be it central government, can bring development into the community and that community will see such development as belonging to the outside agency, unless such community is empowered to take full responsibility and ownership (Bartle, 2006:1).

In the area of parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources, the government runs SBDT through policies that are made by the environmentalists in the government civil service. This arrangement is often meant to gradually marginalise and replace villagers with experts that are supported by bureaucratic and centralised decision making, under the guise of national building (Manji and O'Coill, 2002:7). Bureaucratic and centralised decision making works against the dictates of Sustainable Development, which are supposed to promote the shifting of responsibility for the projects away from agencies and development workers into the beneficiaries (Cooke and Kothari, 2001:15), which also implies readiness to work with people rather than to do things for them (Chambers, 1995 Levi and Litwin 1986 and Narayan et al, 2000).

The government of Botswana cancelled development studies course that SBDT offered to equip its beneficiaries to understand the value of development. The course enhanced positive attitudes towards development amongst people of Serowe village. For example, it made poor people attach value on hard work and self-reliance. It promoted their preparedness to make societal sacrifices and undertaking, with great industry any work that is required for their community's development would demands (Ward, 1972:617). This was useful because the general atmosphere and the traditional experience were not conducive to a great deal of hard work (Van Rensburg, 1978:10). It was necessary for helping marginalised people to learn and horn their competencies so that they can exercise their agency, which is important for their empowerment (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:353 and Friendman, 1992:78).

It is conspicuous that the government of Botswana transformed SBDT through the use of policies and injection of its monetary resources, into a pseudo NGO that operates to serve the interest of the government. SBDT is no longer interested in core objectives that inform Sustainable Development, namely: poverty alleviation and parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources. It also compromises participation of poor people and has re-defined lines of accountability to benefit its Ministry of Education.

In an interview conducted on the 07/09/07, a graduate of SBDT who is currently running her own business echoed that,

> We are no longer interested in attending meetings that are convened by SBDT because the officials tell us what they have done or planned to do. We are grown-ups that make decisions in our families and we feel undermined when we receive reports on things we have not decided. SBDT is no longer giving poor people the opportunity to improve their lives through cooperatives in the manner it did when Patrick Van Rensburg was coordinating. All these changes on the running of SBDT did not come from the people of Serowe village. They originate from the capital city, where government departments receive instructions from. It is fair to describe SBDT as a pseudo government department, with no input from poor people of Serowe village. It does not surprise us SBDT ignores poor people. It is in the nature of government departments to ignore poor people.

The aforementioned response clearly shows the resentment that is holding people back from participating on SBDT activities, coupled with obtrusion of policies. However, this response is loaded, because Patrick Van Rensburg is esteemed for having been of good service to SBDT in helping poor people through cooperatives. The credit does not go to the people themselves, which is an indication that SBDT's pivotal success was influenced by an individual. This demonstrates that poor people in Serowe village were still not fully in control of neither SBDT nor cooperatives. Patrick Van Rensburg was regarded as instrumental in providing decisions on how SBDT should help the poor. This clearly demonstrates that even though people of Serowe were consulted, they did not fully resume responsibility of running the NGO, as earlier indicated.

It can be safely argued that the government of Botswana aggravated the situation when it obtruded its agenda. For example, without consulting poor and powerless people of Serowe village, Botswana Government introduced a policy through which companies operating in

Botswana that are liable for Value Added Tax (VAT) will pay a levy, which is meant to fund vocational training activities in the country (Sefhako, 2008:1). The aforementioned policy will affect SBDT, but there is nothing the people of Serowe can do to stop its implementation. The people of Serowe village were notified about the new arrangement, which they cannot stop even if they are opposed to it. It is so because the final decision was taken that cannot be altered by the powerless villagers. The levy that the companies will pay will go into government coffers and not directly benefit SBDT beneficiaries. This situation undermines efforts to empower poor people both economically and politically, because empowerment is particularly linked with supporting those who are most disadvantaged and disempowered (Beresford and Croft, 1993:49), than taking power away from them.

It is important to note that upon its formation SBDT had a board which was made up of the District Commissioner, as chairperson, the Secretary of the District Committee (who is a district officer), the Regional agricultural Officer, the secretary of the Central District Council, a councillor nominated by the council, representatives of cooperatives, local branch of the teachers' union, the Council of Women, an elected representative of all staff employed by the SBDT, two elected representatives who are parents of trainees, the principal of Swaneng Hill School, a representative of the Bamangwato Tribal Authority, Patrick Van Rensburg as secretary and all managers who headed different sections of SBDT.

It is important to highlight that the board had civil servants who served to provide advice on matters that were too technical for most villagers. Most importantly, the people of Serowe village were supposed to have a much stronger voice than the board (Van Rensburg, 1978: 19). A very important argument that can be made is that, the presence of Patrick Van Rensburg as the secretary of the board made him a good intermediary between the board and villagers. This explains why some people in Serowe village feel he was pivotal to their economic and political empowerment. They do not see his presence as having instead incapacitated them, as they relied unreservedly on his stewardship.

It is important at this juncture to state that, the imposition of decisions on SBDT beneficiaries have taken different levels namely: cajoling on its inception and open

obtrusion by the Government of Botswana. It has to be made clear that both forms of impositions are against Sustainable Development, though the latter is the most disempowering. It is so because in order for Sustainable Development to be achieved, the people being offered assistance play a vital part in defining what can be done, to avoid making them feel inadequate, powerless and dependent (World Vision, 2002:1). Decision making should be analysed as socially empowering within the Sustainable Development process (Bauler and Hecq, 2008:4).

The control such as that which is experienced by SBDT is indeed common amongst the NGOs. It is true that over the past years, most governments and multilateral institutions have been doing much to bring development NGOs under control, either to pacify civil tension and neutralise potential political opposition or to consolidate a system of outsourcing and quasi privatization (Derksen and Verhallen, 2008:230). The case of SBDT provides some manifestation of government control, which is instigated to bring change that is not meant to benefit poor people who need help most. As pointed out throughout this section, the government used its power to make sure that SBDT became disempowered.

This section is brought to rest on two important points. Firstly, what happened in SBDT stands to confirm that NGOs have tried to take the concept of participation as their own, but are often as idealistic and demagogic about it as previous generation of development workers (Shepherd, 1998: 151). Secondly, it is clear that empowerment process should not only be confined to those people who are both economically and politically disempowered. Empowerment should first be realised by an NGO before it can empower its beneficiaries. This is important because the powerful NGO can set its own priorities, define its own agenda and exert influence over others, including the government, to achieve its ends (Michael, 2004:1). It can be pronounced that, SBDT lacks the necessary power to oppose the Government of Botswana in its plans to control it. This leaves SBDT as having gravitated further ashore from Sustainable Development ideals.

4.7 SBDT and opinion leaders' connivance

Serowe village community like most communities in the rural areas have leaders who are supposed to provide political, traditional and spiritual guidance. Most importantly, leaders are expected to take active role in the development of their respective communities. They are used in the mobilisation of the communities by the NGOs, which do not make it out of the ordinary for SBDT to have been doing the same. The same leaders play an important role of acting as gate-keepers, who are expected to safeguard interests of and consult their communities on matters that affect such communities. This arrangement existed in Botswana as in other parts of Africa even before colonialism.

Pre-colonial African political systems recognised the role of popular participation in decision-making and governance. Indeed, some African societies can be argued to have had consensual political systems which required that major decisions be made only after widespread consultations among the people (Makumbe, 1998:306). Traditional structures have in some cases taken development as an empowering process, which provides opportunities for members of a society to increase their personal and institutional capacities, so as to mobilise and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations (Carley and Christie, 1992:41). However, traditional structures, such as those presided over by the chiefs, can also be used as vehicles through which disempowered members of a community are ostracised in the decision making process. This is because human relations can be seen as patterned by dominance and subordination, with people as uppers and lowers. Uppers experience and construct their realities and seek to transfer these to lowers (Chambers, 1999:50).

The leaders are usually as a matter of protocol informed first about impending developments and decisions pertaining to their villages, as it is the case with SBDT. The leaders wield great influence and in most instances are in a better economic position than the rest of the community members. It is this situation that makes it difficult for poor people to generate decisions even when given opportunities to do that.

The beneficiary of SBDT programme, who is now running some business together with fellow graduates, in an interview held on the 11/10/07, quipped that,

> SBDT was not at all dominated by government officials, traditional leaders and rich people on its embryonic stage. It had a very strong relationship with poor people, who embarked on activities that were necessitated to ameliorate their living conditions. The cooperatives for instance, allowed poor people of Serowe village to get employment on it. Poor people did not work for merger remunerations at cattle posts that are owned by cattle barons, as some of them do now. They worked in the cooperatives and SBDT projects, which helped them to alleviate poverty in their families and ultimately in their village.

SBDT on its inception worked hard to build confidence in the people about communal work, who feared it was another way by which they would be exploited. This involved not only educating them about it, but also making sure that poor people play a significant role in its activities. As attested, the concept of voluntary communal work on projects was not easily accepted; people were very dubious that work will be their own, subject to their control. Traditional work of this kind before too often ended up being for the personal benefit of a chief or some influential individual in the village. There were suspicions of hidden motives of exploitation (Van Rensburg, 1978:10).

This observation collaborates what Chambers echoed that, powerlessness of the poor is usually reflected in the ease with which rural elites act as a net to intercept benefits intended for them. If those who gain are outsiders who exploit, or local elite that dominates, the poor and disadvantaged may get worse off (Chambers, 1999:217). It is the notion that SBDT had about helping the marginalised to help themselves, which made it difficult for the opinion leaders to dominate or highjack its activities for their own benefits. It is also because SBDT was initially grounded on a strong philosophy of collective effort for self help. It has to be noted that it also had a driving force behind it, namely: Patrick Van Rensburg. SBDT was conscious of the fact that, if and when people feel that the results of their efforts might be alienated for private gain, they will not participate on a self help basis (Van Rensburg, 1978:13). SBDT managed to allay the fear of exploitation amongst poor people by promoting their participation in its activities. A commitment to participation requires the searching out of all potential stakeholders, especially those with less power, little or no voice, and are distances from the mainstream, whether economically or in their

ideas and allegiances (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2005:4). If traditional or oligarchic decision makers are centralistic and coercive, there is need for processes of decentralisation or power sharing to be enhanced for the improvement of the quality of life of the poor (Levi and Litwin, 1986:25).

In an interview held on the 14/09/07, a beneficiary of SBDT who was amongst the first trainees to graduate and a former cooperative member stated that,

> The influence that the community leaders had was minimal because the people stayed informed about the activities of SBDT. Those who were given the responsibility to coordinate did not distance themselves from poor villagers. They were not influenced by powerful individuals in society to be antagonistic to poor people. I can confidently say that in most cases they protected those that were economically and politically disempowered. The training programmes that SBDT provided were packaged in a way that made sense and appealed to the people of Serowe village. They could immediately relate to it, benefit from it and identify with what it was meant to achieve. Some people in influential positions were strongly opposed to the economic and political empowerment process that SBDT engineered. They got infuriated because they could no longer get cheap labour for their cattle posts from poor people who participated on SBDT projects.

When DVET took the responsibility of running SBDT, it defected from the initial goal of economically empowering poor people as mentioned in the previous section. This arrangement resulted in poverty alleviation not becoming a priority anymore. It also means that there was re-alignment of forces, with the experts and opinion leaders taking the centre stage. This is unhealthy as the fear of exploitation that was allayed has engulfed poor people of Serowe village. This also means opinion leaders and government officials cannot make poor people benefit from SBDT anymore, because they need cheap labour for their personal gain, as indicated in the preceding response. This militates against empowerment, which is a rejection of the top-down imposition of development schemes and shifting of focus towards bottom-up development, which place the poor at the centre stage in development (Waylen, 1996:4).

SBDT under DVET is alienated and of no significant use to the poor people, hence their reluctance to identify with it. This is a good example of a situation where poor people are left in the lurch by an NGO that initially helped in the alleviation of poverty in the village.

It is indisputable that the desire by the elite to exploit is responsible for some of the hostile policies that the government imposes. It has to be noted that policy makers within government structures are not poor people, but influential individuals interested in keeping poor people in their deplorable state so that they can exploit them. This is disempowering because empowerment advocates for recognition and fostering of strengths and competencies of those receiving help, acknowledging and utilising the wisdom of their everyday experience, promoting diversity of ideas and approaches and strengthening social networks and community institutions (Gergis, 1993:5).

In an interview conducted on the 14/09/07, one of the beneficiaries who are self employed pointed out that,

> The people who benefit from SBDT are no longer the poor, but the leaders and rich people. For instance, they buy bulls from SBDT at prices that are decided by them, without any involvement of poor people. They have taken control of the SBDT away from the initial owners, whom it was meant to remove from poverty. The SBDT officials are controlled by the leaders because they employ them and can terminate their employment. The people that are voted at the Kgotla (traditional meeting place) to represent the community do not have any powers to refuse what the experts say or do. Political and traditional leaders are content with the current arrangement, because poor people are without employment and are vulnerable. They provide cheap labour for their businesses, cattle posts, ploughing fields and privately owned projects, for little pay or no payment at all.

It is important to indicate that the preceding response reiterates what the previous interviewee echoed. This clearly shows the level of seriousness of the antagonism that is triggered by interventions that are intended to both politically and economically empower poor people. It can be safely aired that Sustainable Development is employed against bedrock of forces that are hell-bent on keeping poor people in poverty. It is conspicuous that influential people make decisions that benefit them instead of poor people. This situation is encouraged by accountability that is skewed towards institutions that wield power. Effective accountability on the other side satisfies rural people through providing them with information on the performance of their project (Shepherd, 1998:228).

A senior officer employed by SBDT in an interview held on the 10/09/07, indicated that,

> SBDT board that makes decisions has tribal leaders and high ranking civil servants, who work closely with the SBDT officials. Members of the community are also elected by the people of Serowe village to represent the community on that board. It has to be registered that election of representatives from Serowe community is done in line with regulations that are written by Ministry of Education. The regulations make SBDT board less attractive to people who are not familiar with government stipulates and procedures. This obviously leaves out poor people who in most cases do not have necessary knowledge and competencies on how the government runs its activities.

SBDT employees are under control of Ministry of Education. SBDT board is subjected to regulations that are formulated by a government ministry. A good example is where SBDT board had some misunderstanding over whom to employ to fill the post of coordinator, which was to be localised. It is indicated that the letter was written to DVET headquarters in Gaborone, which was subsequently channelled to Francistown (second city in Botswana) office for its attention (BOPA, 2007: 21). It does not come as a surprise that the then Minister of Education Mr. K.Kgoroba once echoed that the question that must ultimately be confronted by us all is: Can this nation afford to retain the brigades in their early 60s form despite the highly evolved socio-economic conditions of today? He added that Botswana answered the question with a resounding, 'No'.

It is interesting to note that Botswana that answered with a resounding, 'No' leaves out poor people who did not formulate terms of reference for the consultancy that recommended that brigades, including SBDT, needed to respond to global changes. This runs contrary to the desires of poor people who feel SBDT was rapaciously taken away from them. It is relevant to advance that the resounding, 'No' came from Ministry of Education and not poor people. In an interview held on the 13/08/07, the pioneer of brigades in Botswana indicated that,

> It takes me aback that some people felt SBDT was not supposed to remain in its initial form and preferred to transform it into a vocational school. The vocational school cannot benefit the people who are marginalised economically, socially and politically. It is an elitist structure that is controlled by the powerful members of our nation, who stay in the capital city and shout instructions from their privileged positions. Poverty is still prevalent in Serowe village partly because SBDT is no longer providing skills to young adults in the village, who created employment by starting their own projects and cooperatives, which then employed those who would otherwise be without employment.

In an interview held on the 15/08/07, a senior officer holding a managerial position at one of SBDT brigades stated that,

> Brigades in their initial form played some pivotal role in helping those people who would have been relegated to destitution by the traditional school system, to stay afloat. I could not find the rational of changing brigades in the way the government did when technical colleges and the university are available to offer advanced training required by various formal industries both at national and international level. The decision to change SBDT was never the decision of the people of Serowe village, but that of the board, traditional and political leaders and the Ministry of Education.

SBDT board is made up of members who are civil servants and SBDT employees as earlier indicated in this section. It is therefore difficult for them to differ with the government that instils its control through the use of directives, procedures and policies. The people of Serowe village do not have the power they used to have over the SDBT board because it is no longer accountable to them. The members of the board instead of accounting to the people of Serowe, it is now natural that they account to DVET, which has the ultimate authority. While the traditional intellectuals 'put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group' they are intellectuals of the ruling class, whose intellectual status and power are so great that they constitute elite (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007: 76). The point raised by the aforementioned authors cannot be ignored, because it is important in explaining power relations as manifest in SBDT.

There is obviously a clutch of interests between those of the government and those of the people of Serowe village. Poor people are interested in getting benefits from SBDT as before and not in having a high profile vocational training institution that is under the control of the government. As earlier noted in this section, the dominance has once more brought back memories of betrayal that Patrick Van Rensburg allayed about communal projects that ended up under the control of a chief. This is problematic in many ways. Firstly, it makes it difficult or almost impossible for poor people to trust NGOs, which they see as structures that are meant to perpetuate the same disparities and exploitation that characterise rural communities. Secondly, they see NGOs as conniving with governments in aggravating or maintaining their precarious economic and political positions. It is

important to note that the government undermines empowerment of the people of Serowe. The main reason poor people remain in poverty is because the capacity of poor people to mobilise and organise for collective action is often undermined (World Bank, 2002:39).

In an interview that was conducted with an individual who served SBDT in its infancy, it became clear that at the time of its inception Serowe village had selfless traditional leaders. According to the described individual, in an interview held on the 20/09/07, he advanced that,

> Our chiefs at the time SBDT started were very selfless because they did not regard themselves as civil servants under government control. The traditional leaders were instrumental in alleviating poverty through collective efforts. People worked very hard because the traditional leaders promoted the spirit of self reliance. The traditional leaders nowadays are salaried and controlled by the government. They betray their people and care less about the poor. That is why even when SBDT was put under the control of DVET, they did not do anything to prevent that or inform the people of Serowe village about that development.

The preceding response sounds like eulogy for the past, but it isn't. It is a lament of lost trust and betrayal. The traditional leaders like politicians can no longer be trusted by their communities as before, because they are salaried by the government. This means they receive instructions from the government. It has to be indicated that when SBDT was formed, it regarded traditional and political leaders as important in its endeavours to help the needy. However, Patrick Van Rensburg and traditional leaders who were not salaried by the government, stood on the side of the villagers. Activities of SBDT were also influenced by the objectives that were laid down then that were quashed when the government instilled its control. There is something important to be learnt at this juncture, and it is that traditional leaders can connive with external forces against their own people. This defeats political empowerment of the people because empowerment advocates for the protection of interests of the people, especially of the disempowered sectors of the community (Friedmann, 1992:31).

It has to be noted that SBDT was introduced when the traditional rural systems were still respected. It was when the traditional system of government was based on the tribal meeting which took place at the chief's *kgotla* (an open air meeting place marked by a semi

circle of closely packed wooden poles dug into the ground) and was attended by sub-chiefs and headmen, the heads of wards, the tribal elders and other influential men/women of the tribe. The decisions of *kgotla* meetings were not made by vote but by the chief's own assessment of a consensus of opinion (Van Rensburg, 1978:4). The arrangement was helpful in enhancing SBDT objectives because people through *kgotla* meetings were given an opportunity to express their views and seek explanation on matters that they wanted clarity on. As earlier noted, these meetings and venues do not always facilitate participation of those people who are disempowered. This is because development interventions are negotiated by elite that act as local development brokers. They represent villagers on outside development agencies because they are regarded as nodal points where knowledge about development is concentrated (Hilhorst, 2003:82). It is this situation that undermines participation even when people are given an opportunity to participate.

The interesting point that is worth noting is that Patrick Van Rensburg and SBDT officials did not want traditional leaders to take control of SBDT, which could have kept the people who deserved to be assisted at bay.

Most importantly, decisions that were generated came from within Serowe village, not from some force away from the village. It is important to indicate that the traditional setting that undermined women's contributions also gradually changed. Women were also considered and included in the activities that were undertaken by SBDT. This should not be misconstrued to mean women in Serowe village were not subjected to patriarchy. For example, chief, sub-chiefs, headmen, heads of wards and tribal leaders were men. They were not only men, but men who were mandated by villagers to uphold the culture that often undermines women's contributions.

In an interview conducted on the 15/09/07 one of the beneficiaries of SBDT echoed that,

> Women in Serowe village got both economic and political power, which they never had before because SBDT did not discriminate against them. Even during Kgotla meetings women participated in the discussions and in the decision making processes. The young female adults took courses that allowed them to acquire skills that are necessary for their livelihood. It is important to mention that SBDT did not engage on a gender equity drive, but through education, it demonstrated the importance of allowing women to partake in the development

> of their own village. SBDT ran workshops and conducted meetings that encouraged both women and men in Serowe village to partake in SBDT activities and development of their village.

It is worth mentioning that the involvement of women in activities of SBDT was essential because it allowed them to participate in the development of their own village. It also allowed them to acquire necessary skills that they employed in improving their socio economic status. What is even important is that SBDT achieved that through education than through direct confrontation with custodians of patriarchal culture, which undermined voices of women. Education is necessary in enhancing participation through awareness creation, which makes poor people to gradually become critically aware of their economic and political conditions (Stephens and Putnam, 1966:3).

It is necessary to qualify that SBDT programmes were never designed to give women of Serowe a stronger voice. For example, there was no deliberate arrangement, such as the quota system, specifically designed to give women a chance to learn trades that are usually reserved for men, such as bricklaying. This situation did not serve as a remedy to development process that bypass women and contribute to their economic and political subordination (Pearson, 2000:390).

It is important to note that, though SBDT was not under the control of the traditional leaders; the people still had trust in them to protect SBDT against any external forces that could take it over. It is on the basis of this trust that people feel betrayed that when SBDT was put under government control without their consent, traditional leaders did not offer any protection. They feel traditional leaders should have stood by them against that decision. The implication of this development is that the use of traditional leaders by NGOs in mobilising people for development activities is likely to be resisted in the future.

The reason the traditional leaders cannot oppose the move by the government to control SBDT now, is partly because the traditional leaders have over the years lost the powers that they had. Since Botswana's independence in 1966, the chiefs have experienced an erosion of their traditional powers. The government of Botswana concerned to establish its legitimacy and to forge a common national allegiance, as well as to build an effective administration, implemented a series of legislative and executive measures attenuating the

powers of the tribal leaders. In asserting its authority over the chiefs, the government has sought to make them agents of state administration. In consequence, they have become employees of the public service and hence are increasingly regarded as civil servants. The Minister of Local Government and Lands is empowered to fix the salary of each chief (Jones, 1983:133&134).

It can be drawn from the evidence provided above that traditional leaders are under the control of and remunerated by the government. It is this arrangement that distanced them from the people of Serowe village, who see them more being on the side of the government than on their side. As noted, the traditional authorities also serve as government's main vehicle for policy implementation at grass roots level (Holm, Molutsi and Somolekae, 1996:47). This means that they do not always act in the best interest of their people, since they are at times forced to implement government policies that are unpopular.

The conversion of chiefs into civil servants required that they be appointed to their offices and conversely liable to dismissal, even though chieftainship was customarily based upon hereditary title and tribal sanction (Jones, 1983:135). This is further evidence to demonstrate that traditional leaders have been rendered powerless in terms of decision making, just like SBDT officials.

Chiefs had power to allocate land, which they have since lost as well. Under the 1968 Tribal Land Act, the right of the chiefs to hold land in trust and to allocate it according to customary or common law was handed over to executive tribunals, known as Land Boards (Jones, 1983:134). It is this arrangement that renders traditional leaders blameworthy for allocating land to SBDT then, which they no longer have powers to take back and pass to the community that gave it in the first place. In a spirited interview held on the 21/09/07, one of the beneficiaries who benefitted from SBDT interventions under Patrick Van Ransburg dolefully echoed that,

> We have lost our land that was allocated to SBDT by our chiefs. When the land was given for SBDT buildings and other activities such as a dairy farm, people knew that they would benefit from the initiative. Since we are no longer having any control over SBDT, it means we have also lost the land that belongs to SBDT, which will ultimately be taken away by the government. It would be

> difficult for us to cooperate with NGOs in their development initiatives to avoid losing valuable properties such as land.

In an interview held on the 20/08/07, an officer who is serving SBDT on financial matters indicated clearly that indeed SBDT has chunks of land some of which is not in use. This is the land that the people of Serowe village gave to SBDT through their leaders for the benefit of the community.

The control of SBDT by Government and the erosion of the chiefs' powers mean that SBDT is irretrievably taken from the people of Serowe village. This means land that SBDT acquired for its activities will never be returned to the people of Serowe village. It can be argued that, the capacity of Serowe people to fight poverty has been ruthlessly dealt a blow, because the ownership of land is fundamental in the reduction of poverty, to improve livelihood and to enhance livelihoods (Alder, 2008:1).

Marginalisation of the poor by SBDT in preference for elites should be understood in the words of Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, who opined that, the interests of the power elite can be universalised and naturalised as the interests of the society as a whole. So put in other words, the interests of the elite in the international, national and local arenas are employed to define the world for those without power (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007:73). This situation undermines empowerment, which is necessary in enhancing changes in the existing configuration of power and influence, which privileges certain interests and marginalises others (The World Bank, 2005:70). This refers to economic and political changes that provide capacity for poor people to improve their socio-economic status.

SBDT provides evidence that in much of rural development thinking, participation has remained at a very idealistic and ideological level. It has degenerated into a kind of propaganda to convince audiences that agencies, such as NGOs and governments, have recognised the necessity of involving people in development activities (Shepherd, 1998: 179). It is widely believed in development circles that without sustainable projects and programmes, the individuals and communities will fail to see the long term benefits of development activities (Michael, 2004:131). It can be safely argued that, projects and

programmes cannot be sustainable, if the community members do not participate in decision making, implementation and evaluation of their activities.

There is reliable evidence that confirms that SBDT can no longer have its function of economically empowering poor people restored. As evidence to the impending full scale seizure of SBDT by the government, Mr. Lebonaamang Mokalake who is the former Assistant Minister of Education, indicated that SBDT together with other brigades will be taken over by the Government of Botswana; so that they can offer upgraded training to address the challenges of the twenty first century, which are characterised by competition for foreign direct investment and globalisation (Tshukudu, 2008:5). It is clear that the government of Botswana had for sometime harboured a plan of taking SBDT from Serowe community. This started with the use of policies that eroded the powers that the community of Serowe village had over SBDT.

It is important to indicate that NGOs are faced with great challenges amongst them the loss of their status, resulting from their seizure by governments. When the state ideology is strongly challenged by an NGO, it is possible that the government can either take it or undermine its functions. When the government controls an NGO, it compromises on its credibility amongst the poor, who in most cases do not trust governments. It is governments that the public love to hate, but, Non Governmental Organisations are their friends. People mistrust large bureaucracies; but trust voluntary organisations such as NGOs (Clark, 1991 and Agrawal, 1995). The reason beneficiaries of SBDT are reluctant to participate in its activities is because it is controlled by the government. This control undermines participation, which is difficult to operationalise in a low trust, low cohesion context that is characterised by adversarial relations and mutual suspicion (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005:938).

4.8 Economic deprivation

Serowe village where SBDT is located is made up of both rich and poor cattle owners. The distribution of cattle in 1968/1969, shortly after SBDT was started, indicated disturbing disparities. The uneven and unequal distribution of cattle ownership indicated that 12% of

heads of families owned 60% of the cattle, 29% of heads of families owned no cattle whatsoever, and another 21% owned only 5% of cattle. The remaining 35% of cattle were shown to be distributed fairly evenly among the other 38% of family heads (Van Rensburg, 1978:4). The preceding information show that some people were economically disadvantaged at the time SBDT was started. This situation was aggravated because no viable economic activities were available in the village of Serowe at the time.

The start of SBDT provided some income generating activities, which augmented the traditional arrangements that were already in existence. For example, cattle by-products became useful to poor people of Serowe village because they were supplied to SBDT for economic purposes. Cattle kraal manure for an example, became useful in gardening and forestry projects. These activities promoted sustainability, which requires that resources be used in the manner that they remain available for future generations (Thomas, James and Tara-Shelomith, 1995:877). The use of bye-products by SBDT, such as those mentioned above, improved the socio-economic status of poor people, which saved resources such as trees, which they consumed in large quantities for their livelihood.

As noted by Patrick Van Rensburg, there were mutual obligations under the traditional arrangements, which enabled poorer people to survive. All sort of traditional arrangements existed for the borrowing and lending of cattle, especially for agricultural purposes (Van Rensburg, 1978:4). The alluded to traditional arrangements have over the years been eroded due to changing economic patterns, which are influenced by global trends and the Botswana government policies. The SBDT ably reinforced the traditional ways that promoted altruism within Serowe community by providing lessons on development studies, which also served to inculcate important values of saving resources for posterity. Development studies was important for SD because it provided the training that empowered local people with the skills and confidence, to analyse their situation, reach consensus, make decisions and make action so as to improve their circumstances (Guijt and Shah, 1998:1).

In an interview held on the 10/09/07 a senior officer working for SBDT stated that,

> SBDT is not directly responsible for poverty alleviation and parsimonious use of finite resources only in Serowe village, but makes a contribution to the fight

against poverty at national and global scale by providing skills to individuals who are then either absorbed on job market or venture into self employment endeavours anyway in the world.

