

TOWARDS A COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT FRAMEWORK FOR REMOTE AREA COMMUNITIES IN BOTSWANA

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Acknowledgement

I wish to thank my wife, Kedirile Sesenye Motlhabane for loving me and having accorded me a chance to undertake my studies especially considering that the studies took up some of her quality time and that of our children.

I thank my mother, Boitshepo Mogotsi *ne* Motlhabane, who took care of me from my childhood and exposing me to opportunities through the schools which she sent me to. She has always been there to provide me the support that enabled me to achieve my dream. The pillar of my studies was my Supervisor, Professor Estelle De Beer. I wish to thank her tremendously for providing me regular guidance throughout the whole research process. Prof De Beer's input was highly invaluable. Her patience provided me a shoulder to rely on. Throughout, she was there for me and the motivation she provided was outstanding.

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Dedication

I dedicate this study to my son Jason Kalaame Motlhabane. Jason grew up as a self-driven child disciplined young boy specifically on matters of education and social life. As a result of his commitment and hard work, he scored very high marks for his secondary education. However, whilst in pursuit of his Cambridge advanced level which was to accord him placement in some best universities abroad, a tragedy happened, he had a health challenge. The dedication is to appreciate the challenges he experienced and the coping strength he adopted.

I am delighted to see Jason getting stronger day by day and as an encouragement, I say to him:

‘You are a fighter and I see you being victorious. I love you my son, just keep on keeping on. The best for you is to come’.

My dedication also goes to other people around the world who are experiencing similar health challenges at most critical times. I encourage them to strive through sickness because they are bound to subsequently achieve their potential.

Abstract

Current land use conflicts between the Basarwa (Bushmen) and the Botswana Government over access to the Moremi Game Reserve and the use of resources found in it, provide opportunities and challenges for all the stakeholders involved. This thesis seeks to understand the efforts of the Botswana Government to involve the Khwai community in wildlife and tourism usage in the Okavango Delta. An assessment of community - government consultation processes were carried out to establish the impact of the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) on the livelihoods of the Basarwa.

A qualitative research study was used to obtain and interpret rich data sets. Data were collected through interviews with key informants, particularly Government decision-makers, Khwai village leadership and NGOs. The findings were used to develop a theoretical framework to strengthen future initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa.

The research problem explores how the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana can be actively engaged and involved in the social and economic development efforts that address their livelihood, needs and interests.

In conclusion, this thesis emphasises that minority communities in Botswana should be involved in decision-making processes of policy-makers, so that their voices and views can influence sustainability programmes with the purpose of creating empowering opportunities. The paper contributes to research on community involvement in the African context, which has been limited thus far. It also serves as a basis for the development of potential communication strategy tools and for future scientific research on the topic.

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ACRONYMS

BDP - Basarwa Development Programme

CHAs - Controlled Hunting Areas

CKGR - Central Kalahari Game Reserve

CP - Community participation

DWNP - Department of Wildlife and National Parks

EDD - Economic Development Drive

EPF - Economic Promotion Fund

FPK - First People of the Kalahari

NORAD - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

OECD - Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development

RADP - Remote Area Development Programme

RDD - Remote Area Development

SI - Survival International

WMA - Wildlife Management Areas

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Citizens play an important part and have a responsibility when participating in decision-making processes with public bodies and the government that affect their community welfare. As such, communication in this context can be treated as a yardstick towards effective policy-making and public participation for particular community services and government developmental programmes. Communication, therefore, does not only help open up new ideas on sustainability and how policy is formulated, but also exposes issues that need to be addressed. From this perspective, the needs and values of the communities can be enshrined in the decision-making processes with the purpose of creating community empowering opportunities. This sentiment is shared by the Strategic Framework of Community Development in Botswana (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, August 2010).

Though there are growing interests internationally on the need for people to participate in the formulation and implementation of policies through governance, it needs to be noted that the ability for a community to be engaged in decisions that affect their environment and livelihoods can be determined by the willingness and approaches of government officials' community engagement, as well as efforts through community participation. The field of communication science, specifically developmental communication, geared towards the fulfilment of human potential, can shed light on this aspect.

The current communication strategies of the Basarwa proved to be ineffective as it reflected that the implementation for the Basarwa community has historically been problematic due to a number of constraints such as poor administrative coordination, ineffectiveness of extension workers and lack of defined goals and targets. This thesis, therefore, seeks to evaluate the Botswana Government's community involvement approaches when carrying out the implementation of community service

delivery programmes for remote area dwellers such as the Basarwa (The San), an area marginalised ethnic group in Botswana. An assessment of community - government consultation processes was carried out to establish the impact of the Botswana Government Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) on the livelihoods of the Basarwa. Subsequently, a community involvement framework was developed to ensure that they are not just consulted, but are active participants in the decisions that affect their livelihoods. The thesis, therefore, aims to provide a theoretical contribution in the form of a conceptual framework that could strengthen the initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa and other remote area dweller communities.

The research is informed by a proposed *Community Involvement Framework for Remote Area Communities in Botswana* and the dominant themes that emerged to address this study are: *involvement in financial development, involvement in social development and involvement in environmental development*. The exclusion of community participation in decision-making processes that hampers the ideals of sustainable development brings about engagement and involvement of the public as essential towards encouraging community participation and ensuring that the communities' needs are considered throughout the decision process.

The Botswana Government's programme of socio-economic and political development of people living in remote areas was carried out through the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), which was launched in 1974. The RADP was then replaced by the Basarwa Development Programme (BDP) of 1978. However, the BDP was considered separatist since it excluded other ethnic groups that lived in the same remote areas as the Basarwa and were of the same socio-economic status as the Basarwa (Maribe, 2003).

Therefore, the main objective of the RADP was to promote the social, political, economic and cultural development of all people living in harsh remote areas, irrespective of their ethnicity (Maribe, 2003). This was done with the objective of enabling people living in remote areas to equally benefit from the economic growth of

Botswana. Maribe (2003) notes that specific objectives of the RADP include the following: intensifying development of remote settlements in order to bring them on par with other villages in the country; promoting production oriented income and employment generating activities; promoting social, cultural and economic advancement of remote communities; and enhancing their access to land. Based on these objectives, the Botswana Government has set limits through the National Settlement Policy of 1998, upon which socio-economic development, particularly social services such as schools, health facilities, roads, and tribal administration, can be provided. Through the RADP, scattered and small settlements were encouraged to group together to form one village in order to benefit from government resources. The Botswana Government approached the socio-economic and political development of the Basarwa through this model; hence there were relocation of a few Basarwa communities living in scattered small settlements into a few big settlements. They relocated the Basarwa from the six settlements in the CKGR to form the two settlements of Kaudwane and New Xade outside the Game Reserve. Nine Basarwa settlements were, furthermore, relocated from Moremi Game Reserve to form the Gudigwa Village (Bolaane, 2004; Taylor, 2002). The Khwai community was formed in 1964 when the Kwere family was moved to the north bank of the Khwai River between the Moremi Game Reserve and Chobe National Park.

According to Maribe (2003), there are 64 settlements in Botswana that have so far been developed through the RADP. These settlements have been provided with primary schools, health posts (New Xade has a clinic with a maternity ward), water reticulation and other basic socio-economic and political services such as tribal administration and the gravelling of roads. The Government has also assisted in promoting economic development in these settlements through the Economic Promotion Fund, whose main focus is the promotion of small-scale income generating activities and the provision of livestock. The RADP is on a regular basis undergoing review and its previous preliminary evaluation report reflected that major achievements have been made in the provision of physical infrastructure. Hence, consideration could be given to sustainable livelihoods of the people living in remote areas (Maribe, 2003).

It is important for this study to establish how community involvement can lead to effective participation in decision-making processes that provide strategic consultation that would align community tasks with predetermined goals and missions, specifically for the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana. This is carried out in regards to various aspects pertaining to the implementation of developments or programmes undertaken by the Botswana Government. This study explores the potential of the involvement of the Basarwa or the Khwai community in the Botswana Government consultation processes with the purpose of developing a theoretical framework for their particular community service programmes. Against this background, this study extends the frontiers of knowledge and provides a theoretical contribution in the form of a Community Involvement Conceptual Framework.

1.2 BACKGROUND

Land use conflicts between the Basarwa (Bushmen) and the Botswana Government over access to the Moremi Game Reserve and the use of its resources, provide opportunities and challenges for all the stakeholders involved. The current conflict between the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana, and Botswana Government's wildlife department, reflects the unwillingness of the Botswana Government to appropriately involve local communities in wildlife management activities in protected areas. It could be argued that this conflict is caused by the Government's use of western ideas and concepts in the management of protected areas. The problem is further exacerbated by the community participation that is limited to being told what has already been decided and the current form of involvement is through kgotla system and therefore the government officials and agencies rather define the problems and information-gathering processes that affect them. Kgotla consultations carry no obligation to take account of the Basarwa views.

The Moremi Game Reserve is located in the heart of the Okavango Delta; at Xakanaxa there are three tourism lodges (Camp Okuti, Camp Moremi and Moremi Safaris); there is also a public campsite managed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), nine Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana

campsites and a safari boat camp. Individuals visiting the Moremi Game Reserve for tourism purposes pay an entry fee at the gate.

According to Adams and McShane (1992), a protected area is "an untouched and untouchable wilderness". This opinion of nature is mostly regarded to be emanating from the ignorance of historical relationships between local people and their habitats; and from the role played by local people in maintaining biodiversity. Hence, there is antagonism between people living in wildlife areas and the Government, which is using conventional methods of wildlife conservation in the Okavango Basin. It seems that the Botswana Government assumes that wildlife and people cannot exist together in the same area, and hence, the Khwai community village should be relocated away from the Moremi Game Reserve.

The Khwai conflict further reflects that, as far as the Botswana Government is concerned, traditional knowledge in resource management is not to be taken into consideration on matters of resource usage where protected areas are concerned. That is, the draconian measures such as the lack of access into the Reserve by Khwai residents and the use of the Wildlife Anti-Poaching Unit against residents, indicate the Government's insensitivity to cultural commitment in wildlife management in protected areas.

The growth of the tourism industry and tourist activities in the Okavango Delta, and proposals that the Okavango should be kept as a complete wilderness area for tourism and wildlife management, contribute to land use conflict between safari operators and the Khwai residents. This point is illustrated by differences in wildlife use between the Khwai community and the management of some lodges, specifically: Tsaro Game Lodge (closed since 2002), Khwai River Game Lodge and Machaba Lodge located along the Khwai River. Safari operators in these lodges regard the Khwai village to be situated within a wildlife and tourist area, a sentiment that was also expressed by officials from the Departments of Tourism in Maun and Wildlife and National Parks at the Northern Gate in the Moremi Game Reserve (Mbaiwa, 2005). It is claimed that the Khwai settlement is destroying the wilderness picture that tourist clients pay to see.

The presence of domestic animals such as donkeys and dogs and the littering at Khwai is also perceived as being destructive to the tourism industry. Both the Botswana Government and the tourism industry have as a result proposed that the settlement should be relocated elsewhere, away from the Moremi Game Reserve in order to give way to tourism development and wildlife management (Mbaiwa, 2005). However, about 97% of the people of Khwai were (in 1999) found to be opposed to the re-location (Mbaiwa, 2005). This is mainly because they regard the wildlife and the tourist sectors as having intruded in their territory.

Furthermore, rural communities around the Reserve, such as the Basarwa in Khwai, generally cannot afford to pay park entry fees. They also see no need for them to pay the fees that are required as they regard the area to be theirs historically. These communities believe that the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) has usurped their resources (Mbaiwa, 2005). They regard the DWNP as a government policing body meant to deny them the use of resources they previously controlled (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2001). As a result of this situation, there is a lack of co-operation between the Basarwa of Khwai and the Government of Botswana.

The above contradictions show the lack of harmonisation and coordination of Botswana Government policies and activities in resource areas, hence the conflicts amongst different resource users. Further to the above issue, one of the stakeholders, called the Botswana National Productivity Centre, a parastatal mandated with the responsibility of improving the country's performance and productivity, similarly raised a concern that Botswana's on-going Economic Development Drive's (EDD) short-term strategy, which is currently being implemented, has an enormous lack of business linkages (MTII, 2019, EDD, Government of Botswana).

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The general purpose of the study is explicated below.

1.3.1 Main purpose of the study

The main purpose of this research is to investigate the engagement or involvement of the Basarwa community of the Khwai village in Botswana by the Botswana Government in the consultation processes in areas such as wildlife tourism utilisation and management. Against this background, different forms of engagement are discussed, with the ultimate aim of establishing how the Basarwa can be involved in decision-making processes about matters that affect them. Specifically, how involvement can contribute towards effective participation for an improved utilisation of community development programmes.

1.3.2 Importance of community participation

The study highlights the importance of community participation in policy formulation and decision-making processes. It further aims to spearhead or facilitate the development of communication strategies for the Basarwa community of the Khwai village and other remote communities with regards to resource management. This could create empowerment opportunities for the communities, enshrine the needs and values of the communities into the decision-making processes, and promote sustainability of the local and national resources. This sentiment is shared by the Strategic Framework of Community Development in Botswana (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, August 2010).

There is also growing international interest in the engagement of the Khwai people in the formulation and implementation of policies through an inclusive governance approach. Examples of articles supporting this interest appear in the following articles; Mmegi Newspaper, Gaborone Botswana Mail and Guardian Newspaper, South Africa Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre, University of Botswana Bolaane, M. 2001. Fear of the Marginalized Minorities: The Khwai Community

Determining their Boundary in the Okavango, Botswana, Through the Deed of Trust. In, Barnard, A and Justin, K.(ed). 2001. *Africa's Indigenous Peoples: First Peoples or Marginalized Minorities?*. Centre of African Studies. University of Edinburgh.

This aspect is advocated by the World Bank and various public participation professionals. This study will furthermore highlight the risk of Botswana's reputation emanating from negative media coverage about the Khwai and other remote area communities. Finally, the academic fields of communication management and development communication will inform, as well as benefit, from the findings of this study.

1.3.3 Government communication approaches

The study explores the Botswana Government's communication approaches or consultation methods that could be applied to communicate with remote area dwellers such as the Khwai Basarwa on environmental, wildlife and tourism matters. The findings will enable the Botswana Government and stakeholders to appreciate the impact of the Botswana Government's Remote Area Development Programme on the livelihoods of the Basarwa. One of the benefits of this appreciation will be the development of a community involvement framework that will ensure that the remote area dwellers are not just consulted, but are actively engaged in the decisions that affect their livelihoods.

1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Not much is known about the extent of involvement of remote area minority communities in the strategic decision-making, policy development and implementation of programmes of the Botswana Government. As a result, resource conflicts occur at ground level between local communities and wildlife managers, amongst others. The study analyses the involvement of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana, in wildlife and tourism programmes that consider the needs and interests of their community, and develops a community involvement framework enshrining an integrative strategic communication management theory.

This study, therefore, argues that the Basarwa community of the Khwai village in Botswana, should be involved in their community development and land relocations so that their voices and views can be taken into consideration, to influence sustainability and policymakers' decision-making processes, thereby creating empowerment opportunities and nurturing community relations. The study contributes to research on stakeholder engagement in the African context, which has been limited thus far (Tindall, N. & Holtzhausen, D. 2011: 373).

Community involvement processes, put in place by the Government of Botswana through the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), lack strategies that can develop the Basarwa communities in Botswana, but more specifically the Basarwa community in the Khwai village, on matters of their social and economic empowerment. The conservation of wildlife resources at the Moremi Game Reserve is an endeavour by the Botswana Government to promote tourism in the Reserve.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research questions, as catalysts of this thesis, provide a focus for the research and are stipulated below.

1.5.1 Primary research question

This study poses the following primary research question:

How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana be actively engaged and involved in the social and economic development efforts that address their livelihood, needs and interests?

1.5.2 Secondary research questions

The secondary research questions of this study are:

RQ 1: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana be involved in decision-making about the sustainable development of their livelihoods, particularly in the Moremi Game Reserve?

RQ 2: Can the inclusive approach to governance be considered for the governing of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana?

RQ 3: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana be involved in decision-making contributing to the strategic management of their livelihoods in their local environment, particularly the Moremi Game Reserve?

RQ 4: What factors led to a lack of local community engagement and communication in natural resource management, especially with regard to wildlife resources?

RQ 5: What factors should be considered to achieve community involvement of the Basarwa in the Khwai village of Botswana?

RQ 6: How does the dispute about the future of the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana affect the reputation of the country?

1.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR THIS STUDY

The study closes an existing gap and addresses the dearth of research on the strategic consultation and involvement of remote communities, in particular the Khwai community in Botswana, in all stages of strategic planning and implementation of developments or programmes undertaken by the Botswana Government. The principle of community engagement and stakeholder relations calls upon the involvement of the communities at all stages of the planning and implementation process. The author of this study thus believes that the involvement of the Basarwa or the Khwai community in the Botswana Government consultation processes will open more opportunities for them, empower them and improve their livelihood. This study is also essential because it will extend the frontiers of knowledge and provide a theoretical contribution to a Community Involvement Conceptual Framework, to be developed through empirical research.

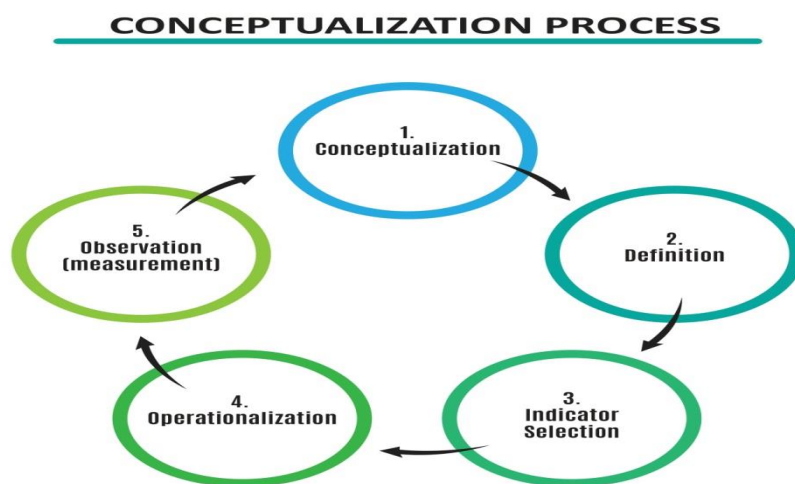
1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

For the purpose of developing a new argument that would reflect themes or current trends and relevant theory, a summary of the literature review is provided in this Chapter.

Conceptualisation

As expressed by Whitehead (1996), conceptualisation is the ability to imagine. He reveals that in doing so, thoughts are turned into models and notions; and ideas into actions. Therefore, what people think or do currently was first conceptualised by man. The definition is similarly supported by Sequeira (2015), who is of the view that by conceptualisation, we specify exactly what we mean and do not mean, by the terms we use in our research. Whitehead (1996) depicts the conceptualisation process as follows:

Figure1: Conceptualisation process



Source: Sequera, 2014

With regards to the above diagram (Figure 1), the process entails the idea of moving from definition to measurement and back to the definition, while the indicator would reflect the presence and absence of the concept.

As reflected in the problem statement, the focus of the study is to establish how the Khwai community can be actively *engaged* and *involved* in the social and economic

development efforts that address their livelihood, needs and interests. Having gone through a literature review, some particular concepts which are very useful to the aspect on how the Khwai community could be involved in the decision-making processes regarding resource management in their local environment, particularly in the Moremi Game Reserve, were identified.

In an effort to provide an indicator of the type of relationship that a partnership for community planning should entail, there should be a focus on the purpose of the establishment of policies on the relationship between communities and government. This has been expressed in different terms, such as community involvement and community consultation. However, as alluded to by Stuart Hashagen of the Scottish Community Development Centre (May, 2002), there are limitations to these ideas.

As a common phenomenon, consultation simply suggests providing information to a community and requesting feedback. The challenge here is that it does not provide for what is to be done and how it is to be done. *Involvement implies that communities are involved in the decision-making process and in so doing taking into consideration the community's perception of its needs and issues.* Involvement is where the government has decided on the structure and decision-making process and, therefore, the community is encouraged to get involved with them (Mak *et al.*, 2017).

The operational definition would, therefore, complete instructions for what to observe and measure. It is essential for this research to reflect on how to effectively involve the community with the purpose of achieving sustainable livelihoods. The importance and understanding of the concepts or ideas in relation to this study shall further be discussed below.

Public engagement is carried out for different purposes. This study emphasises that *public engagement* is important for building *community relations*. One of the reasons for this is to listen to the voices of the poor and the marginalised. In this respect, the relational theory may apply. The *relational theory* and the *relationship management approach* are at the core of scholarly and practical interest in the past decade. As reflected by Van Dyke (2012:22), they offer a promise for communication professionals conducting activities to support organisational goals.

Lamp and Mcdee (2004:37) furthermore indicate that good community citizenship participation could help develop and support a higher quality of life. This reiterates the power of *public participation*, implying that social development through entrenchment of the community inputs could lead to better livelihoods. This analogy is further supported by the contributions of communication management practices, which is believed to benefit the community. Most authors state that there are benefits as presented in this study, as they are more relevant to the aspect of public service delivery for the mentioned community. Community-based organisations can play a role by assisting in securing donations and volunteering leadership to support their network of social services. Lamp and Macdee (2004:37) also argue that public engagement contributes to overall improvement in the quality of life for area residents. This improvement is manifested in the contagious enthusiasm which may lead to growth and development.

Public participation is a process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision-making (Creighton, 2005:7). However, as expressed in the following paragraph, the World Bank's definition of community involvement tallies with Third World developmental projects.

As alluded by Kuhn (1996) in professional communications, there is no single overarching or unifying conceptual framework to inform the work of the many disciplines relating to the field of strategic communication. Rather, the focus of various communications interventions has been narrowly defined around specific managerial problems, such as improving organizational performance, selling more products, motivating donors, or building relationships. Though professional disciplines differ, the underlying concepts appears similar in that they would include, but are not limited to, audience analysis, goal setting, message strategy, channel choice, and program assessment.

Hallahan (2004) contends that the emerging and converging concept of communication management across disciplines reflects that a growing number of organisations have recognised that various communications disciplines share

common purposes and that their objectives and strategies for achieving those objectives are similar.

It is essential for communities to be involved by participating in decision-making, implementation, and evaluation processes of their developmental programmes. This can make community involvement meaningful in their livelihoods, and provide a sense of ownership.

Participatory theories often criticize the modernization paradigm on the grounds that it promotes a top-down, ethnocentric and paternalistic view of development. They argue that the diffusion model proposed a conception of development associated with a Western vision of progress. Development communication was informed by a theory that became a science of producing effective messages. After decades of interventions, the failure to address poverty and other structural problems in the Third World needed to be explained on the faulty theoretical premises of the programmes. Any intervention that was focused on improving messages to better reach individuals or only change behaviour was, by definition, unable to implement social change (Hein, 1991).

According to Mayo and Craig (2004) (in Alexiu *et al.*, 2011:6), the World Bank defines *community participation* as a “means for ensuring that the Third World development projects reach the poorest in the most efficient and cost-effective way, sharing costs as well as benefits, through the promotion of self-help”. This definition would specifically suit this research study because community service delivery focuses on the poorest communities within the Botswana society, specifically the Basarwa (San) and those with the need for social and developmental upliftment. However it does not necessarily imply that community participation can only be effective through a top down approach.

It is important to point out that public participation informs the decision-making process (Creighton, 2005:17). Therefore, this study acknowledges that the success of the *implementation of community development interventions* depends on how the

public bodies effectively utilise community partnership's roles and inputs. Some authors believe that this can be carried out by seeking public input at some specific points of the decision-making process, which would in turn have a crucial impact to shape the decision or action.

Therefore, engagement and involvement of the community does certainly play an important role towards encouraging community engagement, especially if it serves the purpose of ensuring that the communities' needs are considered throughout the decision-making process. The process can be entrenched by empowering the community through tasking it or equipping them with ways and means regarding the roles and responsibilities they are involved in towards contributing to final decision-making of the government and public authority in charge. Hence, the community ideas and contributions would be entrenched as part of the final decision-making processes.

The principle of *community engagement* calls for the involvement of the communities at all stages of the planning and implementation process. This is emphasised by Page (2017:131), when reflecting that community engagement goes beyond affected communities and can include the public at large who are stakeholders for the future of protected areas as in the case of the Khwai community.

It is of paramount importance when building community relations to recognise that each community is different, and hence suitable communication channels need to be selected. Through effective communication, its value, especially how it is tracked and reported on, would be of importance during the consultation process. This analogy is supported by Grenna *et al.* (2006), who contend that communication can create and facilitate a system that allows for the community to exchange opinions and arrive at consensual solutions. Therefore, in a sustainable tourism development scenario, a number of stakeholders are regarded not only as having the right to participate in the decision-making process, but also as being responsible for adopting *environmentally, socially and economically* sustainable behaviours and practices.

1.8 METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

The study adopted an exploratory research which was used concurrently with other qualitative research methodological approaches in order to obtain rich data essential for this particular study. Interviews were conducted with 17 participants. This was done by administering a semi-structured questionnaire. A conceptual framework was developed after the dataset was analysed.

Leedy and Ormrod (2013:140) indicate that a qualitative research method enables a researcher to analyse the underlying theoretical concepts regarding consultative processes and can be used in community engagement and service delivery. The method may also enable testing the validity of certain assumptions, claims and theories, or generalisation within a real-world context. This would in a way solidify the aspect of verification which can be achieved when adopting the usage of qualitative research.

This research focused on interviews with household leaders and representatives of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village. In Africa, it is generally regarded that most households are headed by males. The same is the case for Botswana especially in rural areas therefore male heads of households were interviewed. In their absence, their spouses were selected. If neither were available, any household member of 18 years or older (and thus considered an adult in Botswana) were interviewed. However, most interviewees turned to be women. Household representatives were asked to provide information about the community involvement practices in natural resource management that they have observed and have been involved in in their village; and how their community's priorities are decided for their livelihood's development.

Data were collected through interviews with key informants, particularly the Government decision-makers, Khwai village leadership, a university academic and NGOs. From this, a conceptual framework was developed that could be used to strengthen future initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa.

Household data were supplemented by data from interviews with key informants. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants and were considered essential for gaining long-term knowledge about community involvement at Khwai in relation to natural resource management and tourism development. Interviews progressed in a conversational style, that is, even though a semi-structured questionnaire had been designed and used - its main purpose was to guide discussions during the interview and to keep it focused. This method is advantageous in that it allows respondents to talk at length about particular topics. The study analyses how the Basarwa community in Botswana is involved in community engagement that affect their livelihoods. This is particularly so in the debate about patterns in wildlife use by the people of Khwai at the Moremi Game Reserve, which was established in 1963.

1.9 CHAPTER ALLOCATION

In terms of structure, the chapters of the thesis are divided as follows: The first chapter is an introduction to the thesis; the problem statement, the research questions and research methodology are presented in brief.

The second chapter provides a brief background of the Basarwa in Southern Africa with particular attention to Botswana and the CKGR. History regarding the Basarwa community in Botswana reveals a number of issues including: global economics, competing land use strategies, tenure regimes, village economics and settlement patterns. Due to the fact that the Basarwa community had largely abandoned their traditional lifestyle, their exposure to new ways of living brought about some communication and participation challenges that needed appropriate approaches.

Chapter Three describes the conceptualisation of the study and specifically focusses on development, participatory and government communication. Current literature on development communication examination depicts that the place of communication in the development process has long been recognized. Therefore, there should be a communication process that would bring together all stakeholders in community development in a dialogue on development needs. This should be coupled with

sound community leadership involving active participation and roles of local leadership and organisations.

The fourth chapter deals with community involvement. Most governments do not provide effective community service delivery that address the needs and wants of the community; literature points out that community involvement requires the incorporation of the targeted community's needs in all aspects of decision-making.

Chapter Five is about the methodology used in the study. Through the qualitative approach that was used, 17 participants were interviewed with the purpose of providing information on the everyday lives and activities of the Basarwa community with the primary purpose of establishing and examining perspectives on the extent to which the Botswana Government engages the remote area dwellers.

The sixth chapter deals with the research results. Results show that the Khwai community currently has a minimal impact on the decision-making process. Most community members are of the opinion that people should be part of everything related to wildlife and natural resources and be enlightened and have a say about their involvement and benefits. On the other hand, they are of the view that, though the inclusive governance approach can be considered, it would be difficult to practice, since there is little or no community involvement and there is not much openness in these consultations.

The chapter also covers the data analysis and findings, which reflect that the developmental projects geared towards improving the lives of the Basarwa are brought to the community without their input. They are only consulted on the programmes planned for them by the Government. The findings also show that there are less results or business activities as compared to the resources provided; this emanating from a lack of effective community involvement.

The seventh chapter addresses the secondary and primary research questions, the problem statement and the conceptual framework developed for the study, namely the *Community Involvement Framework for Remote Area Communities in Botswana*.

The sensitiveness of carrying out a research study on the Basarwa made it more pronounced when Government officials were approached. International pressure groups previously engaged the Botswana Government for the rights of land for the Basarwa, which made officials sceptical to share full information.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This Chapter introduced the study by providing critical information about community involvement with the purpose of equipping the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana, with empowerment opportunities regarding the decision-making processes of their community developments or programmes undertaken by the Botswana Government.

The importance of community participation was highlighted, reflecting on the role played by the community by contributing towards policy formulation and development that would lead to the achievement of sustainable livelihoods.

The problem statement, as well as primary and secondary research questions used in this study, mainly focused on how the Khwai community can be actively engaged towards ensuring that their needs and interests are enshrined in the social and economic development efforts that address their livelihood.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BASARWA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The culture of the Basarwa people of Southern Africa, a traditionally hunter-gatherer ethnic group popularly known as the Bushmen (San), is thought to be among the oldest on earth. The Basarwa, according to many anthropologists, have a unique kinship with the Kalahari Desert, the natural habitat in which they live, and their understanding of this environment is unparalleled. Many observers maintain that the Basarwa's traditional way of life is under threat because of the Government of Botswana's decision to relocate them out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) into government-designed settlements (Taylor & Mokhawa, 2003).

The term "Basarwa" is used here, since it has become the most preferred by the specific group under discussion, who dwells in Botswana (Mazonde, 2002). The group is commonly known as the Bushmen or San and are members of the native hunter-gatherer people of Southern Africa, whose territories encompass Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and South Africa. The largest population of the Basarwa is found in Botswana and Namibia (Hitchcock, Biesele & Babchuk, 2009). The data in Table 2.1 were obtained from the San population in Southern Africa by country and depict statistics of the Basarwa in Botswana as compared to other counterparts in the neighbouring countries.

Table 1. Numbers of San in Angola, Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Country	Population Size (2018)	Size of the country (in km sq)	Number of San (national)
Angola	30 355 880	1 246 700	14 000
Botswana	2 249 104	581 730	64 500
Lesotho	1 926 481	30 355	450
Eswatini	1 087 200	17 364	100
Namibia	2 533 244	824 292	30 000
South Africa	55 380 210	1 219 084	7 900
Zambia	16 466 079	752 618	1 600
Zimbabwe	14 030 368	390 757	2 800
TOTAL	124 084 566	2 676 319	130 000

Source: Hitchcock (2020)

For their part, Hitchcock, Rees and Dalglish (2017) project the numbers as follows: An estimate of 130 000 for the current San population in seven southern African countries: Angola (10,000), Botswana (62 500), Lesotho (400), Namibia (38 000), South Africa (7 800), Zambia (1 300) and Zimbabwe (2 600).

As mirrored by extensive research, fellows and popular books, as well as detailed documentation by development workers and extension personnel, the San, according to Hitchcock *et al.* (2017), are also called Khwe (Khoe), Basarwa or Bushman, and are some of the best-known groups of people in the world. Though the terms 'San', 'Khwe', 'Bushmen', and Basarwa are frequently used, there is a notion that each of the groups has what Hitchcock calls "a complex and problematic history".

According to Tailor (2000), there is a difficulty in establishing an appropriate name for the Basarwa. The term 'Basarwa' is the most regular name used within Botswana, which will also be used in this research. The word Basarwa (singular, Mosarwa) is said to have emanated from a word signifying 'people of the South'. However, as reflected by Hitchcock (2000), some NGOs in Botswana suggest that

the term 'First People' should be used, because these people were the first to settle in Botswana. Historically, certain San communities have always lived in the desert regions of the Kalahari. It is evident that nearly all the San communities in southern Africa were later forced into the region because of decisions taken by various interested parties. Since their neighbours denied them the right to the land over many decades, the Kalahari San remained in dire poverty. They later found their territory drastically reduced to Botswana and Namibia (Advisory Group on Forced Evictions, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2007).

2.1.1 The geographic location of the Basarwa

Britain created the CKGR in 1961 to protect the San's traditional way of life. Botswana was awarded its independence from British rule in 1966. Instantly after independence, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), which still remains in power today, pronounced that Botswana would be a non-racial country. The Government of Botswana launched its Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) in 1978 to bring services to Remote Area Dwellers (RAD), of which the San were key target beneficiaries. In this RADP programme, the Government provided both water and social services to the San (Basarwa), and established novel settlements for them outside of the CKGR. New Xade was the biggest, and provided extensive social services, including hostels and a maternity ward. The Minister of Commerce and Industry stated, in 1986, that Botswana would compulsorily resettle the San people outside of the CKGR. It was not until 1997 that this decision came into effect, though some San voluntarily relocated during this time. In 1997, Xade, a functioning San community within the CKGR, was entirely relocated. The Government's policy of relocation intensified during the 1996 to 2002 period.

The discovery of a kimberlite (i.e., a volcanic "pipe" containing diamond-laden material) witnessed the implementation of the Government's compulsory relocation policy in 1982 at Gope inside the CKGR, as a consequence of prospecting by two firms, a Canadian minerals explorations company called Falconbridge Explorations and De Beers. A full assessment of the site, which prompted Debswana to state that it would not be commercially viable to mine the site, was, however, accomplished in

1996. Nonetheless, De Beers was accorded a three-to-six year retention contract for the Gope site in 1996; bestowing De Beers with mining rights to the site until 2006. Regardless of the reported non-viability mining at the site, some international human rights groups in Botswana, Britain and southern Africa still contended that the future potential for diamond mining was the main reason for the removal of the San.

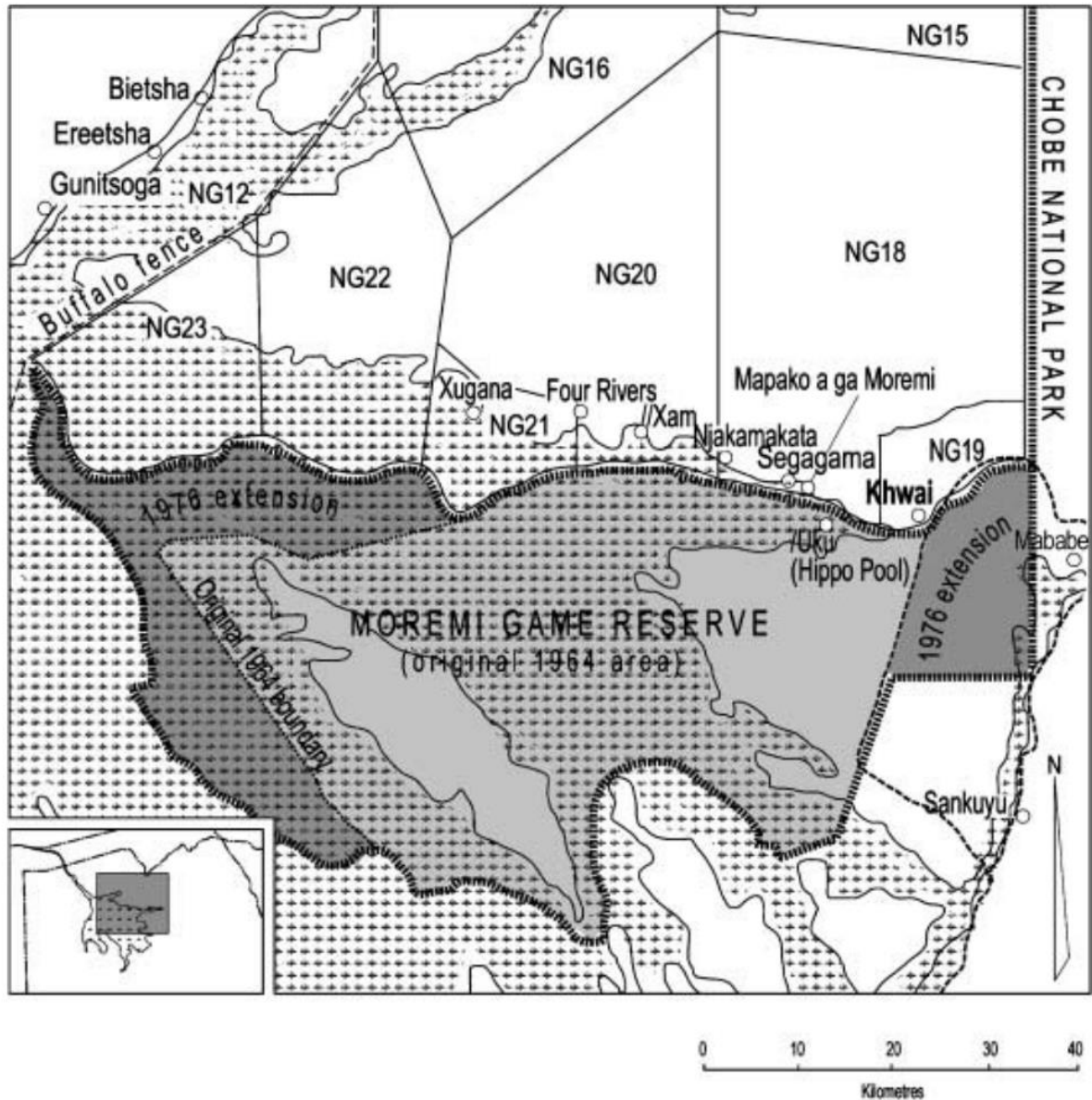
2.1.2 Social structures and migration of the Basarwa

Traditionally, the Basarwa dwelled in bands composed of extended families that roamed around following animals, and amassing veld foods. The Ts'exa groups of the Mababe Depression, who resided in the sand-veld, assembled in a large village in summer, and dispersed as family units to waterholes in the winter, when there was insufficient water to sustain a large village. The Basarwa ba noka ("River Basarwa") who dwelled around the rivers and islands of the swamps (Anekhwe and many Bugakhwe) did not follow such a defined annual cycle, since they were ungoverned by water shortages. Considering this large territory, oral data reveal that the people of //Anekhwe of the swampland and of Mababe aka Ts'exa ("Sand BaSarwa"), are the earliest inhabitants. Both the Bugakhwe of Khwai and the BaYei of Sankuyo state that they found the Anekhwe (who have since disappeared from the swamps) and Ts'exa of Mababe when they arrived in the area.

Fieldwork studies (1977- 2001) reveal that the San concept of territoriality has shown itself to be in conflict with that which is understood by other ethnic groups and even more by government officials and tourist operators. This feud of perception is manifested in the history of the Moremi Game Reserve and the lack of knowledge about the Basarwa geographical locations in what informants refer to as "Khwai" (meaning Moremi Game Reserve and its peripherals). Some of the problems encountered today by the Basarwa of Khwai village are the result of a prolonged conflict over territory (Barnard, 1998 & Taylor, 2000). To comprehend what the people of San origin say in interviews recorded in Khwai, one has to constantly bear in mind that the area they talk about and claim as their territory is much larger than the village to which they have been confined to over the last thirty odd years. It engulfs large parts of the conservation areas known today as the Moremi Game

Reserve and the Controlled Hunting and Wildlife Management Areas in addition to the area towards the “panhandle” of the Okavango Delta (see Figure 1).

Figure 2: Concession Areas Demarcation (Khwai is allocated in NG 18 and NG 190)



Source: Bolaane M (2004).

The establishment of the Moremi Game Reserve in the 1960s witnessed the community of Khwai moving twice, so that it ended outside the park boundaries. As such, access to areas of accustomed use was limited. Three safari lodges were also created in the area outside the park owing to a growing interest in Botswana’s wildlife and tourism through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s era. A great discourse ensued,

especially when the Government decided to move the Khwai community from the current settlement to resettle them either in Mababe or in Sankuyu village (as shown in the map). Numerous reasons have been advanced by officials since independence as to why the resettlement of the Khwai community was necessary. First and foremost, they cited that the move would help ensure conservation of the resource base, mainly wildlife, in the Reserve; second, the move was supposed to enhance the tourism potential of the region and create jobs for the rural communities.

The community-based wildlife management in the Okavango Delta highlight the understanding within the broader political, ecological and economic trends affecting Botswana as a whole; the history of the Basarwa in the Okavango has also revealed this. A range of issues, including global economics, competing land use strategies, tenure regimes, village economics and settlement patterns, the role of donor agencies and the economic and political renaissance of the Botswana society since independence, all impacted on the prospects for community-based wildlife management.

An influential class of Batawana witnessed the continuance of their own influence and respectability during the establishment of the game reserve. The park creators benefited from San local knowledge, but took insufficient notice of San views when the resettlement exercise occurred. In 1979 the Botswana government took over the management of Moremi, while continuing their dominance over the Moremi landscape and the Basarwa, further denouncing the latter's customary rights in the area. The oral accounts illustrate that promises were hindered by the failure to acknowledge the position of the Khwai community with respect to the park. The community's sense of threat is equally a desire for better standards of well-being and greater control over their destiny within wildlife management areas. They have utilised their history of displacement and relocation to attain a voice for their rights.

The Basarwa ideas of territoriality, e.g. of "old Khwai", although not tightly fixed, imply a claim to a certain area or piece of land and a claim to have full access to its resources. The Basarwa's territoriality is intimately associated with their social organisation, argued Heinz (1975:78-85), an anthropologist, of different groups of

Basarwa in Botswana. The band, consisting of a cluster, perhaps three or four extended families, owns land and all its natural resources such as game, veld food, firewood and water. The band identifies itself within a certain piece of land, well defined and limited in extent. Heinz (1975), furthermore, cites that the Basarwa traditionally roam within the area they regard as their land, typically up to about 10km. It is believed that the Basarwa are not nomadic as portrayed, rather the ecosystem shapes the size of territories and the distribution of social groups. Each band requires a nutritional base. Their very existence relies on an intimate knowledge of the land and the capacity to use its resources.

All band members are corporate owners with full access to all resources, even those who join the group by marriage, adoption or as orphans. Lee's (1972, 1979) work concurs with Heinz's (1975:78–85) analysis and both suggest that the "right" to land is basic, because it is synonymous with the very means of existence. The Bugakhwe of Khwai, attest that they lived in some form of minute groups in the past and their elders were leaders of bands.

The Basarwa did not have permanent houses but beehive shelters, and, therefore, could be moved easily.

2.1.3 Basarwa and their fame

Heritage and culture are seen to be playing an integral role in encouraging an excellent team play of resources management, specifically through cultural and natural bonds between community residents, organisations, civic institutions and governments, specifically in rural settings. It is, therefore, imperative for this research to incorporate a discussion on how the Basarwa's heritage and culture contribute to their popularity and reputation.

According to tourists that visit the area, they visit the Basarwa in Botswana because they are inspired by the readings of well-known books such as Elizabeth Marshall Thomas' *The Harmless People* (1958); *The Old Way: A Story of the First People* (2006); and Mark and Delia Owens' *Cry of the Kalahari* (1984), whereas, some said

that they have also seen stories about the Etosha National Park or the Okavango Delta on BBC, ITN, public television in the USA, or the National Geographic Channel (Hitchcock, *et al.*, 2017)

On the other hand, there were those who have seen films such as Jamie Uys' *'The Gods Must Be Crazy'* even documentary films like John Marshall's *'A Kalahari Family'*, Adrian Strong's *'Bitter Roots'* and Simon Stadler's *'Ghostland'*. It is believed that these films enormously contributed to both the costs and benefits of tourism, specifically in Botswana as it affects the San. Others are; Masai in the lawn by Bruner (2017) and also cultural performed self-representation, Keyan Tomaselli. The tourists visiting the Kalahari reveal that films influenced their perceptions regarding people with whom they interacted.

Owing to their artistic skills, the Basarwa earned themselves a reputable admiration after their work was turned into heritage sites. Historical sites with Basarwa paintings on the rocks were preserved. The Tsodilo rock paintings were described by Botswana's Former Minister of Labour and Home Affairs, Thebe Mogami, in March 2002, as magnificent, impressive and a marvel to watch (*Botswana Daily News*, 15 March 2000). The paintings were reported to be of gigantic historic significance, depicting the Basarwa's artistic skills, dating back about one thousand (1 000) years.

Mr Mogami felt that the Tsodilo site would lure more visitors, both locally and internationally, and therefore, he solicited for Tsodilo to be developed into a tourist site with up to the minute facilities. According to the Botswana National Museum and Art Gallery Former Director, Tsodilo has over 4 500 identified rock paintings, to be listed as a World Heritage Site. The rock paintings feature wild and domesticated animals, human figures and geometric designs.

The former Director of the then National Museum and Art Gallery Department issued a press release to the effect that Tsodilo was to be nominated a World Heritage Site (*Mmegi Newspaper*, 24th March 2000). Tsodilo Hills, now denoted 'Louvre of the Desert', attained its UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) in 2001. According to

Letsididi (in *Sunday Standard*, Gaborone, 2013), 1 200 years later, the Tsodilo Hills economy thrives again.

Regarding the case of Tsodilo Hills in Botswana, Babchuk (2015) notes that this country's first World Heritage Site, reflects a variety of differences of opinion as to whether the Tsodilo Hills Development Trust (THDT) receives any funds from the WHS or the Botswana National Museum, which oversees the hills (Giraud, 2016; Hitchcock field data). Hitchcock (2016) believes that ever since the hunting ban was imposed in Botswana in 2014, the future of community trusts portrays some uncertainty, whilst some Botswana Government officials are pushing hard for all the trusts to be privatised into Botswana-owned companies. These privatisation processes have somehow led to a significant reduction of income and job creation to community members.

One intervention that has long been established, is the Kuru Art Project, which seeks to resuscitate art and crafts amongst the Basarwa community, and is highly appreciated by Basarwa with a love for art and those in need of learning art skills. The project of this form assists and encourages Basarwa artists by exposing them to contemporary art materials and techniques and to marketing their artefacts. According to Gollifer, a British-Caribbean artist, some stakeholders who are part of the initiative, state that the Basarwa work exhibits a hunter-gatherer culture and the utilisation of modern mediums to paint antique traditions, enabling the artworks to be sold all over the world (Yasukawa & Page, 2017). Notwithstanding, the passing of age-old traditions has become much harder for the Basarwa as reported on *CNN news (Inside Africa, 13th April 2017)*.

2.1.4 The controversial relocation of the Basarwa

The Botswana Government has carried out a programme on the resettlement of the Basarwa under the auspices of a Remote Dweller Development (RDD) exercise in 1978. The programme was implemented to recognise that some citizens are marginalised (socio-economically worse than others) and, therefore, require special assistance. The target group of this programme are remote dwellers - dominant

amongst this group is the Basarwa. However, even at the current stage, the relocation of this particular group from Central Kalahari Game Reserve to New Xade still remains a thorn in the flesh to the Botswana Government. The Government is being accused by Survival International (SI), a UK based Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), of aiming to destroy the remaining Basarwa communities in the Kalahari Desert. Survival International has an extremely efficient public apparatus, including a website, an e-mail list, letter campaigns, advertisements, and public vigils. The NGO works for tribal peoples' rights in three ways: education, advocacy, and campaigns. It identifies as its main activities to:

Offer tribal peoples a platform to address the world themselves, and work closely with local indigenous organisations, with a special focus on those most recently in contact with the outside world (<http://www.survivalinternational.org>).

They are advocating for what they term: right for survival and the right to their land. One reason being put forward by Survival International is that the Basarwa were moved to pave way for a new diamond prospect, which would append to the existing diamond mines in the country. Whilst on the other hand, the Botswana Government perceives the Survival International campaign as malicious and misleading according to the former Botswana President, Festus Mogae (2002).

Miller, Hitchcock and Babchuk (2015) are of the opinion that one major issue facing the people living on communal (tribal) or state land in Botswana, is that they do not have legal control over their areas. That being the case, they do not have control over who access the area, specifically private tourism entities that tend to dominate the territory and are of no benefit to the local community members in terms of providing for community needs, except for some craft sales and some low-level jobs in tourism camps. In the case of safari hunting operations, the local communities are at times provided with meat of the animals procured by company clients. Trackers, hunters, and guides also benefit by being paid for the work they perform for tourism companies, and they also get food and other commodities, in the form of maize meal, a tin of fish, and oil for cooking. Though most of the local community members

appreciate the meat that they get, some are of the view that the type of meat provided to them is not much to their liking, as is the case with elephant meat given to Nyae Nyae Ju/'hoansi (Miller, Hitchcock & Babchuk, 2015).

This thesis shares a number of reasons as to why the Basarwa were moved from game reserves. A paramount reason was to settle them in bigger villages where the Government would be able to provide social services conveniently and possibly effectively; the Government specifically stated that it was worried about the spouting of settlements where it would be difficult to provide amenities. On the other hand, other government officials reiterated the need to conserve wild animals as it played a pivotal role in Botswana's economic development. This is one of the reasons why the issuing of special hunting licences that were issued to Basarwa was stopped, as it was felt that some species of animals were dwindling.

This thesis focuses on *community involvement*, amongst other issues, as well as what transpired at the Khwai settlement after the relocation. The Khwai community relocation bears some similarities to that of the relocation of the Basarwa from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) which is regarded as being the most controversial.

The British colonial administrators of Botswana proposed to call CKGR a "Bushmen Reserve" in the early 1960s. Accordingly, they came to the realisation that calling the Reserve a "Bushmen Reserve" somehow may cause an international outcry, particularly with organisations that supported the rights of minorities and that were opposed to racial segregation (Mbaiwa, in Silberbuer, 1960:3). There also appeared to be no legislation to support the creation of reserves for human habitation in Botswana. It was, therefore, found to be imperative to broaden the purpose and the objective of the Reserve and to rather alter the name from "Bushmen Reserve" to "Game Reserve"; this led to the formation of a wildlife reserve, which simultaneously, paved the way for human settlements. The then British Secretary of Colonies, Mr Headly, accepted this approach on 14 February 1961. At this time, the British High Commissioner in Mafeking, representing the Secretary of Colonies, declared "that part of Ghanzi District which lies to the east of the meridian of longitude which

passes through the apex of the hills known as Great Tsau Game Reserve, to be labelled as Central Kalahari Game Reserve” (Hennessy, 1961:1).

The declaration of the CKGR perceived an estimated 3 000 Basarwa, who resided in the Ghanzi area and who were considered a burden on the activities of the European farming community at Ghanzi (Lawrenson, 1961:1), relocating to a ‘new home’. Relocation - or rather, removal of the Basarwa from the Ghanzi farms - and their isolation into the CKGR is viewed as part of the gist of the present land use conflicts between the Basarwa and the Botswana Government.

At the time when the CKGR was established, there was a problem of the Basarwa (San) squatting on farms in Ghanzi, owned by Afrikaner farmers from South Africa. The Basarwa were, therefore, evicted from the farms and relocated in the CKGR. Silberbuer (1960), Saugestand (2001) and Survival International (2004), declared that the CKGR was established to be a Reserve where the Basarwa can freely practice their traditional lives of hunting and gathering. Though the removal of the Basarwa from Ghanzi into the CKGR reflects how traditional societies lost their land to European newcomers, it also alludes to the fact that colonial administrators of Botswana wanted to perpetuate a hunting and gathering culture. According to the Europeans, this culture is seen as primitive and barbaric. The Basarwa were viewed as part of the ecosystem, hence they should be allowed to abide within it unperturbed by western influences in their isolation in the CKGR territory.

During the European colonial rule of the continent, the process of instituting protected areas in Africa began. The principal factor for the establishment and location of protected areas was the protection of large mammals which were otherwise threatened with over utilisation and extinction (Mbaiwa, 1999). Although the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), located in central Botswana, was instituted in 1961 during British colonial rule of the country, the current debate about the CKGR and the Basarwa does not sufficiently provide information on factors that led to the setting up of the CKGR. This is not in line with factors that are traditionally assumed to be primary in the establishment of national parks and game reserves worldwide, particularly in rich wildlife areas.

Forty years after the resettlement of the Basarwa from Ghanzi farms into the CKGR, they have been made to resettle once more since 1997, by the Botswana Government. Kaudwane and New Xade (*Kgo'esakeni*) are their new settlements, located outside the CKGR. The relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR to Kaudwane and New Xade has become the subject of intense debate and controversy between the Botswana Government and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as the British-based Survival International (SI). Botswana's Government argues that the resettlement was imperative because it was carried out for socio-economic development purposes and the need to promote wildlife and the environmental integrity of the CKGR (GoB, 2002, Maribe 2003). SI, on the other hand, contradicts the Government's opinion and declares that the relocation was done in order to pave the way for diamond mining in the CKGR (SI, 2004). According to SI, resettlements will alter the customary hunter-gatherer culture of the Basarwa communities. SI also maintains that resettlement violates the rights of the Basarwa over land and access to natural resources (SI, 2004).

The strife and debate about the Basarwa in the CKGR, particularly on the international scene, is subject to a lack of understanding of the changes affecting the hunter-gatherer economies of southern Africa in the modern world. Like the rest of the traditional economies and ethnic groups in southern Africa, the traditional hunting and gathering economy of the Basarwa is not static - it is dynamic and has been affected by changes brought about by the modern world.

Weinburg (1997:i) notes that, "it is widely believed that the San or Bushmen still roam the Southern African interior in search of game, unaffected by the outside world." This, however, is largely untrue. The vast majority of the Bushmen have been forced off the land they traditionally occupied; dispossessed and marginalised, the Bushmen almost everywhere are battling to make ends meet. Weinburg visited and studied the Basarwa communities throughout southern Africa for more than ten years for the purpose of recording the reality behind the myth perpetuated in popular films and glossy picture books. The result is an awesome and moving portrayal of a people in transition, clinging to the last vestiges to adapt to the pressures of the

modern world. In his proposition, Weinburg (1997:ii) argues that “the lives of the Bushmen have been thoroughly mythologised, obscuring their real circumstances and the fragility of their culture. It is assumed that, to continue to function, hunter-gatherer economies require free access to land. The harsh truth is that the majority of the Bushmen have been dispossessed of their traditional land, and almost everywhere, they are struggling to survive”.

