

**THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS GOVERNANCE
SYSTEM(S) IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT-
CASE OF MOSHUPA VILLAGE, BOTSWANA**

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**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in
Sustainable Development, Planning and Management at
the University of Stellenbosch**

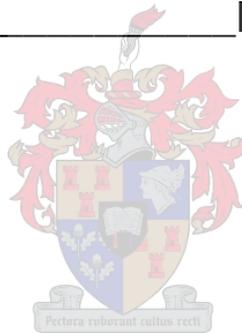
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March 2007

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature: _____ Date: _____



ABSTRACT

'[I]t is astonishing that it has taken so long, despite earlier pioneers, for the development community as a whole to discover not just the richness of the knowledge of local people, but more crucially their creative and analytical abilities',(Chambers, 1997:128)

The study investigates the role of indigenous governance systems in sustainable development at Moshupa, Botswana. Due to time limitations, this research study has only been able to provide a basic understanding of the role of indigenous governance systems in sustainable development.

The study is primarily qualitative and generated data through the use of instruments including document analysis, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. A sample of thirty-five (35) respondents from both sexes, aged twenty-eight (28) years to eighty-two (82) years constitutes the study. The sample was drawn using a "snowball sampling" procedure. Specifically, some key informants were chiefs from neighbouring villages who have an impact on the history of Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana and/or Moshupa village administration (Kanye, Thamaga, Mankgodi, Molepolole, Ramotswa, and Tlokweng), village elders and traditional doctor; whilst other respondents were selected from tribal wards, village development committee, water affairs department, crèche, Botswana Police service, sub-landboard, elected political councillors, and the youth movement because of their positions and understanding of the socio-economic and ecological processes in the community.

Findings of the study indicate that like in many African countries, indigenous governance in Botswana covers a broad spectrum of issues including the participation of community in the local economy, environmental issues and social relations. The study further reveals that the quality of indigenous governance, despite its short comings, has provided communities with a solid foundation to cope with unprecedented development changes; enabled communities to

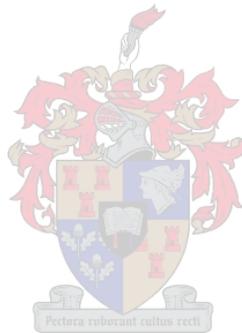
demonstrate engagement, ownership and a sense of collective responsibility. Also, the same foundation assisted indigenous governance systems to continue playing a pivotal role in the socio-economic, political and administrative systems of Botswana to-date. The study demonstrates that projects enjoying more community ownership and participation such as building of community junior schools, village dam, Kgotla (village assembly shelter) and chief inauguration, stand out as more successful and sustainable. They are identified as capable of meeting communities' needs and expectations.

The study also establishes that the institutional and administrative frameworks of the village, regarding governance and community participation are presently weak. Besides inadequate capacity of human capital, indigenous governance systems do not have significant fiscal resources also to service the village and ensure accessibility of customary services to the community. Despite lack of resources, however, the Kgotla still serves as an alternative mechanism for access to justice by community members. It is also a forum for community consultation on issues that affect them.

Therefore, it would seem that sustainable development could possibly be achieved through the integration of indigenous governance mechanisms into modern forms of governance through community engagement and collaboration with all stakeholders. Recommendations provided in the conclusion of this study give insights into possible strategies that could be adapted into sustainable community development programmes. Among others, the study recommends that the government of Botswana through Ministries of Local Government, Lands and Housing, Finance and Development Planning, and Wildlife and Tourism could upscale and define the role of chiefs and other local authorities in the protection of environmental stock or capital, and in ensuring socio-economic equity. Also, that the Botswana Government through the Ministry of Education could include in the education curricula measures to establish the types of traditional knowledge that can be integrated into scientific knowledge; so that the

education system does not continue to produce people who are alienated from vital aspects of their culture. Finally, that the Government of Botswana through Ministries of Local Government, Lands and Housing, Finance and Development Planning, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports, University of Botswana and non-governmental organisations such as Botswana Orientation Centre and Botswana Association for Local Authorities could establish a holistic training programme on traditional leadership, governance and community development.

Key words: *indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous governance, civic engagement, sustainable development.*



OPSOMMING

'(I)t is astonishing that it has taken so long, despite earlier pioneers, for the development community as a whole to discover not just the richness of the knowledge of local people, but more crucially their creative and analytical abilities,' (Chambers, 1997:128)

In die studie word die inheemse bestuurstelsels binne volhoubare ontwikkeling by Moshupa in Botswana ondersoek. Weens tydbeperking kan dié studie slegs 'n basiese begrip verskaf van die rol van inheemse bestuurstelsels in volhoubare ontwikkeling. Dit is nie die doel van hierdie studie om in-diepte navorsing te bied oor 'n wye reeks inheemse kennisstelsels van die Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana of oor hulle geskiedenis en gedetailleerde dinamika met betrekking tot volhoubare ontwikkeling nie.

Die studie is primêr kwalitatief en genereer data deur die gebruik van onder meer dokument-analise, fokusgroep-besprekings en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude. 'n Steekproef van vyf-en-dertig (35) respondente van albei geslagte, wie se ouderdomme wissel tussen agt-en-twintig (28) en twee-en-tagtig (82) jaar, konstitueer die studie. Die steekproef is saamgestel deur toepassing van die sneeubal-aangroei steekproef prosedure. Spesifieke segsmense was opperhoofde van naburige dorpe, wat invloed uitgeoefen het op die geskiedenis van die Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana en/of Moshupa-dorpsadministrasie (Kanye, Thamaga, Mankodi, Molepolole, Ramotswa en Tlokweg), oudstes van dorpe en die tradisionele geneesheer; ander respondente is gekies uit stamwyke, dorpsontwikkelingskomitees, die departement watersake, speelskole, die Botswana polisie, die sub-landsraad, gekose politieke raadslede en die jeugbeweging vanweë sy lede se posisie en insig in die sosio-ekonomiese en ekologiese prosesse in die gemeenskap.

Bevindings van die studie dui daarop dat – soortgelyk aan vele Afrikalande - inheemse bestuur in Botswana ook 'n breë spektrum aangeleenthede dek, insluitende die deelname van die gemeenskap in die plaaslike ekonomie, omgewingsake en sosiale verhoudinge. Die studie toon voorts dat die gehalte van inheemse bestuur, ondanks sy tekortkomings, gemeenskappe voorsien van 'n hegte basis wat hulle in staat stel om ongeëwenaarde ontwikkelingsveranderinge te hanteer en hulle ook help om skakeling, eienaarskap en 'n sin vir gesamentlike verantwoordelikheid te openbaar. Ook het dié basis inheemse bestuurstelsels in staat gestel om tot op datum 'n sleutelrol te vertolk in Botswana se sosio-ekonomiese, politieke en administratiewe stelsels. Die studie bewys ook dat projekte wat groter gemeenskapseienaarskap en – deelname geniet, soos bv. die bou van junior skole in die gemeenskap, 'n dorpsdam, kgotla (dorpsvergadersentrum) en inhuldiging van opperhoofde, kenmerkend meer suksesvol en volhoubaar is. Hulle word beskou as bevoeg om te kan voldoen aan gemeenskappe se behoeftes en verwagtings.

Die studie het vervolgens vasgestel dat die institusionele en administratiewe raamwerke van die dorpe ten opsigte van bestuur en deelname deur die gemeenskap op die oomblik swak is. Afgesien van onvoldoende kapasiteit aan menslike kapitaal, beskik inheemse bestuurstelsels nie oor beduidende fiskale bronne om ook die dorpe van diens te wees en toegang tot gebruiklike dienste vir die gemeenskap te verseker nie. Ondanks die tekort aan bronne dien die kgotla egter steeds as alternatiewe meganisme vir lede van die gemeenskap om toegang tot die reg te verkry. Dit dien ook as forum vir gemeenskapsraadpleging oor aangeleenthede wat hulle raak.

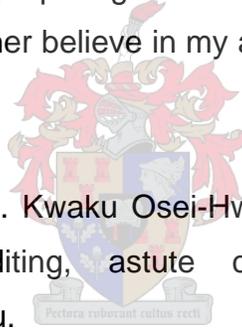
Dit wil derhalwe blyk of volhoubare ontwikkeling moontlik haalbaar sou kon wees deur die omskepping van inheemse bestuursmeganismes in moderne bestuursvorme deur middel van gemeenskapsdeelname en samewerking met alle belanghebbendes. Aanbevelings vervat in die slotgevolgtrekking van hierdie studie bied insigte oor moontlike strategieë wat in volhoubare gemeenskapsontwikkelingsprogramme opgeneem sou kon word. Die studie bevel onder meer aan dat die regering van Botswana deur sy ministeries van Plaaslike Bestuur, Grond en Behuising, Finansies en Ontwikkelingsbeplanning en Natuurlewe en Toerisme die rol van opperhoofde en ander plaaslike owerhede behoort te herdefinieer en te laat opgradeer wat betref die beskerming van omgewingskapitaal of lewende hawe. Ook dat die regering van Botswana deur sy ministerie van Nasionale Opvoeding maatreëls in die nasionale leerplan behoort in te sluit om die soorte tradisionele kennis te eien wat in wetenskaplike kennis ingevoeg kan word – dit sal meebring dat die onderwysstelsel nie voortgaan om mense te lewer wat vervreem is van noodsaaklike aspekte van hulle kultuur. En ten slotte: dat die regering van Botswana deur middel van sy ministeries van Plaaslike Bestuur, Grond en Behuising, Finansies en Ontwikkelingsbeplanning, Nasionale Opvoeding, Jeug en Kultuur, die Universiteit van Botswana en nie-regeringsinstansies, soos die Oriëntasiesentrum van Botswana, 'n holistiese opleidingsprogram, waarin tradisionele leierskap, bestuur en gemeenskapsontwikkeling vervat is, behoort in te stel.

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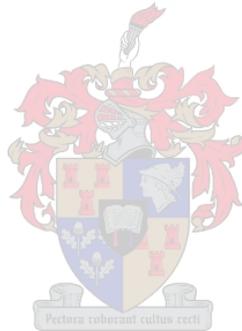


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DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated my late father Tselayabotlhe Raoperere Jack Moatlhaping. May his soul rest in peace.

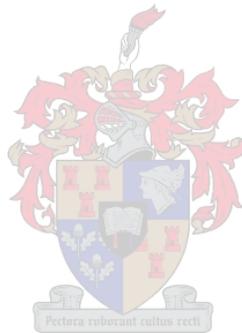


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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
DIFD	Department for International Development, United Kingdom
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IK	Indigenous Knowledge
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NDP	National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisations
VDC	Village Development Committee
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WDC	Ward Development Committee
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development



CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter seeks to provide an overview of the study. It presents the context and background to this research. The chapter covers subsections on the goal and objectives, statement of the problem and rationale of the thesis. The chapter further introduces the concepts and approach to sustainable development, indigenous knowledge systems and governance used in this thesis.

An increasing number of scholars and authoritative institutions such as Flavier & Erickson (1995), Maser (1996), Chambers (1997), United Nations Development Programme (1999, 2001, 2003), and policy makers both in government and private sectors, are beginning to argue that indigenous knowledge could make a meaningful contribution to enhanced sustainable development. Conversely, socio-economic policies and development strategies implemented by most African governments have brought communities to think that their traditional indigenous knowledge and or initiatives are primitive relative to contemporary knowledge of those educated in 'formal education' (Mwandime in Semali & Kincheloe, 1999:201). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1999) and the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987) agree that there is a need for all nations to embark upon sustainable development and that a healthy, sustainable, growing economy is conditional on effective governance. In this regard, then there is need to mirror closely the relationship between the broad goals of sustainable development and the types of governance that might better contribute and promote the attainment of such goals.

There is currently no consistent and universally accepted definition of Sustainable Development. The Brundtland Commission defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:7). According to Maser (1996), Sustainable Development means taking action to ensure that poverty is addressed through activities that both effectively and equitably redistribute wealth, and generate productive and stable employment. Sustainable Development could be achieved “... specifically through industries that operate in harmony both with the productive capacity and integrity of the environment overtime and with human dignity and sense of well-being” (Maser, 1996:171). These definitions imply that emphasis should be placed on addressing human needs and more importantly on future generation(s) in order to overcome economic inequalities and ecological destruction. In support of these arguments, World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) notes that sustainability would be attained when communities gain control over the resources, consumption, production and knowledge base, and government plays a facilitative role.

Proponents of the Human Development oriented approach to Sustainable Development such as UNDP (1991; 1992, 2001) and DFID (1999), posit that genuine sustainable development aims at bringing disadvantaged and peripheral groups and/or nations into the mainstream of development. This, as such, promotes the integration and provision of space to marginalised groups (for instance women, children, youth, and the poor), enabling them to participate in development. The argument here emanates from the premise that when people are engaged or involved in processes and systems pertaining to resource planning, management, conservation, administration, political and economic actions, they tend to own decisions on such processes and systems. As a result, people feel party to those decisions and commit to full implementation of such decisions. It is my view, that this commitment and process of taking control in development by the people is the essence of sustainable development.

Thus, for sustainable development to be successfully implemented, there is need to build and enhance the capacity of communities for participatory and, or inclusive planning. According to Litchman (2003), for sustainable development to be fulfilled, the following elements are vital: structural changes that heighten development and certify adaptations in socio-economic and political structures; balanced socio-economic and political structures; a balanced socio-economic and ecological approach which equally address, societal institutions and organizations which are proactive and responsive to changing needs; and lastly, a robust development strategy which consistently evaluates development flaws and successes so that appropriate adjustments and adaptations in development programmes could be made. Litchman (2003) further noted that other critical elements include increased people's participation in decision making, transformation in the world economy, and responsive power structures for successful implementation of sustainable development strategies. Policies and programmes that translate into activities and commitments to the integration of social, ecological and economic objects of sustainable development at local, national and international levels, are also necessary.

In essence, for sustainable development to be successfully implemented, there has to be sound "commitment to social equity, with a view that access to livelihood, good health, resources, economic and political decision making are connected. In the absence of people having control over their lives and resources, inequality and environmental degradation are inevitable" (Hopwood, Mellor & O'Brien, 2005:38). Additionally, O' Riordan in Hopwood et al. (2005:60) amplifies this view by stating that real sustainable development requires a massive redistribution of wealth and power.

Similar to sustainable development, debates on indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) offer differing and often controversial insights of IKS based on the different definitional paths of 'indigenous peoples'. To some, indigenous knowledge is the body of knowledge obtained by local people through the accrual of experiences,

informal experiments, and intimate understanding of their environment in a given culture (Rajasekaran quoted in Kelbessa, 2001:60). Others, like Kelbessa (2001), view indigenous knowledge as simply knowledge that embodies both internally produced and externally borrowed and adapted knowledge. Africa's colonial rule and domination and the current development frameworks have had far reaching implications for indigenous knowledge systems of ensuring functional democracy; good governance and civic engagement in development (Virgever in Semali & Kincheloe, 1999:179). Mwandime in (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999:200) argues that it is uncommon for African scientists to create new knowledge that is adaptive to local situations or that which generates sustainable solutions to communities' day-to-day lives. This, Mwandime (1999) adds, is because Africans use "models' and 'frameworks' of knowledge produced from elsewhere and seldom examine their relevance to society's context of history, ecology, culture, political systems and economic resources" (Mwandime, 1999: 244). Timberlake (1985) points out that Africa requires a development framework which respects diversity, acknowledges lived experiences; and challenges the supremacy of western forms of governance and universal knowledge.

It is the argument in this study that in order to attain sustainable development, countries such as Botswana have to focus on building and or strengthening the capacity of their citizenry, in particular poor people's efforts to uplift their own lives. In addition, development initiatives should not underrate people's indigenous knowledge on how to preserve and renew resources for sustainable livelihoods. Such indigenous knowledge could provide a basis for integrated strategies on how to manage, exploit and conserve natural resources within the resource constraints at the same time responding to people's needs and economy sustainably. The compelling argument is that traditional, indigenous systems of governance and other governing structures have a primary role to provide an effective vehicle through which opportunities and space for meaningful participation of the communities in the decisions that affect their livelihood could be enhanced.

The primary assumption in this proposal is that indigenous governance, as a system, could grant a useful practical framework for the building of communities and construction of knowledge that would enable communities in Botswana to participate in their own development thereby enhancing their social responsibility, ownership and sustainable development (see Figure 1). Furthermore, indigenous governance could be utilized to provide relevant services at community level and create links with both the family and other societal systems that impact on the functioning of the individual. It is also argued that sustained ways of community building, participation and ownership may be constructed and accomplished through cultivating and promoting a parallel learning environment for children who will ultimately guide the impact of human relations on nature.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From studies such as the ones conducted by Mthembu & Thandwayizizwe (2002), Mbeki (2002) and Vilakazi (2002), it is evident that Africa continues to be faced with daunting challenges of instability, environmental degradation, poverty and HIV/AIDS (Status of the World Report, 2006). Whilst some societies such as in India and Japan seem to have been able to find solutions to many of the problems facing their societies using their traditional sources, it seems that for most parts of Africa, countries are failing dismally to provide appropriate long-term solutions to the challenges facing them. As a country in Africa, Botswana is not an exception in seemingly failing to provide effective solutions to the problems facing her citizenry.