It has to be stated that poor people of Serowe village are no longer getting the benefits they used to get from SBDT or the traditional arrangements as before. The first reason being that SBDT is no longer directly responsible for poverty alleviation in Serowe village in the manner it did when it started, as earlier mentioned in this chapter. The second reason is that, the erosion of traditional institutions and systems has made it difficult or almost impossible for them to continue helping the poor. As earlier reflected in this section, the function that the SBDT has now adopted of training individuals for the job market is a reflection of the Ministry of Education's objective of producing experts that can compete globally. This does not help those people who are in rural areas like Serowe, where jobs are not easy to come by or technologies introduced to attract investors. This arrangement defeats effort to realise SD, which presupposes that development can only occur if the pursued policies are environmentally sustainable and directed at alleviating poverty (Barnhoorn, et al, 1994:15).

The significant disparities between the rural and urban areas have partly been responsible for the inception of SBDT. The main problem that was found to have been responsible for poverty in Serowe village was that when expensive modern technologies are imported, they are usually established close to towns where some infrastructure exists already. They are kept where it is easiest and most economic in terms of the established system to expand them. In the process, the familiar conflict between town and rural areas emerges. The benefits of more highly capitalised, highly productive industrialisation become increasingly concentrated to the neglect of the rural areas, to the benefit of a minority of the population (Van Rensburg, 1978:4).

An attempt by the government of Botswana to put emphasis in the development of the urban areas, with the hope that economic benefits will trickle down to the rural areas, fails to significantly alleviate poverty amongst people of Serowe village. When driving around the village of Serowe and its environs, as well as talking to villagers, it became clear that poverty still defines lives of majority of the people. This situation is prove of less success of SD, which is supposed to give priorities to those who are marginalised and oppressed by

mainstream development practices, so that they can undertake collective action to improve their economic and political situation (Brohman, 1996; Chambers, 1988; Eade, 1997 and Rahman, 1993).

In an interview held on the 11/10/07, a group of beneficiaries of SBDT who are running some business employing skills that they acquired from SBDT stated that,

> We got skills through training provided by SBDT around the 70s and can now operate without its assistance. This was made possible through the help that we received to set up our cooperative. They were follow-ups conducted by SBDT officials that guided us on how we should run our business professionally. We did not leave Serowe village because that will have made it difficult for us to receive the support we got. The course on Development Studies (DVS) bestowed on us the responsibility to serve our community. Even as we speak they are people we have employed in our project who would otherwise be roaming around the village doing nothing worthwhile. We are prepared to help any group that wants to start some business in our village. This is possible because through Development studies course we were educated on the importance of industriousness and altruism. We were educated to value the conviction that success of individuals is not enough unless it gets to also benefit the entire community. The course was entrenched in the African humanism that, "People are people through other people"

It is evident that SBDT did not only provide skills to its beneficiaries, but 'went an extra mile' to help them set up cooperatives that were offered assistance. This gesture allowed SBDT beneficiaries to put their business skills to use. Instead of having SBDT doing the work for the beneficiaries as is often the case with some nongovernmental interventions, the beneficiaries were left to take the risks, with assistance where necessary. The idea was to allow individuals to undertake activities in order to free themselves from the morass of poverty, than to be dependent on SBDT. What has to be emphasised is that SBDT fully prepared and assisted its beneficiaries, until they were in a position to run their projects without or with less of its assistance. As earlier indicated, this should not be misconstrued to mean that SBDT had any withdrawal plan from Serowe village.

Whilst SBDT at its formation assisted its graduates to form cooperatives, the government policies have undermined that responsibility. This has translated into beneficiaries of the current SBDT programmes having to compete for few jobs that are available on the market

or start projects as individuals. The essential role of having cooperatives formed to alleviate poverty is defeated, because the government through its policies made SBDT provide vocational training; without linking that function to any income generating ventures. The policies that the government formulated were imposed on SBDT. Evidence abounds from the development literature that unless policies have full support of communities in which they are to be implemented, their chances of success will be significantly reduced (Hermans, 1992:121).

The cooperative movement has always played a vital role in the socio-economic and community regeneration of Botswana. The major objective of cooperatives was to promote citizen economic empowerment through the operation of businesses whose control rested with members. In Botswana, cooperatives were first established in the 1960s in response to the challenges of local development in Serowe. The first cooperative society to be registered was Swaneng Consumer Cooperative Society located in Serowe village (Ministry of Trade and Industry, 2008:1). In an interview held on the 10/09/07, SBDT official stated that,

> SBDT is no longer responsible for the formation of cooperatives and has stopped providing assistance to them, which led to the collapse of some of them. We are only responsible for providing training and once the beneficiaries are no longer our trainees, we have no control over what they do. I am aware that SBDT used to help people form cooperatives. It is unfortunate that it is no longer possible to assist cooperatives because that responsibility is the purview of the Ministry of Agriculture and not Ministry of Education. We are only responsible for training.

It is clear gathering from the preceding response that SBDT is no longer interested in fighting poverty in Serowe through cooperatives as before. Its concentration is in providing necessary skills to individuals who are left on their own when they complete training. In an interview conducted on the 21/09/07, an individual who graduated from SBDT after the government placed it under DVET echoed that,

> I started a nursery on my own, with the youth financial grant from Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs and support from my family. That was a year after successfully completing my training at SBDT. I produce different kind of plants and sell them to members of the public and organisations. This is my personal project that I own and run it as an individual. I use whatever amount I generate

> in any way I wish because it is my own business. Since leaving SBDT I never got back to the organisation for any help and have not had anyone come from SBDT to visit my project.

In visiting the project, it emerged that indeed the respondent owned it and ran it as an individual. She showed the researcher the impressive record of financial returns that she was gaining from her sales. In making an assessment of this particular project and others like it; it becomes clear that SBDT still provides skills that are useful in the village of Serowe. However, such skills are no longer necessarily meant to alleviate poverty or protect the environment. The collective effort that existed to fight poverty has since been thwarted under the current arrangement. What seems to be a major limitation with the current arrangement is that, SBDT does not train people with the aim of getting them to work together. Its selection criteria are just like of any formal organisation offering skills training, which has no direct bearing in the development of a specific community. SBDT for instance, does not admit people on the basis of their economic disadvantaged positions because selection of the applicants is based on academic performance.

The existence of a cooperative in Serowe village that is run by former SBDT trainees who completed their programmes before the government of Botswana placed SBDT under DVET, is evidence of the mandate that SBDT had initially set for itself. Despite changes that have taken place pertaining to how SBDT is run, members of the aforementioned cooperative are economically empowered and are on their own. They provide services that will otherwise not be available in the village of Serowe.

SBDT departed from its initial objective where the trainees' training was paid through what was produced by the brigades. The Government through DVET introduced some fee for the courses run by SBDT. In an interview on the 10/09/07, a senior official of SBDT stated that,

> A fee is required by SBDT for its courses as a cost recovery measure. The Ministry introduced some fee for its coffers. The fees were determined by the Ministry for all the brigades in the country. It did not take into consideration that some poor people in the village of Serowe cannot afford such payments.

What is important to note is that the introduction of the fees can be an impediment for those individuals from poor families, who cannot afford the fees. It is clear that the government did impose a decision on SBDT to introduce the fees for the courses that it is offering. In July 2003, the government of Botswana directed that there be cost sharing in education for Batswana in secondary schools and technical colleges (Ministry of Education, 2006:1). This arrangement does not foster SD, which requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life (Lafferty and Langhelle, 1999:50).

The SBDT now under DVET, is an NGO that does not serve to economically empower poor people in the village of Serowe. Instead, it serves external force that imposed the fees that are channelled to the central government coffers. This arrangement goes against what NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development should do.

It is clear gathering from what transpired in this section that SBDT is no longer guided by Sustainable Development principles. The principles of Sustainable Development dictate that poverty alleviation should be realised through the efforts of poor people themselves. The poor have to gain a voice and some control over social and economic processes that affect them, if they are to improve their productive capacities and quality of life more generally (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992: 275).

4.9 Indigenous knowledge

When SBDT started operating in Serowe village, it brought with it new skills, which were necessary for the development of the village. This had to be blended with the already existing indigenous knowledge systems, which were employed by Serowe people from time immemorial.

It is important to state that SBDT on its inception acknowledged the importance of changing certain behaviours within the Serowe community, which were believed to be partly responsible for poverty. Interestingly, this was done through educating people through workshops and public meetings about the importance of spending their resources on locally

produced products. People then had a choice of either spending their resources on purchasing imported goods or investing meaningfully on projects through which they could generate more resources. For example, people started vegetable gardens, orchards and nurseries with resources that they had. This was necessary because poor people were influenced generally by high level of aspiration that prevailed, and by the magnetism of consumer goods.

Private spending on consumer goods especially imported commodities was discouraged and resources, energies and creativity of large numbers of development effort was concentrated primarily on the production of food and simple clothing, on improving nutrition, providing education to all and adequate housing facilities. Most importantly, SBDT used local raw materials and avoided tying up capital in imported raw materials (Van Rensburg, 1978:11). SBDT embraced the notion that every society has certain problems that vary from society to society, hence the need for outsiders to learn from the people (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:3).

In an interview on the 14/09/07, an aged beneficiary of SBDT who had since retired from working on his project stated that,

> When SBDT started some of us did not understand what development entailed. To some of us in Serowe village importing expensive clothes, jewellery and other items meant we were developed. We did not know that we could further develop ourselves and our village in the way we did through SBDT. For example, some of the people kept animals such as cattle for prestige, which made them cause deterioration of those resources that the animals relied on. SBDT trained us to invest in cattle rearing for economic benefits than for cultural prestige. It is interesting that through employing simple technologies we managed to rescue ourselves from doldrums of poverty. We profited substantially from some of the skills that we did not put to valuable use before starting SBDT. For instance, some villagers were skilful in the use of grass for roofing houses, which became an important skill during the construction of some of SBDT buildings. Our value systems of team work and provision of service for the betterment of less fortunate members of our Serowe community, was also entertained as valuable to enhance SBDT vision.

The use of local materials, human resource and use of some local skills to tackle challenges that besieged members of Serowe village, made SBDT identify with the villagers. The spirit of doing things together in the community than to engage community leaders or experts

made the intervention appealing even to poor people. The use of human resources that were already available in Serowe village by SBDT provided an opportunity for the exchange of knowledge and skills amongst villagers and experts. This arrangement enhanced the development of the community because development must be capable of creating a body of practical knowledge that is grounded in everyday experience in the search for a more just, sustainable and empowering condition (Legwith, 2005:25). It also means that local resources were used instead of bringing expatriates from other villages or even countries. This contributed to the use of local skills and technologies, which allowed for their perfection.

The important point to note is that SBDT did not just introduce new skills and entertain old skills. It discourages those attitudes that were responsible for poverty. For example, people of Serowe village were discouraged from spending their resources on imported goods, which could be produced cheaply in the village. The culture that prevailed at the time, of attaching value on imported or exotic goods, was discouraged through training. This was regarded as a way through which poverty could be alleviated, because people spent money on goods that were produced in Serowe village. This meant there was market for locally produced goods and therefore more opportunities for people to work together to produce. This was important for economic empowerment which should be grounded at the grassroots level (Gergis, 1999:15).

SBDT played a significant function of offering alternative income generating activities, such as selling of fruits, vegetables, eggs and milk as earlier mentioned. This means SBDT managed to discourage massive consumption of resources in the village for generating income for securing imported goods (Van Rensburg, 1978:9). For example, the collection and sale of firewood to buy imported luxuries, such as expensive clothes from South Africa, was discouraged through education. This means resources such as trees were saved, which were endangered because they were getting over exploited for purposes of generating income to spend on imported goods. This arrangement enhanced sustainability, which is supposed to promote the protection of environmental resources, making it more benign for natural conservation (Baker, 2008:1 and Adams, 1990:184).

It is important to advance that it was never in the interest of SBDT to undermine skills and resources that already existed. On the other side, SBDT had to initiate transformation of a society that would have otherwise not been able to face challenges. For example, buying of imported goods meant that Serowe community promoted cultures of foreign produces, which was transferred through their products.

SBDT did not only encourage utilisation of indigenous knowledge systems. The NGO also encouraged the use of technologies that could not be avoided if the community was to fight poverty and ignorance. This was done through making people of Serowe village appreciate changes which were brought about by advancing technology and hostile government legislations, some of which were inherited from colonial administration. A good example is that of 1959 economic survey, that suggested the improvement of the cattle industry through the introduction of new methods of pastoral farming (Picard, 1987:102). This policy led to the imported bull subsidy scheme by the Government of Botswana immediately after independence. This translates to mean that if SBDT had not started in Serowe and provided necessary skills on animal husbandry; the government was still going to introduce the exotic animals to meet the demand for quality beef by the European Union. This arrangement could have led to farmers losing some of their animals due to lack of necessary skills on animal husbandry.

It can be argued that the provision of skills on animal husbandry by SBDT meant that Serowe villagers could manage and take care of exotic animals that the government introduced. As noted, the farmers' brigade was most important in providing required skills so that people can start rearing cattle on commercial basis, which meant they could sell their animals for more money. This was important in enhancing Sustainable Development since people of Serowe village got better pay for their animals.

They could also produce milk and other dairy products from which they got some income. This became possible because dairy cattle were also introduced (Van Rensburg, 1978:4). Formal education alone would have not been able to induce people to return to agriculture as an occupation, and Botswana as a result of the efforts by SBDT ran up against the obstacle (Ward, 1972:613).

In an interview conducted on the 22/10/07, with an elderly farmer who once served in the SBDT committee, he said that,

> The farmers' brigade bought, bred and sold to people of Serowe exotic cattle for beef and dairy production. This arrangement resulted in the production of hybrid animals that are neither indigenous nor exotic. The yield of milk and the growth rate of Tswana cattle (indigenous) were enhanced. It is clear that the hybrids that were produced are much fragile and cannot stand challenges that are brought by our harsh environmental conditions. The hybrids cannot be used for draft power and are also susceptible to diseases than the animals that we had before the formation of SBDT. The hybrid animals are also responsible for overgrazing because of their colossal size that comes with high consumption of the pastures.

The introduction of exotic breeding cattle as indicated above had pros and cons. The animals offered increased by-products such as processed hides, which improved on the user and exchange value for the benefit of the community. The introduction of dairy animals meant the milk could be sold and consumed without having to kill the animals. It has to be clarified that before the arrival of exotic animals, *Tswana* (indigenous) cattle still died from diseases and droughts. For example, as a result of the drought which occurred from 1982 to 1987, grazing areas and watering points were badly affected, causing an increase in cattle mortality and reducing calving percentages. Subsequently, the cattle population decreased to 2.3 million in 1986 (Macala, Norris and Kiflewahid, 1989:1). It is from the large number of cattle that died during the drought period that resulted in some people taking the view that; they died because they were hybrids. In fact, it could be argued that the higher mortality rate during the aforementioned drought period could have been worse, had it not been that the people of Serowe village had some skills on animal husbandry that SBDT provided.

The argument that *Tswana* cattle could be used for draft power though true is not strong. This is because during hard times such as in 1982 to 1987 drought period, both pastoral and arable farming were adversely affected. It is clear that cattle would have not been able to provide the draft power due to the bad state they were in. It is clear that without income generating activities, the situation would have been more precarious. It is clear that people will always be nostalgic about their past whenever they encounter contemporary challenges. In any case, even if SBDT could have not introduced exotic animals, the

government would have introduced them through its subsidy scheme; as earlier indicated in this section. This would have brought serious problems for the people of Serowe village, who would have been without the necessary skills on how to rear exotic cattle.

It is important to make an observation that in some cases beneficiaries take ventures that come into their place as a panacea for their problems. They fail to appreciate that they do have problems, as in every situation they are always pros and cons. It is this situation that sometimes leads to criticism of projects that are designed for their empowerment. This is an indication that SBDT did not fully furnish limitations of its interventions, which compromised transparency. This did not foster accountability, which is based on the idea that accountability produces transparency (Hilhorst, 2003:103).

The introduction of *Boiteko,* which was designed as a low cost development training and self employment cooperative for adults of all ages by SBDT, provided new ventures by which income was generated. Within two years of its establishment, Boiteko members had created a pottery, a tannery, a garden, a building unit and spanning and weaving of wool and dressmaking facilities. Like the brigades, Boiteko was intended to also introduce a level of skills and experience in small scale management, of a range of production, for people who were sidelined by the more formal, well funded systems of education and training, which government provide. This project was specifically designed for women (Van Rensburg, 2006:1), as earlier indicated. What is interesting here is that SBDT through *Boiteko* provided skills to women who were traditionally regarded as inferior and a minority, compared to their male counterparts. This arrangement was meant to empower women through allowing them to participate, which is informed by the notion that involvement of the poor in decision- making and implementation, participatory approaches have the potential to make poverty reduction efforts 'more responsive' and development more inclusive and sustainable (Chambers, 1995; Narayan, et.al, 2000).

In an interview held on the 10/10/07, the SBDT former board member who benefited from SBDT interventions blamed the Government for introducing policies and systems, which worked against what in the village of Serowe had become indigenous. The respondent stated that,

> The government abolished the traditional systems such as regiments which helped to hold people together. The education system was also striped of its power to mould an individual who is patriotic, selfless and obliged to serve his/her community. SBDT upon its introduction held values our society had esteemed and inculcated on its members from generation to generation namely, patriotism and altruism. SBDT is now producing individuals who are individualistic and are not keen to neither help other people nor develop their village. They gravitate to cities like Gaborone (capital city of Botswana) and take ages before coming home. They despise rural areas, manual work and prefer to stay in places where they can watch Hollywood movies and other foreign cultures. They hold poor people with contempt and blame them for failing to accumulate wealth for themselves.

Most if not all of SBDT graduates prefer to gravitate to the cities, where they are alienated from the rural areas by modern technology, through which they are better able to access information from all over the world. This is what partly prepares them for integration into dominant foreign cultures. The philosophy that informed SBDT at its embryonic stage to the time the government imposed its control over it, is no longer observed. The philosophy inculcated the willingness on SBDT trainees to help those who are economically disempowered in Serowe village. SBDT is no longer seeking to provide a humane; people centred orientation to development, promotion of a sense of pride in craftsmanship and job satisfaction; been concerned with social and cultural values as well as economics (Van Rensburg, 1978:1). As stated by the Assistant Minister of Education Mr. L. Mokalake, brigades' students would continue to have the opportunity to progress to Technical Colleges and also to pursue Botswana Technical Education Programme (BTEP) that would allow them to progress to the Diploma level (Tshukudu, 2008:5). The government through its form of training does not promote participation because SBDT programmes are not designed for utilisation in the village of Serowe. Participation is most successful when implemented by agencies that make developing sustainable patterns of participation and self help one of the primary goals of their field programs (Jennings, 2000:5).

It is important to note that SBDT utilised the indigenous systems that allowed it to engage villagers, mostly the poor, who under the current system are left to fend for themselves. This arrangement results in poor people's lives not improving and unemployment figures soaring. As noted by Professor Happy Siphambe of the University of Botswana, unemployment is currently estimated at 17.6 percent, with the most affected being the youth, women and those with lower levels of education. Some of the unemployed have

tertiary and vocational education (Keoreng, 2008:1). It is important to depart from this section by stating that, there is know how SBDT can help in addressing the problem of unemployment, which is responsible for most cases of poverty since it does not generate any income. It cannot help because SBDT as it is now undermines indigenous knowledge systems. For example, vocational training is meant to benefit individuals who have no obligation to help those who are less fortunate than themselves. It is important to mention that NGOs such as SBDT in their endeavour to realise Sustainable Development are met with antagonistic forces that undermine indigenous knowledge systems. These systems are undermined because they do not benefit global economic systems that Patrick Van Rensburg described earlier in this chapter as exploiting rural areas to enrich urban areas.

4.10 Research incapacity

SBDT did not conduct any research to establish what its impact would be in Serowe village, before it started. Though the idea of starting SBDT with the builders' brigade allowed its founders to appreciate the challenges that emerged, it would have benefitted more if it had started as a pilot project. This would have necessitated both formative and summative evaluations, which are important to determine chances of success for any project. Research is also important in establishing the best strategies by which the people can be empowered. It helps to relocate the poor within the prevailing order and finding ways by which they can be given opportunities (World Bank as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2004:78). This can be achieved through obtaining information from the poor through research, which can be used in formulating strategies for alleviate poverty.

In an interview on the 10/10/07, the former SBDT board member stated that,

> SBDT did not conduct research to determine the chances it had to achieve its laid down objectives. However, we learnt a lot from implementing our plans and making adjustments, which in most cases produced positive results. SBDT allowed the people of Serowe village to experiment with imported and local methodologies. In most cases that gave us golden opportunities to discover new and better ways of doing things. We were always careful not to try those strategies that could have paralysed SBDT. We did not document our discoveries and experiences due to lack of capacity and resources.

SBDT did not conduct research, which would have allowed it to provide verifications for some of its claims. For example, if SBDT had conducted some rigorous research on its activities, that would have helped it to have theories that are more appropriate for its operations. It is important to indicate that SBDT like other NGOs usually start its activities without sufficient knowledge. It did not have a theory or theories that it could have generated through participatory or action research. For example, SBDT managed to employ 'education with production' as a concept for its attempt to realise Sustainable Development. This was done without first employing efforts to establish political, societal and economic factors that could militate against its endeavours. It can still be argued that through research much information on how the concept can be utilised in order to realise Sustainable Development could have been generated. This could have allowed SBDT to being in a better position to answer for the quality and impact of its work, which is strongly recommended by (Hilhorst, 2003:125), for organisations that are geared towards promoting accountability and empowerment. SBDT did not conduct evaluations through appropriate research methods so as to measure the impact of its projects. The results obtained from such evaluations could have been documented for future generations and to guide the organisation on its future operations. Generally, there was a need for research which would have placed local realities at the heart of SBDT interventions and strengthened local knowledge and capacities, which according to (Chambers as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2005:241), is necessary if participation by rural communities is to be realised.

SBDT vision on its formation was guided by a clearly defined principle. It was the principle that the rural population as a whole, men, women and young people, constitute a vast reservoir of potential and largely untapped intelligence, creativity and energy. The dormancy is not a natural, unalterable state of affairs, but the compound result of a number of social factors. They were identified as, traditional dependence and authoritarianism and the effects of marginalisation of the rural economy. SBDT was also informed by the view that as people are mobilised to change, improve and control their physical environment to create infrastructure and plant for production, so will it in turn alter them and their outlook (Van Rensburg, 1978:71). There is no doubt that the principle that ignited SBDT is well grounded and sounds intelligent. However, it can be argued that had SBDT conducted some research, the mentioned guiding principle would have been interrogated and operationalised. For example, the philosophy would have been well demystified for people

of Serowe to understand. Put in simple terms, the philosophy would have been articulated in the language that the poor people can identify with. Lack of research by SBDT tended to make the NGO rely on imported philosophies and concepts instead of formulating its own. The use of imported philosophies most often than not does not empower the people by appreciating the uniqueness of their context. It is important to note that, everything is relevant only to its context, and contexts differ markedly from place to place and even within the same place from time to time (Rapley, 2002:164). Research was necessary to better position SBDT to enhance accountability, which as noted is a complex pillar, on which relatively little research has been conducted (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9). Research is important because participatory research and the new consciousness to knowledge it creates is one element in an ongoing process of empowerment where local communities take over their own development (Mohan and Stokke, 2000:252).

In an interview conducted on the 10/10/07, an official of SDBT stated that decisions that they take are not usually informed by research. The official echoed that,

> We do not conduct any research in our organisation because we do not have researchers and financial resources for that. However, some researchers do come to SBDT for their researches, mostly those from the universities both locally and overseas. We also get relevant information that we use from relevant Government departments e.g. Ministry of Agriculture provides us with information on issues related to gardening, animal husbandry and forestry.

It is indisputable that lack of strong research capacity by SBDT rendered the organisation weak in articulating its position against government control or any other force. This also means that SBDT can be easily misled by knowledge from those researchers that it relies on. It is this lack of information generated through SBDT research that accorded the Government of Botswana an opportunity to advance a rather plausible view that, SBDT would do much better under its control. The Government for instance, in late 2001, through consultants, took the view that production as a learning practice no longer provides a constant or stable environment to enable systematic training/skill development to take place. The government argued that 'education with production' in the form in which it is practiced by SBDT is not viable either in terms of a training modality or a cost saving intervention (Van Rensburg, 2005:1)

The problem of relying on the government by SBDT for information generated through consultancies, gave the former an opportunity to manipulate. It is important to note that, SBDT did not have information that is generated through research, which could have demonstrated the impact it had in Serowe village. It can be argued that with information generated through research, it would have been difficult for the government to relegate SBDT through policies, which were influenced by consultants.

It is due to lack of research by SBDT that the government claimed it was appropriate for formal schooling and skills training to be separated. As stated by the then Minister of Education Mr.K.Kgoroba, the brigades occupy a unique place in the history of Botswana, as they preached the spirit of self-reliance and self help. Sadly the spirit of self-reliance and self-help appears to be ebbing while a culture of entitlement appears to be on the ascendancy (BOPA, 2003:5). It is evident that the former minister did not provide any empirical evidence for his claim that the spirit of self-reliance and self-help was ebbing. However, since SBDT did not have any evidence arrived at through research; it did not challenge the minister's assertion. Lack of information and knowledge, which can be generated through research, undermines both economic and political empowerment. There is growing awareness that access to information and knowledge is crucial for the advancement of the poor (Schilderman as cited by Lynch, 2005:143). Research is also important for SD because its realisation provide answers to such questions as, who is in control? Who sets agendas? Who allocates resources? Who mediates disputes? Who sets the rules? It depends fundamentally on research not only in such fields as tropical forest ecology, but also in fields concerned with socio-political structures (Wilbanks, 1994:554).

There is another important contribution that found SBDT wanting in research. This is where it was attested by University of Botswana Professor Happy Siphambe that in Botswana, poverty has generally been declining over time from 59 percent in 1985/86 to 47 percent in 1993/94 to 30 percent in 2002/03. Botswana has a number of social safety nets, most of which are not tested, leading to a lot of leakages. Job creation needs to be emphasised since it is a sustainable means to poverty reduction (Keoreng, 2008a). It is indisputable that SBDT created employment for the people of Serowe village in many ways, as reflected in this chapter. It is lack of research that disadvantages SBDT because it could not provide evidence to demonstrate the amount of contribution it made in poverty

alleviation in Serowe village, in both qualitative and quantitative terms. Botswana is still left with no clue on how much of the alluded to 59 percent in 1985/86, 47 percent in 1993/94 and 30 percent in 2002/03 were as a result of SBDT contributions. If SBDT had research capacity, it could have provided evidence on the amount of contribution that it made in alleviating poverty in Serowe village.

It is common among NGOs to pursue imported concepts and not provide evidence to their relevance or lack thereof. This is precisely because of lack of their own capacity to conduct research that they can lay claim to its ownership.

There is evidence to suggest that SBDT was made up of the first Brigades in Botswana. The initial idea was to later be replicated in other areas in Botswana. It did happen that the expansion was undertaken in other areas such as Shashe in Tonota and Madiba in Mahalapye villages respectively. It is clear that except for the reports, which were produced to account to the Serowe community, no rigorous research to inform future decisions on how the expansion should be conducted was available. The early expansion of brigades in Botswana took place without adequate attention to the need for well trained and motivated manpower and the many difficulties that have been encountered are a reflection of this deficiency (Van Rensburg, 1978:59). The expansion of brigades in Botswana did not affect SBDT that already existed. However, research would have provided important information on what made SBDT succeed in Serowe village, which would have been important for other brigades. It is indisputable that had SBDT conducted research on its activities, through intellectual property rights, it could have profited from that arrangement.

The Government of Botswana in full knowledge that brigades such as SBDT did not conduct any research, commissioned a study in 1973, the results of which were used to criticise all brigades for weak performance, as earlier mentioned. The critics focused on the performance of the weaker brigades to attack the whole concept of 'education with production' as it was implemented (Van Rensburg, 1978:25). Due to lack of research, SBDT could not in any way discredit the findings that criticised all brigades on their performance. This limitation resulted in SBDT being lumped with those brigades that underperformed.

They are some community members as earlier indicated in this chapter, who strongly feel the introduction of the exotic animals like cattle contributed to the high mortality rate of their animals. This accusation seems to be misplaced, but as no research was conducted to establish facts that can be relied upon against such an accusation, it can be used against SBDT.

The research component could have been very important for SBDT when the concept of Sustainable Development was introduced. There is still a strong held conviction that SBDT in its current form can still achieve Sustainable Development. In an interview held on the 10/09/07, an officer at SBDT indicated that,

> The concept of Sustainable Development is adopted by SBDT, which believes that poverty should be alleviated so that every Botswana citizen can have basic necessities. SBDT also remains committed to environmental protection, which is fostered through activities such as forestry.

It has to be indicated that some of the strategies that worked for SBDT before the government instilled its control may still be relevant. However, because no research was conducted to unearth such values, they are likely to be discarded. In dissecting the preceding response, it becomes important to mention that environmental protection was achieved by SBDT through both modern and indigenous strategies. This combination of both new and old ways of doing things is important and should have been researched on, so that documentation pertaining to them gets undertaken. For example, it is important to know what is in the culture of Serowe people that was useful in conserving their environmental resources.