Against this background, the Bugakhwe were assured by the Fauna Conservation Society in the 1970's that they would not be moved again in future. When the management of the Game Reserve was relocated to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in 1979, however, the Government considered transferring them entirely from the wildlife area. The option was between moving to Mababe or Sankuyo, thus resettling away from the general area wholly. Nonetheless, they adamantly refused to do this, on the grounds that the area of Khwai was “their” territory. This appears to be the reason why the village has not been gazetted, in spite of the local authority having acknowledged the *kgotla* and the village development committee within NG19 where the village is currently located. Part of NG19 is leased by the Government to three lodges as a photographic safari area, which partly explains the problem of gazetting Khwai. This means that the village cannot officially be provided with government facilities, such as water reticulation, schools and clinics, through the Remote Area Dweller Programme (Bolaane, 2000).

Joseph Sango recalled that no sooner was the park established, than there was law enforcement: “1964 brought changes and problems started, they took all our rights over wildlife. In 1969, during Seretse Khama's government, we were told we can only have access to wildlife through paper [special game licence], this paper gave ten kudu, ten duiker, six wild pig, ten impala, etc. for a whole year of subsistence. We were also told not to use traps nor wire but could use *digwele* [ropes] or rifles for hunting. We were told some hunting methods subjected animals to pain. Then, in the 1970s, we saw Ramsden, the Game Warden, paying visits to our homestead, pretending to be our friend while he was assessing poaching. This led to more changes after his report that Basarwa were finishing wild animals. The use of ropes for hunting was forbidden. Ready-made laws were imposed on us.”

Evidently, the role of history in the present has social and ideological importance within the area. Diverse communities have distinct perceptions of the past, and for economic reasons as much as any other, are more likely to favour certain interpretations of historical events over others. In short, “the past” is very much a contested issue for various sets of different people who abide in the Okavango Delta and employ its resources. The Basarwa themselves also do not necessarily see their history in a unified way. A significant number of people with the label *Sarwa* live in Maun, and some have either incorporated or still live under a pseudo label as Tawana or Yei. The Bugakhwe themselves still extend to Gudikwa settlements, as beyond Mohembo and into the Caprivi Strip (Namibia).

Khwai is, in this sense, an eminent community with separate settlements, whose members are quite politicised, and who strongly identify as BaSarwa. Gudikwa is a more recent village created under the Rural Area Development Programme (RADP), and does not seem to have the same level of politicisation. Although the Bugakhwe of Khwai and the Ts’exa of Mababe as kin groups share a cultural history, it is evident that the people of Khwai and Mababe perceive their identity as different, as is observed by dissimilarity in dialects. They maintain this difference despite having married extensively with BaYei, and often do not physiologically look like the stereotype. In the past, both communities relied on hunting and gathering strategies of food procurement.

Nonetheless, some non-Sarwa groups present and operating in the region are, in addition, influenced by information and presentations they confront outside the park and the immediate surroundings. Tourists, safari operators, and people now settled in Maun, and other groups in Botswana all receive information and impressions of the BaSarwa and of the history of the region and the country as a whole through indefinite channels. The tourist brochures produced by safari companies operating in the Moremi/Okavango area present general and sometimes stereotypical information about the history of settlement in the area under study, which often results in negative perceptions.

Some safari operators have a history of not treating their BaSarwa casual labour well, simply because they want to exclude the people from the land, according to the former Director of Wildlife and National Parks, Alec Campbell. Because of their small stature, social status and small population size, the BaSarwa are outlawed and deprived of access to land. There is no doubt that they have been disposed to defend what they regard as vital resources. Those who are demanding collective ownership rights in Moremi, argue that since the introduction of controlled hunting areas and wildlife management areas, they are a dependent society.

2.1.5 Views of Botswana's Government on the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR

Botswana's Government explains its action of resettling the Basarwa from the CKGR in 2001 to be an outcome of a Fact-Finding Mission Study into increasing land use conflicts within the CKGR in 1985 (GoB, 1985). The objective of the study was to inquire about land use conflict issues in the CKGR, with the view to provide information that would facilitate decision-making on environmental protection and wildlife conservation on the one hand and the socio-economic development of the communities on the other (GoB 1985, 2002). Some of the key findings by the Fact-Finding Mission team include the following:

- Human settlements in the CKGR were speedily changing into permanent, settled agricultural communities.
- The residents of the CKGR had largely abandoned their traditional lifestyle of hunting on foot using a bow and arrow in preference for guns, horses and even four-wheel-drives. Hunting on horseback was becoming very common, since horses could outrun most animals found in the CKGR. The game meat from the wild animals was dried and sold to the market of non-residents who worked and resided in distant towns and villages or who frequently visited the Reserve.
- The residents' domestic animal grazing was on the increase inside the Game Reserve.

- In the area around Old Xade, which was regarded as having a large human population, it was found that wildlife and veld foods had been literally depleted within a radius of some 5 000 square kilometres.

The Fact Finding Mission team concluded that over time, many inhabitants of the CKGR had and preferred permanent or semi-permanent settlements around or near such sources as Xade, provided by the Government to mitigate the effects of the recurring droughts, to their traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle (GoB 1985, 2002). For instance, in 1984, small stock was present at every settlement; there were 58 horses and some 200 donkeys at Xade (GoB, 1985). The team arrived at the conclusion that the aggregation of the CKGR residents into larger communities, coupled with their modern hunting and livestock farming activities, were incongruous with the promotion of wildlife conservation and the use of this resource, which would otherwise provide long-term support to their livelihoods (GoB, 1985 & 2002).

Illegal activities such as poaching are perhaps the greatest threat to wildlife conservation efforts and bring into direct conflict the interest of the rural poor and government conservation agencies (Mwale, 1995). From the conclusions drawn from the Fact Finding Mission report, the Government of Botswana decided to resettle the Basarwa from the CKGR, based on the following recommendations: the boundaries and status of the CKGR should be maintained to the original state of the time of its institution; the economic and social development of Old Xade and other settlements within the Reserve should be immobilised, since they had no prospect of economic value; viable sites for social and economic development must rather be identified outside the Reserve and inhabitants of the Reserve should be encouraged without forcing them to resettle at those sites; and, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands should advise Government on the incentives necessary to encourage residents in the Reserve to relocate (GoB 1985, 2002; Maribe, 2003).

Efforts were intensified by the Government of Botswana to remove the remaining San from the CKGR in 1997. Nearly 1 739 San were resettled to New Xade and Kaudwane. According to recent statistics, over 689 San lived in the CKGR in 2001, but just 17 San remained there by mid-2002. More than 200 San have returned to

the CKGR since August 2002. During this time, governmental officials accused the San of attempting to establish a “break away” state within the CKGR. According to the Government, the relocation of the San from the CKGR, where their population averaged around 1 500 between 1988 and 1996, is significant for the preservation of the fauna and flora of the CKGR, and will allow the “Bushmen” to develop according to the socio-economic practices of the larger contemporary society.

The San have largely stopped living their traditional way of life because of their involvement with the Bakgalagadi, an ethnic group related to the San, which practices agriculture and animal husbandry, rather than a hunting and gathering way of life. The Government contests that the methods of cattle-rearing used by the San are destroying the flora and fauna of the CKGR. Additionally, the Government demands that traditional methods of hunting with a bow-and-arrow have been replaced with the use of firearms, and that the San have formed permanent settlements within the CKGR, and no longer live a traditional nomadic lifestyle. Some observers also allege that some San use vehicles to hunt, a charge denied by the San. The “biomass,” a measure of the volume of living organisms within a designated area, more than doubled in the CKGR between 1986 and 1996, according to the Department of Wildlife and National Parks.

While the Government maintains that the relocation programme is “encouraged” to provide the San with “the benefits of development,” it has also stated in 2002 that it can no longer fund its Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), and that the San people must vacate the CKGR to existing settlements, such as New Xade. The Government of Botswana was adamant that the novel settlements outside of the CKGR will better equip the San people to live according to demographically predominant social norms. During the relocation of the San, the Botswana Government maintains that it has never employed force, coercion, or threats. The Government upholds the fact that the San are free to stay within the CKGR, but that they would have to live without the Government support they enjoyed under the Government’s RADP. The Botswana Government formally ceased providing services to Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) on January 31, 2002. It maintains that this is solely due to operational costs.

It is against this background that the Botswana's Government decided to resettle the Basarwa from the six settlements in the CKGR and to settle them at Kaudwane and New Xade, commencing in 1997. The two settlements are provided with social services such as water reticulation, schools, a clinic and gravel roads. The Basarwa at Kaudwane and New Xade are encouraged to practice agriculture and are provided with livestock and seeds for crop farming. They are also encouraged to practice small-scale commercial activities and are in some cases provided with financial assistance. The resettlement of the Basarwa from the CKGR to Kaudwane and New Xade was incorporated into the government policy of resettlement and implemented through the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP).

According to the incumbent government, the Basarwa ought to remain within the game reserve though detrimental to them; it was in their own interest to move out. In fact, The Government had another reason for wanting the Basarwa to re-locate outside the game reserve. The country wanted to make wildlife-based tourism a major industry in the next National Development Plan currently under discussion. In other words, the Government perceives moving the Basarwa out of the game reserve as something that will also be for the benefit of the entire nation.

Recently, there has been a huge difference between the position taken by the majority of the Basarwa and that of their spokesmen on the issue of vacating Xade, notwithstanding the advance made by the Basarwa in terms of their political participation, particularly in demanding their rights. Many Basarwa appeared to see sense in the position of the Government. It is Botswana's policy to give the Basarwa cattle to live on, in the way common to many Batswana. This could not be done with game animals. This has been the reason given for the district council's refusal to allocate cattle to Basarwa in Xade. Their desire to get cattle may be one reason why many of them in Xade eventually accepted to move out of the game reserve. However, the spokesmen are fighting for the right to stay in Xade.

The leaders of the First People of the Kalahari (FPK), the spokesmen, were not elected by the Basarwa but were brought together by sponsors for conferences

funded by aid agencies, particularly the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). The position taken by these agencies and the spokesmen of the Basarwa, is that the distinct identity of the Basarwa must be upheld and that remaining in a wildlife area, a classic hunting ground, is their right. Government is capitalising on the difference of opinion between the Basarwa and their spokesmen, interpreting it as an indication that the Basarwa spokesmen do not represent the views of the Basarwa but of themselves and their sponsors, the foreign NGOs. It implies that the Basarwa spokesmen are attempting to use the plight of the rest of the Basarwa for their own economic vantage. The publicity and economically advantageous foreign trips that the spokesmen enjoy can only last as long as the bulk of the Basarwa remain backward and isolated. The Government, therefore, maintains that such spokesmen are bent on doing everything in their power to keep other Basarwa in their current situation of deprivation. Others, apart from the Government, have the perception that the Basarwa be "preserved" in their pristine form, the sponsors of the Basarwa spokesmen refuse to acknowledge that most Basarwa have long given up "pure" hunting-gathering and are guilty of preserving it for Basarwa tourists.

The Basarwa, whatever the case, have not gained from the strife between the different parties to this development dispute. They have been waiting for the past 13 years, since 1986, for developments that have not been forthcoming. However, this is not to suggest that efforts to change the social organisation of the Basarwa have failed. The Basarwa in Xade have adopted a Tswana type social structure, which is pivoted around a formally appointed chief, with the encouragement of the Government and certain NGOs. It is indistinct how becoming more Tswana-like in their social and political organisation fits with the claim made by their spokesmen that their separate identity as a "minority people" should be adopted. One major factor accelerated their becoming more sedentary. Most Basarwa survived on maize meal, oil and powdered milk which they obtained from the Government drought relief programmes, in the drought period of the early to mid-1980s. Some 80-90% of Basarwa, presently, are estimated to depend on Government drought aid mechanisms. Doubt would emanate on such dependence, assuming that embracing

certain Tswana ways, such as chieftainship, reflects greater political participation by the Basarwa.

A Basarwa research programme has been initiated by the University of Botswana, which no doubt will continue to play a role in RADP training and staff development, as well as in educating its own staff, students and the general public. The University of Botswana and the University of Tromsø, Norway, are discussing a programme of institutional cooperation in respect of the Basarwa.

2.1.6 NGOs and other stakeholders' viewpoint on the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR

A British based NGO, Survival International (SI), has given several reasons contradictory to those of the Botswana Government, in respect to the resettlement of the Basarwa from the CKGR. Some of the reasons are conversed below.

SI argues that the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR was undertaken in order to make way for diamond mining in the Reserve, particularly at Gope. SI (2002:1) states that the "Botswana's Government forcibly removed San and Kgalagadi dwellers of the Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) due to competing interests, including diamond mining and high-end tourism". This notion is also shared by Good (2004), who declares that the relocation exercise could have been carried out for this purpose. Diamond prospecting in the CKGR began in the 1980s with Falconbridge Explorations Botswana, exploring a kimberlite pipe of about 11.5 hectares overlain by some 70 meters of sand cover at Gope inside the CKGR (GoB, 2002). On the basis of small samples of ore and diamonds, the pipe was described as economically not viable, with relatively low ore grades and low diamond valuations. The deep sand cover, remote location and low values adversely affected the potential viability of mine development (GoB, 2002).

Following the decision not to mine the diamonds at Gope, the rehabilitation of the Gope site was embarked on and all exploration facilities were removed (GoB, 2002). The Botswana's Government official version is that diamond deposits at Gope are

not economically viable for mining to be undertaken. Even though there is no diamond mine in the CKGR at present, because of the secrecy and hypocrisy in the diamond industry in Botswana, “it is at least as valuable to Debswana [diamond mining company in Botswana] to keep the diamond deposits secure in the ground for future use than to mine them now” (Good,2004:13). The link between diamond deposits at Gope with the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR, remains weak, in spite of the views by Good (2004). This is because it does not provide evidence as to why other settlements besides Gope, located far away from diamond deposits, are also resettled. The link of resettlement would be stronger if Gope was the only settlement being relocated, since diamond deposits were found in the area. Ditshwanelo (Botswana Human Rights Organisation) also discovered that there is no connection between diamond mining and the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR in 2002 (Good, 2004). Consequently, the link between diamond mining and the resettlement of the Basarwa remains an issue for SI, more than a reality on the ground.

According to some international human rights advocacy groups, the Government of Botswana is evicting the Basarwa from the CKGR, so that they cannot claim any rights to minerals within the CKGR. Survival International (SI), one such group, recounts that by 2003 over two-thirds of the CKGR and approximately 80% of the San ancestral land had been made subject to provisions governing diamond prospecting concessions. Over six different mining companies’ analysts who had proposed concessions, have been awarded these concessions. Other human rights experts doubt that the unearthed diamonds were economically viable at this time, and perceive the resettlement programme as being propelled first and foremost by the state’s goal of pursuing environmental conservation within the CKGR for tourism purposes, as well as due to the influence of cattle ranching interests.

The Government used tactics ranging from monetary incentives to the burning of huts, the removal of water supplies and physical assaults, according to human rights critics, in pursuing its relocation policy between 1996 and 2002. According to SI, the Government of Botswana destroyed homes and water tanks to make the return of the San to their former settlements impossible. “Government told us to leave or they

would send the army in”, alleged one of the San who had taken the Government of Botswana to court, and reiterated that government agents threatened to achieve their goals through the use of murder and arson; they reportedly threatened to lock his wife in her hut and alight it. In 2002 the Government of Botswana, reported experts, sealed existing boreholes and demolished all San water storage structures within the CKGR. It has also been reported that the Government banned non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from supplying the San within the CKGR with food and water.

Advocacy sentiments also suggest that the Government’s resettlement policy was placing in jeopardy the ability of the San people to preserve and maintain their unparalleled culture and language. For example, the San’s relocation outside the CKGR is seen by some anthropologists as degrading the San’s social coherence, because it has removed them from their ancestral lands and grave sites, which have historically formed a central facet of the San’s spiritual life and social identity. The New Xade has been termed the “Place of Death” by some San and furthermore, some adduce that resettlement may also be contributing to reportedly high rates of alcoholism, social degradation, crime and HIV/AIDS in the resettled communities, where jobs and other economic opportunities are uncommon.

Due to the San’s cultural and linguistic differences, some experts contest that although development services and programmes have been provided to the relocated San, they are inaccessible to them. These experts further reiterate that although these programmes are furnished, they do not overcome the problems of social and economic exclusion. Cultural differences also play a role; for example, the San believe the increase in health problems in New Xade is due to their inability to visit their ancestors’ graves.

According to reports, the San would be elated for mining to occur within the CKGR, as long as they would be offered jobs and paid royalties in accordance with the rights to the land through ancestry that they are claiming. On the assumption that the "Basarwa issue" can only be solved by the normal political processes of Botswana, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) should openly declare that it wishes to support the Basarwa interest and advocacy groups in

their articulation of the Basarwa interests, including land rights and access to resources. On the pretext that the “Basarwa issue” can only be solved by the political processes of Botswana, NORAD should also proclaim its interest in assisting the Government in relaunching the RADP on the basis of an improved structure for policy formulation and coordination. A major requirement in this respect is a cadre of staff which is competent to handle the many difficult problems of the remote areas.

An overhaul of RADP staff, including training and re-training, is proposed as the paramount areas in which NORAD should be involved. This may include continued technical assistance within the Business Advisor cadre for some time to come. The main effort which would support an "empowerment strategy" would be a regenerated initiative within education, as far as continued NORAD support to the substantial components of RADP is concerned. In the context of Government-Basarwa relations, education is a controversial issue, and it raises a number of operational as well as policy questions. The issue should be approached with an open mind and a pilot project for Basarwa education, with full professional design, should be considered.

2.1.7 Changes that impact on the hunters and gatherers

This section addresses issues related to the BaSarwa and their participation in tourism in their local environment. The section argues that most of the wildlife-based tourism is carried out in areas that were previously (or are currently) home to the BaSarwa. As a result, the BaSarwa were forcefully removed from their homes without consultation. As of the case of Khwai Village and the CKGR, these communities were living in these areas as their homes, and there is tourism development in the area.

This thesis utilises the controversy on the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR in Central Botswana in order to make a contribution to the understanding of how these communities can be involved in the changes and realities that presently affect the hunting and gathering economies in southern Africa. Due to the complex nature of the subject, the thesis first evaluates factors leading to the establishment of the

Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) in 1961. Ultimately it deals with opposing views about the resettlement of the Basarwa (San) from the Reserve by the Botswana Government, commencing in 1997.

The relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR to the two settlements of New Xade and Kaudwane between 1997 and 2002 has generated a debate both locally and internationally, particularly between the Botswana's Government and Survival International (SI), as mentioned before.

According to history, wildlife resources have played a significant role in upholding the livelihoods of traditional societies. Human development has been possible, partially because of the exploitation of wild animals (Eltringham, 1984). Animals provide people with skins and fur for clothing, sinews for rope and thread, fat for fuel, antler for tools, and horns for drinking vessels and musical instruments and bone for all sorts of purposes from tools to weapons, apart from meat. Wildlife resources are currently facing a constant decline in terms of the population (Perkins & Ringrose 1996; Albertson, 1998), although Botswana is one of the few African countries still endowed with a variety of natural resources of which wildlife is a major component (Barhop *et al.*, 1994). For wildlife resources to remain available for the present and future generations, sustainable ways of resource management must be adopted.

The notion of sustainable development (WECO 1987), is pivoted on three main concerns. These are social equity, economic efficiency and ecological renewability (Angelson *et al.*, 1994; Munasinghe & McNeely, 1995). Ecological sustainability stresses the need to preserve the integrity of ecological subsystems perceived as crucial for the overall stability of the global ecosystem. That is, the use of sustainable natural resources should not be faster than the rate at which the natural process renews them (Serageldtn, 1993). In spite of the positive propositions of the concept of sustainable development, there are those who feel that such development involves contradictory goals (e.g. Redclift, 1987; Arnold, 1989; Warren, 1996). Despite this, it has come to be generally accepted that "real" development cannot be achieved unless the strategies are sustainable and consistent with social values and institutions.

Some writers however are concerned with the sustainability of the natural resource base whilst others are concerned with the present or future levels of production and consumption. For their part Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) attempt to combine concerns with the environment and socio-economic issues. Their view is that the concept of sustainable development is the result of the growing awareness of the global links between mounting environmental problems, socio-economic issues to do with poverty and inequality and concerns about a healthy future for humanity. This notion is what the study anchors on.

The settlements of Mababe and Khwai are located on the south eastern fringes of the Okavango Delta. They are both located between Moremi Game Reserve in the south and Chobe National Park in the north. Khwai had a population of 360 and Mababe 290 people (Taylor 2001) as of 1998. Basarwa are the people of Khwai and Mababe, but they belong to indistinct clan groups. Those of Khwai are Bugakhwe (OCC 1995; Bolaane 2000a; Taylor 2001) while those of Mababe are Tzexa (OCC, 1995) or Ts'exa (Taylor, 2001). The Basarwa of Mababe and Khwai previously lived a nomadic life of hunting and gathering.

However, this has altered due to the recent land use management regulations which restrict them to definite locations. While the people of Khwai and Mababe are still involved in the gathering of veld products (e.g. wild fruits, berries, roots, etc) for consumption purposes, the suspension of the Special Game Hunting Licence in Ngamiland District in 1996 generally altered their way of living. The Special Game Hunting Licence previously allowed them to hunt without prohibition. Restrictions in hunting have made them become involved in new economic activities that were previously not part of their traditional economic activities. In Khwai, this includes harvesting of thatching grass for sale to the various lodges in the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa 1999), a limited amount of arable agriculture, and weaving of baskets (Mbaiwa 1999; Bolaane 2000a) that are sold to tourists.

Arable agriculture was practiced by the people of Mababe, who also keep a few donkeys and chickens and practice arable agriculture, but to a limited extent. In

Khwai, crops are often destroyed by elephants and hippos (Bolaane 2000a), while elephants, zebras and kudu destroy crops in Mababe (Mbaiwa 1999). The Basarwa of Khwai and Mababe, since 2000, have become involved in Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) projects. These have produced some economic benefits such as income and employment opportunities.

Wildlife utilisation among Basarwa communities: a historical perspective regarding the use of wildlife resources by the Basarwa communities in the Okavango Delta during the pre-colonial period is generally assumed to have been sustainable. This was possible because of the traditional and religious attachments which the Basarwa communities had with their natural environment (Tlou 1985; Thakadu 1997). The Basarwa perceived wild animals as an intimate part of the environment controlled by God. They deemed that God's wrath would be brought down upon them if wildlife was misused. (Campbell 1995). Darkoh (1996) argues that Africa as a whole has a long tradition of sustainable resource utilisation and management, especially at a community level. He further argues that native people in pre-colonial Africa possessed knowledge of resource utilisation and management, which was not static but dynamic, depending on the socio-economic and environmental circumstances of particular local communities.

This knowledge was possessed by both males and females who collectively utilised and managed their natural resources. Mbanefo and de Boerr (1993) also note that indigenous peoples in remote areas developed wise procedures to protect their natural resources over centuries and could thus be called the original environmentalists/conservationists. The livelihoods of the Basarwa in Ngamiland District depended on natural resources found around them. Each band had traditional customs, norms and institutions that governed resource use, and the differences in these practices between the different bands were minimal. Examples from Khwai and Mababe depict how the Basarwa used their traditional customs to promote the sustainable use of wildlife resources in their areas.

These customs include the following: (i) Basarwa traditional wildlife management. (ii) The Basarwa in Khwai and (iii) Mababe had strong traditional leadership institutions,

which governed the utilisation and management of all natural resources in their respective territories. The Basarwa lived around the delta in small bands composed of 30 to 50 people who were mostly of the same clan. Each Basarwa band or group had its own leader who was not necessarily referred to as a king or headman. According to Thakadu (1997), the leader in each Basarwa band was responsible for the utilisation and management of all the natural resources like wildlife in his territory. He dispatched hunting and gathering expeditions and made sure that other Basarwa bands did not use the resources within his area. The leader would defend resources in his territory if any conflict arose with other infringing bands.

The band leader would remind the people of their hunting territories and conservation ethics to be observed during hunting (Thakadu, 1997). Informants in Khwai and Mababe confirmed that the women provided skills and information on gathering to girls. Boys would accompany their male elders in hunting expeditions, while girls joined their mothers or women in gathering expeditions.

To avoid land degradation and wildlife resource deterioration, the Basarwa were mobile, but always kept the same camps or sites in their movements. The availability of natural resources like water, wildlife and various products influenced the location of such camps or settlements. Mababe residents said that they would move towards the delta when there was no water in drier seasons and outside to dry places in times of good rains. The nomadic lifestyle of the Basarwa not only demonstrated the ecological understanding of their environment, but also assisted to give the resources in different ecological settings and seasons time to restore.

Campbell (1995) is of the view that the Basarwa groups recognised mutually exclusive hunting grounds in which they lived, and the territories of neighbouring bands. A band could hunt freely in its own territory, and the spoils of hunting belonged to its members. However, a band would ask for permission from a neighbouring band in case they wanted to track a wounded animal which went into their territory. The spoils of such an animal would either be shared or reverted to the alien band (Campbell, 1995). Campbell notes that each band knew very well that hunting or gathering natural resources in another band's territory without permission

would lead to conflict, and thus respect of each group's rights over certain areas of land was observed (Thakadu, 1997). Natural features such as rivers, hills and big trees marked the territories or boundaries for each band. One may assume that the individual group rights and custodianship over the natural resources in one particular area would motivate the group to utilise the resources in a sustainable way.

The use of customary, totemic and tribute laws came to govern wildlife utilisation and management under the Batawana rule in Ngamiland. This happened in pre-colonial Botswana before 1885 before game laws were introduced by the then British Bechuanaland Protectorate Government. The laws were established on local knowledge and were modified with time to meet the changing needs and nature of the wildlife industry. According to customary law, all the ethnic groups in the Okavango were obliged to relinquish their user rights to the Batawana kings. The king was entrusted with all wildlife resources for his people, or as a titular owner of the land, he was entitled to share in the proceeds of every hunting expedition (Schapera, 1943). Communal ownership of the resources entailed communal policing or protection of wildlife against poaching or over-harvesting. The management of natural resources under customary law endured for centuries in part because of the strong religious links with ancestors and also because of the low population densities which helped to maintain an ecological balance (Chenje & Johnson, 1994; Campbell, 1995).

The belief (totemism) that under certain circumstances, some humans can transpose their spirits into those of animals or take an animal form before and after death was acknowledged by the entire indistinct ethnic groups in Botswana (Campbell, 1995). The animals and birds considered as totems were respected, which led to the preservation and conservation of such animals. Lion, sun, and warthog were mentioned as some of their totems by the Basarwa in Khwai. Killing or eating of totems was prohibited, in that it might pose perils on the individual. For instance, it was generally considered that anyone who touches or eats his totem will lose his teeth or develop sores all over the body. Besides the individual, the community as well would be affected if one kills and/or eats his or her totem. Disasters like disease, locusts, droughts, hailstorms, and other forms of pestilence were interpreted to be

the result of anger by the gods due to misdemeanour on the part of society, and the eating or killing of totems was considered one of the causes. The respect and observation of totems by the people was an important cultural norm, since it meant preservation of the totem species.

Owing to the colonisation of Botswana by the British in 1885, with Ngamiland District included in 1894, wildlife management was approached in two ways. Firstly, there were statutory laws that governed the use of wildlife resources and that were only applicable to Europeans, and secondly, pressure was imposed by the colonial government on the local kings to come up with customary laws for their people, along lines similar to the statutory game laws for Europeans. These laws, in both cases, were targeted at restraining the indiscriminate commercial exploitation of wildlife resources in Botswana. The major controlling interest was the colonial government, as these decrees were only to operate with the approval of the British Resident Commissioner (Spinage, 1991). Henceforth, the European colonial system replaced both the rights of the Batawana and the Basarwa to manage wildlife utilisation according to their own customary laws and practices.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate Game Proclamation No. 17 of 1925 was one of the essential laws enacted during British rule in Botswana. According to this, there was the establishment of national parks, game reserves, and wildlife sanctuaries, whereby wildlife species and areas, or species within a defined area, were to be protected. This declaration led to the institution of protected areas such as the Chobe Game Reserve (1961) and Moremi Game Reserve (1965). Strife between the Basarwa bands and the new wildlife manager ensued after the creation of protected areas. This was because protected areas were exclusive and the Basarwa were denied access to hunting and gathering in the areas which they previously enjoyed.

Uncountable issues emerged after Botswana's independence in 1966, affecting wildlife management not only in Ngamiland and amongst the Basarwa communities but also in Botswana as a whole. Initially, the ancient British colonial wildlife management policies and institutions were either adopted or partially modified by the new post-colonial leaders of Botswana. This has resulted in wildlife resources

remaining centralised with little or no participation of local communities in wildlife policy design, except when a community is allocated a hunting quota. Secondly, wildlife policies and institutions in Botswana have continued to be formulated and adopted without the full involvement and participation of all major stakeholders, especially local people living in wildlife areas. Thirdly, all natural resource agencies, institutions and policies are fragmented among indistinct government ministries and departments. This arrangement culminated in policies conflicting with each other during implementation. Under the National Settlement Policy of 1992, for instance, Khwai with its 360 people, was purposed to be acknowledged as a permanent settlement. This, however, is currently not the case as residents of Khwai have been asked to re-locate elsewhere. Fourthly, agencies and institutions dealing with natural resource management are located within line ministries and hence often lack teeth or political support.

The centralisation of wildlife management is the source of all the land use conflicts between the Government and the local Basarwa communities in wildlife areas in Ngamiland District. In the late 1980s, the Government had adopted the notion of CBNRM in an attempt to address the problems of wildlife management, especially in rural areas.

Wood (1993) notes that fighting and insecurity may prevent appropriate management of natural resources and reduce their production, thereby worsening shortages and intensifying competition and conflict though it is difficult to establish a direct link between resource conflicts amongst stakeholders and wildlife decline in Botswana. When several interest groups use them differently in the same natural system or geographic location, conflicts over resources emerge. Resource conflicts involving the Basarwa in Ngamiland and other resource users are characterised by many aspects. An example is the strife between wildlife management and the Basarwa. The establishment of the two protected areas of Moremi Game Reserve and Chobe National Park in Ngamiland District conflicts with the socio-economic activities (e.g. subsistence hunting, gathering) of the people of Khwai and Mababe. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks operates a public campsite and Hotel and Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB) operates several campsites (about

nine) in the area. A few boating safari companies are also operating here. The re-location of the Basarwa from the current Moremi Game Reserve was a condition for the tourism developments envisaged.

This conflict situation has resulted in a lack of cooperation between the two groups in the management of natural resources such as wildlife. The conflict between local communities and DWNP illustrates the Government's unwillingness to engage local communities in wildlife management in protected areas. This conflict should be understood on the basis that Government approaches the utilisation of natural resources following western concepts and ideas of protected area management. The western concept perceives a protected area to be an untouched and untouchable wilderness (Adams & McShane, 1992). This view of nature is based on ignorance of the historical relationships between local people and their habitats and of the role local people play in maintaining biodiversity. Hence the antagonism between people living in wildlife areas and the Government promoting conventional methods of wildlife conservation in the Okavango Basin.

The source of conflict between tour operators and the local communities is the sprouting of tourist activities in the Okavango Delta and the concept that the Okavango should be kept as a complete wilderness area for tourism and wildlife management. Tour operators of Tsaro Game Lodge, Khwai River Game Lodge and Machaba Lodge located along the Khwai River depict the Khwai village to be located within a wildlife and tourist area, a sentiment also expressed by officials from the Departments of Tourism in Maun and Wildlife and National Parks at North Gate in the Moremi Game Reserve. The presence of domestic animals such as donkeys and dogs and the littering at Khwai is also perceived as destructive to the tourist industry.

Khwai residents, nonetheless, were opposed to re-location primarily because they regard the wildlife and the tourist sectors as having encroached in their territory. The government, in retaliation, has imposed draconian measures purposed to indirectly coerce or intimidate the people of Khwai to consider re-location. These measures are not limited to the following: the Government suspension of the provision of all social services such as water supply, clinics, shops, schools and communications.

Thus, Khwai remains virtually undeveloped when compared to most settlements in Ngamiland.

The Republic of Botswana is unique in Africa in that it has had a programme aimed directly at assisting its native hunting-gathering minority, the Bushmen, or, as they are known in Botswana, the Basarwa/San (Wily, 1979; 1982; Lee, 1979, 1993; Guenther, 1986; Hitchcock, 1987; 1996; Hitchcock & Holm, 1993). Despite the Government's Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), the socio-economic status of the 50 000 Bushmen and other rural people has dwindled remarkably in recent years. According to other Africans, the Basarwa are ethnically distinct and their prevailing class position is confined by disabilities of race and ethnicity. Hence the internal politics of the Basarwa of Botswana have come to resemble very much a politics of the oppressed (Hitchcock & Holm, 1993, 1995).

A certain degree of cultural and political autonomy, at least, is being sought by most of the Bushmen of Botswana. They would like land of their own and, as they portray it, "to be left alone so that we can live the way we wish." As one Kua man put it, "We are different from the Tswana majority, and we have the right to be different." However, the Botswana Government is earmarking a policy of assimilation ("villagisation") (Wily, 1979; Hitchcock & Holm, 1993). According to the words of one official, Government policy is to "absorb all of 'these people' into the body politic of the nation of Botswana." One government official told a review committee in 1990 that: "There should be no 'Bushman Problem' since we are doing everything possible to make sure that they have sufficient economic opportunities" (Hitchcock, 1996). The problem is that the kinds of strategies that are being essayed have had relatively little effect in terms of increasing decision-making power and political rights among Bushmen groups (Hitchcock & Holm, 1993; Wily, 1994). Self-determination has not been achieved by the Bushmen of Botswana, as indeed is the case for virtually all former foragers in Africa. Some former foraging groups have engaged in armed struggles against the states in which they resided, as was the case, for example, with the Tyua Bushmen in Zimbabwe (Hitchcock, 1995).

Certain portions of Basarwa have called for the right to make their own decisions about development, while others have requested land of their own (Wily, 1979, 1994; Mogwe, 1992; Hitchcock, 1996). Bushmen demand the right of political participation and the opportunity to have a say in matters pertaining to their own internal and local affairs, including information, education, culture, religion, health, social services, access to local resources, and pursuit of their own types of economic activities.

The number of hunters and gatherers working with livestock rose simultaneously and the spreading of livestock grazing made hunting and gathering more difficult. Naturally occurring permanent water sources, in some places, dried out following grazing-induced vegetation changes and the digging of wells and later the sinking of bore holes for livestock water. Many of the plants eaten by humans, are also eaten by livestock or are destroyed by their trampling, and many species collected for food decreased or disappeared from the heavily grazed areas. Also, wildlife plummeted due to disturbances like hunting and competition from livestock. The hunters and gatherers in the cattle keeping areas, eventually, became increasingly dependent on the cattle posts, while getting more and more alienated from traditional hunting and gathering.

The former hunters and gatherers in the cattle keeping areas of the Kalahari have thus become increasingly dependent of the cattle posts for water and employment, at the same time as they became increasingly alienated from traditional hunting and gathering. Many of the present day remote area dwellers (RADs) still practice some hunting, gathering or in the north, fishing as a supplement to other forms of income Campbell (1991).

Many RADs in the Okavango Delta in North West District live chiefly as fishermen, gatherers and hunters, but also take temporary employment in the tourist sector or on lands and cattle posts outside the delta. The majority of RADs throughout Botswana live on cattle posts, lands or ranches run by other people. In addition to employment on the farms, the RADs may own a few head of livestock, use some cropland, collect veld food or hunt. Campbell (1991) lists 48 employment and income generating activities, most of them related to agriculture, livestock keeping, wild

animal and/or plant resources, in remote areas. Few RADs own enough livestock or have access to sufficient land to be independent.

2.2 THE BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT

Botswana, previously a British Protectorate (Bechuanaland Protectorate), which is a multiparty republic, got its independence in 1966. The country's head of state and government, known as the President, is indirectly elected to a five-year term and limited to a decade in office. The National Assembly of Botswana consists of elected members. The Ntlo ya Dikgosi (House of Chiefs) serves in an advisory role on matters of legislation pertaining to tribal law and custom. It is constituted of permanent members (representing each of the eight Tswana "tribes") and members who are elected to serve a five-year term. The country's judicial system consists of a High Court, a Court of Appeals, and several Magistrate Courts (Parsons, 2019).

There seems to be a lack of effective and appropriate strategic communication interventions that could drive the service delivery of the Botswana Government's community's developmental efforts, which also appears to be the view of numerous reports by public bodies on the matter. The Botswana Institute of Development Policy raised a concern about an analysis that lamented how Botswana's developmental efforts are crippled by a lack of effective communication strategies (*Sunday Standard Newspaper – Botswana, 2008*).

The Government of Botswana embarked on a number of evaluations to review the impact of the Remote Area Development Programme on the livelihoods of remote area dwellers. The outset review (Basarwa Development Programme) mirrored that the goal of sustainable livelihoods was only being partially achieved; whilst the second review, designated Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme, reflected that there are indications that the Programme is still not fully achieving the goal of sustainable livelihoods of the RAD communities (Ministry of Local Government, 2010).

2.3 SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION FOR THE BASARWA

According to the social protection context, there is often a link between vulnerability and poverty. Economists, for example, have defined vulnerability as the risk of future poverty. Vulnerability can be viewed as an experience that has two sides: an exterior side of risks, shocks and stress to which an individual is subject to; and an interior side which is defenceless, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss (Chambers, 1989). Loss can take many forms, including but not limited to becoming or being physically weaker, economically deprived, socially dependent, humiliated or psychologically harmed. The question, therefore, is: To what extent has such programmes been able to reduce vulnerability among the targeted groups?

The Remote Area Development Programme (RADP) is one of the numerous social assistance programmes in Botswana that fall under the category of other transfers. The RADP originated in the 1970s when it was labelled the Bushmen Training and Settlement Project. The Programme, after evaluations, has transformed to focus specifically on ensuring that beneficiaries achieve renewable social and economic development and that they benefit equally from rapid economic development of the country. Children that benefit from the Programme are often faced with the problem of walking long distances to schools and their inability to speak the languages in school (English or Setswana). Like other Botswana citizens, remote area dwellers are required by law to produce passports when they cross the borders to neighbouring countries.

According to the Mid-Term Review (MTR) of National Development Plan 9 (NDP 9), the RADP have been aligned with Vision 2016. A long-term vision for the nation was launched in 1997 by the Botswana Government with seven pillars, namely: to develop an educated and informed nation; a prosperous, productive and innovative nation; a compassionate, just and caring nation; a safe and secure nation; an open, democratic and accountable nation; a moral and tolerant nation; and finally, a united and proud nation and Millennium Development Goals to fast track developments in remote areas with emphasis on economic empowerment through income generating projects, such as livestock.

There are various and numerous reasons as to why the Basarwa in sundry parts of the country were being encouraged or forcibly resettled to dwell in bigger villages where the Government would be able to conveniently provide social services. The supply of services for the Basarwa involved what the Botswana Government termed the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP). The Botswana Government used the term 'Remote Area Dwellers' for the first time in 1978, which encompasses people living outside villages in rural areas. Mogwe (1992) and Saugestad (1998:4) supported this, and specified that a Setswana term for this is '*Tengnyanateng*', which is at times regarded as meaning 'people from deep within the deep', though it is a description that is not necessarily appreciated by the people to whom it is applied.

Against this background the former assistant Agriculture Minister, Pelokgale Seloma, echoed one view that the Basarwa should not be left to rely on wild animals when he was addressing *kgotla* meetings in September 2000 at Xanxana, Gudigwa and Beetsha in the Okavango region. He felt that it is necessary to preserve wild animals because they play a pivotal role in Botswana's economic development. He informed the audience that the Government decided to stop the issuance of special game hunting licenses to the Basarwa because some species of animals were declining. Rather, his contention was that the Government wants to improve the standard of living for the Basarwa, hence the introduction of the RADP and Economic Promotion Fund (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000).

The former assistant Minister, during the meeting, told Okavango residents to settle in bigger villages where the Government would be able to provide social services. He explained that Government's concern about the spouting of settlements where it would be difficult, if not impossible, was to provide amenities (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000)

The Botswana Government's state-owned newspaper, in support of the Minister's concern, reported on 17th October 2000, that the destitute and orphans in the Okavango Sub-District area do not receive the assistance they deserve from their local authority because of transport problems. Mr Simon Bojosi, declared that their

social and community development officers, the local authority's assistant council secretary, after exhausting efforts to get a government vehicle from a neighbouring village, Maun, eventually had to engage private transporters, who, ultimately, complained about the conditions of the road in the sub-district. Monthly food allocation for the 876 destitute people was received after three or four months (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000)

As the Basarwa resettlement exercise was effected, involving some Basarwa families from the CKGR to New Xade, the Government of Botswana (of amongst the many social services) commenced what they termed 'empowering Basarwa economically' by offering them cattle for rearing. A total of 30 Basarwa families at New Xade received the cattle, which amounted to 75 heads of cattle to 15 families. The other 338 cattle for 68 households were expected to be delivered later (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000).

The Programme was not only carried out at New Xade, but also included other settlements of the Basarwa in Ghanzi, Kalahari and Kweneng Districts. However, a novel development occurred: Ghanzi and Kweneng District authorities were at that moment arranging to meet at Mothomolo Camp in the CKGR to discuss the return of some Basarwa into the CKGR after the relocation in 1997. The meeting was to devise ways to encourage those Basarwa to return to the settlement established for them so that they could also enjoy social services experienced by other Basarwa communities (*Mmegi News*, 2000).

On the other hand, a developmental drive is depicted in the country's National Development Plan 10 (NDP); the very industry that affects the Basarwa mostly, is tourism. The Government of Botswana, in its 10th National Development Plan, showcases tourism as what they termed "an important engine for economic growth in the country". Tourism represents approximately 2.5% of the Gross Domestic Product of Botswana. The Botswana Government admits that in global terms Botswana does not stand out as a well-known and sought after tourism destination. Tourists spent P5.1 billion during the NDP 10 period.

As alluded to by Hitchcock and Babchuk (2015), and as informed by the tourism figures, the Botswana Government decided that a much greater emphasis warrants to be placed on cultural tourism for diversification purposes, and for the purposes of the tourism industry, and will increase the benefits to local people. Therefore, the Botswana Government is on an endeavor to pursue a “high value - low volume” approach to tourism; the result is that tourists are charged high prices to enter parks, monuments, and game reserves.

The Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme (ARADP) and their predecessors have since 1974 worked with the general aim of improving the living conditions for RADs in Botswana. As pointed out by Adams (1994), it is, however, unclear "whether the ultimate purpose of the Programme was:

- a) to improve the relative economic status of people who have so far not attained their full and equal rights as citizens, tribesmen and employees; or
- b) to incorporate RADs (i.e. Basarwa) into Botswana society and the mainstream of economic and social development".

The environmental implications of the two aims are not explicit, but the first might include, but not be restricted to, a more diverse utilisation of natural resources, while the latter may have its main emphasis on livestock and arable agriculture. The main concern of RADP up to now has been with infrastructure and the provision of services like water, health care and education facilities. Primarily, the Programme has been implemented as a settlement scheme, and it is generally agreed that the infrastructure components of the RADP have been reasonably successful, particularly with respect to water supplies and health care. There is also general agreement that there is an urgent need for more attention to be given to economic development and income generation (Kann 1990, Botswana National Development Plan 7, 1991)

2.4 SOCIAL AND WELFARE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASARWA

In 1978, the Botswana Government launched a programme of socio-economic and political development of people living in remote areas which were carried out through the Remote Area Development Programme (RADP); it replaced the Basarwa Development Programme (BDP) of 1974. The BDP was considered separatist since it excluded other ethnic groups that dwelled in the same remote areas as the Basarwa and were of the same socio-economic status as them (Maribe, 2003).

The main objective of the RADP is to elevate the social, political, economic and cultural development of all people living in harsh remote areas, irrespective of their ethnicity (Maribe, 2003). This objective is expected to enable people living in remote areas to equally benefit from the economic growth of Botswana. Specific objectives of the RADP include the following: intensify development of remote settlements in order to bring them on par with other villages in the country; promote production oriented income and employment generating activities; promote social, cultural and economic advancement of remote communities; and enhance their access to land (Maribe, 2003). The Botswana Government approaches the socio-economic and political development of the Basarwa in the CKGR through this model, hence they were relocated from the six settlements in the CKGR to form the two settlements of Kaudwane and New Xade outside the Game Reserve.

There are 64 settlements in Botswana that have so far been developed through the RADP (Maribe, 2003). These settlements have been furnished with primary schools, health posts (New Xade has a clinic with a maternity ward), water reticulation and other basic socio-economic and political services such as tribal administration and the gravelling of roads. The Government has also assisted in promoting economic development in these settlements through the Economic Promotion Fund, whose main focus is the promotion of small-scale income generating activities and the provision of livestock. The RADP is currently under review and its initial evaluation report has revealed that major achievements have been made in the provision of physical infrastructure and that consideration should be given to sustainable livelihoods of the people living in remote areas (Maribe, 2003).

Nevertheless, caution needs to be taken to avoid a top-down approach when such alternative livelihood strategies are developed. The resettlement policy or RADP has the potential of uplifting rural development, mainly because a developing country such as Botswana might not have ample financial and economic resources to provide the socio-political infrastructure and services to all people living in small-scattered settlements. Consequently, the Programme elevates the sharing of limited economic resources in remote areas, hence the need to ensemble or resettles some people to form bigger villages. In the case of the CKGR, Xade had an estimated population of 800 people in 2001; all the other five settlements had a smaller number of people. It is from this perspective that the RADP and the resettling of the Basarwa from the CKGR could partly be understood.

Failure to broaden the consultative forum to include other stakeholders has since made the NGOs object relocation, they are campaigning that the Basarwa, who now reside at Kaudwane and New Xade, should consider abandoning these settlements and return to their ancient settlements within the CKGR. “In accordance with their universally held and accepted human rights, the Basarwa must be allowed to return to their land and live there without further harassment” (CKGR. SI, 2004:7). The lack of participation by all stakeholders in the decision-making process is a recipe for conflict, as is the present arguments between the Botswana Government on the one hand and the FPK and Survival International on the other. The omission of other stakeholders from the decision-making process goes against the ideals of sustainable development, particularly the notion of social equity that promotes the involvement of all stakeholders in the decision-making process that affects interest groups (WECD, 1987; UNCED, 1992).

Between 1961 and 1986, the Basarwa were gaining social and political consciousness when many of them experienced rapid social reform. Much of the enlightenment began as a corollary to the Tribal Land Act. Basarwa were excluded from The Tribal Land Act of 1968, on the pretext of not being deemed as tribesmen, which gave land rights to members of the different tribes. The inequity of the Tribal Land Act was intensified by the implementation of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy

(TGLP) seven years later, in 1975. The TGLP allowed ranches to be delimited in communal grazing areas in districts with sufficient land. Basarwa living on such grazing lands were evicted by the ranchers without compensation because, not being members of any tribe, they were regarded as having no rights to the land they had been occupying.

The problems which emanate from the ethnic minority situation of the Basarwa are obviously quite different from the problems arising from the dispersed settlement pattern of the RADs; therefore, the solutions provided by a development programme would vary according to what the problem is construed to be. In connection with the operations of the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF), which was established under the ARADP, the wide RAD definition given above was elaborated upon. The EPF guidelines are concerned with communities which would be eligible for support from the EPF, and here the RADs are defined as:

- All people who live outside village settlements who tend to live in small scattered communities and are sometimes mobile, covering large areas, tend to reside far from basic services and facilities;
- tend to fall outside the scope of other national development programmes;
- tend to be poor, lack adequate cash income, or have the lowest wages;
- tend to rely heavily on hunting and gathering as a source of livelihood;
- tend to lack livestock;
- tend to have no, or inadequate access to land and difficulties in getting land allocated to them;
- tend to have no or inadequate access to water and have few or no water rights;
- tend to be marginalised ecologically since the resource base upon which they depend is deteriorating;
- tend to be culturally and linguistically distinct, with another language than Setswana as their mother tongue;
- tend to have a low level of literacy and little access to formal education;
- tend to have egalitarian political structures; and

- tend to be a 'silent' sector politically, with no appointed leaders of their own and no representation in political bodies, including Land Boards" (Saugestad, 1995:11).

This catalogue of hardships includes a number of features which point to a group which is disadvantaged to the extent that the distinction between RADs and non-RADs clearly involves far more than simply degrees of poverty. This is an important point, because it is frequently argued that although the RADs are poor, there are also a number of poor non-RADs and that it would be unfair to treat the poor RADs differently from the poor non-RADs. Hence, the RADP provides to the RADs the kind of social services which is being provided to the non-RADs in the villages (primarily water, health and education). By organising the effort in a special programme (the RADP) it is possible to provide these services to settlements which are smaller than the normal minimum size of 500 inhabitants.

2.5 BASARWA BUSINESS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Community development trusts and enterprises were established through the support of some stakeholders and the Botswana Government. Amongst them, a cultural tourism project was set up at Diphuduhudu settlement in Letlhakeng Sub-District. The project, which consisted of a tourism cultural village situated 12 kilometres from the settlement, was an articulate venture between Gale Bushmen Tours and the village trust (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000).

Whilst efforts were made to engage the Basarwa to partake in business enterprises, issues of maladministration and misappropriation of funds were also experienced. In one of the settlements known as D'kar, residents were demonstrating, threatening to burn Kuru Development Trust offices on the grounds that management closed them before consulting the people. According to the Botswana Daily News, the closure of the trust's offices by the board of governors affected some community members who were laid off following the closure. In addition, residents were furious that the board of governors for the trust once supplicated funds under its auspices, but the beneficiaries got nothing. As was reported by the government newspaper, the then

District commissioner had to arrange a meeting with the board regarding the issue (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000).

Rather, the board was alleged to have divided the money amongst themselves, each getting P1 500.00 (one thousand and five hundred pula) without notifying their community. In 1830, the Europeans arrival and trade in Ngamiland District accelerated the traditional wildlife management systems of all the ethnic groups. Trade between the people of Ngamiland and European traders entailed the exchange of ivory, ostrich feathers, karosses and to lesser extent hippo teeth, with cheaper items such as household goods, clothes, wine and guns (Tlou 1985). All these commodities were previously not regarded as valuable by the people of Ngamiland District: before the coming of the Europeans. The involvement of these people in European trade transformed their traditional wildlife utilisation patterns as wildlife species were no longer used only for consumptive and religious purposes but for commercial purposes as well. The marginalised groups such as the Basarwa, were grossly affected by these changes, and were required by the Batawana masters to provide wildlife products for trade with the Europeans.

Over-harvesting of particular species ensued since the trade was driven by profit making without any consideration for the ecological aspects. The involvement with the Europeans also led to the Batawana kings failing to control the use of wildlife as they had done before. Consequently, there were two major players responsible for the over-exploitation of wildlife resources in Ngamiland: the European traders, the local kings and their people. The expansion of European trade in Ngamiland introduced the use of guns which later spread at an alarming rate. An example is that, by 1874, *Kgosi* Moremi of Ngamiland District personally owned more than 2,000 modern rifles, which he gave to his people to hunt on his behalf. It is estimated that there was a total of about 8 000 rifles in Ngamiland District at that time; all these subjected wildlife to terrific pressure (White, 1995). The Batawana kings used their regiments (*mephato*) and newly acquired guns for hunting wildlife resources for sale in the whole of the Okavango region.

The tribute system (*sehuba*) became the source of most trade goods used by

Batawana kings in the Ngamiland District, as trade of wildlife products increased in Ngamiland. Officials or representatives of the Batawana king journeyed throughout the state to amass tribute, and this collection became more frequent, systematic and rigorous for the people of the Okavango. The standing of the Batawana provincial governors within the administrative system was enhanced in their role in tribute collection from hunting. The tribute system enriched the kings instead of acting as a sign of respect and loyalty to the king, as well as safeguarding sustained wildlife populations in the veld. This depicted the dismantling of the traditional culture of wildlife conservation due to European influence in trade and the introduction of an open access regime in resource management in Ngamiland District.

Property rights over natural resources are distinguished communal rights or common property in most parts of Africa, incorporating Botswana. Resources such as land are held in common by a group engulfed by the boundaries of location, ethnicity, clan, or lineage (Berry, 1989; Hitchcock, 1984). Generally, property rights are not designated beyond a simple use right, thereby disabling the alienation of parts of the communal ownership, even in those cases where a plot of land has been farmed continually for several generations by a family (Lawry, 1990; Barnard, 1992; Bennett 1986). Therefore, the resources are a common good, since actors cannot be excluded, yet it was rival in use; a household cannot cultivate a plot already used by another. No social actor can be refused the right to access and use communal land, as long as they respect the principle that ensures social integration. The Basarwa traditionally have few personal belongings. These are largely made up of shelter, hunting and gathering tools, utensils, clothing, ornaments and musical instruments (Hitchcock & Ebert, 1989; Lawry, 1990).

The concept of matrimonial property is unknown to the Basarwa - they belong to either men or women, personal belongings being so few such that Basarwa property law really rotates around the use of the common property. Their property system embodies both output sharing and access sharing common property which excludes outsiders (Lueck, 1994). With the community operating within an ambiguous area within which it steers from place to place, it is not the area itself, but rather its resources that are thought of as the common property. These resources, namely rain

and ground water, the waterholes, the wild plant food and animals, are there for equal use by all of the community or group members. People from neighbouring groups need authorisation to hunt and gather in the community's area or draw water from it (Barnard, 1992). Permission is sought from the founder-members of the group - their eldest descendants or long-standing group members who act as spokesmen of the group.