In trying to provide answers to questions such as why poverty, HIV/AIDS and other forms of problems are high in Botswana, despite the country's sound economic and political stability, there is a need to understand blockages and avenues to Botswana's development frameworks and processes of building people's commitment and ownership in such development agendas.

In the context of the above discussion, and the fact that there is no blue- print for local or provincial strategies for sustainable development, this study seeks to further examine the knowledge and practise of indigenous governance for sustainability in Botswana with specific focus on Moshupa village, in the southern part of Botswana. In addition, the study investigates the nature of civic engagement with the aim to explore patterns and density of civil society engagement in Botswana's development policies and strategies. The study further examines indigenous practices of governance and civic engagement in decision making processes geared towards creating sustainable livelihoods in Moshupa village.

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The need to undertake such an examination comes from the contention that “distortion in and failure of Africa’s development programmes is the fact that policy makers and development practitioners have crafted development policies out of the principles and patterns of Western civilisation...” (Vilakazi, 2002:5). Unfortunately, these fail to translate into community oriented and owned programmes, and projects that are effective. Further, the motivation to undertake this study is reinforced by Warren’s (1991) argument that indigenous knowledge is not fully utilised in the development process, thereby hampering effective communication for sustainable development.

From the preliminary literature review carried in this field of study, it has been realised that there is limited literature on, and documentation of, indigenous practices on good governance and civic engagement which could otherwise provide a methodological principle for the formulation of realistic, appropriate and genuine sustainable development policies and strategies for rural communities in Botswana.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) identifies the importance of citizen participation in national development and governance as a priority for

Botswana's assistance by UNDP (UNDP, 2003). Also the Botswana National Vision 2016's (Presidential Task Group, 1997) contents that full involvement and meaningful contribution to social, economic, political, entrepreneurial, spiritual and cultural development by all citizens that is informed by culture of transparency, accountability and consultation are essential for sustainable development in Botswana. In addition, Vision 2016 claims that by the year 2016, Botswana's future will be a decentralised community-centred democracy with a highly enlightened society that is headed by ethically and morally upright leaders; that traditional leaders or chiefs as custodians of Botswana culture and tradition, will be a crucial arm of the country's democracy and finally that the "Kgotla" systems will uphold religious and spiritual values, based on high ethical standards, thereby promoting sustainability. Despite this framework, however, there is no study on how practices that is relevant to Botswana's desired goals, cultural ethics, and value systems and are indigenous, could form a basis for, or could be merged with contemporary practices on governance initiatives and sustainable development strategies for the attainment of Vision 2016's aspirations.



It is hoped that this study would contribute positively to the knowledge and understanding of development practitioners in Botswana. In this regard, it may help them to rethink alternative and sustainable community development strategies that are authentic to Botswana and enhance genuine community participation and ownership of sustainable development strategies. The data generated may improve the delivery of services to the community as well as enrich research on indigenous knowledge systems and strengthen Botswana's appreciation of indigenous knowledge and capacity for sustainable development.

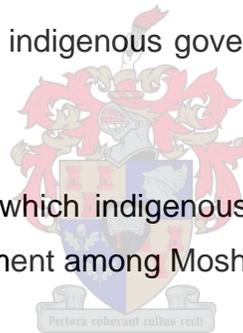
Upon completion of the study, information collected will be documented and shared with University of Stellenbosch, University of Botswana, Government of Botswana (Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports and, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning), Civil Society in Botswana

and Kellogg Foundation Resource Centre. The study recommendations and conclusion will also be shared with civil society organisations operating in Southern District, Sub-District Council, Village Development Committee, and other relevant partners.

1.4 RESEARCH GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The research goal of this study is to investigate the role of indigenous governance systems in Sustainable Development at Moshupa, Botswana. Specifically, the study attempts to:

- i) Analyse and document indigenous knowledge systems on governance for sustainability in Moshupa village, at Botswana.
- ii) Describe the nature of indigenous governance and civic engagement in Moshupa.
- iii) Explore the extent to which indigenous practices of governance could enhance civic engagement among Moshupa Communities, in Botswana.
- iv) Investigate how indigenous governance practices could contribute to sustainable development in Botswana.



1.5 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

In line with the purpose of this thesis, I have used a variety of concepts by adopting theoretical definitions from various sources. In addition, I have provided working definitions of several concepts given by various scholars.

1.5.1 Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous Knowledge (Ik), also referred to as traditional and local knowledge is rooted in culturally based values, ethics, production and consumption systems, relationships, rituals and community practices (Hausler in Kelbessa, 2001). IK is

developed out of social needs and constant interaction of people with nature or the physical environment. Scholars such as Warren (1991), argue that indigenous knowledge provides a ground upon which communities make key decisions and communicate at intergenerational and intra-generational levels.

In this study, the terms 'indigenous', 'traditional' and 'local' are used interchangeably to portray forms of knowledge or skills that have been created, preserved or practiced by preceding generations over the years. Furthermore, indigenous knowledge in the context of this thesis would mean knowledge, skills and values that have been inherited partially or wholly by successive generations. It is viewed as the key to sustainable development.

1.5.2 Governance

According to Rhodes (1997), there are a number of ways to define governance. The concept of governance is linked to the processes of, among others, minimising state intervention, increasing the capacity of civil society and, elected officials in key decision making and enhancing a continuous interaction between stakeholders or networks (Rhodes, 1997; Swilling, 1999). Rhodes (1997:53) defines governance as 'the minimal state, a socio-cybernetic system and self-organising networks.' To Meadowcroft (2004:164), 'governance refers to the processes that extend from the established political mechanisms of representative government to the internal management of businesses and civil society organisations.' Lafferty (2004) argues, governance represents the totality of mechanisms and instruments available for influencing social change in pre-ordained directions. The purpose of governance is therefore, to effectively guide a community towards a set direction as well as ensure enhanced public participation in environment and development decision making processes.

In this thesis, governance comprises of complex mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which communities express their interests, reconcile their differences and exercise their legal rights, obligations and responsibilities. It is

the participatory and transparent process that stresses accountable, interactive and partnership oriented ways of resources utilisation.

1.5.3 Indigenous Governance

Based on the adopted definitions of governance above, indigenous governance represents a set of cultural, traditional, and local instruments or mechanisms, through which communities organise, manage, and coordinate their activities and consumption of resources. It involves the typology of leadership and authority within various societies. According to Osei-Hwedie (1993), before colonialism, sub-Saharan African societies were organised around friends and relations, with authority exercised through a system of chieftaincy, clan elders and heads of households. In addition, Kottak (1994) emphasizes that in traditional communities, a society may establish its form of indigenous governance through tribes, chiefdoms, or band polities.

1.5.4 Sustainable Development

Whereas there are various definitions of sustainable development, the core definition of sustainable development is adopted from '*Our Common Future*' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). WCED (1987:43) defines sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.' Dresner (2002) points out that, according to the Brundtland, it seems that the essentials of sustainable development are mainly intergenerational and intragenerational equity, to meet the human basic needs as well as to recognise the environmental limits.

Scholars such as Hattingh (2001), criticize the Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainable development, arguing that it provides for a weak interpretation of sustainability. This allows humans to see nature as of value only in so far as it can be utilized as a resource for meeting human needs.

For purpose of this study, a sustainable community, strategy or governance is, the one that integrates economic, social and environmental objectives and/or ensures balance across sectors, territories and generations.

1.5.5 Civic Engagement

Civic engagement denotes a multi-dimensional and dynamic process that promotes the growth of community life and capacity of community members to improve their own welfare through economic, cultural, moral and political resources of the state (United Nations Development Programme, 2002). It includes a variety of inter-related although distinct processes. These are peoples' participation in equitable production and consumption of development gains, involving people in key decision making processes, eliciting their contribution to development interventions, and strengthening partnership among all stakeholders.

1.5.6 Kgotla (village assembly)

A *kgotla* is a forum where community consultations take place. In the past, it was also a forum for trade, fairground and other special events. *Kgotla* was also a court where civilian and criminal cases brought before the *kgosi* were adjudicated (Schapera, 1970:67-68). Despite the *kgotla* being a public meeting place for discussion of crucial issues in the village, women, 'serfs' and children were not allowed to participate in *kgotla* deliberations. In today's era, the *kgotla* is a central consultative mechanism through which public policies are explained and through the *kgotla* the populace in turn pronounce on issues, ideas and views. Women, members of marginalised communities such as Basarwa-derogatively called 'Bushmen' and youth attend and participate in *kgotla* meetings and activities. The word *kgotla* may also be used to mean a village 'ward'.

1.5.7 Kgosi (Chief)

A *kgosi* is traditionally, an eldest male who becomes a leader of a tribe by virtue of birth. This means that, a *kgosi* should be born of royal blood, as being a chief

is hereditary. According to Schapera (1970:62) 'the chief, as head of the tribe occupies a position of unique privileges and authority. He is a symbol of tribal unity, the central figure round which the tribal life revolves. He is at once ruler, judge, maker and guardian of the law, repository of wealth, dispenser of gifts, leader in war, priest and magician of the people.' The use of a chief in context of this study refers to a male or female who is a hereditary leader of the village.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is divided into six chapters. It starts with an introductory chapter (chapter 1) which provides an overview of the study. It gives the context and background to this research. The chapter also introduces the research question, goal and objectives, issues related to statement of the problem and discussion on limitations of the study. Chapter two provides a brief review of literature on indigenous knowledge, governance, civic engagement and sustainable development. It discusses the theoretical perspectives of this study.

Chapter three outlines the research process and methodology used to conduct the study. Furthermore, the chapter discusses data generation methods used in this study. These are face to face semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and document analysis. Issues of ethics, validity and trustworthiness are also discussed in this chapter. In Chapter four, I present an overview of the study site. The chapter also gives a short history of the Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana. Chapter five presents data results, interpretation and analysis. The final chapter, chapter six, offers general conclusion and recommendations drawn from data presented in the previous chapters. The conclusion includes a summary of the main findings.

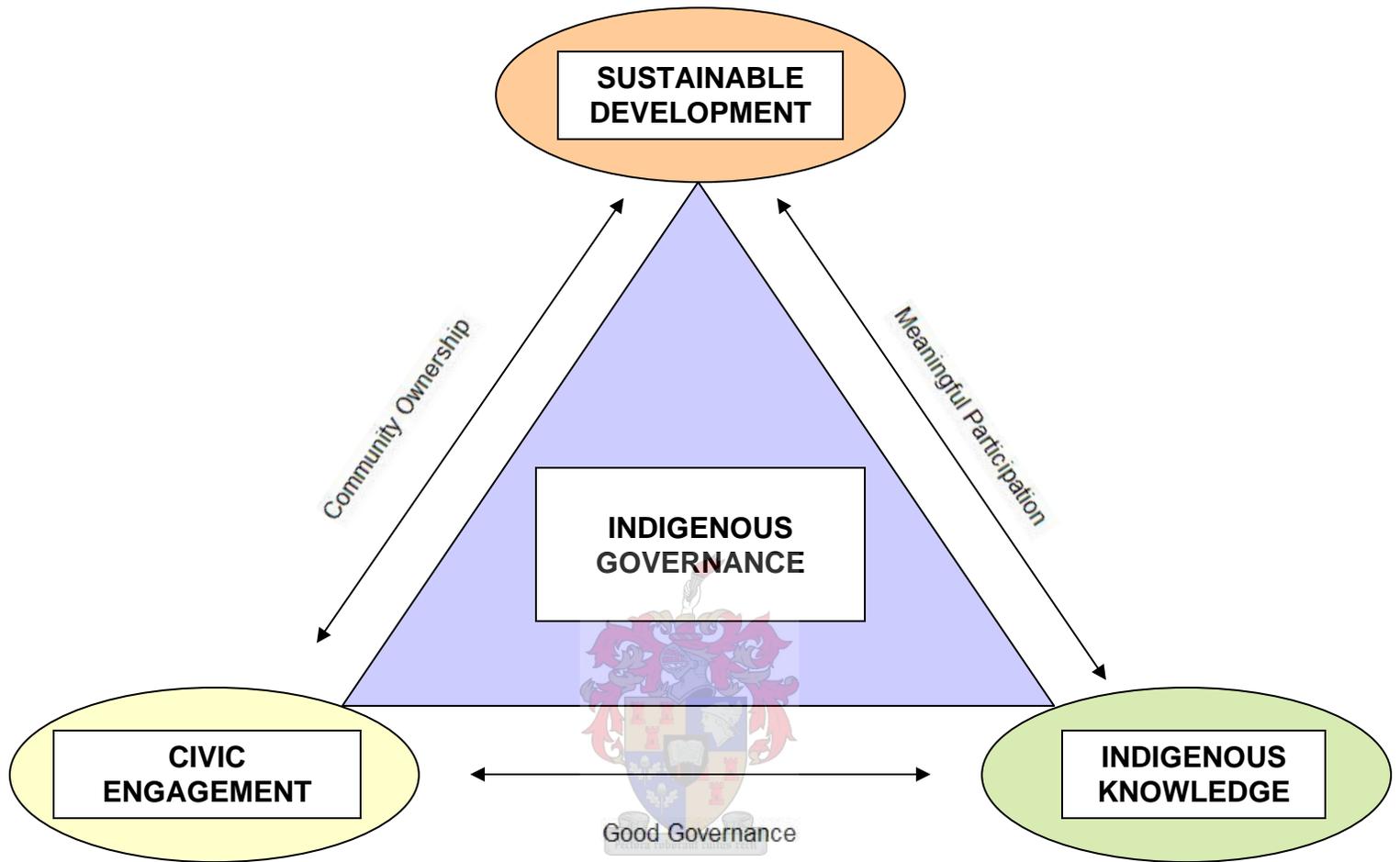
1.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

In order to underscore critical issues that form the main theme of the study, an analytical mind-map is presented in Figure 1. This analytical mind map, attempts to provide a brief summary of specific lines of argument in order to lay a basis

upon which the study is conceptualised. The study is based on the notion that governance is a vital factor in ensuring successful sustainable development (Ayre & Callway, 2005). Governance systems impact upon other systems, in a drive to achieve sustainable development as such; there seem to be a need to recognise the fundamental linkage between indigenous governance, indigenous knowledge and sustainable development. As a system that is based on indigenous knowledge, indigenous governance seems critical to the achievement of sustainable development commitments.

This study assumes that good governance for sustainable development is central to creating and sustaining an environment conducive for civic engagement as well as recognition of people's local knowledge and experiences. As a result, the integration of such indigenous knowledge and experiences into development initiatives could achieve meaningful civic engagement. With increased civic engagement, "ultimate empowerment happens when beneficiaries are given powers to make decision themselves" (Figueroa K p  , in Ayre et al., 2005:103). The success of sustainable development commitments could increasingly depend on deepening civic engagement in the process. Recognition and use of indigenous knowledge may increase community ownership of national development initiatives. It seems that civic engagement results in community ownership, which in turn seems to serve as an effective vehicle to accelerating the success of sustainable development. Meaningful participation of communities in development on the one hand, could be an essential component of the achievement of sustainable development.

Figure 1: Analytical mind-map, as applied in the study



1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter 1 presented the overview and motivation of the thesis. The neglect of indigenous knowledge systems, in particular, indigenous governance values in developmental debate and process in Africa seem misplaced. This provides the justification for undertaking this study. The chapter also discussed the research problem, the scope of the study and the framework on which the study is based.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The review of literature summarises and integrates previous work with the problem at hand. This chapter attempts to give a critical review of the variables used for the purpose of this study. It presents a theoretical basis for the research conducted in order to understand perceptions about sustainable development, indigenous governance and civic engagement practices in Botswana.

Continuously changing paradigms on development have bred new thinking that promotes people's engagement and participation in development. On the one hand, global development practitioners have begun to put more emphasis on the value of communities' local knowledge and ownership of development initiatives. On the other hand, past experiences of development programmes reveal that governance, especially when it is focused on people's ownership and participation amplifies the attainment of a well functioning and sustainable nation (Weaver, Rock & Kusterer, 1997).

In the above context, the question of community ownership of development projects and their contribution to indigenous knowledge are at the core of contemporary development paradigms. It is widely believed that when people participate in, and own development, they become innovative in producing more knowledge, and generate more appropriate solutions that uplift their lives (Chambers, 1996).

Based on this argument, issues relating to people's ownership and participation, governance, sustainable development and the role of indigenous knowledge systems have become imperative. The themes that run through this chapter are sustainable development, indigenous knowledge systems, governance, civic

engagement and participation. My aim is to review literature on these concepts in their broadest sense in order to establish possible linkages between these phenomena.

2.2 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

In the developed world, the priority of development has more often been on economic growth and increased levels of production for modern capitalist economy gains. In developing countries, most of the priorities which need to be addressed include poverty reduction and improved livelihoods of the rural communities in particular (Chambers in Harris et al, 2001). In addition, the limited resources of most African countries imply the need to focus on meeting basic needs and sustainable utilisation of natural resources rather than solely on economic growth and response to global markets (Mebratu, 1998).