It is important to indicate that, research is important in giving some rare opportunity to the people whose voices are undermined. If SBDT had conducted researches, that would have empowered the poor people to have space to share their experiences and articulate their aspirations.

Knowledge gap resulting from lack of research by NGOs, such as SBDT, has been exploited by researchers who do not have much interest in adding value to their activities. This is not appropriate because academic oriented tourists take short urban safari holidays

in Africa to conduct a few short interviews, which they use to write up some extensive research reports. It is unlikely that these tourists speak one or more of the 2000 languages in Africa, or conduct their interviews in an African language (Quist-Adade and Van Wyk, 2007:82). The observation made by the preceding authors collaborates what happened at SBDT. The organisation did not conduct its own research but allowed researchers to come and conduct their researches about and on it. The limitation created by lack of research allowed such researchers to exploit the opportunity for their own interest, which did not necessarily benefit SBDT.

It is important to indicate that research is expensive, which made it difficult for SBDT to embark on it. However, it is equally important to note that research is important for NGOs if they are to become more creative and circumspect. It can be strongly argued that, had SBDT conducted research, it would provide reliable information that could be invaluable for other NGOs. For instance, information on the application of the concept of 'education with production' can be useful for other NGOs.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that SBDT was started by Patrick Van Rensburg with the aim of helping the people of Serowe village to escape from poverty, through their own efforts. Most interestingly, SBDT which he helped set up in the village of Serowe gained the support of villagers, including poor members of the community. Its gravitas in ending poverty in Serowe village as well as protecting its environmental resources; endeared SBDT to the people of Serowe village. SBDT was instrumental in providing skills training to the people of Serowe village, which enable them to become functional when they formed cooperatives. It encouraged poor people of Serowe village to participate in the decision making process, albeit through those structures that marginalised some of them, such as women. It can be concluded that the decision making process even before the government of Botswana instilled its influence on SBDT, did not promote the kind of participation that empowered people politically. SBDT did approach the people of Serowe with an already formulated plan of alleviating poverty and preservation of environmental resources. An important point that can be deduced from that is that an NGO can have full support of the

people, when there are indications that its activities have direct benefits for them, such as ameliorating their socio economic status. This sometimes undermines people's empowerment process because they participate in order to get material benefits, than to participate because the idea that the NGO is pursuing is their own.

The people of Serowe village participated in those activities that were necessitated to ameliorate their living conditions. It is possible to conclude that people in rural areas are not always antagonistic to outsiders and their ideas, which sometimes deceive experts working for NGOs to believe that their approaches are better at solving problems faced by the people. SBDT recognised and attached some importance on indigenous knowledge systems, which made it possible for the villagers to utilise their traditional skills. It can be safely concluded that through the use of their skills, villagers recognised the value of such skills and got a golden opportunity to experiment with them.

SBDT through training promoted the use of locally produced goods, which discouraged the people of Serowe village from importing goods. It can be safely concluded that though it is important for NGOs to respect decisions that are made by the people that they assist, it is sometimes important for them to violate such a tradition. For example, the people of Serowe village eschewed over exploitation of resources in their area in pursuit of short term benefits, which militated against efforts to alleviate poverty. It is safely concluded that sometimes NGOs are left with no choice but to educate the people against what they feel works against their objectives. This is important if it is done for the benefit of the people not external forces such as an International Non Governmental Organisation or a government. It also does promote Sustainable Development as it saves important resources that would otherwise be spent on luxuries which are not sustainable.

It is important to conclude that, SBDT got transformed through government policies into an organisation that alienates poor people of Serowe village. The decision making process is now the domain of experts and influential people, which has robbed poor people opportunities that they had of participating in transforming their lives for the better, through pursuing concepts that were imported. It can be concluded that the taking over of SBDT by the government has resulted in it not taking responsibility to ignite activities that are geared towards alleviating poverty in Serowe village. This arrangement has rendered SBDT not

committed to fulfilling requirements of Sustainable Development, which attaches immense value on the amelioration of socio-economic status of those whose lives are wretched by economic deprivation. The people of Serowe village it is concluded that, they have lost the sense of ownership, which they had before the government took control of SBDT.

It is concluded that most often than not, NGOs as they undertake their activities, they do ignore that they are forces such as governments that can be hell bent at making them fail. As much as NGOs are welcomed by some governments as partners in development, they sometimes do not enjoy an atmosphere that is conducive for them to fulfilment their objectives. Sometimes governments feel NGOs make radical changes that challenge the status quo in the interest of the poor, such as educating poor people on the real causes of their plight. When this happens, there is often tendency by governments to render NGOs incompetent, irrelevant, manipulative, politically unacceptable, insensitive, demonic and impecunious. This partly explains why NGOs in Botswana cannot realise Sustainable Development.

Chapter 5

5.1 Cooperation for Research Development and Education (CORDE)

5.2 Introduction

This section of the thesis will serve to demonstrate that CORDE, which is a development NGO in Botswana, operated in an atmosphere that militated against both economic and political empowerment of poor people. CORDE was formed with the sole intention of alleviating poverty amongst rural communities through provision of entrepreneurial skills, conducting of participatory research and employing of participatory development approaches. This was to allow poor people to develop effective implementable solutions to be employed to sustain their income generating activities. The organisation is supposed to be committed towards providing financial assistance to groups that embark on the running of income generation projects, with particular interest in those that are geared towards protecting environmental resources. CORDE also works closely with NGOs such as Environmental Heritage Foundation Trust, which helps communities to come up with the best strategies in the use of their environmental resources for income generation.

CORDE is supposed to be more responsive to the needs of community groups of poor people, through conducting participatory research for knowledge creation. The NGO is supposed to provide information that is sourced through participatory research that can help communities in the alleviation of poverty and promotion of parsimonious use of resources. As it would be indicated, CORDE received some monetary support from various sources for its projects, such as Kellogg. This development meant that CORDE did not provide poor people with an opportunity to partake in the decision making processes, which is necessary for participation and empowerment.

CORDE staff members did not identify with poor people in areas where they operated, which made it difficult for them to participate in the projects that were meant to alleviate poverty in their areas. This meant that there was lack of camaraderie between CORDE and its beneficiaries. The arrangement also undermined participation, which is supposed to

promote equity and accepts that the exercise of decision making power at local or community level is as legitimate as it is at the national level (Jennings, 2000:2).

The research activities that CORDE undertook to solicit ideas from the people often left out people who are without political and economic power. A good example is when CORDE used Participatory Research Appraisal (PRA) approach in an effort to take on board decisions of disempowered members of communities. This was in order to develop most suitable approaches that could enhance the performance of entrepreneurship in specific communities. It has to be noted that in societies that are not egalitarian, such as those where CORDE operated, it is most often voices of politically and economically empowered people that are listened to. This is despite employment of participatory approaches such as PRA. As it will be fully substantiated in this thesis, CORDE listened to voices of powerful people at the detriment of poor people.

It is important to note that, CORDE over the years initiated and implemented several projects and programmes on sustainable agriculture, natural resources management and manufacturing promotion. These projects were conducted in the following locations: Mosu, Ramotswa, Mochudi, Mmathubudukwane, Serowe, Dutlwe, Makalamabedi, Kanye, Mahalapye, Letlhakeng, Qabo and Zuthwa villages. In the mentioned interventions and in the mentioned villages, CORDE preferred to support structures that already existed, such as well established entrepreneurs. This arrangement left out most poor people who were not organised and therefore had no organisations that qualified for such support. This arrangement ran contrary to what is advocated by Sustainable Development, which requires that meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all, the opportunity for people to fulfil their aspirations for a better life be observed (Gallopin and Raskin, 2002:32).

This thesis will demonstrate evidently that, poor people that CORDE was supposed to help got disgruntled with it, because its staff exhibited elitist traits. CORDE staff operates from the capital city where the headquarters of the organisation is situated. The projects that CORDE supported tended to be in areas that are well resourced, such as Mochudi village, which is forty kilometres from the capital city of Botswana. There is a clear point that through urban bias, CORDE denied most poor people in the rural areas, where poverty is concentrated, essential support to economically uplift them. CORDE exhibited antagonism

of the middle class on the peasants, who should have benefitted from its interventions, since it is supposed to be inspired by Sustainable Development. Sustainable Development calls for the beneficiaries of development to decide the form their economic development should take, or at least be empowered to generate meaningful decisions and take part in their development (Veolia Environment, 2006:1). This includes allowing beneficiaries to preserve the quality of natural resources (Baker, 2008:1).

This section raises critical points resulting from the marginalisation of poor people, which CORDE masterminded in those rural areas where it conducted its activities. The existence of a gap between poor people and development practitioners resulted in poor people feeling further disempowered. The limitation on the side of the development practitioners to create space for poor people to employ their indigenous knowledge, leads ostensibly to what this thesis will unapologetically refer to as 'arrogance'. This form of arrogance is often influenced by class. The development practitioners belong to a particular class, which is more powerful than that of poor people.

CORDE has not been able to make information flow from poor people into the organisation, so that those at the top can learn from those below. This demonstrates that there has not been the necessary reversing of the direction of teaching and learning, to enable core people to learn from those who are peripheral (Chambers, 1983:44).

This chapter will promulgate that there is a negative view of CORDE as an NGO that is involved in conspicuous consumption. There is criticism of CORDE by poor people in areas where it had projects, for displaying affluence and yet poor people remain in staggering poverty. This is attributed to the propensity of CORDE in concentrating in strengthening its resource base, giving little attention to helping poor people. The interest is to establish a strong financial base and a degree of financial self reliance which can allow CORDE to weather the difficult of the years ahead (CORDE, 2000:17).

This chapter will demonstrate that though CORDE believed in the ability of poor people to move from the margins of society to become actors in their own development (CORDE, 2000:14), it concentrated in assisting other parts of Southern Africa with expertise in areas of organisational management. For instance, its adoption of the 'Organisation Workshop

Methodology' pioneered by De Morais in Latin America, propelled CORDE into becoming a leading force in the field of self managed enterprises and rural development, throughout Southern Africa. CORDE helped to spread the methodology to Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa (CORDE, 2000:14). Locally, CORDE also played a key role in the local NGO sector by way of rendering organisation and management consultancy services for other organisations (Thaga, 2004:3). It has to be pointed out that, the more CORDE played these essential functions that benefited other organisations; it neglected poor people that it was supposed to help. The NGO at the time of spreading organisational workshop methodology was manned by: the executive director, Accountant/Programme manager, Training and capacity building programme manager, information, research and communications officer, training officer, receptionist, cleaner and security guard (Thaga, 2004:3). It is clear that SBDT staff was not enough to undertake both regional and local assignments without compromising.

CORDE has formed partnerships with some donor agencies, such as HIVOS, W.K.Kellogg Foundation and African Development Foundation (ADF). These organisations have offered CORDE both financial and advisory support (CORDE, 2000:19). It has emerged from CORDE membership groups and poor people that the support that CORDE receives makes it to account to its donors. This line of accountability leaves individually owned enterprises, cooperatives, community enterprises and poor people without any room to influence decisions that are taken by CORDE. The arrangement also leaves the mentioned beneficiaries without any knowledge of the amount of resources that the organisation receives on their behalf. There is an indication that CORDE like other NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development, claim to represent the true interest of the rural people and yet do not do enough to help their development (Adams, 1990:184). CORDE is supposed to be offering training on record keeping, project design and management, communication skills for development, participatory training and people's participation in community development programmes, for the benefit of its membership, which include poor people in areas where it is running its projects (Thaga, 2004:3). However, CORDE like other NGOs is not able to provide the services to its membership as it should (Thaga, 2004:2) because of reasons aforementioned reasons.

CORDE had a strong philosophy that was supposed to have supported sustainability, namely: sustainable agriculture. Over the years, CORDE initiated and implemented several programmes and projects. These included sustainable agriculture, natural resources management and enterprise development (CORDE, 2004:3). As this chapter will argue, as a result of the engagement of CORDE on activities that serves to consolidate its financial base for its existence, this noble philosophy got undermined. This chapter will bring to light that CORDE is theoretically in support of the concept of Sustainable Development. However, the chapter will argue that practically, activities that are undertaken by CORDE do not demonstrate its commitment towards realising Sustainable Development.

CORDE operated under the following objectives:

-To provide training, advisory and mentoring support to enterprises and associates so that they become profitable, in an effort to alleviate poverty.

-To build organisational capacity of members and associates so that they can deliver effectively and efficiently on their mandate of alleviating poverty and protecting environmental resources

-To promote sustainable form of development through conducting research to guide activities that are necessary for poverty alleviation and environmental resources prudent use (Thaga, 2004:1).

What is interesting about the preceding objectives is that they do not indicate when they are to be achieved and what roles those who would be assisted are to play.

5.3 Historical background

Cooperation for Research, Development and Education (CORDE) is a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) that was registered in Botswana as a trust in 1986. It was established by a group of fledging work managed production groups, in response to their identified development needs and those of the needy. It took off from very humble beginnings, driven

by a conscious decision to empower its constituency. The organisation also played a key role in the local NGO sector by way of rendering organisation and management consultancy services for other organisations including in the South African Development Community (SADC) region, that are committed to poverty alleviation and natural resources management (CORDE, 2004:3). CORDE was started by three individuals who were dedicated to the development of a self-managed sector (Thaga, 2004:3). CORDE is currently under the board of trustees, which is a policy making structure of the organisation. It is made up of six people elected from amongst its members and three co-opted professionals from outside the organisation (Thaga, 2004:2).

CORDE was formed primarily to tackle development challenges that Botswana is facing, which continue to mount, such as poverty and environmental degradation. The major identified challenges were those that are caused by natural disasters such as drought. Drought was identified as important because it was seen as partly responsible for the economic hardships that the poor people experience in Botswana. Droughts were seen as responsible for hampering food production in a country that relies heavily on agriculture. In addressing the problem, CORDE was supposed to promote more reliable ways of generating income through sustainable agriculture, such as vegetable production, poultry farming, dairy and piggery; amongst the poor people in its selected areas of operation. It was also to introduce more profitable ways of income generation, through entrepreneurship skills training programmes and financial assistance. This was necessitated as an acknowledgement that removal of poverty, participation of the beneficiaries and sustainability are the major objectives of SD (Lele, 1991).

The challenge that was identified as major by CORDE was that of poverty, which was seen as lessening the humanity of some people in Botswana. It was painfully observed that though Botswana was acclaimed for its economic performance, it was not meeting economic needs of all its citizens. The gap between the rich and the poor was increasing steadily and was already amongst the biggest in the world (CORDE, 2000:13). The other challenge was that which is related to environmental resources. In Botswana as in other developing countries, many environmental problems are related to poverty, as poor people, with only limited access to resources, often have no choice than to exploit the natural resources for their survival (Barnhoorn et al, 1994:20). A good example in Botswana is

where poor people harvest firewood as their source of energy and cut trees to make crafts for meagre incomes.

CORDE has benefited from its partnership with various development partners from inside and outside the country. The most notable supporters of CORDE are the following: HIVOS, W.K. Kellogg Foundation, African Development Foundation (ADF), RAFAD, Botswana College of Agriculture (BCA), The Ngamiland Participatory Development Project and The Environmental CBO/NGO Empowerment Project (CORDE, 2000:19). The mentioned organisations assisted CORDE financially and through provision of some expertise. It is important to mention that CORDE has had close relationship with some government departments as well. The relationship that CORDE had with some government departments had not always been harmonious. The relationship also did not go down well with other NGOs in Botswana. This best explains why CORDE did not receive much support from other developmental NGOs, when it had some misunderstanding with the government over Ghanzi farms that the government took from three San communities. It is on record that CORDE supported three San communities when the government took three farms from them and allocated them to syndicates that included leading civil servants and politicians (CORDE, 2000:15).

CORDE since its formation has had its headquarters in Gaborone, which is the capital city of Botswana. This arrangement is preferred though most of its activities are supposed to take place in the rural areas, where majority of the poverty stricken people live. CORDE is supposed to work with small, medium and micro enterprises as well as other development organisations in Botswana, with a strong bias towards development of rural areas (Thaga, 2004:1). CORDE in its Sustainable Development drive is guided by the following values: empowerment of poor people economically and politically, transparency and respect for accountability and participation of people in their own development (CORDE, 2004:2). As it will be shown in the conclusion chapter of this study, sustainability, accountability, empowerment and participation form important pillars for Sustainable Development. It is worth noting that CORDE has captured the aforementioned pillars.

CORDE recognised the person as the locus of the development process and its most productive force. Thus, any initiative for development by CORDE pays particular attention

to unleashing the creative energy of the people; who are most affected by its development interventions. Integral to CORDE's methodology is the participatory approach, that ensures that people involved in development identify with and own the subsequent development plans and processes (CORDE, 2007:7). A strong argument can be raised that if CORDE could have followed its theoretical pronouncements, it could have empowered poor people that it ran projects for, instead of with.

5.4 Middle class elitism

The relationship between poor people and the development practitioners is very important if both parties are to succeed in their endeavour to realise Sustainable Development. It is important because the closer the practitioners are to poor people they are likely to know better about their economic and political predicaments. It also allows the practitioners to work closely with them in finding solutions to solve their problems. It is regrettable that many NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa are staffed by urban, middle class elites with no substantive roots in underprivileged groups (Mercer, 2002:10). In an interview held on the 10/07/07, group members of a community enterprise that received training from CORDE on business management and marketing, decried that,

> The officials of CORDE did not make follow-ups after giving us training on how to run our business profitably, this is despite our numerous invitations. This is because we cannot afford to pay for their services. They are interested in helping those businesses, individuals and government departments that can afford to pay for their services or consultancies. The NGO is for serving elite organisations and rich individuals, including some government departments that we do not trust.

CORDE is seen as not in any way identifying with groups that are formed by poor people to help improve their socio-economic and political status. This defeats SD, which advocates for the promotion of the poor to acquire the power and control over their own lives through the use of national and human resources that exist in their environment (Friedmann, 1992). It is so because of its involvement with organisations that are regarded as elitist. As earlier

stated in this chapter, CORDE is supposed to work with small, medium and micro enterprises as well as other development organisations in Botswana, with a strong bias towards rural areas. This is done through the provision of organisation development, training, mentoring and business advisory services (Thaga, 2004:1)

In the light of the experience of community enterprise quoted above, it can be argued that failure by CORDE to respond to invitations that are made to it by its beneficiaries, makes them feel the organisation is not accountable to them, but to elite organisations, rich individuals and government departments. This is proving that CORDE does not embrace downward accountability, which requires organisations to account to their beneficiaries (Zaidi as cited by Mercer, 2002:15). It also confirms that resources that are supposed to help those who are excluded from the development process, most often than not do not 'trickle down' to the poorest sections of society, but continue to be monopolised by urban and rural elites (FAO, 2007:1). This situation is unhealthy because it has alienated CORDE from poor people who should be the focus of practitioners who subscribe to Sustainable Development. This also means the economic empowerment process that is essential for Sustainable Development gets defeated because people being offered assistance play a vital part in defining what can be done. People who do not participate in interventions designed for their economic uplift can feel inadequate, powerless and dependent (World Vision, 2002:1).

There is evidence that the relationship of CORDE with the government has led to the commitment of CORDE members getting compromised (CORDE, 2004:5). It can be safely argued that, the resentment that is within CORDE membership is triggered by the fact that officials of the NGO identify with elitist organisations and government departments. This is not helped by the fact that poor people do not trust governments to address their problems of economic deprivation. As noted by (Clark, 1991:52), poor people do not like large government bureaucracies because they succour the well off.

CORDE got some of its employees from the civil service and did not receive any training on participation and accountability, which are essential pillars of Sustainable Development. This arrangement makes it difficult for poor people who receive assistance from the organisation, to see any difference between CORDE officials and the civil servants. This is

partly because CORDE beneficiaries do not actively participate in the design of interventions that are necessitated for their economic empowerment just in the manner they are sidelined by government officials. Participation is important because it is a process through which stakeholders, including powerless members of the community, influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect their lives (World Bank as cited by Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5).

CORDE officials are trained on the development of NGOs, social studies, adult education, small enterprises promotion and financing, commerce, youth leadership, planning community development projects and marketing (Thaga, 2004:3). These qualifications are important for entrepreneurial development and not necessarily for promoting participation and accountability amongst poor people. In an interview conducted on the 23/07/07, CORDE senior official indicated that,

> We are well trained to train our beneficiaries so that they can run their projects professionally. However, we do not have any training on Sustainable Development because there is no course on the concept. I wish a course on Sustainable Development could be packaged and run by institutions such as universities because it is pivotal for parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources and poverty alleviation. For instance, Sustainable Development emphasises participation of poor people on those activities that are necessary for poverty alleviation. However, powerful forces that are responsible for formulation of policies and concepts take it that meetings and conferences are enough to make practitioners understand what the concept entails. It is common amongst NGOs for officials to be expected to apply new concepts such as Sustainable Development without any training on the concepts being offered. I feel strongly that CORDE officials can apply themselves better if they are well trained on sustainability, participation, accountability and empowerment.

It is important to note that lack of training of those people who are responsible for the actualisation of concepts is partly responsible for their failure and inappropriate applications. For instance, despite participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability being the cornerstone for Sustainable Development, little or nothing is done to provide NGOs with training on them. It is indisputable that some NGO officials do not always readily help poor people escape from poverty through their own efforts. Unfortunately, this is often attributed to elitism and rarely to lack of necessary expertise on the side of the officials. It has to be understood that where officials are not given training

that is necessary for them to actualise concepts, they will not inspire action that is relevant for required results. For example, NGO officials are expected to make poor people participate and yet there is no defined pathway on how participation should be realised. The assumption is usually that if poor people are allowed to participate they will readily and willingly participate, which is empowering. It is empowering because it puts poor people in charge of decision making and of resources for development and poverty reduction. By involving the poor directly in decision making and implementation, participation can make poverty reduction efforts more germane and development more all-encompassing and sustainable (Chambers, 1995; Narayan et al, 2000).

The provision of knowledge through established institutions such as universities on important challenges such as poverty are limited if not unavailable. Even where they are available they are not designed to benefit practitioners who work closely with poverty stricken populations. For example, it is usually conference papers and books that provide information prescribing Sustainable Development as a panacea and not manuals that indicate how it should be applied to benefit certain sections of the population, such as women. This often leaves practitioners with no choice but to experiment the concept in different ways that are often not evaluated and documented. In some cases practitioners on the belief that they can speak for the poor, tend to dominate without realising the misleading effects of their dominance (Chambers, 1995:214).

There is an important point that is worth mentioning concerning the dependency of CORDE's beneficiaries on the NGO. This can also be attributed to lack of knowledge on how to empower beneficiaries so that they become dependent on their own efforts. Despite CORDE having trained and helped some community groups and cooperatives to start projects to generate income to alleviate poverty, they are still dependent on the NGO for skills and knowledge. They still expect CORDE to come and train new members who join the community enterprises or cooperatives. The members who received training do not take the responsibility to train new members. It can be argued that, CORDE officials during training do not demystify their training so that members of enterprises and cooperatives can provide training to their new members. It can be argued that this is happening because of two main reasons. Firstly, the beneficiaries are not trained in a manner that they can pass knowledge to those who need it. Secondly, there is fear that if CORDE was to pass

responsibility to its beneficiaries to train new members who come into projects, the NGO will not gain from charging for its services. This defeats SD, which is supposed to promote participation through the use of participatory approaches. As noted by (Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5), one of the attractions of the participatory approach to the development industry is that it shifts responsibility for the projects away from the agencies and development workers into the participating people.

In an interview conducted on the 06/08/07, a member of a horticultural project which had its members trained by CORDE indicated that,

> CORDE taught us how to run our horticultural project profitably by giving us lessons on efficient use of resources, record keeping and market research. The problem is that CORDE officials did not teach us how to pass such knowledge and skills that we acquired from them, to those people who will be starting new projects or getting recruited into the old ones. This is unhealthy because it leaves CORDE officials as custodians of knowledge, who should always be engaged whenever the need for training arise. We suspect that they want to be continually engaged because they charge for their services.

The training that CORDE offers to community project and cooperative members who run projects, which are important for the amelioration of the living conditions of poor people, is important. Such training as noted in the preceding response is economically empowering, but it cannot be said to be politically empowering. This is because it is not accompanied by training on the elimination of those traits that keep certain sections of rural communities, such as women, marginalised. The political empowerment is important because it improves the terms by which the capacity of the poor to aspire and engage is enhanced. This means being able to envision and enact alternative futures, believing that it is desirable and possible to move out of poverty, and meaningfully participating in forums where decisions that are important for poverty alleviation are made (The World Bank, 2006:71).

It is important to mention that the training of members of community enterprises, cooperatives and individuals by CORDE is paid for, which makes the NGO operate like a business entity that is profit driven. This makes it difficult for poverty stricken people to receive its training and financial resources because they cannot afford to pay for such training.

It does not come as a surprise that, CORDE increases its income through consultancies, which is invested in ventures with potential for high yields like Bank of Botswana Certificates and the Stock Market (CORDE, 2004:5). It can be safely argued that, this focus by CORDE has made it to have less time to attend to the needs of community enterprises, cooperatives and projects, which belong to poor people.

CORDE is supposed to be under the leadership and guidance of the board of trustees who are elected from amongst the members. The staff members of CORDE should accordingly be receiving decisions from the board, which is an intermediary between CORDE officials and members of community projects, cooperatives and small enterprises. Instead, CORDE officials make decisions that are then channelled to the members. In an interview conducted on the 23/07/07, one of the board members stated that,

> Decisions are made by CORDE officials who then channel them to us to transmit to the members who run projects, cooperatives and community enterprises. This arrangement exists because the officials feel they are much more knowledgeable than board members and other CORDE members. They undermine our ability to make decisions so that we can decide on how the organisation should be run.

There is evidence that indeed CORDE officials make decisions, which they then channelled through board members to the beneficiaries. This is done because the board is too trusting and depends heavily on staff, which requires that board members increase their leadership skills (CORDE, 2004:5). The point that has to be made is that, CORDE has not developed any training programme specifically for its board members, so that they can take the responsibility to take leadership roles. This has affected the performance of the board members, resulting in them relying on CORDE officials. The board members and the beneficiaries are not empowered to inject their decisions on CORDE, which leaves the officials with much power to decide on matters that are important for poverty alleviation and on environmental issues. This arrangement has also undermined the ability of CORDE to promote interaction between its stakeholders, which ostracises the poor, resulting in political disempowerment. Capacity to aspire, which is a component of political empowerment, is a product of developing more broadly accessible and equitable

mechanisms for interaction between the poor and elites, mechanisms that are reciprocally linked to attaining greater voice in associational interactions (The World Bank, 2006:71).

It has to be pointed out that imposition of decisions by CORDE officials on the beneficiaries is not appropriate for Sustainable Development because it does not empower them to determine their destiny. It is important to mention that CORDE officials can inspire actions that are important for the realisation of Sustainable Development, if they train their beneficiaries in a way that they can also train others. However, this also brings the challenge of having CORDE officials trained in a manner that they will be capable of passing such expertise to their beneficiaries to train others. This is important because it enhances participation; as people will be receiving training from people who are members of their communities. It also helps to demystify knowledge and encourage people to make knowledge relevant for their contexts. When people who are not NGO officials train others, they get to experiment, which helps them to refine and enrich knowledge through making discoveries.

5.5 Neglect of beneficiaries

The financial resources that are received from the donors such as, HIVOS by CORDE are usually earmarked for specific activities that require specific expertise. It is the engagement of experts that poor people who run projects that are assisted by CORDE are disgruntled with. They feel a lot of forums that are necessitated to discuss and formulate plans concerning their projects do not include them; therefore failing to reflect their experiences and needs. A good example is where CORDE engaged a consultant to look at the modalities of establishing a micro lending institution (CORDE, 2000:23), without first contacting membership about the assignment. This was also done disregarding that CORDE has a team of experienced development workers and consultants, covering a variety of specialisations and disciplines, which include small enterprise promotion and financing, community work and organisation development, accounting, marketing and human resources management (Thaga, 2004:3). In view of the human resource that CORDE has, it could handle the consultancy without engaging consultants from outside

the organisation. In fact, CORDE does conduct consultancies as earlier stated in preceding section.

In an interview that was held on the 10/07/07, two senior members of a project that benefitted from CORDE's interventions stated that,

> The problem with CORDE is that it spends resources in consultancies, meetings and workshops, which do not provide meaningful results for the poor people who run projects. This is because most of these activities are conducted without consultation with the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries do not make an input on how the organisation can best make use of resources that are spent on consultancies. Instead of CORDE doing the consultancies or running workshops based on the needs that are identified by its beneficiaries, the organisation brings people with little knowledge about projects and small businesses to ask us questions for their consultancies. Some of these activities are conducted to spend money that the organisation has so that it can justify why it should continue to receive assistance from the donors.

It is important to note that, poor people who run projects that are assisted by CORDE do not get involved when the organisation engages consultants. Poor people do not therefore know the importance of such consultancies and yet organisational resources are spent on them. CORDE is supposed to be committed to accountability, which advocates for the right for stakeholders to get information about the organisation and its activities at all costs. This includes information on how organisation's resources are used (CORDE, 2004:2). Accountability is important because it promotes sharing of information with individuals who influence a decision or can influence it, as well as those affected by such a decision (Boutelle, 2004:1). This includes poor people who are affected by any decision that is taken to ameliorate their living conditions.