Whilst permanent and semi-permanent waterholes are community property, rain and ground water belongs to no one. According to Lee and Hitchcock (1998), veld products, which constitute between 60 – 80 percent of the Basarwa subsistence base, are also community property, but once collected, belong to the household that collected them. The game animals belong to no one until they are killed. Small animals become the property of the person who slaughters them, and are consumed within his own family (Wilsem, 1989; Biesele *et. al.*, 1989). To catch the larger animals entails, of course, a hunting party, which relies heavily on collective action principles. The constitution of the hunting party, which is seldom larger than four or five adult or near-adult men, is not a matter of convention, and no one is formally in command. Once an animal has been hit with a poisoned arrow, the hunters follow it into neighbouring group territory and if neighbours cross the hunters' track, they will be given a present of meat, but no tribute is obligatory. According to Basarwa property law, the animal belongs to the owner of the first arrow to have been effectively lodged into it so that it penetrated enough for its poison to work (Lee & Hitchcock, 1998). The meat of large animals, however, is shared with everyone in the community, visitors included, according to definite rules. It is upon the owner of the first arrow to make the initial distribution of the meat, and who receives from him, will give again, and so on.

A solid foundation for CBNRM in Botswana was established under the auspices of the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1992. Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) and subsequent sub-division into Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs) under specified management authority CBNRM, has been accepted as a rural development and conservation strategy in Botswana. Rural communities, irrespective of socio-economic diverse status, are encouraged to form community based organisations

(CBOs) called conservation trusts. These trusts can be considered as 'exclusive clubs', and the norms of reciprocity or social capital embedded in them as a club good. An exclusive club is a voluntary but restricted group that derives mutual benefits from sharing goods characterised by excludable benefits (Ostrom, 1990; Provan & Milward, 1995). Similarly, once registered as a legal entity, CBO membership is composed of all people who have resided in the concerned village(s) for more than five years. The literature on clubs outlines many similar characteristics that contribute to its success. The characteristics that are emphasised as being important are: leadership (Carlson, 1987), member participation (Stirling, 1993), goal setting (Hass, 1989; Carlson, 1987), size (Hass, 1989), diversity and meeting structure (length, frequency).

Communities in the Northern Kgalagadi District especially the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust that managed the KD1 controlled hunting area, are members of a CBO. This CBO is formed by dwellers of four settlements (Ukhwi, Ncaang, Monong, and Ngwatle). Two indistinct ethnic groups form these communities, Basarwa (70%) and Bakgalagadi (30%). In the 1970s, the Basarwa were relocated in these areas; they were coerced to abide adjacent with the more prominent Bakgalagadi, who are wealthier agro-pastoralists (Hitchcock & Ebert, 1984). Traditionally, the Basarwa have no formal authority figure or chief, but they rather govern themselves by group consensus. All decisions were made communally within the group. Disputes are resolved through discussions where all involved have a chance to make their thoughts heard, until some agreement is reached; nonetheless, in most cases, Bakgalagadi assume leadership.

The Basarwa had direct access to wildlife through Special Game Licenses (SGLs) contrary to Bakgalagadi in the recent pasts, which have now been phased out. Each license holder was entitled to hunt a limited number of animals throughout the year. Only traditional hunting methods could be employed (dogs and spears). This meant that animals such as gemsbok could be hunted with a relatively good chance of success. In addition, license holders were not allowed to sell any game meat (Gujadhur, 2001; Bieseke *et.al.*, 1989). However, over-hunting occurred, particularly

with regard to the gemsbok and partly due to the misuse of licences (Hitchcock *et.al.*, 1996).

Eventually, the hunting success rate for subsistence hunters diminished to a point where the residents of KD 1 became more and more accommodative to the notion of ceding their individual hunting licenses and converting to the newly introduced community quota system. It was felt that the opportunities for generating income and employment through the community quota system would off-set the disadvantages anticipated by the SGL holders if they were to lose their individual access to the wildlife resource. For the population of KD 1 as a whole, the community management and utilisation of the available resources was seen as an opportunity to improve living conditions in a way that several decades of government support could not achieve.

The Government of Botswana and foreign donors have spent comparatively modest amounts of money on the RADP since its inception in 1974, and the Programme did not enjoy a high priority in the development plans. The planning figure for NDP 6 was boosted ten-fold, however, from Pula 1.5 million to P 15.2 million, in the process leading up to Norwegian support for the Programme, which for a few years was known as the Accelerated Remote Area Development Programme. A similar level of funding was planned for NDP 7.

The RADP as a development effort has been ongoing since 1974. Initially, it was called the Bushman Development Programme but was renamed to avoid the notion of "separate development" which at the time was associated with the apartheid policies of neighbouring South Africa. The target group which was intended to benefit from the effort was also redefined in response to concerns about "separate development". Therefore, the Programme was not directed at the diverse ethnic groups which could be called Bushmen (or Basarwa in Botswana), but rather at a socio-economic category of Remote Area Dwellers (RADs), whose main distinguishing feature was residence outside the recognised villages. Nonetheless, there exists an enormous degree of overlap between the two classes, so that most RADs are Basarwa and most Basarwa are also RADs. Although NORAD,

throughout, has accepted the reasons for using the socioeconomic definition (RADs) of the target population, the alternative ethnic definition (Basarwa) seems to have been important within NORAD. The ARADP Agreement actually entails a definition of the target population, which draws on both the RAD and the Basarwa definition. The important point about this difference in perception is that the respective definitions carry with them different ideas about the problems which the development programme is intended to challenge. Ideally, the interventions of the development programme should address the problems at hand, and the solutions tendered would, therefore, hinge on how the problem is perceived. The RAD definition basically sees the problem in terms of degrees of poverty, while the Basarwa definition points to problems arising out of the depressed status, in political, economic and social terms, of one or more ethnic groups. Although it has been politically convenient to have it earmarked towards the RADs for a number of reasons, which NORAD also accepted.

The tension between these two positions has been with the RADP since its inception and the main development intervention prescribed for the Programme has essayed a consensus between the two, in the sense that it seems to have accepted the RAD definition for the purpose of doing something about the ethnic minority situation of the Basarwa. A settlement strategy was devised, in which social services like water, health care and education, as well as administrative services like a Headman, a tribal court, tribal police and a Village Development Committee would be offered to people living dispersed in the bush. It was presumed that the provision of water in a settlement would grant land rights to the dwellers of the settlement, who, through exclusive use, would further consolidate their rights. The residents were unable to exercise exclusive rights to these areas, limited as they were. As a result, the settlements have not been able to offer any viable economic alternatives to the people who settled in them. Most of the inhabitants were surviving on famine relief throughout the 1980's and on other forms of Government subsidy and relief into the 1990's.

When NORAD in 1988 agreed to support the RADP, it, for all practical purposes, accepted the settlement strategy which had been the pivot of the Programme from

the outset. A review of the situation of the RADP, two years later, revealed that the strategy was ineffective in terms of providing the target population with an improved standard of living. Poverty, insecurity, inadequate education and training, weak institutions and leadership and negative public attitudes depicted the situation of the target population. The 1990 review, therefore, proposed that the RADP should shift its attention away from the infrastructure investments of the settlement strategy and rather concentrate on issues like land rights, employment opportunities, institution, building, leadership training and changing prevailing negative public attitudes towards the target population.

An alternative strategy which was known as an empowerment strategy was then approved in the NDP 7 which was being prepared at the time. A request for NORAD to continue its support for the RADP in the new plan period was affected and in 1991 NORAD was actually preparing to extend the 1988 agreement and provide NOK 60 million to NDP 7. However, before the agreement was extended, an episode involving three farms in Ghanzi District caused some misgivings. The general policy direction of the RADP derives from the Government of Botswana's Rural Development Policy which was set out in 1972: on the pretext of development, democracy, unity and self-reliance, Botswana should yearn for social justice and equality of opportunity. Persuasion, rather than compulsion, should be used to attain change.

These objectives were to be realised through a rural development programme with the following aims:

- Creating new employment opportunities;
- improving services in the rural areas (water supplies, education, medical and welfare services, etc.), leading to healthier, smaller, better educated and better fed families;
- increasing sustained production from the land, through the introduction of correct land use and management practices; and
- Improving marketing and credit facilities in the rural areas.

Botswana has had the greatest success with the fourth aim, in general, and has gained tremendous mileage in service provision and facilities related to them. The aim of increasing production through correct land use has fared less well; such as the Tribal Grazing Lands Policy, amongst others. The provision of cattle and small stock to RADs with EPF funding is understandably popular and is proceeding apace in several districts, subject to drought constraints (the Programme is currently suspended in Bobirwa sub-district of Central) and availability of stock for purchase by the RADP for distribution to beneficiaries. Typical numbers now distributed are five cattle or 15 goats per recipient (Kgalagadi district distributes small stock only). The beneficiaries, earlier, were asked to return some stock on a 'revolving fund' basis once the animals had multiplied. This is no longer done, although some households have still been asked to pass goats on to other families once the numbers have increased. RADP monitors the new stock owners in the early years and is technically empowered to repossess the animals if not satisfied with management standards. The programme enables and arrange veterinary services and, through related RADP activities, coordinates water supplies and stock handling facilities.

This is a programme component in which management RADs are actively involved. The mission was taken to one satisfied group of RAD recipients at Kaore in Ngamiland. These Basarwa, who used to work on Batawana's cattle posts before being set up at Kaore by the District Council, have formed a syndicate with six members, each of whom individually owns cattle in the total herd of about 60 beasts. A shallow well was developed, with the assistance of RAPD, which is officially designated to the syndicate by the local Sub Land Board. The people owned some cattle of their own when they first joined, and were then given three each by the Programme. In spite of their evident approval of the project, since nonstock has not been marketed, the participants have not yet earned the financial benefits of it.

The livestock scheme is successful in local terms, though there have been some stock losses due to disease and apparent theft. Recently, there has been little marketing, but milk and other in kind income is derived. The many RADs who are competent stock keepers, find the activity lucrative, and the many Batswana who

think Basarwa should adopt their cattle keeping culture, are presumably satisfied also. To date, the land access and environmental implications of the scheme have not been adequately assessed, partially in that the amounts of stock are still insignificant. From the outset, Basarwa at Grootlaagte had wanted to do this on their farm, but changed their minds and converted to cattle ranching after DWNP advised against the game op.

The initial function of the Netherlands Development Organisation SNV's was to provide and synchronise Dutch professional volunteers in developing countries. The organisation prevails to do this and it also funds some activities (such as the MTC staff at Zutshwa and the coordinator of Gantsi Craft) directly. Its 1994 - 1998 strategy advocates that the Basarwa and poor rural women constitute the main target groups (SNV, 1994:8).

The sub-objectives of SNV's Remote Area Core Programme Strategy were to:

- Augment Basarwa's cultural vitality and to aid in identity building, for instance by upholding pre-school, non-formal adult and vocational education; assisting cultural organisations, museums, craft centers and art production; and supporting Sesarwa language training and research
- Strengthen social liberty and political mobilisation of Basarwa through awareness raising and enhancement of their campaigning capacity, for example by supporting political education, information dissemination and national and international networking; and special support for the self-reliance of women, in order to gain control over crucial resources
- Strengthen the economic position of the Basarwa, for example, by providing business advisers to cooperatives in small settlements; assisting small scale enterprises; aiding Brigades' extension and training activities; providing natural resource management advisers; catering planning staff for community based natural resource management activities at DWNP; undertaking

consultancies on land use planning; purchasing and developing freehold farms; and assisting in agricultural research and extension.

SNV's Remote Area Core Programme was instituted in Ghanzi, Kgalagadi and Ngamiland districts and in Boteti sub-district. The Basarwa are estranged from their lifestyle, which was based on a closer relationship with the land, its wildlife and products. The Basarwa are, furthermore, being fitted into a hitherto alien mode of existence owing to the creation of settled communities.

It is indispensable for this research to establish if the success of tourism, established to display Basarwa arts and culture, not only benefited the tourism industry in the country, but also if the community benefited or were engaged to be participants.

2.6 GOVERNANCE

Governance is the process, or the power of governing, government or administration and it is also the specific system by which a political system is ruled. Governance is commonly defined as the *exercise of power or authority by political leaders for the well-being of their country's citizens or subjects*. It is the complex process whereby some sectors of the society wield power, and enact and promulgate public policies, which directly affect human and institutional interactions, and economic and social development. The power exercised by the participating sectors of the society is always for the common good, as it is essential for demanding respect and cooperation from the citizens and the state. As such, a great deal about governance is the proper and effective utilisation of resources. Governance as a word emanates from the Latin verb "gubernance" or more originally from the Greek word "kubernaein", which means "to steer". So, it is a means of steering, controlling and/or governing, or of directing a group of people or a state. It is essentially attached to politics, since politics is often defined as the art of governance. Governance also deals with the public sector, power structures, equity, and ideals of public administration. Nevertheless, they are distinct from each other in the sense that politics is broader than governance.

Good governance is understood through its eight indicators or characteristics: participatory; rule of law; effective and efficient; transparent; responsive; equitable and inclusive; consensus oriented; and accountability. Good governance essentially requires participation of different sectors of the society. Participation means *active involvement of all affected and interested parties in the decision-making process*. It requires an enabling environment wherein pertinent information is effectively disseminated and people can respond in an unconstrained and truthful manner. It also means gender equality, recognising the vital roles of both men and women in decision-making.

Good governance, legislation and policies for the Basarwa community and their involvement should also apply to their social welfare matters, so that management decisions can be carried out fairly and transparently with adequate stakeholder participation in the decision-making process. This can be influenced by the good governance principles reflected below.

2.7 CALLS FOR AN INCLUSIVE CONSTITUTION

The country adopted a commission to review section 77, 78 and 79 of the country's Constitution. Established in July 2000, the purpose was in response to perceived tribal inequalities between the dominant Batswana and the smaller minority tribes (Balopi, 2000).

Mr. Kgogo Kgonkane, at a meeting in Letlhakeng in August 2000, spoke of the need for the Basarwa to have their own paramount chief. He notified the commission meeting that the Basarwa are one of the under privileged communities because they do not have a paramount chief and that if his appeal is accepted, the Basarwa will convene and appoint someone eligible. Since he was of the view that the Basarwa know themselves, it would not be difficult for them to choose their own tribesmen. He specified that the Basarwa Tribal Authority extends from Letlhakeng up to Tsetseng, just like one of the minority tribes, Bakgalagadi, of Kweneng District.

Residents in Nata–village, at a commission's consultative meeting, expressed the need for the Basarwa to be represented in the House of Chiefs. The commission heard that the Basarwa, who were early inhabitants of Botswana, had been oppressed by other tribes for many years. Participants called for the Constitution to be amended to ensure that all ethnic groups received equal treatment.

A Debswana senior officer (Debswana Human Resource Manager, Tsetsele Fantam, echoed a call for inclusive participation, and he reiterated the need to rectify special council nominations of councillors to make it inclusive), when addressing a ruling party (Botswana Democratic Party) at a women's millennium dinner, stated that the system should be constituted for marginalised groups (referring to women and minority groups).

2.8 LEGAL BATTLES BETWEEN THE BASARWA AND THE BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT

Court cases contesting the exercise were fought, some of which favoured the Basarwa. Farida Shaheed (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), who slammed Botswana's marginalisation of smaller tribes, raised a concern despite the court ruling, confirming the right of the Basarwa petitioners to return to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. She requested the Botswana Government to clarify the matter, as there appears to be, what she denoted, an overly restrictive interpretation of the court ruling and the right of offspring to remain on the Reserve upon attaining the age of eighteen (*Sunday Standard Newspaper*, 2014). Some affected Basarwa even went as far as expressing sentiments as below:

“The abuse of the Basarwa by the government must come to an end. We are tired of always having to go the court route to fight for what is ours. This clearly shows that if there were no courts and lawyers in the country, Basarwa will be a doomed tribe”

(Roy Sesana, *Mmegi Newspaper*, 11, November 2016)

The aforesaid is a statement from one of the Basarwa activists at the end of one of the recent legal wrangles, where the High Court of Botswana commanded the

Government to recompense some Basarwa for seizing and auctioning their livestock and depositing the proceeds into the National Treasury. Over 95 goats and a horse, were seized by the Government, on the basis that they were brought into the CKGR illegally in 2009. The livestock were removed after the Basarwa were removed from the CKGR, hence the livestock was within the area that the Basarwa were prohibited to enter (*Mmegi Newspaper*, 2016).

The above case is one amongst many and this thesis narrates the historical background of various Basarwa cases between them and the Botswana Government. This emanates from the history of the indigenous people in Africa. The native people of southern Africa known as San and the Pygmies also known as Batwa of Central Africa generally have difficulties in obtaining legal rights to land and resources (Barnard & Kenrick, 2001; Vber, Dahl, Wilson & Waehle, 1993).

Jerry Raynolds in the *Indian Country Today*, in a case between the Government of Botswana and the Basarwa, reported on 3rd January 2007, that the High Court in Botswana edicted on December 13th that the indigenous people of the Kalahari Desert were “wrongly deprived of their possessions”, including land where their ancestors hunted and gathered. This, he puts it, opens doors to the unprecedented restoration of semi-nomads to their ancient practices. It consolidates the legal framework of recognised indigenous rights that has spread from the United States in the 1950s, to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the world (except Asia) and now Africa.

The *Sunday Standard Newspaper*, dated March 18 – 24, 2018, reported that leaked information revealed that the United States Government had expressed fears that Botswana Government intentionally placed British lawyer, Gordon Bennet on a visa list with the purpose of disabling the Basarwa of the Central Game Reserve in their fresh legal issue with the Government.

The Basarwa won the 2006 High Court case which reflected that there was a failure by the Government of Botswana to adequately consult the indigenous groups on significant decisions affecting them and on matters affecting the land rights and

resources. It was on 13th December 2006 when the Basarwa won a historic ruling in their long-running court case against the Government. Nobody thought the Bushmen had any rights before their court victory. "Nobody even cared" that is according to the San's British-based lawyer, Gordon Bennet.

2.9 CONCLUSION

The Basarwa have experienced quite a number of hurdles in terms of land ownership, change in lifestyle or lack of practicing the traditional ways of life. There is evidence that some of the tourist attractions include that of rock art paintings which have been turned into World Heritage sites, but the unfortunate part is that old age customs are not conveyed to young generations of the Basarwa. Consequently, the question of concern is, can the Botswana Government and Khwai community efficiently develop a collaborative relationship that can make them both active participants in the strategic decision-making and policy development processes to guarantee that the Basarwa community within the area benefit from the local resources (tourism, wildlife and revenue accrued from these resources). This is an issue that this thesis seeks to discuss.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter deals with the theoretical framework of the study and more specifically with strategic communication management, government communication and development communication. The study focuses primarily on community involvement measures that are used in community development. The study is multi-disciplinary and includes the disciplines of communication management, as well as development communication, strategic communication management and government communication.

The theoretical framework for this study is discussed below.

3.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Theory in this study is defined as models, frameworks or a body of knowledge (Gregor, 2006:614). A theory is also defined as a formulation regarding the relationships between two or more variables (Weber, Gill & Johnson, 2002; Saunders, *et al.*, 2009:36).

The theoretical framework, therefore, provides an explanation to the employed theories in the research. This study used theoretical framework which shows the meta-theoretical and theoretical conceptualisation. These are presented in the table below.

Table 2. Theoretical framework

Meta-theoretical approach	Integrative strategic communication management theory		
Theory	Intersection Framework and Elements of Relational Networking and Cultural Assets		
Disciplines	Communication Management	Government communication	Development Communication
Concepts	Strategic communication	Participatory development Participatory communication	Community involvement Community engagement
Constructs	Sustainable and participatory development Governance Communication (government communication, development communication, participatory communication) Stakeholder relationship management (community involvement, community engagement), Country reputation		

Source: Author's conceptualisation

3.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THEORY IN THIS STUDY

3.3.1 METATHEORY

The metatheory identified for this study is the *integrative strategic communication management theory*, with its main concepts of sustainability, governance, strategy, communication, stakeholder relationships and corporate reputation. These concepts provided guidance for the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the study. De Beer (2014) states in the development of her substantive theory of the conceptualisation of strategic communication management in the triple context environment of people, planet and profit, that reflective stewardship is important for managers to consider in their leadership and management responsibilities. This form of stewardship is supported by various functional and process capabilities that intervene in effectiveness and efficiency, including communication, messages, mutually beneficial stakeholder relationship management, and interaction with a focus on conversation, dialogue and listening. Reflective stewardship also enables a good corporate (or in this case, country) reputation.

Against the above background, sustainable development is seen as a process of change guided by a number of values or principles. Living sustainably depends on a

duty to seek harmony with other people and with nature. The guiding rules are that people must share with each other and care for the Earth. Humanity must take no more from nature than nature can replenish; it in turn means adopting lifestyles and development paths that respect and work within nature's limits. It can be done without rejecting the many benefits that modern technology has brought and embraces the principles of good governance (IUCN, UNEP and WWF 1991).

Good governance is essentially about responsible leadership. Responsible leaders practise statesmanship and consider the legitimate needs and interests of stakeholders and the community at large. The triple context of people, planet and profit also recognises the effect of the modern organisation or government on its stakeholders and citizens respectively. An organisation or a government should ensure that its impact on the economy, society or the natural environment is sustainable. Decision-makers, furthermore, require collaborative responses to sustainability challenges, which is also one of the notions of corporate citizenship. This could take the form of collective pacts, collective codes of conduct and collective policies (King III Report, 2009:23-24). Strong conceptual linkages also exist between sustainability, governance and strategy. The latter is the art and science of directing a systematic plan of action toward a specific, intended result. It requires linking clear objectives to actions (Walkington, 2011).

Communication gaps often develop between an organisation/government and its stakeholders/citizens. A communication gap means that the goals and objectives that are set by management are either not communicated to stakeholders or, if communicated, they have not been understood properly. Communication gaps often result in confusion amongst stakeholders, unclear motives, misaligned priorities and indecisive actions. Sinha D and Sinha S. (2017)

Understanding stakeholder awareness and then developing strategic communication actions to respond to issues result in corrective steps to refine problems. The dilemma is how to measure the value of planned strategic communication initiatives to close the communication gap between an organisation and its stakeholders, or a government and its communities. Communication in a strategic sense is much more

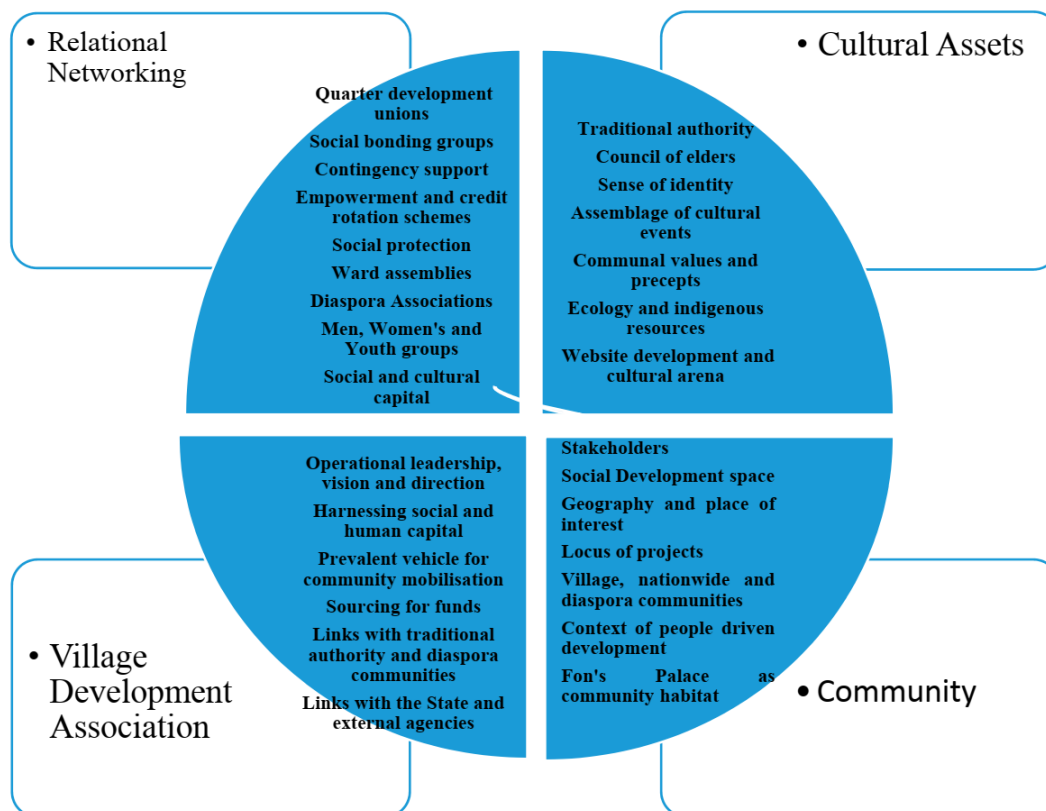
than simply creating awareness. It is a way to create the effects and consequences needed to achieve results. From this perspective, the communication strategy is a plan that serves as a schematic when significant events or issues arise, as it assists to organise information that needs to be communicated, identifies concerns that may be raised, and ensures the proper audiences are reached. It is a key tool driving the success of organisations and governments alike. (Halter,2015)

The reputational approach, which represents the collective perceptions of stakeholders (or the community) about the organisation or government, is also a major perspective in the triple context literature. From this perspective, a well-chosen portfolio of societal engagement and, therefore, social and environmental responsibility may help organisations/governments build reputation capital, and strengthen their ability to negotiate contracts with stakeholders and authorities, be they social contracts or legal contracts (Martinelli & Midttun, 2010:13). Wang (2006:41) posits that even small and large nation states are aware of their image and reputation as an essential part of the state's strategic equity in international affairs. Considering this, a country's national consciousness and reputational capital is politically and economically significant.

3.3.2 THEORY, DISCIPLINES AND CONCEPTS

The theory of *Intersection framework and elements of relational networking and cultural assets* has been identified as the theory that could provide guidance for the study. Each of the concepts in the framework provided support for the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the study, as well as answering the research questions.

Figure 3: Intersection Framework and Elements of Relational Networking and Cultural Assets



Source: Fonchingong, C.; Ngwa, C. Grassroots Participation for Infrastructural Provisioning in North-West Cameroon: Are Village Development Associations (VDA) the Panacea. *Can. J. Dev. Stud.* 2005, **26**, 443–460. [CrossRef]

The intertwined elements of cultural assets and relational networking marshalled to promote community development are laid out as shown in (Figure 3). Such an approach ties in with rethinking community development from the bottom-up. It is anchored in defining the role of proactive citizens, and how they can work together with the main purpose of improving the well-being of their communities. This strategy corroborates the conceptual grounding of community development; a mutual process from everyday existence, understanding histories, cultures, and values, listening to the hopes and concerns of the community aimed at ushering in a process of empowerment and change. There is scope for the deployment of relational networking to fill the gaps in infrastructure provision through needs identification and local solution-focused strategies.

Infrastructure represents constructed amenities and facilities such as pipe-borne water, roads, bridges, community halls, schools, and health centres used collectively and catering for the wellbeing of the community. Village Development Associations (VDAs), as depicted in the figure above, engage community members through a gamut of socio-cultural activities, such as annual cultural festivals, meetings, social groups, project development committees and diaspora linkages. Decision-making is largely overseen by the VDA president in conjunction with members of project boards and committees and important decisions on funding are taken by presidents of operational branches/wards and relayed back to the general president and its executive bureau.

3.4 STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION

Strategic communication is contextually supposed to be a pre-requisite and an instrument of effective policy-making and public participation: from formulating a vision, negotiating and decision-making, developing and implementing plans to monitoring impacts. Communication serves information exchange, establishing a rapport among diverse opinions and interests, and it facilitates the building of know-how, decision-making and action capacities at the heart of the delicate cooperation between government, civil society groups and the private sector. Consequently, the OECD and UNDP regard communication and awareness raising as one of nine core mechanisms to support strategy processes for sustainable development. In a sense, two-way communication is the ‘lifeblood’ of any strategy. Without it, a strategy will not succeed because cooperation and collaboration among key stakeholders depend on it.

The strategic communication approach includes the following;

- Interventions that focus on goals, audiences and messages determine media use
- Target audiences are involved in planning; interventions are based on their values, i.e. their “why” or “what”
- Communication is fully integrated in a project from the start

- Managers analyse the wider system and plan desired outcomes strategically.

Communication facilitates top-down and bottom-up approaches. Conventionally, governments have been resistant to opening up policy- and decision-making to enable participation by stakeholders at all levels. But the many failed top-down planning decisions testify to the need for a judicious balance of both top-down and bottom-up approaches. Strategies need to consider which issues can only be addressed at a national and central level, and which can be addressed more locally. It is often only at the level of a district that a people-pivoted approach to sustainable development becomes truly evident; for at this level, decisions are taken daily by individuals and groups of people that affect their livelihoods, health and often their survival. Individuals and communities are best placed to identify local trends, challenges, problems and needs, and to agree to their own priorities and preferences and determine what skills and capacities are lacking. Hence, some strategies are now beginning to concentrate on different issues at the most appropriate level.

Strategic communication is a combination of different disciplines that, taken together, offer a powerful and complete set of strategies, methods and tools. Because most people think they are good communicators, they believe strategic communication doesn't deserve much attention in their projects or programmes. Yet there are real skills involved in producing effective strategic communication strategies, messages, and materials, and there is a developing science to the field (Oepen & Willner, 2006).

Strategic communication practitioners aim to facilitate rational debate and achieve understanding among target publics. While debates are rarely conclusive, they constitute a complex source of social power, trust and legitimacy for individuals and organisations both in private and government settings (Jensen, 2002). According to Habermas, a public sphere is formed when citizens communicate, either face-to-face or through letters, journals, newspapers or other mass media, in order to express their opinions about matters of general interest, and to subject these opinions to rational discussion (Edgar, 2005:30). For Habermas, the success of the public sphere is dependent upon rational and critical discussion where all participants are able to equally engage, and achieving audience understanding is the ultimate goal.

There is a clear distinction between achieving understanding and achieving consensus (Jensen, 2002).

Strategic communication can facilitate the following;

- Raise awareness and support for sustainable development issues.
- Convince and help people to change their behaviour, e.g. families to adopt environment friendly behaviours such as conserving water, protecting common water sources from contamination,
- Strengthen the capacity of municipal leaders, NGO representatives, and community-based organisations to manage their economic, ecological and social resources sustainably.
- Develop partnerships amongst governments, local communities, and NGOs in order to encourage people to work together for change
- Persuade a country's decision-makers to adopt new policies and build constituency and support at the same time.
- To motivate people. e.g. private sector CEOs and engineers to adopt cleaner production technologies.
- Accelerate and improve people's behaviour, e.g. farmers' adoption of technologies and behaviours that lead to sustainable agriculture and forestry (Singer, Fraser, Harris, Lyon, Pereiea, Ward & Simelton (2020).

As outcomes-based measures of communication develop, even the most reluctant senior executives will see the demonstrated value that communication brings to the implementation of strategy and will recognise the critical role they must play in that effort. The problem to be addressed in this study is to comprehend how communication involvement can be put to use to place a value on areas where it matters most: its strategic communication to varied communities (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, Van Ruler, Vercic & Sriramesh, 2007).

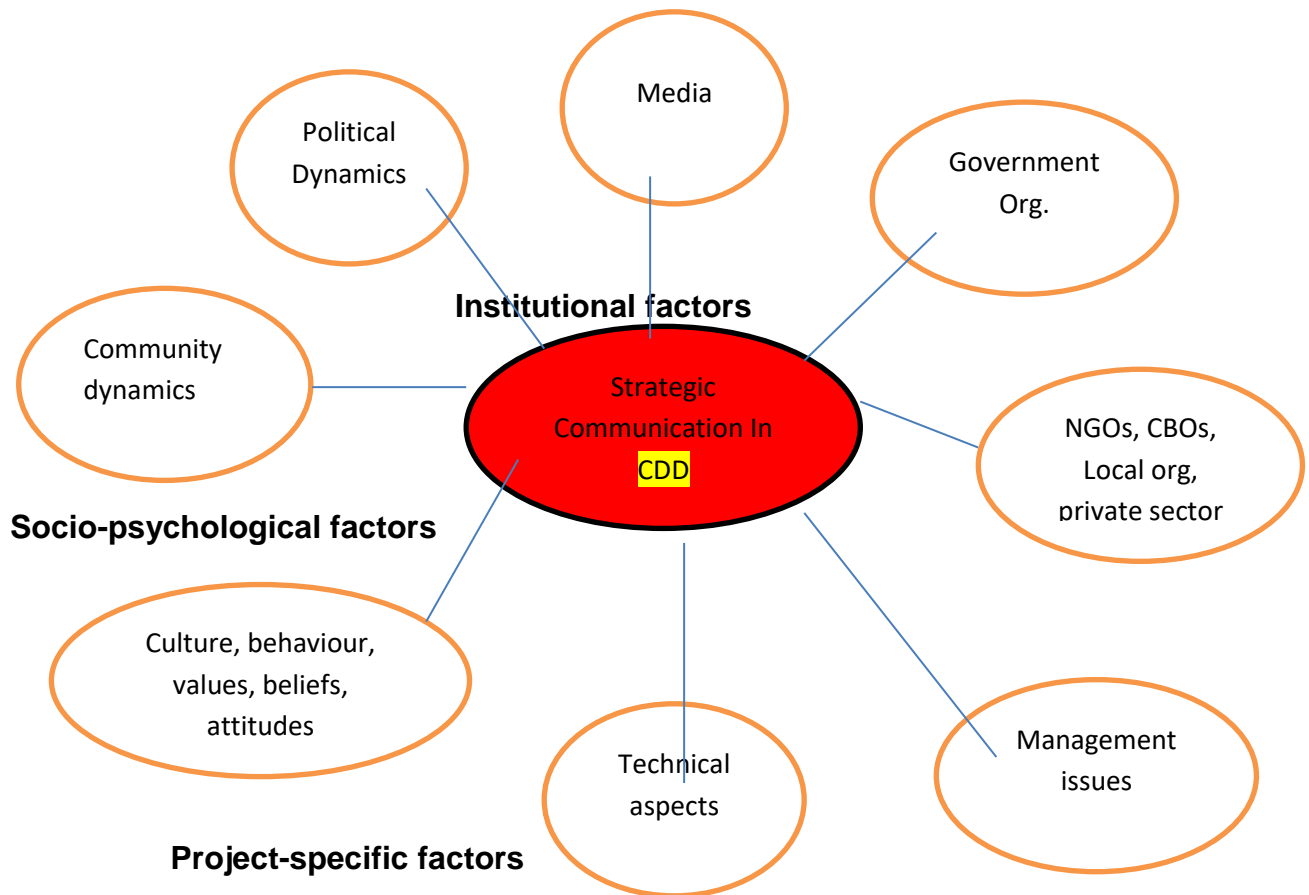
In order to bring about a collaborative intervention for community groups, community engagement is discussed for the purpose of establishing how sustainable goals can be achieved regarding the communities' livelihoods.

3.5 GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION

This strong faith in communication's power in development was echoed by political scientists in the 1960s. Almon and Verba (1963), for example, perceived communication as fundamental in political integration. Pye (1963) argues that the problem of political development is one of cultural diffusion and of adapting and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands. Since communication is the web of society, its flow determines the direction and pace of dynamic social development.

Governance for sustainable community focuses on public participation, decision-making and the planning of action. Previous sections in this research study have deliberated on issues of public participation and participatory planning. Therefore, this sub-topic will discuss decision-making and explore how a remote area community such as the Basarwa can entrench this aspect for the achievement and sustainability of their livelihoods.

Figure 4: Socio-psychological factors



Source: Mozammel and Schechter (The World Bank, Washington, 2005).

From a different perspective, a number of theoretical concepts have emerged to aid the analysis of these new forms of governance, which appear to be redefining the relationship between the state and its citizens. These concepts include the interactive state (O'Donovan, 2000) and local decision-making (Stevenson, 2006).

Analysis has focused on the emergence of new structures and spaces in which citizens directly engage with the social policies which affect them. Centred to this, has been the emergence of localised structures, such as regeneration partnerships as deliberative forums (Newman *et al.*, 2004:191) in which citizens are able to work alongside and to influence service providers and statutory agencies. These perspectives broadly represent a shift of emphasis from the top-down state to a more

complex, negotiated structure, which allows for space for the citizen to play a more active role.

International Union for Governance of Nature (IUGN)

good governance principles for protected areas includes:

- Establish, maintain, and respect governance institutions and rules;
- ensure stakeholders receive information, can be represented, and can have a say in decision-making;
- ensure no discrimination related to gender, ethnicity, and social class;
- promote dialogue and mutual respect;
- seek consensus;
- attribute management authority and responsibility to the capable institutions closest to natural resources (subsidiarity);
- develop an inspiring and consistent strategic vision, based on agreed values and complexities;
- ensure governance and management practices are consistent with values and integrated with other sectors and obligations;
- evaluate and guide progress on the basis of regular monitoring;
- provide clear policy directions, employ adaptive management;
- provide clear policy directions for contentious issues (e.g., conservation priorities, relationships with commercial interests and extractive industries) and ensure that those are consistent with both budgetary allocations and management practice;
- performance: monitor achievement of conservation and other objectives;
- continuously evaluate management effectiveness;
- respond to needs of stakeholders;
- ensure capacity to carry out roles and assume responsibilities;
- promote financial sustainability;
- promote social sustainability and resilience;
- engage in advocacy and outreach;
- accountability: uphold integrity and commitment of responsibilities;
- ensure transparency of information and decision-making;

- clarify roles, responsibilities and reporting;
- ensure financial and human resources are properly targeted;
- evaluate, reward, and communicate performance;
- encourage feedback with civil society and the media;
- encourage independent oversight and questioning of operations fairness and rights;
- strive for equitable sharing of costs and benefits;
- ensure livelihoods of vulnerable people are not adversely affected;
- deal fairly with staff, local residents, visitors, and other stakeholders;
- uphold the substantive and procedural rights of stakeholders;
- ensure participatory mechanisms for decision-making;
- promote fair avenues for conflict management; and
- respect human rights, gender equity and the rights of indigenous peoples.

(Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2013:59-60)

Though governance principles, as reflected above, are to be considered when considering the voice and legitimacy of the communities (specifically remote area dwellers as in the case of this particular thesis), research points out the need to further develop conceptual understanding of the social dimensions of regional sustainable development. This conceptual understanding must link to and be informed by existing policies and practices. In time, such a concept will provide a strong third pillar for 'development' that is both just and sustainable. Included in this thesis is an overview of the research context; description of the four key components of the social sustainability framework; and identification of areas for further research (Cuthill, 2009).

Research through systematic review of the literature revealed that the failure to achieve the intended outcomes of sustainable policies is due to economic, political and communication factors and it has been proven that there is a conflict between the objectives of environmental policies and those focused on economic development; a lack of incentives to implement environmental policies; and a failure to communicate objectives to key stakeholders. These are all key factors that contribute to the inability to attain environmental sustainability (Howes *et al.*, 2017)

Figure 5: Conceptual Framework of Social Sustainability



Source: Cuthill (2010).

Researchers point to a pressing need to develop a stronger conceptual understanding of the social dimension of sustainable development. As expressed by Cuthill (2010), the conceptual framework discussion focuses primarily on ‘social’ in development and he interprets the framework as follows:

1. Environmental problems are first and foremost social problems. Hence, it is important to manage the people who make an impact on the natural environment - one does not necessarily manage nature itself.
2. Economics is meant to serve people, rather than people serving economic interests. This he finds to be especially relevant in relation to the equitable distribution of resources. These two factors are reflected in the social sustainability framework, which describes an interdependent and self-reinforcing relationship between four key components: (1) social capital, (2) social infrastructure, (3) social justice and equity and (4) engaged governance (Figure 5).

Based on the above analogy, some authors are of the view that specific reasons for policy failures are many and varied. Three key factors, which are noted to be recurring, are as follows:

1. There are ongoing economic incentives (supported by policy) for private and public activities to continue to exploit natural resources without deeper consideration of the associated damage to the environment.
2. Governments either do not have the capacity and/or the political will to implement effective sustainability policies.

3. The seriousness of sustainability issues and the urgent need for change have not been effectively communicated to key stakeholders (Michael Howes *et al.*, 2017).

The case for government communication capacity's potential contributions to legitimate public authority can be reinforced by establishing links with good governance outcomes. Success or failure in the creation and exercise of public authority, with the aid of government communication efforts, can be gauged by examining whether using this authority contributes to attaining broader public sector objectives. For this purpose, this report refers to the U.K. DfID's three key characteristics of good governance regimes:

1. Accountability: the ability of citizens, civil society, and the private sector to scrutinize public institutions and governments and to hold them to account (DfID 2006:22).
2. Responsiveness: whether public bodies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights.
3. State capability: the extent to which leaders and governments are able to get things done.

It seems reasonable to assert that each of the characteristics listed above implies substantial communication support. Table 3 makes such links explicit. Relationships are drawn among the following: DfID's good governance characteristics, sub-components of those characteristics closely related to government communication capacity (Gisselquist, 2012).

Table 3. Dfid's good governance characteristics, closely related to government communication strategy

Dfid's Key Characteristics of Good Governance Regimes Characteristics	Sub-components Relevant to Government Subcomponents: Relevant to Government Communication Capacity	Desired Outcomes of Effective Desired Outcome of Effective Government Communication Government Communication	Suggested Communication Mechanisms and tools Communication Mechanisms and Tools
State capability: the extent to which leaders and governments are able to get things done	Making sure government departments and services meet people's needs	Building broad support and legitimacy for government priorities, policies, programmes, and projects	Systems for providing reliable and up-to-date information on available public services; public campaigns regarding priority programmes and projects; tools for persuasion and for leading public opinion
Responsiveness: whether public bodies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights	Providing ways for people to say what they think and need	Developing the ability to understand and deliver public goods and services founded on an evidence-based knowledge of citizens' needs and preferences	Mechanisms that range from consultation to participatory decision-making; tools for measuring and analyzing public opinion; continuous media monitoring
Accountability: the ability of citizens, civil society, and the private sector to scrutinize public institutions and governments and to hold them to account	Offering citizens opportunities to check the laws and decisions made by governments, parliaments, and assemblies; encouraging a free media and freedom of faith and association	Explaining government stewardship through information provision and by setting up mechanisms for citizens to hold elected leaders and public service providers accountable	Public access to government data and statistics on performance (such as the results of monitoring and evaluation projects and programmes); public dialogues and debates on performance; popularization of technical information targeted at audiences with varying levels of technical capacity; media coverage and analysis drawn by engaging journalists on an ongoing basis

Source: CommGap 2008 (Communication and Accountability Programme, World Bank Article).

Desired outcomes of effective government communication, and some suggested communication mechanisms and tools are included in the Table above. Effective states have built up capacities in the various communication mechanisms and tools listed in the fourth column. Their governments deploy a combination of appropriate technologies and impressive skills in supporting their own public service delivery systems. They have invested in the human resources and infrastructure that is necessary to consult, inform, and persuade citizens, and in turn, to enable constituents to engage in meaningful and informed participation whenever they choose to do so. In short, these governments are able to engage in effective two-way communication with various constituencies (CommGap, 2008).

At any given moment, for example, the United Kingdom has roughly 1 000 communication professionals working throughout government, taking the public's pulse on timely issues; consulting relevant constituencies; and collecting, packaging, and disseminating information likely to be of public interest. The United Kingdom's government communication apparatus is capable of delivering a flyer to every household in the country within 24 hours. In the United States, the White House Communications Office has the ability to reach the major U.S. and global media outlets with the touch of a button. The then Obama administration's Open Government initiative included various public consultation mechanisms in various policy domains and provided all interested parties access to a vast collection of government databases. Information generated from two-way communication flows can be used to improve the delivery of public services in response to citizens' needs and preferences.

Developed countries illustrate somewhat high capabilities for deploying approaches and techniques for two-way communication with citizens on matters of public importance. In contrast, poor countries demonstrate low levels of such capacity (CommGap 2008)

The International Budget Partnership's 2008 Open Budget Survey 3 assessed 85 countries in terms of public access to key pieces of budget information and

opportunities for citizen participation in the budgeting process, among other things. It discovered that “80% of the world’s governments fail to provide adequate information for the public to hold them accountable for managing their money.” Most of the top spots in the ranking are occupied by rich countries, while developing nations tend to score lower, of course with very few exceptions (CommGap, 2008).

The government communication functions in developing countries are appalling of low skill. In many of these contexts, communication positions are lacking in government offices; even when establishing them would make sense. They are left vacant when they do exist, or are assigned as civil servants’ secondary, low-priority tasks. Ministries of information are seen as propaganda machines, with the paramount purpose of pushing out information biased toward “any government in power”. Agencies and bureaus charged with collecting and managing government data and statistics are commonly under-resourced and often lack the capacity to carry out their mandates. In many developing countries, political cultures are dominated by patronage relationships that, at first, may seem antithetical to free flows of information and two-way communication. The desire of political elites to command and control information flows and, ultimately, public opinion, stacks incentives in the opposite direction. These flows enable more efficient and responsive provision of public goods and services, and improved provision enhances constituents’ views of the legitimacy and credibility of their leaders (CommGap, 2008)

Despite these potential benefits, there exist only a handful of successful examples of building communication capacity in developing countries; and those instances are usually limited to one sector or topic area and not represented systemically.

Deduced from Table 3, the government’s ability to engage in two-way communication with citizens involves an intricate set of interlocking structures, practices and processes. Paul Thomas (2009), a political scientist, describes the complexity of the Canadian government’s communication functioning this way:

The crucial importance of communication, and the highly varied and dynamic nature of communications functions at different levels in the public sector, means, ideally, that this area should be approached in a strategic, anticipatory, planned, and coordinated manner. Planning for, conducting, structuring, and coordinating communications in a wide range of specialized and complex policy environments, across distinctive departments and agencies, in an era of evolving digital technologies, at a time when there is growing insistence on greater transparency, proactive disclosure, and accountability, and when the public trust and confidence in governments are low, all combine to give rise to a challenging new era in public sector communications.

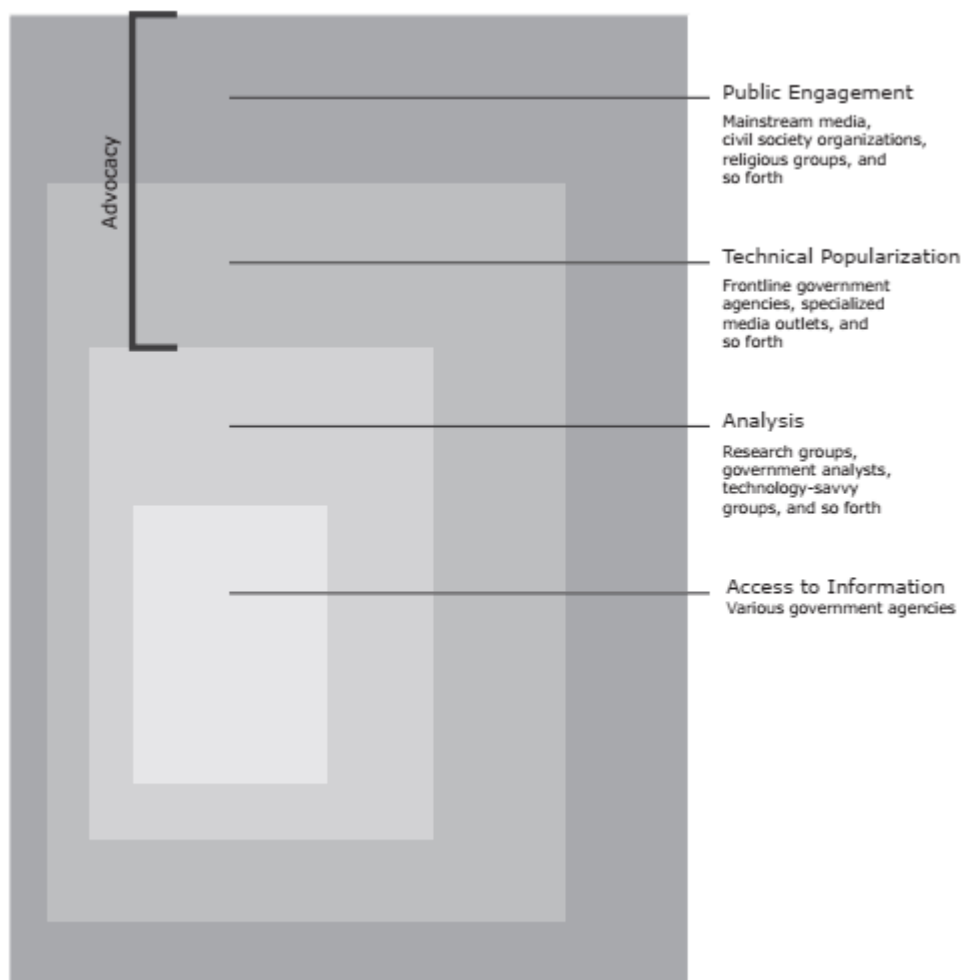
A partial typology that can be instructive in envisioning different types of assistance is as follows:

- A scenario where no distinction is made between government and political communication (that is, partisan, pro-administration), leading to a lack of credibility and an erosion of overall government capacity.
- A scenario where commitment to government communications is limited. For instance, a situation where there is some capacity to communicate but where this is seen as a job for specialists so that communications is marginalized within government as a whole.
- A scenario where government lacks any appreciation of the importance of communications and, hence, does not see the need to develop communication capacity.
- A scenario where a strongly partisan or underdeveloped media sector limits the reach of government communications activities. By including a broader set of societal actors and stakeholders in their diagnostic tool, the authors remind us that “in assessing communication capacity, we need to look directly at the communication activities of government but also at the fit of government and its environment”.

“An assessment of the legal, media and civil society environment for government communications will reveal constraints and opportunities” (Aday, Brown & Livingston, 2008:8)

Given the speedily evolving information and communication environments around the world, strengthening government communication capacity should pivot existing and potential convergences in a country's communication space and communication technologies can help augment each of the constituent functions described above; but so can interpersonal influence, opinion leadership, social networks, and traditional and indigenous modes of communication.

Figure 6: Communication for Governance and Accountability Programme



Source: Communication for Governance and Accountability Program; DfiD 2006, World Bank Article.

The components of Figure 6 are the following:

1. Providing all interested parties with access to government information and data: this must be a coordinated effort among various government

agencies, usually initiated by the executive branch and including the following functions: gathering and sharing information, organizing records, setting up systems for data capture and internal and external access, and developing the ability to deliver information on request.

2. Providing public access to technical analyses of government priorities and performance from multiple perspectives: this can be effected out by drawing on the expertise of a combination of independent research groups (such as universities and the intelligentsia), technology-savvy civil society organisations, and government analysts.
3. Popularizing analysis of government performance: Frontline government agencies and their spokespersons at both national and local levels, as well as specialized media outlets, can be charged with this task (DfiD, 2006).

3.6 DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

As alluded by Everett Rogers, development communication refers to the uses which communication is put in order to to further develop (Choudbury, 2011). This form of communication is beneficial particularly for providing communities with information they can utilise to improve their lives. In the field 'development communication', there are two constructs - 'development' and 'communication'. Communication is a message understood or sharing of experience. In the context of development, various types of communication like interpersonal, group and mass communication are highlighted (Aruma, 2018).

The term 'development' is not easy to define as it hinges on the context; some scholars define development as a multi-dimensional process that involves various changes in social structures, attitudes, and institutions, encompassing economic growth, reduction of inequality, and eradication of absolute poverty (Torado & Smith, 2006). Several theories have been put forward to explain the concept of development, therefore, development is about changing for the better and this entails social or economic transformation for improvement or progress. Development

communication depicts such communication that can be utilised for development. It is about using communication to change or improve something. Diverse types of messages are engaged to alter the socio-economic condition of people. These messages are designed to transform the behaviour of people or for improving their quality of life. Therefore, development communication can be defined as the use of communication to promote development. Those who write or produce programmes on issues related to development are called development communicators (Abroms & Maibach, 2008).

The development communicator plays a pivotal role in explaining the development process to the laymen in such a way that it finds acceptance. In order to achieve this objective a development communicator:

1. Has to understand the process of development and communication; and
2. Should possess knowledge in professional techniques and should know the audience (Aroma, 2018).

This communicator also prepares and distributes development messages to millions of people in such a way that they are received and understood, accepted and applied. If they accept this challenge, they will be able to get people to identify as part of a society and a nation. Nonetheless, development communication using various media is possible only with the active involvement of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), voluntary organisations, concerned citizens and development agencies like departments of agriculture (Jivani, 2010). These groups help the Government to implement development programmes. Both central and state governments have various departments to reach out to people on various issues. NGOs undertake studies, conduct research and develop appropriate messages for spreading awareness on issues pertaining to development. The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices and create an environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Some of the core areas of development are: animal husbandry, agriculture, fisheries, communication, employment, income generation activities, family welfare, health and sanitation, public works, food security, irrigation, environment, ecology and education (Wang, 2005).

Development communication strategies and approaches have been utilised, since the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, in numerous development programmes and projects across the length and breadth of Africa. A variety of development communication approaches and strategies have been used by international organisations, funding agencies, government departments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society groups in development-oriented programmes and projects designed, inter alia, to improve agricultural production; tackle environmental problems; prevent and manage health problems and pandemics such as malaria and HIV/AIDS; improve community welfare, the status of women and educational levels; promote or enhance democracy and good governance; and encourage local and endogenous cultural expressions and productions. But the practice of development communication in Africa has taken place in the face of several major communication constraints in the region. These constraints are well documented in a number of publications and reports on communication in Africa and include the following:

- Low priority given by policy, and decision-makers to communication and information as integral components of development programmes; this low priority often translates into the absence of effective policies and structures to guide, manage, coordinate and harmonize communication for development activities in virtually all African countries
- Dislocation and disparities in communication and information flows between urbanized areas and rural communities, as well as disadvantaged population groups, because of insufficient access for large segments of the national populations to modern communication and information means
- Weak and inadequate infrastructure and spread of communication and information systems, as well as limited financial resources to develop or strengthen them.

Considerable efforts are being made in African countries to address the above communication constraints and difficulties with financial and technical support from a number of United Nations agencies, international and regional organisations,

multilateral and bilateral funding agencies, and professional bodies. These efforts have gone a long way towards enhancing communication and information infrastructure; strengthening communication capacities; nourishing the emerging independent and pluralistic media; increasing access to communication and information systems; and developing human resources in communication and information in Africa.