As noted in Weaver et al. (1997: 237), “historically, all models and strategies of development ignored the effect of economic activity on the environment.” As a result, economic activities have for a long time been performed in pursuit of economic growth, but at the expense of environmental capital, hence degrading the quality of life of future generations. Since the 1970s, after the recognition that the stock of natural resource was declining and that global economy was becoming more unstable, discussions on how an interface between economic, environmental and social sustainability could be achieved started (Goodland & Daly, 1996), thereby the sustainable development debate.

On the basis of the review of literature on Sustainable Development, the phenomenon of sustainable development, irrespective of the country’s level of development, needs to be comprehensive and address all aspects of life. As such a sustainable community or society should be seen as one which provides for, and live in harmony with the natural, physical and social environment in order to guarantee that future generations could still create adequate wealth (Hounsome & Ashton, 2001).

2.2.1 Why focus on Sustainable Development?

Increasing concerns with sustainable development efforts and strategies come as result of societies' experiences, resources, lack of food security, population growth, production and consumption patterns which do not promote a balanced regeneration of renewable resources. The importance attached to, and attention given to, sustainable development, therefore, remains motivated by the fact that even though economic growth is necessary for progress and can be achieved by most countries, it has proved to be insufficient cause. Thus, sustainable development should be multidimensional and encompass economic, social, political, cultural and environmental issues (Weaver et al., 1997).

2.2.2 Approaches to Sustainable Development

Sustainable Development has different meanings and interpretations in various development fields. Hounsome et al. (2001) contend that sustainability is a value-based concept and as such varies depending on people's perception of the relative value of economical, ecological and social capital. It is worth underlining, however, that debates on whether development is sustainable or not, stemmed initially from the growing negative economic and environmental impacts of development activities, and subsequently also from social issues. Because of varied opinions and assumptions on sustainability and development, sustainable development has remained without a common meaning and value to date for economists, ecologists and sociologists. Despite the several ways of defining development, there are common attributes to the definitions of Sustainable Development, which include concern with the welfare of future generations, the improvement of the quality of life, the maintenance of essential ecological processes, as well as the adoption of decision-making processes that integrate ecological, social and economic systems (Weaver et al., 1997, Dresner, 2002; Bell & Morse, 2003).

2.2.2.1 Economic Approach

In economics, sustainable development is explained based on the assumption that economic growth is an engine to sustainable development. Thus, the objectives of sustainable development are to first promote growth, secondly, efficiency and third, equity. The economists contend that economic growth serves to enhance the well being of people and as such enlarge people's choices, thereby ensuring sustainability. Barbier (1989), argues that sustainable economic development is unswervingly concerned with increasing the material standard of living of the poor, which can be qualitatively measured in terms of increased food, real income, sanitation and water supply, emergency stocks of food and cash, etc. As noted from the discussion, the economists put forward economic growth as major solution to poverty. The general assumption is that if the economy grows, it will result in all sectors of the population benefiting (Dollar cited in Hopwood et al., 2005).

Opponents of economic definition of sustainable development such as Goodland and Daly (1996) argue that economic growth requires more usage of resources, both natural and substitutes, and as such produce more waste which is unsustainable. Even though economists view natural and manufactured capital as interchangeable with technology, and therefore, able to fill human generated flaws in the natural world, Goodland et al. (1996) criticise this and point out that human-made capital can not replace processes that are primary to human existence such as the ozone layer, photosynthesis and or oxygen production.

In the context of the above discussion, it is worth noting that economic growth on its own does not guarantee global equity. Economic growth can help reduce the gap between the poor and the rich, but at the expense of natural capital. In this regard therefore, economic approach to development cannot solely and primarily serve as the basis for sustainable development.

2.2.2.2 Ecological Approach

In contrast, the ecologists put more emphasis on improving human welfare by protecting the sources of raw materials used for human needs and ensuring that reservoirs for human waste are not filled beyond limits, in order to prevent harm to humans (International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), 2002). The ecological approach views capital in terms of natural resources and ecological processes that provide raw materials to support both human and other ecosystems. In other words, this approach argues that life is highly dependent on the support systems provided by ecosystems. These include provision of resources for direct use, such as consumption, to indirect use such as provision of containers for human waste. To buttress this point, International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEA, 1996) adds that fundamental to Sustainable Development, is the need to ensure that human consumption remains within the limits to which ecosystem goods and services can be utilised as set by the natural environment.

According to Caring for the Earth in Hattingh (2001a:6), Sustainable Development is the “improvement in the quality of human life, so far as it is possible within the boundaries of the carrying capacity of the ecosystems on which it is dependent.” It is, therefore, imperative that natural resources are conserved. It is evident from the definition that protection of the environment remains the primary motive for the ecological approach to sustainable development.

In addition, the ecologists contend that an ecological approach to sustainable development is vital since it focuses on long-term sustenance of natural capital upon which human beings and other forms of life are highly dependent. The Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987) and Agenda 21 (UNDP, 1992) support this contention by noting that sustainable economic growth and development is desirable, but only if these are geared towards protecting natural resources from excessive usage by the increasing

human population. Similarly, Norton in Hattingh (2001b) notes that sustainable development would be achieved if there is a symbiotic relationship between human economic systems and larger, active but normally slower changing ecological systems. The relationship should ensure that though human life continues indefinitely and human cultures develop, effects of human activities should remain within limits so as not to destroy the health or integrity of the environmental context by such human activities.

However, the critics of the ecological approach to sustainable development suggest that sustainable development puts more emphasis on protection of nature and puts human needs and other necessary tools to sustainability on the periphery. Others such as Grundmann (cited in Hopwood et al., 2005:40) further point out that sustainable development should address problems pertaining to human rights, material and strategic needs of people as well as challenges to the political and economic nexus, all of which are seen as secondary to sustainable development. In general, it is implied that like economic strategies, a pure focus on an ecological approach to sustainable development would not guarantee sustainability.



2.2.2.3 Social Approach

Unlike the economists and ecologists, sociologists define sustainable development in terms of people's empowerment, their participation in development, social mobility and cohesion, cultural identity and institutional development. Sociologists argue that the link between income and human livelihood is doubtful, and that income does not necessarily guarantee equitable distribution hence may not address other strategic needs such as democracy, and the socio-cultural support systems required for sustainable development.

According to Maser (1996:171), Sustainable Development means taking action to ensure that poverty is addressed through activities that both effectively and equitably redistribute wealth, generate productive and stable employment, "...

specifically through industries that operate in harmony both with the productive capacity and integrity of the environment over time and with human dignity and sense of well-being.”

The social approach argues that capital should be construed in terms of human skills; and people’s capabilities and belief systems as well as institutional or societal systems that allow human beings to function. In other words, it is assumed that sustainable development is achieved if people are able to learn and feel that they have power to take actions that improve their short and long term livelihoods. It is further assumed that when people are in control of their lives and resources, their quality of life will automatically improve. This would make certain the accomplishment of sustainable development.

In the social point of view, sustainable development is geared towards meeting the needs of all societies and individuals. The social approach also identifies the objective of sustainable development as being to ensure that benefits from development are being consumed along with minimum production of waste and cautious usage of non-renewable resources and contemporaneous sustenance of renewable resources. Additionally, the social approach to sustainable development stresses acquisition and enjoyment of the fundamental freedoms of religion, culture, expression and association whilst ensuring that all people are empowered to actively participate and take responsibility for their lives and all forms of life on earth. This warrants full access to education, political engagement and sustainable livelihoods (IUCN, UNEP, WWF, 1990).

Proponents of this approach, including Maser (1996), suggest that environmental protection and economic growth are some of the ways through which sustainable development can be achieved. In addition, giving people equal opportunities, especially, in terms of access to education, political and economic opportunities would address issues pertaining to poverty and as a result enhance sustainability.

Conversely, those who oppose this approach argue that it is human ravenousness which leads to unsustainability because human beings can no longer differentiate between their needs and wants. As a result, socio-economic development should be done within the carrying capacity of the natural system and ensure that the rich and poor people have equal opportunities and choices for the betterment of their lives (IISD, 2002). The effective way to achieve sustainable development and address problems like poverty is through regulation and defined access to resources and property rights of individuals, communities and state on usage and maintenance of natural resources (Pezzey in Dresner, 2002:81).

By and large, the social approach proposes a development path which facilitates “i) a return of power to the citizens, and the regulation of national and international regimes to ensure that they benefit the people; ii) a consistency between talk and action between human needs and politics; iii) putting the environment and society above the market and; iv) policies based on the inclusion of all races and cultures, equity and solidarity among society, and cooperation among governments” (Fisher & Ponniah, 2003:127). This would guarantee sustainable human life and other systems. In other words, the goal of sustainable development under the social approach, includes the improvement of human resources for both economic growth and environmental conservation, improvement in the quality of life, equitable distribution and utilisation of income, society’s participation in development activities and associated political actions as well as transformational programmes that are biased towards vulnerable and marginalised groups in the society (Pardey in Hopwood et al., 2005:54).

Just like with other approaches, failure to apply a more inclusive approach to sustainable development might not help us attain the sustainable development principles. It is imperative to therefore, not concentrate only on the social aspect of people’s livelihood in the drive achieve sustainability.

2.2.2.4 Human Development Approach

According to UNDP (1991; 1992), the Human Development Approach denotes a process through which people's choices are expanded at all levels. The process upholds lasting and a healthy life as well as people's acquisition of knowledge and access to resources needed for a decent standard of living.

In the above context, social aspects of development are stressed but this does not depict them as essentially different from economic and ecological development. For instance, human development focuses on people's acquisition of knowledge and accessibility of resources. This implies a short and long-term capacity of social, economic and ecological systems to generate and sustain qualitative changes in all levels of people's lives. To buttress this point, this approach attempts to create a feasible combination of the economic and, especially, the social and environmental factors in the development process. The aim is to secure simultaneous growth in output and extension in the required social capacities. Furthermore, ul Haq in Harris et al. (2001:60) agrees that the "human development paradigm is the most holistic development model...it embraces every development issue, including economic growth, people's empowerment, provision of basic needs and social safety nets, political and cultural freedoms and all other aspects of people's lives."

Essentially, there are four elements of the human development approach being empowerment, equity, productivity and sustainability which are pivotal to sustainable development (ul Haq, cited in Harris et al., 2001:65). This is suggestive of the view that to achieve sustainable development, a holistic strategy that encompasses these elements is crucial. In the human development approach, sustainable development efforts are geared towards investing in people and improving the overall quality of life. This is supported by the notion that people participate in development as a resource as well as, as beneficiaries.

It is argued that the human development approach focuses on the integration of, and bringing disadvantaged and peripheral groups and nations into, the main stream of development. The integration and provision of space to marginalised groups, and enabling them to participate in development are based on the premise that when people are engaged or involved in processes and systems pertaining to resource planning, management, conservation, administration, political and economic actions, they tend to own decisions on such processes and systems. As a result, people feel party to those decisions and commit to full implementation of such decisions. This commitment and process control in development by the people is the essence of sustainable development.

In view of the previous discussion on the human development approach, sustainable development must address definite issues such as identification, selection, and the development of appropriate range and mix of resources (which are sufficient in quantity and suitable in quality) to satisfy the basic socio-economic needs of the entire population. Sustainable Development initiatives should, as a result, warrant efficient organisation of the productive processes, including labour and its capacity to transform natural resources into sustainable goods and services; and conservation, maintenance, and renewal of the means of production, as well as the allocation and investment of human resources and capital (Gil in Hopwood et al., 2005:82).

In this sense, sustainable development must seriously focus on social development. In particular, emphasis should be put on situations that include the interaction between people and their resource systems as well as the interactions within and among resource systems (Clayton & Radcliffe, 1996). People's interaction between themselves and with their environment allows for an emergent practice that fits their social and physical environments. Ulluwishewa (1993) emphasizes that sustainable development cannot materialise without understanding the people's knowledge. This knowledge cannot but come from traditional sources and be based on the particular needs of the community, its

culture, and political and economic landscape. In view of the foregoing, the contention is that a profitable sustainable development approach starts with commitment to social equity and promotion of indigenous knowledge as its base.

Sustainable development is therefore, about integration of knowledge. Indigenous knowledge, in this sense, remains key to sustainable development and human development approach. In emphasizing the importance of taking indigenous knowledge seriously, for the success of human development, thereby, sustainability, Ulluwishewa (1993) contends that the use of indigenous knowledge facilitates beneficiary participation; allows for the integration of “traditional” knowledge with “scientific” knowledge to create appropriate technologies necessary for sustainable development. Indigenous knowledge also bridges the communication gap between development practitioners and the majority of beneficiaries in the way people perceive their environment, their problems, opportunities and resources, and themselves.

2.3 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS (IKS)

Resolving theoretical and conceptual issues relating to the identification of African Indigenous Systems is one of the many challenges confronting philosophers and educators (Ulluwishewa, 1993). Africa has been afflicted by two major externally derived economic models of exploitation. According to scholars such as Atteh (1992), Mohamed (1994) and Warren (1995), colonial and neo-colonial models of exploitation through imperialism, have led to loss of essential skills and traditional knowledge vital for the maintenance of local systems and conservation of the environment. Consequently, the replacement of indigenous knowledge by external knowledge which was seldom suitable for local conditions (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

In emphasizing the significance of people’s knowledge and life experiences in development, Chambers in Gebremedhin (2004:16) indicates that ‘personal beliefs, behaviour and attitudes are the crux of development. If the systems are

to change and transform, it will be through the interaction of personal activities and changes...’ However, despite this realisation, Chambers (1996:92) notes that ‘in most countries of the third world, rural people’s knowledge is an enormous and under-utilised national resource.’

2.3.1 What is Indigenous Knowledge?

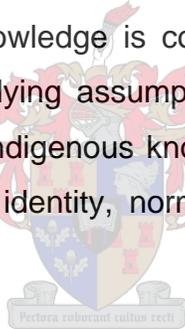
Debates on indigenous knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems have come to play a vital role in international discussions on development planning and sustainable development (Ulluwishewa, 1993, Flavier & Erickson, 1995, and Chambers, 1996). Though this is the case, resolving theoretical and conceptual issues to, and drawing a universally accepted definition of, indigenous knowledge and or indigenous knowledge systems is still a challenge. Some scholars claim that it is difficult to determine the status of indigene; and as such they shun the use of “indigenous” and prefer the use of “local” or “traditional” knowledge. In this study, the use of indigenous knowledge would refer to both traditional and local knowledge.

While various writers may use similar definitions of indigenous knowledge, conclusions and perceptions about this notion are however, often controversial. According to writers such as Mundy and Compton (1999) the definition of indigenous knowledge has progressively been based more on the dichotomy between “scientific” knowledge and “indigenous” knowledge. The contention however, is that due to changing natural environments, the definition of indigenous knowledge must go beyond specific local or traditional pieces of knowledge. It is argued that in defining indigenous knowledge, it is essential to include the changing physical and social environments and associated generation of ‘contemporary ways of knowing’ (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

According to Warren (1991), Indigenous knowledge is the local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society. Warren points out that indigenous knowledge contrasts with the international knowledge system generated by

universities, research institutions and private firms. It is the basis for local-level decision making in agriculture, health care, natural resource management, education, food preparation, and a host of other activities in rural communities. Flavier & Erickson (1995:479) define indigenous knowledge as the information base for a society, which facilitates communication and decision making. Indigenous information systems are dynamic, and are continually influenced by internal creativity and experimentation as well as by contact with external systems.

George (1999) indicates that indigenous knowledge is a term that can be used to designate knowledge produced in specific social context and employed by lay people in their everyday lives. It is knowledge that is usually recreated through generations and transmitted orally from one generation to the other. She underscores that indigenous knowledge is collectively produced and therefore communally owned. The underlying assumption here is that as a collectively produced construct, the use of indigenous knowledge should stress the groups' or community interests, values, identity, norms, beliefs, ethics and cultural or traditional rules and laws.



Concisely defined by Stewart and Stranthen (cited in Bicker, Sillitoe & Pottier, 2004:200), indigenous knowledge is any understanding rooted in local culture. It incorporates all knowledge held more or less collectively by a population that informs interpretation of life issues. Stewart and Stranthen further accord with Flavier et al.'s (1995) view that indigenous knowledge is not homogenous. It varies from one society to another. They emphasise that as a basis of culture, indigenous knowledge is not static, and that it grows from a range of sources. It is a dynamic mixture of past tradition and present innovation with a view to the future.

These definitions imply that indigenous knowledge is a part of the lives of communities, especially rural inhabitants. In addition, the basic assumption is

that indigenous knowledge encompasses the skills, insights and experience of people. Therefore, rural people's livelihood and life survival skills depend almost entirely on specific traditional skills and knowledge essential for their survival. For any community development program and project to become successful, there is a need to recognise, value and appreciate the potential in local experiences and practices. Warren in Reynar (1999:287) claims that there is ample literature which demonstrates that "by understanding and working with indigenous knowledge, decision making systems and indigenous organisations; participation, capacity building and sustainability can be enhanced in cost effective ways."