When members of community projects, cooperatives and small businesses, which are assisted by CORDE, do not receive any information, they are bound to surmise that there is some misuse of resources that the officials are hiding from them. This is because they are often told by CORDE officials that the organisation does not have financial resources to continue helping them, as it did before it got impecunious. The organisation does not provide feedback to its membership after such consultancies are conducted. It can be rightly argued that, consultancies that are paid for by CORDE do not address problems that

poor people face, hence a complaint about them. This arrangement undermines participation because consultancies do not involve the poor people so that they can share their aspirations and decisions. This exercise compromises participation, which requires the searching out of all potential stakeholders, especially those with less power, little or no voice, and are distance from the mainstream, whether geographically or in their ideas and allegiances (Division for Social Policy and Development, 2003:4). Instead, it confirms that NGO strategies often do not reflect the sustained faith in the ability of poor people to bring about their own transformations (Edwards and Hulme , 2002:107). This includes in Botswana where development is supposed to be aimed at improving the life of its citizens who live in the rural areas, by increasing their ability to participate in their own development (Botswana Government, 1976:6).

CORDE officials do travel abroad to attend to assignments that do not directly benefit the organisation's beneficiaries in Botswana. This means when CORDE officials are not in the country, its beneficiaries do not receive any help that is necessary for their projects. The travelling of CORDE officials for engagements abroad is interpreted by its beneficiaries as a waste of organisation's resources and time. In an interview conducted on the 20/07/07, with a group of two senior officers of a project that received help from CORDE, it was indicated that,

> CORDE officials travel abroad without communicating to the membership why it is necessary for them to travel and how that is going to benefit the beneficiaries. They spend a lot of time travelling abroad, attending endless meetings and workshops. Most members who want their help with their businesses do not receive such assistance. We requested the organisation to come and train new members of our project and learnt that officials were busy attending workshops outside the country.

In a related problem, CORDE members were blamed for running numerous workshops and meetings that are financed from the coffers of the organisation. These activities are said to be contributing nothing for the community projects, cooperatives and enterprises that form part of CORDE's membership. In an interview conducted on the 14/08/07, a board member of CORDE, who is also a member of a group that runs a project that CORDE assisted, echoed that,

> CORDE officials run a lot of workshops and meetings in which they spent a lot of money and time helping other organisations. They do not travel around the country to assist people who need help in running their projects, in the areas where CORDE operate. For instance, there is need for training of poor people who run projects from time to time until they are competent enough to run their projects on their own. Instead, CORDE officials prefer to stay in the city which offers them the prestige and opportunities to work with big organisations. They are always travelling abroad, which does not help poor people who run community projects and cooperatives and need their services.

It is important to note that CORDE officials do travel to attend workshops and meetings themselves and also run meetings and workshops for other organisations. CORDE has over the years been providing training for NGO and CBO personnel as part of its capacity building efforts through Training and Capacity Building programme. The programme also renders consultancies in form of organisation development interventions for the development sector. Through these initiatives, CORDE is now viewed as a key player in building the organisational capacity of the NGO sector (CORDE, 2004:8).

It can be safely argued that, CORDE does spend some resources in offering training to other NGOs such as through Training and Capacity Building programme. Training and Capacity Building programme may have a bearing in the performance of development NGOs, which receive such training. However, through engaging in the training of other NGOs, CORDE does not pass direct benefits to poor people that it is supposed to directly assist. The focus of CORDE is without question to build the organisation's strong financial base (CORDE, 2000:16). This is achieved at the expense of community projects and cooperatives' members who are not given the necessary services, such as training, in order to succeed in running their projects. The focus is also responsible for keeping CORDE officials in the city most of the time, which results in the neglect of community projects, cooperatives and enterprises that are run by poor people. Community projects, cooperatives and enterprises that are run by poor people do not operate from Gaborone city, where CORDE head office is located. The organisation has become almost bureaucratic, resulting in its staff spending more and more time away from poor people (CORDE, 2000:16). It is important to indicate that, as CORDE officials spends more and more time away from projects that are run by poor people, the organisation continues to pay the salaries and other benefits to its staff. It is this arrangement that leaves CORDE members who do not

get services they should be getting, such as training on how to profitably run their projects on the ever changing business climate, disgruntled.

The other point that is worth mentioning is that, as CORDE officials spend time in the capital city, they do not pass information to the members about environmental issues, which undermines sustainability. In an interview conducted on the 27/07/07, CORDE's senior board member who is also involved with a community project echoed that,

> CORDE helped us start a glass and tins re-cycling project. The NGO also kept us informed about environmental problems such as pollution, which are caused by emission of gases such as carbon monoxide. We intend to start a programme by which we can protect our area against the emission of pollutants in accordance with what we gathered from the training that CORDE provided. We intend to embark on countering actions of some unscrupulous individuals who exploit resources, such as sand, from our river for construction of buildings in far away villages. The trucks that collect river sand also pollute our environment and on the other side cause irreparable damage to our river. It has been years since we were waiting for CORDE officials to come and help us form an environmental conservation committee, which will make sure that our resources are kept for the benefit of our village and pollution is prevented. We suspect that the officials do not want to be seen to be influencing us against influential people and government departments that are the culprits. We do not have economic and political power that some of the people that exploit resources have. It is a problem of rich people against the poor, and CORDE is on the side of those people who are economically and politically powerful. This is because the NGO does a lot of consultancies and does not want to offend those people who can support it financially through engaging its officials on consultancies.

CORDE officials are blamed by poor people for not giving them support to protect their environmental resources, defeats empowerment, which places beneficiaries at the centre stage of the development process, which is connected to concepts of self-help and participation (Gergis, 1993:5). CORDE officials are blamed for being in favour of those people who are economically and politically powerful. Poor people believe that CORDE officials do not want to empower them to stand against pollution and exploitation of resources from their area because influential people are culpable. This is an indication of non committal of the organisation to an important pillar of Sustainable Development, which is sustainability. Sustainability is important for Sustainable Development because it advocates for the parsimonious consumption of environmental resources and creates and

pursues a vision of community that respects and makes prudent use of resources (Thomas, James and Tara-Shelomith, 1995:877).

CORDE officials are not keen to provide required assistance even to those poor people who are running projects that are meant to save environmental resources. This is confirmed by their reluctance to honour an invitation by people wanting to form a committee to address a problem of environmental resources denudation. This is unhealthy because it distances the organisation from poor people, whose resources are taken away from them by powerful individuals. What is even more disturbing is that poor people feel they are disadvantaged because powerful people provide financial resources to the NGO for consultancies. There is an indication that people who want CORDE officials to assist them in dealing with environmental problems are not politically empowered. This is manifest by their inability to take action against those people who take resources away from their areas. They cannot form a committee on their own without being assisted in doing so by CORDE. This incapacity does not resonate with SD, which advocates that efforts should be necessitated to increase controls over resources by those excluded from such control, such as poor people (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979:8). It is important to mention that knowledge on how to combat environmental deterioration is not enough, if such knowledge does not inspire action from people to protect their own environmental resources.

In an interview conducted on the 23/07/07, a senior officer of CORDE did indicate that,

> Some staff members in the past did not apply themselves well when executing their duties. They avoided travelling to rural areas where majority of poor people live. They were reluctant to go and help start and train community groups, so that they can start community projects to tackle poverty and environmental problems. They preferred to work on businesses, CBOs and NGOs that are run by well informed, educated and 'cooperative' people, who paid for services that were rendered handsomely. The main objective for some of them was to make money, so that they can continue to get their salaries paid. They knew that if CORDE was to become bankrupt, they will lose their jobs.

It is evident that, CORDE lost focus in alleviating poverty through helping poor people to start businesses, cooperatives and enterprises. It can be pointed out that, CORDE officials contributed to the problem because their interest was in generating resources that they can get, in form of salaries and other fringe benefits. As a remedy to staff neglecting projects

that are in rural areas that need CORDE officials for assistance, we have put together a small team of committed and professional staff. The team is meant to overcome problems of concentrating our efforts and resources in training business men/women, CBOs and NGOs, which can do without our help. We have noticed that as a result of providing less help to community projects such as horticultural projects, which are run by poor people for economic empowerment, we have moved from our initial philosophy of empowering poor people, through providing them with training and resources (Thaga, 2004:8).

CORDE does get engaged by other organisations such as NGOs and CBOs to provide training on development methodologies, as earlier indicated in this section. When payments are made for such services, they end up paying staff salaries, fringe benefits and overheads for running the organisation. It is important at this stage to advance that, CORDE was used by the officials as a tool through which financial resources were accumulated for their self enrichment. For example, even where such financial resources were expended in paying for overheads, by extension, the officials benefitted. The overheads kept the organisation running, which allowed the officials to continue making money through it.

Poor people, who run community projects such as those who were helped by CORDE to start a glass and tins re-cycling projects, feel deserted by the organisation. It is important to note that, for Sustainable Development to be achieved there is need for NGOs to help beneficiaries with full understanding that they will have to fend for themselves after they are uplifted. They should be helped until they are at a point where they can fend for themselves before being left to their own devices. This is important in ending dependency of the people on an NGO. Sustainable Development cannot be achieved in a situation where dependency is rampant. This is because a situation where certain rural groups end up relying on financial aid for their survival and social cohesion is unsustainable (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992:275). People who are assisted by an NGO should not dependent on it for training or resources indefinitely. Instead, they should get empowered both economically and politically to rely on their own resources and decisions. Beneficiaries of CORDE should be able to sustain their projects, cooperatives and enterprises without external assistance. In view of what transpired in this section, it can be argued that, poor people that CORDE assisted cannot sustain their projects, enterprises and cooperatives on

their own. This translates to mean that CORDE did not accomplished Sustainable Development, which advocates for self-development and self-reliance, which should be achieved through participation of people in identifying their problems and finding solutions to such problems, following their empowerment (Shepherd, 1998:181 and Stephens and Putnam, 1998:1).

5.6 State animosity

The state and NGOs are supposed to be working in tandem to end human suffering caused by poverty and environmental deterioration. The message that the government of Botswana and NGO community is providing in Botswana is that, there is a common objective for all stakeholders, including poor people, to work together towards achieving Sustainable Development. As stipulated in the National Policy for Non-Governmental Organisations, Botswana has a large and growing development NGO sector, which is anchored in the development of the nation and guided by the principles of democracy, social justice, good governance and Sustainable Development (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2001:5).

The policy spells out the most important areas namely: Democracy, social justice, good governance and Sustainable Development, which when put together can enhance participation of poor people. The participation of poor people in both economic and political activities requires democracy and is necessary for development. Democracy is necessary to allow poor people to make informed political and economic choices and decisions, on how they would like to be assisted in solving their own problems. This is necessary for empowerment, which advocates that the poor and the weak should be given power to enable them to conduct their own appraisal and analysis, and determine their own action, which results in the dominant uppers having to listen and learn from the poor and weak (Chambers, 2005:34).

Social justice is absolutely necessary in addressing the injustices that are responsible for the economic deprivations of certain sections of the population and over exploitation of environmental resources. For instance, the exploitation of resources from rural areas for the benefit of powerful politicians and bureaucrats can be overcome through social justice,

which is necessary for sustainability. Sustainability maintains that the integrity of the ecological systems upon which life and all production depends be used prudently (Viedermen as cited by Lafferty and Langhelle, 1999:14).

Good governance makes sure that the government, including NGOs, are committed to enabling politically disempowered people to acquire and exercise power in making decisions on how their country, regions, districts and villages should be developed. The last point is that of Sustainable Development, which is important in making sure that basic necessities of the population are met through poverty alleviation strategies. It also maintains that environmental resources should be used parsimoniously to benefit those who are economically deprived (Lele, 1991:608 and Murphy and Bendell, 1997:2).

Both the Government of Botswana and CORDE are supposed to work towards a common goal of economically empowering deprived individuals. However, Botswana government does not involve CORDE in the formulation of policies that can promote Sustainable Development. In Botswana, the government assumed some corporatist characteristics; with policy initiations taking place within government ministries; persuasion getting presented as consultation and top civil servants dominating policy making (Molutsi and Holm, 1990:327). It is indisputable that the government through its civil servants that are placed within its ministries always want to dominate structures that are outside government.

When CORDE does not support any government action because it is unjust, that does not go down well with the government. For example, CORDE was involved in some serious acrimony with the government of Botswana over three farms that were allocated to San communities. When the government unexpectedly took the farms from Basarwa (San) and allocated them to syndicates, which included leading civil servants and politicians, CORDE objected. CORDE's objection resulted in the dispute drawing international attention, and the farms getting restored to their rightful owners.

This action by CORDE led to the government instigating a systematic attack on the organisation, resulting in CORDE's organised community based wildlife management project, getting placed under the control of the district council. The government departments withheld co-operation at all levels making it difficult for CORDE to achieve

its objectives of helping poor communities to start community projects and cooperatives (CORDE, 2000:15). Personal smears on CORDE's leadership in various social circles combined with subtle threats, served to create a climate of fear within the organisation. CORDE received support from only one NGO, namely: Mmegi (CORDE, 2000:15).

It is important to note that CORDE represented the people from whom the farms were taken because they could not confront the government themselves. This confirms the view that some organisations use ideas of SD to claim to represent the true interest of rural people (Adams, 1990:184). This most often than not encourages dependency of the people in an organisation, instead of allowing people to take part in solving their problem. For instance, if CORDE could have empowered Basarwa communities from which farms were seized by the government, they could have instigated necessary measures to recover the farms themselves. This would have been possible because empowerment is the act of liberation, which involves making the human being work towards fulfilment of his/her vocation to be free. The liberation of both the individual and community, coming through a self sustained effort through growth of individual awareness and community consciousness can be achieved through empowerment (Freire as cited by White and Ascraft, 2002:50).

In an interview held on the 23/07/07, an officer in CORDE echoed that,

> Government departments do not have any problem giving assignments to CORDE under terms and conditions that are written by government decision makers. The main problem is that the government officials usually become antagonistic when they feel CORDE is sensitising poor people to question government decisions. For example, when government proposal to dredge the Okavango River was being rejected by the people internecine between the Government and NGOs ensued. CORDE and other NGOs' awareness raising activities, such as the training of people on environmental conservation strategies, were blamed by the government for resistance by communities that made a living from resources, from the river that was to be dredged.

The relationship between CORDE and the government proves that the latter facilitates cordial working relationship, when it is not against its interest. CORDE became lightening rod for government wrath, because the government met resistance against the dredging of Okavango River from Maun people. CORDE and other organisations were blamed for organising focus on that issue (CORDE, 2000:15). The Okavango Delta is southern

Africa's largest wetland situated in the fringe of semi-arid Kalahari Desert. It is a large alluvial fan, occupying a graben structure which is an extension of the East African rift system. Its dredging could result in the destruction of in-channel flora (Ellery and McCarthy, 1998:361).

The acrimony between CORDE and the government stands out as evidence to the challenges that CORDE faced, in its endeavour to make people challenge actions that threatened their environmental resources. The endeavour of making people aware so as to challenge the government is important for SD. This is because it promotes empowerment, which is essential for the provision of information and knowledge; which is crucial for the advancement of the poor (Schildermen as cited by Lynch, 2005:143). However, the acceptance of assignments from the government by CORDE, as earlier mentioned in this chapter, makes it difficult for CORDE to empower the poor to challenge the government as it did when it received funding from outside donors. This confirms the view that some NGOs have become the new rural development bureaucracies resulting from their lack of ability to influence policy decisions (Shepherd, 1998:225).

It has to be noted that, when CORDE took the decision to oppose the government's decision in support of the Maun community, it had resources coming from donors for its projects. Some of such resources were meant for the conservation of environmental resources, which is appropriate for sustainability. For example, The W.K. Kellogg Foundation supported CORDE on its sustainable agriculture project. HIVOS on the other hand, provided institutional support that made CORDE an organisation that was concerned with the livelihoods of the marginalised and poor people (CORDE, 2000:19). However, it is clear that CORDE on its interventions did not sufficiently employ investigative strategies to establish and understand the source of disempowerment of its potential beneficiaries, which according to (Gergis, 1999:12) is important if organisations are to truly empower.

Funding for development work by NGOs in Botswana has dried up following the classification of the country as a middle income economy. This decision has negatively affected the work of development organisations in Botswana who were heavily dependent on donor support to run their programmes and projects (CORDE, 2004:8). In light of this

development, it can be argued that it would be difficult or almost impossible for CORDE to oppose the government without its own resources. In fact, the policy guidance for financial support to Non Governmental Organisations, through which the government is expected to provide financial assistance for implementation of NGO projects, is still awaited (CORDE, 2004:8). CORDE is amongst NGOs that are awaiting this financial assistance from the government. It is clear that the government will offer NGOs its own resources. It is obvious that when this happens, NGOs are going to be further politically disempowered.

Botswana Government demonstrated its antagonism to CORDE in cases when it rapaciously seized farms from Basarwa communities and on its attempt to dredge the Okavango River. It has also demonstrated that it is interested in maintaining its control over the NGOs and not cooperating with those that stand on the side of the powerless communities. This dominance militates against the empowerment of beneficiaries of CORDE because they are incapacitated to change the top-down approach that the government knows best. This anti-empowerment conviction presupposes that the government knows what should be done to solve problems of rural development (Youngman and Maruatona, 1998:242).

It can be safely argued that CORDE and other NGOs will have to be submissive to the Botswana Government in order to secure financial resources from it. In view of the fact that the Government of Botswana has failed to alleviate poverty, it can also be argued that, CORDE and other development NGOs will become less responsive to the needs of the poor people. For instance, if the government does not despatch funds to CORDE for its community projects, cooperatives and enterprises and instead prescribes activities that do not promote Sustainable Development; CORDE will have to abide if it has to get financial support from the government.

It is observed that CORDE will not achieve Sustainable Development when assisted by the government financially. It is clear from available evidence that the government has favoured elite over economically powerless people. For example, the government annexed farms from Basarwa communities in order to give them to the powerful people. This clearly shows that despite its pronouncements, the government favours the elites and not

poor people. This further strengthens the argument that the relationship between the government and NGOs is not always important for the benefit of economically and politically disempowered people. It also negates the view that NGOs' initiatives happens in places and through methods that are beyond the reach of government bureaucracies (Coetzee, Graaff, Hendaciks and Woold, 2002:483). In fact, NGOs that work in partnership with governments often end up with their projects controlled by governments in the same way as they are by external donors (Shepherd, 1998:135).

5.7 Lack of withdrawal plan and dependency

CORDE like other NGOs in Botswana operated in ways that build an impression amongst its beneficiaries that it will always be around to provide funding for community projects, cooperatives and enterprises. This is disempowering because it does not make the organisation lose power and control, to the community to enable it to own the projects or initiatives (WEDC, 2002:3). CORDE does not have any plan indicating when it intended to withdraw its assistance because it would have provided required economic and political empowerment of its beneficiaries. Instead, the organisation harboured interest of indefinitely engaging in providing assistance to poor people. This is problematic because it makes poor people labour under the illusion that CORDE will alleviate poverty at some point or it will always be ready to help them. The objectives that are formulated by CORDE are neither achievable nor realistic and are ambitious. The major problem that CORDE creates by giving the impression that poverty can be alleviated is that it politically and economically incapacitates poor people. They do not challenge the broader political system that is responsible for their economic deprivation namely: The government of Botswana.

In an interview conducted on the 23/07/07, with CORDE senior officer, he said,

> CORDE never formulated a plan that stipulated what the organisation intended to do when absolute poverty was alleviated. The strong conviction held by CORDE was that absolute poverty was always going to be present amongst communities. This was a believe held by CORDE despite employed efforts and expended resources meant to alleviate poverty. CORDE felt the need to protect environmental resources was always going to be paramount, justifying the

> indefinite existence of its educational programme. We never thought CORDE could be irrelevant and reach its moribund or redefine its objectives so that it addresses new challenges.

CORDE believed that poverty and environmental degradation will be indefinitely present, justifying its continued existence despite its ambitious objectives. This argument is prompted by CORDE's inability to specify a duration within which it planned to have helped ameliorate the living condition of its beneficiaries. CORDE views poverty and environmental problems as part of human existence, which cannot be permanently overcome. What is important to note is that despite this believe held by CORDE, its officials never communicated that to its beneficiaries.

In an interview on the 27/07/07, CORDE board member who is involved in the running of an enterprise, which benefitted from CORDE during the eighties when the organisation had plenty of funds from its partners; stated that,

> The organisation has not been able to prepare poor people who are its members sufficiently for hard times, when funds would not be available from the donors. For instance, we knew that even if our enterprise collapsed, we could go to CORDE again for assistance. CORDE never had plans to cease to exist at some point or stop giving help. This would have made its beneficiaries prepare well for the time the organisation would no longer be available to provide required assistance.

It can be argued that, CORDE never prepared its beneficiaries to be independent of it. It therefore promoted dependency because its beneficiaries believed the organisation will always be available to provide resources whenever needed. Dependency is against Sustainable Development because it perpetuates powerlessness, which emanating from inability of poor people to depend on their own measures. This situation is against empowerment, which conveys both psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence and political power, whereby decisions are made by the people and executes them through the use of their own resources (McArdle, 1989). Sustainable Development does not only advocate for improved socio-economic status of poor people, but also calls for sustenance of such status. If community projects, enterprises and cooperatives that received assistance from CORDE collapse, because they no longer get assistance from the organisation, that goes against Sustainable Development.

Sustainable Development cannot be achieved if poor people easily relapse into poverty when they no longer receive assistance from external forces.

In an interview held on the 28/07/07, three members of a community project that received training and financial support from CORDE stated that,

> When our project collapsed we approached CORDE for assistance and learnt we cannot receive assistance. It was made clear to us that we cannot get any grant as before because the organisation is impecunious, since donors have stopped supporting it. We recently got some assistance in form of a grant from the government, through its citizen empowerment entrepreneurship scheme. I think CORDE is not of any use anymore because it no longer has resources to continue helping needy people, including its members.

It is clear that some CORDE beneficiaries secured assistance from the government when CORDE could not help them. This shows that they could not operate without assistance, since their enterprise had already collapsed when the government came to its rescue. This partly explains that CORDE did not prepare its beneficiaries to take the responsibility of helping poor people after they are upped. The enterprise could not help other poor people to start economic ventures such as community projects, cooperatives and enterprises. For example, poor people who are assisted through community projects and cooperatives out of poverty should be in a position to help others out of the same plight as well. CORDE never developed ways by which such community projects; cooperatives and enterprises could also take the responsibility to help other poor people. It can be argued that, if CORDE had wanted to alleviate poverty in areas where it concentrated its efforts, it should have prepared community projects, cooperatives and enterprises that freely received its assistance, to extend the same assistance to other needy people. Sustainable Development cannot be achieved if people who are economically and politically empowered do not extend the same gesture to the less fortunate. It is important that people within a community rely on their own resources and abilities, which is core for their empowerment (Gergis, 1999:15).

What is even most important is for NGOs such as CORDE to provide information to their beneficiaries that poverty can only be alleviated through collective efforts. This means communities, NGOs, government departments, CBOs, Village Development committees,

farmers committees, political parties, International Non Governmental Organisations and any other social structures joining forces to end poverty and protecting environmental resources. It is important for NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development, such as CORDE, to shift the responsibility of poverty alleviation and protection of environmental resources to the communities. This can be achieved through empowerment, since most perspectives of empowerment emphasise the need to build capacity in societies to respond to the ever changing economic environment (Gergis, 1999:6). If we genuinely want to empower communities we must do it in such a way that they become self-reliant, so that they can sustain their own development without our help. It should not be outsiders bringing resources every time. The forces that bring resources in most cases package that together with influences (Bartle, 2006:1), which makes communities compromise on their autonomy and power.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis successfully demonstrated that CORDE's claim of being inspired by the concept of Sustainable Development is not supported by relevant actions namely: economic and political empowerment of its beneficiaries. It can be safely concluded that CORDE did assist poor people in those areas where it established community projects, cooperatives and enterprises. However, the organisation did not alleviate poverty and ascertain that such amelioration is sustained. Some poor people had their community projects collapsing when CORDE no longer had resources to continue with its support. It is concluded that CORDE beneficiaries who had their community projects, cooperatives and enterprises collapse, could easily relapsed into poverty. Sustainable Development advocates for the amelioration of the socio economic status of poor people not momentarily, but permanently.

CORDE officials preferred to work closely with well established entities. Government departments and organizations such as W.K. Kellogg Foundations engaged CORDE to carry out some consultancies. This arrangement resulted in CORDE officials failing to help the community projects, cooperatives and enterprises that were run by poor people who could not afford to pay for the service that they needed. For instance, the people who

wanted to form a committee to prevent exploitation resources from their area, did not get help from CORDE.

The decision by CORDE to take consultancies from the government was propelled by the desire of its officials to generate financial resources in order to strengthen the organization's financial base. The financial base was necessitated in order that the organisation can continue to operate. When the organisation operates, it does pay salaries and other fringe benefits of the officials. On the other hand, the desire to establish a strong financial base left CORDE in a desperate position, taking orders from the government. The consultancies that were given to CORDE by the government were not necessarily meant to directly benefit CORDE's membership. CORDE took instructions from the government on projects that were assisted and necessitated by the government, which were not necessarily meant for the realisation of sustainable Development. The engagement of CORDE by the government on consultancies evidently tarnished the relationship that the organisation established with poor people, who ran community projects, cooperatives and enterprises. This confirms the fear that because the NGOs' priorities and operational mode are so different from those of state and market institutions, NGOs should avoid working closely with them: that is the conventional wisdom- or, one could say, the conventional fear (Sanyal, 1997:22).

It would certainly be fair to conclude that, the Government of Botswana engaged CORDE in order to place the NGO under its control. CORDE supported Basarwa communities, when their farms were taken by the government with the intention of giving them to syndicates belonging to politicians and top civil servants. This action by CORDE led to animosity of the government against the NGO. CORDE at the time it supported Basarwa communities against the government, it had financial support from its partners, such as HIVOS. Some conclusion can be drawn that since CORDE is no longer receiving financial support from the donors, it would be fully controlled by the government that has resources. This is detrimental to Sustainable Development because it means poor people would become even more voiceless.

The chapter demonstrated that during the time CORDE was awash with resources from donors such as HIVOS, African Development Foundation (ADF), it helped poor people in

selected areas to start community projects, cooperatives and enterprises. CORDE necessitated the running of community projects, cooperatives and enterprises in order to help poor people ameliorate their socio economic standards, albeit momentarily. This situation worked against Sustainable Development, which is supposed to alleviate poverty and maintain required level of economic achievement. Sustainable Development cannot be achieved if they are no strategies that will be employed to maintain or improve the required level of economic empowerment.

In the final analysis, it can be argued that CORDE has not been able to win the battle against poverty and environmental deterioration, because poor people that the organisation assisted to start community projects, enterprises and cooperatives cannot continue to run them profitably on their own. They still require assistance from CORDE and the government, which can result in them collapsing if such help is not made available.

In conclusion, CORDE has not been able to achieve Sustainable Development due to two important reasons. Firstly, Sustainable Development cannot be achieved if poor people are not assisted out of poverty in a manner that they can fend for themselves after being uplifted. Secondly, Sustainable Development cannot be achieved if poverty is not alleviated, because environmental resources will continue to be excessively exploited by poor people for their livelihood. Most importantly, poverty cannot be alleviated through isolated efforts by NGOs. It is necessary for relevant social structures to convoke their efforts if they are to succeed in alleviating poverty. This arrangement should be characterised by camaraderie rather than domination of any force over others. For example, INGOs can assist NGOs with resources for their interventions, but this assistance should not be accompanied by instructions dictating to the recipients what should be done, when it should be done, where it should be done and who should be involved in doing it. Simply put, assistance should not in any way lead to the compromising of fundamental pillars of Sustainable Development. Active participation of the beneficiaries in decision making should be honoured both at the level of NGOs that receive assistance and at community level. Assistance should not be used as a disempowering tool, but it should be used to empower its recipients by allowing them to determine how? When? Where? What? and by who assistance should be expended.

Chapter 6

6.1 Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB)

6.2 Origins of Permaculture

It is important to clearly state that Permaculture is not an indigenous concept to Botswana, it is an imported concept. It is an exotic concept that owes its origins to the Australian soil. In the mid 70's two Australian ecologists, Bill Mollison and David Holmgren started to develop ideas that they hoped could be used to create stable agricultural systems. This was in response to the rapidly growing use of destructive post-war industrial agricultural methods, which were poisoning the land and water, reducing biodiversity, and removing billions of tones of soil from previously fertile landscapes. It was as a result of the stated problems that an approach called "Permaculture" was initiated. The word "Permaculture" is a term that is coined through the use of other words namely: **Perma**nent agri**culture**; and **perma**nent **culture**. The aim of the Permaculture approach is to create agricultural systems that are ecologically conscious and are sustainable. Permaculture shot to prominence through the publication of 'Permaculture One' in 1978 (Goldring, 2005: 1). It is important to note that, Permaculture is strongly related to sustainability and by extension to Sustainable Development, which requires that the natural systems which support life on earth, such as water, soil and living creatures are not endangered (Lafferty and Langhelle, 1999:6).

6.3 Historical Background of Permaculture in Botswana

Permaculture Trust of Botswana (PTB) is a medium size Non Governmental Organisation (NGO). It is governed by the Board of Trustees and was formed and registered in 1989 (PTB, 2000:1). It is a membership oriented organization that represents associations in several settlements in Botswana. The head office where most decisions are made is in Serowe village, which is situated in the largest district in the country. The other PTB office is in Ghanzi District, which is more than six hundred kilometres away from the main office.