The efforts have resulted in the rapid development of community radio stations in such countries as Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Zambia; the development of community multimedia centres and tele-centres in Ethiopia, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda; the growth of independent and pluralistic media structures in such countries as Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania; improved communication training programmes in a number of African countries leading to more professionally trained communication practitioners; and, along with the profound changes from monolithism to pluralism in the political landscape of several African countries, a communication milieu that facilitates the use of communication and information channels to express diverse views and opinions on national development concerns, particularly in South Africa, Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania, among others.

A greater effort remains to be made in Africa to address the constraints that confront the practice of development communication. However, given the correlation between communication development and development communication, efforts should contribute to an enhanced use of communication and information in socio-economic, political and cultural development processes in Africa.

A search through the literature on development communication in Africa indicates that a number of factors come into play in determining the effective application of development communication approaches in support of national programmes in the African context. Among these factors are:

- Strengthening the flow of public information and opportunities of public dialogue on development policies and programmes;
- using culturally appropriate communication approaches and content;

- creating a participatory communication environment that not only gives room for the expression of diverse ideas on societal developmental concerns, but also facilitates grassroots-level interaction;
- producing and disseminating information content that reflects as well as responds to the local values and information needs of the people at grassroots level;
- informed popular participation based on enhanced access to pluralistic and independent communication media;
- using community communication-access points, especially community radio and, more recently, community multimedia centres, as well as small-scale, localized and group media;
- providing practitioners with appropriate training in the use of communication and information to support development programmes;
- ensuring access to information for women and young people and developing their competencies and skills in the use of communication and information technologies; and
- harnessing the strengths of traditional media (drama, dance, songs, storytelling, etc.) and combining them with new information and communication technologies.

In the context of development programmes in rural and marginalized communities where the majority of the populations in most African countries reside, community communication-access points, traditional media and culturally appropriate communication approaches and content are of particular importance in participatory development communication. Alumuku and White (2004) have observed that the communicating capacity of the local community must be harnessed in the conception of development communication strategies in the region. In this regard, community media in African countries, especially community radio, provide the enabling space for local community members to make known their views and opinions on development problems and the possibility of participating in the resolution of those problems.

Alumuku and White's (2004) study in Ghana, South Africa and Zambia reported that the communicating capacity of the local community in the form of community radio stations was harnessed to produce and disseminate programmes dealing with such issues as healthcare education; conflict resolution; gender equity; education for responsible democratic governance; defending local development interest; stimulating economic development; and promoting local culture. These are symptomatic of the development problems in many African communities, which the power of community communication resources (with their horizontal, participatory approaches) can help to resolve at the grassroots level.

Similarly, in the African communication environment, given the limited access that some national population groups especially the marginalized segments living in remote villages and rural communities have to mass communication media, the communicating capacity of the local community resides in the so-called traditional media resources and channels (traditional leaders, drama, concerts, songs, story-telling, puppetry, drumming, dancing, etc.). They serve as reliable channels of news and information gathering, processing and dissemination in many rural communities, and often address local interests and concerns in local languages and cultural contexts which the community members can easily understand and with which they can identify. Effective applications of participatory development communication approaches and strategies at the grassroots and community level should necessarily involve the use and harnessing of these pervasive traditional communication instruments and resources.

Traditional media, especially story-telling, songs, drama and local street theatres, stem from local cultural norms and traditions; their content is usually couched in culturally appropriate ways and they often serve as effective means of channelling development issues. They have been used in communication interventions addressing issues related to improving agricultural productivity, natural resources and environmental management, HIV/AIDS and other development problems. Traditional media provide horizontal communication approaches to stimulating discussion and analysis of issues, as well as sensitizing and mobilizing communities for development. Nonetheless, one must be cautious about romanticizing the abilities

and impact of traditional media in development. Like other communication and information means, they have their weaknesses and limitations in time and space; they are particularly deficient in simultaneous dissemination of information about development issues across wide and geographically dispersed populations.

Research and experience in the use of traditional media indicate that they are most effective in participatory communication of development in rural communities when combined with mass communication resources, especially radio. The challenge facing practitioners of participatory development communication in African countries is to be sufficiently cognizant of the potentials and limitations of traditional media and knowledgeable about how to skilfully harness and combine them with other communication and information forms for development.

Researchers often appear to believe that the social structures of villages and larger communities where people live are not important and that the type of interest groups within communities as well as the educational, political, economic, and social institutions in villages or in nations are not relevant to the influence of communication. The old paradigm of communication's role in development conceives of "developing countries as emerging from static isolation, requiring an external stimulus to shake them into the twentieth century" (Golding, 1974:133). This old model was both unilinear and "transportational." It assumed that communicating to or informing the articulate, the well-to-do elite, the articulate and the educated was all the impetus needed to assure communication effectiveness. The inescapable merits deriving from the responses of these highly placed members would, of necessity, "trickle down" to the masses.

Many reasons can and have been attributed to this failure; the two most important are the complete neglect of the socio-cultural environment in which the mass media were supposed to function and the complete absence of audience-oriented feedback. In as far as the research is concerned, it is essential to investigate how the country reputation is affected by the negative media coverage that involves the affairs and issues pertaining to the Basarwa. The management of Trusts by the Basarwa community also contributes to a reputation that is not good, especially

when the mismanagement of funds is questioned by the community itself. Failure to properly manage and run the Trusts may lead to the Government taking over the Trusts.

Since the dominant conception of development in the 1960s was predicated on industrial growth and increased gross national product, the old development communication model saw economic rise as the ultimate goal of developing countries. By the early 1970s, it was clear that the vast majority of people in developing countries were not benefiting from capital-intensive industrialisation programmes.

The 'green revolution' in agriculture or the various health and family welfare programmes seemed to be producing adverse effects (Beal & Jussawalla, 1981; Steward & Streeten, 1976). Enormous migration from the rural areas was affected by industrialisation; technology was nurturing greater dependency rather than self-reliance; and western values and behaviour were threatening indigenous cultures and social institutions. A simplistic approach to communication in support of development, which was a natural counterpart of the simplistic model of imitative economic development that held sway in the 1960s, had failed. A slow but conscious realization that development for each country has to be seen in terms of that country's own needs which, in turn, must be related to its unique circumstances of cultural, historical, climatic and social conditions began to manifest itself. The emphasis on bare economic growth declined.

Participation in development as defined by Neef *et al.* (1995) is:

“...a process through which stakeholders’ influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them.” (World Bank, 1996)

Development communication is the study of social change brought about by the application of communication research, theory, and technologies to bring about development. Development is a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement, including

greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment (Everett Rogers, 1976).

Communication for development is a social process, designed to seek a common understanding among all the participants of a development initiative, creating a basis for concerted action (UN FAO, 1984).

The planned use of communication techniques, activities and media gives people powerful tools both to experience change and actually to guide it. An intensified exchange of ideas among all sectors of society can lead to the greater involvement of people in a common cause. This is a fundamental requirement for appropriate and sustainable development (Fraser & Villet, 1994).

There has been no sustainable, effective social development in which the principles of leadership from within the peoples most affected: and the people most immediately involved defining and agreeing the development agenda, have not been core, central components of the action (Warren, Feek, Communication Initiative, 2006).

Communication for Social Change [CFSC] is a process of public and private dialogue through which people themselves define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives. It utilizes dialogue that leads to collective problem identification, decision-making and community-based implementation of solutions to development issues (CFSC, 2006).

Development communication entails conceived mechanisms to broaden public access to information on reforms; strengthening clients' ability to listen to their constituencies and negotiate with stakeholders; empowering grassroots organisations to achieve a more participatory process; and undertaking communication activities that are grounded in research (World Bank, 2006).

Scholars and practitioners may differ in the wording they use to define the subject, but their intent is constant. Trivially, development programmes cannot produce

transformation without an ongoing, culturally and socially relevant communication dialogue among development providers and clientele, and within the recipient group itself. Nonetheless, all those involved in the analysis and application of communication for development and social change or what can broadly be labelled 'development communication'; would probably concur that in essence development communication is the sharing of knowledge aimed at reaching a consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned. It is thus a social process. Communication media are important tools in achieving this process but their use is not an aim in itself - interpersonal communication too must play a fundamental role (Fufa, 2016).

This basic consensus on communication for development and social change has been translated and applied in different ways throughout the past century. Both at theory and research levels, as well as at the levels of policy and planning-making and implementation, diverse perspectives are on offer. The relationship between the practical application of communication processes and technologies in achieving positive and measurable development consequences is an emanating subject of research, discussion and hypothesis. While media professionals, opinion-shapers and development assistance policy-makers have often sought to employ communication systems for social mobilization and change, a lack of understanding of the complexity of behavioural, societal and cultural factors on end-user consumption patterns has more often led to ineffective, or even counterproductive, outcomes. According to practitioners and communication scholars who are experienced, there is the need for a close study of society and culture in formulating outreach and media strategies, thus ensuring that target audiences are reached in an appropriate manner to effect knowledge transfer. It is evident in developing countries, where access to information supporting health, agriculture, HIV and AIDS, literacy and other initiatives can be essential (Servaes, 2012).

In formulating communication for development programmes, professionals have often laboured under a misunderstanding commonly held by policy-makers and counterparts relating to the nature of the discipline in the past. This subject is confused by laymen with public relations, public information, corporate

communications and other media-related activities. Nevertheless, while communication for development may incorporate skill-sets from those areas of information dissemination, the subject reaches far deeper and broader into the entire communication process. At the research and theory levels this could easily be demonstrated as follows: Fair, in her PhD thesis (summarized in the journal, *Gazette*, 1989) examined 224 studies of communication and development published between 1958 and 1986, and found that models predicting either powerful effects or limited effects informed the research.

In the 1958-1986 era, development communication was generally accosted with enthusiasm and optimism: Communication has been a key element in the West's project of developing the Third World. After 15 years of Lerner's influential 1958 study of communication and development in the Middle East, communication researchers assumed that the introduction of media and certain types of political, educational and economic information into a social system could transform individuals and societies from traditional to modern. Developed as having fairly direct and powerful effects on Third World audiences, the media were seen as magic multipliers, able to accelerate and magnify the benefits of development (Fair, 1989:145).

Three directions for future research were suggested: to examine the relevance of message content, to conduct more comparative research and to conduct more policy research. As a follow-up to this research, Fair and Shah (1997) studied 140 journal articles, book chapters and books published in English between 1987 and 1996. Their findings are quite spectacular: Lerner's modernization model completely disappears in the 1987-1996 eon. Instead, the most often utilised theoretical framework is participatory development, an optimist postmodern orientation, which is almost the polar opposite of Lerner who viewed mass communication as playing a top-down role in social change. Also vanishing from research in this latter period is the two-step flow model, which was drawn upon by modernization scholars. Both periods do make use of theories or approaches such as indirect influence, knowledge gap, and uses and satisfactions. However, research appearing in the years from 1987–1996 can be characterized as much more theoretically diverse than

that published between 1958 and 1986 (Fair & Shah, 1997:10). In the 1987–96 study, the most frequent suggestion was ‘the need to conduct more policy research, including institutional analysis of development agency coordination. Then followed the need to carry out research and develop indigenous models of communication and development through participatory research’ (Fair & Shah, 1997:19).

Therefore, today almost nobody would dare to make the optimistic claims of the early years any longer. However, the intrinsic assumptions on which the so-called dominant modernization model is built do still linger on and persist to influence the policy and planning-making discourse of major actors in the field of communication for development, both at theoretical and applied levels. The hitherto ‘global’ world, in general as well as in its distinct regional and national entities, is confronted with diverse crises. One could also refer to social, ideological, moral, political, ethnic, and ecological and security crises apart from the obvious economic and financial woes. In other words, the previously-held dependency perspective has become more difficult to support because of the growing interdependency of regions, nations and communities in our labelled ‘global’ world. A new viewpoint on development and social change has come to the forefront, putting into perspective the criticism of the two models mentioned earlier on.

The examination of the changes from ‘bottom-up’ is the common starting point, from the self-development of the local community. The fundamental assumption is that there are no countries or communities that function completely autonomously and are completely self-sufficient, nor are there any nations whose development is exclusively determined by external factors. Every society is dependent in one way or another, both in form and in degree. Thus, a framework was sought within which both the Centre and the Periphery could be studied separately and in their mutual relationship (Servaes, 2005).

A normative approach entails that more attention is also being paid to the content of development. Another development questions whether ‘developed’ countries are in fact developed and whether this category of progress is sustainable or desirable. It favours a multiplicity of approaches based on the context and on the fundamental felt

needs, and the empowerment of the most oppressed sectors of various societies at diverse levels. The main thesis is that change must be structural and occur at multiple levels in order to achieve these ends. Consequently, three more general contributions are earmarked which, each from a multidimensional perspective, set the stage for a more detailed analysis of the issue of communication for social change (Hermer, 2005).

Community development is the process of assisting a community to embolden itself and develop towards its full potential. Communication is a key component of sustainable development. Mobilizing community members for the purpose of community development is important but members of communities can only be mobilized when communication is effective. Sufficient community communication leads to effective collaborative endeavours for development. Citizens are engaged in development through communication. To bring about social change among the marginalized and vulnerable population groups, like the Basarwa of Botswana, participation must therefore be nurtured through communication; as such it will lead to the transformation of the community. As such, communication is a central (or the mediating factor) facilitating and contributing to the collective change process (Sarvaes & Liu, 2007).

Effective communication will help to move people from an individually-centred deficit model of learning, behaviour development and change, to a more collective and community-focused model of participation, appreciation and equity. Community is precipitated on the fact that daily interaction of citizens is vital to collective action and that effective communication serves to stimulate and direct such interactions. When mention is made of communication in relation to community/rural development, it means an interactive process in which information, knowledge and skills relevant for development are exchanged between community members and information providers either personally or through media such as radio, print, telephones and cybernetics. The aim of effective rural communication is to put rural people in a position to have the necessary information for decision-making and the relevant skills to improve their livelihood (Brinkmann, 2016).

In communication for development, rural people are at the centre of any given development initiative and so communication is used in this sense for people's participation and community mobilization, decision-making and action, confidence building for raising awareness, sharing knowledge and changing attitudes, behaviour and lifestyles (FAO 2006).

Communication for development is defined as the planned and systematic use of communication through interpersonal channels, ICTs, audio-visuals and mass media:

- To mobilize people for development action and to assist in solving problems and misunderstandings that may arise during the development plan;
- communication is to be used to collect and exchange information among all those concerned in planning a development initiative with the aim of reaching an agreement on the problems facing development issues and seeking options for their solutions; and
- to enhance the pedagogical and communication skills of development agents so as to have effective dialogue with their audience (Adedokun, 2010).

Communication is seen, from the rural development perspective, as a social process designed to bring together every community member in a two-way process where people are both senders and receivers of information and creators of knowledge. Communication for development focuses on two areas namely: information dissemination and motivation training of field workers and rural members. Full potential for development can only be realized if knowledge and technologies are shared effectively and rural people involved in the process are motivated to achieve success (Adedokun, 2010).

However, it is assumed that the availability of new information technologies and media like rural radio, mobile phones, internet and TV open more channels for communication and give the chance for wide access to information and to a limited extent to interactive communication. For electronic communication to be effectively used in rural development, the issue of connectivity, content and context must be addressed and assured to realize the potential of information technologies (Thussu

2000). Adedokun (2008) perceives development as the power of people to solve their own problems with their own wisdom, experience and resources with a view to alleviating poverty, starvation and pestilence. Akinpelu (2002) sees the target of development as being human beings and not the material accumulation surrounding them or of the economic growth of the nation.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Communication and development have enacted a compound running theme in the history of international communications until the recent past, when the contours of this theme changed to one of globalization and the culture industries..

Increasingly, an emergent alternate literature and documentation at both the theoretical and activist levels bring to our attention the workings of such alternate communications situations, with a focus on the local and the popular. Optional visions persist to grapple with problems related to democracy and development raised in the last few decades in international communication. Economics and technology, once part of the overall practice of conducting social life, have acquired a centrality around which meanings and practices of development revolve (Sachs, 1992). Critiques of development are often addressed to this centrality of technology or economics or a combination of both as the dominant definitions of “development”. Social change is planned, interpreted, and intervened upon from the perspectives of technology and/or economics.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this Chapter is the theoretical concept of *community involvement*, which underpins this study. Ackerman (2003) and Gauthier (2011) argue that community involvement, through participation, is one of the main objectives of democratic governments in order to achieve more open, transparent, efficient and effective government.

The term 'involvement' will be used to cover all aspects of community consultation and participation. It has been suggested that the reasons why governments promote community involvement in area-based regeneration include: to aid social cohesion; to foster social capital; to ensure effective planning and delivery of local services; to obtain agreement for the approach to planning and delivery of services (legitimation); and to support the right of the citizen to influence decisions that affect them (Burton *et al.*, 2004). All these motivations are obvious in the relationships between state agencies and local communities. The exact nature of community involvement, and its effectiveness in particular circumstances, requires further discussion. The terms 'engagement', 'consultation' and 'participation' are often used interchangeably in writings on community involvement.

Community engagement is viewed as a process that promotes empowerment with a commitment towards forms of collaboration, involving under-resourced and marginalised communities (Dempsey, 2010). Adamson and Bromley (2013:2) argue that community engagement is a process whereby public bodies reach out to communities to create empowerment opportunities. As in the case of this study, it is essential to address the importance of collaborative relationships for the development of the Basarwa's livelihoods. However, it is also crucial to take the community's priorities into account as a way of increasing opportunities for engagement. The community should therefore be engaged as part of the community

involvement process. This can be achieved by people taking part in social, economic and environmental matters with the purpose of developing an understanding of the Basarwa's position with an endeavour to solicit their views on issues affecting their community's livelihoods and their participation in development.

A related concept is *community participation*, which refers to people and organisations involved in the process of policy-making and implementation (Feldman *et al.*, 2007:306). Mayo and Craig (2004) (in Alexiu *et al.*, 2011:6) provide a World Bank definition of community participation as a "means for ensuring that the Third World development projects reach the poorest in the most efficient and cost-effective way, sharing costs as well as benefits, through the promotion of self-help". This definition would suit this research study, since community service delivery as intended by this study, focuses on the poorest communities within the Botswana society, specifically the Basarwa (San) and those with the need for social and developmental upliftment.

Community participation (CP) is also defined as a means to empower formerly marginalised individuals (Glucker, Driessen & Kolhoff, 2013). Rowe and Frewer (2004:512) furthermore define it as consulting and involving the public about the agenda setting, decision-making and policy forming activities of organisations responsible for policy development.

The terms "citizen" and "public," and "involvement" and "participation" are often used interchangeably. Mize (1972) posits that, though the terms are generally used to reflect a process whereby citizens or the community have a voice in the policy decisions that affect them, there is also a particular difference in the meaning of the concepts.

From this perspective, Mize (1972) argues that *public involvement* is: a '.... means to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions'. Booth *et al.* (2011) and Barreira (2003) (in Areizaka, 2012:213), furthermore, posit that *public engagement* is seen as critical for the success of public management. Public engagement also bears similarities with community empowerment. Whilst Lamp and Macdee

(2004:37) argue that public engagement contributes to the overall improvement in the quality of life for area residents, with the view that improvement is manifested in the contagious enthusiasm which may lead to growth and development, Page *et al.* (June 2017) are of the opinion that public engagement is a two-way process involving interacting and listening with the goal of generating mutual benefit (National Coordinating Centre of Public Engagement, 2016).

Public engagement can be seen as a platform for the voices of the poorer and marginalised; various governments at times do not adequately provide effective community service delivery that addresses the needs of the community. They often fail to provide supportive capacity building interventions that would enable the community to self-help themselves. Considering this, The World Bank encourages efforts that are geared towards the poorest, while at the same time promoting self-help interventions. Mansuri and Rao (2013)

Various authors share the sentiment that public engagement is carried out for a number of reasons. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss the importance of public engagement to build community relations and as an instrument to listen to the voices of the poorer and the marginalised.

Another concept related to public engagement is *public consultation*. Brown *et al.*, (2013:83) define consultation as a frequently used method of engagement with individuals or groups of citizens and organisations. Their view is that consultation is not about rubber stamping or endorsing a decision that has already been taken, but rather that it should be informed, open and transparent with the drive towards effectively influencing a final decision to be adopted (John *et al.*, 2013:83).

According to Lee (2008:178), public engagement is enshrined in what is called *public affairs* or *community relations*. He holds the view that public engagement is geared towards making the government manager more sensitive to listening to the public. He solidifies his assertion by stating that an awareness of the responsiveness to the public is the first step to successfully implement the main purpose of government public relations.

Another concept regularly used in this domain is *public participation*, which is a process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision-making. Public participation informs the decision-making process (Creighton, 2005:17). It is, therefore, acknowledged that the successful implementation of community development interventions is dependent upon how public bodies effectively utilise community partnerships' inputs.

Public participation is also seen to be incorporating some components of communicating information to the public (Creighton, 2005). For this research, the communication component suitable and identified for the study is community involvement geared towards the development of a community. A similar notion is portrayed when defining relevant and related terminology viz *community participation*, which is deemed as a process that involves people and organisations in policy-making and implementation (Feldman *et al.*, 2007:306).

4.2 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Community involvement should be brought about by ideal relationships between state agencies and local communities for a successful consultation process to benefit both the developer and the local communities. The process of community involvement is a vehicle through which people are assisted with the purpose of empowering them. This can bring value to their lives and a meaningful growth of their livelihoods and sustainable development opportunities for the community. Through involving the community, community members are able to reflect on themselves, appreciate themselves and carry on their ways of living. Simpson A (2014)

4.2.1 The evolution of community involvement

Community development dates back to as early as the 1950s in the United Kingdom and emerged as a recognisable paid activity in the UK in the 1950s. Subsequently, it was legitimised and recognised by the United Nations as well, which came up with its own definition in 1953 – “a *movement to promote better living for the whole*

community, with active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community” (UN, 1953:33).

As such generally, the practice of community development was somehow seen to be taking place in places named as ‘developing’ countries, as many of them were at that time emerging from colonial rule. Consistent with the same perspective, Momtaz and Kabir (2018), argue that proponents tend to include the local community in the decision-making process and in the development of management and at times mitigation plans.

Community involvement is a worldwide concept or phenomenon which specifically encourages and supports developing countries to engage and involve people in development. As eluded to by Buchy, Ross et al. (2000) and Storey (1999), involvement is not a new concept and it represents what is regarded as a global top-down approach which dominated early development initiatives.

The evolving process of community involvement, which showcases the development of participatory processes and how community underwent historical phases, is reflected in Table 4 below:

Table 4. How community involvement underwent historical phases

Era	Trends in the participatory process
1950s and 60s	Rapid industrialisation and technological influence took place. An example was agricultural extension agents involved in the teaching of farmers’ technological transfers.
1970s Need for Alternatives	Concern about giving the ‘voice for the voiceless’ specifically the poor in developing countries. With much focus on learning, adult learning and group extension.
1980s The Participation Boom	Change from top-down to bottom-up. Value of local indigenous knowledge being recognised. There was emphasis on participatory appraisal and analysis in rural communities.
1990s The Participation Imperative	Participation became synonymous with ‘good’ and ‘sustainable’ in the development field. Funding organisations demanded participatory processes as a requisite or condition for funding.

Source: adapted from Kelly 2001

The United Nations, World Bank and other donors who fund development projects require a participatory approach when involving local communities. On the other hand, local government authorities in developing countries are coming up with various community development strategies and interventions in an effort to develop not only the social welfare of the communities, but also the effectiveness of their efforts and some challenges they may face emanating from failure of community involvement implementation or a wrong approach towards it. The thesis seeks to evaluate the reasons for poor community involvement between the Basarwa communities and the Botswana Government, as well as failure towards achieving sustainable livelihoods for remote area dwellers.

Consistent with the same perspective, the United Nations cautioned the Botswana Government when its representative stated that:

The legacy of past violations on human rights needs to be acknowledged and addressed if the authorities wish to engage in meaningful consultations with communities for future projects.

(Sunday Standard Newspaper, November 30 – 6 December 2014)

This statement seems to be aimed at not only cautioning the Botswana Government, but is also coupled with an urge to drive the necessity for the authorities in charge not to dwell much on the past, but to seek ways in which effective modes of involvement and collaborations can be realised for various developmental programmes and social welfare provisions.

Similarly, Njunwa (2010) postulates that there is need and appreciation for the bottom-up approach when seeking to develop or involve a community for the purpose of achieving sustainable development. He is of the notion that the bottom-up approach brings people closer to development activities.

Views expressed by some authors solidify the trend that poverty is not so much a lack of material advantage, where there are insufficient economic resources - than it is a lack of perceived power. It is believed that there could be something wrong with the poor or underprivileged which somehow left them unprepared to exploit the

resources and opportunities available to them. Therefore, what is needed is a programme to prepare poor individuals or the community to enable them to effectively use available community institutions and resources. Remedial employability and citizen participation programmes are needed to achieve this aim (Miller *et al.*, 2010:88-93).

The challenges in social, political, cultural and economic development and transformation in African countries are very well articulated in various documents, publications, conferences, plans of action and programmes, and are particularly well summarized in the recently launched New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Although it is not important here to enumerate the varied development challenges facing African countries, it is nevertheless relevant in the context of participatory development communication to stress that there are linkages between communication and the different dimensions of development in Africa, whether they are political, social, economic or cultural. Research studies and experience in diverse contexts and countries in Africa have clearly demonstrated that development communication approaches can be used to enhance participation in cultural, social and political change, as well as in agricultural, economic, health and community development programmes. The following are examples of such articles:

1. Bolaane, M. 2004. *Wildlife Conservation and Local Management: The Establishment of the Moremi Park, Okavango, Botswana in the 1950s – 1960's*. PhD Thesis. University of Oxford:London.
2. Hitchcock, Robert K., Maria Sapignoli, and Wayne A. Babchuk. 2011. What about our rights? Settlements, Subsistence, and Livelihood Security among Central Kalahari San and Bakgalagadi. *International Journal of Human Rights*.
3. Mbaiwa, J.E. 1999. *Prospects for Sustainable Wildlife Resource Utilisation and Management in Botswana: A case of East Ngamiland District*. M.Sc. Thesis.

In a word, regardless of the type of development challenges in African countries, there is some function for communication and information in the efforts made to address those development challenges (Scoones, 2009).

4.2.2 Community involvement initiatives

Many factors can affect the quality of community involvement initiatives, including: power relationships within and between the organisations involved; networks and regimes from which communities may be excluded; and wider social, political, economic and cultural forces (Muir, 2004). Barriers to involvement can be particularly essential in poorer communities that lack resources, and for those who are new to collective action (Murphy & Cunningham, 2003). Neighbourhood attachment may also be important, as may some aspects of social capital (Dekker, 2007).

Community involvement initiatives often operate in isolation, which is their main criticism. Jones (2003) speculates that it may be inevitable to find that participation reproduces local inequalities, thus increasing the importance of complementary social justice policies. The widespread experience of ‘the persistence of oligarchy’ (Somerville, 2005:123) and the exclusion of citizens from inner circles of decision-making (Skelcher *et al.*, 1996) show how difficult it is to challenge the fundamental patterns of power inherent in local regimes. For some (Muir, 2004; Somerville, 2005), these difficulties are rooted in the forceful elements of participation policies: in order to succeed, counter-hegemonic forces at grass-roots level need to be incorporated, both horizontally and vertically, within a distinctive movement at national, continental and even global level ... this movement must engage strategically and democratically with dominant corporate and state power (Somerville, 2005:132).

Three important factors which contribute to the nature and quality of community involvement are (but are not limited to): the impact of key individuals on the process; a history of community involvement and its impact on the working relationship between communities and state agencies; and the resources available to assist community groups and to promote community involvement. Alkire S and Polski M (2004)

A statement of Community Involvement explains how local communities and other interested parties will be involved in producing a local plan and determining planning

applications to provide opportunities and make it as simple as possible for all individuals to become involved, regardless of their circumstances. By involving communities from the outset, they can facilitate to make a difference and, crucially, feel a sense of understanding and ownership of planning decisions. Parker G, Wargent M and Linoski O (2020)

In the Figure below, the main groups to be involved in community initiatives are indicated.

Fig 7: Identification of the main groups: who will be involved?



Source: <https://mycommunity.org.uk/take-action/neighbourhood-planning/>

4.2.3 Community involvement process

It is critical for this thesis to further understand and establish various community involvement processes and concepts, as well as their suitability in matters that relate to efforts taken by governments to work with and engage the community. Research that explores the shape of new government/community relationships in depth in particular settings concludes time and again that collaboration, participation, and community engagement often occur in a way that makes little sense to communities and fails to meet their real needs (Mowbay, 2005; Cheshire, 2006; Teague, 2007; Taylor, 2007).

Mutually derived benefits often occur through cooperation, collaboration and joint networking. Community involvement in matters related to the Khwai case (as alluded to by an anonymous author) is normally involved to address negative impacts of protected area tourism. Examples of these impacts could include the following:

Local community opinion:

Residents' aspirations, concerns, and satisfaction with tourism should be regularly monitored, recorded and publicly reported. Key stakeholders should be included and, where needed, responsive action should be taken.

Local access: The destination should protect, monitor, and safeguard local resident access to natural, historical, archaeological, religious, spiritual, and cultural sites.

Support for community: The destination should have policies that encourage visitors to volunteer or contribute to community development, cultural heritage, and biodiversity conservation.

Stakeholder participation: The destination should have policies that enable stakeholders to participate in tourism-related planning and decision - making on an on-going basis.

Protection of community property and rights: Policies that protect the tangible and intangible heritage and property of individuals and communities.

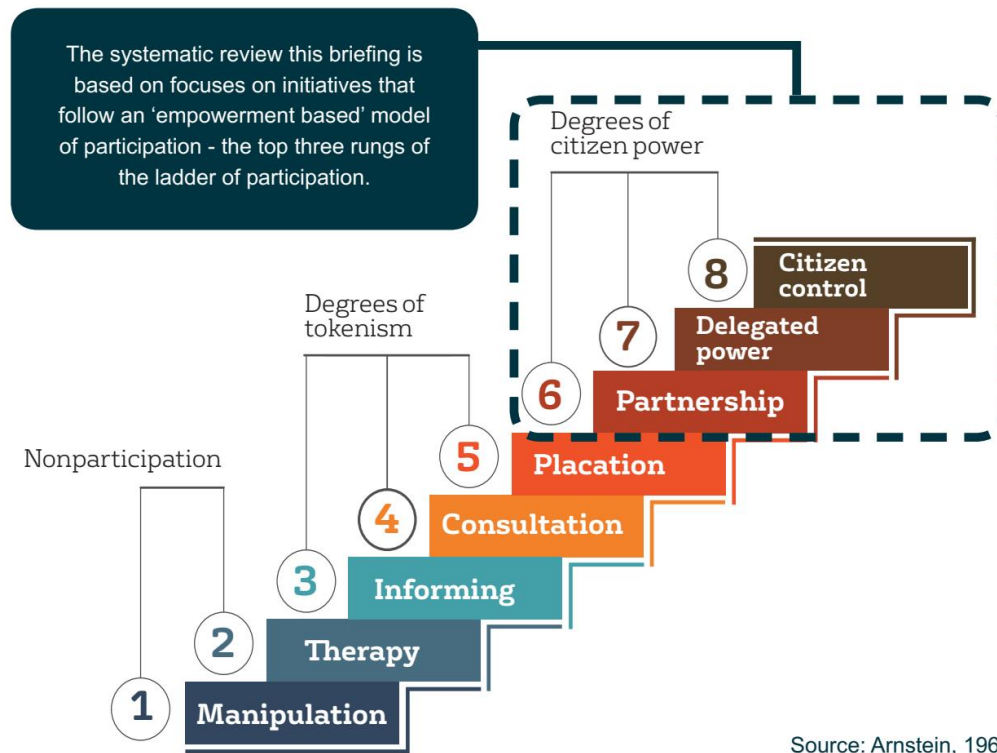
Community-based programme (CBP) sustainability cannot be approached unilaterally, since they are not just traditional projects. It is, therefore, important to understand the features differentiating them from traditional projects in the following ways:

1. Require socio-cultural acceptability: Community-based programmes (CBP) are encouraging social and cultural diversity by acknowledging and considering the community's beliefs, norms, and religion in programme design and implementation. As any CBP must use community cultural identity to be sustainable, without proper consideration of socio-cultural acceptability, any

CBP will undermine the community's socio-cultural orientation or will be hindered by lack of trust or even rejection by community members, reducing its sustainability.

2. Rely on a community-based approach: Community-based approaches are ways of working in partnership with people of concern throughout community-based programme implementation. These individuals are able to recognize the community's capabilities or resources and use them effectively to provide solutions supporting the community's goals. Various studies found that this approach may be critical in CBP sustainability.
3. Require management capabilities: Community-based programmes seek to achieve long-term goals. To achieve their sustainability, organisations involved (usually the community-based organisations) need to possess adequate management capabilities to ensure proper implementation. For instance, securing local resources or ensuring task familiarity are often cited in the literature. Good management require more than just technical skills and expertise required to successfully implement the programme.
4. Imply community acceptance and involvement: Commonly linked with the previous feature, community acceptance and involvement require incorporation of the targeted community's needs in all aspects of CBPs. Community acceptance rely on the support of CBP by stakeholders, improving as such, programme accountability and contributing to better understanding of the stakeholder's role. Scholars argue that community members are able to better understand their problems and, as such, are better suited to use their skills and community resources to identify actual solutions to their needs, considering local values or contributing to an early detection of potential problems before they may escalate.

Types of community involvement or participation are illustrated in the Figure below. Fig 8: Types of Community Involvement/Participation



Source: Arnstein, 1969

Source: Arnstein (1969)

The above diagram known as Arnstein Ladder, involves eight steps that appeal to a much wider audience in which the different levels become more desirable, the higher one moves up the ladder. Citizens are manipulated through consultations with the purpose of controlling them. The ladder helps to understand the extent to which citizen participation can in government can affect the way they perceive things regarding good governance.

The extent to which involvement is meaningful is closely related to the type of wellbeing outcomes experienced by people involved. There are four principles of meaningful involvement:

1. When appropriate and desired by the community, there is full and active involvement in the implementation of the intervention in the community

2. Potential barriers to access and participation (including income, education, gender, ethnicity, age, illness, disability, language, and caring responsibilities) are acknowledged and tackled
3. There is active and full involvement in all decisions that impact upon the intervention or project
4. Power is agreed and acknowledged as being held jointly by all people involved.

Joint decision-making interventions can be successful in deflecting threats to the local (living) environment, maintaining and enhancing local conditions, resisting 'hollowing out' of neighbourhood services and facilities, and attracting resources to create better places to live. The beneficial impacts identified are on a wide range of established social determinants of health and wellbeing, including the physical conditions in which people live, social relationships, individual physical and mental health, community health, individual wellbeing, and community wide levels of wellbeing (Pennington, Watkins, Bagnall & South, 2018).

Participatory methods have in a way gained momentum in recent years. Therefore, researchers, field practices and development experts have endeavoured to utilise more effective ways to involve local people in decision-making. Usually adopting tools that have mixed applications such as stakeholder identification, decision-making, planning, conflict management, information collection, and other uses, is seen to be effective (Schwilch, Hessel & Verzandvoort, 2012).

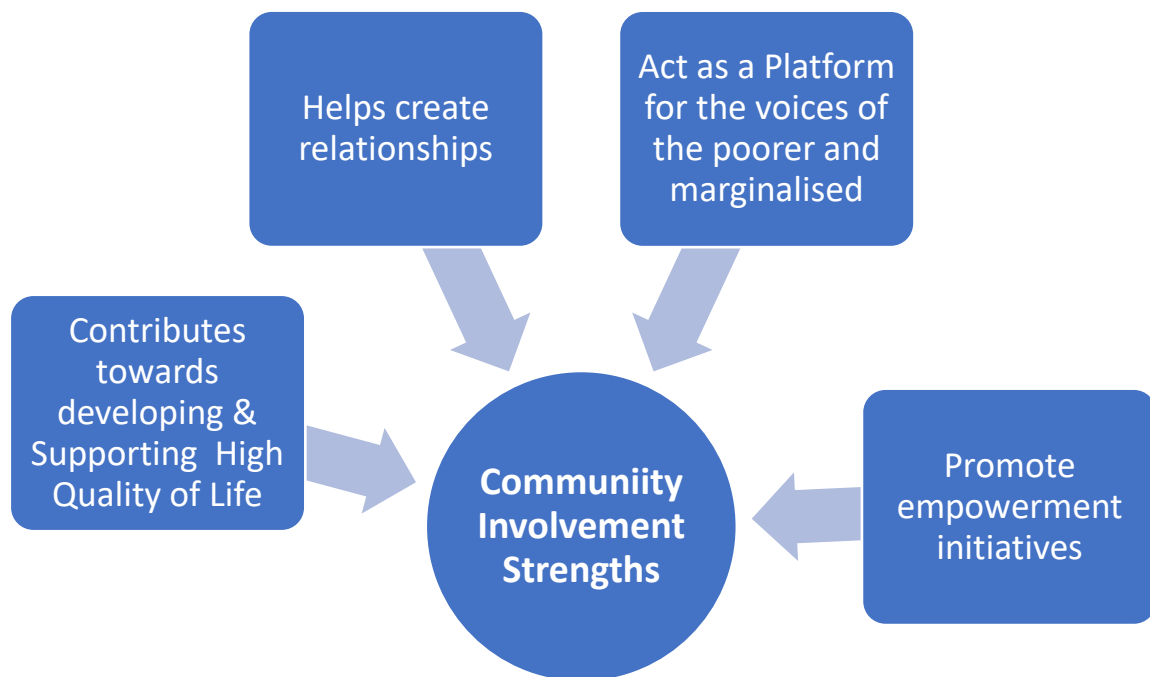
The following could eliminate various obstacles in the way of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) to make them more suitable for the community: training in every sphere of life; a strong relationship among community members; avoid targeting one sector of an area and to try to cover the whole sector - ensure maximum participation; monitoring and evaluation should be necessary at any phase; local elite should be involved in every activity but the whole authority and responsibility should not be given to them; it should be necessary to have a simple and easy procedure of Village Organisation and ensure participation from each corner of the village; different tools are necessary to use in different sectors and subject specialist should

be involved; there should be no discrimination in selecting members for training; gender equality should be ensured in all developmental activities; there should be a clean and transparent system of accountability at grassroots level; benefits of a community project should be ensured to every member of the community; and regular meetings should take place weekly, bi-weekly or monthly in each corner of the community.

4.2.4 The strengths of community involvement

This section looks into how the strengths of community involvement can enhance the community's participation and involvement that can provide an ideal quality of life. The strengths, weaknesses and success of community involvement are discussed and the importance of how to achieve effective social development through entrenchment of community inputs is seen as an upliftment that could lead to better community livelihoods.

Figure 9: Community involvement strengths



Source: Depicted by author

Regarding public engagement as a platform for the voices of the poorer and marginalised, various governments at times do not adequately provide effective community service delivery that addresses the community needs or even fail to provide supportive capacity building interventions that would enable the community to self-help themselves. The World Bank put much emphasis on and encourages efforts that are geared towards stimulating and providing a supportive assurance for efforts that would benefit the poorest and at the same time promoting self-help interventions (Cammack, 2004).

This thesis, therefore, argues that it is necessary to create relationships with these poor and marginalised citizens who, largely, do not have easy access to service provision and community engagement activities (Brackeertz, *et al.*, 2005, in Robyn Eversole, 2011:54).

According to Lamp and Mcdee's (2004:37), good community citizenship participation could help develop and support a higher quality of life. This reiterates the power of public participation that could lead to better livelihoods. The same analogy is shared by Claridge (2004), who is of the view that if people are committed to a shared activity with the community, it expands your network and boosts social skills.

Much as the thesis addressed the strengths, there are some weaknesses as well. Babajanian (2013) summarises the strengths and weaknesses, as well as conditions of success for community involvement, in the Table below:

Table 5. Strengths, weaknesses and conditions of success for community involvement

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES	CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS
Provide institutional channels for participation in planning, prioritization, implementation and monitoring	Communities with weak leadership capacity may be less effective in attracting funds and benefiting from social funds	Conduct effective information and community outreach to promote meaningful participation and social inclusion
Promote demand-driven service delivery	Marginalised citizens may not be willing and able to participate and articulate demands for service	Incorporate rules and procedures to ensure inclusion of diverse social groups

Enable citizens to influence service delivery quality	May be prone to elite capture in environment with high levels of corruption and clienteles	Invest in capacity building in local decision-making and establish close supervision to prevent elite capture
Promote accountability and transparency in service delivery	Limited evidence about the potential to institutionalize citizen participation and improve governance outside micro-projects	Establish formal requirements citizen participation in the governance sphere and carry out boarder governance reforms
Use community driven development bottom-up model for institutionalised citizen participation in local governance		

4.3 COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

“Community” can have a variety of meanings ranging from neighbourhoods and organisations to larger (even global) collectives (Kadushinet *et al.*, 2005). Community engagement, particularly through models that draw on a justice orientation such as youth organizing, can be effective at confronting marginalization, age segregation, and ageism (Conner *et al.*, 2013). Community engagement and participation of local people in Community Development (CD) initiatives to provide basic services which affect their daily lives, represent the core principle of bottom-up, people-oriented development. It is contended that an autonomous model of empowering community members from acting as mere spectators to active citizens can build community resilience, and capability for sustainable community development endeavours, which respond appropriately to livelihood concerns, and community needs. The intersection of cultural assets and relational networks adds to the understanding of a grassroots modelled development, grounded in a holistic and solution-focused strategy which social policy and community development practice could benefit from.

To demonstrate the significant role of partnership in community engagement, it is useful to look at the difference between *community service* and *community engagement*. Community service can be understood as an evolutionary precursor to community engagement. While there is no doubt that, in the past, community service

initiatives have led to significant benefits for a wide range of communities, these initiatives were missing key elements that could have enhanced their efficacy and sustainability. Community service is transactional and could involve staff as service providers performing a service for a given community, in order to benefit the community members in some way. The community members would be passive recipients of this service, consuming it to the extent that they are willing or able to do so (Howard, Butcher, & Labone, 2003).

On the contrary, community engagement is transformative (Howard, Cooke, & Butcher, 2007). Community engagement brings about change not only in the lives of community members, but also in the lives of service providers. The direction of influence is not one-way: both parties are metamorphosed, and the benefits of this process are mutual (Jobling & Nanere, 2007).

Authentic community engagement promotes the development of relationships founded on interdependence, rather than dependence. Within the framework of community engagement, the solution to disaffiliation and other forms of disadvantage is not a one-way relationship of service provision. Instead, the solution is to empower disadvantaged people by giving them opportunities to contribute, as well as to receive. When provided with opportunities to contribute to and engage with society, disadvantaged people are able to feel more confident about their ability to reengage with mainstream society and achieve a greater level of social inclusion.

It is evident that disaffiliation and social contributions are linked; as one increases, the other decreases (Lafuente & Lane, 1995). Efforts to reduce disassociation that do not also promote greater social contributions are less likely to be successful, because as long as social contributions are low, disaffiliation will be, to some extent, entrenched. Community engagement establishes genuine, mutually beneficial relationships with disadvantaged people: community workers do not provide community service 'to' disadvantaged people, they are involved in community engagement 'with' them; investigators do not do research 'on' disadvantaged people, they do research 'with' them. Thus, disadvantaged people are active participants in the engagement process during not only programme delivery, but also programme

evaluation, and their sense of powerlessness and dependency is thus more fully mitigated. They are not people to be pitied as alienated from society; they are to be respected and dignified as capable agents who make crucial contributions within an interdependent, collaborative relationship.

Stewart and Bhagwanjee (1999) reported on a self-help group and how the empowerment of the group members was evaluated. The evaluation was carried out within a participatory research framework, whereby the group members were involved at every stage of the evaluation process. The framework was highly congruent with the goal of empowering the group members to become more self-reliant, independent, and self-confident. Stewart and Bhagwanjee (1999:339) argue that the emphasis on and employment of an empowerment paradigm represented: a shift from traditional individualist top-down approaches to participatory modes of intervention.

Henceforth, the evaluation described by Stewart and Bhagwanjee (1999) was directly in keeping with the aforementioned principles of genuine community engagement, whereby community members are involved and active throughout every phase of a given initiative, including the evaluation phase. Stewart and Bhagwanjee (1999) discuss the significant transitions that took place within the self-help group, as a result of the process of empowerment in which they participated (exemplified by the participatory research in which they were involved). The group leader who had initially led the group moved from the role of expert and leader to the role of 'invited consultant', and then was no longer needed at the group, because it eventually became fully self-reliant and self-governing. In other words, the group moved from being professionally led to being independent and peer-led. The group members acquired a sense of ownership over both the group activities and the evaluation research, and as they became more empowered, they developed increased feelings of self-worth and independence, and a better sense of personal identity.

They also illustrated increased self-confidence, personal strength, and resourcefulness. The mutual benefits of community engagement, for both the

community members and the researchers, were also evident in the consequences of Stewart and Bhagwanjee's (1999:342) study: the evaluation "served the needs of both parties and represented a pooling of their collective skills, experiences and perspectives".

The Australian Catholic University (ACU National) defines community engagement as: the process through which ACU National brings the capabilities of its staff and students to work collaboratively with community groups and organisations to achieve mutually agreed goals that build capacity, improve wellbeing, and produce just and sustainable outcomes in the interests of people, communities, and the University (Australian Catholic University, 2007). From this definition, it is clear that ACU views community engagement in terms of collaboration and mutuality, that is, in terms of partnership. It is argued that partnership is the key component of any successful community engagement initiative. Therefore, partnership can be viewed as a means that provides a basis for enhancing the effectiveness and sustainability of community engagement.

For a community-based initiative to be truly one of engagement, the collaboration must extend beyond the planning and implementation of the initiative into its evaluation phase. That is, community members need to be active partners in the process of devising and implementing a research strategy for assessing the impact of a given initiative. Just as, in the delivery phase, the community members are agents rather than recipients, in the evaluation phase, they are active, engaged collaborators rather than mere subjects to be studied and tested. They are participants in the fullest sense of the word: they participate not only in the data-gathering procedures but in their planning and development as well. This inclusiveness allows the evaluation phase to be valuably informed by the insights and perspectives of community members, to be tailored to their needs, sensitivities, and circumstances, and to offer them the dignity and respect that are often felt to be lacking in programme evaluations. (Clarke, Douglas and House 2021)

The balance of power between researchers and participants can affect how communities engage, who represents the different communities and what type and

level of interaction exists between the different stakeholders and at what stage of the intervention process. Successful engagement that considers the intervention priorities alongside the needs of the community improves the quality and outcomes of research. (Huvila 2011)

4.3.1 Levels of community engagement

The Figure below shows the actors who represent the different communities and their level of engagement. Stakeholders involved have a critical role to play in how they engage and interact with the community. Even where the selection of community and community representatives is clear, the way they communicate, the language and scientific terms they use also need to be clarified. How they perceive community involvement and their level of understanding can influence how the community engages in the process (Slevin *et al.*, 2018).

Figure 10: Levels of Community Engagement



Source: Slevin *et al.*. Reproduced from the PATH website at www.path.org, 14 June 2018.

Principles of community engagement are as follows:

1. Community engagement: Must meet the needs of populations and/or communities' affected, strengthening the community's role and capacity to actively address development priorities.

2. Learn about the community: It is important to become knowledgeable about the social and cultural context of the community in terms of its economic conditions, political leadership, demographic trends, history (overall and regarding research) as well as its perceptions of and experience with engagement activities.
3. Develop cultural competence: Knowledge and understanding of the community's predominant attitudes, perceptions and practices will help ensure more effective and respectful communication and interactions, leading to culturally responsive engagement activities.
4. Foster transparency: The community should be encouraged to express itself independently during the community engagement process.
5. Build partnership and trust: Partnering with community stakeholders is necessary to create change, build mutual trust and improve health. Toward that end, it is important to seek commitments from community-based organisations and to identify formal and informal leaders in the community.
6. Provide and promote capacity-building: Sustainable community engagement can only be achieved by identifying and mobilizing the community and by developing the capacities and resources within the community.
7. Maintain a long-term commitment: Community collaboration requires an ongoing, long-term commitment by the research organisation, its partners and the community.

(Adapted from Recommendations for community engagement in HIV/AIDS research: a guide for communities and researchers, version 2.0(3))

The methodology of engagement was developed in order to address the need for community members to feel genuinely engaged in the interventions carried out in their communities, and to feel respected and dignified in the process. The methodology ensures that community members are partners, not only in the implementation of community projects but in their evaluation as well (Kirk & Shutte, 2004).

For a community-based initiative to be truly one of engagement, the cooperation must go beyond the planning and implementation of the initiative into its evaluation

phase. That is, community members need to be active partners in the process of devising and implementing a research strategy for assessing the impact of a given initiative. Just as, in the delivery phase, the community members are agents rather than recipients, in the evaluation phase, they are active, engaged collaborators rather than mere subjects. They are participants in the fullest sense of the word. This inclusiveness allows the evaluation phase to be valuably informed by the insights and perspectives of community members, to be tailored to their needs, sensitivities, and circumstances, and to offer them the dignity and respect that are often felt to be lacking in programme evaluations (Butcher, Egan & Ralph, 2008).

Community engagement should be undertaken before work commences (this is called front-loading). The purpose of the first stages of community engagement is to help define issues and aims of the area planning activity. Early and later stages of community engagement/involvement will also inform policies and proposals. In capacity building, it will often be useful to undertake a skills audit and where appropriate recruit individuals to fill any knowledge gaps, as well as building on people's existing knowledge and understanding so that those participating in community engagement events are well informed about the plan and the issues it is dealing with. Seeking specialist advice and enabling: it may be necessary for those leading and participating in the neighbourhood planning process to recognise the need to bring in specialist advice and support where resources permit (Bovaird, 2007).

Community engagement needs to engage people and as such it should be stimulating and enjoyable. Non-traditional methods of engagement and the role of arts and culture in facilitating engagement should be explored. It is necessary to explain the scope and limitations of the planning system and area planning; and managing expectations. Thus, whilst some people will naturally want to get involved in area planning, targeting entails that sectors of the community will be involved. This might include the elderly, young people and other hard-to-engage groups. This may also require bespoke events and more face-to-face engagement. By ensuring accessibility, careful thought needs to be given to make events accessible, including location, timing, media, and format, to cater for differing requirements of different

sectors of the community. Events should be informal and not intimidating. Where intensive community engagement has recently been undertaken the material obtained should be useful in informing the area plan and form a basis to build upon (McKercher & Du Cros, 2002).

4.4 PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT

Participatory development seeks to engage local populations in development projects. Ever since it emerged in the 1970s, it has taken different forms. The main trend of participatory development's drive and purpose is also the focus of this research: to "give the poor a part in initiatives designed for their benefit" (Cornwall, 2002:11).

The so-called justified slogans, such as 'empowering the poor, improving accountability, building social capital, improving the demand side of governance' are often used. As in the case of this research, almost all of these are applicable and the framework to be developed should seek to achieve them.

Participation means involving local people in the development of plans and activities designed to change their lives. In its most developed form, participation is a continuous process of negotiation and decision-making that occurs at various levels and with all stakeholders (Chambers, 1992:8). Participation is the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy-making and resource allocation (Gregory, 2000:179). In this study participation is used for Basarwa community to be engaged in the decision making processes for the purpose of improving their livelihoods.

Though there is little clarity regarding the definition of participatory development, the way it is defined differs or depends on the perspective applied. Basically, there are two perspectives that can define participatory development, namely: the Social Movement Perspective; and the Institutional Perspective (Mubita 2013).

While the Social Movement Perspective defines participatory development as “the mobilisation of people to eliminate unjust hierarchies of knowledge, power, and economic distribution”, the Institutional Perspective defines it as “the reach and inclusion of inputs by relevant groups in the design and implementation of a development project” (Thomas *et al.*, 2009).

From the Social Movement Perspective, dialogue triggers the identification and critical analysis of issues, which leads to joint decision-making about what should be achieved and how an exchange of knowledge and experiences leads to solutions. On the other hand, from an Institutional Perspective, ownership and control of the process rest in the hands of the main stakeholder (Jeoffrey, 2009).

There is a growing occurrence of democratic governments to lead in the call for further participatory protected area planning processes and greater community involvement, as well as authentic public engagement. The notion is supported by Bushell (2017), who is of the view that increased citizen engagement in tourism and protected area policy leads to greater awareness and pressure for protection of biodiversity values.

Participatory development goes hand in hand with social sustainability in that empowerment of the community influences sustainability specifically when people are empowered to develop themselves hence effective community development can be achieved. It is therefore essential for all three dimensions of social sustainability namely; social, environmental and financial to be addressed in order to attain the most sustainable outcome possible.

The involvement of local communities in decisions that affect their lives, make development more effective, and it does have the potential to change the way poor people are engaged in their individual and community development, which subsequently gives them voice and agency (World Bank, 2012). Through participatory development, there is community and citizen capacity enhancement in the management of their local affairs and a better interaction with the authorities (Muhammad, 2015).

In order to ascertain how successful a participatory development programme is, you must be clear what others mean by 'participation', as well as have a personal conception of what you understand by it. This means that there are no universal definitions of participatory development. What we see are different ideologies which reflect the broader goals that participation might achieve. If people participate, what are they aiming to gain by participating? One view is instrumental, whereby participation increases the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of 'formal' development programmes (Mayo & Craig, 1995). The broad goals of development are valid, but the institutional practices are not working; it can be improved by direct involvement of the beneficiaries. An example is the Women in Development (WID) initiatives of the 1970s aimed at incorporating women into the planning process (Moser, 1989). Others see participation as part of a more transformative agenda (Esteva & Prakash, 1998) which might be anti-developmental. That is, 'development' itself is flawed and only by valorising other, non-hegemonic voices, can meaningful social change occur. For instance, Esteva and Prakash (1998) see the Zapatistas of Mexico as an anti-developmental movement par excellence.

Despite these differences, there has been a growing acceptance of the importance of local involvement. At the root of this 'consensus' is the belief in not relying on the state - the prime institution of modernity - for development. So, it might not be coincidental that participatory development gained popularity around the same time as the neo-liberal counter-revolution of the early 1980s with its discourse of self-help and individualism (Toye, 1987). Participation, according to the German agency, GTZ, is defined as "co-determination and power sharing throughout the ... programme cycle" (1991:5) (cited in Nelson & Wright, 1995:4). Here, participation involves external and local agencies working together on a project basis; the implication being that the project was reasonably circumscribed.