It is important to note that the use of indigenous knowledge as the basis of community or local problem solving strategies would always have to deal with the contemporary realities of colonisation, effects of economic globalisation, modern social problems (Maurial in Semali et.al, 1999:190), and 'modern' sustainable technology. Sometimes these realities seem to contradict practices which have become society's aspirations, for example, building of houses using cement bricks, electrification of rural areas, rearing new breeds of cattle and other livestock, etc.

In addition, since indigenous knowledge systems are dynamic and evolutionary as constantly shown by the way of life of many people in both rural and urban Botswana, it is worth emphasizing that socio-economic and political transformation, which have since occurred over a long period have to be taken into account. IKS have to adapt and realign to existing realities and be relevant to today's situation. The need for adaptability or the ability to adapt to changing circumstances has been revealed by the use of modern technology leading to changes in aspirations and meanings of development to various societies.

2.3.2 Characteristics of Indigenous Knowledge

As previously noted, indigenous knowledge systems vary from one society to another. As a result IKS reflect different things to different people, at different points in time. In whatever manner it is used, indigenous knowledge could be

understood in its social, cultural, political, environmental and economic context. One analyst endorses this position by emphasising that indigenous knowledge is 'incorporated in a way of life- part experience, part custom, religion, tribal law and the attitude of people toward their own lives and those of other living things' (Viergever in Semali et al., 1999:295).

From discussions noted earlier, one can come to the conclusion that almost all definitions emphasise key aspects of IKS such as its unwritten nature, dynamism and that it is given meaning by a specific community within a specific context. Maurial (cited in Semali et al., 1999:191) identified three main features of indigenous knowledge. The author points out that these features are that indigenous knowledge is local, holistic and agrapha:

i) Local: Indigenous knowledge is local because it emanates from people's interaction with their environment including other sectors of the society such as families and religious institutions. Jones and Hunter (2004) accord with Maurial's view by maintaining that the relationship between the survival of communities and the environment is founded upon the belief that the environment is an embodiment of people's indigenous knowledge socially, culturally and spiritually.

As a local construct, indigenous knowledge is said to be expressed and or propagated through oral traditions in indigenous language, through poetry, drama, song, dance, proverbs, riddles, taboos, folklore and others. According to Kelbessa (2001), oral tradition is highly influential in people's development of encyclopaedic knowledge of socio-economic life, and the local flora and fauna during the course of generations. Thus, he also emphasises the characteristic of indigenous knowledge being local and unwritten but essential in shaping people's perception of life. Kelbessa (2001:261) further maintains that "oral tradition help non-literate people to acquire a wide range of knowledge of various aspects of human beings, their activities and the natural environment and its inhabitants, which no scientific book or journal can provide."

Maurial (1999) confirms the contention that indigenous knowledge is a dynamic mix of past traditions and present innovation with a view to the future. This feature is strengthened by the fact that 'there are non-local or non-indigenous factors that have a significant influence on the recreation of local, traditional knowledge.' Thus, this aspect of indigenous knowledge allows traditional norms and customs to be flexible, adaptable and function as instruments for legitimate change rather than the fossilised remnants of a dead past.

ii) Holistic: It is suggested that indigenous knowledge is holistic. This, Maurial (1999) argues, is generated and replicated within human relationships as well as their relationship with nature. In the author's words 'the real understanding of indigenous knowledge occurs in its cultural wholeness' (Maurial, in Semali et.al, 1999:63). As such, indigenous knowledge is an integrated vehicle for cultural preservation, for linking generations (the young and old), history as well as present people and land or the environment.

Posey (1983) argues that indigenous knowledge is characterised by an integrated system of beliefs (perception), cognition and practice (relation). It can be observed that indigenous knowledge does not only address beliefs and practices. It often includes conservation practices and inherent ethics for interaction between human, natural and spiritual arenas which contribute to sustainable development. In the same view, scholars such as Koro (2005) argue that indigenous knowledge is holistic because it is inclusive in its epistemological framework and approach to reality. Koro emphasises that in various societies, IK cognitive dimensions are linked directly with normative dimensions given the social character of traditional knowledge. It is embedded in the culture(s), language(s), norms and value systems and cannot as such be detached from the people who hold it, hence its holistic nature.

iii) **Agrapha:** Indigenous knowledge is agrapha¹ because it is a body of knowledge that is passed onto generations directly, through oral or verbal means of learning. To sum up this point, the author Maurial (1999: 265) stresses that “through tradition, indigenous peoples transmit their holistic culture; in this way human beings’ relations foster among them as well as between them and nature.”

Unlike western or scientific knowledge, indigenous knowledge is not divided into components such as economics, biology, chemistry, law, religion, etc. It is not prescriptive and grows with specific people to whom it relates and these people give it content.

The emphasis is on the fact that indigenous knowledge embraces the notion of worldview. Thus, Flavier et al. (1995) define a ‘worldview’ as a set of beliefs held consciously or unconsciously about the basic nature of reality and how one comes to know about it. The use of proverbs in communication, for instance, can be used to demonstrate the agrapha nature of indigenous knowledge. Mutasa in Kelbessa (2001:269) contends that ‘proverbs have the role of instructing the young and ignorant, and reminding the old, who have been remiss in their observance of acceptable moral rules in society.’

2.3.3 Indigenous Knowledge in Botswana

Scholars in and from outside Botswana have studied various aspects of Botswana’s indigenous knowledge systems including the history of Botswana, chieftainship, customary laws, traditional agriculture, traditional medicine and health care and others. Some studies have shown that there has been an indigenous tradition of governance which may promote sustainability in Botswana (see Proctor, 1968; Schapera, 1970,1984; Mgadla, 1989,1998; Ngcongco, 1989;

¹ Agrapha represent the ‘unwritten’, ‘unrecorded’ nature of indigenous knowledge. The notion is drawn from a biblical concept of traditional teachings that are not written in the canonical gospels but known from other ancient sources.

Ramsay, 1998; Tlou and Campbell, 1997,1998; Matemba, 2000, 2003; and Mulinge & Molebatsi, 2004).

These scholars reveal that traditional leaders, peasant farmers, traditional doctors and elders in Botswana, through continuous experiments on their environments, have been able to undertake activities that made them discover and practice how to cope with climatic and environmental changes, select crops, control weeds and pests, classify vegetation and practice animal husbandry, as well as govern, coordinate or control community development. Molutsi (1989) points out that peasant farmers have not only developed different strategies to cope with climatic changes; but have also developed modes for water conservation and plant resources as well as how to avoid crisis during dry seasons and unnecessary danger. In addition, they knew how to preserve food for themselves and their livestock.

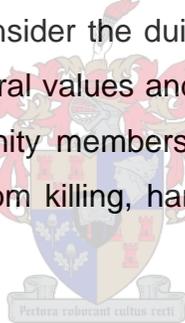
Picard (1987) adds that traditionally, most communities in Botswana ascribe important value to the natural environment. As a result, most communities have some optimum principles and codes of behaviour towards nature. Part of these principles and codes outline how to protect natural vegetation and manage pasture lands through a variety of mechanisms. Traditional leadership and local religious institutions have contributed to environmental sustainability, especially that 'we preserved certain kinds of animals, birds, trees, sources of water and other natural places' with the fear that should we kill these, we would be struck by lightning or experience severe famine as a punishment by Modimo² (Personal interview with *Kgosi* Mosadi Seboko, *Kgosi* Thobega and *Kgosi* Gobuamang, 4/08/2006).

There have been different reasons for the association of communities with totems. Among other outcomes is that some wild animals have been preserved through the system of totemism. Totemism denotes a practice of using a class of

² Modimo is a Setswana name for God, who is considered as the supreme-being.

objects or natural species as symbols of identity of a group. It is ‘the cultural belief that human groups have special mystical relationship with natural objects such as animals, plant, and sometimes non-living things’ (Peofles and Baily in Kelbessa, 2001:62). Due to migration and other factors, there are some instances where residents of the same village or district have different totems.

On the one hand, some communities believed themselves to be descendents of their totem. Bakgatla for example, consider the blue-monkey as their tribe-mate and believe that the blue-monkey and community members may have the same flesh. On the other hand, totemic relations may be believed to have come about because a particular class of objects or animal saved the ancestors of such communities from tribal domination during war. For instance, the Bangwato in Central part of Botswana are believed to have been saved by Phuti (Duiker) from the Boer attacks, hence they consider the duiker as their totem. Totem animals or objects have exceptional cultural values and associations and as a result, are given special attention. Community members of each totemic group or ethnic group are obligated to refrain from killing, harming or eating their totem in any way (Ngcongco, 1989).



Among other traditions, Batswana have also developed their own *meila* (taboos, idioms and norm) that prohibit violence towards nature and natural resources. Taboos are said to promote mental and physical health and good social relations among communities. Proverbs, folktales, legends and other forms of oral traditions that focus on the sacredness of particular trees, plants and animal species are also used in ensuring sustainability. The phenomenon of sacredness used to assist in environmental protection from desecration. Communities did this by developing certain mythical or mysterious events that would befall anyone who tampers with sacred trees, places or animals (Ndhlovu, 2004).

In relation to governance, there are guiding principles which ensured that communities participate in their own development and are self-reliant. There

were mechanisms which ensured accountability and responsibility by all, for instance; 'Kgosi would never take a decision for the community without their consent, and this is the basis of the current democratic principles' (Mgadla 1989:48). There were some checks and balances on the way in which the chief and his advisors conducted tribal matters. The chief always knows that *kgosi ke kgosi ka morafe* (Chief is a chief through the grace of his tribe or his people). On the basis of some of these principles, which are communicated in proverb form, tribal mechanisms were designed to act as checks on traditional leaders who might deviate from the tribal norms.

2.4 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF GOVERNANCE

2.4.1 Governance

Debates on the phenomenon of governance gained momentum since the early 1990s (McCarney, 2003). There is a growing consensus on the importance of governance as a functional principle for achieving sustainable development. Governance is a precondition for effective participation and ownership of development initiatives by civil society, private enterprises and government. It also provides a favourable environment for better decision-making. In a broader sense, citizens as resources for any national government, have a direct interest in governance, as their involvement entitles them to know how their government is utilising and managing national resources (Lafferty, 2004).

Like other concepts, governance is defined differently by various disciplines and scholars depending on whether the focus is on welfare state crisis, evolution of civil society, economic integration and or democratisation (Shami, 2003). Ultimately, discussions on governance focus more attention on the link between the society and state or national government. The argument is that the type of relationship between government and the people is vital for provision of services, access to resources, as well as production and distribution of goods, all of which are critical for overall sustainable development.

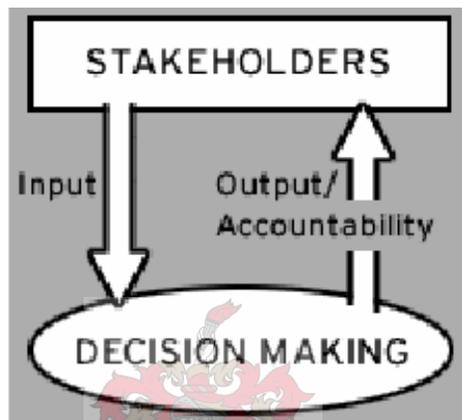
The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982:429-30) defines governance as an ‘act, manner, fact, or function of governing; sway or control.’ According to United Nations Development Programme (2003:18) governance is “the exercise of political and administrative authority in the management of a country’s affairs at all levels. Governance comprises of complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligation”. Governance is complex and has many attributes. Good governance is demonstrated by the quality of a relationship between the mechanism, processes and institutions that bond the state and society. As a process good governance is participatory and transparent. Simultaneously, as an institution, good governance ensures accountability and stresses both pluralism and partnership. It is effective in making the best use of resources and is equitable.

In the instance where governance emphasises an effective and symbiotic relationship between society and state; Weaver, Rock and Kusterer (1997) reiterate that governance should pay particular attention to issues relating to identity, community formation, ownership and collective action. In this context therefore, conditions such as extreme socio-economic inequality and lack of people’s participation adversely affect governance. The same conditions also hamper sustainable development. It is further noted that even though provision of effective services and providing for people’s material needs are crucial, the real crisis of governance rests with restoring and configuring a functional social coherence to communities (Weaver et al.,1997). Governance could as such be expressed as a form of community leadership that ensures an effective relationship between the overall goals of sustainable development and living conditions that better promote sustainable development goals (Lafferty, 2004).

According to Meadowcroft (2004) governance for sustainable development requires a consistent interaction of all stakeholders (communities, private sector

and the state) in decision making processes. Also, constant feedback between stakeholders (for instance, from public policy makers to communities and vice versa) is crucial as summarised in Figure 2. This is because all stakeholders or partners in development are accountable to each other for the outputs and the general process of governance

Figure 2: Stakeholders and decision-making in governance



Source: Institute on Governance, www.iog.ca

From various definitions and debates on governance by scholars and development practitioners such as McCarney (2003), Shami (2003), Lafferty (2004), Meadowcroft (2004) and UNDP (2003), it can be deduced that governance includes the state, but transcends it by equally putting civil society at the centre of the analysis. Good governance promotes civil society's responsibility to facilitate political and social interaction and participation in economic, social and political activities. More emphasis is put on the involvement of citizens in development, participatory approaches to development, transparency, consultation, democracy, accountability, equity, social justice, responsiveness and access to resources including information. To emphasise this model of governance, Swilling and Wooldridge in Swilling (1999:35 - 36) call for the shift into strategic governance model. In this model, it is proposed among others, that, "...participative planning, and increasing the capacity of civil society to participate in decision making" be placed at the core of development initiatives.

2.4.1.1 Attributes of Governance

Many writers identify the following as hallmarks of governance; citizen participation, community ownership, accountability, transparency and stakeholder partnerships. These are also identified not only as core features of governance for sustainable development but also as basic requirements to ensure meaningful democracy, social justice, consultation and equity (World Bank, 1996; Weaver, Rock & Kusterer, 1997; Swilling, 1999; Brown, 2000; Meadowcroft, 2004; Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005).

i) Citizen Participation / Civic Engagement

Ideally, citizen participation provides a strategy wherein the means represent a democratic value in their own right. It is a strategy whose aim is redistribution of power and/ or control between agencies and the people. The underlying principle for citizen participation is that communities will be guaranteed responsive and effective services only if they are in a position to influence policy decisions.

According to the World Bank (1996) participation is an act through which various stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect their livelihoods. In the same wave length, Brown (2000:173-175) stresses that community participation in development initiatives, including sustainability projects, is a fundamental dynamic and credible strategy which needs to be placed as a cornerstone to any people-centered activity. The contention is that as a process, participation allows for ownership of development initiatives by a community, and as such, could ensure sustenance of such initiatives.

Although in this thesis, civic engagement is regarded as participation in governance, and one of the foundations of good governance and pillar of sustainable development, the concept of civic engagement is open to

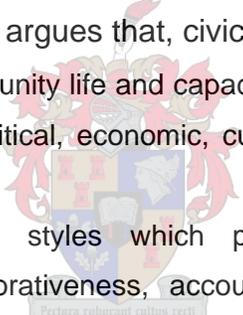
interpretation. Some, such as Oakley and Marsden (1984), stress that civic engagement signifies a top-down approach of involving communities in pre-determined decisions about programmes that affect their lives. Unlike Oakley et al. (1984), UNDP (2002) contends that civic engagement is a process that effectively involves people in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. In addition, Gran in Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005:107-108), emphasises that 'engagement means being part of the self sustaining participatory development'. These interpretations of civic engagement offer conflicting prescriptions for the treatment of dissimilar communities. In order to clarify and to reduce the definitional confusion, thereof, this study adopts the definitions of civic engagement by UNDP (2002).

Civic engagement, according to UNDP (2002), is primarily focused on establishing channels of voice, representation and accountability at the state level. Based on this argument, therefore, effective civic engagement as a process that amplifies governance requires a sustained effort to build viable institutions, capable of involving the populace in the production of knowledge about their communities. Mobilising all stakeholders to put forward their aspirations and needs; and interlinking these needs and aspirations, and translating them into functional programmes could allow community members to cultivate an "independent locus of operations away from dependency on political organisations and government, while not precluding certain strategic alliances with them"(Foundation for Contemporary Research, 1994:102).

In this way, civic engagement is a process wherein the means represent a value in their own right, that value being good governance. The assumption is that good governance promotes a more responsive and sustainable community, than in which decision making is the prerogative solely of government and the so called development experts. To enhance sustainable development, then, it would seem to be more effective to foster partnerships

between multiple actors engaged in promoting governance that effectively involve communities and fulfill the needs of ordinary community members.

The rationale for civic engagement is that, it involves several inter-related but distinct processes (UNDP, 2002). In a broad spectrum, civic engagement entails a process of involving people in decision making; eliciting their contribution to development interventions; and their participation in enjoying the benefits from the development process. This argument highlights on important element of peoples' involvement vis, engagement of citizens and citizens' organisations in public policy debates, or in delivery of public services and contributing to the management of public goods, that engaging people is a critical factor in making development initiatives and action responsive to the needs and aspirations of the communities, especially the poor. UNDP (2002:1) further argues that, civic engagement promotes:

- 
- i) the growth of community life and capacity of groups to improve their own welfare through political, economic, cultural and moral resources of the state.
 - ii) specific interaction styles which place a premium on flexibility, adaptability, collaborativeness, accountability and problem solving in relation to key participation opportunities.
 - iii) generation of more accurate and representative information about local needs.
 - iv) diversity of civil society interests and views to ensure that state is not held captive by few groups.
 - v) adoption of interventions in accordance with the needs of the people.
 - vi) mobilisation of local skills and resources.
 - vii) accountability by the state, and
 - viii) creation of institutional base to reduce the cost of access to various social groups in development interventions'.