Ghanzi District is home to Basarwa (San people) who are the most economically and politically marginalised in Botswana. Basarwa constitute, by considerable margin, the most conspicuously marginalised of all socio-linguistic communities in Botswana (Nthomang, 2004:420).

The organization seeks to work with communities by drawing on their historical and indigenous knowledge and skills, which is appropriate for SD because the most effective interventions capitalise on existing resources, wisdom and methods already put to use by residents (Jennings, 2004:6). PTB at the same time does select new and complementary techniques to maintain a holistic and sustainable approach to development. Permaculture is a concept that subscribe to the parsimonious use of resources, which stems from the understanding of cycles and flows of nature that supports and enrich environmental resources (PTB, 2000:32).

PTB seeks to address rural poverty by assisting marginalized communities through the provision of extension support and training. It encourages sustainable livelihoods through income generation, promoting the use of natural resources, appropriate shelter construction and backyard food production activities. It promotes conservation of biodiversity and improved dry land farming practices (PTB, 2004:2). Permaculture Botswana started projects for Basarwa in its attempt to encourage them to abandon their nomadic life style, hence the construction of houses for them in settlements.

Permaculture is informed by three major ethics namely: Care for the earth, care for people and recycling excess or re-using surplus. Care for the earth means keeping all water clean and unpolluted, preventing poisons in it or soil carried away by it. It also means keeping the air clean and unpolluted and helping the soil to become richer. Care for the people means promoting self-reliance; working towards a situation where people are truly able to decide, initiate and create for themselves. It is against the introduction of systems which make people very dependent on outside inputs, such as dependency on artificial fertilisers and pesticides. Recycling excess means preparing and re-using excess, such as animal and plant wastes, metals and any form of garbage, to fertilise the soil or make products that can be put to use or sold for some income. It is in pursuit of abovementioned ethics that Permaculture in Botswana, embarked on water conservation, water-wise use awareness

projects, which employed technologies such as, drip irrigation, where water is applied to the surface of flattened mounds or ridges, rather than to run it down furrows between crop rows in areas such as Ghanzi District, which is a desert. Trickle irrigation via commercial pipe systems or homemade systems of embedded earthenware pots, leaky inverted bottles and gravel filled pipes, which are used to water backyard gardens were used in several villages, where the organisation helped poor farming communities to run backyard gardens and orchards, such as in Kaudwane settlement (PTB, 2004:1). PTB activities are appropriate for SD, which rests on principles of economic empowerment, social development and environmental protection (Baker, 2008:1).

PTB receives funding from several donors for its projects, such as poultry farming. The following are some of the donors that assist PTB: Community Conservation fund, Dutch Development (HIVOS), Global Environment Fund, Canadian High Commission, American Embassy, German Development-GTZ and British High Commission (PTB, 2004:2). Despite the financial support that is available to the organisation; PTB like other NGOs has to seek permission from the Government of Botswana, in order to undertake some of its projects. For example, as part of its efforts to reach out to more disadvantaged communities in the Ghanzi District, PTB in 2002 submitted New Xade Integrated Development Project Proposal to Ghanzi District Council through the Council Secretary's office. The proposal was approved by the Ministry of Local Government in order to allow PTB to promote its projects in New Xade (PTB, 2004:4).

It is important to highlight that the Ministry of Local Government could have disapproved New Xade Integrated Development Project Proposal, which PTB submitted for approval, if it wished. PTB in case the proposal was disapproved, would have been forced to abandon New Xade Integrated Development project. PTB also does jointly undertake certain tasks with the government of Botswana. For example, due to the escalating prevalence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Botswana, and in Ghanzi District in particular, PTB decided to extend its technical support in the areas of organic backyard food production and chicken rearing. This was done as part of joining hands with the government in the fight against the scourge (PTB, 2004:4). The importance of this contribution is that, PTB enabled its beneficiaries to produce vegetables and chickens for domestic consumption, so that they can have necessary nutrients. Most importantly, the nutrients will be necessary for those

who are infected with HIV/AIDS, since they mostly need wholesome food to survive longer after contracting the virus.

PTB operates under the four guiding principles namely,

- Generate income through the sustainable use of natural resources to alleviate poverty
- Equip rural communities to diversify their means of survival through self-help programmes in gender sensitive ways
- Educate people on the importance of conservation of natural resources so that they can be beneficial to posterity
- Use available natural resources in promoting and developing local expertise

PTB concentrates its development effort on the poorest sections of the population. The main focus of PTB is to improve the living conditions of individuals, groups and communities, such as remote area dwellers (Basarwa), rural small communal farmers and female headed households (PTB, 2004:4).

PTB on its endeavour to realise Sustainable Development embarked on the following specific activities,

- Started organic gardens
- Started up local tree nurseries
- Built new houses through self help
- Started income generating projects
- Promoted water harvesting and conservation
- Facilitated community based natural resources management projects
- Created community based organisations known as Community Based Organisations (CBOs).

6.4 Introduction

This chapter of the thesis will argue that most of the activities that were undertaken by Permaculture were geared towards benefitting poor people, such as the Basarwa (San). Due to some outside influences, most of the activities did not bear fruits as intended. This is partly because PTB did not adhere to an essential pillar of SD namely: participation. In order to obtain a cost efficient design and implementation of projects, beneficiaries should contribute more in project planning and implementation by way of contributing ideas, labour and resources (Food Agricultural Organisation, 2006:1).

Permaculture is a broad concept, which was imported into Botswana from Australia, as earlier indicated in this chapter. The concept was not subjected to any tests to establish its suitability for application to those areas wherein PTB operated. In order to realise the concept of Permaculture, PTB engaged on projects, such as backyard gardening, orchards, construction of toilets, one-roomed houses and poultry rearing in Basarwa communities. The chapter will argue that, the importation of those projects such as backyard gardening, which was accompanied by resources from the donors, placed PTB under immense pressure to impose them on its beneficiaries, which militated against SD that believes that unless the poor are given an opportunity to participate in the development or interventions designed to improve their livelihoods, they will continue to miss the benefits of any intervention (World Bank as cited by WEDC, 2002:1).

The chapter argues that some policies that were formulated by the government of Botswana without consulting Basarwa communities, did negatively affect PTB in its interventions. This arrangement did not foster required transformational process of realising Sustainable Development by PTB. Sustainable Development is supposed to promote full participation of beneficiaries at all stages of development, namely: decision making, implementation and evaluation. Most importantly, it is also supposed to realise accountability, which entails transparency of decision making and relationships, honest reporting on resources that have been used and what was achieved (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9).

Evidence will be provided that approaches that Basarwa had were being overridden by the modern imported concepts, which made them capitulate to dependency and loss of power. Permaculture has not been able to help Basarwa to adequately improve their livelihood through their efforts. Instead, PTB prescribed backyard gardening, market gardens, poultry and housing projects in an attempt to alleviate poverty amongst Basarwa communities. This imposition creates dependency because it does not allow Basarwa to independently make their own decisions, which can be modified depending on changes that take place overtime. For instance, PTB did not use vegetables that are traditionally produced by Basarwa communities in their backyard gardens. It preferred those that are exotic, which demanded new skills in gardening that Basarwa had to depend on PTB to acquire.

The chapter finally argues that due to PTB's dependency on foreign donations, it is not able to continue with its projects because such resources are no longer available. Due to lack of resources, PTB is not certain of its future. The organisation does not have capacity to sustain itself without donors' support. For instance, to generate income for running its activities, PTB approached the British High Commission and the American Embassy to request for funding (PTB, 2000:5). PTB wants to approach the Government of Botswana to request for funding, which will translate to having the organisation compromising its autonomy. The government will find an opportunity to control its activities.

The chapter will acknowledge the significant economic contributions that PTB made in those areas where the organisation introduced projects, such as amongst Basarwa communities. PTB concentrates its development effort on the poorest sections of the population namely: individuals, groups and communities (PTB, 2004:3). However, there is evidence suggesting that PTB beneficiaries cannot be classified as having both political and economic power to sustain their projects beyond withdrawal of assistance by PTB. The communities in which PTB run projects, such as Ghanzi District, are still characterised by poverty. That is partly because such communities are still deprived of infrastructures, such as roads, which are important for their development, by the Government of Botswana.

It is argued that, independence in Botswana was never true independence for its indigenous peoples such as Basarwa, because its rhetoric was never matched by promoting appropriate policies geared towards improving their quality of life (Nthomang, 2004:416). In many

ways, Basarwa are at the bottom of the Botswana socio-economic system. A sizeable proportion lives below the poverty datum line. They exhibit some of the highest rates of infant mortality alongside the lowest living standards and literacy rates, and in many cases have insecure access to land and other resources (Hitchcock, 2002:797). Lack of infrastructure such as good roads in Ghanzi District has made Basarwa not to access markets for their products, such as in Ghanzi Township. This did minimise their chances of improving their socio economic status through income generating projects that PTB helped to start in various settlements.

It is important to indicate that PTB made important contributions that could have helped improve the socio economic status of Basarwa communities. For example, PTB started projects for Basarwa such as a vegetable and poultry project in East Hanahai settlement. It is much broader political disempowerment processes that are engineered by the government, that partly militate against such noble interventions. The problem of lack of infrastructure is not the only one responsible for PTB failure to achieve its desired results of empowering Basarwa. It is how Basarwa are treated by some powerful ethnic groups in Botswana that offers some better explanation as to why Basarwa are always sceptical of any interventions that are necessitated for their economic and political uplift. For example, in a controversial acrimony where Basarwa were forcibly evicted from their ancestral lands by the government of Botswana from Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), it emerged that the government banned NGOs from providing food and water to the San (Botswana Guardian as cited by Taylor and Mokhawa, 2003:277). This treatment and others closely related to it, led Sunday Telegraph, A British newspaper, to put it that the government of Botswana is ethnically cleansing the San in ways that would cause outrage if Botswana was not prosperous, stable and pro-Western (Sunday Telegraph as cited by Taylor and Mokhawa, 2003:277). As it would be demonstrated in the coming section of this chapter, PTB did not fully involve Basarwa in deciding what is suitable to ameliorate their living conditions, as earlier mentioned. This occurred against the backdrop of atrocious levels of disempowerment, as already exemplified.

6.5 Importation of concepts

PTB like other NGOs in Botswana rely in the use of concepts that are imported from outside the country, such as permaculture. Permaculture is a concept that originally comes from Australia as earlier noted in this chapter. It has in the past 34 years since its conception demonstrated that it is a successful approach in designing sustainable systems. It also demonstrated that it can be utilised in every climatic and cultural zone (Gildring, 2005:2). Permaculture approach was adopted by PTB in Botswana in 1989. Its objectives were not modified to suit the context in which it is been applied, but was transferred in its original form. This arrangement undermined SD, which pronounces that if development is about people, then it is them who should ultimately choose the path they wish to pursue in their development endeavours (Thomas, 1988:352). The projects that were run by PTB were run in the same way throughout the country, disregarding the diverse cultures of the beneficiaries, such as that of Basarwa communities. For example, Basarwa see themselves as different from others in Botswana, and the Batswana also see Basarwa as distinct as well (Hitchcock, 2002:823). This distinction between the Basarwa and other groups in Botswana was not taken into consideration by PTB when introducing its projects in Basarwa communities. For example, PTB never established if Permaculture was ever employed in a rural, non agrarian nomadic community anyway in the world. This disregarded the view that, everything is relevant to a particular context because different communities in the same nation or society have distinctive codes of behaviour and different value systems (Hettne as cited by Shepherd, 1998:18 and Rapley, 2002:164). In an interview conducted on the 31/10/07, with PTB field officer, it was pointed out that,

> PTB projects are rooted on the promotion of sustainable agriculture, which is characterised by good designs that create situations in which farmers and gardeners make good use of resources around them. It promotes sustainable use or consumption of natural resources. We introduced projects in Basarwa communities that we felt would improve their livelihood and save natural resources in their respective areas in Ghanzi District. When we got some financial support for projects from the donors we mobilised poor members of communities, such as Basarwa, and started the projects for which we secured funding.

It is clear that Basarwa were never given a chance to decide on what they wanted to do with financial resources that PTB received for their economic and political empowerment. This

is incompatible with the notion that, solutions for problems are culturally determined and vary from society to society, hence the need for outsiders to learn from the people they interact with (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991:3). When PTB got to Basarwa communities, it conveyed projects that were already funded and ready for implementation. This happened despite being clear to PTB officials that PTB projects were suitable for farming communities and Basarwa communities are not. In fact, the word Basarwa is supposed to come from a Setswana phrase bao-ba-ba-sa-ruing dikgomo (those who do not rear cattle), which in a farming nation serves to denigrate (Taylor and Mokhawa, 2003:261).

PTB did not facilitate participation, which asserts the importance of placing local realities at the heart of development interventions, so that local knowledge and capacities can be utilised (Chambers as cited by Hickey and Mohan, 2005:241). It is important to note that PTB projects were introduced with good intentions. However, communities that were supposed to benefit from them did not get the necessary familiarisation or orientation before such projects were introduced. For example, there was a strong need to educate Basarwa rigorously about the benefits and dynamics of arable and pastoral farming before chickens and gardens were introduced. This is important in recognition of the notion that, people have always been agents of their own development (Kothari and Monigue, 2002:93).

It has to be pointed out that although some Basarwa live among the Tswana communities and on farms owned by white farmers, mostly those in Ghanzi District, they are still impoverished hunters and gatherers who are dispossessed and removed from participation in the political economy (Motzafi-Haller, 1994:540). The projects such as backyards gardens that PTB initiated for Basarwa communities, made them feel that the organisation was continuing the disempowerment that Basarwa are subjected to by powerful communities in Botswana.

In an interview held on the 08/11/07, three PTB Basarwa beneficiaries indicated that,

> PTB helped us start backyard gardens; gave us some chickens and constructed houses for us. We noticed that all that was meant to keep us in one area to facilitate land annexation by Bangwato government officials and politician (Bangwato is a dominant ethnic group in Botswana). We were settled on our

> ancestral land before PTB encouraged us to move to build permanent houses in the settlement. This was a plan to make us leave the land those Bangwato tribes men/women wanted for their cattle and game ranching.
>
> Backyard gardens failed because water was not enough for watering vegetables and the soil is sandy, which is not suitable for vegetable production. The market is also far from our areas. The chickens were attacked by diseases and most of them died. We knew these problems were likely to emerge, but since PTB officials did not gather any information from us, we could not force this information on them. We suspect that PTB gave us chickens as a way of protecting guinea fowls, elands and ostriches, which dominant ethnic groups have now taken from our areas to domesticate. Instead of helping us start game farms, PTB and the government gave us goats, cattle and chickens. It is rational that hunter gatherers are comfortable with game ranching rather than pastoral farming. It is so because we have great skills and knowledge about the use of wild animals' bye products. For example, we can produce handicrafts from horns of impalas, feather dusters from ostrich feathers and wholesome milk from elands. We know that guinea fowls and small ostrich farms can attract tourists, which can facilitate income generation, without having to kill feathered stock as in the case of chickens. Cattle, goats and chickens do not attract tourists.

In dissecting aforementioned response, it resonate well that PTB is based on the observation of natural systems, the wisdom contained in traditional farming systems, and modern scientific and technological knowledge (Permaculture, 2003:1). Basarwa viewed PTB as pursuing government agenda, which is meant to get them out of areas that some dominant people want to get. It is intriguing that Basarwa cannot distinguish PTB interventions from those of the government of Botswana. This goes to show that Basarwa in their disempowered positions would not readily accept that any outsider can relate to them in a way different from that of the government of Botswana. This is prove that Basarwa are not socially empowered, which requires that effective participation of people in the formulation of policies for development be recognised (Friedmann, 1992:34). It is necessary to point out that Basarwa claim that they could have shared some useful information with PTB officials, if they could have allowed them space to advance such information. For example, they claim that despite the fact that they are not educated agriculturalists, they knew there was a possibility of projects failing. It is vivid that Basarwa wanted different projects from those that were introduced by PTB. It has to be understood that Basarwa suffer heavy atrocities and impositions from the government of Botswana. It is therefore important for any NGO, such as PTB, to distance itself not only

from the government of Botswana, but also from its approaches in dealing with Basarwa, if its projects are to have some impact in their lives.

The Government of Botswana planned and moved Basarwa from the reserve which was created in 1961. This eviction was meant to work against traditional hunting by the tribe and force them into settlements. The authorities say this arrangement was necessitated so that Basarwa can receive social services and be assimilated into society (Rule, 1988:1). As it is indicated in this chapter, Basarwa beneficiaries feel their interests were not taken on board by PTB before bringing them projects, such as backyard gardens. It is important to indicate that, Tswana (Botswana's dominant groups) cultural definition of Basarwa communities has continued to structure their marginality (Motzafi-Haller, 1994:544). This has made them to distrust government initiatives (Twyman, 2000:329).

It is pertinent that PTB should have necessitated the view that is compatible with SD, being that, participation needs to be practiced in the broader spaces of the political community beyond the project level (Mayo, 1999:133). What is an issue here is that PTB like Botswana government was seen by Basarwa as forcing them into a new lifestyle, without first providing them with some education for readying them for that adjustment. It can be argued that, part of the problem that undermines NGOs ability to realise Sustainable Development is buying into programmes that are designed by those forces that do not promote participatory development. The broad aim of participatory development is to increase the involvement of socially and economically marginalised people in decision making over their lives (Cooke and Kothari, 2001:5), which is necessary for their economic and political empowerment.

As prove that the government influenced PTB to impose some interventions on Basarwa communities, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands approved the proposal by which funds were disbursed for PTB to build 60 houses and 18 toilets for Basarwa communities (PTB, 2000:4). The financial resources were given to PTB by the Ministry and PTB then mobilised communities of Basarwa for the programme. Basarwa were required to abandon their nomadic type of life and construct permanent houses. PTB made them follow formalities to acquire land from the government on settlements, where their houses and toilets were built. PTB made reports to the government as a way of accounting

for the money it received, and prove of adherence to specifications pertaining to construction work (PTB, 2000:4). The arrangement did not make PTB embrace accountability that is necessary for SD, which requires that accounting organisations be mindful of their downward accountability to their beneficiaries (Edwards and Hulme, 1995:9).

The money that PTB received from the government was specifically meant for the building of houses and toilets, and not for providing education to Basarwa communities on the importance of permanently settling in settlements. PTB tried to exercise patience in the learning and development process for Basarwa communities, but the donor pushed for immediate results (Gujadhur, 2000:27). This defeated the much pronounced position that, NGOs represent the interests of marginalised groups within the wider public arena, campaigning on their behalf and seeking to influence public policy for their benefit (Mercer, 2002:8).

It is evident that PTB preferred to have projects that allowed Basarwa communities to keep chickens, while at the same time the government provided goats and cattle to the same communities through Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). It is disturbing to note that in any of this interventions, Basarwa were never allowed to participate in the decision making process. Projects that were prescribed for Basarwa are in conflict with what they really want. Basarwa are interested in game ranching, which is a slow but steadily growing industry in Botswana (Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism, 2002:5). It is important to indicate that PTB should have avoided working with the government of Botswana. This would have prevented the confusion amongst Basarwa communities, as it is difficult for them to distinguish government projects from PTB projects.

It is indisputable that Basarwa have had wild animals as their source of livelihood for a lengthy duration. They have hunted and foraged for 10,000 years (Rule, 1988:1). It is sensible to believe that this situation has allowed them to acquire the necessary skills and experiences that could be harnessed for projects that would enhance their sense of ownership. They would feel their experiences and culture is recognised, which is empowering to a community that has for ages been subjected to subjugation. For instance,

they are desert walks that can be taken with Basarwa guides, where the tourists are shown how to collect veld foods, track game, collect herbs and participate in music and dance (Africa Travel, 2009:2). What is really at issue is that Basarwa strongly feel aforementioned activities, when coupled with game ranching, can generate income for them much more than the chicken projects and backyard gardens that PTB prescribed. The use of Basarwa experiences and skills for their development is empowering because empowerment recognises and fosters the strengthening of competencies of those receiving help, acknowledging and utilising their wisdom of everyday experiences and promoting diversity of ideas (Rappaport, 1981:5). This ascertains that even in the absence of an NGO they would continue to run their projects. This is also beneficial because they use tested knowledge and skills that have been passed from generation to generation within their community. PTB did not have transformative capacity to re-formulate and re-configure its projects so that it can accommodate what Basarwa wanted. This militated against SD, which through empowerment emphasises the rejection of the top-down imposition of development schemes and shifting of focus towards bottom-up development (Waylen, 1996:44).

Basarwa feel PTB should have facilitated the running of projects to allow them to domesticate some wild animals such as ostriches, guinea fowls and elands, than to run chicken projects and backyard gardens. This view is well supported by a policy on game ranching, which states that Game farming is the managed, intensive production of semi or totally domesticated animal species in small fenced camps or farms under controlled conditions. The Game Ranching Policy of Botswana allows for the domestication of such species as; ostriches, crocodiles, snakes, guinea fowls, hares, rabbits and any other species as may be agreed upon between Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Department of Animal Health and Production (Ministry of Trade, Industry, Wildlife and Tourism, 2002:5). It has to be noted that the domestication of wild animals by poor Basarwa communities would have promoted their conservation. Therefore, the arrangement would have been in support of PTB's objective of achieving sustainability. Sustainability is embraced by SD, which is grounded on saving the natural resources (Worthington, 1983:46). It has to be noted that where communities are allowed to take care of their resources, they protect them against exploitation by outsiders. Such resources also get used to generate income that is necessary for poverty alleviation.

Basarwa have suffered deprivations for a long time even during colonial rule. It is alleged that their condition was little, if at all, better than that of slaves of Bamangwato; they were compelled to herd the cattle and till the fields of their masters without pay. Their children were constantly taken from them against their will to work as servants in the Bamangwato households in Serowe. They were often subjected to most cruel treatment (The Royal African Society, 1935:446). To the present day, Basarwa are still subjected to many forms of ill-treatments. As with many minorities, Basarwa struggle against what they view as domination and discrimination from other groups and the government of Botswana. In recent years, these struggles have included efforts to hold on to their land and resources, assertions of their distinctive cultural identities and requests for education in mother-tongue languages (Hitchcock, 2002:800). No people in Botswana today are poorer or weaker than the Basarwa (Good, 1993:205). The first most important thing that PTB did not do was to empower Basarwa through education, so that they can decide on the form of development that they want, instead of following on what the government thought was appropriate for them. It is clear that PTB was not informed by the paradigm shift in development thinking, which stresses the active participation of local people in their development process (Lane, 2005:181).

PTB in its support of Basarwa communities and other non Tswana speaking tribes, adopted one-Nation consensus assimilationist agenda, favouring homogeneity, fostered through one official and one recognised language, respectively English and Tswana (Werbner, 2002:676). This arrangement of using English and Setswana as lingua francas, meant that PTB preferred to use languages that are imported into Basarwa communities in Ghanzi District. This arrangement was entertained despite the fact that Basarwa are having their languages, such as Naro. It can be argued that the use of languages that come from tribes that dominate Basarwa disempowered them as they could not freely express themselves. They feel their culture is undermined as a people, because they are expected to adopt other people's languages and ways of life, such as rearing cattle, goats and chickens. It is important to mention that Sustainable Development can be realised where people do have confidence in themselves to change their situation. Like participatory development, SD begins with the experiences, knowledge and priorities of those who have been marginalised and oppressed by mainstream development practices (Brohman, 1996; Eade, 1997 and

Rahman, 1993). This calls for the use of what is important for the course of development in their respective cultures. Where a language constrains individuals to reticent, their empowerment cannot be achieved because they feel undermined.

To add salt to the wound, in an interview held on the 16/08/07, in Ghanzi PTB office, the field officer stated that,

> Some Basarwa do not understand Setswana (National language) or English (Official language). This makes it difficult to communicate with some of them when disseminating information through workshops and community meetings, which is important for their projects. The other problem is that some of the sources of our information, such as books and pamphlets that we use, are written in English and it becomes difficult to translate that into Setswana, even for those who can communicate in the language. Most of Basarwa that benefit from our interventions are illiterate and they can hardly relate with some jargon, even if put in the Setswana language. Basarwa in most cases feel strongly against the use of both Setswana and English languages in their activities. They are uncomfortable in using languages that are used by people that they say oppress them.

It is important to note that the use of languages that are foreign to Basarwa communities by PTB makes them feel it is a foreign organisation, which has an agenda of representing the dominant groups, such as Bangwato. Both English and Setswana are languages that amongst the poor non Setswana speakers such as Basarwa, are seen as modern and associated with schooling and power. They are languages that are used as a vehicle of assimilation for non Setswana speakers into a dominant community, such as Bangwato or into a class of the educated, in case of English. Those people, who do not speak Setswana or English such as Basarwa, are usually lowly regarded by those who use the mentioned languages. The use of languages that are foreign to communities in development undermines their participation. Participation is most effective when it respects people's knowledge, local beliefs, languages, methods and insights based on years of experience (World Vision, 2003:1).

It is important to indicate that the use of Setswana by PTB conveyed some values of the language, such as taboos. For example, PTB used taboos and their values in training Basarwa beneficiaries to safe guard environmental resources. It should be noted that taboos were meant to safeguard certain things like trees, to teach and encourage people to do

things at a particular time, to guide people's lives and to guard against laziness and carelessness. For example, cutting certain trees during ploughing season is a taboo, as it was believed that such behaviour shall bring hailstorms into an area of people who violate that taboo (PTB, 2000:4). The use of imported languages and their values such as taboos meant that PTB disregarded those values that Basarwa communities held as their own, as earlier indicated in this section.

PTB used taboos that were adopted from dominant ethnic groups, which are historically known to oppress Basarwa. It can be argued that taboos that are important in guiding behaviour of the people such as Bangwato, are not necessarily appropriate for Basarwa. In an interview that was held on the 16/08/07 in Ghanzi Township, a Mosarwa woman who benefitted from PTB interventions stated that,

> I no longer want anything to do with PTB because its officials think we do not have any culture to call our own. They bring us foreign beliefs and want us to abide by them. Basarwa communities have cultures that sustained them for centuries, providing them with food and keeping their resources intact. When due to civilisation dominant groups such as Bangwato lost their resources, such as wild animals, Basarwa communities conserved theirs. For an example, Basarwa never killed pregnant and young animals for commercial purposes, as some Bangwato do. We used bows and arrows to kill male elderly animals for food. Bangwato are fond of shooting wild animals, which remains an abomination that is forbidden amongst Basarwa, who are not assimilated into the dominant groups. We attach much value in wild animals and cannot kill them for fun.
>
> We want PTB to teach us in our own language and embrace our cultural values in the design of those projects that are meant to alleviate poverty. We should plant trees that we use for traditional healing than exotic plants that are of little use to us. We can generate income by making orchards of trees that we use in traditional healing. A large number of people from other parts of Botswana come to our areas for our traditional medicine, which they cannot get in those areas where they come from; such as in big villages and towns.

The approach that PTB employed did not take into recognition the resources and important indigenous knowledge that Basarwa already had. For example, PTB did not utilise the conservation strategies that Basarwa had, but imported cultural values, languages, trees and vegetables through its projects. Basarwa have skills in the use of good physical medicine, which employs natural substances which are extracted from plants, and then given to the

patients for the relief of pain from almost anything from snake bites to aching joints (Barnard, 1979:69). PTB approach confirms what Edwards and Hulme identified as a weakness for development NGOs, which is that, they never have sustained faith in the ability of poor people to bring about their own transformation (Edwards and Hulme, 2002:107).

The approach that PTB employed is related to the environmental education initiatives in Botswana. They are premised on a philosophy that assumes that the state is the monopoliser, custodian and fountain of knowledge, sensitivity about the environment. The rural communities are assumed to be lacking in such knowledge sensitivity and values (Ntsabane, undated: 236). It is partly a result of this approach by the government that since the 1980s, Basarwa got engaged in a struggle for land and resource rights in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), a large protected area in central Botswana (Hitchcock, 2002:800). Though not all Basarwa live in the mentioned area, their disempowerment became more pronounced in the wake of the struggle for land and resource rights against the government. These developments made them more suspicious about external forces such as PTB.

Basarwa feel that PTB imposed its projects on them to deny them the opportunity to embark on projects that required more land such as game ranching. The projects such as game ranching will have meant that PTB help Basarwa in 'taking on the government' in demanding land that is more than what is necessary for backyard gardens and chicken runs. PTB did not help Basarwa fight for resources, such as land against the government because it preferred to engage only at project level. However, one of the key weaknesses of the

based work traditionally favoured by NGOs is its inability to challenge the wider res of marginalisation and impoverishment (Hickey and Mohan, 2004:165).

hat Basarwa used for hunting is increasingly being used for grazing cattle. Fences up to protect the cattle, which translate to mean that the wildlife Basarwa depended or their hunting is changing its migrating patterns (Africa Travel, undated: 2). This ment is seen to underscore Botswana Government's intention to undermine any that can make Basarwa economically empowered because they provide a large force for cattle barons. They herd most of the livestock in Ghanzi farms for wages

that sometimes amount to little more than a bag of maize meal or a pair of worn-out trousers for a year's labour (Rule, 1988:2 and Motzafi-Haller, 1994:544). It can therefore be argued that, poverty amongst the Basarwa communities that PTB wanted to alleviate by running projects, such as backyard gardens, is partly of Botswana government's making. It can also be argued that policies that Botswana government necessitated militated against sustainability, such as the killing of wild animals by erecting cattle fences. The fences are erected on wildlife migratory routes, which results in high mortality of wild animals as they get ensnared. This can be qualified to mean that PTB's efforts to realise sustainability are undermined by the government of Botswana. This is because sustainability requires that effort to sustain social and economic development should be combined with effort to protect natural environmental resources (Baker, 2008:1).