The World Bank established a 'Learning Group' on Participation and in the mid-1990s began a series of Participatory Poverty Assessments (Narayan *et al.*, 2000). For them, participation involved stakeholders who "influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank,

1994:6, cited in Nelson & Wright, 1995:5). Such recognition fed into the 'good governance' agenda which sought to share responsibility for project implementation, compared to the 1980s where aid-receiving countries had their policies driven entirely by the donors (Mohan *et al.*, 2000).

These conceptualisations, while useful, are still rather general. Rahnema (1992) suggests that participatory development involves the following core elements: cognitive in order to generate a "different mode of understanding the realities to be addressed"; political in "empowering the voiceless"; and instrumental in order to "propose new alternatives".

In a similar vein, the United Nations Development Programme (1993) sub-divided participation into four key forms namely: household, economic, social-cultural and political, and stressed that all forms overlap and interact. Not surprisingly for a major development agency, and in contrast to Rahnema (1992), the UNDP is more prescriptive about what each form of participation entails. In particular, the emphasis on economic participation and increasing purchasing power is at odds with those who see participation as a post-development, anti-capitalist initiative involving new forms of production and exchange.

A different perspective is that the process of participatory development is essentially about power (Mayo & Craig, 1995:5-6; Nelson & Wright, 1995:7-11). Participation entails political struggle, whereby the powerful fight to retain their privileges. Even many supposedly pro-participation development agencies are incredibly powerful and show a marked reluctance to release control. Participation is often a conflictual and, sometimes, violent process whereby the less powerful must struggle for increased control over their lives. The focus for participatory development has become local on grassroots level (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). This permits a plurality of developmental goals to be realised as well as giving the community the self-determination it needs. Given that the state is often seen as the main impediment to participation, much of participatory development is organised through civil society (Hyden, 1997). If state structures are inflexible, bureaucratic, urban-biased and

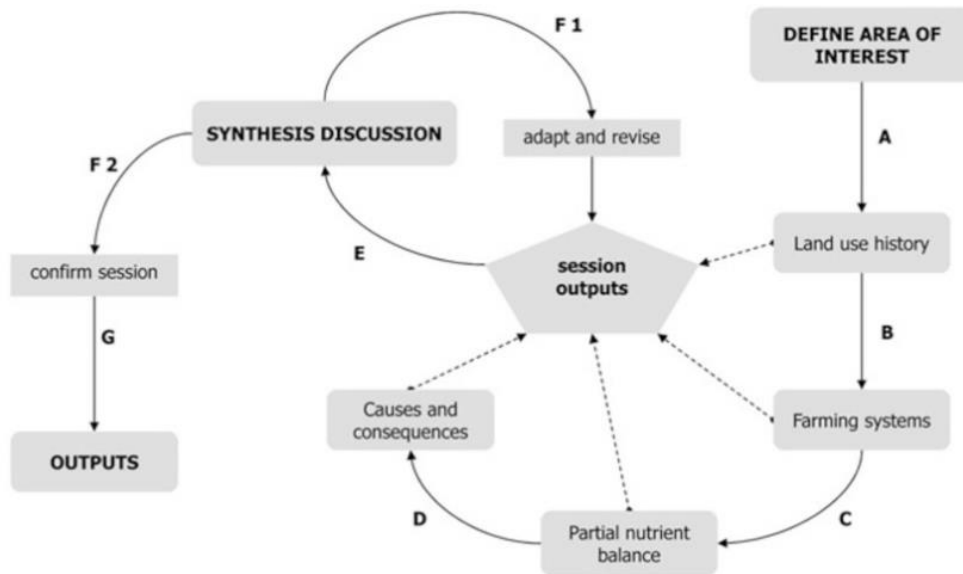
unaccountable, then civil society organisations are believed to be smaller, more accountable, locally-aware and more hands-on.

Although civil society has multiple meanings (Hyden, 1997), in a developmental context it has largely been interpreted as the realm of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Mayo & Craig, 1995; McIlwaine, 1998). NGOs are incredibly diverse, with many of the southern-based ones relying on funding and institutional support from northern partners. Participatory development reverses the biases which have marginalised and alienated the poor. AsmRahnema (1992) points out one important step that concerns cognition and knowledge generation. In contrast to the expert knowledge of normal development, participatory development stresses the necessity of local knowledge. The expert systems of modernity relied upon scientific approaches where planners worked from normative social models so that the recipients of development were treated as passive or, more often, conservative and obstructive. Participatory development reverses this. The methods for doing this were inspired by Paulo Freire and have grown into a veritable industry (Chambers, 1997:106-13), but all centre upon trying to see the world from the point of view of those directly affected by the developmental intervention.

The most widely used methodology is Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). As Chambers (1997:103) alludes: the essence of PRA is change and reversals - of role, behaviour, relationship and learning. Outsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen and learn. Outsiders do not transfer technology; they share methods which local people can use for their own appraisal, analysis, planning, action, monitoring and evaluation. Outsiders do not impose their reality; they encourage and enable local people to express their own. PRA relies on many visual and oral techniques for generating knowledge because it is felt that the medium of written language is prejudicial to free expression. Methods such as mapping, ranking of preferences and oral histories are all part of the PRA toolkit. So, participatory development seeks out the diversity which allows the differences between people and between communities to be realised rather than treating everybody as uniform objects of development.

In the Figure below, the dotted arrows indicate information flow between actors in the participatory development process.

Figure 11: Causal diagram of the information feedback loop. A–G: Flow of Information



Source: Lippe *et al.* (2011: 1457)

The following elements should be considered when choosing stakeholders to be involved in the development process (Dare *et al.*, 2009): their knowledge of the subject, their representativeness or personal role within the social group, their position or mandate, their ability to create ties with other stakeholder groups and their availability and involvement. The roles stakeholders can play in the process may vary significantly, but may include knowledge holders, fund providers, institutional decision-makers, as well as third parties or intermediaries in negotiations or conflict resolution processes. Depending on the issue to be addressed and the objectives of the project, specific roles will be defined, and this will have a bearing on the choice of stakeholders. For example, if the question or issue to be addressed concerns the functioning of a system, knowledge holders will be more sought after; however, if the issue is more concerned with the establishment of priorities among different prospective scenarios, the participation of institutional stakeholders seems particularly appropriate.

In most potential conflict situations, resolution efforts involve inviting the stakeholders that are either directly affected by or very closely involved in the conflict to take part in a collaborative conflict resolution process. The objective here is to promote

exchange among stakeholders from different role categories, so that they may share their roles through the process.

4.4.1 Participatory communication

In order to achieve an effective participatory democracy, a communication framework would serve several roles in the developmental process (Muzammel *et al.*, 2005). This takes into account psychological, socio-political, cultural and economic dynamics within and across stakeholder groups.

A combination of information, education and mobilisation, behaviour change, and capacity building activities would support and facilitate horizontal, and vertical relationship building; top-down and bottom-up political action; accountability; process management; and social and behavioural change through knowledge learning.

The participatory communication incorporates the concepts that stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratisation and participation at all levels - international, national, local and individual. It points to a strategy, not merely inclusive of, but largely emanating from, the traditional 'receivers'. Paulo Freire (1983:76) refers to this as the right of all people to individually and collectively speak their word: 'This is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every man. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words'.

In order to share information, knowledge, trust, commitment and a right attitude in development projects, participation is important in any decision-making process for development. Therefore, the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems argues that 'this calls for a new attitude for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways' (MacBride, 1980:254). This model stresses reciprocal collaboration throughout all levels of participation.

Also, these newer approaches argue that the point of departure must be the community. It is at the community level that the problems of living conditions are discussed, and interactions with other communities are elicited. The most developed form of participation is self-management (Servaes, 2007).

To Braimoh (1988), effective communication is an essential tool for the establishment and maintenance of a good social and working relationship. It involves constant exchange of ideas and interactions among people for the solution of their problems and they see effective communication as an essential prerequisite for every aspect of group functioning. With all these facts, effective communication cannot be brushed aside if rural development is to be accomplished because to Anyanwu (1999), community development depends on the effectiveness of communication as it helps in the sharing of ideas and opinions and diffusion of good ideas while irrelevant ideas are thrown out. Effective communication enhances participation of every community member towards the achievement of the goals of community/rural development. It makes people participate actively in matters of development. Communication is a powerful trend to facilitate participation in development. It is about encouraging community participation with development initiatives through a strategic utilization of various communication strategies.

Community development involves strengthening the capacity of individuals within the community to accomplish the community's set goals. The communication process brings together all stakeholders in community development in a dialogue of ideas on development needs, objectives and actions (Manyozo, 2006).

4.4.2 Participatory planning

Good planning is viewed as critical to successful community engagement. A participating organisation that is involved would recommend an approach for public participation. Involving the community in participatory development is important, specifically in the planning and implementation of development projects for the community. This research sees participatory planning as an essential foundation for

effective implementation of a developmental intervention for a community (Chirenje, 2013).

As alluded to by Areizaga (in Booth & Halseth, 2011), public engagement is crucial for the success and effectiveness of public management. They reflect that for the success of the public engagement process, there should be three critical steps that should be encompassed:

1. Deciding when and who must participate: for the purpose of defining and classifying the stakeholder group
2. Designing the participatory method: to establish the level of contribution that may be required
3. Evaluating the participation.

It is essential to implement the planning, since development initiatives are more effective when all stakeholders, especially citizens and marginalised communities, are involved in the planning, execution and monitoring of their development programmes.

4.4.3 Participatory implementation

A basic approach by Gramont (2013) showcases three main elements of participatory implementation as follows:

1. Building capacity first: establish resources that would finance programmes geared towards building citizen and community capacity; and that would encourage participation and hold the government/state accountable. Development practitioners also have to acquire the right and adequate skills specifically on what matters to citizens and the barriers they face.
2. Encourage adaptive implementation engagement of the government/state: the need to navigate through power relations and pushing through uncomfortable changes. Authors are of the view that successful programmes are those led by individuals with knowledge of the local context and an appetite for learning from failures.

3. From participation to empowerment: There is a need for impact evaluations that would consider the process of how certain programmes failed to deliver i.e. poverty reduction and empowerment

4.4.3 Success and failures of participatory development

There is a paradigm shift in that the focus is currently not on the merits of participatory development but rather on an analysis of the extent, or quality, of participation (Lyons, 2001:273-288).

A number of factors determine the success of participatory development, which includes the following:

1. Herman (2007) (in Muhammad, 2015) is of the notion that participatory development should target the schemes to the perceived needs of the beneficiaries. By so doing, participatory development projects would in a way provide demand-oriented services and development that address the real needs of the people concerned
2. Adequate resources and community capacity should support development projects (Mwaura & Ngugi, 2014; Muhammad, 2015)
3. An appropriate organisational structure and sound community leadership involving active participation and roles of local leadership and organisations are necessary. This could result in profitable assistance in development activities
4. Education, income level, and occupational skills have an impact on the performance of community development projects.

On the other hand, Gramont (2013) is of the view that failures associated with participatory development are: Lack of socio-political knowledge; limited political influence; inflexible project designs; and results pressure.

4.5 COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM

A model known as community-based tourism (CBT) was developed in the 1980s with an objective of establishing a bottom-up approach which will provide real and all-inclusive community participation at all levels of tourism development (Asker *et al.*, 2010). A primary gap exists between the academic definition of the CBT concept and the way it is used by practitioners (Goodwin & Santili, 2009). There is no considerable modification and application of CBT among various destinations globally. Community-based tourism is tourism that is initiated, designed, planned, owned and managed by the community for the community, directed by cooperative decision-making, responsibility, access, ownership and benefits (Jamal & Gets, 1995).

The relative intention of CBT is to increase the possibilities for job creation and generate entrepreneurial opportunities for local communities with different backgrounds, skills and experiences (Mitchell & Reid, 2001). According to Goodwin and Santili (2009), CBT can be defined as tourism that is owned and managed by a community and is centred on delivering community-wide benefits. In other words, CBT entails local participation and control which results in more benefits to the community and the improvement of their livelihood.

Developing countries have used CBT as a means to drive economic, social and environmental development (Snyman, 2012; Spenceley, 2008). CBT is a type of tourism that allows local communities to have extensive control over tourism activities and access to maximal economic benefits (Scheyvens, 2002). The capability of communities to become involved in tourism at the destination is increased through CBT, thus, local participation that fosters economic, social and cultural well-being is established (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Community-based tourism is a type of tourism conducted, owned and managed by local communities. The control over CBT by local communities is a tool for broadening the positive impacts and empowerment (Sebele, 2010).

Since CBT takes place within a given community, it is believed to be one of the ideal drivers of employment for local communities, including women and the informal

sector (Scheyvens, 2007). There are three key elements for CBT, as observed by Zapata *et al.* (2011), namely: CBT is positioned within a community, is owned by one or more local community members and is managed by community members. Understanding CBT practices and processes centres on the concept of community. There have been several attempts made to define community. However, literature is yet to agree on a single, distinct and all-inclusive definition.

Extensively, community is a group of people occupying a given location who share common culture, values and interests (Gregory, 2009). However, communities may have subgroups that have dissimilar views on issues such as tourism (Mendoza-Ramos and Prideaux, 2014). Moreover, Stone and Nyaupane (2014) observed, that being geographically confined in the same area as other communities is not tantamount to cultural commonalities. Consequently, identifying subgroups within a recognised community is essential, particularly where differences exist in attitudes towards tourism development among subgroups. The conversation around CBT mainly centres on local community involvement in tourism, signifying the need for empowerment of local communities at the level of control and decision-making. Local community empowerment is essential to achieve sustainability of tourism, particularly in remote areas (Snyman, 2012).

Community participation in CBT minimizes the negative impacts of tourism because it allows for active involvement of communities in planning and development, thereby, effectively combating negative impacts (Scheyvens, 2002). However, Stone (2015) points out that community tourism development can be ineffective without the recognition of community heterogeneity. To yield maximum and successful outcomes, local community members must be equipped with adequate resources and skills required to actively participate in tourism (Okazaki, 2008). These resources are often obtainable from external private or public sources because there is often a lack of required training, knowledge and financial resources amongst local communities (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008).

The conversation around CBT mainly centres around local community involvement in tourism, signifying the need for empowerment of local communities at

the level of control and decision-making. Local community empowerment is essential to achieve sustainability of tourism, particularly in remote areas (Snyman,2012). However, as Rocharungsat (2008) observed, tourism development plans and community-driven tourism planning aspirations may be unachievable due to the intricacy of CBT practices. Several authors (Garrod, 2003; Novelli & Gebhardt, 2007; Rocharungsat, 2008; Scheyvens, 2002; Stone, 2015) have argued that the fundamental success of CBT lies in community participation.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Ashley and Dilys (1998), recognise that a community has a common interest in the resources of an area and that within any community there will be stratifications and conflicting interests. Wildlife and natural resources can, therefore, involve and affect local residents without being driven and controlled by residents of the Kwai community. In the context of this study, community involvement should be treated as a means to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions, specifically on matters regarding decision-making processes about their natural resources.

This thesis argues that the Basarwa of Khwai should be involved in strategic decision-making and policy development processes that affect them so that their voices and views can express their needs and interests and influence the sustainable development of their community; hence creating empowerment opportunities. It will contribute to research on community involvement in the African context, which has been limited thus far (Tindall *et al.*, 2011:373). The Khwai community's current involvement in strategy and policy development for their area is investigated. Consistent with the same perspective, Marmot (2004, 2006, 2015); Wilkinson (2005) and Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) advocate that meaningful community engagement is of paramount importance. Evidence of non-participation in its various forms would be regarded as being more damaging to people's health and well-being. This research will develop a suitable community involvement framework for the Basarwa at Khwai - this conceptual framework will make a major contribution to the knowledge on strategic communication management for marginalised communities in Botswana.

Alternate development discourses suggested by scholars and activists such as authors of the Development Dictionary Collective (1992) and Marglin and others (1990, 1996) do not preclude the possibility of social change. A complete return to the pre-modern is neither realistic, nor in most instances, possible, nor even desirable. Rather, the source from which an articulation of the need for change emerges, becomes central. Transformed definitions of development and change within local contexts and histories, and ecologically sympathetic and compatible processes and types of social change are pointed out as the more fruitful paths to consider.

The decision-making structure should allow the community and governments to cooperate on public issues and the budget from a community-driven perspective (Ebdon, 2000). For this to be accomplished, a sufficient amount of time to make a decision, and thorough discussion between residents and the government is vital. As reflected in this Chapter, appropriate participatory planning would ensure that successful participatory implementation takes place in order to achieve sustainable participatory development.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter is a further expansion of what was introduced in Chapter One, where the problem statement, research questions, conceptualisation of the study, research design and methodology were presented. The Chapter shows the research methods used, how the study was planned and implemented, and how research questions were dealt with and answered throughout the thesis. The focus is on the research design, sampling selection, data collection and data analysis (using the thematic model of analysis) from qualitative data, and identifying the relevant themes. This is supported by Braun and Clarke (2006:78), who postulate that thematic analysis is reflected as a foundational method for qualitative analysis.

This thesis seeks to analyse the Botswana Government's approaches when implementing community service delivery programmes for remote area dwellers such as the *Basarwa* (The San). An assessment of community-government consultation processes was carried out to establish the impact of the Botswana Government Remote Area Development programme on the livelihood of the *Basarwa*. This led to the development of a *community involvement framework* to ensure that the community is not just consulted, but are active participants in the decisions that affect their livelihoods.

The study aims to provide a theoretical contribution to initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the *Basarwa*. Therefore, the research primarily establishes and examines perspectives on the extent to which the public bodies of the Botswana Government engage the remote area dwellers. It is also essential to consider the business cycle of the community involved, specifically with regards to entrepreneurship impartation geared towards skills development and empowerment for self-reliance. The research furthermore explores and analyses the limitations of public engagement between the Government and the *Basarwa* community. The analysis and findings were utilised to

develop a conceptual framework for effective processes and mechanisms of public engagement connections. This framework is endeavoured to contribute to the research in the African context of public participation which has been limited (Tindall *et al.*, 2011:373) and it serves as a basis for potential communication strategy tools for future research and development.

The Chapter, therefore, presents the study location, research design, secondary data collection, primary data collection, data collection instruments and procedure, trustworthiness, data analysis and presentation methods used in the study and finally ethical considerations. The research adopted a qualitative research methodological approach to obtain data which would be essential for this particular study. Interviews were conducted with seventeen participants. This was done by administering a semi-structured questionnaire.

The cultural context which the study utilised was used concurrently with the qualitative research method. The research used semi-structured interviews in this study, which involved household leaders and representatives from Khwai village, among others.

5.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE FOR RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative research approach. In qualitative research, the crucial phenomenon is the understanding of the important role of theory in research. As a result, the theoretical concept calls for clarification to broaden and reinforce its understanding. The main purpose of theory is, therefore, to assist as a yardstick for the researcher (Verma & Malick, 1999:6; Blumberg, Cooper & Schindler, 2011:36).

In the social sciences, theory usually designates a number of ideas describing and showcasing the relation between human behaviour and its effects. According to Best and Khan (2006:10), a theory can strongly be described as a means of attempting to develop a general explanation for some phenomenon. According to the authors, a theory defines non-observable constructs that are inferred from observable facts and events, and are thought to have an impact on the phenomenon under study.

From this view point, it implies that a theory describes the relationship among key variables for explaining a current position – it is mainly concerned with providing clarification and it focuses on determining the cause and effect of the relationships.

A theory is an essential tool of research for stimulating the advancement of knowledge (Inglis & Maclean, 2005:17; Kawulich, 2009:37). It should drive the research process and provide a framework for action as well as understanding. This research, with the title “*Towards a community involvement framework for remote area communities in Botswana*”, borrows from theoretical ideals advanced in research.

Apart from a clear understanding of the concept of theory, the researcher also needs knowledge and understanding of the related research philosophies that uphold the different principles of the research. In this study, the research philosophy that upholds it is reflected in principles of the research paradigm appropriateness for the study.

A theoretical perspective assists in summarising the initial information and also guides the future cause of action. At the same time, the formulation of a theory could reflect the missing ideas or links required to fully understand interconnected concepts (Henning *et al.*, 2004:14). From this perspective, interpretivism is situated as the research paradigm of this study.

5.2.1 Research paradigm

Four major paradigms seem to compete in scientific inquiry, which are: positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Of these, the more generally quantitative (objectivist) approaches are positivism and post-positivism (Mittwede, 2012). This study adopted an interpretivist paradigm, which is also often called the constructivist paradigm.

The interpretivist paradigm seeks to understand the subjective world of human experience (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This approach makes an effort to ‘get into the

head of the subjects being studied' and to understand and interpret what the subject is thinking or the meaning s/he is making of the context (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017:33). In this regard, every effort is made to try to understand the viewpoint of the subject being observed, rather than the viewpoint of the observer (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017:33). Kivunja and Kuyini (2017) argue that emphasis is placed on understanding the individual and their interpretation of the world around them. Hence, the key tenet of the interpretivist paradigm is that reality is socially constructed (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). In this paradigm, theory does not precede research but follows it so that it is grounded on the data generated by the research act (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

The development of interpretivist philosophy is based on the critique of positivism in social sciences. Accordingly, this philosophy emphasizes qualitative analysis over quantitative analysis. The interpretivist paradigm is concerned with understanding the world as it is from the subjective experiences of individuals (Reeves & Hedberg, 2003:32). The interpretivist approach in this context is seen as the use of theory, as a guide between the research design and data collection. The aim of interpretivists is not to generate a new theory, but to evaluate or judge and refine interpretive theories. The interpretivist paradigm is originally rooted in the fact that methods used to understanding knowledge related to human and social sciences would not be similar to its usage in physical sciences because humans interpret their world and then act based on such interpretation, while the world does not (Hammersley, 2013:26). Consequently, interpretivists adapt a relativist ontology in which a single phenomenon may have multiple interpretations rather than a truth that can be determined by a process of measurement.

Chapter Three synthesised a meta-theoretical approach, which at the helm evaluated various complementary theories that guide this study from an interpretivist perspective. Walsham (1995b) presents three different uses of theory in interpretive studies: theory guiding the design and collection of data, theory as an iterative process of data collection and analysis and theory as an outcome of a case study.

Interpretivism is not a single paradigm, it is in fact a large family of diverse paradigms (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). The philosophical base of interpretive research

is hermeneutics and phenomenology (Boland, 1985). Hermeneutics is a major branch of interpretive philosophy with Gadamer and Ricoeur arguably being its most well-known exponents (Klein & Myers, 1999). It emerged in the late nineteenth century (Kaboob, 2001). Hermeneutics can be treated as both an underlying philosophy and a specific mode of analysis (Bleicher, 1980). As a philosophical approach to human understanding, hermeneutics provides the philosophical background for interpretivism. It attempts to understand human beings in a social context. This principle is fundamental to all interpretive work which is hermeneutic in nature and encompasses all verbal and non-verbal forms of communication.

On the other hand, the phenomenological approach to interpretivism, focuses on unearthing and revealing vital attributes of certain phenomena as they really are. Literally, phenomenology is the study of 'phenomena' - that is how things appear in our experience and their meanings (Stanford Encyclopedia, 2011). According to Creswell (1998:51), it is the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view. The author contends that a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals about a phenomenon. From this standpoint, both the phenomenological and hermeneutic approaches build up the interpretivism paradigm and commend the idea and aim of this study. Table 6 displays the characteristics of interpretivism, as used in this research, classified into the purpose of the study, the nature of reality (ontology), nature of knowledge and the relationship between the inquirer and the inquired-into (epistemology) and the methodology used (Cantrell, 2001).

One of the limitations of this approach is that the interpretivist's aim is to gain a deeper understanding and knowledge of phenomena within its complexity of the context rather than generalise these results to other people and other contexts (Cohen, Manion & Marison, 2011). It, therefore, tends to leave out a gap in verifying validity and usefulness of research outcomes with using scientific procedures. The second criticism of interpretivism is that its ontological view tends to be subjective rather than objective (Mack, 2010). For that reason, research outcomes are therefore unquestionably affected by the researcher's own interpretation, own belief system, ways of thinking or cultural preference which causes bias.

Table 6. Characteristics of interpretivist paradigm

Feature	Description
Ontology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There are multiple realities. ➤ Reality can be explored and constructed through human interactions, and meaningful actions. ➤ Discover how people make sense of their social worlds in the natural setting by means of daily routines, conversations and writings while interacting with others around them. These writings could be in the form of text and visual pictures. ➤ Many social realities exist due to varying human experience, including people's knowledge, views and interpretations.
Epistemology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Events are understood through the mental processes of interpretation that are influenced by interaction with social contexts. ➤ Those active in the research process, socially construct knowledge by experiencing the real life or natural settings. ➤ Inquirer and the inquired-into are interlocked in an interactive process of talking and listening, reading and writing. ➤ More personal, interactive mode of data collection.
Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Data collected through interviews. ➤ Research is a product of the values of the researcher.

Source: Mmutle T J (2018)

Consequently, in reference to Table 6, it is essential to emphasise that the research is based on the researcher's epistemological and ontological perspective of their world.

Epistemology can be briefly defined as how reality is being known by the researcher as discussed by (Carson *et al.*, 2001). Therefore, epistemology is concerned with how a researcher is aiming to uncover knowledge to reach reality. On the other hand, Alharahsheh and Pius (2020) posit the ontological perspective to be mainly concerned with a phenomenon in terms of its nature of existence. Hence, ontology seeks an answer or reality to a research question through indicating to the existing type of knowledge that can be found. Therefore, good qualitative research will have a well-developed and thought through research question.

In qualitative inquiry, initial questions for the research normally emerge and the researchers' real-life observations of the world are made (Marshall & Rossman 1995; Hatch, 2002; Punch, 2013). Thus, to achieve clarity with regard to the research question, the researcher will have to rationalise their choices for the chosen research question. One way of justifying to the reader the adoption of a research question is through an in-depth exploration of the literature on a topic that the researcher is interested in studying. This can help the researcher to pinpoint, based on the literature, where a gap lies in the body of research literature and thus a well formulated research question for their research can help them to fill that gap.

Key to the methodology of this study, the key words of focus are: participation, collaboration and engagement (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). In the interpretive approach, the researcher is a participant observer who engages in the activities and deduces meanings of actions as they are expressed within specific social contexts.

5.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Novikov and Novikov (2019), methodology is the theory of organisation of an activity within the framework of a unified approach proposed and developed in the methodologies of: scientific activity, practical activity, educational activity, art activity and play activity that have been described to date. On the other hand, Myers (2009) asserts that research methodology is a strategy of enquiry, which moves from underlying assumptions, to research design, and data collection. In support to this, Igwenagu (2016) contends that methodology is about the design process for conducting research and it is not about the instruments or methods for doing things.

The most common classification of research methods is into qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative and quantitative refer to distinctions about the nature of knowledge: how one understands the world and the ultimate purpose of the research. From a different perspective, the terms refer to research methods that are

geared towards data collection and analysis, and the type of generalisations and representations derived from the data.

It is of utmost importance to narrate what is entailed in each method, though this research aims falls on one of the paradigms, that is, quantitative research. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2006:8-9) provide an explanation in a different form when they allude that quantitative research aims to evaluate objective data consisting of numbers, using complex structured methods to confirm or disprove hypotheses. Quantitative research methodology is dependent on the measurement and analysis of informal relationships between variables, instead of involving the investigation of processes.

Whereas as alluded to by Mouton (1996:39-40), the choice of methodology depends on the research problem and research objectives. The author distinguishes between three levels of the methodological dimension of research as follows:

- I. Methodological paradigms, the most abstract level, which includes the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research.
- II. Research methods, being those that are used in some particular phases of the research process, for instance sampling, data collection and data analysis.
- III. Research techniques represent the most concrete level of the methodological dimension and include specific techniques related to sampling, data collection and data analysis, as Mouton (1996:39-40) positioned. The distinction between paradigms, methods and techniques is helpful in deriving a better understanding of the concept of the research methodology of the study.

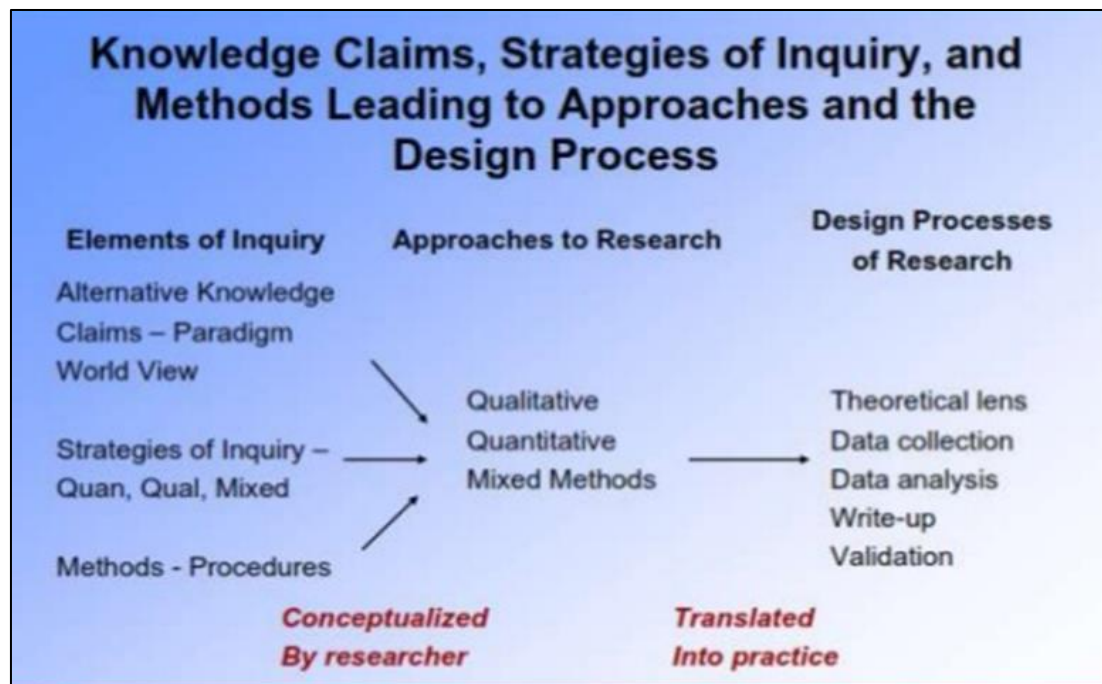
5.4 RESEARCH APPROACH

The research approach based on the qualitative methodology of this research, had to consider what Arianne, Teherani, Wadhwa and Varpio (2015) term as views about what is possible to study and how it will affect the research approach. An appropriate approach was then selected underpinning the research question, and the research approach itself, as a prerequisite for rigorous qualitative research, therefore the author's framework of elements of inquiry is espoused. According to Myers (2009)

qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people, and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Such studies allow the complexities and differences of worlds-under-study to be explored and represented (Pandey & Pandey, 2015; Yin, 2014, 2011; Griffee, 2012).

In this study, qualitative research is primarily used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations regarding the phenomenon under study. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas. Subsequently, qualitative research is also used to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and to dive deeper into the problem in the current study.

Figure 12: Knowledge Claims: Strategies of Inquiry and Methods



Source: Crotty, 1998 as cited in Creswell (2003).

5.4.1 Exploratory

An exploratory purpose is used for this study because much needs to be explored on the existing literature on the topic. The aim of an exploratory study is to clarify and improve the understanding of a problem (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007:133). It is, therefore, important to explore how the literature on community involvement would connect with the empirical evidence as envisaged from the study's participants. An exploratory study is the best way to understand participants'

experiences and knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation and to develop the necessary background for future investigations of this topic.

5.4.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is naturalistic; it relies on the direct experiences of human beings as meaning-making agents in their everyday lives and, therefore, it attempts to study the everyday life of different groups of people and communities in their natural setting. Qualitative research, furthermore, involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter; it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

The choice of research methodology for the study was qualitative. The qualitative research methodology is effective in obtaining specific information about values, opinions and behaviour in the social context of the population under study (Du Plooy, 2009). This method aims to answer questions about the 'what', 'how' or 'why' of a phenomenon, rather than the 'how many' or 'how much', which is answered by quantitative methods (Bricks, 2007). If the aim is to understand how a community, or individuals within it, perceive a particular issue, then qualitative methods are often appropriate. As a consequence, this study endeavours to understand how community involvement can support the initiatives and sustainability programmes that largely depend on community participation.

5.4.3 Characteristics of qualitative research

Four characteristics of qualitative research make it a particularly appropriate approach for this study: (1) naturalism, (2) the insider perspective, (3) the level of detail and (4) flexibility. Naturalism refers to the fact that qualitative research techniques are better situated than quantitative research to examine phenomena in their natural environments (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270). As the purpose of the study is exploratory, the aim is to have an understanding on how community involvement is applied in context and how it is 'naturally' occurring, and not to test any interventions or specific variables.

Unlike the quantitative techniques, which often try to isolate variables from their environments, qualitative research seeks to understand events and phenomena as they naturally occur (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270; Daymon & Holloway, 2002:6). In this sense, qualitative research allows the researcher to obtain some form of direct experience of the phenomenon (Trochim, 2006). As a result, qualitative techniques are often embraced by interpretive, critical and postmodern scholars (Taylor & Trujillo, 2001:163) because of the importance placed on context.

This characteristic places the focus on the perspectives of the participants and not on the researcher. In particular, qualitative research fits the ontological assumptions of this study, that reality is socially constructed based on each individual's perspective (Trochim, 2006). As a direct result of its naturalism and insider perspective, this kind of research is able to provide a higher degree of detail about the research phenomenon within its context, than quantitative research.

Qualitative research thus enables the researcher to describe the research phenomenon in greater detail (Trochim, 2006). It allows for the development of a fuller description of the subject than depending solely on quantifiable elements (Saunders *et al.*, 2007:472). In the main, the goal of this study is to explore the characteristics of the research problem, and to find a solution. Achieving a high level of detail is a necessary condition for the success of the research.

Finally, qualitative research tends to be more flexible than quantitative research. It allows the researcher to be flexible in the inquiry, in each particular context (Trochim, 2006). As such, it is appropriate for an exploratory study, such as this one, because it allows the research to explore new avenues of research, should they arise and prove to be relevant. In addition, the qualitative approach is mindful of the role of the researcher in research (Daymon & Holloway, 2002:5, 2011) and is, therefore, in line with the value-conscious axiological position of this study.

5.4.4 Advantages of qualitative research

In order to satisfy the aim of the study, a qualitative research approach was followed. Qualitative surveys are an exciting, flexible method with numerous applications, and advantages for researchers and participants alike (Clarke, Broun, Boulton, Davey & McEvoy, 2020). The main characteristic of qualitative research is that it is mostly appropriate for small samples, while its outcomes are not measurable and quantifiable (see Table 5.2). Its basic advantage, which also constitutes its basic difference from quantitative research, is that it offers a complete description and analysis of a research subject, without limiting the scope of the research and the nature of the participants' responses (Collis & Hussey, 2003).

The qualitative approaches have the advantages of flexibility, in-depth analysis, and the potential to observe a variety of aspects of a social situation (Babbie, 2001). A qualitative researcher conducting a face-to-face or telephone interview can quickly adjust the interview schedule if the interviewee's responses suggest the need for additional probes or lines of inquiry in future interviews. To this end, such observational data can be valuable when a participant's body language runs counter to the verbal response given during an interview. These advantages fit well with the exploratory nature of this study. The qualitative approach in this study becomes vital because of its strength in uncovering more about participants' experiences about the topic of research. In summary, the flexibility aspect of the qualitative approach assisted this study to gain deeper insights and offered the researcher an opportunity to establish solid relationships with the interviewees.

A qualitative research approach is a strategy for going beneath the surface as it yields a holistic overview of the participants' behaviour, which provides insights into their emotions and motivations.

Table 7. Qualitative research

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	
<i>The aim is a complete, detailed description.</i>	<i>Researcher may only know roughly in advance what he/she is looking for.</i>
<i>Recommended during earlier phases of research projects.</i>	<i>The design emerges as the study unfolds.</i>
<i>Researcher is the data gathering instrument.</i>	<i>Data are in the form of words, pictures or objects.</i>
<i>Subjective – individuals' interpretation of events is important e.g., uses participant observation, in-depth interviews etc.</i>	<i>Qualitative data are more 'rich', time consuming, and less able to be generalised.</i>
<i>Researcher tends to become subjectively immersed in the subject matter.</i>	

Source: Adapted from Miles & Huberman (1994:40).

5.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is a plan that is normally linked to a particular philosophical assumption and explicitly reflects methods for data collection and analysis. Research design can also be seen as a means of portrayal of the structure that the research should follow (Mbizi *et al.*, 2013). According to Mouton (2001:55), research methodology can be compared with an example of when one is building a house - a design by an architect is a blue print but the actual building of the house, which consists of systematic and methodological processes, could be likened to research methodology. The notion is shared by Mbizi *et. al.*, (2013) who postulates that research design should provide the structural outlook that a research study can follow.

The research design can be thought of as the *logic* or *master plan* of a research project that throws light on how the study is to be conducted. It shows how all of the major parts of the research study; the samples or groups, measures, treatments or programmes, work together in an attempt to address the research questions. Yin (2003:19, 2011, 2014) adds that “colloquially a research design is an action plan for getting from *here* to *there*, where ‘here’ may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered and ‘there’ is some set of (conclusions) answers”. Therefore, the

research design is similar to an architectural outline, which organises and integrates results in a particular way, resulting in an appropriate end product. From this perspective, the research design can be seen as the actualisation of a logic in a set of procedures that optimises the validity of data for a given research problem.

Exploratory studies should select one or more exploratory research technique (Zikmund, 2000:57). There are different categories of techniques available to obtain clarity and insight into the question at hand, such as interviews, focus groups or participant observations. This exploratory study included an examination through semi-structured interviews.

The current research is, therefore, based on gathering empirical evidence through interviews. Face-to-face and telephone interviews were used to obtain in-depth feedback. Therefore, the research design in the context of this study remains a plan of how the research proceeds (see Table 5.3). An overview of how the study was carried out includes population and sampling, data collection methods, as well as data analysis techniques.

In support of this perspective, Burns and Grove (2001:223) posit that it is the blueprint for conducting the study that maximises control over factors that could interfere with the validity of the findings. Designing a study helps the researcher to plan and implement the study in a way that assists in obtaining intended results, thus increasing the chances of obtaining information that could be associated with the real situation.

Table 8. Distinction between qualitative design and quantitative design

	QUALITATIVE	QUANTITATIVE
Conceptual	Concerned with understanding human behaviour from informant's perspective Assumes a dynamic and negotiated reality	Concerned with discovering facts from social phenomena Assumes a fixed and measurable reality
Methodological	Data are collected through interviews and participant observation Data are analysed by themes from descriptions by informants Data are reported in the language of the informant	Data are collected through measuring things Data are analysed through numerical comparisons and statistical inferences Data are reported through statistical analyses

Source: Adapted from Minichiello *et al.* (1990:5).

Given the interpretive position adopted in this research and the nature of the research questions, the qualitative methodology is considered to be the most appropriate approach to employ because it provides a variety of participant perspectives, uses various data collection techniques and also examines the strategic management of communication in aiding governance initiatives and sustainability programmes from a participatory perspective.

Exploratory research design

This study adopted an *exploratory research design*. The exploratory approach is helpful in revealing the participation of the Basarwa community in natural resource management and tourism development. The research design resulted in obtaining information concerning the current status of community involvement of the Basarwa in tourism development and natural resource management in the Khwai community. The qualitative methodology allowed for in-depth interviews of the Basarwa community on issues of community involvement in their local environment (Jackson, 2009). Methods suitable for community involvement in the case of remote area dwellers have been explored.

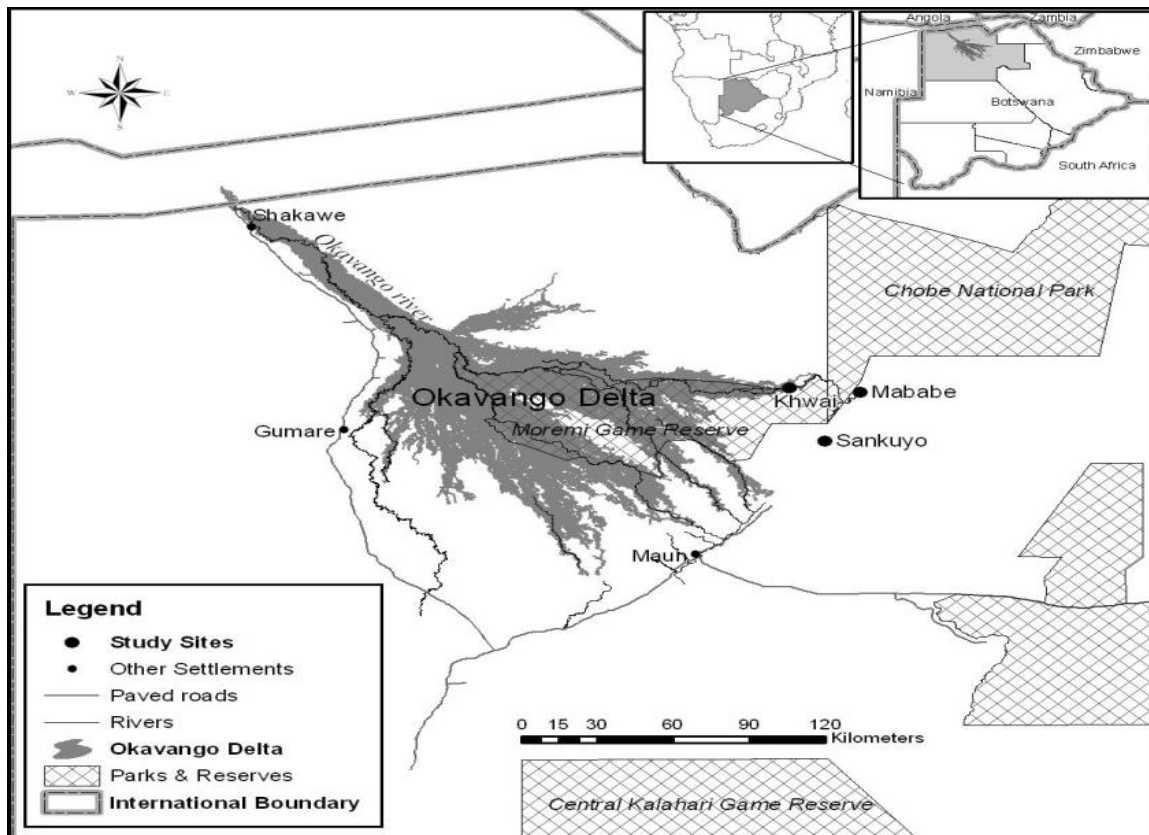
Cross-sectional study

This research is further described as a *cross-sectional study* in that it was conducted at a specific point in time for a defined case - in this case, the people of Khwai. Cross-sectional studies can be thought of as a "snapshot" of a condition in a population at a particular point in time. The cross-sectional design provides a snapshot of the community involvement of the Basarwa community (Persons & Wall, 2002). The type of data collected has been used to assess the community involvement of the Basarwa community. A cross-sectional study can be based on both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. In this study, the qualitative approach was used. A cross-sectional study was specifically used to find the prevalence of the outcome of interest being involvement of Basarwa by the Botswana government, for the population or subgroups of Basarwa within the population at a given timepoint. The choice for cross-sectional study is that it is less costly and that it takes little time to conduct. Data were collected using primary and secondary data sources and were collected from the Khwai community about their involvement in tourism development and natural resource management. The study used face-to-face and telephone interviews as primary data collection technique.

5.6 STUDY LOCATION: KHWAI VILLAGE

The study was primarily undertaken at Khwai village (Figure 13). The village of Khwai is situated at the north bank of the Khwai River, between the Moremi Game Reserve and the Chobe National Park in the North-West District of Botswana.

Figure 13: Khwai village site



Source: Mbaiwa (2010)

5.6.1 Population of the study

The study is targeted at the Khwai community and decision-makers in Government. The research problem investigates the decision-making process of the Basarwa community and the Botswana Government and participants from both parties were interviewed. Household representatives were asked to provide information on the community involvement practices in natural resource management and tourism development that they have observed and have been involved in in their village; and how their community's priorities are considered for their livelihood development.

Interviews for decision-makers were conducted during business hours between 07:30 and 16:30 from Monday to Friday. The decision-makers were those working for the Government at the North-West District Council, Department of Wildlife and

National Parks. It also included a councilor of Khwai Village, a community leader (village chief), and a university academic.

5.6.2 Design/methodology/approach

Qualitative research methods were used to obtain rich data sets on the current phenomenon being researched (Schilling, 2006). Interviews with participants provided opportunities to gather insights into what the Basarwa's everyday livelihood activities involved. Documentary resources were also used to gather secondary information on the Botswana Government's developmental programmes and reports from various independent sources regarding the history and lives of the Basarwa.

5.6.3 Sample size and sampling procedure

A total sample size of 20 participants was undertaken in this study. As a result the following participants were sampled: Principal Wildlife Officer, Social Worker, Chief Social and Community Development Officer, Wildlife Officer, Social Worker, Community Development Officer, Wildlife Officer, Community Development Officer, Wildlife Officer, The Village Chief, Khwai Village Councilor (Political), Campsite Driver, Community Business Entrepreneur, Crafts and Music (Self Employed), Unemployed Youth Community Member, Community member, Community Member Community Member, Community Member, Director Okavango Research Institute (University of Botswana) Maun. 10 participants were male and 10 were female.

Sampling in qualitative research plays a critical role, as the essence of most qualitative researches is to study a phenomenon in its natural setting. It has been suggested that sampling in qualitative research enables the researcher to identify people or localities rich in information and can be studied in much depth (Patton, 1990; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). The sampling process used in this research can be described as purposive, where selections of people were chosen from a larger population from the Khwai village. Maxwell (1996) points out that purposive sampling, which is also known as judgmental sampling, is a strategy whereby, in some particular settings, persons or events are chosen or selected deliberately for the purpose of providing important information that cannot be obtained from other

sources. For their part, Saunders *et al.* (2010:237) opine that it is advantageous to use purposive sampling in that it can assist the researcher to utilise their judgement when choosing cases that will best allow them to answer their research questions and to meet their objectives.

5.6.4 Convenience sampling

Convenience sampling was carried out, which enabled the researcher to take advantage of the officers available. At times, the participants were selected by virtue of the fact that they were at the right place at the right time (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena & Nigam, 2013). Making sampling decisions for this study, was done based on and considering the research design. It also considered the feasibility of data collection and data analysis, validity concerns, ethical considerations, as well as the study goals.

Data were collected through interviews with key informants particularly Government decision-makers, Khwai village leadership, a university academic and NGOs. From this, a theoretical framework was developed that could be used to strengthen future initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa.

5.7 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In order to obtain data for the qualitative investigation, a measuring instrument (interview schedule) including different types of interview items (semi-structured and open-ended) was employed (Cooper & Schindler, 2011:183; Thomas *et al.*, 2011:357). Given the extent and purpose of this research, interviews were used to collect the data. Hence, the Government officials and the community leaders and households of Khwai village, were asked to take part in the interviews in order to attain the envisaged research aims.

As a result of this study, data collection represents any process of preparing and obtaining useful information that contributed to the overall success of the research

study. The purpose of data collection was to obtain information and make decisions about important issues and also to pass information to others.

Data collection is a stage in research where the needed data are solicited from the participants. Dependent upon the type of study, there are several methods that can be used to obtain responses from a subject. The clarity of the whole data collection process consequently enables the readers to reach a judgment as to whether the data collection methods used and the decisions made during data collection process were sensible (Holloway, 2005; Creswell, 2007). The methods which were used for data collection in this study are discussed below.

5.7.1 Secondary data collection: Documentary sources

Secondary literature sources in the form of unpublished and published reports were used. This involved the retrieval of reports from libraries, government departments and information centres. These included, among others, research reports, policy documents, law enforcement records, and journal articles on poaching, as well as reports on CBNRM projects in Khwai and Ditshiping.

A literature review about the Basarwa of Khwai was carried out in this study. Before one can go into the field to collect data, it is appropriate to use the already available information about the subject matter in books, journals, etc. A mass of information about the population studied by social surveys is available in historical documents, statistical reports, records of institutions and other sources. It must be borne in mind that this information was compiled for a purpose, hence on its own it cannot address the objectives of a new study; it only acted as supplementary information. Historical information about the Basarwa of Khwai from published and unpublished sources were used as background information for this study (Mbaiwa 2008).

5.7.2 Primary data collection: Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken and an interview schedule was used to collect data. Face-to-face interviews have an advantage as the researcher establishes rapport with potential participants and, therefore, gains their cooperation; and high response rates are yielded (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Ary *et al.*, 2006). The technique is also useful because the researcher is present during interviews and can offer clarity on some questions (Ary *et al.*, 2006). However, the time needed and expenses needed to undertake interviews can be prohibitive. The method has also been blamed for social desirability bias, lack of anonymity, as well as being less safe for researchers (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). To mitigate against these flaws, the participants were assured of the confidentiality of the responses they gave and they have been encouraged to answer honestly.

The importance of the study was emphasized when introducing it to participants. Interview time adhered to was 45 to 50 minutes. Household heads were targeted as participants. In case of absence, any household member 18 years or older (considered an adult) was interviewed. The participants were asked to provide some demographic and socio-economic information (age, gender, education, occupation, income of household head, religion, ethnic group, etc.).

Data were collected through interviews with key informants particularly the Government decision-makers, Khwai village leadership, a university academic and NGOs. From this, a theoretical framework was developed that could be used to strengthen future initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa.

Interviews progressed in a conversational style. That is, even though a semi-structured questionnaire has been designed and used, its main purpose was to guide discussions during the interview and to keep it focused. This method is advantageous in that it allows participants to talk at length about particular topics. The advantages of interviews include its flexibility in probing; high response rate; ; the participant alone answers the questions; time of interview can be controlled; and complex questions can be elucidated on. Disadvantages include that it is costly; time consuming;

interviewer bias may be present; there is no time to consult factual documents; and it may inconvenience participants.

Telephone interview: some of the participants in this study were interviewed using the telephone. Rather than the interviewer having to travel to meet the participant, or mailing a questionnaire, if the participants could be contacted telephonically, then a telephone interview would ensure.

Advantages: Takes a shorter time to execute, larger area can be covered, call-backs are easy to conduct, interviewer can probe further on the questions, difficult and ambiguous questions can be explained and many people are willing to speak over the phone rather than being addressed face-to-face.

Disadvantages: Applicable only where there is a highly developed telephone infrastructure; only a few questions can be asked; participant's emotions cannot be monitored; interview can be stopped abruptly by the participant dropping the phone. It requires highly trained personnel to conduct the interviews, otherwise high bills will be incurred; someone can respond in place of the right participant; and people may not want to communicate sensitive matters over the phone.

5.7.3 Data collection instrument

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect data. Two types of questions have been administered: a) close-ended questions with a list of alternative answers to each question and b) open-ended questions. Close-ended questions required answers of two types: dichotomous questions required a yes/no or agree/disagree answer, whereas other questions required the respondent to choose among alternative answers (for example agree/indifferent/disagree or seldom/not sure/often). The household questionnaire included:

a) Socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, marital status, household size and ethnicity

b) Institutional variables such as Government outreach and extension activities in the study sites, law enforcement activities as well as the effect of wildlife management policies on poaching.

Table 9. Administered interview tool utilised for collection of data

	Items	Probing items
Do the sustainable development programmes that the Botswana Government has put in place for the Khwai community address their needs and interests?	<p>1. Is there sustainability in terms of the livelihoods of the Basarwa? a) Yes b) No If Yes, provide evidence...</p> <p>2. How do you report on the implementation of community developmental services? Your opinion...</p>	<p>1. Are people benefitting from social development programmes that are provided for their community?</p> <p>2. What benefits are attained through wildlife?</p> <p>3. What benefits are attained through tourism?</p>
What form of governance (legal and policy issues) can be considered regarding the Khwai community?	<p>1. Which decision-making consultation processes does the Botswana Government apply when involving the Khwai community?</p> <p>2. How is the top-down decision-making approach used for the management of natural resources lacking community involvement?</p>	<p>1. Were you engaged in any decision-making processes regarding wildlife management?</p> <p>2. Did you have any say regarding policies pertaining to Moremi Game reserve?</p> <p>3. What role did you play in terms of participating in decision-making processes?</p>
3. What factors are considered in the strategic management process of managers regarding the Khwai community?	<p>1. Is there effective and appropriate strategic interventions that could drive the Botswana Government community's developmental efforts for remote dwellers?</p> <p>2. Was your community involved in consultation and decision-making processes that resulted in the CBNRM Policy of 2007 that established community-based tourism?</p>	<p>1. How different is the way Basarwa live their lives as compared to the way they used to?</p> <p>2. Is the community involved in poverty alleviation/eradication programmes?</p> <p>3. Are the Basarwa engaged at a participatory planning level by social developmental officers?</p> <p>4. Did the Basarwa have a role to play prior to the banning of wildlife hunting?</p>
4. How is public engagement carried out between stakeholders in decision making process?	<p>1. Was your community involved in consultation and decision-making processes that resulted in the CBNRM Policy of 2007 that established community-based tourism?</p> <p>2. Are you aware of any stakeholder engagement or consultations that</p>	<p>1. What roles do non-governmental organisations play regarding decision-making processes of the Basarwa communities?</p> <p>2. What efforts are made by the government to ensure continuity of projects initiated by non-</p>

	<p>are carried out conducted by the Botswana government? Yes b) No</p> <p>If yes, name the activities.</p>	<p>governmental stakeholders?</p> <p>3. Are there any feedback mechanisms in place to solicit views of non-governmental organisations regarding the welfare of the Basarwa?</p> <p>4. Are the Basarwa willing to participate in future stakeholder engagement activities? a) Yes b) No If no, why?</p>
<p>5. How effective are the communication processes that the Botswana Government has embarked on when communicating with the Khwai community?</p>	<p>1. Was your community involved in consultation and decision-making processes that resulted in the ban of safari hunting tourism in your area in 2014?</p> <p>2. What are some of the methods that you think can be used effectively to discuss Basarwa issues with the Basarwa communities?</p>	<p>1. Do you consider the <i>kgotla</i> system as the best option for reporting and discussing Basarwa issues?</p> <p>2. How effective are the traditional <i>kgotla</i> systems?</p> <p>3. Are they not used for rubber stamping the government agenda?</p>
<p>In what way can the country's reputation be put at risk by negative media coverage about the Khwai community?</p>	<p>1. Why do you think the local and international media are regularly reporting negative news about the Botswana Government regarding the Basarwa issue?</p> <p>2. Is there any effort to abandon the relocation exercise by any national or international pressure group/media?</p> <p>Give your opinion.....</p>	<p>1. What are your views regarding news reported by the media regarding the Basarwa issues?</p> <p>2. Were any policies or tasks taken by decision-makers challenged?</p> <p>3. Have you succumbed to any pressure? a) Yes b) No</p> <p>4. Have you had any challenges to account on the services you provide to the community? Your opinion...</p>
<p>How can the stewardship principle be applied with regard to fund management from the government perspective?</p>	<p>1. Was there any form of accountability or capacity building challenges regarding the management of community trust funds?</p>	<p>1. How accountable are community members involved in the management of developmental trust organisations?</p> <p>2. Are there any capacity building efforts for the management of the community projects and its funds?</p>

Source: Own conceptualisation

5.8 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data were collected through face-to-face and telephone interviews and a thematic analysis was carried out to link theory with the research questions. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define qualitative data analysis as working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesising them, and searching for patterns. The aim of analysis of qualitative data is to discover patterns, concepts, themes and meanings. Yin (2003) discusses the need for searching the data for 'patterns' which may explain or identify links in the data base.