Proponents of civic engagement such as Gran (1983), Putnam (1993) and UNDP (2002), assert that civic engagement, as a special form of participation

has unique impacts on governance, community ownership of development projects and on community life in general.

ii) Community Ownership

The question of community ownership of social development projects is at the core of sustainable development. It is widely believed that for development programmes to attain desired outcomes, the community or beneficiaries must be involved in planning right up to the evaluation stage of such programmes. In addition, Hall in Ayre & Callway (2005:111 -128) emphasises that there is a growing perception that the governance of resources and services functions effectively with an open social structure that enables broader participation by civil society, private sector, media and other interest groups, all working as a network to support and influence government.

Advocates of community participation in development, support the notion of community involvement in decisions that have impact in their livelihoods (see Midgley, 1986; Paul, 1987; Oakley & Marsden, 1984; Burkey, 1993; World Bank, 1996; Kotze & Kellerman, 1997; Brown, 2000; Botchway, 2001; Mc Farlane, 2001). The assumption is that community involvement breeds community ownership, and facilitates provision of services that responds to community needs. The most obvious benefit of community ownership is that communities gain control of the development initiatives, and thereby, ensuring that local interests are considered. This may, in turn, help in achieving sustainable development.

iii) Accountability

As a vital constituent of governance, accountability denotes a mode of holding governments, organisations and people responsible for their performance and implications generated by their decisions and actions. In the mainstream literature, accountability is depicted as a process that improves effectiveness and efficiency in governance. It is also viewed as a course serves that

facilitates increased community participation and community ownership as well as the ability of communities to take charge of their livelihoods. The assumption is that when communities participate in governance, at local, national or international levels, they simultaneously develop their capacity to advocate for policies, services and programmes that address their needs, enhancing overall governance and sustainable development.

iv) Transparency

Both effective citizen participation and accountability require open and accessible procedures and information about the activities and policies that affect people's lives and the environment around them, in other words, transparency. "Transparency and good information systems are thus ... characteristics of a system of effective governance" (Weaver et al., 1997:96). Like other concepts, Transparency, as depicted in the literature, implies taking deliberate effort by governments and other development institutions, to bring all relevant stakeholders together in a forum and within an agreed process.



v) Stakeholder partnerships

Formation of stakeholder partnerships in environment and development decision-making is generally believed to be an essential characteristic of governance for sustainable development. UNDP & Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2002:215), for example, stress that 'developing partnerships and strengthening networks between stakeholders; addressing conflictual issues; integrating diverse viewpoints; creating mutual benefits; developing shared power and responsibilities; creating feedback loops between local, national or international levels and into decision making' is critical to attainment of good governance. This however, is seen by most civil society institutions as a call for privatisation. The recommendation is therefore, to establish partnerships that are complimentary to, instead of

those that substitute governments' commitments to sustainable development (Ayre & Callway, 2005:38).

In the context of the above discussion, one may conclude that governance is a framework of social, economic systems, legal and political structures through which humanity manages itself (World Humanity Action Trust in Callway, 2005). Core to effective self-management of humanity is appreciable citizen participation. Citizen participation does not only serve a mechanism that enhances governance but also as a strategy that allows creation of knowledge, opportunities to explore new development directions as well as new ways of conducting business. Participation, accountability, partnership creations and transparency should therefore, underpin most development agendas and must stand out as integrated and inclusive approaches if sustainable development is to be effectively undertaken (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005).

2.4.2 Indigenous Governance

The challenge of defining indigenous governance is almost the same as the one facing an acquisition of a world wide acceptable definition of indigenous knowledge. When entering into discussion about indigenous governance, gradations, overlaps and adverse criticisms proliferate. In general terms, however, indigenous governance systems have three main hallmarks: developed locally, controlled by the local, elderly and experienced members of the society and use unwritten laws, ethics and values (Ulluwishewa, 1993; Warren et al., 1995; Mathias, 1995; Larson, 1998). In this study, indigenous governance is used in a similar context to African traditional or customary governance systems and processes.

The concept of indigenous governance would, in a broad sense, refer to the process and structures through which a group, community or society makes decisions, dispenses and employs authority and power, determines strategic goals, organises corporate, group and individual behaviour, develops institutional rules and assigns responsibility for these matters (Mathias, 1995; Larson, 1998).

Literature on indigenous African cultures reveals that there are two major types of systems through which Africans governed themselves. These are, first, the use of tribal groupings which existed as detached political entities and governed themselves independently through chiefs, referred to as chiefdoms. Second, is the imperial rule where conquered tribes came under the hegemony of others as vassal states with extensive local autonomy (Ayittey, 1999). As noted earlier in this thesis, the common indigenous governance systems took the form of chiefdoms, tribes and band polities (Lewellyn, 1992; Schapera, 1984; Agrawal, 2002):

- i) **Chiefdoms:** complex, autonomous multi-community political units that have a centralised political system focused on the chief. The chief persona may be more or less sacralized. In an agrarian society, the chief and his close relatives (advisors) perform the administration of community resources. Chiefs redistribute surplus resources (which are normally collected in the form of tribute) and redirect them to members of community during drought or for activities that promote identity building, solidarity and/or to commemorate success, victory and power (Lewellyn, 1992).
- ii) **Tribes:** formally organised kinship groupings (lineages, clans) and /or non-kinship institutions that unite residential communities into larger structures, and are considerably more cohesive and able to deal with external threats in a more organised fashion. In this form of governance, descent groups and /or non-kin groupings may have leaders who coordinate group activities to some extent or who represent the group externally, especially on governing bodies such as councils, but with limited coercive powers. Leadership positions may be more or less hereditary (Schapera, 1984).

- iii) **Band Politics:** these consist of a number of families living together and cooperating in economic activities throughout the year. In this type of governance, leadership is informal, with older male members of the family serving as leaders. According to Agrawal (2002) elders or headmen and influential individuals speak on behalf of bands and leaders emerge situationally in the context of various activities to coordinate such activities.

The indigenous concept of governance is based on the humanistic compassionate value of botho/ubuntu (humanness). According to Osei-Hwedie (2005:3), botho 'is a cultural value that places humans at the centre of the universe, without making them superior to all things.' The sustenance and integrity of indigenous governance is held together by values rather than exclusive arrangements based on rules and regulations. One of the distinctive characteristics of indigenous governance is the community concept of leadership and management. In this respect, the botho concept of community leadership is based on the African collective effort and practice of 'I am because we exist'. In this system of governance, members of the community including tribal leaders (chiefs and headmen) are expected to 'subordinate their egos to the communal interests of the community so that they can survive successfully as a group' (Schapera, 1984:30).

Some discussion on perspectives and insights about indigenous governance reveal that indigenous governance has two prongs (Santoyo, 2006: 1-4). First, that there is an internal prong, which is defined in terms of conflicts and challenges that affect social control and regulation, interaction with nature, spirituality and the sacred, material and spiritual control of territories as well as strategies for survival and the future. Second, the external prong involves strategies for self-determination, self-government, the creation and management of partnerships and networks for dialogue and negotiation with other communities and governments. Indigenous governance also includes

democratic representation and participation in both legislative and executive domains, control and management of natural resources and ownership of land. Recognition and utilisation of indigenous knowledge and how as well as the extent to integrate such IKS into capitalist development and the market economy also fall within the external prong features of indigenous governance.

2.4.3 Governance in Botswana

'... Our conjecture is that Botswana's institutions reflect a combination of factors. These include tribal institutions that encouraged broad based participation and constraints on political leaders during the pre-colonial period; ... the fact that upon independence, the most important rural interests, chiefs and cattle owners, were politically powerful ...' (Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001: 20-25).

Botswana became a British Protectorate in the year 1885, after three chiefs sought protection from being colonised by Germans and Boers. The country gained independence in the year 1966 through democratic elections. As noted in the statements above, Botswana's democracy married Tswana traditional practices of governance and the Westminster model. The Kgotla was made part of government structures. In order to ensure participation of traditional leaders in national governance the government created the House of Chiefs. The House of Chiefs was modeled in line with the House of Lords of the United Kingdom. The role and structure of the House of Chiefs are however, very different from the British House of Lord. The House of Chiefs in Botswana brings in local political structures into the Westminster democratic model. It is a house for eight Tswana paramount chiefs and four elected members from minority groups to represent their ethnic groups and to advise government on matters affecting customary law (Parsons, 1984; Beauliar, 2003).

In addition to the House of Chiefs, is a National Assembly or parliament which, is also modeled on to the British system. Differences are that it has an executive president who is the head of state as well as head of government. The separation of the judiciary and the legislature exists only in terms of common law. In customary law, chiefs, within their respective kgotlas, act as the highest

judges. The House of Chiefs cannot obstruct a bill passed by the national assembly for more than a year. Their role is to advise the government on matters relating to customary affairs (Botswana Orientation Centre, 1996).

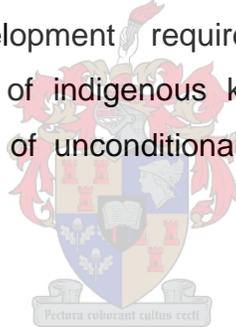
During the rule of Botswana as a British Colony, the colonial power, through an Order-in-Council, established legislation which eroded some of the major powers and functions of *dikgosi* (chiefs). After independence, a Chieftainship Act (1966) was created which further placed chiefs under close control by government. The revised Chieftainship Act of 1987, maintains that 'the chief can be designated as such in accordance with customary law by his tribe in the traditional assembly, but that he has to be recognised as such by the minister' (Lekorwe and Somolekae, 1998:81). The role of *dikgosi* has generally changed and adapted to changing circumstances especially on issues related to gender equality. Nyamnjoh (2002) observed that chieftaincy is an institution that has adapted to change. In his examination on chieftaincy and democracy in Cameroon and Botswana, he convincingly argues that chieftaincy as a dynamic institution constantly re-invents itself "to accommodate and be accommodated by new exigencies." Women are now allowed to take the reigns of traditional authority. Examples of such female chiefs are Kgosi Mosadi Seboko of Balete, Kgosi Rebecca Banika of Bambukushu and Kgosi Kebalitile Moremi of Batawana.

National Development Plans (NDPs) 7, 8 and 9 argue that the following create more predictable opportunities for citizen-state interaction: a pursuit of decentralisation; enhanced popular participation at the local level in public policy-making and improved effectiveness in bottom-up planning; strengthened participation of civil society and NGOs in service delivery; increased public-private partnerships; reduction of gender imbalances; enhanced participation of traditional leaders in local governance; and greater attention to the needs of vulnerable groups (Government of Botswana, 2003). Also, other government mechanisms such as the poverty reduction strategy, community based development strategy and Vision 2016 identified five other critical underpinnings

of national efforts to reduce poverty through local governance reform. These are: (i) strengthening of human and financial resources of local authorities, (ii) improvements in the rule of law, legal equity and access to justice, (iii) better vertical and horizontal co-ordination between central and local governments, (iv) more accountable, responsible and responsive public service and (v) strong political and administrative commitment to local governance (UNDP, 2004).

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, an attempt was made to briefly discuss literature on sustainable development, indigenous knowledge, governance, indigenous governance and civic engagement. The possibility of attaining sustainable development via integration of indigenous knowledge into contemporary development initiatives, and strengthened indigenous governance were further explored. It seems that successful sustainable development requires the effective harnessing, harmonising and rationalising of indigenous knowledge systems in order to appreciate their value instead of unconditionally making them subordinate to scientific knowledge.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter the methodology and research tools used to generate data related to the research goal and objectives are described. Further, the chapter provides justification for choice of theoretical orientations that influenced the methodology used in this study. The data generation tools used for this thesis included document analysis, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The chapter further discusses ethics and limitations of the study, and explains how the study dealt with issues of validity.

This study endeavours to investigate the role of indigenous governance systems in Sustainable Development at Moshupa, Botswana. The respondents comprised of thirty-five (35) respondents aged between 28 and 82 years. Of the 35 respondents interviewed, 10 (28.6%) were females and 25 (71.4%) were males. The difference arises from two major reasons: first, that the snowball sampling method was used and as such more males referred me to other males than females did. Secondly, in Botswana chieftainship is almost exclusively a male oriented institution.

3.2 Research Methodology

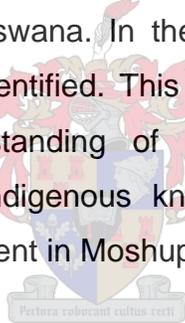
The primary methodology of the study is qualitative. However, the study combined qualitative and quantitative research approaches. When qualitative and quantitative methods are combined, one method is chosen as the primary means of evaluation while the other plays the subsidiary role of enhancement, elaboration, correspondence of results, and illustration and clarification of results from each method. This is in order to increase the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and inquiry results (Babbie, 1992).

In addition, this study is descriptive and explanatory in nature. It is descriptive because it attempts to describe the type and extent of knowledge of indigenous practices of governance and nature of community engagement and ownership in sustainable development. The descriptive function of research plays an important role in developing knowledge about the community needs, problems and attitudes toward service, about the nature of service provided and about service used (Mouton, 2001). Since the study intends to enhance a body of knowledge on the role of indigenous governance and sustainable development, the descriptive research design was identified as more appropriate. According to Merriam and Simpson (1995), the function of descriptive research method is to systematically describe facts and characteristics of a given population, area of interest and or phenomena. Based on such an understanding, therefore, the descriptive design chosen in this study allowed the researcher to interview respondents verbally. This further gave space for collection of in-depth information on facts that describe indigenous governance, indigenous knowledge and sustainable development which were required in the study. The study is also explanatory because very little is known about indigenous knowledge on governance and civic engagement in Botswana from prior research. In fact, limited research has been undertaken previously into the aspect of indigenous governance and civic participation/engagement systems in Botswana, and in particular among the *Moshupa* Community.

This study is an interpretive case study relating to Moshupa Village. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999) contend that interpretative research strives to make sense of feelings, experiences and social situations by studying their natural settings. In addition, Janse van Rensburg (2001) explains that interpretive research is concerned with the meaning that people make of the phenomena. This study attempts to interpret and assess the nature and practices of indigenous governance in sustainable development. As noted further by Stake (1995) and Janse van Rensburg (2001), interpretative research provides rich

information in the context of the study, and enables the collection of information that is specific to the particular case.

In this study, a single case study was used. Case study allows one to study “intensively the background, current status, and environmental interactions of a given social unit: an individual, group, institution, or community” (Isaac & Michael, 1997:52). In addition, a single case study is said to be intensive and brings to surface the vital variables, processes, and interactions that deserve more extensive attention. “Compared to a survey study which intends to examine a small number of variables across a large sample of units, the case study tends to examine a small number of units across a large number of variables and conditions”(Yin, 1989:34). This understanding would aid in establishing how indigenous governance practices could contribute to the attainment of sustainable development in Botswana. In the context of these orientations, a case of Moshupa village was identified. This was done so that the researcher could get an in-depth understanding of governance practices and civic engagement as informed by indigenous knowledge systems and strategies relevant to sustainable development in Moshupa.



Finally, from this study, the researcher learnt that traditional law, values and customs are ethnic group specific, thus, the results of this study may not be appropriate for replication to other ethnic groups in Botswana or the region (Africa). In the same vein, indigenous knowledge systems, governance and sustainable development seem to be context specific. As such, there is no fixed, ‘one size fits all’ strategy that ensures the attainment of a sustainable community.

3.3 Research Design

A research design is the logical strategy of a study. It deals with the plan developed to answer a question, describe a situation or test a hypothesis. It also deals with the rationale by which a specific set of procedures, which include both data collection and analysis, are expected to meet the particular requirements of

a study. According to Mouton (2001:55), “a research design is a plan of how you intend conducting the research.” Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) assert that, a research design denotes a program that guides the researcher in the process of collecting, analysing and interpreting observations. To materialise the research design, a comprehensive literature study on possible linkages of indigenous knowledge, governance, community participation and ownership, and sustainable development was undertaken. Various sources such as books, journals, internet and nexus databases were utilised. In order to get the required data to address the research objectives, and to develop a case study, practical research was undertaken through desk research and interviews. The following data generation tools were used for this study:

a) Desk research: documents regarded relevant to the indigenous knowledge systems, governance, community ownership and sustainable development were reviewed and analysed. Specifically, Moshupa Village Development Plan (2000-2024), newspaper articles and other official reports and documents were used.

b) Key informant interviews: In order to obtain information and establish the nature of indigenous knowledge on governance and community ownership, chiefs and elders who are directly or indirectly involved in the administration or management of Moshupa village were interviewed. These informants include: village chiefs; Kgosi Seepapitso (aged 78 years, 17/07/2006, Kanye), Kgosi Gobuamang Gobuamang (75 years, 19/07/2006, Thamaga), Kgosi Letlole Mosielele (80 years, 19/07/2006, Mankgodi), Kgosi Mosadi Seboko (54 years, 17/08/2007, Ramotswa), Kgosi Gaborone Gaborone (28 years, 17/08/2006, Tlokweng) and Kgosi Kgari Sechele (32 years, 20/07/2006, Molepolole), a traditional doctor (Mr. M. Nkopane, 59 years, 4/08/2006, Moshupa) and other elders from Moshupa village (see Appendix E).