Basarwa feel they are better placed to conserve wild animals and other resources than the government. The culture of Basarwa emphasises the importance of wild animals and other eco-systems. Basarwa would have served as an important resource that PTB could have engaged in the design of its projects, which would have promoted sustainability. Basarwa wanted to start game ranches as opposed to keeping chickens and making backyard gardens. The keeping of wild animals will have meant that they could use some of their bye-products to generate income. For example, Basarwa are great artists who use ostrich egg shells to make beautiful ornaments and home decorating items, ostrich feathers to make feather dusters and tails of animals such as elands to make fly whiskers.

It is important to note that activities of Basarwa hunter-gatherers have not hurt wildlife populations in a way the Government of Botswana did by putting up cattle fences, which resulted in the death of animals such as antelopes. The antelopes and other animals in doing what came naturally, travelling along their traditional roads of migration, found themselves in most cases ensnared in fences put up by the government (Rule, 1988:2). The fences were put up because of the pressure from cattle owners for more land in a nation where cattle is king. This was done without any thought about Basarwa communities (Rule, 1988:2).

PTB started a project that led to the construction of houses for Basarwa, so that they can have good habitation. This project also indicated that PTB did not do enough to empower

its Basarwa beneficiaries. They were not given the necessary skills and knowledge to enable them to maintain their houses or even build new ones on their own. This situation obtained despite the view that there is growing awareness that access to information and knowledge is crucial for the advancement of the poor, in particular the rural poor (Schilderman as cited by Lynch, 2005:143).

There is an important point that was raised in an interview that was conducted on the 1/11/07, with a senior member of Basarwa community in a settlement. He did point out that,

> PTB did not allow us to acquire necessary skills so that we could construct the houses ourselves. Instead, PTB officials brought people from outside our area to do the work. They brought the plans for the houses as well, not giving us an opportunity to decide on how we wanted them to be. Some of the houses need to be renovated and we do not have the skills to do that. Some of the houses have since been abandoned by their owners because it has become risky to live in them because they can collapse anytime.

In visiting some of the houses that were constructed by PTB for its beneficiaries, it was evident that they needed to be refurbished some of them were dilapidated. It was also evident that the beneficiaries were not in an economic position to refurbish them. They do not have required skills to renovate them. PTB ignored an important component of development, which is the provision of skills for empowerment. The people who are empowered can build their own houses and can engineer development through collective consciousness about how to get out of the poverty trap (Turner, 1977:9 and Sanyal, 1997:26). PTB preferred to bring bricklayers from outside the settlements to construct houses for Basarwa, which is disempowering. This gesture left Basarwa who had hoped to receive some skills and knowledge without them. This limitation renders them unable to renovate their houses when such a need arise. The implication is that Basarwa are dependent on PTB for renovation of their houses.

In an interview held on the 20/11/07, PTB senior officer stated that,

> We could not train Basarwa to enable them to build and subsequently renovate their own house. We wanted qualified bricklayers who would immediately start the construction of the houses. We had to use the funds that we received for the

> construction of houses immediately. We were allocated funds for building houses and not for the provision of building skills to our beneficiaries.

The reason PTB did not provide skills and knowledge to Basarwa is because the funding was earmarked for the construction of houses and not for training. The project was also given some time frame, which did not embrace the provision of skills training on bricklaying and importance of participation. It was important for PTB beneficiaries to be trained on participation because education for participation is important for awareness creation, which makes the poor aware of their economic and social conditions and how and why they should take part in improving it (Stephens and Putman, 1988:3). Education for participation is important because contrary to the ubiquitous optimistic assertions about benefits of participation, in some situations individuals find it easier and more beneficial, or habitually familiar not to participate (Adams et al. Zwanteveen and Neupane as cited by Cooke and Kothari, 2001:51). It is also important because development is a learning process, not just the application of a predetermined blueprint (Reid, 1995:81).

It is clear that PTB was impatient and needed to complete the construction of houses within a stipulated duration, which undermined participation of its beneficiaries in the manner that is empowering. PTB embarked on bought participation, where people in return for material incentives, such as houses, are made to participate. This form of participation leaves people with no stake in prolonging practices and projects when assistance stops (Centre for Environment and Society, 2002:2).

PTB did not attach any value on the benefits of equipping Basarwa with the necessary skills, which they could employ to build themselves houses in the future. The skills could also be utilised by Basarwa in both formal and informal employment. It is important to note that the hopes for poverty reduction also largely hinge on the creation of more employment opportunities for people who are economically disempowered (Chen, Vanek and Carr, 2004: ix).

It is important to note that, where decisions are imposed, such in the case of Basarwa, SD cannot be achieved. This is because beneficiaries do not get an opportunity to experiment and generate knowledge over a period of time on their own. Instead, they depend on experts

from outside their communities to make decisions and do things for them. This is identified as a problem for some development NGOs, which set up and run projects on behalf of rural people instead of analysing and evaluating projects from the point of view of the poor themselves (Bernstein, Crow and Johnson, 1992:296). This situation is often encouraged by an NGO's loyal to the funding agency than to the people or their movement (Hilhorst, 2003:62).

6.6 Inappropriate policies and training

As reflected upon in the preceding section, the policies that were employed by PTB were not suitable for the promotion of Sustainable Development ideals, which people-centred active participation advocates for. In what is supposed to be some of its distinctive achievements, PTB has undertaken projects to meet the basic exigencies of villages and settlements in the following rural areas: Paje, Khwee, Robelela and Mahalapye. The projects are in the areas of housing, nutrition and sanitation. PTB has also facilitated formation of Community based Organisations (CBOs) in Mmatshumo Khubu Island in the Boteti sub district and Molema in Bobirwa sub district (PTB, 2000:2). The CBOs namely: MOLEMA and Gaing-O-Community Trust embarked on wildlife management projects that generate income through tourism. They both employed the same way of conducting their activities, which are influenced by National Resources Management Programme (NRMP). What is clear is that aforementioned projects are rooted on sustainability, which is very important for SD, which requires that protection of the environment be entertained alongside poverty alleviation (Ouattara, 1997:1).

PTB helped the aforementioned CBOs to undertake the mentioned projects because NGOs and development agencies were planning and implementing projects through the National Resources Management Programme (NRMP). NRMP is designed by the governments without CBOs' input. The programme was initiated by Southern African Development Community (SADC) regional programme, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). PTB helped with the training of the committees that run the projects on resource and financial management. These projects are meant to promote community-based natural resource management (Twyman, 2000:325), which is

mainly focused on wildlife utilisation at national level. PTB on the other hand believes in a more holistic approach to natural resource utilisation, starting at the community level (PTB, 2000:3). In spite of such apparent contradiction, PTB offered to provide the necessary training and support to start CBOs namely: MOLEMA and Mmatshumu Khubu Island under National Resources Management Programme (NRMP), which is imposed on the people from the top. The imposition weakens participation, which encourages community members to express and analyse the realities of their lives, plan themselves what action to take to change the situation and monitor and evaluate the results themselves (WEDC, 2002:1).

MOLEMA Community Trust is the umbrella body for the communities of the three villages of Motlhabaneng, Lentswelemoriti and Mathathane in the eastern part of Botswana. Its goal is to develop economic opportunities for the villagers and generate income through tourism for alleviating poverty amongst members of the three villages. The trust is funded by ADF, Community Conservation Fund (CCF) Skillshare International and Botswana Government. PTB provides the necessary training on various aspects of business management and tourism to MOLEMA board members and village trust committee members (MOLEMA Community Trust, (undated) and BOPA, 2001). The board members and village trust committee members are elected by villagers during kgotla meetings. The boards are expected to represent villagers in undertaking activities that are necessary to facilitate the running of MOLEMA Community Trust. For example, trustees and board members are supposed to attend meetings by government officials and funding agencies and provide necessary information to the villagers through both verbal and written reports. This arrangement promotes participation by consultation, where people participate by being consulted, which does not concede any share in decision making, and professionals and representatives of communities are under no obligation to take on board people's views (Centre for Environment and Society, 2006:2). This disregards that the main reason poor people remain in poverty is because one of the most important and most overlooked development assets is the capacity of poor people to mobilise and organise for collective action (World Bank, 2002:39).

The kgotla is the formal meeting place presided over by the village chief, where community members gather to learn about, discuss and sometimes vote on community issues. The

kgotla is seen as the centre of the village life (Cassidy, 2001:15). Kgotla is used by MOLEMA trustees and board members to disseminate information pertaining to the running of MOLEMA community trust as a measure of consultation.

In an interview conducted on the 19/10/07, a senior member of MOLEMA committee, which is responsible for the management of resources in Motlhabaneng, Lentswe le Moriti and Mathathane villages, stated that,

> We started the project with the help of PTB and it is generating some income for the three villages namely: Motlhabaneng, Lentswe le Moriti and Mathathane. It has since appeared that some people are against the project because they feel it has been taken over by foreigners. These complaints are as a result of the agreement that the committee has entered into with a safari company. The joint venture between a safari company and the communities of the three villages was done through consultation. Some people feel betrayed and also feel they will not benefit from the agreement because the company has much influence on the decisions that are taken. There is a feeling amongst some villagers that the decision to enter into a joint venture with the safari company was imposed by PTB.

It is evident gathering from the preceding response that, some people within three villages are not comfortable with an agreement that was entered into with a safari company. This means the agreement with the safari company was not arrived at with full participation of all stakeholders. For participation to be achieved, all stakeholders, which means, individuals, communities or organisations that stand to gain or loss from the success or failure of a system or a project should be actively involved (Towards Earth Summit, 2002:1).

The safari company that has entered into an agreement with the committee that represented the three villages is owned by foreigners. The agreement is strongly grounded on the policy that is promoted by Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) of the Botswana Government. As pronounced under the policy, community involvement with a safari company can be in form of a joint venture. According to the dictates of the policy, wildlife quota is obtained from DWNP by the community or communities and then leased to a safari company for consumptive or non consumptive uses (Twyman, 2000:325). What this means is that under the consumptive agreement the wildlife can be killed. The non

consumptive use disallows the killing of wildlife, as income is generated from such activities as photographing of wildlife. What is at issue is that the government formulates policies which are then imposed on communities regarding utilisation of resources. This arrangement goes against empowerment, which is based on the support of local groups and communities rather than the large centralised social agencies and institutions which control resources, use convergent reasoning, and attempt to standardise the ways people live their lives and expend their resources (Rappaport, 1981:19).

It is clear that some community members of the three villages namely: Motlhabaneng, Lentswe le moriti and Mathathane are not conversant with the existing policies that they should know, if they are to make informed decisions regarding their resources. It is also apparent that not all villagers agreed with the signing of a lease with a safari company and yet such an agreement was entered into. This brings to question the amount of political power that the people of three villages have over their resources. The approved trust management development plan that governs the activities of MOLEMA Trust was developed by Ecosury, which is an organisation of environmental consultants (Botswana Press Agency, 2001:11). The villagers did not participate in the formulation of the trust management plan, which governs the activities of MOLEMA trust. The village trust committee, which is made up of eight people in each of the three villages, preferred to engage Ecosury for a consultancy. The people of MOLEMA fear that they are not going to continue benefiting from their resources and yet animals such as elephants destroy their properties. For example, elephants destroy crops from their fields (Botswana Press Agency, 2001:6). The villagers feel foreigners are much influential than them and therefore stand to disadvantage them on a joint venture. It is important to note that PTB did not foster SD, which requires that NGOs strengthens inherent capacity of their beneficiaries so that they can define their development goals, draw up strategies for self-reliance and be masters of their own destiny (Friedmann, 1992).

It is clear that PTB has a share of the blame on the disempowerment of the people of the three villages running MOLEMA trust. Firstly, PTB did not provide the people of MOLEMA with required political power to challenge the government to allow them to have a role in the formulation of legislations pertaining to their resources. Secondly, PTB did not empower communities running MOLEMA trust to determine how they want to

utilise their resources, which allowed a safari company to predetermine conditions that it obtruded on them.

In an interview held on the 19/10/07, a member of the community of Mathathane village did point out that,

> Some of us are illiterate and cannot understand government policies pertaining to wildlife management. We were informed about the agreement that was entered into by the government and the committee that represent our villages. We also know about the agreement between the committee and the safari company. We cannot claim to understand what is involved in the agreements. I do not think the communities are going to get any benefits from giving resources to foreign companies. We recently heard that some young animals, such as lion cubs, are disappearing. The villagers suspect that such resources are taken to the neighbouring South Africa by poachers.

PTB in its interaction with the people of Mathathane, Lentswe le Moriti and Mothabaneng did not fully familiarise the illiterate individuals with wildlife management policies. It is only those who are literate that have better understanding of the policies. Even the government have realised that, some retired civil servants, politicians and dikgosi (chiefs) join community trusts for their own selfish ends (BOPA, 2009:1). The agreement that the committee has entered into with the safari company have made people feel even further alienated. They feel the trust entered into a joint venture agreement rather than a joint venture partnership, which make them passive recipients of income (BOPA, 2009:1). The joint venture agreement militates against Sustainable Development, because it does not empower poor people to make decisions and participate in the running of the projects. Instead, it makes poor people mere recipients of income, which is against empowerment. It is against empowerment because if communities are to be genuinely empowered, development should be conducted in a way communities become self-reliant, so that they conduct and sustain their development without external help (Bartle, 2006:1).

They are disturbing reports of some resources getting stolen from the wildlife management area. It is clear that the villagers do not know the role that they should play, except to rely on the committee that is supposed to represent them, to take action. It is obvious that if resources continue to disappear or be destroyed, then the project cannot be sustained. Unless resources are safeguarded, tourism is in danger of being a self-destructive process,

destroying the very resources upon which it is based (Cater, 1995:22). The destruction of resources is against sustainability, which its focus is strongly on preservation of natural resources (Bell and Morse, 1999:13). The disappearance of some resources such as lion cubs clouds relations in the three villages with suspicions, which works against participation. Participation is difficult to operationalise in a low trust, low cohesion context where social relations are punctuated by mutual suspicion (Golooba-Mutebi, 2005:938).

In an interview that was conducted on the 20/10/07, a senior officer of Gaing-O-Community Trust, which also received training from PTB on various aspects of trust management and is run in the same way as MOLEMA community Trust, stated that,

> Some people in the village feel the trust has taken some of their pastures where they used to graze their cattle. Some of the tourists and patrons do litter, which angers the farmers who feel that it is not good for the environment. Wild animals also destroy their properties making them poorer. The government recently introduced a policy by which the trusts will pay sixty five percent (65%) of the income they accrue to the government. This has made some villagers object to the continued running of the trust. They feel the money that will be generated will not directly benefit Mmatshumo villagers, as the government will take a significant amount of it.

It is clear that villagers are not in support of the trust anymore, if they ever were. There is resentment since they feel their pastures were taken away from them and tourists pollute them. They are indications that the policy that the government has introduced of taking sixty five percent of the amount generated through trusts, is a defeat on efforts to alleviate poverty. The people of Gaing-O-community and MOLEMA community trusts are robbed of the proceeds, which they are supposed to expend in ameliorating their socio economic status. This militates against SD, which requires that basic human needs of those relegated to abject poverty be met (Our Common Future, 1987:8). Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism through its minister, is reported to have in justifying its legislation that is designed to take financial resources from environmental projects, promulgated that, natural resources in Botswana do not belong to any particular group or village, but instead the profits are for the benefit of all Batswana (BOPA, 2009:1). Botswana government has assumed some corporatist characteristics: policy initiation takes place within government ministries; persuasion is presented as consultation; limits are placed on participation, government dominates communication processes and ministries create and control most

organised groups (Molutsi and Holm, 1990:327). It is disturbing that the government sees it fit to take away resources from NGO assisted projects, under the pretext that they should benefit the entire nation. It is disturbing because despite rural areas having resources, they are disempowered both economically and politically. This is against empowerment, which calls for the reform of the existing configuration of power and influences that privilege elite interest and marginalises those of the powerless (The World Bank, 2005:70).

People of villages where the trusts that received PTB support are situated do not fully support them, as they should. This can be explained in two ways. Firstly, they have not got any benefits from the trusts to make them attach any value on them. It is only those who were selected for training pertaining to the running of the trusts, which was provided by PTB, who benefitted. Secondly, they feel they do not fully own the trusts, since the policies that guide their operations are made and imposed on them by the government. PTB did not promote participation of its beneficiaries in influencing policy formulation pertaining to the running of trusts. This confirms the notion that NGOs attempting to alleviate poverty most often than not prefer to transfer goods and services to the poor (Jalley, 1995:14), which does not empower because people remain without capacity to do things for themselves.

The government initiated the arrangement to support its policy of wildlife management in order to save resources for future generations, with no input from PTB, which is geared towards promoting sustainability. PTB did promulgate policies formulated by the government, through participation by consultation, which does not empower people to come up with their own decisions. The approach is problematic because it stresses top-down approach to extension, with its emphasis on 'extension messages' and 'packages', and the ineffectiveness of the extension services with respect to enhancing people's participation in rural development (Pearce, 1991:57). This approach militates against Community Based Strategy for Rural Development of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning formulated in 1997. The strategy aims at increasing rural incomes, employment and reducing rural poverty. It requires that community members become more involved in the planning and implementation of their own development. It advocates that community participation should be central to rural development activities (Youngman and Maruatona, 1998:237). It is opposed to consultation approach, where decisions are made at

a higher level and villagers are gathered and invited to make comments and ask questions, on decisions that are already made. What is worth noting is that, Community Based Strategy for Rural Development, which resonates with what is advocated by SD, is most often than not undermined in preference for top down approaches even by Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.

The community members of the three villages which are supposed to benefit from MOLEMA Community Trust were consulted by PTB. The organisation also consulted people of Mosu village that runs Gaing-O-Community Trust. The NGO consulted about the wildlife management policy that the civil servants formulated after long weeks or even years of thinking, reading, researching and knowledge sharing amongst themselves. The villagers during consultations in kgotla meetings arranged by PTB, which lasted for a few hours, were expected to ask questions, understand and contribute their decisions. PTB adopted the Government of Botswana's style of consultation, which denies the rural people the chance to express their perceptions of poverty and their perspectives on how it could be alleviated (Youngman and Maruatona, 1998:239). As a result of this form of consultation, in most instances NGOs end up telling people how to do things, or do things for them (Shan, 2005:4). This arrangement does not echo for SD, which requires that beneficiaries of development interventions be empowered so that they can decide the form their development should take and take active part in realising such development (Veolia Environment, 2006:1).

It has to be noted that doing things for people or telling them how to do them, cannot promote Sustainable Development because it is a disempowering process. It makes political and economic power the domain of those who impose their will on others. In Botswana, hegemony usually attempts to obscure the political nature of the dominant-subordinate relationship to those who are subordinate, by making it appear as a natural order. These relationships often find their way into the formulation and implementation of social policy and subsequent programmes (Nthomang, 2004:418).

PTB instead of challenging the disempowering process of imposing policies on the people of Mothabaneng, Lentswe-le-moriti and Mathathane villages, it preferred to zealously enforce wildlife management policy. This scenario made it difficult for the villagers to

participate actively in the formulation of activities, which would have enabled them to benefit from their resources. It can be argued it is because of lack of active participation that made it easy for the board to enter into contract with a well established safari company without public consent.

It is important to mention that if a community derives direct benefits from its resources, there is a tendency for such a community to parsimoniously utilise such resources. For example, if people of Mothabaneng, Lentswe-le moriti, Mathathane and Mosu villages got benefits through MOLEMA Community Trust and Gaing-O-Community trust they would be encouraged to safeguard their resources. This also means they would be against rapacious exploitation of such resources by unscrupulous outsiders, such as poachers. The imposition of the policy that allows the Government of Botswana to take away sixty five percent from the proceeds generated by both MOLEMA Community Trust and Gaing-O-community trust is exploitative and disempowering. Poverty alleviation, without any grain of scepticism, will remain a utopia, if poor villagers do not obtain political power to be in control of their resources. It is important to note that if Sustainable Development is to be achieved, the rural populace need to take full responsibility of planning, monitoring, implementation and evaluation of their projects because participatory programming, monitoring and evaluation systems are the best instruments to strengthen relations between NGOs and their target groups (Edwards and Hulme, 2002:54). This calls for attitude change, understanding of policies, decentralisation, strengthening of community organisations and helpful procedures to promote autonomy of communities and their self reliance (Oakley as cited by Shepherd, 1998:183).

6.7 Entrenched dependency

The problem of dependency in this section looks at the subject in two major respects. The first is to discuss dependency that the PTB is submerged into, which is of relying on resources that it gets from the Government and donor agencies, such as HIVOS. The second is that of beneficiaries of PTB, who rely on those resources that are distributed by the organisation from international donors and Botswana Government. There is an emerging pattern of dependency that can be interpreted as having some trickle-down effect.

As resources trickle down to help people who are submerged into poverty, their dependency on such resources also escalates. It is important to state that PTB's dependency on resources from the government and donor agencies have rendered the organisation and its beneficiaries powerless. Empowerment, which is important if SD is to be realised, cannot be achieved through aid because it promotes dependency. That is why stakeholders in the development sphere have become so used to existence of aid that mere notion of it being phased out seems unrealistic. The tragedy of aid is that it is still there after half a century and the need for it is probably greater than ever before (Simon and Norman, 1999:149). The problem with aid is that it comes with stipulated targets that should be reached within a given duration. It is the drive to disburse physical targets that is damaging because it stifles participation (Chambers, 1999:224). PTB and its beneficiaries are both politically and economically powerless. They rely on resources that they do not generate themselves, which come alongside policies such as wildlife management policy. The policy further aggravates their powerlessness because it is imposed on them by the government.

The NGOs that are dependent on donor agencies or governments have the same problem of getting disempowered or becoming powerless. They get disempowered politically because they cannot make unilateral decisions without the influence of funding agencies. They do not undertake their activities in the manner that they would because they rely on resources that they have no full control over. For example, a funding agency can state when it would release its funds, which may dictate when activities that are undertaken by the receiving NGO, such as PTB, should start and finish. The powerless NGOs can't specialise in their priority areas of interest or expertise because of their dependence on donors or government favours (Michael, 2004:1).

In an interview held on the 04/08/07, PTB senior officer stated that,

> PTB has approached the government of Botswana with a proposal to undertake some projects for her, because the NGO is currently impecunious and desperately needs help. PTB is entirely dependent on donor support for its projects. Little financial resources that the organisation generates are just enough for running its administration. We usually make proposals guided by the interest of the funder, whether it is the government or international donor. We do not allow poor people that we intend to uplift from poverty to decide on

> the projects they want. We are restrained because what poor people want, is most often than not, what the donors and the government are not prepared to fund. If we were to insist on undertaking projects that poor people want, against what donors and government are prepared to fund, we could end up not receiving funds that we need badly for PTB to continue running. Sometimes financial resources that we receive are for projects that villagers have little or no interest in undertaking. They get involved in implementing such projects just because they are funded. They know very well that if they refuse to undertake such projects, just because they are not of their choice, the organisation can take such resources to other poor people who will not refuse.

It is clear that some of PTB projects are funded by the government. A good example is where PTB-Serowe submitted a project proposal to the Kweneng council secretary's office for the integrated development project. The Ministry of Local Government approved the proposal and funds were disbursed for the project (PTB, 2000:4). Gathering from the above response, it is clear that PTB does not have the necessary economic power to run its activities without having to rely on resources from the government or donor agencies. PTB needs to be funded in order to continue to provide poor people with the needed support, in an effort to enhance Sustainable Development. However, the reliance of PTB on resources from the donors means the organisation will continue to account to the funding agencies and less to its beneficiaries. As intermediary organisations that provide development for the poor, NGOs have a tendency of observing accountability only to the funding agencies (Hilhorst, 2003:123), which denies their beneficiaries essential information about how resources are expended for their betterment.

It can be argued that PTB had not been able to eliminate its dependency on resources that come with conditions that undermine decision making, implementation and evaluation of projects by the poor people themselves. The NGO crafts its proposals in accordance with the requirements or prerequisites of the donor or government, which limits its autonomy to freely execute its plans. It does not empower poor people to take responsibility of alleviating poverty through plans that they have formulated themselves. This is a disadvantage because it restricts the organisation from fully involving the poor, because their interests and aspirations may be in conflict with what the donors or government are interested in supporting. Instead of encouraging partnership in a relational contract which is important for rural development because it eliminate hierarchy and empowers those without power (Shepherd, 1998:240), PTB requires its beneficiaries to employ strategies and

approaches that are prescribed by the donors and the government. This imposition places the poor below the NGO and the donors, instead of establishing some partnership characterised by equality in decision making. PTB also do not have power to challenge the government, which undermines both participation and empowerment. This confirms the fear that, participatory development programmes emphasising social inclusion draw previously marginalised individuals and groups into the development process, but do so in ways that bind them more tightly to structures of power that they are not then able to question (Kothari as cited by Williams, 2004:563).

The preceding quotation clearly demonstrates that the relationship between PTB and the poor villagers is characterised by coercion and arrogance. Poor people are not allowed to protest against their exclusion in deciding what is appropriate for them. If they do, resources can be moved to communities where poor people accepts assistance without questioning their exclusion in the decision making process. It is important to indicate that exclusion of people from making decisions compromises empowerment, which is often described in terms of processes that help marginalised or disempowered people to recognise and exercise their agency in solving their own problems (Friedmann, 1992:78).

It is clear that PTB does not write proposals for sourcing resources from the government or donors, based on what poor people want. PTB is interested in attracting funding so that it can continue to operate. For instance, if the donor or government has resources for housing, the organisation will write its project proposal requesting for funds that are earmarked for housing by the government or donor. This arrangement undermines the power of decision making that poor people have. This confirms the fear that NGOs plan projects based on the interests of the funders than on those of their beneficiaries (Clark 1991 and Agrawal 1995).

The agreements that are usually entered into dictates what is to be done, and how resources that are provided should be accounted for (Hilhorst, 2003:193). The problem that goes with leaving out poor people in planning or deciding how their socio economic status should be ameliorated, is that they resign to their powerlessness. Their powerlessness results in their dependency on outsiders for decisions and resources, which is disempowering. Power is usually kept by those with information and money (Bartle,

2006:2), which means it is necessary for beneficiaries to be equipped with resources and knowledge.

In an interview conducted on the 06/08/07, in Kaudwane settlement, one of PTB beneficiaries stated that,

> PTB gave us chickens that have since died because they were attacked by diseases and predators. We experienced serious problems with our gardens because the insects feasted on the vegetables. We send a message to PTB officials to tell them that we lost our chickens and given up on gardening because of insects. We need them (officials) to provide us with guinea fowls this time and help us re-start our gardens.

PTB has bred dependency amongst the people who received its assistance, as indicated by the above quotation. They do not feel they should take responsibility and continue without having to rely on PTB, which gave them help. For example, the beneficiaries feel it is the responsibility of PTB to protect the chickens against predators and diseases and fight insects that feast on their vegetables. It is not in the interest of the poor to find out how to obtain the guinea fowls and initiate the gardens for themselves. The respondents feel that PTB is duty bound to restart projects that failed to bear fruits, such as through providing guinea fowls instead of chickens. This shows clearly that PTB did not empower the poor to own the projects, which is essential if SD is to be realised. Empowerment is important because it encourages the poor to have confidence to secure ownership of resources, which they tenaciously retain because they are far-sighted in their investments, as opposed to how they are normally perceived (Chambers, 1992:218).

In an interview held on the 31/10/07 in East Hanahai, one of the beneficiaries who work in the bakery, which was established with the help of PTB for the group of Basarwa women, stated that,

> We produce bread and other bakery products such as cakes and sandwiches, utilising skills and resources that we received from PTB. The problem is that our bakery is located in a settlement, which is far from places where a lot of people stay. We want PTB to provide us with a van or any form of transport so that we can transport our products to Ghanzi Township. Our project cannot grow because we do not have a reliable market. We can sell our products to primary schools, junior secondary, clinics, Ghanzi hospital and workers in

> Ghanzi Township. There are those primary schools in Ghanzi District that are interested in buying what we produce from our bakery. Since we do not have our own transport, we cannot take advantage of this readily available market. We have approached some NGOs and government departments for help, which is not forthcoming. We sell our products to a local primary school, a few civil servants who work in our settlement and people who visit our settlement from other areas.

PTB did not provide enough resources for running a bakery to the women that it assisted. For example, PTB did not provide transport for the project to enable its beneficiaries to transport products from their bakery, which is located in the settlement, to where there is a market. As exemplified by the group of women who run a bakery, lack of transport is a major problem that should have been identified when a request for resources from the donors was made. The problem of dependency in which the women running a bakery are submerged into, can be blamed on the provision of inadequate resources by PTB. It is lack of enough resources that made PTB to undermine active participation of its beneficiaries during the planning stages. This is despite the conviction that, the priorities of the people must be put first if development is to succeed (Reid, 1995:81). It can be argued that, the poverty alleviation efforts that are meant to promote Sustainable Development by PTB did not provide adequate resources, so that beneficiaries can realise both economic and political autonomy. It is important for both economic and political empowerment that projects that are assisted receive enough resources. The provision of enough resources can be realised if the poor are empowered to have control over their lives, which should be achieved through the use of natural and human resources that exist in their environment (Friedmann, 1992:73). PTB did not provide women with capacity to operate their bakery beyond subsistence. The provision of resources for a bakery that can only produce twelve loaves a day is not enough to alleviate poverty.