Silverman, (1993, 2016) concludes that the chosen techniques meant to describe how the process of analysing the data, as well as how the conclusions are formulated, may differ. Nevertheless, the researcher needs to provide sufficient clear information so that the reader can journey through the whole data analysis process and reach their own conclusions regarding how neutral the process used is when analysing the data.

Links in the data were established through identifying patterns, identifying similar concepts, formulating codes and arranging them into emerging themes. The analysis focused on the whole data sets, then attempted to re-construct them with the purpose of making them more meaningful. This process enabled the researcher to make comparisons and contrasts between patterns.

Merriam (2009:176) acknowledges that data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts. The researcher in this study carried out the data analysis process by making sense of the data through consolidating, reducing and interpreting the participants' feedback. Silverman (2001:121) encroaches Merriam's assertion and postulates that data analysis does not come after data gathering, but rather that after each and every session with a participant, the researcher should begin to transcribe. Therefore, the researcher in this study adopted the position of Silverman (2001) who reiterates the importance of transcribing data after each and every session with a participant(s).

The notion is supported by Struwig and Stead (2001:15) who contend that data analysis reflects the route in which raw data is sequentially organised, so that useful data can be spotted and used in the research study as was the case with this study.

5.8.1 Qualitative thematic analysis

Qualitative data were analysed using thematic analysis. This involved identifying and then classifying the patterns in the data. Thematic analysis is a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified themes within a text (Neuendorf, 2002). Wilson (1993:342) describes thematic analysis as a data analysis technique used in phenomenological inquiry that involves data from interviews with participants to discover themes or categories of experiences as seen from the participants' perspectives. According to Aronson (1994:1), thematic analysis allows for patterns of experiences to be listed from the transcribed conversations, which usually come from direct quotes or paraphrasing of common ideas. Thematic analysis provides a clear guideline on how to sense themes, the first step in analysing information, as well as how to develop quotes, through the use of numerous examples from the use of settings (Boyatzis, 1998).

For the current study, the researcher adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006) perspective of thematic analysis, which details relevant stages of conducting qualitative data analysis through thematic networks, as shown below.

Table 10. Thematic analysis

<i>Thematic analysis</i>
<i>Familiarising with the data</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcribing data, reading and rereading the data, noting down initial ideas.
<i>Generating initial codes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding interesting features of the data systematically across the entire data set; collating data relevant to each code.
<i>Searching for themes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collating codes into potential themes; gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
<i>Reviewing themes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set; generating a thematic map.
<i>Defining and naming themes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ongoing analysis for refining the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis tells; generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
<i>Producing the report</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples; final analysis of selected extracts; relating the analysis to the research question and literature; producing a report of the analysis.

Source: Braun & Clarke (2006:87).

5.8.2 Coding of data

Coding is a qualitative research process in which the researcher makes sense of out of text data, dividing it into text or image segments, labelling the segments, examining codes for overlap and redundancy, and collapsing these codes into broad themes. Thematic analysis provides the opportunity to code and categorise data into themes. For example, how issues influence the perceptions of participants. In thematic analysis, processed data can be displayed and classified according to its similarities and differences (Miles & Huberman, 1994 cited in Ibrahim, 2012).

As alluded to by Clarke *et. al.*, (2017) codes are the smallest units of analysis that capture interesting features of the data (potentially) relevant to the research question. Codes are the building blocks for themes, (larger) patterns of meaning, underpinned by a central organizing concept, a shared core idea. On the other hand, Creswell (2003:225) asserts that coding helps to condense and reduce large amounts of data into small and manageable data under a few themes. Denzil and

Lincoln (2005:426) further contend that coding is an interpretive technique that both organises the data and provides a means to introduce the interpretations of it into meaningful information.

5.8.3 Building thematic networks

After the reduction of transcriptions, the researcher focuses on the patterns that emerge and arranges them into categories or themes. The researcher then searches for patterns and connections among the excerpts within those identified categories (Seidman, 1991:99). All conversations that fit under a specific pattern are identified and placed with the corresponding pattern and label e.g. “commitment” as a process may be derived from a phrase or a sentence. In this study, similar themes were categorised or grouped according to patterns of significance and value, so as to unearth similar meanings and the correlation of responses.

Consequently, all related patterns were then combined and catalogued into themes. Themes provide a framework for organising and reporting the researcher’s analytic observations (Clarke & Braun, 2017). These themes were derived from the participants’ comments, categorised together to form a comprehensive picture of their collective experiences. Valid arguments for choosing the themes were then built by reading related literature. By referring back to literature the researcher gained more information that allowed the current study to make inferences and then to develop a story (Aronson, 1994:1).

From the meaning gathered, the researcher was then able to draw some inferences from each theme. Subsequently the researcher coded the participants’ assertions in order to identify similar themes or patterns of similar nature in the data. This was then followed by inferences which were drawn using similar themes as detected from the responses of the participants. After the reduction of transcriptions, the researcher focused on the patterns that emerged and arranged them into themes. Since raw data were analysed by identifying and bringing together fragments of ideas and experiences (which often are meaningless when viewed alone) the researcher’s creative thought and analytical ability was needed to literally put the pieces together,

so that a pattern or theme can be formulated that is compatible with the people being studied. This process proved more useful to the study (De Santis & Ugarriza, 2000:357).

5.9 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Patton (1990:10-12, 2015) suggests that the validity and reliability of qualitative data largely dependent upon the methodological skill, sensitivity and integrity of the researcher. Thereby, systematic and drastic observation involves a lot more than simply being looking around to see. Likewise, effective interviewing involves much more than simply asking questions. Furthermore, the author states that in qualitative research, the researcher uses validity as the instrument; consequently, it hinges largely on the skill, competence and diligence of the person engaging in the fieldwork. In actual fact, Vosloo (2014) cautions that some qualitative researchers have started to question the relevance of the term validity in qualitative research. Some propose that terminology such as credibility, dependability, confirmability, trustworthiness, verification and transferability be used instead of validity.

Noble and Smith (2015) add that researchers can ensure that bias is minimised in their research by evaluating the research process, especially with regards to “...the rigour in which methods were undertaken and factors that may have biased findings”. The rigour of qualitative research in the researcher’s context relates to the overall planning and implementation of the research to ensure the authenticity and trustworthiness of procedures, according to the following criteria (Tobin & Begley, 2004:391-392; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006:49-50; Roberts *et al.*, 2006:43; Freeman *et al.*, 2007:28-29):

- i. Dependability: According to Riege (2003:81), dependability is analogous to the notion of reliability in quantitative research. The purpose of this test was to show indications of stability and consistency in the process of inquiry. In this study, care was taken to ensure that the research process was logical, traceable, and clearly documented in a reflexive manner by giving a detailed account of the research process.

- ii. **Authenticity:** The development of the questionnaire items was based on a substantial theoretical basis and the literature. The interview schedule was first used during the pilot test to ensure the yielding of reasonable, unbiased and valid data.
- iii. **Confirmation:** An audit process was implemented by working forward, as well as backward in the research process, to ensure that the data and interpretations of the findings were sound and confirmed the findings. The intention during the interpretation process was not to generalise findings to a population, but to identify accepted principles and trends related to the research topic.

In the main, the trustworthiness of the current research study is ensured by applying the following criteria: credibility, dependability, authenticity and confirmation. The description in the qualitative research process of: what was done; how it was done; and why it was done, as well as adherence to the identified criteria for qualitative research which ensured the authenticity and trustworthiness of this research study, were followed.

Trustworthiness can be viewed as a measure of truthfulness and it reflects how well a conceptualised idea about reality matches the actual reality. A form of validity chosen for this research was face validity which, as postulated by Neuman (2007), is the judgment made based on the scientific approach on whether the indicator used measured the required construct.

Credibility: Engagement with the primary data (recordings, notes and transcripts) was done intensively to demonstrate clear links between the data and the interpretations. Regular discussions were held and adjustments made in accordance with suggestions and recommendations (Kreuger & Casey 2009; Padgett, 2016).

5.10 DELIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

In the context of this study, delimitations are those characteristics selected by the researcher to define the boundaries of the methodology. The researcher in this study

used the methodological orientation, the theoretical perspectives, the instruments, methods of data collection and analysis to obtain answers to the research questions.

To this end, the following characteristics played a part in the delimitation of the study:

- a) *Choice of methodology and design* – This study was confined only to qualitative research, in order to discover participant’s experiences, perceptions and knowledge of the phenomena under investigation. As such, the study was not concerned with quantitative measurements and statistical analysis, as the purpose was to understand how community involvement can be carried out to improve the livelihoods of the Basarwa community and support the Botswana Government initiatives and sustainability programmes through community participation. The needs, interests and expectations of the community are addressed through community involvement efforts that encourage public participation for the betterment of the Khwai community livelihoods.
- b) *Inclusionary delimitations (participants)* – The target population of the current study are Khwai community members. Sample participants were selected because of the assumed knowledge and experience that they possess, and their direct contact with governance initiatives and sustainability programmes in Khwai village. Additionally, the study involved 17 interviewees of which eight were community members and leaders from the Khwai community in Botswana, including a university academic based in Maun, and nine were policy makers from the Botswana Government.
- c) *Exclusionary delimitations (participants)* – Other members of the target population were not sampled because of convenience, time constrains and economic limitations. Additionally, other Government officials were not included in the sample, because the study assumed that they do not work closely with the topic under investigation and as such would not necessarily assist in achieving the goal of the study.
- d) *Phenomena under investigation* - The study was delimited to examining the extent to which community involvement can support governance initiatives and sustainability programmes through a participatory perspective. As a

result, the study was only concerned about how community involvement can be obtained in the Khwai village. Consequently, other variables that might contribute were not included.

- e) *Inclusionary delimitations (instrumentation)* – For the purpose of data collection, the study concentrated on gathering data through individual interviews with Government Officials; and the community members of the Khwai village were interviewed through data collection instruments. These methods were regarded as appropriate for an interpretivist study, which is concerned with social context and reality.
- f) *Exclusionary delimitations (instrumentation)* – As indicated earlier, quantitative methods and techniques for both data collection and analysis were not adopted because of the exploratory nature of the study.
- g) *Inclusionary delimitations (generalisability)* – The results of the proposed study will be specific to the target population and the study's setting – the Khwai village.
- h) *Exclusionary delimitations (generalisability)* – The results of this study will not be generalisable to other communities in Botswana, however, they can serve as a point of departure for future research and might assist other researchers interested in the same topic – perhaps with the inclusion of quantitative methods or combination of the two research methods (mixed-methods approach).

5.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research can present a risk to participants. It is, therefore, important for the researcher to have an obligation which would ensure that their wellbeing is safeguarded throughout the research process (Polit & Beck, 2010; Neuman, 2011; Munhall, 2012). Safeguarding participants' wellbeing involves adhering to the ethical principles standards, which could include respect for the autonomy of the participants, protecting participants from harm, confidentiality, informed consent and voluntary participation (Neuman, 2011; Scott, 2013). Silverman (2000:201) cautions that researchers should always remember that while they are doing their research, they are in actual fact entering the private spaces of their participants. This raises

various ethical issues that should be addressed during and after the research had been conducted. In this regard, Creswell (2003, 2013) states that the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values and desires of the informants.

Research proposal for this study was approved by the ethics committee of the University of Pretoria's Department of Business Management.

Miles and Huberman (1994) list several issues that researchers should consider when collecting and analysing data. Researchers should be aware of these issues before, during, and after the research had been conducted. Some of the issues involve the following:

- i. Participants having full knowledge of what is involved
- ii. Risk and harm potential that can hurt participants
- iii. The researcher being truthful in presenting data
- iv. The study intruding on matters of people or group confidentiality and privacy
- v. Participants displaying harmful or illegal behaviour.

The relationship between the researcher and the subject during an interview needs to be considered in terms of the values of the researcher and cultural aspects (Silverman, 2000). One of the normally unexpected concerns relating to ethical issues is cultural sensitivity. To this regard an application was submitted to the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria for approval to conduct the research and approval was granted. Therefore, this study was subject to some particular ethical issues and it considered the following:

1) Informed consent

A written acceptance regarding the participants in this study with the purpose of reassuring participants that their participation in the research is voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from it at any point and for any reason.

2) Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

To ensure privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, the participants were fully informed about the objectives of the study, and were reassured that their answers were

treated as confidential and only used for the purposes of the particular research. The researcher made it clear that the participants' names would not be used for any other purposes, nor will information be shared that reveals their identity in any way.

3) Honesty and trust

Strict adherence to all the ethical guidelines served as standards about the honesty and trustworthiness of the data collected, as well as to the accompanying data analysis in the study.

4) Intervention and advocacy

There were no intervention and advocacy issues, since the participants were cooperative and understood the purpose and intention of the research study prior to the engagement with them.

The study was undertaken, taking into consideration the ethical concerns with the commitment to uphold them. The main ethical issues which the study addressed included informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, anonymity and researchers' responsibility.

Informed consent was carried out by providing interviewees with adequate information regarding the study. This included amongst others, the study's purpose, the interview procedure to be followed and the privacy and confidentiality to be upheld. The study took into consideration the privacy of the interviewees and maintained confidentiality of all data collected.

Permission was sought regarding the collection of data from the relevant authorities. The researcher was provided a recommendation letter from Botswana Government's Ministry of Local and Rural Development.

5.12 CONCLUSION

The Chapter explored the research design of the study which is qualitative, using an exploratory approach. Purposive sampling was discussed expanding on the target population of the study (households' members and policy makers). The sample size,

made up of seventeen individuals was also addressed. Furthermore, the data collection tool, being an administered interview schedule, was discussed from its design to its administration in the interviews.

The explication of the research design and methodology in this Chapter recognised the imperatives of peoples' needs, interest, and expectations through inclusive people's governance and their sustainability programmes. As such, this Chapter has outlined the research paradigm, research methodologies, strategies and design used in the study, including procedures, participants, data collection tools, data collection and analysis methods, and data credibility issues.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the research design and related methodology were developed with the aim of obtaining reliable and valid data to assist in the development of a community involvement framework for the Basarwa community. Ultimately, this would help the Botswana Government to effectively and efficiently communicate governance initiatives and sustainability programmes to remote area dwellers of the Basarwa community. This would, furthermore, assist in addressing needs, interests and expectations of the community. As a result, inclusivity and engagement in community involvement might be achieved through strategic communication efforts.

The data gathered through the qualitative research approach are presented, analysed, described and interpreted in a systematic and sequential manner to provide a methodological structure for the unfolding of this research. This enabled the researcher to develop a community involvement framework for the purpose of this study. Thereafter, Chapter Seven further discusses the conceptual framework that supports community involvement by Botswana Government developmental initiatives for the purpose of ensuring that the livelihoods of the Basarwa community are sustainable.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, the data obtained from interviews are presented. Results showcase an analysis that addresses the research questions, by providing the most common themes regarding the involvement of the Khwai community of the Basarwa by the Botswana Government, in the consultation processes regarding areas such as wildlife tourism utilisation and management. The results were used by the researcher and the data derived were analysed thematically, revealing eight central themes. The themes were used to develop a community involvement conceptual framework that addresses the research problem. The findings include relevant quotations from the interviewees. In addition, relevant literature sources have been used to address the research questions asked. This carried out to attempt to understand the participants' perspectives and views of social realities for the purpose of investigating decision-making regarding the local community of Khwai village. Findings provide the participants' perceptions and experiences from their own perspective about the decision-making process involving the people of Khwai village. Through addressing the research questions, the daily experiences, and perspectives of the participants in the decision-making process were highlighted.

The Chapter presents the research results from 17 interviewees of which eight were community members and leaders from the Khwai community in Botswana, including a university academic based in Maun, and nine were policy makers from the Botswana Government. An overview of the research design and methodology used in the empirical portion of the study, as well as the results pertaining to community engagement and natural resource management, are summarized below. In this Chapter, the research design of the study is explained. This includes a description of the participants in the study, as well as the data produced from the semi-structured interviews. It is followed by a discussion of the analysed data.

6.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study design used qualitative research methods to obtain rich data sets which were collected through in-depth interviews with key informants, particularly Government decision-makers, Khwai village community members and leadership, as well as a university academic.

6.2.1 The participants

The study included interviews with participants from: households at Khwai Village; and decision-makers in Government from the North-West District Council, Department of Wildlife and National Parks. It also included a councilor of Khwai Village, a community leader (village chief), and a university academic.

6.2.2 The procedure

The data were collected over a period of six months. The semi-structured interviews were conducted from August 2018 until February 2019. Household members that participated were interviewed in their houses in Khwai Village, involving household representatives. Interviews at Khwai Village were conducted from 08:00 to 17:00 during day time. Interviews with decision-makers were conducted during business hours between 07:30 and 16:30 from Monday to Friday.

6.2.3 The interview schedule

The interview schedule was one of the key tools used in this study. The aim was to determine the current state of community engagement within the Khwai community with regards to natural resource management in their local environment. As a result, the sample was divided into two main groups: households at Khwai Village and decision-makers in social development and natural resource management in the North-West District. The qualitative analysis was done by means of thematic analysis. Below is a table that shows a summary of the household participants indicating their job level, subject group and nationality.

Table 11. Summary of the household participants in semi-structured interviews

Participant	Job level	Subject group	National
Participant 1	Campsite Driver – Community member	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 2	Community Business Entrepreneur	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 3	Crafts and Music (Self Employed)	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 4	Community Member	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 5	Unemployed Youth Community Member	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 6	Community Member	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 7	Community Member	Mosarwa	Motswana
Participant 8	Director (Okavango Research Institute)	Mongwato	Motswana

Source: Author's fieldwork

6.2.4 Semi-structured questionnaire

A semi-structured questionnaire was used as interview schedule for the interviews. One semi-structured questionnaire was used for both households and decision-makers. The interviews were conducted with identified participants in this study. The questionnaires' cover letters and consent forms were administered with members of households, as well as decision-makers. Participants were provided with a means to contact the researcher should they have any questions, and the issue of informed consent was addressed. The cover letter stated that the completion of the interview indicated consent; it was also emphasised that participation was voluntary and that participants were free to withdraw at any stage. A total of 20 interviews were conducted during the interview phase.

6.2.4.1 Interviews

A cover letter was presented to participants explaining the aim and purpose of the study, as well as the ethical aspects and the participants' rights pertaining to the

study. Consent forms were also presented to decision-makers and members of households who have been identified as possible participants and who met the inclusion criteria. These participants were selected through purposive sampling. A total of nine decision-makers and eight members of households were willing to participate in the study and were used as participants. Their consent forms were received, and an interview was scheduled with each of them. The interviews were done either face-to-face or telephonically and they lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. All interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim directly during and after each interview, for data analysis to be done. The transcribed interviews were sent back to each participant to verify the content.

Table 12 provides details of the participant decision-makers' respective job levels, as well as subject groups. The Table also indicates whether participants were national or international workers.

Table 12. Summary of the Government participants in interviews

Participant	Job level	Subject group	National/International
Participant 9	Council Chairperson and Councilor	Politician	Botswana
Participant 10	Wildlife and Tourism Officer	Government	Botswana
Participant 11	Khwai Village Chief	Tribal administration	Botswana
Participant 12	Wildlife Officer	Department of Wildlife	Botswana
Participant 13	Community Development Officer	North-West District Council	Botswana
Participant 14	Chief Community Development Officer	North-West District Council	Botswana
Participant 15	Social Worker	North-West District Council	Botswana
Participant 16	Social Worker	North-West District Council	Botswana
Participant 17	Principal Wildlife Officer	Government	Botswana
Participant 18	Wildlife Officer	Government	Botswana
Participant 19	Academician	University of Botswana	Botswana
Participant 20	Community Development Officer	North-West District Council	Botswana

Source: Author's fieldwork

6.2.4.2 Document/Desktop review

The documents reviewed in a desk top review included: newspapers, government reports on the Remote Area Development Programme and documents on community participation in the decision-making process of natural resource management. The documents utilized reflect the source and type of information gathered, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Document review sources

Source	Type of information
Botswana's on-going Economic Development Drive's (EDD) short-term strategy	Country's performance and productivity
Strategic Framework of Community Development in Botswana (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, August 2010)	Sustainability of the local and national resources
<i>Botswana Daily News</i> , 15 March 2000	Basarwa rock paintings
<i>Sunday Standard</i> , Gaborone, 2013	Nomination of a World Heritage Site
CNN news (Inside Africa, 13 th April 2017).	Passing of age-old traditions of the Basarwa
Botswana Daily Newspaper, 2000	Destitute monthly food allocations Cultural village
Sunday Standard Newspaper, 2014	Basarwa land court petition
<i>Mmegi Newspaper</i> , 11 November 2016	Basarwa legal battle

The document data were valuable as it informed the data obtained through the interviews. The document review supported the process of data analysis by corroborating the data collected through the interviews.

Observation technique was used to see what Basarwa community members do when confronted with some situations and what they do in their daily lives activities. The data collected through observation was used as a supporting material for the data analysis of the interview data analysis.

6.3 SUMMARY OF DATA COLLECTION DESIGN

Table 14. Summary of data collection design

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	INDICATORS	TECHNIQUES	TOOLS	ANALYSIS
How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana be involved in decision-making about the sustainable development of their livelihoods, particularly in the Moremi Game Reserve?	Decision-making approaches Involvement of people in the decision-making processes	In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews	Interview guide and voice recorder	Key-words in context, thematic areas
Can the inclusive approach to governance be considered for the governing of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana?	Needs and wants achieved Level of community engagements Occupation, age, monthly income, education, gender, period of stay in the area, ownership of livestock	In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews	Interview guide and voice recorder	Key-words in context, thematic areas

<p>How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana be involved in decision-making contributing to the strategic management of their livelihoods in their local environment, particularly the Moremi Game Reserve?</p>	<p>Little or more community involvement Not living in poverty Strength of problem-solving abilities People in demand of wildlife and traditional crafts products People selling wildlife and traditional artefacts products Price of wildlife and craft products Wildlife and craft products sold in the market Wildlife and traditional product sources</p>	<p>In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews</p>	<p>Interview guide and voice recorder</p>	<p>Key-words in context, thematic areas</p>
<p>What factors lead to a lack of local community engagement and communication in natural resource management, especially with regard to wildlife resources?</p>	<p>People participating Development projects Laws contribution Designing participation methods Outreach campaigns Willingness of Government to do what it commits to do</p>	<p>In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews</p>	<p>Interview guide and voice recorder</p>	<p>Key-words in context, thematic areas</p>
<p>What factors should be considered to achieve community involvement of the Basarwa in the Khwai village of Botswana?</p>	<p>Accountability on the part of the Government Guidance on evaluation and audit of community projects</p>	<p>In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews</p>	<p>Interview guide and voice recorder</p>	<p>Key-words in context, thematic areas</p>

How does the dispute about the future of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana affect the reputation of the country?	Image and public perception view Reporting of negative and positive news about the Basarwa Community and their issues	In-depth interview technique Face-to-face and telephonic interviews	Interview guide and voice recorder	Key-words in context, thematic areas
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Notes:

The interviews were carried out, among others, in the Khwai village, and participants involved were seventeen in total. Based on the research questions as reflected in the summary of data collection diagram above, indicators were derived and an interview research technique was used. The process that was followed or implored was supported by tools which enabled the data to be recorded and subsequently the data were analysed thematically.

6.4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA COLLECTED

Data analysis and interpretation are integral components of a research study. This process was started as soon as the data had been collected. First, the data from the interviews were analyzed, classified and summarized on the basic level of analysis. The data analysis process started with the preparation of the data. This was done by transcribing the interviews, sorting the notes and arranging all the data. Next, all the data collected were read to obtain a general sense of all the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. Then a detailed analysis and the coding process were done by organizing all the material into segments of text before bringing meaning to the information. This was done by carefully reading all the transcribed interviews. This process was repeated with each interview and a list was made of all the topics touched on in the interviews. Similar topics were clustered together and were sorted into columns. With this list, topics as codes were made. The various codes were indicated on the transcribed text. The most descriptive words were used for the topics and these were turned into categories. The numbers of categories were reduced by grouping together and 8 themes were identified that related to each other. Next, the dominant *categories*, *themes* and *sub-themes* were identified as guided by the metatheory for the study, namely the integrative strategic communication management theory (de Beer, 2014).

6.4.1 Data obtained from households

The dominant themes arising from the data on households (Group A) were identified during the basic level of analysis and these are presented below. Some of the participants' responses are included. Verbatim quotes are used where applicable and only significant remarks as recorded are presented. Table 11 provides a summary of the themes and sub-themes that were identified.

Table 15. Summary of themes, sub-themes and codes identified from household interviews

Themes	Code	Sub-themes
<i>Theme 1: Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development</i>	FI	1. Livelihoods fairly successful
		2. Programmes top down
		3. Individual empowerment
		4. Entrepreneurship benefit
<i>Theme 2: Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development</i>	SSD	1. Less hunting and gathering
		2. Change in lifestyles
		3. Need for skills
		4. Lack of community engagement
<i>Theme 3: Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development</i>	IED	1. Resource for craftwork
		2. Tourists source of business
		3. Lodges jobs discriminatory
		4. Less community decisions
<i>Theme 4: Involvement in governance</i>	IG	1. No governance direction
		2. Little policy makers' feedback
		3. Lack of community input
<i>Theme 5: Involvement in strategic management</i>	ISM	1. Limited self-driven individuals
		2. Lack of management skills
		3. User-friendly engagements needed
		4. Forest limits opportunities
<i>Theme 6: Involvement in development and participatory communication</i>		1. Traditional forum
		2. Free to join politics
		3. Board of Trustees membership
		4. Lack of feedback
		5. Communication one-way
<i>Theme 7: Involvement in community engagement</i>	ISE	1. Business opportunities
		2. Business continuity support
		3. Capacity building
		4. Community lives differently
		5. Government agenda dictates
<i>Theme 8: Involvement in country reputation</i>	ICR	1. Public awareness
		2. Mismanagement of Trust funds
		3. Not aware of any
		4. Basarwa advocacy

6.4.2 Data obtained from decision-makers

The dominant themes arising from Group B (decision-makers) were identified during the basic level of analysis and these are presented below. Some of the participants' responses are included. Verbatim quotes are used where applicable and only significant remarks as recorded are presented. Table 16 provides a summary of the themes and sub-themes that were identified.

Table 16. Summary of themes, sub-themes and codes identified from decision-makers

Themes	Code	Sub-themes
<i>Theme 1:</i> Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development	FI	1. Livelihoods sustainable
		2. Generation of income and employment
		3. Less community interest
		4. Most projects top down
<i>Theme 2:</i> Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development	SSD	1. Introduction to commercial life
		2. Destitute housing provision
		3. Natural resource management
		4. Health and education
<i>Theme 3:</i> Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development	IED	1. Natural resource opportunity
		2. Stakeholder input
		3. Employment opportunity
		4. Top-down decisions
<i>Theme 4:</i> Involvement in governance	IG	1. <i>Kgotla</i> meetings used for rubber stamping
		2. Sharing information (policies and programmes)
		3. Opportunity for community to voice
		4. Trusts poorly managed
<i>Theme 5:</i> Involvement in strategic management	ISM	1. Available Trust funds
		2. Government agenda driven
		3. Stakeholder input
		4. Trusts poorly managed
<i>Theme 6:</i> Involvement in development and participatory communication		1. <i>Kgotla</i> to solicit views
		2. Free to join politics
		3. Board of Trustees membership
		4. Information sharing
		5. Need for awareness
<i>Theme 7:</i> Involvement in stakeholder	ISE	1. Projects fail to address needs

engagement		
		2. Establishment of Trusts
		3. Enabling collective views
		4. Most projects top-down
		5. Livelihoods better
<i>Theme 8: Involvement in country reputation</i>	ICR	1. Taint country image
		2. Unethical media reporting
		3. Nature of international media
		4. Plight of Basarwa

6.5 Main findings of the research

In the section below, a discussion of the study and the main themes and sub-themes that this research identified, is provided. It is important to highlight the eight themes that were generated in this study. Table 17 provides a summary of the relevant themes and sub-themes identified from the complete dataset for the community and decision-makers.

Table 17. Representation of the summarised dominant themes identified through the semi-structured interview schedule

Involvement in sustainable development			Involvement in governance	Involvement in strategic management	Involvement in development and participatory communication	Involvement in stakeholder engagement	Involvement in country reputation
Involvement in financial development	Involvement in social development	Involvement in environmental development					
1.Livelihood sustainability 2.Income and employment generation 3.Less community interest 4.Most projects are top-down	1.Change of lifestyle 2.Need for skills 3.Lack of community engagement 4.Introduction to commercial life 5.Natural resource management	1.Natural resource opportunity 2.Stakeholder input 3.Tourists source of business 4.Employment opportunities 5.Less community decisions	1.No governance direction 2.Lack of Community input 3. <i>Kgotla</i> meetings used for rubber stamping 4.Opportunity for community to voice	1.Lack of management skills 2.Few self-driven individuals 3.Forest limits opportunities 4.User friendly engagements needed 5.Trusts poorly managed	1.Need for awareness 2. <i>Kgotla</i> for soliciting views 3.Free to join politics 4.Board of Trustees membership 5.Communication one-way 6.Traditional Forum	1.Business continuity support 2.Business opportunities 3.Government agenda dictates 4.Enabling collective views 5.Projects fail to address needs	1.Tainting country Image 2.Unethical media reporting 3.Pligh of the Basarwa 4.Mismanagement of Trust funds 5.Basarwa advocacy 6.Public awareness

6.6 PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

The purpose of the study is to investigate the engagement or involvement of the Khwai community of Basarwa by the Botswana Government in the consultation and involvement processes in areas such as wildlife tourism utilisation and management. The study further aims to spearhead or facilitate the development of communication strategies for the Khwai community and other remote communities. This could create empowerment opportunities for the communities, enshrine the needs and values of the communities into the decision-making process, and promote sustainability of the local and national resources.

The study seeks information on or assesses the Botswana Government's communication approaches or consultation methods that could be applied to communicate with remote area dwellers such as the Khwai Basarwa on environmental, wildlife and tourism matters. For this purpose, a community involvement framework was developed to ensure that the remote area dwellers are not just consulted, but are actively engaged in the decisions that affect their livelihood.

Based on the research results presented below, central-themes are depicted and linkages or connections are indicated. The results start by discussing central-themes which are then followed by the presentation of sub-themes, supported by interview feedback as well as literature and theoretical discussions.

Central theme 1 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development

Sub-theme 1	Interview feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
<p>Involvement in financial development</p>	<p>The results indicate that the people of Khwai do not have any major policy-making function regarding wildlife and natural <i>resource</i> management in the Moremi Game Reserve. This contributes to a lack of sustainability of livelihoods of the Khwai community. The Khwai community has a minimal impact on the decision-making process. The Village Chief ascertained this by stating that the area around Xakanaka and the Chief's Island within the Moremi Game Reserve, which is one of the most common destinations of foreign tourists and regarded as the hub of tourism activity, used to be their hunting and gathering ground, but the community was removed from the boundary of Xakanaxa to the current Khwai village. This was done with the Government promising that, once they have been moved, they would be provided with basic services.</p> <p>On the other hand, the policy makers argue that the resettlement was done for a good purpose. For example, a wildlife officer participant specified that the decision to resettle the Khwai community away from the Moremi Game Reserve to the current settlement, was to give way to tourism development and wildlife management. Though the step to relocate the community was undertaken, some public bodies within the wildlife authority now have second thoughts about the efficacy of the move; they feel that the Khwai settlement is eradicating the wilderness picture that tourist clients pay to see and state that when consultations are carried out concerning payment of levy to enter parks, community members are reluctant to pay the fees because they do not see the reason</p>	<p>The worthiness criteria invoked in these plans is not different. Government has also instituted the Economic Promotion Fund (EPF) whose aim is to create employment opportunities for remote area dwellers. The scheme provides funds for productive and business-oriented activities including game ranching, harvesting and employment of veldt products and arable agriculture. Tanneries, handicrafts, poultry farming and livestock production are other activities under the scheme, aimed at promoting income generating activities.</p> <p>The results suggest that decisions on community development at Khwai are taken without consultations with the community; community <i>involvement</i> theory suggests that public <i>involvement</i> is crucial for successful public management. As expressed by Areizaga in (Booth & Halzeth, 2011) a successful public <i>involvement</i> process should include three critical factors:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deciding when to and who must participate. This is done to define and classify the stakeholder group 2. Designing the participation method. At this particular level, it is of paramount importance to establish the level of contribution that may be required 3. Evaluate the participation. <p>The results are confirmed by data collected from secondary</p>

	<p>why they should pay the fees since they regard the area as historically theirs.</p> <p>‘Youth not motivated to undertake business, pursue studies or to work, Free allowances act as a deterrent (people find no need to work as almost all get destitute allowances and Trust fund allowances)...the community youth is not motivated. This makes it difficult for us to be engaged or get us involved in projects which we are told are geared towards developing us to start up some income generating businesses. Our interests on matters for playing a part in tourism and wildlife ventures are not realised.’</p> <p>Participants stated that the Government never consults or involves them in making wildlife management laws in relation to wildlife management in their area. They further note that Government officials inform them at meetings of such wildlife laws or policies only when they are just about to be implemented. The example which the people of Khwai gave is that of the establishment of protected areas of Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve and the extension of the park boundaries into their communal land.</p>	<p>sources such as Barnes (1998) who argue that much of the wildlife <i>resources</i> in Botswana is public property and control is vested with the central Government.</p>
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Discussion

The Botswana Government’s development programmes, such as poverty eradication, which are meant to uplift the community’s livelihoods, are often characterised by poor implementation though they are meant to alleviate the Basarwa from hunger at the same time, to create some financial gains. On the other hand, there are several other benefits which the Khwai community obtains from their *involvement* in the decision-making process in their local environment. These benefits include the following: business, entrepreneurship, CBRN benefit and access to land and parks, the community-based natural *resource management* benefit, wildlife activities, right to farm, ecosystem (human natural habitat), stakeholder input, usage of wildlife products, thatching *resource* business and poles for lodges’ construction (lodge owners as potential

buyers). The sustainability of projects depends on the *resources* and availability of funds, amongst others. Remote area dwellers, like the Khwai community, rely mostly on the social security schemes provided by the state. The majority, if not all, receive destitute rations and allowance. Other social safety nets provided include the old age pension scheme, assistance for orphans and vulnerable children and services for people who are on home-based care.

Central theme 1 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development		
Sub-theme 2	Response	Literature and theoretical discussions
Livelihood sustainability	<p>Participants stated that the Government “never consults or involves them in making wildlife management laws in relation to wildlife management in their area”. They further note that Government officials inform them at meetings of such wildlife laws or policies, only when they are just about to be implemented. The example which the people of Khwai shared is that of the establishment of protected areas of Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve and the extension of the park boundaries into their communal land.</p> <p>Even though programmes such as the CBNRM programme is meant to address community needs, participants noted that the programmes in their area are characterised by poor performance hence poverty levels in the village remain high. Data and information from group discussions at Khwai by community members and project leaders as well as other interviews with key informants at the Department of Wildlife and National Parks indicate that the CBNRM programme is generally performing badly.</p>	<p>Contrary to popular view, the CBNRM is seen to be yielding great benefits and there have been financial returns regionally, specifically in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia (Venter & Been, 1998).</p>

Discussion

Results indicate that through the CBNRM, communities derive income and employment opportunities from tourism development. However, a lot depends on Trusts which are tasked with empowering individual or group projects of community members through Trust money. The generation of income and employment opportunities that is seen to be evidently benefiting the community members, and providing some form of income and employment generation avenues, have associated benefits from CBNRM that include the following: income benefits, individual empowerment, employment, income opportunities, jobs, employment generation, welfare improvement, business, traditional artefacts, cultural singing and access to land.

Central theme 1 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development		
Sub-theme 3	Response	Literature and theoretical discussions
Income and employment generation	<p>From the research interviews, the findings confirm that the community feels that community needs are not being met. This was supported by the decision makers during the interviews. They see this to be emanating from failures in social programme implementation. One example they gave is that programmes such as the CBNRM are meant to achieve the needs and interests of the Khwai community, but to them these programmes have generally failed at implementation, which makes it difficult to sustain their livelihood since thieves steal what has been provided by the Government. They specifically noted ‘goats’ theft – they have been provided with goats in order to enable them to keep domestic animals. They further reiterated that; ‘Life depends on hand-outs and social grants’.</p> <p>Employment is one of the main benefits that the Khwai community derive from CBNRM projects in their local area. Further to the input</p>	<p>While results indicate that there is <i>involvement</i> in wildlife-based tourism, especially through the CBNRM programme, the literature (e.g. Taylor 2002; Bolaane 2004; Mbaiwa 2005) has argued that the decision to resettle the Khwai community away from the Moremi Game Reserve was done without the <i>involvement</i> of the Khwai community. However, it has been argued that the current settlement was to pave the way for tourism development and that wildlife management <i>community involvement</i> is purposely carried out to help develop and support a better quality of life.</p> <p>In the case of this study, <i>community involvement</i> and participation looks into how the Basarwa community can be effectively engaged by the Botswana Government for the betterment of their livelihoods. The success of <i>involvement</i> showcases what is termed as the power of public participation since this could lead towards improved services and utilisation of developmental</p>

	<p>from the decision makers, they see; Financial benefits, employment opportunities and provision of social service are some of the major economic benefits that Khwai inhabitants attain from CBNRM in the area. Income from CBNRM accrues to individuals, households and the community at large when it is finally distributed. It is this income that is used to create employment opportunities and provide social services to communities. The impact of CBNRM on the income and welfare of individual households has also been significant at Khwai.</p>	<p>programmes provided by public bodies (Jarvis, 2015).</p> <p>It is evident that community participation in tourism development through the CBNRM programme creates income and employment opportunities for the people of the Khwai Village. Improvement of socio-economic well-being of rural households is an incentive for attracting and sustaining local support for nature conservation and tourism development (Mugizi <i>et al.</i>, 2018).</p>
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Discussion - Income and employment generation

It has also emerged that the community engagement regarding EDD should take into consideration entrepreneurship, the individual and fragmentation of the needs of the community. All of these point to the need to review the current community engagement consultative processes with the purpose of developing an appropriate communication strategy for effective developmental interventions. There are benefits to individual households which bring about job opportunities. A programme such as CBNRM plays a major part in rural economic diversification and greater livelihood security through the provision of additional livelihood sources. The challenge, as indicated in this research, is that there is a lack of community empowerment in wildlife management and migration of young people to towns (e.g. Maun) for better employment and educational activities. It is, therefore, essential for the Botswana Government wildlife policy to be directed to empower the local communities by providing the necessary social services, such as schooling and training for rural development to strengthen people's capacity to work. This would subsequently provide access not only to income, but also to work experience and the enhanced dignity, social inclusion and economic agency that comes with it.

Central theme 1 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development		
Sub-theme 4	Response	Literature and theoretical discussions
Less community interest	<p>How the society is treated and viewed could affect their interest. Hence, the Basarwa are less interested in acquiring new skills and adopting new ways of life. This should be a wakeup call to the country, specifically to policy makers to have a deeper understanding of the sources and nature of the risks that poor and marginalised households undergo and, therefore, come up with appropriate interventions to improve the Basarwa's livelihoods, reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen empowerment efforts. There is, however, a selection of a few Basarwa that are <i>involved</i>, but most community members are not interested as they seem to be ignored – minimising the total impact of their <i>involvement</i>.</p>	<p>It is important for the community to be <i>involved</i> early in the <i>planning process</i> of a project. This <i>involvement</i> should, have continuity throughout, with the purpose of completing the whole process. An example could be: regarding the development of the plan or consultations about the draft plan. The low levels of community <i>involvement</i> may be pronounced as advocated by Alman (2013), who postulates that the process of decision-making is reliant upon the social, economic and political power of groups within the society.</p>
<p>Discussion - less community interest</p> <p>Sheehy-Skeffington (2017) emphasises lower confidence displayed by people with low socio-economic status; they do not only often see themselves less able to learn new skills and able to successfully complete tasks, but also less likely to perceive that their actions will affect how their lives turn out. Therefore, the less people think that their action matter, the less likely they are to make their choices aligned to achieving their future goals. This is also applicable to the Basarwa community village. Basarwa communities, being marginalized and somehow poor, do not have enough confidence to engage with the policy makers at <i>kgotla</i> meetings and often regard the Government as only a provider of free services while they, in turn, portray an attitude of continuous dependency as seen in most developing countries.</p>		

Central theme 1 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in financial development		
Sub-theme 5	Response	Literature and theoretical discussions
<p>Most projects top-down</p>	<p>The data obtained from the decision-makers indicate support for the usage of the bottom-up support for <i>community involvement</i> of the Basarwa in remote areas in Botswana. One Tourism Officer regards the bottom-up approach as the most suitable, specifically when adopted before decisions are undertaken. The participant further specified that this will ensure adequate consultation. She vehemently supported this and cautioned of difficulties being encountered for community buy-in to be achieved if the bottom-up approach is not adopted.</p> <p>The CBNRM was implemented to run alongside other Government development programmes for sustainability, to provide social provision and control, with the purpose of presenting an opportunity to facilitate rural development. This, in a way, shows some success in that it helps in conforming local expectations and the desires of policy makers.</p>	<p>Although it is important for the top-down approach to be used by the Government or authority for the purposes of central <i>planning</i>, the fear is that some decisions taken without consultations may result in a negative perception towards the Botswana Government's efforts. It is necessary to adopt a bottom-up approach for the <i>involvement</i> of the Basarwa community, which is initiated and managed by the community for the community. In this case, the Government and service providers will then play a supportive role as facilitators and consultants (Hedayat <i>et al.</i>, 2009).</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The study results, as obtained from the findings, show that the community members, as well as decision-makers, are concerned about the top-down approach that the Botswana Government has adopted. Much as this being the case, this study advocates for a public participation approach that embraces a bottom-up process to formulate policies for the purpose of community development that can actively involve the participants in decision-making and to better facilitate the achievement of their targeted objectives (Shackleton <i>et. al.</i>, 2002). Communities do not always have to rely on their governments to take a lead in order for them to be provided services that serve their needs and aspirations (Burs & Aplin, 1999:519). Baru and Kjaer (2008) share the same sentiments when stating that it is necessary for citizens to interact with diverse groups outside government.</p>		

Central theme 2 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development		
Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Change in lifestyles	<p>The Basarwa community used to be hunters and gatherers and have now abandoned that; they have since been introduced to commercial life through tourism.</p> <p>Data obtained from the decision-makers support the community opinion; the decision-makers echoed what was mentioned by a former Minister when consulting the community. The Former Assistant Minister of Agriculture, Honourable Mr. Pelokgale Seloma, when addressing <i>kgotla</i> meetings in September 2000 at Gudigwa and Beetsha in the Okavango region, said that the Basarwa should not be left to rely on killing and eating wild animals. He reiterated the need to conserve wild animals because they play an important part in Botswana's economic development through tourism, with associated revenues and employment creation. Hence, the Government then decided to stop issuing special game hunting licenses to the Basarwa, because some species of animals were declining. Instead, the Government decided to improve the standard of living of the Basarwa, by the introduction of the Remote Area Dwellers Programme (RADP) and Economic Promotion Fund.</p>	<p>Although the people of Khwai are still involved in the gathering of veld products (e.g. wild fruits, berries, roots etc.) for consumption purposes, the suspension of the Special Game Hunting Licence in Ngamiland District in 1996 generally altered their way of living. The Special Game Hunting Licence previously allowed them to hunt without prohibition. Restrictions in hunting have made them to become involved in new economic activities that were previous not part of their traditional economic livelihood. In Khwai, this includes harvesting of thatching grass for sale to the various lodges in the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa 1999). There is a limited amount of arable agriculture, and weaving of baskets (Mbaiwa 1999; Bolaane, 2000) that are sold to tourists. In Khwai, crops are often destroyed by elephants and hippos (Bolaane, 2000). Since 2000, the Basarwa of Khwai have become involved in Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), which has resulted in economic benefits such as income and employment opportunities.</p> <p>The limited access to land directly affects the Basarwa's access to wildlife and to veld products. The introduction to commercial life has attracted some interests from the Basarwa, as they are now showing delight in other agricultural interventions such as cattle rearing.</p>

Discussion

The Basarwa did not have proper houses but beehive shelters, and, therefore, could be moved easily. According to history, wildlife resources have played a significant role in upholding the livelihoods of traditional societies. Human development has been possible, partially because of the exploitation of wild animals (Eltringham, 1984). Animals provide people with skins and fur for clothing, sinews for rope and thread, fat for fuel, antler for tools, and horns for drinking vessels and musical instruments and bone for all sorts of purposes from tools to weapons, apart from meat. Many RADs in the Okavango Delta in the North West District live chiefly as fishermen, gatherers and hunters, but also take temporary employment in the tourist sector or on lands and cattle posts outside the delta. The majority of RADs throughout Botswana live on cattle posts, land/or ranches run by other people. In addition to employment on the farms, the RADs may own a few head of livestock, use some cropland, collect veld food or hunt.

Central theme 2 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development		
Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Lack of community engagement	The communication processes through which the Botswana Government engages with the Basarwa are ineffective; the data have indicated that there are a number of hindrances and barriers. A lack of understanding hampers the communication process. The community participants interviewed stated that they are never accorded a chance to appreciate what is put forward to them and, therefore, there is a lack of understanding and clarity about what is communicated to them. Furthermore, the situation becomes even more difficult because some meetings are too short to allow issues under discussion to be thoroughly processed, especially by the community. This supports the notion that education, income level, and occupational skills have an impact on the performance of community development projects. The Basarwa's level of education and social status demand an approach that would enable them to understand what is put forward to them.	This aspect is reiterated by Gramont (2013) who is of the view that failures associated with participatory development are: lack of socio-political knowledge; limited political influence; inflexible project designs; and results pressure. In support of this aspect, Barnes and Mann (2011) also postulate that policy makers may view community members that are engaged in their decision-making processes as ill-informed most of the time, about what to do and the actual meaning of participation. This could imply that, although the community may be eager to be involved, their participation may be of no value if they have no understanding. Lack of communication does not bring about an appropriate awareness of opportunities for the Basarwa community. It is, therefore, necessary to come up with relevant communication strategies and approaches that incorporate the voices of the

		Basarwa community since participation strategies in the <i>planning process</i> need to fit the needs and characteristics of particular communities (Denhardt & Gray, 1998).
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Discussion

The study indicates that there is poor communication or a lack of communication between the community and decision-makers. It could be that, although the information is disseminated, barriers like misunderstanding or the manner in which the information is packaged, is the cause. It is, therefore, necessary to create relationships with the Basarwa community - they are poor and marginalised citizens (Brackeertz, et al. (2005) in Robyn Eversole, 2011:54). Communication is the key component of sustainable development, hence the effect of successful public engagement will depend on the effectiveness of strategic communication strategies developed and applied for their *involvement*.

Central theme 2 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development

Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Introduction to commercial life	The data obtained indicate that the Government officials' view is that the Basarwa's needs are being met in that they no longer live nomadic lives because they now have permanent structures. This they supported by stating that destitute housing is providing shelter to those in need. Furthermore, destitutes, orphans and the disabled enjoy a monthly living allowance of P 600.00 a month (USD 60.00).	At Khwai Village, there is a limited amount of arable agriculture, but this does not necessarily close doors towards finding ways and means on how protected small scale farming for the community and individuals can be established. This could be explored, since in Khwai, crops are often destroyed by elephants and hippos (Bolaane, 2000). Some Basarwa are highly skillful in cultural craftwork (as showcased in photo 1) and engage in weaving of baskets (Mbaiwa 1999; Bolaane, 2000) which are sold to tourists, but as confirmed by the results there is no market viability. The Basarwa do not have the capacity to conduct market surveys or means of transportation to reach places with buying potential.

Discussion

It makes it highly difficult to encourage Basarwa to acquire skills in order to have the potential to be absorbed in the job opportunities available within their area. It is also a mountain to climb or waste of government resources to provide training and to finance the establishment of businesses for individual Basarwa communities. There is evidence that Basarwa were offered entrepreneur skills and funded to start small businesses however it is clear that there in none operating in Khwai. The community is at comfort with the destitute allowance thatthey are offered on monthly basis as they are almost all regarded as destitute. Destitute allowance in a way is a barrier towards empowerment and upliftment of Basarwa livelihoods. A new approach that engages Basarwa as participants is therefore proposed by this paper.

Central theme 2 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in social development

Sub-theme 4	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Natural resource management	<p>As highlighted by the results, a lack of a direct share of the revenue generated by the Moremi Game Reserve, particularly entrance fees and employment opportunities in the parks and lodges, creates conflicts which result in a barrier to community <i>involvement</i>. This does not reflect well on natural resource management and other matters involving the community. The Khwai village has a strong traditional institution organised through the <i>kgotla</i> and the ward system to enable the effective implementation of community-based projects. The village also has strong village development committees (VDCs), which have a great deal of influence and experience in community affairs including the CBNRM programme.</p>	<p>The hunting ban which the Botswana Government adopted in 2014 was carried out without appropriate consultation with the communities such as those of Khwai village. Eagles and McCool (2002) emphasise the importance of protected and conservation area managers who need to be equipped with information for them to be able to meet the demands and expectations of local communities and other stakeholders such as tourists. Through a Government Directive, Mr Neil Fitt who was the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Environment and Wildlife and Tourism at the time, informed the public about the ban on hunting of wildlife in all controlled hunting areas in Botswana with effect from January 2014. The statement from the Ministry continued to note that there would be no quotas, licenses or permits to be issued. The directive should have come after thorough consultations with the communities concerned hence the decision-makers need to</p>

		<p>adopt appropriate natural resource management.</p> <p>In support of this contention, Mogende and Kolawole (2016) see the current governance system to be undermining the inclusion of <i>local resource users</i> as legitimate stakeholders in the decision-making process.</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The strong faith in communication's power in development was also echoed by political scientists in the 1960s. Almon and Verba (1963), for example, perceived communication as fundamental in political integration. Pye (1963) thought the problem of political development is one of cultural diffusion and of adapting and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands. Since communication is the web of society, its flow determines the direction and pace of dynamic social development. Thereby, <i>natural resource development</i> which is spearheaded by the drive of the Basarwa community being introduced to commercial life, can be nurtured by the communication power that can entrench the needs and wants of the community members.</p>		

Central theme 3 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development		
Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Natural resource opportunity	<p>The community participants, through the data obtained, indicate that the Khwai community did not have a role in the decision-making process when the trophy hunting was banned in 2014. This reiterates their contention that there is total lack of communication. Their views are that the consultations that previously took place were only for the purpose of informing them about the decisions to be implemented hence a top-down approach that kept coming up in the discussions. Results further indicate that through CBNRM, communities derive income and employment opportunities. Although this is the case, a lot depends on Trusts which are tasked with empowering individuals or group projects of community members through trust money. The generation of income and employment opportunities is seen to be evidently benefiting the community members and providing some form of income and employment generation avenues.</p> <p>Associated CBNRM benefits as obtained from the data include the following: income benefits, individual empowerment, employment, income opportunities, jobs, employment generation, welfare improvement, business, traditional artefacts, cultural singing and access to land.</p> <p>Results further indicate that even though the CBNRM programme is meant to address community <i>involvement</i> in <i>natural resources management</i> and rural economic development, participants noted that</p>	<p>However, contrary to this, the CBNRM is seen to be yielding great benefits and there have been financial returns regionally specifically in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia (Venter & Been, 2009).</p>

<p>these programmes in their area are characterised by poor performance hence poverty levels in the village remain high. Data and information from group discussions at Khwai by community members and project leaders, as well as other interviews with key informants at the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, indicate that the CBNRM programme is generally performing badly.</p>	
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Discussion

The Khwai community can adopt Community Based Tourism (CBT) in order for them to create natural *resource* opportunities that can improve their livelihoods. Developing countries have used community based tourism as a means to drive economic, social and environmental development (Snyman, 2012; Spenceley, 2008). CBT is a type of tourism that allows local communities to have extensive control over tourism activities and access to maximal economic benefits (Scheyvens, 2002). The capability of communities to become involved in tourism at the destination is increased through CBT, thus, local participation that fosters economic, social and cultural well-being is established (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Community-based tourism is a type of tourism conducted, owned and managed by local communities. The control over CBT by local communities is a tool for broadening positive impacts and empowerment (Sebele, 2010).