Data collection was done through an administered questionnaire and focus group interviews. Administered questionnaire was used with both community members

who were literate and those who were semi-literate. An administered schedule is a questionnaire that is read to the respondents and where the answers are recorded by the researcher (Hague, 1993). The interviews were taped using a voice recorder and later transcribed by the researcher. Reading out the questions and recording answers with a voice recorder allowed for engagement of the researcher to acknowledge the worth of the respondents or participants rather than treating them as subjects of research (Stewart, 1990). As such, I was also, able to clarify the questions for the respondents, to notice and correct their misunderstandings and to probe further into unclear answers.

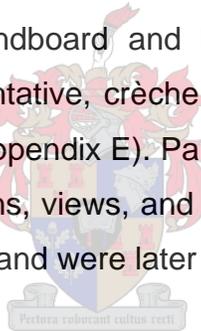
The questionnaire comprised of closed and open-ended questions. Close-ended questions provided categories of responses from which the respondents chose. These types of questions offer an advantage of obtaining uniform data and thus may be more reliable (Hague, 1993). Some closed questions were followed by open ended questions asking the respondent to explain their answer, this was mainly to enable the researcher to understand and ascertain the level of knowledge, and attitude towards the issue at hand. Also, this also gave the respondents the opportunity to elaborate on issues and present information from their own point of view, thus avoiding interviewer bias as much as possible.

According to Gay and Airasian (2000), interviews allow the researcher to investigate and prompt things that one can not easily observe. They further note that, through interviews, the researcher can probe an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives. Face-to-face interviews benefited this study, as most respondents opened up during the face-to-face key informant interviews.

c) Focus Group discussions: In addition, focus group discussions were used as a significant information gathering exercise for this study. Patton (2001) posits that during focus group interviews, interaction amongst participants enhances data quality, and provides checks and balances, which weed out false and

extreme views. The purpose of focus group interview is to mainly “to develop a discussion among participants” (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1997:110). Bless & Higson-Smith (1997) further add that the merits of this type of interview are that not only do participants discuss issues in depth; but the participants are also accorded the opportunity to learn from each as well as possibly resolve confusing and difficult issues with which they may be confronted.

Stewart (1990) indicates that a group of six or seven is the optimum size for a focus group. In this study, three focus group discussions were held in Moshupa village. In the first group, there were eight participants, six of whom were males and the two participants being females. The second group also comprised of eight participants and had six females and two males, whilst the third, and last group had four participants who were all males. These groups included: members of the Ngwaketse landboard and Moshupa sub-landboard, village development committee representative, crèche teachers, youth, elected political councillors and headmen (See Appendix E). Participants were selected based on snowball sampling. Their concerns, views, and discussions in general were tape recorded using a voice- recorder and were later transcribed.



3.4 Study Population

According to Treece and Treece (1986), a study population represents the entire number of units under the study. The population of this study comprised of 35 males and females, who are residents of Moshupa and the environs, either as indigenous Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana or reside in Moshupa as service providers. Also, other respondents were drawn from traditional leadership who have or had influence in Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana’s way of life. The study population aged between 28 to 82 years of age. This was due to the nature of the study, which sought to establish the nature of indigenous governance and further investigate how indigenous governance could enhance sustainable development.

3.5 Sampling Procedures

A sample is part of the whole. Merriam & Simpson (1995:19) defines a sample as a “group of subjects chosen from a larger population with the aim of collecting information of this population as a whole”. The study was carried out in Moshupa village, with 35 respondents forming the case study. Because this study is qualitative in nature, purposive, non-probability sampling strategies were employed. Wolcott (1994:27) emphasises that ‘purposive sampling is best used with small numbers of individuals/groups which may well be sufficient for understanding human perceptions...and contexts, which are the main justification for a qualitative audience research’. In addition, Berg (2001) highlights that non-probability sampling methods are utilised in situations where the researcher cannot select probability samples as used in large-scale surveys. According to Patton (1990), the underlying principle of all non-probability strategies is that the cases selected are information-rich. Based on such an understanding, therefore, non-probability sampling was selected for this study.

In defence of small sample size, Borg and Gall (1989) assert that small samples are more appropriate for qualitative research than large samples. In addition, Patton (1990) stresses that qualitative research typically focuses on collecting in-depth information on relatively small samples, even single cases ($n=1$), purposefully selected. This, May (2001) argues, is because qualitative research aims at in-depth and holistic understanding of a few cases instead of a general understanding of many cases. Thus, determining the size of the sample depends on a number of prevailing factors. The methodology, sample size and selection of respondents in study, therefore, were based on the preceding factors. The 35 respondents who formed the study sample were enough to provide the in-depth, rich data that was required in the study.

In this study, sample selection was done through purposive and snowball, non-probability sampling procedure. Snowball sampling is a method employed in field research where each respondent or person interviewed may be asked to suggest

additional people for interviewing (Babbie, 1992). This method was chosen because no sampling frame was obtained from village authorities. Through this method, each respondent identified led the researcher to the next respondent until a point where additional respondents could no longer be identified.

3.6 Validity

Qualitative researchers can validate their work if they vividly and comprehensively describe the contextual conditions of their studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, Robson (1995) emphasises that for research to be valid, it should use methodologies that echo the lived experiences of the group being researched, reduce the divide between the researcher's intellectual work and group members' ordinary ways of describing and understanding their experiences, enable members of the group to comprehend and transform their experiences and, allow the researcher's prior theoretical concepts to be informed and transformed by understanding derived from the groups' experiences. In the context of this discussion, this study utilised a variety of sources including, face-to-face interviews, focus group discussion and document analysis to ensure that the findings of the study are valid and trustworthy. The use of the aforementioned data generation tools enabled the researcher to acquire quality data from which detailed description of the findings was provided.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data gathered for this study was qualitative in nature. Thus, to analyse the findings for the study, the researcher utilised verbatim quotations from interviews and tables containing condensed summaries. These were meant to provide brief overviews of specific aspects of the full set of discussions from the interviews, and also to present similarities, attitudes, priorities and perceptions about indigenous knowledge systems, governance, community ownership and sustainable development.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

According to Bassegy (1995), a researcher needs to respect the origin of data and ensure the dignity and privacy of the respondent. In addition, Cohen, Manion and Marrison (2000) assert that a researcher needs to carefully consider confidentiality, anonymity, non-identifiability and non-traceability when conducting interviews.

Permission was sought first from the Department of Tribal Administration and secondly from the village chief and other responsible authorities to undertake the study. The purpose of the study was explained and assurance given to the respondents that information collected from the study was for academic purposes and that it would not be used against them. Respondents were further informed that participation in the study was voluntary and they were promised that no harm shall be caused to the respondents during and after interview as a consequence of their cooperation. Even though the respondents were initially assured that their names would not be revealed, they allowed the researcher to use their names and take pictures of the interviews and group discussions, however, solely for the purpose of this study. At the end of each group discussion and interview, respondents were thanked for their time and for sharing invaluable information on the study subject.

3.9 Methodological Reflection

This study is limited in scope. It is not the aim of this study to provide a detailed history and information of various forms of indigenous knowledge in Botswana. It will give some examples to illustrate the general principles about indigenous governance and sustainable development among Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana. The following challenges were faced during fieldwork or data collection process that serve as limitation on the study. Despite the challenges encountered, the findings and conclusion of the study were not seriously affected.

- i) Due to late authorisation (for me to conduct interviews) by the Department of Tribal Administration - Ministry of Local Government, I started fieldwork later than anticipated. This had implications on duration of data collection; forcing the researcher to extend the data collection period from 3 weeks to five weeks.
- ii) Fieldwork was done during the time when there were Presidential Consultations of communities about the revision of the composition of the House of Chiefs. As a result, appointments for interviews and focus group discussions had to be re-scheduled as such impacting on time allocated for data collection. I continuously changed appointments to suit the respondents' schedule.
- iii) Finally, although desk research was one of the methods of data collection, the information on Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana was fragmented and sometimes incomplete. This was however, substantiated by discussions and interviews. Much of information on indigenous knowledge systems is not written as such there are cases where I could not get reliable sources and key informants that could give any account of the remote past with any degree of accuracy. As a result, the number of key informants was increased and more information sought from key informants who were not necessarily Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana, but had insight information on the history and knowledge systems of this tribe.

3.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter discussed methodology and research design utilised for generation of in-depth data required in the study. In addition, issues relating to data analysis, validity and ethical consideration were examined. The main methods of data collection were in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document reviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY SITE & A SHORT HISTORY OF BAKGATLA- BA-GA-MMANAANA: MOSHUPA VILLAGE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly describes the study site and outlines a brief history of Bakgatla ba-ga-Mmanaana of Moshupa Village in Botswana. In order to comprehend the context, conception of sustainable development, attitudes, decisions, or behaviours over the use, control and preservation of resources, it is critical that one understands the history. History influences and shapes people's relation with the environment, values, ethics, cultural beliefs and also the generation of society's indigenous knowledge.

4.2 Study site

The site for this study is Moshupa in Southern District as shown in Figure 3. The name Mosopa (now Moshupa), means naked. It is said to have originated from a lone man found in the place when the people first settled there. However, it has not been confirmed whether it is named after the man or it is a result of the legend that he was always naked. The village is located about 60 km west of Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana. The people of Moshupa are called the Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana. They constitute about 18,000, which is about 0.11% of the total population of Botswana (Government of Botswana, 1991). A few Bangwaketse reside in Moshupa. In addition, there is a significant number of other ethnic groups who migrated to this village in search of employment opportunities. Moshupa is characterised by a unique and gigantic mountain outcrops. The giant rocks (some up to 50 metres in radius) are said to be well balanced on top of each other in a way that even the villagers themselves wonder why they do not fall (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moshupa>). They are believed to fall only when the village chief is dying, as an omen (personal interview with Kgosi Mosielele II, 6/08/2006).

Figure 3: Botswana Map indicating regions, some villages and towns in the country



Source: Department of Surveys & Mapping, 2001

According to Ministry of Lands and Housing (2003), Moshupa village has six primary schools namely, Bakoko, Bakgatla, Kebonyekgotla, Kgabosetso, Kgabophuti and Mosielele Primary schools. The Three junior secondary schools are Baitirile, Diratsame and Mmanaana Junior Secondary School. The only senior secondary school (or high school) is called Moshupa Senior Secondary. In

addition to schools, other public service providers found in the village include offices for rural administration council, tribal administration, sub-land board, police service, four health clinics (two public and two privately owned), health centre, public library, number of mainline churches and African churches.

There are three seasonal rivers crossing Moshupa village which, are Mosope, Hatshelatladi (Gatsalatladi), Monnamme and Selokolela in the north of the village. The main river, Mosope, is said to be the host of a legendary Kgwanype (a big river-snake or dragon) which almost all the villagers still claim exists, with the elderly stressing that it is a talisman for the village. None of the villagers would dare cross the Mosope river at night, especially, where it joins the Phuting/kgosing mountain for fear of this kgwanype (sometimes called Seriri, Noga ya metsi). This place, called lefikeng, or just 'hikeng', has a beautiful rock outcrop curiously balanced upon the rocky-river banks with a pond underneath it that hardly ever dries. Although the villagers avoid this place as much as they can, white tourists and white expatriate teachers choose to visit it frequently-only to confirm the locals belief that the 'Kgwanype' turns into a white lady and sunbathes during the day.

4.3 Tribal Political and Administration system

The Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana are found in the southern part of Botswana at Southern and Kweneng Districts. Specifically, they are located in Moshupa and Thamaga villages. The tribal chief of Moshupa is Kgosi Benoni Kgabosetso Mosielele II. The tribe is composed of clans or wards that are governed by hereditary or appointed headmen (dikgosana). Traditionally, these headmen are responsible for customary court work; settling disputes and dealing with issues that concern land allocation. The official royal council or council of authority consists of members including the Chief and some headmen (dikgosana) but not all sections of the tribe. The council serves more like an executive. In Setswana custom, the tribal council is specifically comprised of the Chief and advisors who are mostly paternal and maternal uncles or other close relatives and some appointed advisers.

4.4 A Short history of Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana

Just like most ethnic communities in Botswana, Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana's history traces back to the then Central Transvaal in South Africa. The group is said to have arrived in Botswana around 1871. Many writers offer different and sometimes contradictory hypotheses about the migration and splits of this group from the Transvaal. Some of the common reasons for their migration from Central Transvaal are said to include natural disasters such as famine and outbreaks of epidemics such as small pox, influenza and polio. As a result, Bakgatla left Central Transvaal in search of safer habitat for both people and livestock. Other reasons given are that they 'resented being under the hegemony of other groups' (Tselaesele, 1978:). Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana is the only ethnic group in Botswana that is presently found in two administrative areas, viz Southern (Ngwaketse) and Kweneng. The group split in the years 1934 to 1936. According to Mathemba (2000), invasive nature of British colonial rule exacerbated a conflict between a paramount chief and his sub-chief, resulting in the split.

4.4.1 Traditional totemism, values and environmental ethics

According to various historians, ethnologists and anthropologists such as Tselaesele (1978), Ramsay (1998) and Matemba (2003), Bakgatla groups once lived as a unit and were ruled by a single chief. Their founding father is believed to be Mokgatle (the person after whom the ethnic group is named). The Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana belongs to the Bakgatla group in the Southern part of Botswana and South West of South Africa. Other Bakgatla groups include Bakgatla-ba-ga-Kgafela in south east of Botswana, Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmakau and Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mosetlha in Pretoria, South Africa and Bakgatla-ba-ga-Motsha in Rustenburg and Groote Marico, South Africa. Due to current development trends, such as free movement of people and the search for employment opportunities, these groups may also be found in other parts of Botswana and South Africa.

The Bakgatla have a totem of a Blue Monkey (indigenously known as Kgabo / kgatla) and fire-flame (kgabo ya molelo). Totemism is a 'system of religious belief

which attributes divine properties to a particular type of animal or plant' (Giddens, 1993:764). In Setswana tradition, a totem serves as a symbol of identity and as a sign of common ancestry and has affinal significance. It is common that a totem is in a form of an animal and as a result such animal is highly respected by the ethnic group. The totem is not supposed to be killed or eaten by the members of such a tribe (Matemba, 2003). Presently, the Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana both in Moshupa and Thamaga villages observe the Blue Monkey as their totem. Traditionally, Blue Monkey remains respected and recognised as a sacred animal by Bakgatla. However, nothing is known of the historical trajectory that led to the choice of Blue Monkey as the totem for Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana.

4.4.2 Traditional values and environmental ethics,

Sociologists such as Giddens (1993) define values as ideas held by individuals or groups about what is desirable, proper, good or bad. The contention is that the definition of what is good or bad rests strongly on a specific culture in which people happen to live. Similarly, Smith & Mackie (1995) view values as culturally defined standards by which people assess desirability, goodness, and beauty, and which serve as broad guidelines for social interaction.



Traditionally, Ba-ga-Mmanaana values, customs, ethics and beliefs stress the existence of a supreme-being. This supreme-being is believed to have created the whole natural environment including people. A significant number of this group believes that there are certain animals, birds, plants or natural places such as gorges or hills which, when killed or disturbed, cause the supreme-being to act in anger. When provoked to anger, this supreme-being manifests this in display of thunder storms, lightning, strong winds and/or severe drought. As a result, there are trees or plants such as Mongana (*Acacia mellifera*), Mokgalo (*Ziziphus mucronata*), Mogonono (*Terminalia sericea*) and Moseitlha (*Peltophorum africana*), and animals (for instance, python and Mmamasiloanoka (*Hammercop*)) that are not supposed to be cut or killed especially in summer, autumn and spring seasons. For these reasons, some, animals and plants or

trees, including the ones listed above were preserved since they are regarded sacred and important for the livelihood of the community.

4.4.3 Participation of women and children in community activities

Traditionally, chieftaincy was commonly an exclusively male domain, influenced by patriarchal values (Schapera in Nyamnjoh, 2002). In Setswana tradition, a Kgosi (chief) is born and never selected. Chieftaincy is hereditary in the male line, passing normally from father to son. According to Schapera:

If the eldest son was still too young to assume the reigns of power, his uncle would rule as a Motshwareledi (regent). No woman could assume the position of Kgosi. The installation of a Setswana kgosi was conducted by his people in a kgotla (village assembly), where his uncle draped him with a leopard skin (Schapera 1984:62)

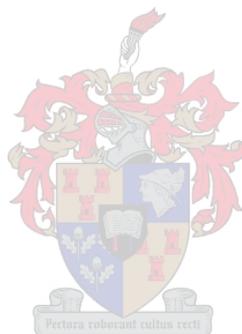
As a result, like in most Setswana ethnic groups and tribal laws, Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana women were not just allowed to be chiefs, but were also not allowed to attend Kgotla meetings unless they were invited to give evidence during a settlement of a dispute (Matemba, 2005). Women were regarded as children and or minors. Some males were also regarded as children especially when they were not married or had mental disabilities. As a result, they were also not allowed to participate in decisions that affect their community (Personal communication with Kgosi Mookodi 36, Kontle 55 and Monare 73 at Moshupa, 28/07/2006).