As much as there is need for poor people to be helped, it is important that interventions be designed with the aim of leaving beneficiaries to be on their own at some stage. In order to achieve the objective of leaving the beneficiaries of PTB to fend for themselves, they should have been provided with such resources and capacity to operate without external assistance. This can only be achieved through decisions that are arrived at in a participatory manner. Decisions that are made in a participatory context are generally more feasible and sustainable than decisions that are made by experts alone (The World Bank

Group, 2001:1). It is important that decisions be made in a participatory manner because that provides the necessary political empowerment, which enables people to rely on their decisions when they are left on their own. It is lack of political empowerment that is partly responsible for Batswana's increasing dependent upon government to provide them with commodities and amenities of life, without making any contribution themselves (Mompati and Prinsen, 2000:632).

Postcolonial NGOs in Botswana are confronted with a challenge of lack of or limited resources, which will be discussed in the coming section. Most often than not, lack of resources result in NGOs relying on resources from the donors or the government. This arrangement has some colonial connotations, because at independence, Botswana inherited the colonial economy, its structures, bureaucracy, values and practices, all of which have perpetuated colonial forms of development practice (Nthomang, 2004:416). The colonial forms of development practice emphasise the conveyance of decisions and resources from the top to poor people in the former colonies. This is done without giving them necessary opportunities to actively participate in finding solutions to their problems. It is this problem that has limited the beneficiaries of PTB to rely on resources that the organisation provided, instead of working towards earning necessary economic and political independence.

Most NGOs such as PTB rely on resources that they get from donors in developed countries, which make them operate as parasitic agents that depend on the goodwill of the funders. In the following section the discourse is centred on lack of resources.

6.8 Lack of resources and accountability

PTB does not have enough resources to meet its objectives that are centred on poverty alleviation and protection of environmental resources. It was dependent for funding on international Non Governmental Organisations and the government, as earlier indicated in the preceding section. It is important to note that Sustainable Development forum that stood to reignite the concept did not establish a strong commitment through which it could fund NGOs that are inspired by SD. This problem emanates from the fact that there is non-

committal to the concept by some stake-holders (Shepherd, 1998:2), which explains why NGOs that are inspired by the concept still rely on resources from donors and governments whose objectives are not always influenced by SD pillars namely: Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability (PEAS).

The funds that NGOs use to inspire action to realise Sustainable Development are not from an established source that is well coordinated and managed for the purpose of realising the concept. Lack of resources that are earmarked for Sustainable Development projects have resulted in disjointed interventions that rely on unreliable financial sources, some of which are half hearted towards the realisation of Sustainable Development. For example, lack of funding that is earmarked for Sustainable Development has made PTB to scavenge for funds from the government and INGOs, whose interest in alleviating poverty and protecting environmental resources is in their list of priorities. It is important to note that the existence of a fund specifically meant to help NGOs to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources within an international body such as the United Nations (UN), could have been useful for NGOs such as PTB. This would have made sure that Sustainable Development promotes participation of poor people, accountability, sustainability and economic and political empowerment of the beneficiaries. The arrangement would have also fostered SD inspired stakeholders to refuse for development reasons, all support which is intrinsically tied to the foreign policies that compromise on issues related to the social and cultural identities of poor societies (Friedmann, 1992:73).

In an interview conducted on the 04/08/07, with a senior officer of PTB, he pointed out that,

> PTB relied on outside donors for resources, which were earmarked for projects that were necessitated for poverty alleviation and environmental protection, such as backyard gardens. PTB did not disseminate information about its mission, which made the organisation work only with poor people who constituted its clientele. This arrangement left out villagers who could have participated in its activities and provided their expertise to help PTB beneficiaries for free. When the organisation ran out of resources to continue to visit projects and help its beneficiaries, they were left on their own. It would have not been the case if every community member knew that PTB projects were to alleviate poverty in their villages. PTB officials were not always available to attend to problems that emerged in its projects. PTB could have

> done better by involving everybody in helping in its mission of alleviating poverty and protecting the environment, through running campaigns, which could have attracted contributions from some members of the community. When PTB had resources from the donors, it distanced itself from those villagers that did not need its help, which denied the communities the opportunity to own the organisation and entertain its philosophy.

It can be argued that PTB did start interventions that were inspired by the concept of Sustainable Development. However, PTB did not fully educate the people about Sustainable Development so that they internalise and own the concept. It is important to note that, PTB does not have broader support from the local communities because its activities are only confined to its beneficiaries. The NGO works closely with its beneficiaries and does not extend its activities to include harnessing of support from people who do not need its support, but are in those areas where it has projects. It can be argued that PTB by not disseminating information about its mission leaves some people in villages and settlements where it runs projects, without knowing what it stands for. This arrangement does not promote sharing of information amongst the communities on SD. For example, if PTB had disseminated information about its mission and activities, the villagers would have discussed amongst themselves best ways of alleviating poverty and protecting the environment. This in a way would have helped PTB to achieve its objectives. The communities would have adapted ideas that PTB stood for and worked towards achieving them. For instance, if the idea of alleviating poverty and protecting the environment was embraced by the community, people would have not only contributed in the alleviation of poverty, but also guarded against falling into poverty. They would have volunteered their support for the NGO, which would have promoted participation and empowerment. This is because if the poor can explore alternatives to their present conditions, if they can understand them, choose in a realistic way and can acquire the necessary force to improve their choices, they get involved in a self supporting development, even though material changes in their lives are not immediately apparent (Lavi and Litwin, 1986:248).

It is important to note that, SD requires that those who are helped by PTB should not relapse into their former state of poverty. This can be achieved if there is a community support system that supports strategies that are employed to achieve desirable economic and political status. This means community members taking responsibility to sustain required level of economic and political empowerment themselves. For example, if people

within a community become poor because of certain social beliefs, providing resources to them would not be enough without first making them appreciate the need to renounce such beliefs. It is therefore important for SD to appreciate that different communities even within the same nation have distinctive codes of behaviour and different value systems, which should reinforce recognition of separate ethnic identities rather than attempting to submerge communities into a dominant culture (Shepherd, 1998:18). It was necessary for PTB to first educate communities about impediments to economic and political empowerment that are caused by certain social beliefs. For example, if a community discriminates against women and refuse them the right to get formal education, it would be absolutely necessary for change agents to first embark in a programme that is aimed at changing the attitudes of members of such a community. This requires resources and expertise that PTB does not have.

In an interview that was conducted on the 07/11/07, an officer of PTB based in Kaudwane stated that,

> PTB never had resources to change the attitude of its beneficiaries to make them accept that there was need to change their lives, which are characterised by poverty. Some of the people that PTB helped were Christians and stated that, even if they lived in poverty they would be accepted in heaven when they die, where resources will be made available for them in abundance. They would state that they preferred to die poor than to be economically empowered and go to hell. They were made to believe that rich people will go to hell when they die, where they will be punished eternally. Some of PTB beneficiaries also stated that they feared that if their lives were economically improved, they would be bewitched by those people who would become jealous of them for their success. The attitudes of those beneficiaries who feared that they would be bewitched made it difficult for them to work hard to improve their living standards.

In view of the preceding quotation, it can be argued that it was absolutely necessary for PTB to overcome embedded beliefs and practices that hampered the achievement of its Sustainable Development goals. It can be argued that, it is important for PTB to have thoroughly interrogated causes of poverty amongst its beneficiaries before introducing its interventions. This would have allowed PTB to source resources in order to firstly erode those beliefs and practices that militate against its poverty alleviation efforts. If poor people hold tenaciously to some cultural beliefs that can prevent them from participating, such as a

belief that some people can bewitch them, which can result in them getting injured or killed. It is important for such beliefs to be altered through education because SD needs to recognise that, any interventions for development must always be adapted to the culture-not in a conservative way, but in the sense that the norms of the culture are recognised and therefore unpacked. It is important for development practitioners to acknowledge that societies are marked by large diversity of cultures delineated in terms of ethnicity, religion and ideology, which should be unpacked and understood in development programmes (Shepherd, 1998:149; Williams, 2004:563 and Paul, Miller and Paul, 1994:22). This is important for NGOs, which are looked at as more like the foisting of a foreign culture on the vulnerable people (Igoe and Kelsall, 2004:14).

There is a belief in some societies in Botswana that some people are persistent sorcerers (or witches) with bad medicine which can harm anyone they are jealous of or hate (Barnard, 1979:71). Where people hold to such a belief, they cannot participate in any ventures that are meant to empower them economically. This prevents them from achieving SD, which can be achieved only through a bottom-up rather than a top-down process (Bowers, 1997:204).

As a result of lack of resources, it emerged that some villagers were not provided with sufficient information about Sustainable Development by PTB. They were not made to appreciate the value of sustainability and poverty alleviation. Due to lack of information resulting from lack of financial resources to enable PTB to run a programme for the villagers on Sustainable Development, some of its beneficiaries felt projects such as planting of trees on their yards and running of orchards was worthless. Lack of information on SD also negatively affected the participation of PTB beneficiaries. This confirms the notion that, lack of community participation in projects can be a result of professionals assuming the role of knowledgeable specialists who do not take user's views into account because users do not 'know enough' to make decisions or to learn anything new. In fact, in much of rural development, thinking about participation has remained at a very idealistic and ideological level. It has degenerated into a kind of propaganda word to convince audiences that NGOs and governments have recognised the necessity involving people in development activities (Nelson and Wrights, 2005:197).

In an interviews held on the 23rd October, 2007, four beneficiaries in Khwee settlement, who received trees from PTB, stated that,

> We were surprised when PTB brought trees and taught us to plant and take care of them. It did not make sense to us why PTB brought trees to our settlement when we live in the bush. We do not need trees that should be watered to replace our indigenous trees that have been here for ages. It is just absurd to uproot a tree and plant another one. We are not interested in plants because that is what is slowing our development. Places that are developed like Gaborone (capital city of Botswana) have had trees removed and replaced with tall buildings. That is what we want to happen in our settlement.

PTB beneficiaries started tree planting and orchard projects without attaching any value on them. This situation arose from lack of training, which was brought about by lack of financial resources; which could have enabled PTB to thoroughly run training programmes on sustainability for its beneficiaries.

There has been an increase in calls by environmentalists for natural resources to be preserved. By contrast, modern western-style development is regarded as being symbolised by tall buildings by PTB beneficiaries. This observation resonates with the neo-classical economist view that, depletion of resources is justifiable and rational as long as the benefits from the activities causing depletion are maximized (Barnhoorn, et.al, 1994). It is important to note that, if PTB could have encouraged the participation of its beneficiaries, it could have noticed the bedrock of anti-sustainability convictions that they held. This understanding by PTB would have necessitated thorough training of its beneficiaries, so that they attach value on preserving natural resources for posterity, than to over exploit them in pursuit of short term benefits. It can be argued that, PTB did not change the mindset of its beneficiaries so that they attach value on their environmental resources, than to wish they could be replaced by tall buildings. The perception that PTB beneficiaries had, does not support sustainability, which blames modern development for some of the environmental problems, such as deforestation (Wheeler, 2004:19). The countries that are classified as having realised modern development consume in excess of the basic needs because they understand development primarily in terms of ever increasing material consumption (Baker, 2006:20).

PTB faced another problem that could be attributed to lack of financial resources. The organisation relied on financial resources from Development Agency of the German Government (GTZ) to construct toilets in the village of Paje. The poor people were to be helped through the eco-san pilot project to construct toilets. The toilets were of the special type, which separates urine from faeces, allowing the waste to be used as natural fertilisers and soil conditioners. PTB depended on resources that came from external donors and had no control over them. This resulted in the organisation failing to communicate to poor people in Paje village, who were eligible to benefit, about its financial constraints. PTB ran out of funds before assisting its potential beneficiaries in Paje village. When the funding dried out, they were still some people in the village who were expecting to be provided with the toilets by PTB.

In an interview conducted in 30/10/07 in Paje village, a member of a committee that was charged with the responsibility to identify potential beneficiaries for GTZ funded project echoed that,

> Some villagers showed great interest in acquiring toilets that PTB introduced in the village. PTB indicated that they are useful in preventing diseases that could be caused by human waste contaminating fountains, which feed into boreholes from which water is drawn for human and livestock consumption. Villagers got highly motivated to acquire the toilets because they feared for their lives if they consumed contaminated water. It is pathetic that the villagers do not even know when more toilets would be brought into the village by PTB. In my visit to the office some months ago PTB official indicated that the organisation does not have any financial resources to continue with the project. However, the officials promised that should any funds be secured from the donors, the project will be resumed.

The obvious argument is that availability or lack thereof of resources rests with the donors and not PTB. The NGO does not have resources to continue with its activities, though they are pivotal in protecting the environment. The protection of the environment is important for sustainability, which is a Sustainable Development pillar. Development Agency of the German Government (GTZ) is no longer supporting toilets project. Poor people never anticipated that they would not get toilets, which PTB introduced. PTB projects such as those of housing, gardening and tree planting in other parts of the country were also abandoned due to lack of financial resources. The organisation due to its financial situation

did not visit its beneficiaries to communicate its lack of financial resources to them. Most importantly, it is clear that PTB did not emphasise accountability and transparency when dealing with its beneficiaries. Lack of accountability and transparency does not only lead to faulty policies choices, but can result in people surmising that resources that are meant for their betterment are diverted for benefitting influential people (Lancaster, 1999:27). It can be argued that PTB failure to communicate with its beneficiaries about its impecuniousness will negatively affect its interaction with poor people in the future. This state is unhealthy for PTB because the process of escaping and alleviating poverty is essentially one of interaction as well as action (Munene, Schwartz and Kibanja, 2005:15).

In gathering from what transpired in relation to Paje project, it can be argued that poor people were never informed about the possibility of lack of resources. They were also not told about the power that the donors wield. They laboured under the impression that PTB was awash with resources to provide them with toilets that it introduced. The toilets were introduced by PTB, which clearly shows that it was not the idea that the poor villagers came up with. This points to the problem of many NGOs that are seen as arrogant because they go into communities and tell people how to do things, or do things for them (Shah, 2005:4).

It can be argued that PTB experienced problems in communicating its plans to the people who should benefit from its interventions. PTB is dependent on resources from the donors that act from a powerful economic position. Donors that fund projects hold the most important power; which enable them to decide on whether to provide finance for a project or withhold it. NGOs act of receiving is hedged with conditionality at best; while at worst the gift may become a form of patronage and a means of control (Hilhorst, 2003:193 and Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:72). It is this power that donors hold, which result in some projects getting terminated without knowledge of those who are supposed to benefit from them. When projects are terminated without poor people having knowledge of why that is happening, they blame an NGO and lose trust in it. This defeats empowerment, which came into vogue in response to the situation where people could 'participate' in a project without having the power to decide on the critical issues related to the project (Gergis, 1995:6). What is worth noting is that Southern NGOs are in a very dependent position with respect to the North, from which they are unlikely to escape (Fowler, 1992:19).

In order for PTB to escape from the trap of dependency of donor support, there is need for it to build a constituency of popular support, which is made up of local people and organisations who support its work, in addition to its beneficiaries (Wells, 2001, 74). This is important as it will make sure that even in the absence of funding from the donors, the NGO can continue having good relationship with the people. It can be argued that at the moment, PTB is not only impecunious, but has also tarnished the good relationship that it had with its beneficiaries.

It can be argued that PTB is not independent from donors, which is necessary if it has to promote SD. The NGO has not been able to establish a revenue mix that provides a degree of security through a range of income sources, which is important if it is to be independent. Independence is essential because it allows the organisation to have some sense of security to take the necessary risks to respond to clear needs of the beneficiaries (Wells, 2001:74). For instance, if PTB had resources, it could go back to its beneficiaries and communicate its financial problems to them. The strong argument is that PTB never made its beneficiaries own the projects that it introduced to them, which undermined the sense of ownership. This makes the organisation to be blameworthy, as perceived by its beneficiaries, when projects collapse. The underlying problem echoes the lamentation that, Africa has used borrowed ideas utilised borrowed experiences and funds. In our development programmes and strategies, not much, if anything is ours (The former President of Nigeria General Obasanjo as cited by Lancaster, 1999:3).

In an interview held on the 30th October, 2007, a villager who wanted to have a toilet said,

> PTB provided toilets to some villagers, which we were made to believe was important in preventing the contamination of underground water. We also knew that the toilets were going to provide us with the necessary traditional fertilisers for our orchards. PTB officials have disappeared without explaining to us why we cannot receive the toilets. The organisation is just like government departments and politicians that make a lot of promises, which they never fulfil. We are just treated with contempt by PTB because we are poor. In this country poor people do not matter and are never treated with any respect. PTB officials told us that our fountains were getting contaminated and we accepted their idea of introducing the toilets. Maybe they realised that we do not deserve to drink

safe water. They know that we are poor and do not have money to buy the toilets ourselves.

It is evident that beneficiaries are disgruntled with PTB. They feel the NGO has no respect for them because they are poor. PTB officials are compared with politicians and government officials, who are said to be fond of making empty promises. This is a manifestation of lack of downward accountability, which most NGOs are blamed for (Zaidi as cited by Mercer, 2002:15). The officials who do not fulfil their promises and do not feel they owe poor people any explanation are partly responsible for their continued political disempowerment. For instance, poor people usually feel they are given promises which are never fulfilled because they are worthless. This discourages amongst poor people a sense of self worth, self realisation and confidence. This means they see themselves as not having any capacity to transform their lives on their own, for the better. Helping the poor to help themselves should give them the important gift of self-realisation (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:73), which is an important symbol of empowerment.

It is important to mention that poverty can be alleviated through the efforts of poor people only if they believe that their situation can be ameliorated. They should feel that those organisations that come with interventions are accountable to them and treat them respectably. This is important because there is a feeling that there is a process of convergence towards donors amongst Southern NGOs, which results in increasing upward accountability at the expense of the relationship of the NGOs to their constituencies. This feeling is strongly held among the poor (Hulme and Edwards, 1997:11).

It is indisputable that NGOs in Botswana are no longer receiving resources as it was the case in the 1970s and 1980s. They started experiencing a decline in donor support and undefined government and private sector support at the beginning of the 21st century (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2001:6). This as demonstrated by PTB, has left some projects unfinished, some of which were important for environmental conservation. It is disturbing that PTB has still got unfinished projects at the time when the world is going through recession. This means there is no hope that PTB will have any resources to expend in helping its beneficiaries who are left with unfinished projects. The recession is hitting the flow of money to charities across Sub-Saharan Africa. Organisations are facing tough

choices in an effort to continue desperately needed work. It's not that donors don't want to give, but they don't have as much money as they used to have (Zingarelli, 2009:2).

6.9 Poverty prevalence amongst beneficiaries

There is overwhelming evidence that poverty has not been alleviated amongst majority of those poor people that PTB set out to assist. Despite the organisation having embarked on running some projects for poor people, such as backyard gardens, its beneficiaries are still languishing in poverty. The conditions of those that received chickens, houses and backward gardens did improve, albeit momentarily. This means that PTB beneficiaries are not empowered. People who are empowered can achieve collective goals through self-help and can through their own efforts and by pooling their knowledge, skills and other resources achieve their goals without recourse to an external dependency relationship (Gergis, 1999:6). Most PTB beneficiaries have relapsed into poverty and are leading miserable lives once again.

In an interview conducted on the 06/08/07, a traditional leader in a settlement that received houses, backward gardens and chickens from PTB, with a contorted face, emotionally mentioned that,

> Almost all poor people who got houses, backyard gardens and chickens from PTB are registered by Ministry of Local Government to receive food rations through Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). They are in destitution and cannot do without provisions made under the programme. Some of them have got one roomed dilapidated houses, which were built for them by PTB. They need employment so that they can be economically independent. Poor people cannot improve their socio-economic status by being given resources that they do not work for. PTB and the government made poor people very lazy because they know that even when their projects fail, they will be given handouts. Some of the projects such as backyard gardens were not well looked after by their owners, which led to their failure. PTB should have embarked on programmes to inculcate excellent work ethics on poor people first, before helping them to start projects.

As a confirmation to the above situation, in an interview held on the 10/11/07, a group of four beneficiaries running a garden and poultry project in one of the settlements in Ghanzi area echoed that,

> PTB gave us resources to start a vegetable garden and poultry on a 'trial and error' basis. We did not know what action brought what results. We currently rely on the products from our projects for our livelihood. This situation does not allow us to save financial resources so that we can diversify or expand our projects. We recently appealed to the government for assistance after failing to get help from PTB. We want to buy tools for our garden and re-stock our poultry farm to full capacity. If we do not receive any assistance, you may come back not to find these projects running in two years time.

The approach that PTB necessitated does not provide permanent relief for poor people, who are its beneficiaries. There is doubt whether PTB or those donors from which the former got resources, genuinely wanted to provide Sustainable Development. There is a pragmatic sense in which the difference, meaning having poor and the rich people, is essential if the flow of donations is to continue. Poor and powerless people are essential if the giving is to continue, so that the giver remains in control of those who receive. It has to be noted that, the resources that are given by the donors are a product of precisely the same system of production, exchange, and distribution, which produces poor people in the first place (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:80). It is intriguing that PTB undertook its projects without conducting any assessment of their chances to succeed. For example, when the government or the private sector undertakes to invest on a project, all necessary studies are conducted to determine its chances of success.

The government and the private sector do conduct feasibility analysis and environmental assessments before starting projects. PTB does not undertake the mentioned processes, which are crucial if the future of the project is to be perfectly determined. These assessments are necessary, to establish how resources in an area where the project will be located is going to be affected. For example, environmental assessment can indicate negative impact that the project is likely to have in the environment. This is important for sustainability, which advocates for the prudent use of environmental resources (Thomas, James and Tara-Shelomith, 1995:877 and Baker, 2008:1).

In an interview held on the 21/11/07, an official of PTB did echo that,

> We do not conduct any feasibility analysis, such as resources feasibility, cultural feasibility, operational feasibility and environmental analysis, before we start a project. This does not mean that we do not know the importance of such analysis. We rely on resources from the donors, which do not fund such processes that can enable us to pre-determine the chances of success or failure of our projects. We just mobilise poor people and start projects hoping that everything goes according to plan. Experiences have shown that we could have done better in running projects, if we had secured resources and conducted some feasibility analysis before involving our beneficiaries. For example, PTB did not have a clear evaluation mechanism or yardstick by which it could gauge the impact of its projects on the environment.

PTB embarked on projects without first determining whether they could succeed in alleviating poverty. The organisation did not assess if the projects would add value on sustainability. The donors funded projects that PTB embarked on, without attaching any value on the feasibility analysis. It can be argued that, both PTB and the donors expended resources on a trial and error basic, instead of conducting the necessary assessments, which would have accorded the beneficiaries an opportunity to contribute their experiences. SD can only be realised if people have a right to a say and involvement in the services they use, in the neighbourhoods where they live and the institutions that affect their lives (Beresford and Croft, 1992: x). This means people getting involved in contributing on appraisals of projects that are meant to ameliorate their living conditions.

The relapse of PTB beneficiaries into poverty means the parsimonious use of environmental resources by those people who benefitted from PTB projects cannot be guaranteed. This is because poverty has been and remains a major cause and consequence of environmental degradation and resource depletion (Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, 2002:36).

The failure of NGOs in the South to localise the concept of Sustainable Development is partly responsible for the dominance of NGOs in the North over those in the South. NGOs had been criticised for putting too great emphasis on Northern interests and values in order to attract donations and publicity (Collingwood, 2006:449). In the case of PTB for instance, emphasis was laid in realising the already planned projects, such as the distribution and

construction of German made toilets, than working with the beneficiaries in finding best ways of overcoming their environmental and economic problems. For example, beneficiaries of PTB in Paje village received the toilets that they were not expected to modify or experiment with. It can be argued that as a result of the arrangement the beneficiaries were denied the opportunity to explore their creative abilities. The importation of technologies by PTB served to stultify creative abilities of its beneficiaries, which is disempowering. Entitlements create a dependency attitude, undermine the power of positive thinking of one's own ability and nurture the feeling of helplessness and being disempowered (Gergis, 1999:9).

When resources were channelled through PTB by the donors, they did not bother to find out the state of the ultimate recipients of their resources; neither were they interested in knowing what their resources had done for those that got them. The donors relied on the reports that PTB made and channelled to them. This is a common phenomenon in the relationship between the NGOs in the South and donors in the North. There is normally no recognised system by which the (dis)-satisfaction of those served can be fed back to the funder, except via the NGO itself (Fowler, 1996:62). Donors never actually meet the beneficiaries, making them to be a distance from the ultimate recipients of their assistance (Stirrat and Henkel, 1997:75). Lack of interaction between donors and the poor people, such as those PTB assisted, offers the best explanation for inappropriate projects that failed to alleviate poverty.

In most countries with a history of colonialism, it can be safely stated that the desire to alleviate poverty by both local NGOs and governments have been minimal. When the colonialists left, the leaders that took over decided to maintain the exploitative relations and a stratification system which they inherited and dominated. They decided to firmly discourage demands for redistribution of wealth and for mass participation. Colonial exploitation, neo colonialism and other factors prevented the economies of the newly independent states from immediately generating goods and services of the magnitude necessary to satisfy the expectations of the people (Ake, 1978:90). In the case of Botswana however, the goods and services necessary to satisfy the citizenry are available, it is the mal-distribution of resources that leaves some people in pauperisation.

It can be argued that PTB's efforts of achieving Sustainable Development were placed against a system of development which takes offence against indigenous knowledge systems. For example, poor people are not viewed as having any meaningful ideological contributions to make. Botswana development plan is prepared in London, after forty three years of its independence. In the 2009-2010 budget speech tabled in Botswana Parliament, it was revealed that Botswana paid about £400, 000 to the British company, for the formulation of its National Development Plan 10 (Tsimane, 2009:1). In the past, the government of Botswana addressed poverty through a number of strategies including provision of infrastructure (Gaolathe, 2009:10). The strategies that included provision of infrastructure were contained in the National Development Plans that are formulated by outsiders for Botswana.

There is an interesting connection that can be drawn from here, which is that, both the Botswana Government and PTB employed related approaches in dealing with the problem of poverty. The initiatives that were introduced by PTB were not intended to make poor people function on their own after the interventions. The inclination is to provide poor people with ready packaged provisions, such as houses by PTB and food rations by the government. This arrangement does not accord poor people both political and economic empowerment. They become dependent on institutions and organisations not only for resources, but for decisions as well. An interesting observation is that NGOs, such as PTB, like their beneficiaries, rely on pre-packaged resources from donors that do not allow them to take appropriate measures for their interventions to succeed. For example, even though PTB wanted to conduct pre-implementation assessment, it could not refuse resources that did not allow it to do that.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis has brought some interesting points to the fore, which forms an elaborate conclusion. The conclusion that is drawn from this chapter will add value to the entire thesis because of its readiness to single out those limitations that impeded PTB in its drive to realise Sustainable Development. It emerged that PTB imported a concept that informed its decisions namely: Permaculture, from Australia. The concept was adopted, and

without providing an opportunity for the beneficiaries to have an input on it, PTB imposed the concept on them. PTB did not create a platform for participatory evaluation of the concept to allow its beneficiaries to modify it for their respective contexts. It would be certainly fair to describe the situation as having made PTB beneficiaries depend on the NGO for guidance in implementation of the concept. It can be concluded that this kind of arrangement resulted in PTB limiting participation of its beneficiaries in decision making, implementation and evaluation of its projects.

PTB received resources from its donors, which were meant to start projects to alleviate poverty. The donors that funded PTB projects, such as backyard gardens, did not provide financial resources for processes that are necessary, such as feasibility studies. Instead, they provided resources, which they expected the organisation to pass to the people to improve their lives. This arrangement exacted pressure on PTB to start projects without any knowledge on how they were likely to perform. PTB did not conduct cultural feasibility, which would have unearthed traditional beliefs that militated against the success of its interventions, such as the fear of witchcraft by its beneficiaries. PTB did not involve its beneficiaries in making decisions on how poverty can be alleviated in their communities, so that they do not depend on the NGO for decisions. PTB did not demystify the process of poverty alleviation, which would have made its beneficiaries to appreciate the power that they hold in ameliorating their socio-economic status.

Some beneficiaries of PTB projects felt the organisation was not intending to alleviate poverty, as it did not complete some of its projects. This situation occurred because PTB relied on resources that it had no control over. It can therefore be concluded that dependency of PTB on resources from the donors made it difficult for the organisation to realise Sustainable Development. Reportedly, some PTB beneficiaries have already relapsed into poverty because they had not been elevated to an economic position where they can be on their own. It is observed that even where the beneficiaries had their socio-economic status ameliorated, such level of achievement cannot be sustained.

PTB relied on the government to formulation policies which had direct bearing on its activities. This arrangement undermined its capacity to influence them so as to empower its beneficiaries. The NGO served interests of the Government of Botswana at the expense of

its beneficiaries. This can be exemplified by PTB's inability to involve Basarwa in the planning of their projects, which denied it an opportunity to get some useful information from them. It can be concluded that PTB did not stand in unison with poor Basarwa who wanted to challenge the annexing of their land by the government. The land was taken by the government and given to the cattle barons who are not members of Basarwa community.