Central theme 3 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development		
Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Stakeholder input	<p>Results indicate that the Botswana Government has previously made other efforts, such as involving anthropologists, in an effort to move from the roles of monitoring and developing work regarding the Basarwa situation, towards a more applied oriented type of anthropological studies with the purpose of addressing the land reform impacts and adaptations regarding drought and environmental stress, which can inform and guide the Government and successfully benefit the Basarwa.</p> <p>The data obtained from the decision-makers interviewed, reflect that everyone in society was allowed to have a say and make a contribution to the formulation and implementation of laws and was obliged to observe them. What this demonstrates, is that all stakeholders were involved in making laws and regulations regarding wildlife use. As a result, it can be stated that local people in East Ngamiland District, had developed not only appropriate technologies as we saw with regard to the instruments used for hunting, but also policies and institutions which ensured the <i>sustainable wildlife resource</i> utilisation and management in their area.</p>	<p>There is a two-way view: the Government of Botswana and the Private Sector interest groups see the Okavango delta's wildlife <i>resources</i> as a potential source of wealth for safari hunting and tourism photography. On the other hand, the Basarwa see the Okavango delta as their source of livelihood, thereby being mostly dependent on the delta's resources and veld products found in the area. This somehow contributes to conflict and competition over <i>resource</i> use and service users. The Basarwa of Khwai are somehow seen as an encroachment on their territorial rights and deprivation on the sources of their traditional livelihood. This, therefore, results in the Basarwa of Khwai being forced to compete for the same <i>resources</i> in the territorial land where the Government has imposed interventions and restrictions. In addition to competing for the <i>resources</i>, one possible hindrance that prevents less powerful stakeholders from speaking up or being heard by organisations, is where we identify an 'essentialist self' underpinning the stakeholder concept (Bondy & Charles, 2018).</p>

Discussion

The problem emanating from the implementation of the RADP and the relocation of the Basarwa from the CKGR is that consultation between stakeholders was not fully adopted. As part of the committee overseeing the relocation exercise were the First People of Kalahari (FPK). Other equally interested stakeholders like SI were not part of the relocation exercise. Lu, Eng and Ko (2013) emphasise the need for managers to seek to address community stakeholders' concern that is dominant to the organisation. It operates in stages. Stakeholders in general contribute immensely to the aspect of developing the communities and are thereby involved in public engagements that seek to serve the community in various efforts, including amongst many: citizen empowerment, community-driven participation, community service delivery and networking.

Central theme 3 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development		
Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Tourists source of business	<p>The results indicate that the community sees tourists as a business source, as depicted from various viable community projects in the area which include: walking safaris conducted by the local community, cultural tourism, and provision of community escort guides and non-consumptive tourist projects such as photographic tourism and related tourist spin-off projects like a craft industry and a bakery. These projects are appropriate for the Khwai village.</p> <p>The research noted that community projects can also be viable because of the fact that there is a strong traditional custom in the area. Therefore, viable community projects such as basket weaving, which is mostly done by women, enables women to combine weaving with other activities such as child minding.</p>	<p>Sustainable projects that the Government encourages the community to engage in, should consider the community's need for knowledge and information. Thus, the Government should regularly carry out information dissemination through the radio and <i>kgotla</i> meetings to inform villagers about the policies and programmes with the hope to inform, educate, and solicit views and opinions. The Special Game Hunting License previously allowed them to hunt without prohibition. Ideally the new restrictions in hunting should have been decided through their inputs as their dependency on hunting was hampered by the new regulation.</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The community-based wildlife management in the Okavango Delta highlights the understanding within the broader political, ecological and economic trends affecting Botswana as a whole; the history of the Basarwa in the Okavango has also revealed this. A range of issues, including global economics, competing land use strategies, tenure regimes, village economics and settlement patterns, the role of donor agencies and the economic and political renaissance of the Botswana society since independence, all impact on the prospects for community-based wildlife management.</p>		

Central theme 3 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development		
Sub-theme 4	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Employment opportunities	<p>The results indicate that, though some community members are employed, there are some challenges regarding work opportunities for the Basarwa. One of the community leaders and Village Chief supported this aspect by indicating that most lodge owners or employers lament that there is difficulty of finding suitably qualified and skilled local employees. This he regarded to be emanating from the fact that the lodge operators do not make efforts to train and provide skills to the local communities. This, indeed, could be one of the reasons the Khwai community members may not be in possession of the relevant basic skills.</p> <p>One of the decision-makers, when interviewed, indicated that the absence of a bottom-up approach contributes to a lack of community engagement. Her contention is that the community should be consulted before decisions are taken. The challenge she raised is that the Basarwa of Khwai are too lazy. She feels that they do not want to work and are not cooperative. This she blames on their culture. She argues that it is this same mentality that has resulted in the non-participatory nature of the Basarwa in the RADP programme. The study established that the Basarwa can be given the right tools to work with to earn a living, but will end up not utilising them, but rather selling them to buy and drink alcohol.</p>	<p>Perceptions as expressed by some people may in some way affect <i>community involvement</i> in commercial interventions that the Basarwa is encouraged to engage in. The negative perception depicted in the research results is that some people regard the Basarwa as backward and uncivilised. This somehow affects the mind-set for both the community and the service providers.</p>

Discussion

It is also necessary to point out that much as the community relies on the Government for community service delivery, one sentiment that challenges the public is that they should adopt what is called a social mobilisation approach. This would provide them with the capacity to take the lead rather than relying too much on the Government (Burs & Aplin, 1994:519)

Central theme 3 – Involvement in sustainable development: involvement in environmental development		
Sub-theme 5	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Less community decisions	Data obtained support the fact that decisions of the community are rarely incorporated into the decision-making processes that involve their livelihoods.	The low levels of <i>involvement</i> are emphasised by Alman (2013), who postulates that the process of decision-making is reliant upon the social, economic and political power of groups within the society. Basarwa communities, being marginalised and seemingly poor communities, tend to lack confidence to engage the policy makers' at <i>kgotla</i> meetings, since they regard and see the Government as only a provider for free services. They, on the other hand, portray an attitude of continuous dependency as seen in most developing countries.
<p>Discussion</p> <p>Almost everything produced by the community is for the tourism market; artefacts produced are bought by tourists and thatching grass and poles are utilised by the lodges that are subsequently used by tourism. Therefore, tourism plays a vital role in terms of income generation for the Basarwa community's livelihood benefits and ensuring that there is community <i>involvement</i> in the decision-making process in their local environment. People feel that they are getting things done to them rather than by them. Of the total number of 17 participants interviewed, 100% said that they have not had any say pertaining to wildlife and tourism development policies of the Moremi Game Reserve. The views of the participants are that, though consultations were carried out regarding the payment of a levy to enter parks, community members are unable to pay the fees since they saw no need to pay them because they regard the area as historically theirs. Their view is also that they should have the right to land access. The not user-friendly aspect that could promote the people's say is exacerbated by a lack of platforms engaging the community to give their views. They are only being informed.</p>		

Central theme 4 – Involvement in governance		
Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
No government direction	Therefore, the effectiveness of development and implementation of the Government social welfare programmes of the Khwai community can only take place if <i>resources</i> are adequately provided to address the identified community needs coupled with Government's direction.	Consultation meetings need to come up with processes and approaches of participation that are clear. They should also define the levels of achievement as they progress with the project or <i>involvement</i> . This aspect is reiterated by Lambi et al. (2012) who indicated that in order to ensure that effective conservation and sustainable management takes place, it is of paramount importance that after due consultation with the local communities, the Government should ensure that the regulations and laws put in place are adaptable, applicable, acceptable and enforceable with emphasis on a participatory approach for the purpose of meeting the needs and aspirations of the communities. The exercise of coordination of the meetings comes into play by bringing together interdependent parts into an ordered relationship to produce a whole. According to Mulford and Rogers (1982), coordination essentially occurs when there is a need to align or orchestrate people, tasks and specialised interventions in order to achieve a predetermined goal or mission. Here, organisations remain separate from each other but share information, plan jointly and make decisions to contribute to a specific programme.
Discussion The centralisation of wildlife management is the source of all the land use conflicts between the Government and the local Basarwa communities in wildlife areas in Ngamiland District. In the late 1980s, the Government had adopted the notion of CBNRM in an attempt to address the problems of wildlife management, especially in rural areas - this being carried out according to Government's direction. It is important to customise community and government linkages with the purpose of optimising the		

benefits of the modes of connection between the Government and the community. In this particular context, a model for effective processes and mechanisms of connections should be developed. The approach would serve as a basis for a potential communication strategy tool for the service users and recipients. “The government must not only inform the public of all decisions taken by the political authorities and government departments, but must also explain these decisions and why they are taken”. (Pasquier *et al.*, 2012:151).

Central theme 4 – Involvement in governance		
Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Lack of community input	<p>Results indicate that the communities decry that policy makers bring ideas to them without the community input, hence most do not address the needs of the people of Khwai. This is supported by empirical results, which state that there is little participation by local communities in the decision-making process. Participants noted: “there is poor governance in terms of the CBNRM programme”, “there is very little consultation if any”. Though this is the case, the Village Development Committees (VDC), allow members to be elected or elect other community members as part of the VDC, this provides evidence that the inclusive governance approach can be considered for the governing of the Khwai community”.</p> <p>Though it has been proven that a <i>kgotla</i> exists for usage to allow community consultations and decision-making, empirical data show that there is lack of local community <i>involvement</i> in the decision-making process.</p> <p>The research findings establish that there is little or no <i>inclusive participatory planning</i>. Therefore, development projects are brought to the community without their input; they are only consulted on the programmes planned for them by the Government. This, in a way, brings about a total failure on matters of inclusive governance on the part of the Government.</p>	<p>The inclusive approach to governance is seen as a means that can enable community development problems to be solved through information sharing from both sides and acceptance of joint responsibilities.</p> <p>Much of the challenge is that the inclusive approach, as it is suggested with this research, seeks to involve community members of a marginalised society who, on a regular basis, face marginalisation themselves. Hence, there is a need to give them a sense of self-confidence and self-worth. This notion is shared by Iqbal and Khan (2020) when stating that people of the area should be involved whilst <i>planning</i> and during the implementation of development programmes.</p> <p>The community is the recipient of the services and they have a responsibility to have an input in <i>planning</i> and providing feedback to the service providers for the purpose of the betterment of their welfare.</p>

Discussion

The power of public participation implies that social development, through entrenchment of the community inputs, could lead to better livelihoods. This thesis notes that governments are likely to, one way or the other, benefit a lot from the communities' inputs. Bowles and Gintis (2002) share these sentiments by stating that communities can sometimes do what government institutions or even markets fail to do (in Alexiu *et al.*, 2011:9). This thesis argues that the Basarwa of Khwai should be involved in strategic decision-making and policy development processes that affect them, so that their voices and views can express their needs and interests and influence the sustainable development of their community; hence creating empowerment opportunities. It will contribute to research on *community involvement* in the African context, which has been limited thus far (Tindall *et al.*, 2011:373). The Khwai community's *involvement* in strategy and policy development for their area will be investigated further in this study.

Central theme 4 – Involvement in governance		
Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
<p><i>Kgotla</i> meetings used to rubber stamp</p>	<p>Data obtained indicate that the <i>kgotla</i>, in this case, is not the most effective forum of communication. The <i>kgotla</i> can have weaknesses of poor attendance and is generally used as a rubber stamp by politicians to enforce decisions already made somewhere outside the community setups.</p> <p><i>Kgotla</i> meetings do not provide a useful consultation exercise. <i>Kgotla</i> meetings are not carrying out coordinated discussions and at times the community members destroy papers issued to them since they treat them to be of no value.</p> <p>Most of the community members believe that, though there are regular <i>kgotla</i> meetings that they are invited to attend, the majority of participants feel that they should be given adequate time and be well informed in advance about the public consultation activities and the schedules, taking into consideration their convenience. 'Some information discussed is vital to our needs'.</p>	<p>Previous studies confirmed through Mr Ray Molomo that <i>kgotla</i> meetings, although regarded as a cultural phenomenon, are predominantly used by the Botswana Government to rubber stamp public policies. The <i>kgotla</i> system is also traditionally not a custom practised by the Basarwa; it was adopted from Tswana cultures, hence may not necessarily be the best forum for consultation with the Basarwa communities.</p> <p>Theorists do solidify this notion; their view is that consultation is not about rubber stamping or endorsing a decision that has already been taken, but rather should be informed, open and transparent with the drive towards effectively influencing any final decision to be adopted (John <i>et al.</i>, 2013:83).</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The <i>kgotla</i> is used to roll out programmes such as the objectives which were to be realised through a rural development programme with the following aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating new employment opportunities; • improving services in the rural areas (water supplies, education, medical and welfare services, etc.), leading to healthier, smaller, better educated and better fed families; • increasing sustained production from the land, through the introduction of correct land use and management practices; and 		

- improving marketing and credit facilities in the rural areas.

The *kgotla* system, therefore, is used to disseminate information as such. The only challenge is that the Government's communication consultation processes should not be portrayed as a tool for endorsing Governments' bureaucratic aspirations for achieving their goals.

Central theme 5 – Involvement in strategic management

Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Forests limits opportunities	<p>Data obtained highlight a concern raised by some community leaders. For instance, the Chief of Khwai, Kgosi Amos, indicated during an interview that the Government development programmes are limited to work in the forest, which pays poorly and is unable to sustain the workers. They regard Government development programmes to be of no benefit to them, as they cannot engage in farming related programmes. However, they appreciate other residents from outside Khwai who work and stay within their community because of tourism and hospitality related job opportunities in the area.</p>	<p>There is a peak in conflict, which at times emanate between those able and in need to privatise communal land and <i>resources</i>, and those who continuously need to have access to such <i>resources</i> (Byron & Arnold, 1997). This, in some way, makes it difficult for the local communities who are or should be the principal stakeholders in these forest areas. The Basarwa community are hampered from meeting their needs due to the power of those with business interest in the territory. The Basarwa see these business investors as intruders because as inhabitants the Khwai community treat their territory as the principal objective of forest management and therefore whatever takes place should involve them and see them as role players as well.</p>

Discussion

Opportunities are limited to: wild flowers tourism and tourism revenue. Though there are lodges available to work at, the work is discriminatory, since few or no locals are employed. There is also the selling of cultural artifacts to foreigners, which brings some source of income to the community, though it is not sustainable.

Central theme 5 – Involvement in strategic management

Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions v
<p>Trusts poorly managed</p>	<p>As depicted by data obtained, decision makers point out that the community plays a part in the way Trusts are managed. One community development officer supported this by indicating that there is some form of inclusive governance in that the Khwai community members are given an opportunity to participate in the running of the Khwai Development Trust. This provides community members with a chance to be selected into management committees, including Board of Trustees, thereby being involved in the running on their community affairs.</p> <p>Results further note a concern raised by the same officer, lamenting that, though the Khwai community is given a chance in the running of the Khwai Development Trust, there is evidence of poor management and misuse of Trust funds and facilities.</p>	<p>The local community was successful in establishing community trusts as part of their role in <i>tourism and natural resource management participation</i> (Mbaiwa, 2010).</p> <p>As noted by the study, there is a concern of policy makers that the Trusts are poorly managed. One of the contributory factors is that there is lack of understanding by the rural communities of the concept of programmes such as the CBNRM. The communities have also failed to come up with tourist projects that match their understanding and skills.</p>

Discussion

Community development trusts and enterprises were established through the support of some stakeholders and the Botswana Government. Whilst efforts were made to engage the Basarwa to partake in business enterprises, issues of maladministration and misappropriation of funds were also experienced. In one of the settlements occupied by the Basarwa community, residents were demonstrating, threatening to burn the Development Trust offices on the grounds that management closed them before consulting the people. According to the *Botswana Daily News*, the closure of the trust's offices by the board of governors affected some community members who were laid off following the closure. In addition, residents were furious that the board of governors for the trust once supplicated funds under its auspices, but the beneficiaries got nothing. As was reported by the government newspaper, the then District commissioner had to arrange a meeting with the board regarding the issue (*Botswana Daily Newspaper*, 2000).

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication

Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Need for Awareness	Data obtained from the community participants are that there is no community consultation; the Khwai community often gets told about (informed about) programmes for them. This emanates from the fact that consultations are top-down, people are informed about what is to take place without initially engaging or consulting them. Likewise, policy makers (officers) in the local authority and stakeholders should be thoroughly informed and equipped with skills and the practice of strategic communication and management. This can be carried out through capacity building in order to improve their understanding of the causes of engagement and disengagement, as well as the benefits of implementing engagement strategies.	Results show inconsistency in that some programmes succeed, whilst others have generally failed to be effectively implemented. This then results in dependency on grants by the community members. It should be noted that community <i>involvement</i> does improve as a result of effective communication.

Discussion

Botswana developmental efforts are crippled by a lack of effective communication strategies, according to Smyth (in Glenny, 2005:155). Government communication has gone beyond mere information dissemination and should also play a strategic role. It is the strategic communication interventions that are developed and (if effectively) implemented that would realise the success of public engagement processes. Awareness of the response to the public is the first step to successful implementing the main purpose of government public relations.

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication

Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Kgotla for soliciting views	As determined from the data, the traditional communication forum approach is seen to be the main method used with the purpose of achieving community <i>involvement</i> . In support for this aspect, one Wildlife Officer stated that <i>kgotla</i> meetings are used to educate and	Empirical evidence indicates that there are many channels that can be used to convey information. The <i>kgotla</i> (the village meeting place or public square) is one of the forms used for meetings. It is the main form of consultation and communication

	<p>inform the community about planned development programmes.</p> <p>On the other hand, a village community participant, stated that <i>kgotla</i> meetings do not provide a useful consultation exercise. She noted that meetings are not carried out in a coordinated manner. Furthermore, she stated that she witnesses on a regular basis some community members destroying meeting documents or papers issued to them.</p> <p>This was reiterated by the village political representative at the Council (local administration) who also happen to be the Chairperson of the North West District Council. He lamented that there is a lack of thorough understanding of the CBNRM operation. “We were only provided information about its purpose, and as a community, we are at times informed about services and programmes but the facilitators would leave after addressing the meetings with the hope that we understood.” He emphasised that simply conducting a <i>kgotla</i> meeting is not sufficient for community <i>involvement</i>.</p>	<p>channel used traditionally.</p> <p>The <i>kgotla</i>, therefore, is the only forum currently used for consultation between communities and the Government.</p>
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Discussion

Although *kgotla* meetings are regarded as a cultural phenomenon, they are predominantly used by the Botswana Government to rubber stamp public policies. There is rather a need to come up with concepts of participation that are clear, and to define the levels of achievement as they progress with the project or *involvement*.

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication

Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Free to join politics	Results indicate that some developments that took place in the village, for example, water connection for the community households, took place because of an effective political representation through the local counsellor.	This, in a way, is proof that financial benefits could result in viable social developments that impact on the livelihoods of the Basarwa communities and, therefore, are necessary in terms of meeting the needs of the community. Some community participants appreciate residents from outside Khwai who stay within their community because of tourism and hospitality related job opportunities in the area.
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The leaders of the First People of the Kalahari (FPK), the spokesmen, were not elected by the Basarwa, but were brought together by sponsors for conferences funded by aid agencies, particularly the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). The position taken by these agencies and the spokesmen of the Basarwa, is that the distinct identity of the Basarwa must be upheld and that remaining in a wildlife area, a classic hunting ground, is their right. Government is capitalizing on the difference of opinion between the Basarwa and their spokesmen, interpreting it as an indication that the Basarwa spokesmen do not represent the views of the Basarwa, but of themselves and their sponsors, the foreign NGOs. It implies that the Basarwa spokesmen are attempting to use the plight of the rest of the Basarwa for their own economic advantage. The publicity and economically advantageous foreign trips that the spokesmen enjoy can only last as long as the bulk of the Basarwa remain backward and isolated. It is crucial for the Botswana Government leaders, its officials as well as stakeholders, to identify priority areas for enhancing the community engagement satisfaction in the country, including that of the freedom of the Khwai people, to participate in leadership roles.</p>		

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication

Sub-theme 4	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Board of Trustees membership	<p>The data obtained from the community and service providers indicate that the Khwai Development Trust was formed to enable people of Khwai to benefit from the wildlife <i>resources</i> of consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. It is through the community participation in the Development Trust and seeking votes in political portfolios that Khwai people are able to enhance their community participation and inclusive governance.</p>	<p>Individual community members are free to stand for political posts or Board of Trustees members where they can contribute to the decision-making processes for their community. Through community representation, members are chosen for political office and Board of Trustees membership. This enables the community to benefit from wildlife resources.</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The then Ngamiland District Commissioner, Michael Maforaga, in a meeting that was convened to settle a dispute between the community and board members, warned the Okavango Kopano Community board to refrain from misappropriating community funds. The residents of the Okavango Kopano Community, which comprises six settlements (Daonra, Ditshiping, Boro, Xaxaba, Xuxao and Xharaxao) accused the board members for misappropriating P30 000.00 (thirty thousand pula), which they received from John Caliz Hunting Safaris as payment for a hunting concession in the area. Where the opportunity for community members is concerned, there is a need to guard against mismanagement.</p>		

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication		
Sub-theme 5	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
<p>Communication one way</p>	<p>The Botswana Government, through its local authority, is given a mandate to provide social welfare and community development programmes to the community. It has adopted a performance-based management system called the Balanced Scorecard. This performance system calls for inclusive participation, particularly when <i>planning</i> for service delivery provision. However, as depicted by the research, there is no evidence of such participation by the Khwai community.</p>	<p>Government has to be accountable to the members of the community and likewise the community leaders have to be accountable to the community. The community should, therefore, be assisted through guidance to evaluate and audit development plans, projects and policies. This converges on the call towards realising that there are no blanket solutions; and there should be an awareness of and respect for different solutions. From a different perspective, Brown <i>et.al.</i> (2003) advocate for policy makers to adjust for networked arrangements to be utilised to their full potential. Therefore, this is seen to be driving towards articulating the community and public bodies' diverse range of views and interests.</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>Public information is regarded as one-way and that it only expresses the needs, wants, concerns and aspirations of the Botswana Government on matters of development of the Khwai community. Thereby, public sentiments are not taken into consideration. Whereas, two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical communication enshrine a flow of communication to the public and from the public (Tindall <i>et al.</i>, 2011:372), authentic community <i>engagement</i> promotes the development of relationships founded on interdependence, rather than dependence. Within the framework of <i>community engagement</i>, the solution to disaffiliation and other forms of disadvantage is not a one-way relationship of service provision. Instead, the solution is to empower disadvantaged people by giving them opportunities to contribute as well as to receive. When provided with opportunities to contribute to and engage with society, disadvantaged people are able to feel more confident about their ability to reengage with mainstream society and achieve a greater level of social inclusion.</p>		

Central theme 6 – Involvement in development and participatory communication

Sub-theme 6	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Traditional forum	<p>Results indicate that the traditional <i>kgotla</i> system of meetings is not that effective as the meetings are often too short, hence they do not give the community a chance to digest what was put forward to them and, therefore, brings about little understanding regarding what was communicated to them. This they supported by stating that: “We see people being flown in helicopters and before we can settle to appreciate what they have for us, they are gone before we can engage them and vice-versa.”</p>	<p>On the other hand, accountability on the part of Government as the main public service provider, is seen as an integral part of community development and entrenching the aspect of communication, specifically <i>listening</i>, that leads to understanding and effective decision-making processes. The emphasis is to create a more balanced relationship, in which the voices of those most affected by the decision makers’ activities are not overshadowed by the interests of the most powerful (Blagescu, de Las Casas & Lloyd, 2005).</p> <p>Therefore, accountability is pivotal as it is a process that manages power imbalances between the organisation and its stakeholders, as well as between an organisation and its various stakeholder groups. This aspect is supported by Husband (2009), who believes that in pursuance towards an effort to be understood, it is necessary to give some consideration to what might happen between <i>listening</i> and understanding. Hence, he depicts <i>listening</i> as an act of attention and willingness to focus on the other and to heed both their presence and communication.</p>

Discussion

Though *kgotlas* are used as a traditional forum, their effectiveness for portraying communication to the Basarwa of the Khwai community is challenged. The research findings reflect that the Basarwa lacks understanding and it appears that barriers to this aspect emanates from a number of listening barriers, even though most of the participants seem to point out an element of lack of interest and irrelevance to the receiver. As Peters (1999) puts it, he somehow dreams of effective communication as an ideal where the people understand each other, when he said: “A world where nothing is misunderstood, hearts are open, and expression is uninhibited”. This he alluded to when laying out discourse of longing as a desire for communication. This he did by equating theories of dialogue as identical to interpersonal communication in that true communication is hardly to be found here on earth, but rather “tongued with fire”, speaking in a manner that is so pure and honest and true, so pregnant with meaning, that it burns and blinds.

Central theme 7 – Involvement in stakeholder engagement

Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Business continuity support	A 41-year old village community woman noted that the poor performance of CBNRM has resulted in some community members participating in Drought Relief projects such as the <i>Ipelegeng</i> project (which are temporary and do not provide adequate income).	One deterrent factor shared by the community participants through the data obtained, is that the youth is not motivated to undertake business, pursue studies or to work, since there is free financial gain obtained from social grant allowances. This acts as a deterrent to young people to pursue their aspirations, interests, and dreams, especially in what matters most, e.g., participating in tourism and wildlife ventures, which are lucrative; and they have comparative advantage in their area.

Discussion

Although it seems that the CBNRM could not bear fruitful livelihood results, one of the community members had access to other Government development programmes and was granted opportunities. She was offered training and resources to start a business. Unfortunately, she was somehow not allowed to provide business to the community school due to the age limit barrier. This implies that, though the Basarwa have options available for them to make a living, there is less business continuity support and *engagement* and it frustrates the keen ones. Enormous business continuity support is needed. The youth needs to be motivated and skills should be imparted where necessary.

Central theme 7 – Involvement in stakeholder engagement		
Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Business opportunities	Results of this study indicate that the CBNRM programme at Khwai is characterised by projects such as curio gift shops, campsites, community tour operation, and cultural villages, which would provide traditional dishes, accommodation, music and dance (cultural tourism).	According to Mbaiwa (2004) and Thakadu (2005), the CBNRM aims at promoting rural livelihoods and conservation by ensuring community benefits where communities live.
<p>Discussion</p> <p>Regarding new business opportunities, the study notes that people suggested craftwork, walking and canoe (mekoro) safaris as some of the activities that use local skills and benefit communities as activities to venture in, in addition to the existing ones.</p>		

Central theme 7 – Involvement in stakeholder engagement		
Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Government agenda dictates	Data obtained indicate that community participants are concerned that the Government does not effectively consult or involve them in making wildlife management laws in relation to wildlife management in the area. Further to this, the results emphasise that Government officials at the <i>kgotla</i> inform them of issues such as wildlife laws or policies when they are just about to be implemented. An example which the people of Khwai gave, is that of the establishment of protected areas at Chobe National Park and Moremi Game Reserve, as well as the extension of the park boundaries into their communal land.	The results are confirmed by data collected from secondary sources such as Barnes (2019) who argue that much of the wildlife resources in Botswana is public property and control is vested with central government.

Discussion

“The government must implement improvement initiatives in order to rid itself of its bad image”.(Teeuwen, 2011:2). However, it is important to acknowledge that there is a challenge faced by governance reforms in developing countries. Andrew (2004:12) contends that while academics and policy makers are advocating for community participation, “...the micro-level manifestation of participants is highly varied and unsatisfactory”. This, he believes, emanates from many participatory programmes that do not empower communities and foster democratic governance and many are also not sustained for a lengthy period of time.

Central theme 7 – Involvement in stakeholder engagement

Sub-theme 4	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Enabling collective views	The results indicate that the community regards the CBNRM as an organ that was implemented to run alongside other Government development programmes for sustainability, to provide social provision and control with the purpose of presenting an opportunity to facilitate rural development. Therefore, issues of sustainability are addressed through this intervention.	This, in a way, shows some success in that it helps in conforming local expectations and the desires of policy makers.

Discussion

As supported by Shahateet M (2017) the service providers should adopt a holistic approach to tourism destination planning, with multi-stakeholder engagement, to cover the multi-faceted impacts of tourism growth and that emphasis should be placed on the social and cultural aspect of the society which would create a balance between managing tourism flow to acceptable levels, and building local capacity to appreciate the long-term value of conserving their tangible and intangible cultural assets for future generations to celebrate.

Central theme 7 – Involvement in stakeholder engagement

Sub-theme 5	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Projects fail to address needs	As depicted through service providers’ interviews, some programmes such as poverty eradication, <i>Ipelegeng</i> and social grants, and other social development programmes, have been put in place to address the needs and interests of the Khwai community. They have generally	Policy makers’ view is that people are getting on with their lives and the community is slowly progressing and meeting their needs and achieving their interests.

failed due to the ineffectiveness of the implementation process.

Discussion

Accountability on the part of every Government as the main public service provider, is seen as an integral part of community development. This entrenches the aspect of communication, specifically listening, that leads to understanding and effective decision-making processes. The emphasis is on creating a more balanced relationship, in which the voices of those most affected by the decision makers' activities, are not overshadowed by the interests of the most powerful (Blagescu, de Las Casas & Lloyd, 2005).

Central theme 8 – Country reputation

Sub-theme 1	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Tainting country image	Data obtained from the community and decision makers singled out an issue that arose from an international pressure group, Survival International, which took the Government to task through a media campaign and legal battle regarding the land rights for the Basarwa.	The ongoing wildlife and tourism sector resource conflicts between the Basarwa community and the Botswana Government, in some way reduces the potential of <i>wildlife resources</i> to bring revenue from tourists. If measures can be put in place to attend to the conflict situation, it may yield good results in that some residents who resort to poaching in order to sustain their livelihoods and to keep-up with their traditional habits and ways of living, would benefit from tourism revenues and activities instead of resorting to criminal activities like poaching.

Discussion

The Botswana Government is currently experiencing an ongoing tension from a small sector of its citizens and a UK based pressure group. The pressure group is advocating for greater *consultations* and cooperation specifically with reference to the relocation of the *Basarwa* (San) ethnic group from the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve to new Xade with what the Government termed as a development move to integrate the *Basarwa* into a formal community for better provision of service delivery in social services. The study indicates that there is poor *public engagement* between the *Basarwa* communities and the Botswana Government, which results in failure towards achieving sustainable livelihoods of remote area dwellers. The United Nations cautioned the Botswana Government when its representative stated that: “The legacy of past violations on human rights needs to be acknowledged and addressed if the authorities wish to engage in meaningful *consultations* with communities for future projects” (*Sunday Standard Newspaper*, November 30 – 6 December 2014). Reputation is built on policy and communication: It is essential for organisations to practice their set standards (Doorley & Garcia, 2011:17). Therefore, the Government should manage its communication such that reputation management is taken care of.

Central theme 8 – Country reputation		
Sub-theme 2	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Unethical media reporting	The country's reputational image is being tarnished as is portrayed in the media; this is prompted by issues pertaining to the treatment of the Basarwa through some approaches carried out by the Government. This, therefore, resulted in accusations and pressure from Survival International, a UK based pressure group, for the Government to seriously take heed of the rights of the Basarwa.	Much as the media carries out news based on what may be fabricated reporting, the Botswana Government sees the Survival International campaign as malicious and misleading (Former Botswana President Festus Mogae, 2002).

Discussion

The UK based non-governmental organisation, Survival International, is accusing the Botswana Government of aiming to destroy the remaining *Basarwa* communities in the Kalahari Desert. They are advocating for what they term: *right for survival and the right to their land* and demanding the return of the *Basarwa* to their native land. One reason being put forward by Survival International is that the *Basarwa* were moved to pave the way for a new diamond prospect, which would add to the existing diamond mines in the country. This campaign could be covered by the media without verification and result in unethical media reporting.

Central theme 8 – Country reputation

Sub-theme 3	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical perspectives
Mismanagement of Trust funds	Results indicate that some community members are furious that the board of governors for the trust once solicited funds under its auspices, but the beneficiaries got nothing.	Issues of this kind, when reported in the news, portray Basarwa participation in Trust management as bad and it could possibly lead to the Government taking over the Trusts.

Discussions

The then Ngamiland District Commissioner, Michael Maforaga, in a meeting that was convened to settle a dispute between the community and board members, warned the Okavango Kopano Community board to refrain from misappropriating community funds. The residents of the Okavango Kopano Community, which comprises six settlements (Daonra, Ditshiping, Boro, Xaxaba, Xuxao and Xharaxao) accused the board members for misappropriating P30 000.00 (thirty thousand pula), which they received from John Caliz Hunting Safaris, as payment for a hunting concession in the area. With regards to this opportunity for community members, there is a need to guard against mismanagement.

Central theme 8 – Country reputation

Sub-theme 4	Interview Feedback	Literature and theoretical discussions
Basarwa advocacy	Data obtained showcase that, regarding whether the policy makers have succumbed to any pressure, most stated that they have not succumbed to pressure. The results indicate that pressure from advocacy groups regarding Basarwa rights does not have much impact regarding the operations of the service providers and the reputation of the country.	Court cases challenging the exercise were fought to challenge it and some favoured the <i>Basarwa</i> . The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Farida Shaheed, who recently slammed Botswana's marginalisation of smaller tribes, raised a concern despite the court ruling, confirming the right of the Basarwa petitioners to return to the Central Kalahari Game

		<p>Reserve. She called upon the Botswana Government to clarify the matter, as there appears to be what she termed “an overly restrictive interpretation of the court ruling and the right of offspring to remain on the reserve upon attaining the age of 18” (<i>Sunday Standard Newspaper</i>, November 30 – 6 December 2014).</p>
<p>Discussion</p> <p>The Basarwa won the 2006 High Court case, which reflected that there was a failure by the Government of Botswana to adequately consult the indigenous groups on significant decisions affecting them and on matters affecting land rights and resources. It was on 13 December 2006 when the Basarwa won a historic ruling in their long-running court case against the Government. Nobody thought the Bushmen had any rights before their court victory. "Nobody even cared", that is according to the San's British-based advocate and lawyer, Gordon Bennet.</p>		

6.7 CONCLUSION

The study made use of the literature review to identify the research gaps in the available research and to develop instruments that were used in data collection. The semi-structured interviews were carried out with households in Khwai, as well as with decision-makers in the Government and in the community. The study determined the level of community engagement in the decision-making process in the management of natural resources in their local environment. A face-to-face interview was also conducted with the Basarwa community and decision makers to gain first-hand data on issues of community participation in natural resource management. This Chapter analysed, described, displayed and discussed the results of the empirical part of the research as it relates to the main aim of the research questions, the aim of which was to determine the level of community participation in natural resources management in the local environment. The results of the study were structured into the results from the interviews carried out for both community members and policy makers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH RESULTS:

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT OF REMOTE AREA COMMUNITIES IN BOTSWANA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, a conclusive discussion of the research findings, based on the research problem and research questions, is covered. The Chapter presents a proposed *Community Involvement Framework for Remote Area Communities in Botswana*. The secondary and primary research questions, as well as the research problem, as presented in Chapter One of the study, are reviewed and discussed. Subsequently, a theoretical contribution is made in the form of a community involvement conceptual framework. Future research imperatives have been recommended, culminating in the conclusion of the research study.

The study established that there is a lack of harmonisation and coordination of Botswana Government policies and community engagement approaches regarding the Basarwa's wildlife and natural resource utilisation. As a result, there is a need for inclusive participation of community members and, as such, the introduction of appropriate communication approaches or consultation methods, which can reduce conflict amongst different resource users. The recommendation of this study will, therefore, guide the Botswana Government and its stakeholders in supporting the CBNRM programme, the Botswana Government's Remote Area Development programme and other community developmental programmes, through adopting and utilising the proposed community involvement conceptual framework, which would ensure that the remote area dwellers are not just consulted, but are actively engaged in the decisions that affect their livelihoods.

In Chapter One of the study, the author discussed how community involvement and consultation processes for the Basarwa (or the Khwai community) by the Botswana

Government, will empower them and open more sustainable livelihood opportunities for the communities involved, subsequently working towards improving the way they live. In order to achieve effective community involvement, it is imperative that the community's perceptions and needs should be taken into consideration and entrenched, specifically those which can improve their livelihood. Involvement in its current status, as practised by the Botswana Government, implies that the Government should decide on the structure and decision-making processes and the community is encouraged to get involved.

Chapters Two to Five of this study considered the Basarwa's background in wildlife, tourism utilisation management and their sustainable development journey. Theoretical concepts involving participatory, government communication and community involvement were discussed to guide the empirical research, conceptualisation of the study, research design and methodology as undertaken.

The purpose of this research was to investigate the engagement or involvement of the Khwai community of the Basarwa by the Botswana Government in the consultation and involvement processes in areas such as wildlife tourism utilisation and management. As a result, different forms of communication approaches were addressed in this research, with the ultimate aim of developing a conceptual framework to manage the involvement of remote area communities in Botswana. Remote area minority communities should be involved in all stages of the planning and implementation processes as embarked on by the Botswana Government.

7.2 REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section provides theoretical answers to the research questions as reflected in Chapter 1. The review of the research questions addresses findings regarding the community involvement of the Basarwa of the Khwai community in the policy-making processes of the Botswana Government regarding natural resource management for the purpose of their livelihood empowerment and community development.

7.2.1 Addressing the secondary research questions

In presenting the results of this study, it is critical to reiterate the questions which were addressed in this research. The research had a total of six secondary questions, which include the following:

RQ 1: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana be involved in decision-making about the sustainable development of their livelihoods, particularly in the Moremi Game Reserve?

RQ 2: Can the inclusive approach to governance be considered for the governing of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana?

RQ 3: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana be involved in decision-making contributing to the strategic management of their livelihoods in their local environment, particularly the Moremi Game Reserve?

RQ 4: What factors led to a lack of local community engagement and communication in natural resource management, especially with regard to wildlife resources?

RQ 5: What factors should be considered to achieve community involvement of the Basarwa in the Khwai village of Botswana?

RQ 6: How does the dispute about the future of the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana affect the reputation of the country?

The analysis of the findings emerging from the six research questions noted above, addressed the following issues: the involvement of the Basarwa in the decision-making processes on natural resource management in their local environment; factors that cause the lack of local community engagement and communication in natural resource management; sustainable development programmes the Botswana Government has for the Basarwa community; the use of the inclusive approach to governance; and, factors to be considered in community involvement in natural resources management. In addition, this Chapter addresses relevant literature compiled to provide a theoretical answer to the research questions.

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 1

RQ 1: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana be involved in decision-making about the sustainable development of their livelihoods, particularly in the Moremi Game Reserve?

The dominant themes that emerged to address the above research question are: *involvement in financial development* (sub-themes for community: livelihoods fairly successful, programmes top-down, individual empowerment, entrepreneurship benefit; sub-themes for decision-makers: livelihoods sustainability, income and employment generation, less community interest, most projects are top-down); *involvement in social development* (sub-themes for community: less hunting and gathering, change in lifestyles, need for skills, lack of community engagement; sub-themes for decision-makers: introduction to commercial life, destitute housing provision, natural resource management, health and education); and *involvement in environmental development* (sub-themes for community: resource for craft work, tourists source of business, lodges jobs discriminatory, less community decisions; sub-themes for decision-makers: natural resource opportunity, stakeholder input, employment opportunities, top-down decisions).

i. **Theme 1: Involvement in sustainable development: Involvement in financial development**

Financial development or income generation by the Khwai community, from natural resources in their local environment, emerged as the dominant theme that addresses community participation. Community participation in natural resource management at the Khwai village involves the ability of the community to generate income from the tourism industry through the Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme to sustain their livelihoods (Mbaiwa, 2005). This, therefore, indicates that the contribution of CBNRM programmes to combat poverty is currently more in terms of diversification of livelihoods, creating buffers against risk and shocks and empowering and giving a voice to local communities, than it is in terms of income generation (Jones, 2004). Community participation in natural resource management in a local environment has the potential to generate income and

financial opportunities for resident communities such as those of Khwai (Thakadu, 2005). The theme of financial development was found to address factors such as livelihood sustainability that takes place through the community involvement of the Basarwa in decision-making. It is from this background that a link is established between the most relevant sub-themes of livelihood sustainability, income and employment generation, projects are top-down, in the theme *financial development*.

a. Livelihood sustainability

Even though programmes such as the CBNRM programme is meant to address community needs, participants noted that the programmes in their area are characterised by poor performance. Hence, poverty levels in the village remain high, to the extent that one 65 year old lady lameted that: *“Life depends on handouts and social grants”*. This was echoed by another Khwai community old lady, Ms Kwere, who stated that: *“the government is providing them with food baskets handouts on regular basis which most are carbohydrates”*.

Data and information from group discussions at Khwai, by community members and project leaders, as well as other interviews with key informants from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, indicate that the CBNRM programme is generally performing badly. However, contrary to this, the CBNRM is seen to be yielding great benefits and there have been financial returns regionally, specifically in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia (Venter & Been, 1998). This is echoed by one Wildlife Officer for Maun, Mr Mokokwe, who stated: *“CBNRM was implemented to run alongside with other government developmental programmes for sustainability to provide a social provision and control with the purpose of presenting an opportunity to facilitate rural development. This in a way shows some success in that it helps in conforming local expectations and the desires of policy makers”*.

There are financial benefits which contribute to the sustainability of livelihoods; these are attained through natural resources (wildlife), which result from the people of Khwai's community involvement with their local environment. These are indicated in the participants' feedback in the Table below:

Table 18. Benefits accruing to the Khwai's involvement with their environment

Benefits attained through natural resources	Interventions and products: sell items by park gate entrance
Business	Wild flowers tourism, tourism revenue, lodges work discriminatory, no locals employed, cultural artifacts sold to the foreigners
Entrepreneurship	Leather work, exhibit their crafts to tourists for sale, marketing of craftwork, thatching resource business and poles for lodge construction (lodge owners as potential buyers)
Community Based Natural Resource Management benefit	Wildlife activities, right to farm, ecosystem (human natural habitat), stakeholder input, usage of wildlife products
Access to land and parks	Natural resource opportunity, utilisation of natural resources, right to hunt, access to wildlife and wild vegetation, relocation effects (community disturbance), access to wildlife in concession areas

Source: Author's depiction

Results from Table 18 above reflect that there are several other benefits which the Khwai community obtain from their involvement in the decision-making process about their local environment. These include, amongst many, the following: benefits attained through natural resources, business, entrepreneurship, CBNRM benefit, and access to land and parks.

b. Income and employment generation

Similar studies (Thakadu, 2005; Mbaiwa, 2005) in Botswana, have shown that community participation in the CBNRM programme has resulted in socio-economic benefits which include the following: infrastructure development, support for vulnerable groups, some employment, and game meat for the community. Benefits to individual households take the form of jobs and household dividends. CBNRM thus contributes to rural economic diversification and greater livelihood security through the provision of additional livelihood sources. CBNRM was found to have created employment opportunities and generated significant income used to support several community projects such as: assistance for funerals, support for local sport activities, scholarships, transport services, building of water stand pipes, construction of houses for the elderly and needy, assistance to orphans and disabled, and provision of communication tools such as television and radios. These economic benefits from CBNRM, co-management of natural resources between local communities and government, and the formation of local institutions like CBOs, as

well as the role local communities have in decision-making regarding resource utilisation and management in their local environments, have a significant impact on creating positive attitudes towards conservation.

c. Projects are top-down

The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews emphasise what is reflected in the community's view, in that many of the projects in their village follow a top-down approach, hence fail to address the needs of the people of Khwai. Supporting this notion, the community indicated that there is insignificant financial benefit from social developments; they say that the government developmental programmes are limited to the work in the forest, which pays poorly and hardly sustains their lives. They reiterate that most government developmental programmes are of no benefit to them, because they cannot engage in farming related programmes for lack of skills in these activities. On the contrary, Ms Maruping, one of the government officials, says that: *“Basarwa’s needs are being met because they are no more living a nomadic type of lives because they now have permanent structures. Destitute housing is providing shelter to those in need. Furthermore, destitutes, orphans and disabled enjoy a monthly living allowance of P 600.00 a month”*.

The study revealed that the Khwai community experienced some project implementation challenges; the researcher identified them and came up with possible solutions as stated in the Table below. Table 19 illustrates some of the major problems that affect the community projects, which result in poor performance at the Khwai village.

Table 19. Implementation problems with community projects and possible solutions

Problems	Possible solutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CBNRM lacks local understanding irrespective of many workshops conducted • Projects are very complicated for the target groups to manage i.e. boards in place lack managerial skills e.g. secretaries cannot take minutes, lack of knowledge on how to re-invest money in community accounts, failure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for capacity building workshops and seminars to enhance community understanding • Need for community training in operational and managerial skills • Help communities set up small, manageable realistic operations that require little capital outlay and are able

<p>by most local people (including some board members) to interpret their constitution etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too much focus on high-income tourist lodges, operators requiring high loads of organisation and management, thus, requiring too much outside influence • Not enough is being done to boost the resources on which such projects rely e.g. addressing habitat loss and fragmentation • Too much conflict of interest, e.g., local influential people like politicians manipulate the running of the projects • Local skills and participation of elders are neglected • Conflict in management of community wildlife projects due to differences in ethnic background. Management committees are voted in and out without valuable reasons i.e., there are other ethnic groups at Khwai besides Basarwa • Lack of suitable wildlife conservation NGOs to facilitate the implementation of community-based wildlife projects • Lack of community empowerment in wildlife management and migration of young people to towns (e.g. Maun) for better employment and educational activities. 	<p>to use existing skills</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with communities as advisors, not dictators, and help them market their products to potential clients nationally and internationally • Local schools and adult education programmes should provide ecological lessons • Community outreach and workshops vital to sensitise people and make them participate • Need for involving old people in decision-making and implementation of projects • Inclusion of all the different ethnic groups in the management committees i.e., constitution must stipulate the board management procedures • Capacity enhancement by government to wildlife conservation NGOs and support in getting direct links with donor agencies. Need to enhance stakeholders' engagement • Government wildlife policy needs to be directed to empower the local communities and provide necessary social services such as schooling and training for rural development.
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Source: Author's depiction

The above results on the CBNRM programme, and the fact that it is performing poorly, indicate that development programmes that have been put in place by the Botswana Government to address the community needs and interests are not sustainable in their current status. Though this is the case, the CBNRM concept is believed to be based on the recognition that the local people must have power to make decisions regarding their natural resources in order to achieve sustainability in their livelihoods. This does not seem to be the case, as much of the Basarwa input into the decision-making processes is not visible.

ii. Theme 2: Involvement in sustainable development: Involvement in social development

Three of the most relevant sub-themes for the theme *involvement in social development* are: change in lifestyles, need for skills and lack of community engagement. These will be discussed below.

a. Change in lifestyles

Results indicate that some of the developments that took place in the village, like water connection for community households, took place because of an effective political representation through the local councilor. One of the area wildlife officers, Ms Mogatle, stated that some developments in the community: “*include that of water connection for the community households which took place because of an effective political representation through the local councillor*”.

This, in a way, proves that financial benefits could result in viable social developments that impact on the livelihoods of Basarwa communities. However, a 39 year old man, Tshepo Tlharesegolo, stated that: *‘it becomes difficult to sustain their livelihoods since thieves steal what has been provided by the government,.. ‘goats which they we are provided in order to enable us to keep domestic animals, are stolen’*. This is a hinderance to a new way of life. On a positive note, one villager showed delight to the fact that other residents from outside Khwai are now staying in Khwai village and are part of their community because of tourism and hospitality-related job opportunities in their territory.

b. Need for skills

This, then, calls for training and capacity building, since the community has now been introduced to commercial life. There is also a need for stakeholder input - public bodies should review old business practices to establish their effect on the environment and wildlife and to modify the modalities without interfering with the continuity of the old practices. For instance, in Khwai, thatching grass is harvested and offered for sale to the various lodges in the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa, 1999).

The entrepreneurship potential of this form of business could bring income to the community if well organised, managed and appropriately targeted to relevant and reliable markets.

It is, therefore, of utmost importance to treat the drive towards community development as a mission to empower the communities and improve the quality of the lives of the Khwai community. However, this cannot be achieved without community involvement in particular projects. Moreover, there are many other models of participation relevant to the community.

c. Lack of community engagement

The exclusion of community participation in decision-making processes hampers the ideals of sustainable development. This was lamented by Keamogetse Mokowe, a Principal Programme Officer who stated that: “*there is not much government engagement*” which reinforces the notion regarding a lack of engagement in the community. As depicted in the data obtained from the community and service providers: if community involvement and sustainable development is to be achieved, the Khwai community should be involved in the decision-making processes and get direct socio-economic benefits from the Game Reserve. Therefore, engagement and involvement of the public does certainly play an important role towards encouraging community engagement, especially if it serves the purpose of ensuring that the communities’ needs are considered throughout the decision process.

According to the data obtained, community members suggest the following consultation methods for community involvement:

1. Traditional forum and cultural meetings which can be undertaken at *kgotla* meetings
2. Physical consultations which can be undertaken through one-on-one visits and house-to-house consultations
3. Awareness workshops which can be undertaken through interactive activities.

Reporting on programmes to be carried out and implementation evaluations should adopt some changes. One of the policy makers, the Chief Social and Community Development officer, Ms Mbaakanyi says: *“there is need to review the service provider’s reporting template so as to effectively report and to adequately establish what needs to be improved. Our current reporting template only reports about programmes implementation”*.

iii Theme 3: Involvement in sustainable development: Involvement in environmental development

The most relevant sub-themes for the theme *involvement in environmental development* are: utilisation of natural resources, decisions top-down, hunting ban imposed and prior consultations needed. These will be discussed as follows:

a) Utilisation of natural resources

Benefits that are attained by the Khwai community through natural resources (wildlife), include products such as animal hides which they use for a number of things including shoes, sandals, hats and clothing. Through the CBNRM programme, communities have access to concession areas to take care of wildlife, but only at group level and not individually. Access to concession areas to take care of wildlife and natural resources enables the community to use natural resources to do craftwork, handiwork and jewellery. One disadvantage of the access to wildlife is that it is only advantageous to the game park owners. On the other hand, Khwai settlement is seen to be a perturbation of the ecosystem and human natural habitat and eradication of the wilderness picture that tourist customers pay to see. For some community members, wildlife meat benefits them for consumption purpose. One Khwai villager, Ms Kwere said she solicites some limited meat through wildlife animals left overs by wild predators animals but is hindered by the hunting restriction. She, however, lamented that the hunting ban brought about a confinement which saw them now staying in a permanent settlement of their current village, Khwai. She also emphasized that restrictions to hunting affected their religion

and cultural way of doing things. In as far as she is concerned, she believes the wildlife resources were previously highly utilised not only for meat, but for religious purposes and animal skin for making traditional clothes.

Tourists on the other hand, provide the local community with the opportunity to display their crafts to tourists for selling. Some community members are delighted that they do not only get the opportunity to market their cultural artifacts to foreigners, while others cut wooden poles and sell them for usage in the construction of lodges and huts.

b) Decisions top-down

Most of the decision-making about wildlife are top down despite the attempt by CBNRM to decentralise it; the decision to resettle the Khwai community elsewhere away from the Moremi Game Reserve to the current settlement was taken to pave the way for tourism development and wildlife management. An example of a top down approach was a Government Directive on the hunting ban by Mr Neil Fitt which was carried out as a clear example of a top down approach where government impose decisions on local communities without the necessary consultation, though done for the good of the country. As stated by Ms Maruping, the top-down approach brings about a situation that prompts decisions to be taken before consultations and this she believes leads to difficulties regarding buy-in.

c) Hunting ban imposed

The study noted that the community members of the Khwai village were not engaged in the wildlife decision-making process that considered the hunting ban as an example. This was partially supported by one wildlife officer. One community member, Ms Ditshebo Mojeremane, vehemently lamented that they: “...*were not engaged in the wildlife decision making process that considered the hunting ban as an example*”. This was partially supported by one wildlife officer, Ms Mogatle who also acknowledges that. However, she warned that the Basarwa community should take cognisance of the government’s drive aims to conserve wild animals, as it plays

a vital role in Botswana's economic development. Hence, the issuing of special hunting licences that were granted to Basarwa were stopped as it was felt that some species of animals were declining.

d) Prior consultations needed

Though the Botswana Government carried out some consultations regarding the payment of a levy to enter parks, the Khwai inhabitants are unable to pay the fees since they see no need to pay them because they regard the area as historically theirs.

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 2

RQ 2: Can the inclusive approach to governance be considered for the governing of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana?

Chief of the Khwai village, Kgosi Amos, stated that the people at Khwai do not in any way play a part in major policy-making roles specifically in regards to wildlife and natural resource management in Moremi Game Reserve. This was confirmed by Baatlhodi Mokowe, the Principal Programme Officer, who believes that the Khwai community has a minimal impact on the decision-making process. The Principal Programmes Officer, Baatlhodi Mokowe, puts it that since the Basarwa are regarded as those people who lack *molao* (seen as separatist), they do not submit to the norms and code of conduct of the society.

Traditionally, the study of politics entails the concept of the "good life" and the "ideal society," which are broad, hence it includes a cluster of integrated subjects and every possible form of government. The study of governance, on the contrary, is generally aligned to the concept of democracy, and on how the government and the civil society arrive at decisions in meeting citizen needs.

In a quest towards attaining a long-term inclusive and effective community engagement process, as depicted in this study, it is ideal to capacitate and empower key players with the necessary information and knowledge on the modalities of how they should be involved in a participatory process. Based on the current status regarding governance, an analysis was carried out and their effects of governance were depicted through this study.

How governance plays a part in community involvement is discussed in the following themes which were identified from the data: no government direction, lack of community input, *kgotla* meetings used to rubber stamp and opportunity for community to voice their concerns.

Theme 4: Involvement in governance

Under the theme *involvement in governance*, the dominant sub-themes for the community are: no government direction, little policy-makers' feedback and a lack of community input. The community leader cited that the decision regarding them being relocated was not appropriately looked into. He ascertained this by stating that the area around Xakanaka and the Chief's Island within Moremi Game Reserve, the most common destinations of foreign tourists regarded as the hub of tourism activity, used to be their hunting and gathering grounds but were removed from the boundary of XakanaXa to the current Khwai village; this he believes was done through ill promises. *"The government promised the community that once they have moved, they would be provided with basic services"* he narrated. On the other hand, a wildlife officer, Mr Serwe, stated that the decision to resettle the Khwai community elsewhere away from the Moremi Game Reserve to the current settlement, was taken to pave the way for tourism development and wildlife management.