The changing order in the world generally, means that local, national and international governance institutions and structures should adapt to the times if they are to be of any relevance. Current trends indicate that in Botswana traditional attitudes towards women, their role and responsibilities in national development are changing. At present, three women have been installed in major chieftaincy offices. One of these women has served as the president of the

House of Chiefs in Botswana. This allowed women to challenge old age patriarchal customs previously barring them from being appointed chiefs in their own right (Matemba, 2005). In addition, unmarried males are also allowed to serve as chiefs and are allowed to participate in village and national development activities.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter has discussed the brief history of the Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana, the theoretical frameworks of indigenous governance orientations and their manifestations in different contexts. This chapter has given insights on some of the indigenous governance values which, seem compatible with modern orientations of development, and may be useful in other parts of Botswana



CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DATA RESULTS, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

In the previous chapters, the role of indigenous governance and other theoretical concepts related to governance and sustainable development have been discussed in general terms. This chapter presents findings of the study in an attempt to further provide a ground for verifying the reality, challenges, strengths and concerns related to indigenous governance and sustainability. The data will be interpreted and analysed based on the inputs from the focus group discussions and interviews conducted.

5.1 Data results and interpretation

The data was gathered through open and semi-structured questionnaires. In addition, the data gathered in this study was enriched through focus group discussions, key informant interviews and documentary sources. In order to ease the flow, the study questions were clustered into five sub-sections; i) respondents' background information, ii) general questions, iii) indigenous knowledge systems, iv) governance, civic engagement and community ownership and v) sustainable development. Sub-section one gives background information about the respondents. Sub-section two attempts to establish general information regarding respondents' attitudes, perceptions and beliefs towards nature. Sub-section three discusses indigenous knowledge systems whilst sub-section four examines issues relating to governance, civic engagement and community ownership. The final sub-section, section five, establishes the respondents' understanding of sustainable development.

5.1.1 Respondents' background information

Table 1: Age, Gender & Marital status of Respondents in numbers and percentages

Age	Gender		No. of Respondents	Percentage
	F	M		
28 - 37	4	5	9	25.7
38 - 47	1	3	4	11.4
48 - 57	4	1	5	14.3
58 - 67	1	6	7	20
68 - 77	-	7	7	20
78+	-	3	3	8.6
Total	10	25	35	100
Marital Status			Number	Percentage
Single			9	25.7
Married			20	57.1
Widowed			3	8.6
Divorced			2	5.7
Separated			1	2.9
Total			35	100

From Table 1, it can be observed that the respondents in this study fell in the age range of 28 – 82. 9 (25.7%) of the respondents were between the ages of 28 and 37 and 4 (11.4%) were between the ages of 38 and 47. 5(14.3%) fell in the age range 48 – 57 whilst 7(20%) was in the 58 - 67 year group. 7(20%) of the respondents aged between 68 and 77 years whilst 3 (8.6%) aged 78+ years. When combined, the cohorts of 48 years and above, accounts for 22 (62.9%)

respondents. This indicates that the majority of respondents were above the age of 47. The data suggest that majority of the respondents in this study were adults and would have had exposure informally or formally, to indigenous knowledge. Because of the nature of the study, elder members of the community were preferred. This is also because they would have accumulated knowledge and experiences over time which makes them custodians of indigenous knowledge.

With regard to gender, Table 1 depicts that 10 (28.6%) of the respondents are females and 25 (71.4%) are males. Efforts were made to increase the number of females interviewed, as they are traditionally marginalised when it comes to issues of development and governance in general. As noted earlier, an explanation for a large number of male respondents in the study could be that snowball sampling depends highly on the knowledge about other respondents. As such, more males introduced other respondents (from the same sex) to the researcher. Another plausible explanation of the predominance of male respondents may be due to the fact that traditionally, chieftainship and related community governance is a male dominion (Matemba, 2005).

According to the data presented in Table 1, 9 (25.7%) respondents were single. 20 (57.1%) were married, 3 (8.6%) were widowed whilst 2 (5.7%) were divorced and 1 (2.9%) was separated from their marriage partner. This data reflects that the majority of the respondents were married.

Table 2, shows that all 35 (100%) of the respondents have attended school with 7 (20%) having attained primary school education (standard 1-7); 5 (14.3%) had attained junior secondary education (form 1-2); 14 (40%) attained senior secondary education (form 3-5) whilst the remaining 9 (25.7%) have attained tertiary education. The data indicates that a majority, 14 (40%) and 9 (25.7%) of the respondents have attained senior secondary education and tertiary education respectively.

Table 2: Educational status & Religion/Faith of Respondents

Educational Level	Sex		Number	Percentage
	F	M		
None	-	-		
Primary Education	1	6	7	20
Junior Certificate	1	4	5	14.3
Secondary Education	5	9	14	40
Tertiary Education	3	6	9	25.7
Total	10	25	35	100
Religion/Faith			Number	Percentage
Christian			32	91.4
Moslem			-	-
Hindu			-	-
Jewish			-	-
Other			3	8.6
Total			35	100

Although indigenous systems of education were not included in the questionnaire, some key informants falling in the age category of 54 – 82 years shared that they also attained knowledge and ‘education’ through traditional education institutions. These forms of education are *Bogwera* (the male initiation institution) and *Bojale* (female initiation institution). Of the 35 respondents, 5 (14.3%) respondents; 4 males and 1 female discussed the two institutions and their role in the development and reinforcement of indigenous values, knowledge, ethics and community development.

According to informants, *Bogwera* marked a right of passage from boyhood to manhood. In order for a boy to become a 'man' and be respected by all as well as enjoy privileges in the affairs of the tribe, including marriage, they were

expected to undergo these rites of passage which involved toughening-up, lessons on morality, respect for other people, and responsibility to one's society. Every cohort of initiates would be given *Mophato* (age regiment) permanent name upon graduation, and every member would proudly identify himself with this name. One of the elders who were interviewed on the nature of the bogwera institution lamented the death of the life survival skills they used to acquire through this institution;

'all this knowledge is now dead, but it was imperative for our daily lives... when at initiation school, we were taught poems and how to construct tribal poems; our history and about nature; Setswana traditions, roles and responsibilities; to man livestock and how to prepare hides, hunting skills and how to kill powerful animals such as lions and leopards especially as a symbol of manhood and bravery or power. We used to go hunting during winter season and only upon the instruction by the chief. Lastly, bogwera was also a disease prevention mechanism and taught us how to respect ladies' (Kgosi Letlole Mosielele, aged 80 years, 21/07/2006).

After initiation, the man is then taught livelihood and life-survival skills by his maternal uncle. These include issues related to how to deal with death or bereavement, how to care for a dying person, how to take care of an expectant wife (including massaging skills and herbal remedies for ailments):

'The types of traditional medicines that I can recall for some of these purposes are; lethaka la mmotlana (the poor's reed), mokanangwana, kgabo ya metholo e mentsi (the herb that cures general bad luck and spells), kgaba-ya-kgano (bad luck of being shunned), kgaba-ya-matswantle (bad-luck that emanates from external interactions), moroto wa tshwene (baboon's urine) and sekopanya ditshaba (the herb that unites societies). I don't know how you will translate those because I don't know what the herbs and medicine are called in English...' (Interview with Mr. Kalane aged 82 years, 18/07/2006).

On *Bojale*, Kgosi Mosadi Seboko (female chief of Balete tribe -aged 54 years and the first female paramount chief in Botswana) highlighted that;

As young girls, when we reached puberty, we were sent to bojale (initiation school for girls) which, like the boys' bogwera, marked passage from childhood to womanhood. Girls of the same peer group were led by the chief's daughter, of their age group, or another member from the chief's relatives. Then my father was not yet a chief and so I did not lead my group. We were given skills on tribe's

values, customs, responsibilities and obligations of adulthood (including how to run a family), and how to relate to elders and persons of the opposite sex. In most cases, the initiation would start around the same period as that of the boys.

Once we had gone through this institution, we were regarded as women and were thus ready for marriage. Our peer group who graduated from the same ceremony would constitute a regiment which could be called upon to perform important communal projects from time to time. Some of the specific skills that we were taught included;

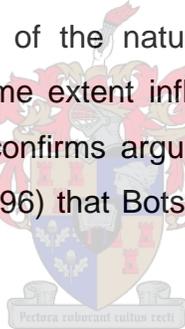
- *Go tthagola go ya ka pitso ya kgosi (weeding as per chief's announcement),*
- *Go belegisa (traditional midwifery),*
- *Melemo ya bana (herbs and medicine for babies),*
- *Go tlhokomela bana, banna gammogo le malwapa a rona (how to nurture children, to take care of a husband and the family at large),*
- *Go apaya mefuta yotlhe ya dijo (how to cook and preserve food),*
- *Go tlhokomela dijwalo le masimo a rona (how to grow crops and manage farms)' (Personal interview with Kgosi Mosadi Seboko at Ramotswa, 17/08/2006).*

The data is supported by Parsons (1994:22) who noted that Botswana had some traditional form of education which “was part of a whole system of belief, or religion, as well as a means of socializing children into the accepted norms of society”. Parsons argues that there was informal education in the home, which was mainly parenting, and included relations among siblings, with special emphasis on the aged as repositories of wisdom.

According to Parsons (1994), formal education was characterized by *bojale* and *bogwera*, adolescent initiation schools for females and males, respectively. In *bojale*, young female adults were formally taught matters concerning womanhood, sex, behaviour towards men, domestic and agricultural activities. *Bogwera* was formal instruction for young male adults where they were circumcised and taught skills such as kaross sewing for shields and clothing, and modelling cattle in clay to reinforce practical knowledge of livestock. They were trained to be responsible men, warriors and fathers. Whereas women qualified for motherhood and marriage after *bojale*, *bogwera* was not the sole qualification

for men for marriage until after they had proved themselves as herders, hunters and fighters. Also, skills in agricultural and hunting techniques were imparted.

The information in Table 2 shows that the main religion of the respondents 32(91.43%) was Christianity. Where “other” was selected as religion, respondents explained that even though most people would identify with Christianity, majority of Batswana combine Judeo-Christian and Setswana traditional beliefs and principles hence the failure of the classification of people’s religion as purely Christian. For instance, ‘we still rely highly on our traditional doctors and believe in ancestors; even though the Christian principles tell us that this is wrong’ (Personal communication with eight Bakgatla elders aged 50 to 82 years, 07/2006). From this data, it could be concluded that the beliefs, attitude towards, and the relationship between, Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana and the environment; the understanding of the natural environment and the general perceptions about life are to some extent influenced by the Christian theology and or philosophies. This also confirms arguments by some scholars such as Botswana Orientation Centre (1996) that Botswana is predominately a Christian state.



5.1.2 General Information

Respondents were presented with a series of questions about village development and their interaction with nature as well as the belief systems that exist among Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana. This was done to establish the kind of information, attitudes and perceptions that the respondents have on issues of development and relationship between indigenous knowledge, belief systems, the way the respondents perceive nature, and as such further ascertain the link between their knowledge, governance and sustainable development .

5.1.2.1 Source of Income

From the results of this study, agriculture, especially subsistence farming is still a primary source of income for respondents. Where agriculture is not the sole source of income, it remains an important supplementary source of income for many households as they occasionally sell from their harvest and sometimes rely largely on livestock sales. Data results show that 28 (80%) of the respondents have mixed farming as the main source of income for their households. The remaining 7 (20%) derive their income from other forms of income generation and cash employment. No respondents chose crop farming and sole rearing of livestock as their source of income.

5.1.2.2 Development concerns in Moshupa

The data shows that the development concerns for Moshupa village are defined in line with the 'modern' approach to development. The respondents from the five focus group interviews and key informants highlighted that the development challenges facing Moshupa village, which are also priority community needs are i) the absence of primary hospital, ii) additional health clinic, iii) poor internal road networks, iv) footbridges, v) additional crèches, vi) water, vii) additional services for children with disabilities in Bakgatla primary school, viii) recreational facilities for youth and lastly, ix) electrification of schools and government department in the village. The identified development concerns support the results of the consultation process that informed the Moshupa Development Plan (Government of Botswana, 2003).

When asked how they learnt about the above mentioned development concerns, majority of the respondents revealed that they participated in the community needs assessment projects previously, or have obtained information on Moshupa development initiative through the Village Development Committee during kgotla meetings. Some respondents added that the village development challenges and initiatives are also discussed at village development sub-committees such as

parents/teacher association, farmers association, village health committee, church meetings and agricultural show/exposition.

Although some scholars such as Molutsi (1989) argue that kgotla is not an institution for participatory programs but a consultative institution, this study shows that in Moshupa village the kgotla still serves as a vehicle through which the community is consulted, and participates in village development activities and public decision making.

5.1.2.3 Attitudes towards wildlife

There is some evidence that in the recent past, the interaction of Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana with nature had some positive impact on the environment. Like most Batswana, Bakgatla performed some of the rituals and ceremonies besides perennial rivers, by the lakes, hills, caves and sacred trees. This means it was crucial for them to protect and preserve some of these natural resources. Presently, however, the reasons for general environment protection may have changed as there has been pressure on the natural environment in Moshupa village, due to cutting of trees for purposes of fuel-wood. As a result, the village experience severe soil erosion as evidenced by the dongas (erosion gullies) found in Moshupa (Government of Botswana, 2003).

Even though Moshupa village is not reputed to have had large numbers of wild animals in the past, Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana still had respect for wildlife. The oral information gathered from this study reveals that wild animals directly contribute very little to the day-to-day living requirements of individual community members. This is demonstrated by responses like 'we have goats, sheep, cattle and chicken for our food requirements, so hunting of wildlife is not really common in our community' (Focus group interviews, 25 -28/07/2006).

The study further demonstrates that Bakgatla still show respect for some wildlife on traditional grounds and because unlicensed hunting of wildlife is illegal in Botswana. 30 (85.71%) of the 35 respondents said that they would not kill some

animals, snakes such as a Python (Tlhware), and birds Hawk (Ntsu), Swallow (Peolane) and Hammercop (Mmamasiloanoka). They believe that thunderstorms, wind storms, famine, or drastic diseases will follow the killing of these animals, reptiles and birds. 'Some of them such as Hammercop are also associated with spirits and killing them will cause disorder for our community and possibly cause mental illness or death for those who killed such', explained some of the key informants.

As previously discussed in this study, Bakgatla also respect the Blue Monkey because of its totemic status. The respondents unanimously agreed that they would not kill or eat Blue Monkey. The Bakgatla consider Blue Monkey as part of their ancestors, therefore should not be killed or eaten. When asked what would happen if one was to kill the totem, no concrete explanation was given. 'We grew up knowing that Kgabo is our totem and should not be killed, we were never told of what will happen except in general terms that bad omen will befall us' (interview with Kgosi Gobuamang and Letlole Mosielele, 07/2006).

Other than the above mentioned wildlife, Lion and Leopard stood out as some of the animals that are largely respected. In Sekgatla tradition, a lion or leopard is only killed through the directive of the chief, i) when such animal constantly kill livestock, ii) when a chief is installed (for dressing the chief with the animal's skin) or in the past when men were graduating from the initiation schools (as a test of bravery, power, heroism, strength and leadership qualities).

Even domestic animals such as slaughtering oxen are traditionally regulated. 'We have a tradition of thanks giving to maternal uncles or slaughtering of an ox during a cleansing ceremony, which can only be done during winter season. These ceremonies, even in the current era are only allowed to take place between the months of May to end of July. Failure to observe this is punishable by customary law' (Interview with Kgosi Kgabosetso Mosielele II, 14/08/2006).

In addition to animals, the key informants and focus group interviews confirmed that there are some trees that are considered sacred. In the same way that an ox should not be killed during ploughing season (summer and autumn), trees such as Mongana (*Acacia mellifera*), Mokgalo (*Ziziphus mucronata*), Mogonono (*Terminalia sericea*) and Mosetlha (*Peltophorum africana*) should not be cut during the ploughing period or before harvesting is complete. Some of these are not suitable for use as firewood because one can get dysentery from eating the food cooked with wood from these trees.

Overall, one may conclude that moral, fear and religious beliefs have influenced the view of Bakgatla on wildlife. Other than respecting their totem, only male respondents stressed that they respect wild animals compared to their female counterparts. This may be because in Setswana traditional practice except for the San community, women are not allowed to hunt and as such were not taught the values of respecting wild animals. In addition, educational status seems to have a significant influence on the respondents' attitude towards wildlife. Of the 9 (25.7%) respondents who had acquired tertiary education, 5 (56%) respect wildlife but not for religious or cultural reasons. They pointed out that they do so because of hunting of wild animals is prohibited in Botswana unless one has a license and do not use trees as a source of living, hence no need for them to cut trees. These imply, therefore, that educational status has impact on values attached to wildlife. In addition, respondents highlighted that their religious principles (which are predominantly Christian) do not emphasise respect for wildlife and the idea of totems. According to Gaadingwe, Mothudi, Gare and Pheko (interviews in Moshupa, 07-08/2006), 'the bible requires that we place high respect to God, then human-beings...not to animals. Respecting wild animals, or caves and rivers, will be the same as worshiping gods, thus taken as blasphemous...'