The beneficiaries were not given information on Sustainable Development as a concept. Lack of understanding of the concept by PTB beneficiaries left them without knowledge of what the organisation wanted them to achieve politically and economically. It can be concluded that lack of knowledge on Sustainable Development by the beneficiaries limited their capacity to make decisions to enhance its achievement.

It has emerged that some of the projects ran contrary to what the beneficiaries wanted, which led to them getting less motivated to continue with them when the NGO disappeared. It can be concluded that the Government of Botswana is anti sustainability, as evidenced by cordon fencing, which resulted in the mortality of wild animals. It is concluded that this situation is antagonistic to any efforts to realise Sustainable Development by PTB. The NGO did not challenge this anti sustainable stance because it benefitted from government resources.

PTB serves as a good example of an NGO that due to its dependency entertained being engaged by the government, which made the organisation to take instructions from the government. The engagement of PTB by the government made the organisation undertake activities that are informed by policies, which militates against Sustainable Development. For instance, the government formulated policies such as National Wildlife Management Policy (NWMP), which rapaciously seized financial resources and their control from PTB beneficiaries. This undermined efforts that communities that received PTB's assistance could have employed to realise both political and economic empowerment. The demand by the government for a 65% levy from tourism projects such as MOLEMA Community Trust, take from the communities resources that they could use to alleviate poverty. It is clear that efforts by PTB to alleviate poverty amongst its beneficiaries were against bedrock of lack of political will to achieve Sustainable Development by the government.

It came to light that, PTB abandoned some of the projects, leaving its beneficiaries feeling betrayed and tantalised. It was found out that due to lack of resources that the organisation has full control over, it did not have knowledge of when the assistance will end. PTB was not in constant and continued communication with its beneficiaries due to lack of resources. As a result, its beneficiaries feel the organisation despised them because they are economically and politically disempowered. The beneficiaries are of the view that the organisation left them without any explanation because they do not deserve to be treated in a dignified manner. This situation would in the future make it difficult or impossible for PTB to win back the support of poor people in areas where it operated.

Most of PTB beneficiaries as it emerged are registered as destitutes. They are registered by the Ministry of Local government under Social and Community Development programme (S&CD) and Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). This brings us to the conclusion that PTB has not been able to achieve Sustainable Development because its beneficiaries are still languishing in poverty. Poverty still defines the existence of PTB beneficiaries, which means they will continue to denudate resources in their areas for their survival. This brings us to the conclusion that PTB had not achieved sustainability.

Chapter 7

7. 1 Conclusions and recommendations

7.2 Introduction

This section of the thesis demonstrates that NGOs face problems that make it difficult for them to economically and politically empower poor people. These problems range from interference by governments on their work, to massive influences that get obtruded on them by the donors that fund their projects. What is clear is that Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and concepts that they stand for, such as Sustainable development, are exotic to most communities that they serve. Put simply, NGOs are structures that come

to poor communities within developing countries, such as in Botswana, with pre-conceived ideas that they serve to impose on poor people who are their beneficiaries. This arrangement is partly influenced by the fact that NGOs in Botswana, as well as in other developing countries, do not have capacity to conduct their own research. Instead, they rely on International Non Governmental Organisations and governments for approaches and strategies for development. What is axiomatic at the end of the day is that, developing countries are faced with economic and political challenges that most approaches and strategies are failing to overcome.

The three cases that are used in this study indicate that Sustainable Development has not been able to hold strongly to the important pillars namely: participation, accountability, empowerment and sustainability. Participation in decision making of poor people, which is necessary for economic and political empowerment proved to have been stultified. It is this arrangement that is partly responsible for the continued dependence of poor people on NGOs to provide for their needs. Where participation was promoted, it was often based on already formulated objectives and programmes, which undermined people's ability to generate their own strategies to overcome their own economic and political problems.

This section will demonstrate that it is indisputable that women are marginalised in Botswana, just as they are in any other patriarchal societies. Despite this reality, Sustainable Development inspired interventions did not promote the empowerment of women who are both politically and economically disempowered. Even where women were given opportunities to improve their socio-economic status through income generating activities, such as in the case of PTB, that was not done with their full involvement in deciding what is suitable for them. Such interventions were also undertaken without first providing some education to overcome marginalisation of women and other minority groups such as Basarwa. For example, traditional leaders were not educated about the importance of participation of women in those activities that are geared towards both economic and political empowerment of the marginalised.

What surfaced in the thesis, which forms some conclusion, is that the parsimonious utilisation of resources was promoted amongst the poor community members. However, it was not done through the empowerment of the people to take charge of their own resources.

This left beneficiaries of the NGOs without the required power to prevent exploitation of their resources by outsiders.

7.3 Sustainable development participation and accountability compromise

It is interesting to note that Sustainable Development is a concept that some NGOs take to mean alleviation of poverty and parsimonious use of resources, so that they can also be enjoyed by future generations. As a result of this understanding, NGOs that are fighting against poverty and environmental deterioration claim that they are inspired by the concept of Sustainable Development. What is important to note is that Sustainable Development is a concept that is not always applied with the required level of commitment by those who claim to be inspired by it. It is evident that NGOs in Botswana gathering from the cases that were studied, did not promote active participation of their beneficiaries in deciding on how they want to alleviate poverty. The NGOs did adopt already formulated strategies which were then imposed on the economically and politically disempowered community members. They are cases where beneficiaries were allowed to participate. Even then, they were allowed to participate on activities that were brought to them by the experts, which amount to imposition of decisions on them. This manifestation does confirm Rocheleau's observation as noted in the literature review section of this study, where the author points out that participation can be a wolf in sheep's clothing, a vehicle for a new form of manipulation. When participation is not allowed with the genuine interest of empowering those who participate, it only serves to promote dependency as the case studies have demonstrated. Dependency on the other side is not compatible with Sustainable Development because it means that those who are uplifted from poverty, for instance, cannot take responsibility of making decisions in a dynamic economic and political climate that ushers challenges from time to time.

Poor people who are submerged on dependency can only rely on resources that are produced for them and not on those produced through their own efforts. As it was shown in the case study chapters, it is clear that poor people were never empowered both economically and politically, so as to determine their own destinies. Instead, they were

made to rely on external forces, such as the government and NGOs, to meet their exigencies. Where some recognisable economic improvement was realised, there were no sound mechanism to guarantee that such amelioration could be sustained. In the contrary, they were indications that when left on their own beneficiaries could relapse into their former state of economic marginalisation. This is in the light of an observation that they were not politically empowered to generate their own decisions, which they can actualise on their own.

The NGOs demonstrated in the case studies that, they did not provide strategies by which they can withdraw their support so as to allow their beneficiaries to rely on their own resources. This was influenced by their own economic and political dependency on resources that they received from the donors in the North. It is evident that, NGOs in Botswana do not have both economic and political power required to achieve Sustainable Development because they do not participate in decision making forums at both national and international levels. This situation leaves them as incapacitated as their beneficiaries because they do not make important decisions.

The participation of ordinary people in decision making is important if SD is to be achieved. As echoed by Mosse in the literature review chapter of this thesis, the form of participation that is appropriate for Sustainable Development should be informed by the view that people have a right to a say and involvement in the services they use, neighbourhood where they live and the institutions that affect them. This means that Sustainable Development should have explicitly defined the form of participation that is necessary for accomplishing poverty alleviation and parsimonious utilisation of environmental resources. The misconception that disempowered people will always be willing and ready to participate when given a chance to, did influence NGOs in Botswana on their endeavour to realise SD. This led to NGOs starting their projects before first embarking on the education of the people on effective participation strategies, which is important if SD is to be realised.

Botswana is a patriarchal society that marginalises women. This form of marginalisation undermines and limits the function of women in both the political and economic sectors, mostly in rural areas where cultural practices that promote the discrimination of women are

still strongly held. It is evident gathering from the case studies that, women were not empowered first politically so that they can participate in decision making that is directed towards poverty alleviation. However, it has to be noted with appreciation that, PTB did arrange some income generating project that was specifically meant to empower women economically. However, this was not accompanied by political empowerment programmes that would have promoted the participation of women in the decision making arena. It is important to note that, the generation of income by women does not directly translate into making them have control over their resources. For example, women can generate economic resources only for their male partners to have control over them. The male partners can misuse such resources because they do have power over their female partners. This situation is reinforced through inculcation of values that are economically and politically disempowering for women. It is concluded that, the NGOs in Botswana that are inspired by Sustainable Development did not first empower themselves about the social dynamics that could promote or impede their efforts to ameliorate the living conditions of poor people, before starting projects. For example, they ignored the power relations that prevail between men and women, which should be understood within the development industry, if both economic and political empowerment is to be achieved.

The other problem that made it impossible for NGOs in Botswana to realise SD is that they ignored some important power dynamics within communities. For example, PTB which is captured in the preceding chapter ignored the issue of ethnicity that is highly pivotal in Botswana's societal structures and power relations. The participation of certain minorities such as Basarwa communities cannot be realised without first equipping them with knowledge for transformation. This should be done with the aim of politically empowering them to assess and utilise information that can enable them to make informed decisions. As noted by Mompati and Prinsen, in the literature review chapter of this study, in Botswana, participation in the 'sense of having a say' in decision making process may be restricted, where only members of the dominant ethnic groups in heterogeneous societies are allowed to make decisions. Where outsiders succeed in involving poor people in local development processes, there may be reprisals against them for defying the status quo. It should be noted that, NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development do not have a clearly defined approach that they can employ to overcome situations where their interventions are restricted due to either ethnic differences or any other social relations. They are also most

often than not, unwilling to define development as a political process that requires policies that are antagonistic to non-democratic ways in decision making. These are those that ostracise people on the basis of their ethnicity.

7.4 Lack of Sustainable Development inspired policies and strategies

The NGOs did not only rely on resources that were provided in form of assistance by the International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs). They also relied for decisions, policies and concepts from the same sources. This politically incapacitated them and made them fail to formulate together with their potential beneficiaries, those strategies that could have been context specific due to customisation. Sustainable Development did not have specifically designed policies to address problems of poverty and environmental deterioration in Botswana communities. This limitation allowed the government to formulate policies that served to undermine efforts by the rural communities to have full control of their environmental resources, as indicated in chapter six of this study. The mentioned problem was also compounded by lack of policies and the political will on the side of the NGOs and the government, to account to the communities on matters regarding their resources. For example, people were never educated to be able to know how they can parsimoniously use their resources. Sustainable Development does not have strategies that clearly spell out how resources should be parsimoniously utilised by communities that are submerged in poverty. This ignores the reality that rural communities are dependent for their survival on those resources that are within their milieus. The concept does not provide a solution to a reigning conflict between parsimonious utilisation of resources and the ever increasing demand for more resources for economic development.

Sustainable Development requires that, supportive policies be formulated to promote the empowerment of poor people, who in most instances are rendered powerless by those powers that are responsible for the exploitation of their resources. It came to light as indicated by the three case studies that, the policies that the government of Botswana formulated worked against Sustainable Development because they were imposed on the people. This made it difficult for poor people to exercise their agency in order to get both

politically and economically empowered. As indicated in a case of PTB, some of the government policies undermined the interventions that were introduced because people resented the imposition. For instance, the government of Botswana introduced a policy that resulted in the death of wildlife due to erection of fences to cordon livestock areas. It can therefore be concluded that, NGOs in Botswana do not receive support from the government as they should if they are to realise SD. This is so because of the exercise of power that the government has in formulating policies, which often ostracise the NGOs that are inspired by the Sustainable Development concept. The power to exclude NGOs from policy formulation is often justified through legitimacy that the government receives from the people through an election. For example, the government of Botswana is elected by the people and therefore mandated to make policies, and yet NGOs that operate in the country are not elected by the people and therefore not supposed to make policies.

It is important to indicate that despite the government of Botswana pronouncement to support Sustainable Development, there is sufficient evidence to the contrary. The government demonstrated its opposition against NGOs because of their awareness rising against government policies, mostly on environmental matters. The case of CORDE provides an excellent example of such antagonism by the government. The government as indicated on chapter five, needed to dredge a river in the North Western side of Botswana, which met disapproval from the people. The government then blamed CORDE and other NGOs for such resistance by communities that sourced their livelihood from the river. It is obvious that the relationship that the government has with NGOs can only be disempowering for the latter. It is clear that the relationship between CORDE and the government of Botswana is characterised by instructions and resources from the government to CORDE. This relationship further distances the NGO from its beneficiaries because it does not rely on SD, which is supposed to foster empowerment and participation of the people.

It is clear that NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development do not have any strategies on how they should relate to development agents such as governments. In knowing of this limitation, governments usually take advantage of the situation, which results in them instructing and resourcing NGOs. This process is disempowering because the NGOs compromise on their autonomy and get submerged on dependency.

The NGOs as indicated in chapter five of this thesis, do face difficulties resulting from their impecuniousness, which means they are economically disempowered. This condition by extension makes them politically disempowered, which lessens their capacity to advocate for better economic conditions for their beneficiaries against governments. The other related problem is that activities of NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development in Botswana, as indicated in the three cases studies, are disjointed and not coordinated, which entices the government into imposing its agenda on them. For example, if Sustainable Development had coordinating bodies at both national and international levels, it was going to be difficult for governments to undermine efforts by NGOs to alleviate poverty and promote the parsimonious utilisation of natural resources. Most importantly, NGOs were going to become more accountable to their beneficiaries because that would be contained on the policy framework, which would be formulated specifically for those organisations that are inspired by Sustainable Development. As observed in the three case studies, NGOs account to their donors and do not account to their beneficiaries as they should, if they are to politically empower them. It is concluded that lack of approaches that places accountability as key in enhancing SD, is partly responsible for the continued disempowerment of those people that NGOs that are inspired by SD seek to empower.

The beneficiaries on the other hand do not account to NGOs on resources that they receive from them through projects. They do not also account for environmental resources that are under their care, which they should parsimoniously utilise so that they do not deteriorate or get extinct. This is important if environmental resources are to be sustained for the benefit of future generations.

It is concluded that Sustainable Development is still marred with some confusion because it means different things to different people. As indicated in the first chapter, some people still use Sustainable Development and sustainability interchangeably. This is compounded by the absence of explicit literature that distinguishes Sustainable Development from sustainability. It is also clear that Sustainable Development does not have a clear evaluation strategy for those NGOs that undertake to alleviate poverty and protect environmental resources. A strategy on how resources should be saved owing to their importance in supporting communities remains very important. For example, developing countries need

resources for their development and yet SD requires that they should be saved for future generations.

It is clear that Sustainable Development does not comprehensibly provide an answer pertaining to what qualifies as parsimonious utilisation of resources. The concept does not even pronounce which resources should be saved, by who and how? It is in the light of this limitation that some authors such as Adams, as indicated in chapter one, dismiss Sustainable Development as a watchword for international aid agencies, the jargon of development planners, the theme for conferences and learned papers, and a slogan of developmental and environmental activists. It is its inability to provide some strategies that could be employed by those who are inspired by SD to transform communities that are submerged in poverty, that has reduced Sustainable Development into nothing more than a mere catchphrase.

7.5 Lack of economic and political empowerment amongst the beneficiaries

The three case studies have succeeded in demonstrating that Sustainable Development has not empowered NGOs in dealing with poverty and environmental issues in Botswana. This can partly be blamed on the concept not providing resources that are necessary for the education of the NGOs about the concept. It is important to indicate that they are two layers of dependency. Firstly, there is dependency of NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development on resources from INGOs and the government. Secondly, there is dependency of poor people on resources that NGOs in Botswana receive from INGOs and the government. These two forms of dependency have disempowering effects on NGOs and poor community members alike. It is clear that even after resources were made available to ameliorate the socio-economic status of poor people in Botswana, such individuals have not developed to a level that they can rely on their resources without outside assistance.

It has to be noted that, situations exist where some economic improvements were registered, such as in some cases that received assistance from CORDE and SBDT. However, it cannot be said with some degree of certainty that those individuals and groups

that were uplifted cannot relapse into poverty. This is because they do not have sound strategies to compete on their own, as evidenced by their ever growing appeal for assistance from the aforementioned NGOs. It is also conclusive that some beneficiaries did not receive the necessary skills so that they can function without having to rely on the NGOs. A good example is that of PTB, which constitutes chapter six of this thesis. The NGO did not provide its beneficiaries with the necessary skills so that they can employ them in the renovation of their houses, which the NGO constructed for them. It is important to mention that provision of skills to poor people is important in empowering them, as they can use such skills outside the confines of a project. This is necessary for SD because as indicated by both Bartle and Gergis in the literature review section of this thesis, people should be able to meet their basic necessities as this qualifies as self-empowerment, which is core of any real empowerment. It is important to indicate that self-empowerment is pivotal in enhancing SD because it eliminates dependency.

It is important to note that beneficiaries in some cases were provided with important skills by the NGOs, as indicated in the three cases. However, necessary skills and knowledge that is required for the transfer of such skills to coming generations by the beneficiaries were not provided. This translates to mean that since such skills will not be transferred, they will over time be forgotten.

Connected to the above observation, there is evidence that beneficiaries are using their skills for their own benefit and not necessarily for the benefit of the whole community, as indicated by a beneficiary of SBDT in an interview. This means that skills and resources that could alleviate poverty in the whole community are now used for the benefit of people at individual level. These individualistic tendencies are not helpful in enhancing intentions that are necessary for SD, namely, alleviation of poverty and parsimonious use of resources at community level. It is clear that, NGOs that were inspired by Sustainable Development formed groups and started projects without embarking first on knowledge provision on group dynamics and conflict resolution amongst the members. When conflicts emerge the members do not have capacity to handle them, which results in groups' failure. It is important to note that, SD can only succeed where collective efforts are cherished and acquired skills and knowledge provided to individuals is used to benefit the entire community.

It is worth noting that, some beneficiaries are still in abject poverty because the interventions that were supposed to transform their lives never achieved their intended objectives. For example, Basarwa communities are still submerged in abject poverty despite PTB having attempted to ameliorate their socio-economic status. Most of the projects that were necessitated for them, such as backyard gardens, have since collapsed because they were never run profitably so as to sustain themselves. This can be attributed to lack of research by NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development. It is indisputable that feasibility studies would have provided some useful information on how the projects were likely to perform. This would have evoked necessary action from the NGOs to avoid foreseeable problems, some of which have made their beneficiaries to remain in a state of desolation. This state resulted from the collapse and near collapse of projects that were run by both PTB and CORDE.

The other problem is that Basarwa never developed a sense of ownership of the projects that PTB started for them; this is because they wanted rearing of wild animals as opposed to what PTB obtruded on them. It can be concluded that some of the projects that were introduced by NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development in Botswana were never internalised and owned by the beneficiaries because they clutched with their interests and cultures. Most importantly, some of projects were viewed as supporting plans by the government, which are economically and politically disempowering for poor people such as Basarwa.

As indicated in an interview that was conducted with PTB beneficiaries, it came to light that Basarwa felt PTB was in connivance with the government in annexing their resources, namely, land and wild animals. These are resources that are necessary for poverty alleviation and both economic and political empowerment. Lack of research to understand communities on which interventions are introduced, make it difficult or impossible for NGOs to foresee problems that can militate against their interventions. This also explains why NGOs do not pass knowledge and skills generated through research to their beneficiaries.

It is disturbing that poor people have generally lost trust towards NGOs, which is going to make it difficult in the future for communities to establish any form of camaraderie with them. It is important to indicate that, NGOs are not trusted because they used resources that they did not have any control over. This resulted in them failing to fulfil some promises that they made to poor people, such as in the case of PTB in the preceding chapter.

The NGOs that are inspired by Sustainable Development in Botswana have not been able to alleviate poverty, which makes people rely on environmental resources for their survival. The other problem also is that, all stakeholders that subscribe to SD, such as INGOs, NGOs and governments in former colonies have not acquired both economic and political power that is necessary to instigate legislations against powerful corporations. It is these corporations that denudate resources for their gargantuan markets demands, which militates against SD. It is concluded that aforementioned stakeholders though inspired by SD, are not able to successfully promote and actualise the important pillars of SD, namely: Participation, Empowerment, Accountability and Sustainability (PEAS). The graph below identified as figure 2, shows how the pillars should have been brought together to add value on Sustainable Development. Most importantly, the graph clearly shows the difference between sustainability and SD, which will go a long way in clearing the confusion that obtains between the terms.

Finally, it is hoped that this study might have highlighted some very important dilemmas and contradictions that mar SD. The study has also highlighted problems that NGOs contend with in their attempt to realise SD, which are responsible for their failures in actualising the concept.

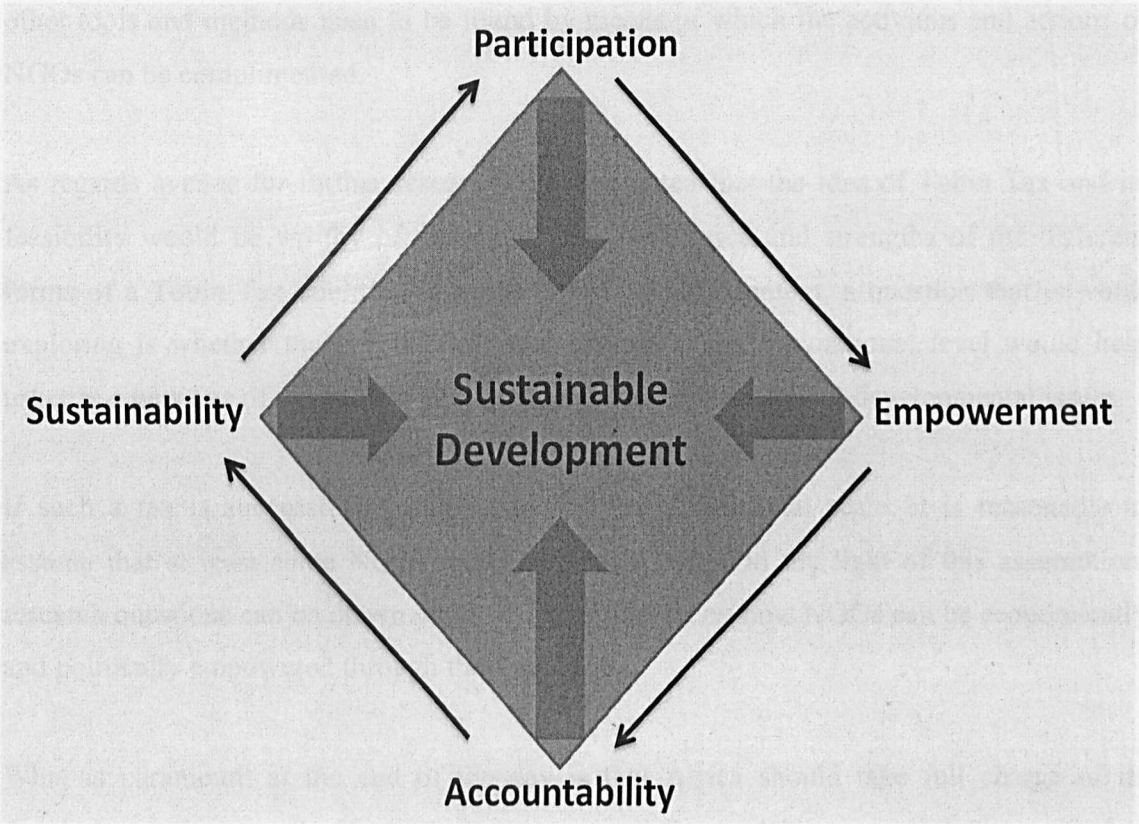

Figure 2 (PEAS model for Sustainable Development)

7.6 Recommendations and Research avenues

This study attempted to find out the impact NGOs had on Sustainable Development in Botswana. It was conducted circumspectly and all necessary research procedures that were followed are presented and justified. This provides an opportunity for other researchers to replicate the study if they so wish. For example, a similar study can be undertaken in any developing country within and outside Africa, where NGOs employ Sustainable Development as a concept in their attempts to ameliorate the living conditions of people who are leading wretched lives.

As to NGOs, this research has amongst its findings found out that room for influencing the environment in which NGOs operate is quite restricted. Therefore, their possible scope of activities and aid action is limited. For this reason, this research would like to propose that

other tools and methods need to be found by means of which the activities and actions of NGOs can be complimented.

As regards avenue for further research, it is suggested that the idea of Tobin Tax and its feasibility would be worthy of attention. The weaknesses and strengths of the different forms of a Tobin Tax could be examined. Also, in this context, a question that is worth exploring is whether the introduction of a Tobin Tax on international level would help usher in a new age of worldwide inter governmental cooperation on developmental issues.

If such a tax is successfully implemented on an international scale, it is reasonable to assume that at least some NGOs could be beneficiaries. In the light of this assumption, research questions can be drawn with particular interest on how NGOs can be economically and politically empowered through the Tobin Tax.

What is paramount at the end of the day is that Africa should take full charge of its development than to rely ideologically on external forces. Where external forces provide resources, they should not in the same breathe provide ideas on how such resources should be utilised. Simply put, resources for development of Africa can come from sources such as Tobin tax, but ideas on how such resources should be expended on African development should come from Africans themselves. By Africans we mean those people in the continent whose lives are wretched, not those whose lives betray the realities of African poverty and suffering. There is indisputably a need for invention, creativity, innovation and adaption on the side of Africans, if the continent is to wake up from its slumber of dependency, so as to succeed in its development. This means the continent should not be lagging behind on discourses that are essential for its development. This alert calls for Africa to participate fully on discussions that pertains to the idea of the introduction of the Tobin Tax. What follows in this thesis is the bibliography section. Importantly, items contained in the bibliography are both those that were used in this thesis, as well as those that influenced the discussion generated in this thesis.

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9. Interviews

SBDT

Beneficiary in Serowe village (elderly man) interviewed on the 30/08/07.

Elderly farmer who served in SBDT committee, interviewed on the 22/10/07.

First trainee at SBDT interviewed on the 20/08/07.

Former Boiteko cooperative member, interviewed on the 21/10/07.

Former cooperative volunteer, interviewed on the 22/10/07.

Former employee of brigades, interviewed on the 20/09/07.

Former SBDT and Boiteko Cooperative beneficiary, interviewed on the 15/09/07.

Former SBDT board member, interviewed on the 10/10/07.

Founding member of SBDT was interviewed on the 13/07/07.

New graduate, interviewed on the 21/09/07.

Pioneer of brigades in Botswana, interviewed on the 13/08/07.

Retired beneficiary (A), interviewed on the 22/04/07.

Retired beneficiary (B), interviewed on the 14/09/07.

SBDT administrator, interviewed on the 10/10/07.

SBDT beneficiaries who got government support and started a project, group interviewed on the 21/09/07.

SBDT beneficiary of the 1980s, interviewed on the 20/08/07.

SBDT brigades manager, interviewed on the 15/08/07.

SBDT graduate and business group representative, interviewed on the 11/10/07.

SBDT graduate and business owner was interviewed on the 07/09/07.

SBDT graduate and former cooperative member, interviewed on the 14/09/07.

SBDT officer (A) interviewed on the 10/09/07.

SBDT officer (B), interviewed on the 10/09/07.

SBDT officer responsible for financial resources, interviewed on the 20/08/07.

SBDT project members Group interview held on the 11/10/07.

SBDT senior official managing one of the brigades, interviewed on the 21/10/07.
SBDT senior official was interviewed on the 10/09/07.

Self employed beneficiary of SBDT, interviewed on the 14/09/07.

CORDE

Community project members, group interviewed on the 28/07/07.

CORDE board member who runs an enterprise that received assistance, interviewed on the 27/07/07.

CORDE community enterprise group members, group interviewed on the 10/07/07.

CORDE official, interviewed on the 23/07/07.

CORDE regional board member, interviewed on the 14/08/07.

CORDE senior official, interviewed on the 23/07/07.

Horticultural project members, group interviewed on the 06/08/07.

Members of livestock and orchard projects, group interviewed on the 13/08/07.

Senior officer of a project, group interviewed on the 20/07/07.

Senior project members, group interviewed on the 10/07/07.
Three CORDE board members, interviewed separately on the 23/07/07.

PTB

An officer, interviewed on the 21/11/07.

Basarwa beneficiaries, group interviewed on the 08/11/07.

Basarwa community senior member, interviewed on the 31/10/07.

East Hanahai beneficiary, interviewed on the 31/10/07.

Field officer, Ghanzi office, interviewed on the 16/08/07.

Field officer, interviewed on the 31/10/07.

Ghanzi garden and poultry projects members, group interviewed on the 10/11/07.

Khwee settlement beneficiaries, group interviewed on the 23/10/07.

Mathatane Village community member, interviewed on the 19/10/07.

MOLEMA committee members, group interviewed on the 19/10/07.

Mosarwa woman beneficiary, interviewed on the 16/08/07.

Paje village member who benefitted from GTZ funded project, interviewed on the 30/10/07.

PTB beneficiaries in Kaudwane settlement, group interviewed on the 06/08/07.

PTB potential beneficiary, interviewed on the 30/10/07.

PTB senior officer, interviewed on the 04/08/07.

PTB senior officer, interviewed on the 20/11/07.

Senior officer based in Kaudwane, interviewed on the 7/11/07.

Senior officer of Gang-O-community Trust, interviewed on the 20/10/07.