Most respondents cited that the establishment of Chobe National Park and the extension of the Moremi Game Reserve in 1989 affected them in that there was a reduction of their land; and access for hunting and gathering, which they previously had to these areas, was now denied.

Sub-themes for decision-makers are: natural resource opportunity, stakeholder input, employment opportunities, and top-down decisions. The most relevant of these sub-themes are discussed below.

- No government direction (failure by decision makers to provide guidance)
- Lack of community input
- *Kgotla* meetings used to rubber stamp
- Opportunity for community to voice their concerns

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 3

RQ 3: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana be involved in decision-making contributing to the strategic management of their livelihoods in their local environment, particularly the Moremi Game Reserve?

It is essential to deliberate on the strategic management of what takes place during the community involvement of the Basarwa. The following sub-themes were identified from the data: sub-themes for community: limited self-driven individuals, lack of management skills, forest limits opportunities and user-friendly engagements needed; sub-themes for decision-makers: *kgotla* meetings used for rubber stamping, sharing information (policies and programmes) opportunity for community to voice and trusts poorly managed. Some of the most relevant sub-themes are discussed below.

Limited self-driven individuals

Some community members are highly inspired as they are involved in multiple projects. One community member participated in the Ipelegeng project and was offered training and resources to start her business. She is also involved in cultural singing which she performs for the tourists. Not much support is provided to such people. She was frustrated in that there was no business continuity to provide

ingredients for her traditional bakery and she was not allowed to provide the business to the community school due to the age limit barrier.

Lack of management skills

One of the policy makers, the Chief Social and Community Development officer, expressed the view that there is a need to review the service provider's reporting template, so as to effectively report and to adequately establish what needs to be improved. This can go a long way in adding value to the monitoring and evaluation of the community involvement of the Khwai community.

User-friendly engagements

There is provision for the underprivileged and the leasing of campsites to companies which is of some benefit to the community. However, some community members are of the view that this aspect is not handled accordingly. For her part, Boitumelo Thoromo said that they got frustrated when their interest towards participation in the tender award for running Tsaru Campsite did not bear fruit. *“Our interests cannot be realised because our needs are not considered. We as Basarwa are not able to enjoy the fruits of the country since our special game licences were taken away and subsequently we are denied to participate in the available livelihood opportunities that we believe should automatically be provided to us”*, she lamented.

Efforts to involve some community members in entrepreneurship are hampered due to a lack of training, specifically the business skills needed by those awarded funds to establish their own businesses. This, therefore, calls for more user-friendly engagements for community members to be introduced. One of the community members advocated for people to be part of everything related to wildlife and natural resources and be enlightened and have a say about their involvement and benefits.

For the decision-makers' part, a Social Development Officer based in Maun, Ms Bosa, differed with the above analogy. She is delighted with the Botswana Government's social development interventions, however, her take is that there is

room for improvement. She believes that the country needs to put in place relevant policies and interventions that would preserve the remarkable progress already made ever since Botswana attained independence, especially towards improving the social welfare of its people. A wakeup call is prompting the country to have a deeper post-mortem, with an understanding of the sources and nature of the risks that poor and marginalised households undergo; and, therefore, for them it is crucial to come up with appropriate interventions to improve Basarwa livelihoods, reduce vulnerabilities, and strengthen empowerment efforts.

Forests limit opportunities

While limited access to land directly affects the Basarwa's access to wildlife and to veld products, there is said to be an increasing urge among the Basarwa towards cattle ownership as a possible means of subsistence and of social recognition. The areas currently occupied by the Basarwa ought to be kept as wildlife areas in which the Basarwa continue to live.

A limited amount of arable agriculture has as a result not produced any benefits and it is unfortunate that other opportunities are not provided for the Basarwa. On the other hand, restrictions in hunting have made community members to become involved in new economic activities that were previously not part of their traditional economic livelihood.

Trusts poorly managed

Though Trusts are poorly managed, it does not necessarily imply that there are no efforts on the part of the Government to provide support. Regarding this, one Tourism officer, Ms Maruping, had this to say: *“an inclusive governance is usually carried out for example through annual general meetings that are held by Trust Development Associations, which provides an opportunity for the community to voice their needs and concerns and auditors share their budget and advice to the community individuals by assisting on which community project to do”*.

Trust funds collected as payments benefit the community by producing revenues for them. Though they are meant to benefit the community, there is a lot of mismanagement of Trusts.

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 4

RQ 4: What factors lead to a lack of local community engagement and communication in natural resource management, especially with regard to wildlife resources?

Involvement of the community in discussions and decisions about their livelihood are important. Theme 6 informed this research question and sub-themes identified from the data on this topic are as follows: Theme 6: *Involvement in development and participatory communication* include the following: sub-themes for community include traditional forum, free to join politics, Board of Trustee membership, lack of feedback and communication one-way; sub-themes for decision-makers include *kgotla* for soliciting views, free to join politics, Board of Trustees membership, information sharing and need for awareness.

The theme reinforces the need to raise the community awareness on matters of natural resource management. The community can, furthermore, take part in inclusive planning and participation by involvement in politics and being elected as board members. The continuity of the traditional forum in the form of *kgotla* meetings also needs to be effectively utilised.

Based on a response regarding the question on the methods that can be used to effectively discuss issues with the Basarwa communities, the results indicate that participants suggested several consultation methods and approaches as shown in Table 20 below:

Table 20. Consultation and approach methods

Consultation method	Approach
Traditional forum	<i>Kgotla</i> meetings
Physical consultations	One-on-one visits and house-to-house consultations
Cultural meetings	Traditional forum
Sit with Basarwa to talk and discuss	Discussions
Community outreach	Engagement activities
Awareness workshops	Interactive activities

Relevant sub-themes to address Secondary Research Question 4 are discussed below.

Communication one-way

Absence of a bottom-up approach contributes to a lack of community engagement. The study suggests that the community should be consulted before decisions are taken - this has proven to be not achievable through the top-down approach that is the current norm.

***Kgotla* for soliciting views**

That the *kgotla* system is not an effective consultation forum has been discussed in the literature by several authors, for example, Molebatsi (2012:12) who notes:

Kgotla has been defined as an authentic Tswana institution which, according to one traditional leader, “*was created by our forefathers many years ago before recorded history ...*” (Kgosi Seepapitso IV, 1989:212). It is a forum where matters concerning the nation and/or community are publicly discussed (Odell, 1985:62). Every villager is expected to attend *kgotla* meetings and, theoretically, all members of the community can speak freely at such a forum. The *kgotla* is still recognised as the official forum of the village and enjoys high legitimacy compared to other fora at village level. All village institutions derive their legitimacy from the *kgotla*, and decisions taken are viewed as binding on all members of the community.

While the *kgotla* is a system often used in various villages in Botswana as a consultation process in the development of the village, Molebatsi (2012:12) further argues: “The effectiveness of the *kgotla* as a space for participation is a highly contested subject. It has been argued that, contrary to claims of free speech at *kgotla* meetings, discussions are often dominated by the elite. Studies have shown that public meetings are poorly attended. Apart from poor attendance, public meetings are problematic in that, as currently conducted, there are no mechanisms whereby communities can follow up on those issues not well understood during such meetings”.

‘Kgotla meetings may have a particular set time frame times devoted but our efforts and focus is to ensure that we deliver the messages such that we can achieve a buy in and understanding’, a 41 year old participant in this study, Ditshebo Mojeremane, narrated.

Often the practice is that a delegation from the district or national headquarters would address a meeting and thereafter return to base. Poor attendance at *kgotla* meetings has also been attributed to what can be termed ‘consultation fatigue’ that has descended upon local communities. There seems to be hardly any coordination among different government departments to hold joint meetings. Instead, it is quite possible that in one month alone, the local community in a particular village can be addressed by four different departments, all at different times. Even more critical is the observation that there is no guarantee that views expressed at the *kgotla* meetings ever find their way into policy documents.

A 41 year old, Ms Ditshebo Majeremane, stated that, when consulted through *kgotla* forums, the meetings are not that effective as the time set is limited, hence does not give them a chance to digest what is being put forward to them and, therefore, it brings about little understanding regarding what is communicated to them. “*We see people being flown in through helicopters and before we can settle to appreciate what they have for us, they are gone in no time before we can engage them or them engage us*”, she lamented.

The choice of consultation process of *kgotla* meetings, as visible in the survey results, is not effective. From a different perspective, Brown *et al.* (2003), advocate for policy makers to adjust for networked arrangements to be utilised to their full potential. This is seen to be geared towards articulating the community and public bodies' diverse range of views and interests. This then calls for modalities and duration of meetings to be looked into.

Free to join politics and Board of Trustees membership

Community members are highly optimistic that the Village Development Committees (VDC), allow them to be elected or elect other community members as part of the VDC; this, they believe, reflect that the inclusive governance approach can be considered for the governing of the Khwai community. Keamogetse Kwere stated that Village Development Committees (VDC), allows members to be elected or elect other community members as part of the VDC, this provides evidence that inclusive governance can be considered for the governing of the Khwai community. This was reiterated by the Tourism officer, Ms Maruping, who said that the community members are free to stand for political posts and become members of the Board of Trustees.

Need for Awareness

A 29-year old driver for one of the campsites in Khwai, Mr Shadrack Lemponye, was of the opinion that community outreach can serve as a means to achieve community involvement. He is of the view that involvement in this form could ensure that the community can be easily enlightened on what they are to do.

He is optimistic that involvement can be achieved through community outreach programmes. This, he said, could ensure that the community is enlightened on what they are to do.

The tourism officer recommended a bottom-up approach. She believes this would be the most suitable, specifically before decisions are made. There is a lack of buy-in when the bottom-up approach is not followed.

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 5

RQ 5: What factors should be considered to achieve community involvement of the Basarwa in the Khwai village of Botswana?

Theme 7: *Involvement in community engagement* informs Secondary Research Question 5 and includes the following: sub-themes for community engagement include business opportunities, business continuity support, capacity building, community lives differently and government agenda dictates. Sub-themes for decision-makers include: projects fail to address needs, establishment of Trusts, enabling collective views, most projects top-down and livelihoods better.

Achieving community involvement of the Basarwa should provide an opportunity for them to become actively involved in seeking, providing and implementing solutions to their needs. Themes identified from data include: business continuity support, business opportunities, government agenda dictates, enabling collective views, and projects fail to address needs.

The hunting ban which the Botswana Government adopted in 2014 was carried out without appropriate consultation with the communities such as those of Khwai village. Through a Government Directive, Mr Neil Fitt, who was the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Environment and Wildlife and Tourism at the time, informed the public about the ban on the hunting of wildlife in all controlled hunting areas in Botswana with effect from January 2014. The statement from the Ministry continued to note that there would be no quotas, licenses or permits to be issued.

Further discussions of the sub-themes

- i. Business opportunities – there are lots of options for the Basarwa community to venture into business. Community members can engage in business through the utilization of natural resources and Trusts allow people to group themselves to run campsites.
- ii. Business continuity support – community members see themselves establishing businesses but decry the failure of the Botswana Government in providing support in financing their projects and even assisting in market support.
- iii. Capacity building – engaging the community by capacitating them is essential since the skills imparted can enable them to support their livelihoods.

- iv. Community lives differently – Basarwa lives are far different as compared to the past. They now have permanent structures, there is provision of social services such as water, schools and clinics.
- v. Government agenda dictates – Top down approach imposes programmes.

SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTION 6

RQ 6: How does the dispute about the future of the Basarwa community in the Khwai Village of Botswana affect the reputation of the country?

Theme 8: *Involvement in country reputation* informs Secondary Research Question 6 and includes the following: sub-themes for community include public awareness, mismanagement of trust funds, not aware of any and Basarwa advocacy. Sub-themes for decision-makers include: taint country image, unethical media reporting, nature of international media and plight of Basarwa.

Relevant sub-themes identified from the data include: tainting country image, mismanagement of trust funds and Basarwa advocacy. These are further discussed below.

Tainting country image

Results indicate that some community members are grateful that tourists at times bring clothes to donate to their family members. Unfortunately, these gifts from tourists perpetuate dependence on handouts as freebies from government social grants; they promote the image of tourists as kind and caring but demean the Khwai community and present the Botswana Government as not taking care of its own people – which leads to bad publicity for the country in general in the international community.

Negative reports on the Basarwa regarding their treatment and land rights depict a bad reputation for the country. Research analysis shows that policies developed by

decision-makers were never challenged, except for complaints, which much of the time are easily ignored by Government.

Mismanagement of trust funds

The image of Basarwa Trust Funds and their mismanaging of funds portray a bad reputation for the community. This may tempt the Government to take over the running of the Trust affairs.

Basarwa advocacy

Survival International embarked on a media campaign advocating for the Basarwa's rights. They as well challenged the Government by undertaking a number of legal battles regarding the land rights issues for the Basarwa.

7.2.2 Addressing the primary research question

Primary research question: How can the Basarwa community in the Khwai village of Botswana be actively engaged and involved in the social and economic development efforts that address their livelihood, needs and interests?

Community involvement is purposely carried out to help develop and support a better quality of life. In the case of this study, community involvement and participation takes into consideration how the Basarwa community can be effectively engaged by the Botswana Government for the betterment of their livelihood. The success of involvement would bring about what is termed as the power of public participation, since this could lead towards improved services and utilisation of developmental programmes provided by public bodies (Jarvis, 2015).

The study indicates that involvement in financial development plays a major role in the sustainability of the community's livelihood. The findings, furthermore, indicate that the Basarwa community is able to generate income from the tourism industry; therefore, community participation in the local environment creates a much conducive environment for the community to generate income as well as business

opportunities. The study also found that the community is involved in various projects through the CBNRM programme, such as curio gift shops, campsites, community tour operations, and cultural villages which provide traditional dishes, accommodation, music and dance (cultural tourism).

i) Livelihood sustainability

The study indicates that participants see implementation failures in social programmes such as the CBNRM emanating from the problem of implementation. One example they gave is that programmes such as the CBNRM are meant to achieve the needs and interest of the Khwai community, but to them these programmes have generally failed at implementation, which makes it difficult to sustain their livelihood, since thieves steal what has been provided by the Government.

ii) Income and employment generation

Whilst skills are imparted through the Botswana Government's poverty eradication social upliftment programme, there is no continuity, due to a lack of resources; and where resources are availed, and there is no adequate utilisation visible.

The community produces products for the local and tourism markets. Artefacts produced are bought by tourists and thatching grass and poles are utilised by the lodges that are subsequently used by tourists. Therefore, tourism plays a vital role in terms of income generation for the Basarwa community and it ensures that there is community involvement in the decision-making processes. This is supported by Bello *et al.* (2016) who emphasise that tourism can be a strategy for enhancing local community livelihoods around protected and conservation areas. This is because the benefits generated offer alternative economic livelihoods to local communities (Mayer *et al.*, 2010).

Some Basarwa are highly skillful in cultural craftwork (as showcased in Figure 14) e.g, the weaving of baskets (Mbaiwa 1999; Bolaane, 2000) that are sold to tourists,

but as confirmed by the study, there is no market viability. The Basarwa do not have the capacity to conduct market surveys, or have the means of transportation to reach places with buying potential.

Figure 14: Picture depicting a young Mosarwa girl selling traditional craftwork



Source: Depicted by the author

The study, furthermore, shows that the community is willing to engage in additional activities and they contribute ideas such as walking and canoe (*mekoro*) safaris, as some of the activities that they can use through their local skills which can subsequently benefit the communities. Participants also suggested that non-consumptive tourist projects such as photographic tourism and related tourist spin-off projects like a craft industry and bakery are appropriate for the Khwai village. Public bodies should also review old business practices to establish their effects on the environment and wildlife and to modify the artifacts without interfering with the continuity of the old practices. For instance, in Khwai, thatching grass is harvested to be sold to the various lodges in the Okavango Delta (Mbaiwa, 1999). One respondent, Ms Mmaborotho, says that she takes part in the cutting of grass every season to sell for thatching huts and lodges. The business potential of this form of

activity could bring income to the community if well organised, managed and targeted to relevant and reliable markets.

The fact that the Khwai community does not have a market for their tourism products, suggests that they have insignificant benefits in their local area. Studies (e.g. Mbaiwa, 2008; Chambers, 1993) have shown that where there is poverty, local communities degrade the environment. The Central Statistics Office (CSO) further notes that poverty in these districts is widespread (CSO, 2008). The CSO (2008) indicates that poverty headcount in western Okavango stands at 50% to 60% (Figure 4). This, therefore, shows that the current approach of lack of community involvement in resource management has contributed to poverty in the area.

The study notes that, as much as there are projects being implemented (such as poverty eradication programmes amongst others), in as far as agricultural programmes are concerned, there is a limited amount of arable agriculture. The reason for this is that work is limited to that in the forest, pays poorly and hence hardly sustains their livelihoods. This, therefore, means that most government developmental programmes are less beneficial to the Khwai community, as they cannot engage in farming related programmes. However, this does not necessarily mean the end towards finding ways and means for the establishment of farming projects for the community and individuals. This could be explored further, also considering instances where Khwai crops are destroyed by wild animals such as hippos and elephants.

Efforts undertaken by the Government are hindered by communication challenges. For her part, Ms Molemoofe, who is one of the community members, is of the view that poverty alleviation and social development programmes offered to them, lack their input regarding how they can better utilise them if they were initially consulted prior to their implementation. She states: *“We are only informed about the programmes and offered funds on what they (service providers) assume we could participate in which results into funds being not appropriately utilised”*.

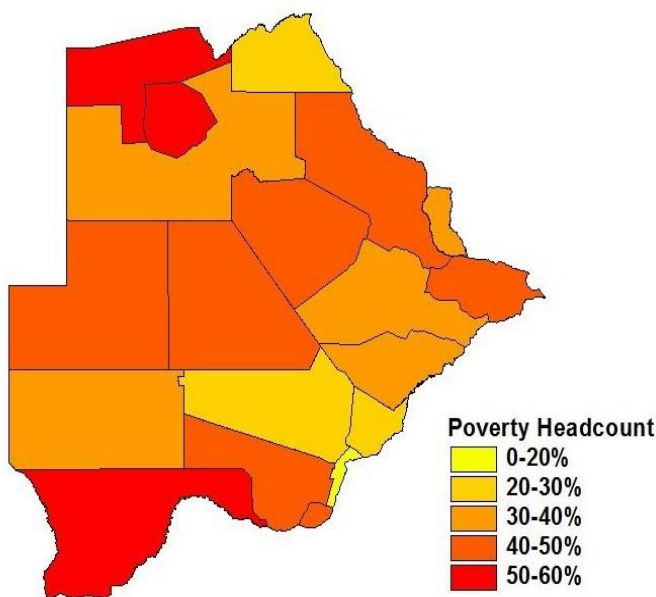
The study shows that the community regards sustainable programmes, carried out by the Government, to be of no financial benefit in as far as social developments are concerned.

The Special Game Hunting License previously allowed them to hunt without prohibition. New restrictions in hunting should be decided through their inputs as their dependency on hunting activities was hampered by the new regulation.

This, then, would keep the Basarwa living in continuous poverty. Once there is poverty, there is a likelihood of environmental degradation and wildlife poaching, which could lead to conflict with the wildlife and tourism authorities.

The map below in Figure 15 depicts levels of poverty in Botswana. Khwai village is located within the Ngamiland area at the top left, highlighted in red.

Figure 15: Botswana poverty headcount map



Source: Central Statistics (2008)

iii) Introduction to commercial life

Results indicate that projects are very elaborate and complicated for the target groups to manage i.e. boards in place lack managerial skills; secretaries cannot take minutes; there is a lack of knowledge on how to re-invest money in community accounts; and there is a failure by most local people (including some board members) to interpret different sections of their constitution.

Eagerness for the Basarwa to take part in tourism business is hampered by some challenges. This was echoed by one youthful member of the community who had this to say: *“My wish is that we be given the opportunity to take over the running of some campsites, but our efforts were frustrated in that we are not given the opportunity to do so”*.

There is said to be an increasing urge among the Basarwa towards cattle ownership as a possible means of subsistence and social recognition. The areas currently occupied by the Basarwa ought to be kept as wildlife areas in which the Basarwa continue to live. By allocating the Basarwa the responsibility for wildlife management, the wildlife can be protected and the Basarwa gainfully employed. The land rights issue has one aspect related to the Basarwas' rights at present and in the future, but it may have one retroactive perspective concerning a need to rectify past mistakes or injustice.

The need for awareness training on matters involving cultural change calls for a drastic capacity building intervention that should be administered because the community is already embroiled and engaged in new economic activities that were previously not part of their traditional economic livelihood. One view by a community member shared is as follows: *“Community Trusts should also train the community on what they are to embark on”*, he reiterated. This was stated by Boitumelo Thoromo, a 33 year old Khwai community lady, who says the reason people do not effectively participate or are involved, is due to lack of training, specifically business skills for those awarded funds to establish their own businesses.

iv) Involvement in environmental development

Results also highlighted the lack of community empowerment in wildlife management and migration of young people to towns (e.g. Maun) for better employment and educational activities. On the other hand, community projects can be viable because there is a strong traditional institution in the area.

Through this study, it emerged that lack of business continuity support is a hindrance towards effective livelihood sustainability. This study, therefore, suggests that some buy-in in the form of cultural change involving drastic capacity building should be administered, since the community is being introduced to a new culture, i.e., new economic activities that were previously not part of their traditional economic livelihood.

The sustainable projects that the Government encourages the community to engage in, should consider their needs. There is evidence that some development programmes that the Botswana Government has put in place for the community, which are meant to address the community's needs and interests, are not sustainable in their current status. The study established that even though the CBNRM programme is meant to address the community needs, developmental programmes in the Khwai area are characterized by poor performance; hence poverty levels in the village remain high. On the other hand, Chief of Khwai Kgosi Amos, indicated that: *"the government developmental programmes are limited to the work in the forest whereas, what they do is not much sustaining, and most government developmental programmes are of no benefit to them as they cannot engage in farming related programmes"*.

Data and information from group discussions of community members and project leaders at Khwai, as well as other interviews with key informants at the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, indicate that the CBNRM programme is generally performing badly. However, contrary to this, the CBNRM is also seen to be yielding great benefits and there have been financial returns regionally, specifically in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia (Venter & Been, 1998).

Against the above background, the study suggests that the Basarwa will continue to live a dependent life in the future and that they could fail to effectively carry out activities that could generate an income. Efforts to empower them would only be limited to imparting new skills and receiving food rations.

7.3 ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

In addressing the research problem, as per the statement below, the study endeavours to answer the statement as reflected in Chapter One of this study:

Not much is known about the extent of involvement of remote area minority communities in the strategic decision-making, policy development and implementation of programmes of the Botswana Government. As a result, resource conflicts occur at ground level between local communities and wildlife managers, amongst others. The study analyses the involvement of the Basarwa community in the Khwai village in Botswana, in wildlife and tourism programmes that consider the needs and interests of their community, and develops a community involvement framework enshrining an integrative strategic communication management theory.

This study, therefore, argues that the Basarwa community of the Khwai village in Botswana should be involved in their community development and land relocations so that their voices and views can be taken into consideration, to influence sustainability and policymakers' decision-making processes, thereby creating empowerment opportunities and nurturing community relations. The study contributes to research on stakeholder engagement in the African context, which has been limited thus far.

Community involvement processes, put in place by the Government of Botswana through the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP), lack strategies that can develop the Basarwa communities in Botswana, but more specifically the Basarwa community in the Khwai village, on matters of their social and economic empowerment. The conservation of wildlife resources at the Moremi Game Reserve is an endeavour by the Botswana Government to promote tourism in the Reserve.

Results from community leadership indicate that the Khwai community has a minimal impact on the decision-making process. Basarwa communities, being marginalized and somehow poor, seem not to have the self-esteem and self-confidence to engage with the policy makers at *kgotla* meetings as they see the Government as only “being

a provider of free services”; while the community members themselves portray an attitude of continuous dependence as seen in most developing countries.

Lack of understanding seems to contribute to the community’s reluctance to participate in policy matters and the Government’s top-down approach makes matters worse. Capacity building that is offered in the form of training and resource provision, in some cases as a startup for the community business establishment, often does not have continuity; it is only carried out as a once-off phenomenon. There is also evidence that lack of inspiration hinders the youth to undertake business, pursue studies or to work. Free allowances from the Government also deters the youth from pursuing worthwhile engagements.

i. Involvement in governance

There is conflict in the management of community wildlife projects due to differences in ethnic background. Management committees are often voted in and out without valid reasons, i.e., there are other ethnic groups at Khwai besides the Basarwa.

As deduced from this research, participants feel that the bottom-up approach should be advocated for matters regarding community involvement in decision-making. As expressed by the people on grassroots level, it is deemed of utmost importance for the purposes of governance and developmental programme implementation to come up with effective and more inclusive communication initiatives. For this purpose, the strategic communication management for governance initiatives should consider community feedback on governmental development programmes. Efforts such as annual general meetings that are held by Trust Development Associations, provides an opportunity for the community to voice their needs and concerns; and auditors share their budget and advise which community individuals to assist and which community projects to embark upon. However, the forums of this nature do not benefit the community as there is a lack of participation. One of the officers interviewed, Ms Maruping, sees the conduct of Annual General Meetings as a means that enhances the effective way of participatory planning. Feedback is essential for inclusive community participation. The Botswana Government, as the service provider, can seek out views about the aspirations and values, as well as

concerns by soliciting feedback. Hence the decision-makers can be better informed to deal with the community needs.

This is, therefore, vital, in that the community feedback is needed and essential for it to be utilised in inclusive community participation. The research noted that livelihood sustainability failed to achieve what both the Botswana Government and the Basarwa community endeavoured to fulfil.

ii. Strategic decision-making

There is currently a lack of suitable NGOs focusing on wildlife conservation, who can facilitate the implementation of community-based wildlife projects. Although the Botswana Government tends to design programmes that benefit local communities and alleviate poverty, the data indicate that there is still a lack of effective and appropriate strategic interventions that could drive the service delivery of the community development efforts of the Botswana Government. This is also the notion held by various public bodies. In support of the same notion, a concern was raised by the Botswana Institute of Development Policy as derived from the research data obtained, that Botswana's development efforts are crippled by a lack of effective communication strategies.

As there is more demand for the effectiveness of social development provision by the community, a drastic step that involves long-term strategic planning is necessary and, therefore, appropriate methods of community engagement should be utilised based on the current trends. To this regard, strategic communication and management should encompass participatory planning opportunities to ensure active involvement and direct participation of the community in the implementation of Government developmental programmes, specifically in an endeavour to promote the participation of marginalised societies of the remote dweller communities.

iii. Project implementation methods

Results indicate that sustainability is also addressed through some interventions that are carried out together with Government development programmes such as

CBNRM. Data reflect that the community sees the CBNRM as a programme that was implemented to run alongside other Government development programmes for sustainability, to provide social provision and control with the purpose of presenting an opportunity to facilitate rural development. Issues of sustainability are addressed through this intervention. This, in a way, shows some success in that it helps to confirm local expectations and the desires of policy makers.

Though decisions, such as the implementation of the CBNRM programme, often take place through a top-down decision-making process, such as the one undertaken by policy makers, there is evidence that service providers are currently addressing community needs, which is noticed to have taken place in various regions. The CBNRM programme is yielding great benefits and there have been some financial returns. This is supported by one study showing the good results regionally, indicating: Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia (Venter & Been, 1998).

Through this study, it is evident that the Basarwa community is living a sustainable life in that some of the developments that are taking place in the village, like water connection for community households, are as a result of an effective political representation through the local counsellor. The study establishes that, though there are limited job opportunities created due to the tourism and hospitality activities in the area, there is evidence that financial benefits could result in viable social developments that impact on the livelihoods of Basarwa communities and, therefore, are necessary in terms of meeting the needs of the community. One villager appreciated the fact that other residents from outside Khwai, work and stay within their community because of tourism and hospitality related job opportunities in the area.

Considering the above, too much conflict of interest, e.g., among local influential people like politicians, often manipulates the running of the projects.

iv. Less community interest

One respondent of youth community, Mr Saleekae, stated that the community youth is not motivated. He reiterated this by stating that: *“This makes it difficult for us to be engaged or get us involved in projects which we are told are geared towards developing us to start up some income generating businesses. Our interests on matters of taking part in tourism and wildlife ventures are not realized”*. Lack of motivation is coupled with other aspects such as the manner in which consultations are carried out.

The choice of *consultation* process of *kgotla* meetings, as visible in the research results, is not effective. Previous studies confirmed through Mr Ray Molomo, that *kgotla* meetings, although they are regarded as a cultural phenomenon, are predominantly used by the Botswana Government to rubber stamp public policies. Theorists support this notion - their view is that consultation is not about rubber stamping or endorsing a decision that has already been taken, but rather should be informed, open and transparent with the drive towards effectively influencing any final decision to be adopted (John *et al.*, 2013:83). *Kgotla* meetings should instead allow the community to voice any concerns with a particular project, and to find applicable solutions that can resolve issues raised by community members. Therefore, simply conducting a *kgotla* meeting is not sufficient for community involvement. Consultation meetings need to come up with processes and approaches of participation that are clear and define the levels of achievement as they progress with the project or involvement.

This aspect is reiterated by Lambi *et al.*, (2012) who is of the view that, in order to ensure that effective conservation and sustainable management takes place, it is of paramount importance that after due consultation with the local communities, the Government should ensure that the regulations and laws put in place are adaptable, applicable, acceptable and enforceable with emphasis on a participatory approach for the purpose of meeting the *needs and aspirations* of the communities.

The coordination of meetings comes into play by bringing together interdependent parts into an ordered relationship to produce a whole. According to Mulford and

Rogers (1982), coordination essentially occurs when there is a need to align or orchestrate people, tasks and specialised interventions in order to achieve a predetermined goal or mission. Here, organisations remain separate from each other, but share information on joint plans and make decisions to contribute to a specific programme. To illustrate the lack of participation by local communities in the decision-making process, participants noted: *“there is poor governance in terms of the CBNRM programme”, “there is little or no consultation. However, the Village Development Committees (VDC), allow members to be elected or elect other community members as part of the VDC. This provides evidence that the inclusive governance approach can be considered for the governing of the Khwai community”*.

While a forum in the name of a *kgotla* exists to allow for community participation in the decision-making process, empirical data show that there is a lack of local community involvement in the decision-making process on natural resource management in their local environment, particularly the Moremi Game Reserve. Empirical evidence also indicates that there are many channels that are used to convey information. The *kgotla* (the village meeting place or public square) is one of the fora used for meetings; it is the main form of consultation and, as such, the main communication channel.

In this current study, it was established that the traditional communication forum approach is seen to be the main method used with the purpose of achieving community involvement, in that *kgotla* meetings are used to educate and inform the community about planned development programmes. It seems to be the only forum used to consult with communities and the impression is that the Government uses it to rubber stamp their policies. The challenge is, therefore, that *kgotla* meetings do not provide a useful consultation exercise, as they are normally not carried out in a coordinated manner. If, as established in the findings, the community members destroy meeting referral documents or papers issued to them at the end of meetings, it may imply that there is likelihood that they cannot appreciate written material probably, since they cannot read. Therefore, colourful graphically illustrated and an interesting form of material should be provided for those who cannot read.

Findings from the literature (Hitchcock, 2019; Mbaiwa, 2005) confirm this, by stating that the Basarwa (not only in Botswana but also in Southern Africa) do not have any major role in policy-making regarding wildlife utilisation and management in their respective areas. Policies are formulated at the centre and government officials disseminate information to the local people through the *kgotla* about how such wildlife policies and laws should be implemented. The fact that local communities are mostly not involved in wildlife policy formulation means that they often have no control over land and wildlife resources.

The challenge is that the inclusive approach seeks to involve community members of a marginalised society who regularly face marginalisation themselves, hence there is a need to give them a sense of confidence and self-worth.

The study established that there is currently little or no inclusive participatory planning. Therefore, development projects are brought to the community without their input, whereby the community is only consulted on the programmes planned for them by the Government. This, in a way, brings about a total failure on matters of inclusive governance on the part of the Government. It is of paramount importance to appreciate that a bottom-up approach would be the most suitable, specifically if carried out before decisions are taken, as this will ensure adequate consultation. There is evidence that some policy makers acknowledge that there could be a lack of buy-in if the bottom-up approach is not adopted. This was also solidified by some community members who reiterated this aspect. The Basarwa should, therefore, be involved in what they wish to do, not what the Government wants them to do.

This, therefore, can result in the idea of social exclusion which, in a way, has conceptual connections with well-established notions in the literature on poverty and deprivation (Sen, 2000). It can then seem that if there is an ongoing social exclusion, poverty and deprivation will continue to take place until such a time when the inclusive governance approach is used, that would take cognisance of the community needs and wants by incorporating them into community development plans. From this perspective, it is essential for the Botswana Government to select appropriate linkage mechanisms and governance arrangements.

Against the above background, the Botswana Government was found to be having programmes designed to benefit local communities and alleviate poverty. The research showed that there is a lack of effective and appropriate strategic communication interventions that could drive the service delivery of the Botswana Government's community development efforts in general, which seems to be the view of various reports by public bodies on the matter.

7.4 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT FRAMEWORK

The proposed *Community Involvement Framework for Remote Area Communities in Botswana*, comprises of nine phases which were formulated to achieve community involvement in the formulation of policy decisions that play a pivotal part in the livelihoods of the Basarwa.

The nine phases are namely;

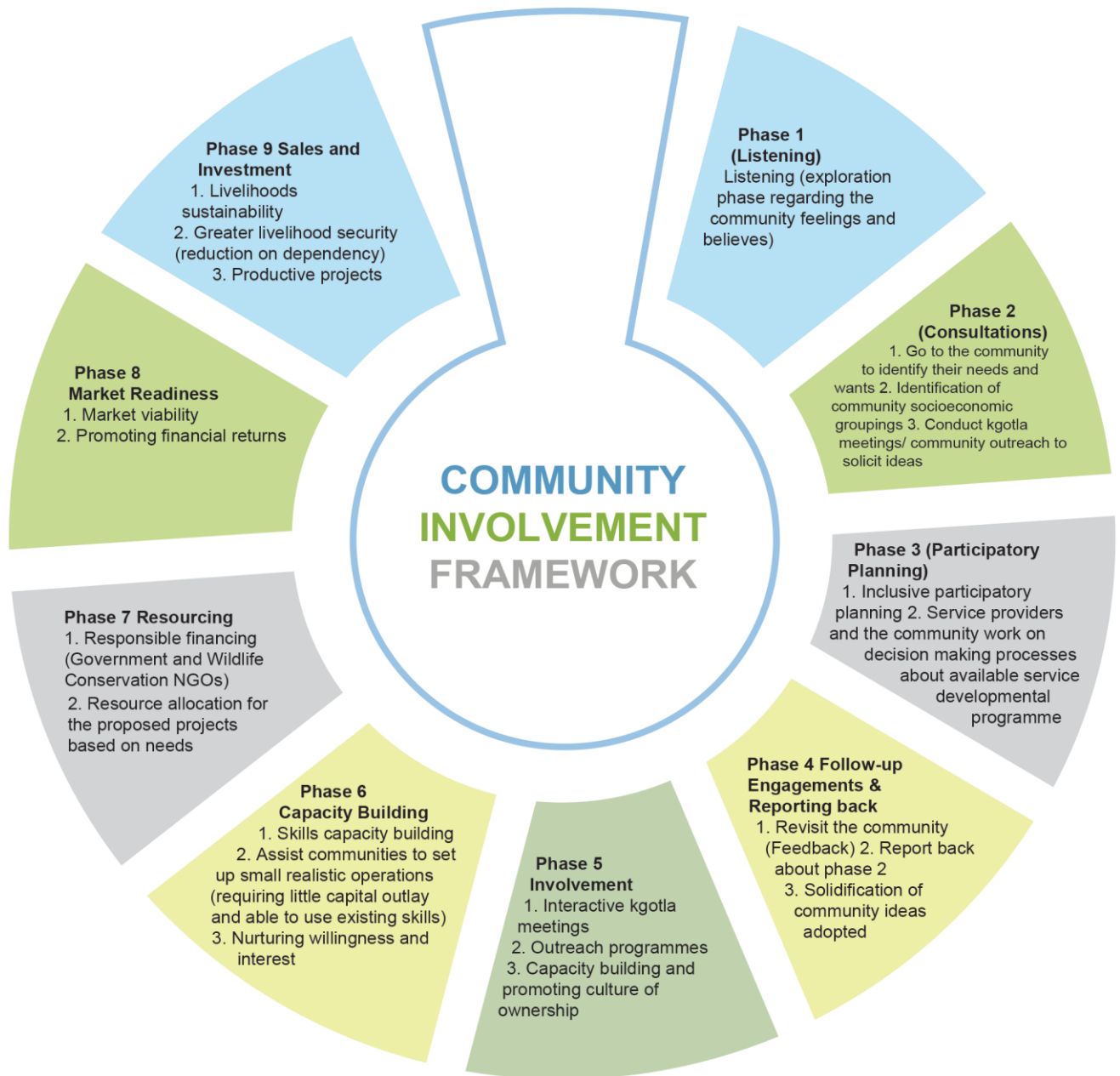
- i. Listening
- ii. Consultation
- iii. Participatory planning
- iv. Follow-up engagements and reporting
- v. Involvement
- vi. Capacity building
- vii. Resourcing
- viii. Market readiness
- ix. Livelihood sustainability

The aim of the framework is to provide a theoretical contribution in the form of a conceptual framework that could strengthen the initiatives aimed at empowering and capacitating individuals, families and communities of the Basarwa. Through the framework, communication approaches are aligned and interlinked, such that they would create an effective communication technique.

Though similar studies have been carried out, that which combined and extends concepts of Arnstein and Mullen (2008), the focus of their framework was more to gauge the degree of public involvement. Though it is essential to establish as to what extent the community is involved, it is necessary to engage the Basarwa without manipulating them, but rather to seek their participation in the decision-making processes. The community involvement framework for remote area dwellers in Botswana that this study developed is unique in that it follows phases that drive community involvement for sustainable development.

The proposed framework provides new information on how the practice of community involvement can ultimately contribute towards appropriate decisions about the development of the marginalised community, in this case, the Basarwa. It is through this framework that an inclusive participation for the effectiveness of community development programmes, as provided by the Botswana Government, can be achieved.

As reflected in figure 16 the interpretation of the framework is as follows:



Author's own depiction

Figure16: Community involvement framework for remote area communities in Botswana

The framework showcases nine phases that are initialised by relaying information through consultation processes geared towards identifying the needs of the community. The participatory planning phase engages the community to come up with decisions regarding the manner in which their developmental programmes can be implemented. A follow up and reporting back is done to solidify the community views and gauge understanding. The involvement phase incorporates *kgotla* forums, community outreach and cultural change awareness. Once resources have been

availed, capacity building takes place, which would reinforce market viability and readiness preparedness that will nurture the community's livelihood sustainability as well as reduction on dependency.

The *Community Involvement Framework* as shown in Figure 16 is composed of nine phases is discussed below:

Phase 1: Listening

This phase involves taking views into account without promises of direct influence. This could include methods as simple as a walk through the village, or capturing people's chats, conversations and songs. This phase involves just what can be captured by hearing and achieving mutual understanding on development matters. Ideas regarding the community needs, concerns and interests are explored.

Phase 2: Consultations

During this phase, service providers get access to the community with the purpose of identifying its needs and wants. The phase also involves conducting *kgotla* meetings. The consultations are meant to provide an opportunity for the community to express their views regarding their needs, wants, beliefs and perceptions in relation to issues or proposed projects and/or plans.

In this phase, the Khwai community's socio-economic groupings are defined and a selection of people that would be involved in the intensive participatory planning is carried out. Socio-economic groupings will include, but are not limited to: farmers, handicrafts, orphans, elders, traditional healers and entrepreneurs.

Phase 3: Participatory planning

Participatory planning involves the community representatives who would utilise the information obtained during Phase 2, some of which will be drawn from a situational analysis. The latter would subsequently inform the formulation of an action plan that

would be geared towards fulfilling the desired outcomes based on the needs and wants of the community. Subsequently, capacity building will inculcate what the plan reflects. Community members will map out the natural resources, deriving the nature, quality and accessibility of the assets and issues they have identified.

During Phase 3, the community is engaged and informed about available service providers and development programmes. Capacity building for community representatives and officers involved, also takes place to contribute to decision-making processes. Existing skills and realistic operations need to be emphasised during this phase.

Phase 4: Follow-up engagements and reporting back

Revisiting the community to inform them on what transpired during the participatory planning session takes place during Phase 4. Participants report on community ideas adopted based on what they suggested in Phase 2. The community is briefed on the training for the community representatives and the participatory planning they were involved in.

Phase 5: Involvement

During this phase, the people are educated on the community plan, with the purpose of inculcating a culture of ownership. There should be no discrimination among the community members in the selection of members for groups for the involvement exercise. Gender equality should be ensured in all development activities. There should be a clean and transparent system of accountability at grassroots level.

Community participatory communication should be aligned with the Botswana Government's strategic communication programmes, with a drive towards nurturing collective understanding about issues that are critical for the Basarwa community, with the purpose of enhancing ownership of decision-making on policy matters. Therefore, a bottom-up approach should be adopted as compared to the top-down approach as reflected in the study findings.

Phase 6: Capacity building

In Phase 6, it is essential to ensure that the communities are empowered to implement the community plan. Financial support in the area of training is vital - capacity building in wildlife and natural resource management is specifically needed. The training should also include an awareness workshop for stakeholders and the Government should engage and utilise NGOs specialising in wildlife conservation.

As observed in this study, it is crucial to acknowledge that, for an effective engagement to take place, the community should show a willingness to engage. Therefore, merely providing the community with more educational information is not the only determining factor for enhancement and understanding of participatory efforts. Local schools and adult education centres should also provide ecological lessons.

Phase 7: Resourcing

Resources are vital towards bringing relevant answers to the social welfare and developmental programmes geared towards developing livelihoods of the community. The Botswana Government, based on these objectives, has set limits through the National Settlement Policy of 1998, upon which socio-economic development, particularly social services such as schools, health facilities, roads, and tribal administration, can be provided. Scattered and small settlements have been encouraged to group together to form one village in order to benefit from government resources.

Support organisations and funding agencies should be identified during this phase. Specialised personnel in community development are needed to provide the necessary skills. Clearer and effective natural resource strategies, geared towards guiding decisions on resource allocation for the proposed projects, need to be synergised. The focus should be on creation of a positive attitude towards conservation.

Therefore, the effectiveness of development and implementation of the Government social welfare programmes can only take place if resources are adequately provided to address the identified community needs.

Phase 8: Market readiness

To market and advertise locally and internationally and to do community marketing – word-of-mouth promotion can be employed. A sponsored community marketing effort taking part in the exhibitions and providing a free venue for products should be displayed at strategic venues.

Phase 9: Livelihood sustainability

The community's view is that CBNRM was implemented to run alongside other Government development programmes for sustainability, to provide social provision and control with the purpose of presenting an opportunity to facilitate rural development. Therefore, issues of sustainability are addressed through this intervention. Hence, sustainable livelihoods (societal value) require proper consultation, implementation and evaluation. This, in a way, shows some success in that it helps in conforming local expectations and the desires of policy makers.

This is to monitor and evaluate the implementation process, especially the progress and challenges of the community projects and stakeholders' input. During this phase, it should be established if the programmes, community opinions, ideas and concerns are given due weight and consideration. It is also necessary to ensure that the goals in the action plan are achieved and a substantial reduction on dependency of the community on external support is realised.

7.5 EXPLICATING THE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT FRAMEWORK

The communication strategies and approaches planned for usage provide people and service providers with powerful tools, both to bring about change and to actually guide the community involvement. The community involvement framework that was formulated, showcases steps to help develop a deep understanding of how the Basarwa can be effectively involved in decisions that affect their livelihood. Involvement of the community has proven to be essential in every phase of the framework. Hence, every phase plays a contributory role towards the achievement of the goal that seeks to create effective community involvement.

One goal of the study was to establish how the Basarwa community can participate in decision-making processes. A positive change in the community development process will depend upon how the community influences policies and developmental programmes. This calls for community leadership and political representation. It is crucial to feel the vacuum of representation at political level, because at the moment the Basarwa do not have a single member of parliament. The Basarwa should be represented in the Botswana parliament for them to voice their problems and needs, and to contribute to decision-making processes. This calls for successful implementation - specific inputs such as innovations, infrastructure, stakeholders, heritage, resources and partnerships - which are transformed using capabilities, strategies and policies in order to achieve output that constitute activities in community development.

For the effective involvement of the community to take place, there is a need for a conducive environment for active community engagement that will bear results. The Botswana Government has a responsibility, as the service provider, to create such conducive ground for the Basarwa, especially when carrying out particular tasks and when formulating decisions that deal with the problems of the community. It is necessary for the Government to be considerate by recognising the community limitations. Therefore, the Government should keep individual community members actively involved in everything that the community does. However, it should be noted that change in community development processes will be dependent upon the Basarwa's active participation. The result of active participation will likely enable

individual community members to influence policies and programmes that would affect the quality of their lives.

The crucial purpose of the involvement of the Basarwa in matters of their community, is to realise ways and means of empowering the community; and for empowerments to take place, resources have to be available. One theme that is intertwined with resources is capacity building. Capacitating the Basarwa would provide an increased scope of dimension that would motivate the community to engage in developmental work, specifically regarding knowledge, commitment and resources. Therefore, the capability of the Basarwa community to handle developmental challenges, whether innovative, demonstrated knowledge, skills, behaviours and organised processes and tools, are crucial for the utilisation of wildlife and natural resources.

For community development to thrive in the case of the Basarwa community, a variety of resources are required, such as tourism resources, human resources, governmental resources, economic resources and others. From this perspective, land, farmers, extension officers (both from agriculture and tourism departments), national government, entrepreneurs and trained service personnel are all required to upskill the community. The Basarwa need knowledge and skills in order for them to articulate their priorities in terms of their needs. Funds and resources can empower the Basarwa and place them at a greater level of community involvement in as far as engagement in Government developmental programmes and participating in decision-making as well as entrepreneurial activities are concerned. Apart from financial support, the Government can also provide non-financial services, such as training of labour and management skills, counseling, marketing and information as well as technology development. As a way to assist those venturing into agriculture, the Government can help select farm holiday businesses to market by providing information, advice and showcasing that which can help to encourage agro-tourism business. This can benefit the Basarwa community, because an empowered community is capable of initiating self improvement efforts.

Consultations play an important role for the Basarwa community, to have an exposure that would enable increased opportunities for community driven developments. The Basarwa community are able to generate income from the tourism industry; therefore, community participation in the local environment creates

a much conducive environment for the community to generate income as well as business opportunities, hence the effectiveness of involvement will go a long way towards attainment of income generating avenues.

Community consultations that are usually carried out through the *kgotla* system, need to provide adequate understanding of what is disseminated to the community. The *kgotla* system should consider following up engagements and reporting back because feedback is crucial to get communication clarity and to solidify understanding. Relaying information should be packaged such that it caters for the audience and listening to what the community put forward is critical. Dealing with crystal clear communication will certainly help open up new ideas on sustainability.

Building trust and engaging people at *kgotla* meetings should be geared towards seeking support and developing a sense of ownership and inclusive buy-in. This, in a way, can represent a people-centred approach to social change, which would enable the Basarwa community to fully participate in developmental programmes, as presented by the community development officers of the Botswana Government. This can result in the livelihood sustainability of wildlife and natural resources that can also enhance the implementation of CBNRM alongside other Government development programmes for sustainability. A people-centered approach entrenches a bottom-up approach that is critical in participatory planning. Engaging the community in participatory planning would ensure that people's needs and preferences are incorporated. Therefore, a people-centred approach is necessary in order to meet the needs of community members and ultimately guide the community support and services, as well as contribution towards the formulation of the decision-making process.

In order for the market readiness of the Basarwa community to be realised, it is of utmost importance to establish an intended market mechanism that is operational and profitable for Basarwa products. Therefore, components of market readiness should be drawn based on previous experience, to provide insights on the financing needs, timeframes involved, and the need for co-ordinated capacity building efforts. There is also a pressing need for the community to embrace diversification in the face of the current preservation of wildlife and natural resources, as tourism is amongst the lucrative economic contributors to the country.

Whilst handicraft sales are limited for tourism market targets, they do not contribute much income to the community. It is vital for Basarwa products to find their way into national markets and subsequently international markets through exhibitions and trade fairs. Thatch grass products can find ways into the building industries especially hotel and lodges' roof thatching. It is vital for the Basarwa to come up with coordinated production and supply that will bring revenue to their community.

This study is expected to provide a reference point for social welfare officers when devising community development strategies and packages - to be cognisant of how they can unpack government social development interventions.

7.6 PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study argues that the Basarwa community of the Khwai village in Botswana should be involved in their community development and decision-making processes about land, so that their needs, interests and concerns can be taken into consideration. The developmental programmes of the Botswana Government in their current status do not provide the Basarwa with sustainable livelihoods. The research further contributes to new knowledge as follows:

- i. There is a need to contribute to the research on African countries' practice of communication management, which has been limited (Tindall *et al.*, 2011:373), and it serves as a basis for potential communication strategy tools for future research and development.
- ii. The study realised that there is limited evidence of research on African countries' practices on strategic developmental communication and it contributed to this body of knowledge by formulating a new framework.
- iii. There is a need to build conceptual frameworks and strategies towards improving accountability of African governments in social development.

7.7 CONCLUSION

As noted in Chapter One, communication in its context can be treated as a yardstick for effective policy-making and public participation for a particular community service and development programme. Community involvement, therefore, plays a vital role in generating new ideas on sustainability and policy formulation. On the other hand, communication approaches used to engage community project issues, need to be addressed for the sustainable utilisation of wildlife resources in an area. This study concludes that control and access to utilisation values should be given to the users who, in this case, include the local communities and other stakeholders in the wildlife industry. Barnes (1998) states that decentralisation of wildlife resources to district and local community levels is vital in that it empowers landholders to take control of the resources and manage them so as to maximise returns - a situation which will oblige them to use wildlife resources sustainably.

Results from this study suggest that the Basarwa will still live a dependent life and fail to effectively carry out activities that generate income for their livelihood if the above matters are not addressed. Efforts to empower them are limited to imparting new skills and receiving food rations. Since the Khwai community does not have an effective functioning market for their tourism products, they currently have insignificant benefits in their local area. Studies (e.g. Mbaiwa, 2008; Chambers, 1993) have shown that, where there is poverty, the local communities degrade the environment. The Central Statistics Bureau notes that poverty in these districts is widespread (CSO 2008) and indicates that poverty headcount in western Okavango stands at 50–60%. This, therefore, shows that the current approach, which lacks an effective community involvement programme in resource management, contributes to poverty in the area. This solidifies the fact that it would keep the Basarwa living in continuous poverty if needs and interests are not addressed through participatory communication. Once there is poverty, there is a likelihood of environmental degradation and wildlife poaching, which could lead to conflict between wildlife and tourism authorities.

Current reporting by local authorities focuses more on funds allocations, based on the research findings; an evaluation reporting tool focuses a lot on the allocation of

funds dispatched to individuals or group community members. Sustainability Reporting Guidelines, this study recommends, could include the inclusion of the AA 1000 Stakeholder Engagement Standard 2011, which will achieve inclusivity that will determine the approach and method of engagement, establish indicators and meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, since it demands new and innovative choices and ways of thinking.

This showcases loopholes in the effectiveness of community involvement and, thereby, there are less results or business activities as compared to resources provided. People are seated at their homes with, for example, devices and equipment bought at a cost, but not in operation for their proposed projects.

The community involvement exercise should by all means avoid treating the members of target groups as needy or vulnerable, but rather as team members and as equal members of the society within the community. If this is not carried as such, it will result in the idea of social exclusion, which, in a way, has conceptual connections with well-established notions in the literature on poverty and deprivation (Sen, 2000). It can then seem that, if there is ongoing social exclusion, poverty and deprivation will continue to take place until such a time when inclusive governance can be implemented, that would take cognisance of community needs and wants by incorporating them into the community development plans. Against the above background, it is essential for the Botswana Government to select appropriate linkage mechanisms and governance arrangements.

On the other hand, this study has confirmed that the Basarwa, when given tools to work with to earn a living, end up not utilising them, but instead they sell the tools to raise money to buy alcohol. Therefore, effectiveness of the development and implementation of the government social welfare programmes can only take place if resources are adequately provided to address the above mentioned problem.

This thesis calls upon the Khwai community leaders and Botswana Government to make efforts to ensure that the community is enlightened on what to do in relation to

community involvement in development projects. Results indicate that the community members find no need to work as almost all get destitute allowances and Trust fund allowances and these allowances become a disincentive for them to engage or get involved in income generating projects which are geared towards developing them financially and economically. Their interests in tourism and wildlife ventures are then not realized, as they are distracted by Trust and government handouts.

The Botswana Government recognises that the conditions of some citizens, specifically those in remote areas, are socio-economically worse than others, so they have put in place developmental programmes geared towards promoting the sustainable socio-economic development of remote area dwellers. It is, however, of paramount importance for the Government to show a willingness to learn from the Basarwa community what their needs are, instead of assuming that they know what the community needs. Therefore, the effectiveness of communication and involvement needs to be seen as a necessary symbolic base for the community; roping in specialists such as adult educators and public relations officers, capacitated with relevant skills, is important, depending on the nature of the assignment.

The current low levels of involvement may be pronounced as advocated by Alman (2013), who postulates that the process of decision-making is reliant upon the social, economic and political power of groups within the society. Basarwa communities, being marginalised and somehow poor communities, seem not to have the self-esteem to engage with the policy makers at *kgotla* meetings, as they see the Government as only a provider of free services; while they, the Basarwa, portray an attitude of continuous dependency as seen in most developing countries. Efforts that could build self-esteem and confidence for the Basarwa community need to be incorporated as part of their personal development process; the capacity-building could enhance a positive attitude towards participating in decision-making, problem-solving, etc. This study found a highly suitable quote to support this aspect by Eyben (2011) which is stated below:

“Empowerment happens when individuals and organized groups are able to imagine their world differently and to realize that vision by changing the relations of power that have kept them in poverty, restricted their voice and deprived them of their autonomy.”

Therefore, empowering the Basarwa community can go a long way towards nurturing how they view life, how they imagine things and subsequently they would wear a new coat that can change their living environment.

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