5.1.2.4 Belief in sacred places

'Most indigenous Batswana have a belief in existence of ancestors (Badimo) and sacred places such as hills (ditlhojana), caves (dikgaga) and rivers (melapo)' (Mr. Kontle, Kgosi Letlole Mosielele, Kgosi Gobuamang, Kalane and Pheko, 7-8/2006). The data verifies the observation by <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moshupa> that residents of Moshupa village believe that Mosope (the main river in the village) hosts a big river-snake or dragon (noga-yametsi / kgwanyape), which when disturbed may cause serious havoc. All respondents confirmed that they would not cross the Mosope river at night for fear of being eaten by the snake. In addition, the Kgosing/Phuting hill is said to be sacred. Only traditional healers or priests would climb the hill because they have the powers to communicate with spirits, ancestors and these God's miraculous creatures (masaitseweng a Modimo). To illustrate the danger of disturbing any sacred place in the village, the following example was given:

'it was recently reported to the chief that one family was unlawfully drawing water from the tip of Mosope river where the 'big-snake' is said to reside. This family used the water for construction of a house. One day whilst they were busy drawing water from the river into tanks, a strong wind arose (only at this place) and poured out all the water from the drums and the donkeys they were pulling a cart with started to act strange...' (Interviews with village elders & headmen, 07/2006).

It is noted however, that youthful respondents (who were not chiefs) and those who were not closely linked with the chief, were not willing to explain why a situation described above will occur. They said that since they did not have any proof of this occurrence, it might be a myth. It is probable that the interpretation of this event by these respondents is influenced by modern education and religion (Christian principles), hence their unwillingness to accept the possibility of this occurrence. In conclusion, it is vital to note that as in most parts of Botswana, indigenous culture is changing drastically. Evidence from this study suggests that the indigenous culture is merging with the Christian belief systems,

and with this merging, a value system that has contributed to preservation of nature is also changing.

The next section examines the respondents' understanding of indigenous knowledge systems, which are relevant to the major arguments in this study. The section further seeks to investigate how indigenous knowledge on sustainability could be transmitted to children as future generations.

5.2 Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Respondents were asked to define indigenous knowledge from their own perspective (Appendix A). This was done to establish whether there is a common understanding of what is described as indigenous knowledge. The common definitions from respondents were that;

'Indigenous knowledge is our culture³' (... ke ngwao!),

'it is the wisdom from our great grandfathers, the knowledge which they gave us by teaching us facts of life from their life experience' (...ke kitso ya tlholego le botshelo e re e rutilweng ke bo-rraaron mogolwagolwana...),

'it is a variety of knowledge which we did not attain from school (modern education)' (dikitso tse re tlhologileng natso, tse re sa di elang sekolong).

It seems that the above statements reflect the essence and core features of indigenous knowledge as defined by scholars such Warren (1991), Flavier et al. (1995) and George (1999) which also form the basis of the present work. It is imperative to note that one of the major lessons learnt from the respondents' definition and interpretation of indigenous knowledge is that definitions of indigenous knowledge are not limited to only those found in the academic literature. According to the interviews conducted with village elders, chiefs, and other respondents, indigenous knowledge encompasses the traditional values, norms, habits and other principles which form a history and the experience of different Batswana ethnic groups before their contact with Europeans and

³ The term culture here is used to denote the traditional beliefs, norms, values and customs

modern ways of living. This indigenous knowledge has however, changed over time and merged with Christian and modern belief systems.

5.2.1 Access to indigenous knowledge

According to Vanqa (1996), traditional knowledge was essentially imparted through practical training that enabled individuals to play a successful role in their community. Accordingly, teachers of this type of knowledge are elders of the community including traditional doctors or healers, old men and women and sometimes children who are raised by grand parents. The importance of the role of children as teachers in the community, is demonstrated by Setswana proverbs such as, 'Botlhale jwa phala bo tswa phalaneng' (the wisdom of elderly evolves from their interaction with children) and 'Phala e senang Phalana lesilo, which means that strengthened wisdom and self actualization emanate through learning from children. This study reveals that indigenous knowledge which covers activities such as herding of cattle and goats, farming, hunting, sweeping, preparation of traditional foods, general information on hazardous plants and animals, wood carving, house-thatching, skin tanning, milking of goats and cows and pounding of sorghum and maize using mortar and pestle are accessible to every member of the community. Following are examples of some of the common traditional activities:

Cattle and goat herding (go disa)

Like in other Tswana communities, cattle and goats rearing is an important activity in the lives of Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana. Both cattle and goats are sources of food (milk and meat), provide leather which is used to make floor mats, blankets and leather ropes. Cow dung is also used in traditional house construction, to bind the clay soil with other ingredients and to decorate (go kgapha) the floors after the house is complete. Dried cow dung (sibi) is a cheap source of fuel and kraal manure. Cattle and goats are also used during traditional ceremonies, to pay dowry (lobola) and are slaughtered during 'thanks giving',

wedding and burial ceremonies. Because of the importance of these animals, young boys (normally aged between 10 - 21 years) were taught how to take care and manage these animals. Cattle and goat herding (go disa) entails separating calves and kids from their mothers (to protect them from preys) every morning, and then driving the livestock to greener pastures. In the afternoon, when the animals have grazed, they are driven to the river or borehole for drinking, thereafter, driven home to the kraal. This was a daily routine for young boys. In addition, herding entails teaching boys skills like whistling, identifying animals by colour and unique marks in the animal and naming of animals. In addition, herders were taught how to control ticks and other pests which were deemed dangerous to the animals.

Milking (go gama)

Milking (go gama) of cows and goats were normally done in the morning before the livestock is taken to grazing. Milking is done manually. Lactating cows and goats are trained to become used to the milking process. For goats, the left back leg is gripped behind the boy's right leg, and the goat milked using hands. A particular type of whistle is also used to alert the animal that it is time for milking. For cows, the back legs are tied using a leather rope, thereafter, the cow is milked, also by hand. One of the reasons for using hands is so that milk is not completely drawn out of the animal. The idea is to reduce milk from the animal to prevent over-feeding of milk to calves and kids. Over-feeding may result in diarrhoea in calves and kids which may lead to death. Milk is used fresh for drinking, making tea, or fermented for sour milk or natural yorghut.

Farming (go lema)

As a source of most foods, farming (temo or go lema) is important part of the lives of Batswana. Traditionally, there are two types of farming i) backyard gardening and ii) large field farming. For backyard gardening, cultivation of soil is

done using a hand hoe and is normally done by women. A mixture of beans (dinawa), melons (magapu le marotse), pumpkins (maphutshe), maize (mmidi), sweet reed (ntshe) are planted. A shallow hole is dug using a hand hoe, and then two to three seeds are placed in the hole and thereafter covered with soil. Placing more than one seed in a hole is to provide for cases where one seed fails to germinate, then the other would probably germinate. If all the seeds germinate and the crops become overcrowded, unwanted crops are cut during weeding, which is also done using a hand hoe or by pulling out the crop using a hand. These practices are still common in most households in Moshupa.

In large field farming, animal draught, by either ox or donkey drawn plough, is used. Where ploughing is done for the first time in the field, bushes are cleared using axe and hand-peak or spade. When bush clearing is complete, a wide mix of seeds is broadcasted. The common seeds normally include sorghum, sweet reed, beans, maize and melons. Soil cultivation is done using a plough. An attempt is made to plant in straight furrows, so that weeding and harvesting are made easy. The process of farming include, soil cultivation, ploughing (go lema), weeding (go tlhagola), bird-scarring (go leta), harvesting (go roba), shelling and threshing (go photha) and grain and seed storage (go boloka dijo le dijawalo). Grains and seeds are stored in sacks and preserved using ash from Aloe vera plants or cactus.

With the introduction of modern forms of farming, the use of animal draught and traditional farming methods have drastically. It is currently common to use farm implements such as tractors and harvesting machinery in various farming activities. The use of artificial fertilizers and pesticides is common.

Preparation of traditional foods (go apaya)

It was gathered that traditional Sekgatla food preparation and cooking processes include for example; drying, fermentation, boiling and roasting. Food preparation

also includes storage and preservation. Following are examples of how to prepare meat, maize and sorghum products which make staple food (s).

Meat (nama)

To keep meat (beef, mutton or goat) for long period and at the same time preventing it from rotting, it is made biltong (segwapa). A pinch of salt is added to fresh meat, then cut into strips and sun-dried. This meat can keep for over a year and still be edible after a long period. Fresh meat is either roasted or boiled. When boiled, meat can be prepared as stew or as pounded meat (seswaa). To prepare pounded meat, meat is cut into small pieces, boiled and when soft, it is pounded and served. This method of cooking meat is highly common during funerals, weddings and other traditional ceremonies.

Maize (mmidi)

There are two ways of storing and/or preserving maize. Maize could be stored either uncooked or cooked (letshotlho). On the one hand, the uncooked maize is harvested dry, threshed to detach grains from the main stock, then stored in cribs (sesigo /serala) or sacks (dikgetsi). This type of maize can be used to prepare dishes such as kabu (boiled maize), dikgobe (mixed, boiled maize and beans), or samp (maize without husks) or paletshe (maize porridge/maize meal). On the other hand, the cooked maize (letshotlho) is harvested whilst fresh or wet, then boiled until cooked. When the maize has cooked, it is placed in the sun for drying, after which, the maize will be shelled (by rubbing cobs against each other) and stored. This letshotlho can be boiled and served on its own or could also be mixed with beans to make dikgobe.

Sorghum (mabele)

Sorghum is harvested dry, threshed from main stock and stored as grain in cribs (sesigo/serala) and sacks. Once stored, sorghum could be transformed into a variety of products. It could be used to make for instance, sorghum porridge

(bogobe), boiled sorghum (lehatana) or traditional beer (mokuru/ bojalwa jwa Setswana). To prepare bogobe, sorghum grains are soaked in water, pounded to turn remove husks, then pound again until the grains turn into powder. The powder is then stirred into boiled water or boiled milk to make a meal. Sorghum meal cooked in milk is called logala or mokganyane. Sometimes, the powder can be fermented to make sour porridge (ting).

Accessibility to the knowledge described above, is ensured through taught folktales, proverbs, and household chores, to mention but a few. However, knowledge related to healing powers and medicine, rain-making, strengthening of families through traditional herbs and plants and others is usually only accessible to 'powerful members' of the community such the chief, village doctors, very old members of the community as well as women and men who had gone through initiation schools.

Although women have traditionally been discriminated against, the Sekgatla customs allowed women to have some type of indigenous knowledge which was exclusively for females. According to key informants, only females were responsible for medicine used to cure children's or babies illnesses such as sunken fontanel (tlhogwana/phogwana), troubled umbilicus (khujwana), teething (go medisa), constipation and colic (pipelo).

The discussion in this sub-section of the study demonstrates and concurs with arguments by Kellbessa (2001) that even though communities have developed their knowledge through observation and experimentation over centuries, social relations of power have influenced knowledge. In addition, local people established hierarchical structure(s) that promoted superiority on the basis of gender and age. These had a negative impact on the accessibility of information and knowledge to ordinary members of the community.

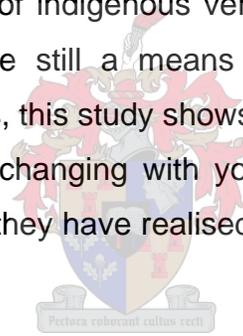
Smylie et al. (2003:141), in their analysis of knowledge translation and indigenous knowledge further pointed out that 'traditionally, local forms of

knowledge dissemination were interwoven with social, political and kinship structure to reinforce individual and collective well-being ... to ensure the protection and sustainability of the physical environment'. This section of the study supports this proposition.

5.2.2 Transmission of indigenous Knowledge from elders to children

5.2.2.1 The role of proverbs, taboos and myths

According to Goduka (2000), fundamental elements of indigenous wisdoms emanates from oral traditions of proverbs, myths and legends. These oral traditions provide concise and comprehensible summaries of vital experiences and ideas that form part of the shared cultural knowledge of communities. Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) argue that in Botswana, the proverbs form part of the essential elegance in the use of indigenous vernacular. Even though proverbs, taboos, riddles and myths are still a means of passing on shared cultural knowledge through generations, this study shows that presently, people's attitude towards taboos and myths is changing with young respondents admitting that they do reject taboos because they have realised that nothing happens after they have disobeyed the taboos.



The respondents were asked whether Sekgatla culture uses proverbs, taboos and myths and further requested to share information on the role of proverbs, myths and other forms of oral traditions in Sekgatla tradition. All respondents confirmed that the use of proverbs and other legends is still highly prevalent among Bakgatla-ba-ga-Mmanaana and general Botswana society. Specifically, stories (*dipolelo*), folktales (*mainane/dinaane*), myths (*maele*), folk-songs (*dikoma*), riddles (*dithamalakane*), proverbs (*diane*) and praise-poems (*dipina le maboko*) were identified as modes that have been used to teach, entertain and instruct young children and remind elders of their responsibilities in the past. For instance, following is a folktale that shows the importance of good mannerism, compassion and/or 'botho' among people:

A long time ago there was a man who had three sons. The two older sons grew into rude, bullying, jealous, intolerant and evil hearted men, whilst the younger son was obedient, patient, loving, tolerant and compassionate. The third son was also said to always take heed of advices from people around him, whilst his elder brothers were not. Despite their varying personalities and or attributes, these three sons loved each other.

In a place far way from this family's home, lived an evil giant who had three amazingly beautiful daughters. The three sons heard about these giant's daughters and got interested in getting married to the beautiful ladies. Between the three men's home and the giant's home was a vast forest full of wild animals including lions, hyenas and others which, would feed on human meat. The giant himself was well known for cannibalism, especially, human flesh was his delicacy.

One day the first son took his father's most elegant horse and took a journey with the intention to go and marry one the giant's daughters. Whilst he was still traveling and was in the forest, the horse's right leg fell into a ditch and nearly broke the leg. He managed to rescue the horse. After taking the horse's leg out of the ditch, an old man came out of the ditch and asked the young man where he was going. Instead of answering the old man, the young man ignored and insulted the old man and went away. The old man remained there flabbergasted. Not far from the ditch, the young man was attacked by lions and they killed him.

Few days later, his second brother also went in search for a wife, from the evil giant's family. The same thing that happened to his brother also happened to him.

After three days, the third brother took a journey to also go on a search for a wife from the evil giant's family. His horse fell in the same ditch; he

managed to take it out. The same old man came out of the ditch and asked him where he was going. Him being tolerant, he humbly answered the old man. The old man gave a piece of stone which was meant to protect him from the dangerous animals in the forest, as well as from being killed by the evil giant. The young man thanked the old man and left. On his way, the lions came out of the forest and wanted to attack him. He pointed at them with the rock and the lions ran away from him. He reached well at the giant's home.

The giant and his daughters received him well. He proposed to marry the last daughter of the giant and both the daughter and the giant agreed. The giant's daughter knew that her father wanted to kill her husband hence his agreement with the marriage proposal. During the night, the daughter and her husband ran away from the giant's household. In the morning the giant realised that, the couple has left and he followed them. Realizing that they were being followed, the young man took out the stone and pointed towards the direction where the giant would come from. A big river emerged and prevented the giant from catching the couple. The giant tried to drink the water from the river and drowned. The couple finalized their marriage ceremony and lived happily ever after.

The functions of folktales, stories and proverbs have changed. Respondents of this study assert that the use of proverbs in today's era is primarily for 'spicing' ones presentation of issues or as a sign of mastery of Setswana language.

Some key informants argued that proverbs used to carry a lot of meaning and were used to even guide chiefs, motivate members of the community and reminded all of appropriate moral principles. Some respondents felt that currently, oral tradition has lost its value because it is highly coded and sometimes oppressive. This might be because modern (which, focus on outcomes and, ways of knowing that emphasise rationality and logic) forms of

education have instilled in young people the new culture of questioning which has thus resulted in a different attitude towards traditional sources of knowledge and wisdom.

Asked whether indigenous knowledge is still important in the current ways of life, 34 (97%) respondents confirmed that indigenous knowledge remains vital in the present ways of living. The following sums up the response by key informants and focus group discussions;

'..Indigenous knowledge should be taken seriously because it can be useful in the village development. It could be used to promote or market products from our village. Since it covers a lot of things, there is a need to research on this..' (Focus Group discussions, 07-08/2006).

This is consistent with Lillejord and Mashile' (2004) argument that major strides can be made in nurturing indigenous practices and in reclaiming the essential elements that sustained communities and societies together.

Even though, in this study, most respondents believe in the importance of indigenous knowledge, not everyone in the country agrees that indigenous knowledge is important to the way people live today. Other than 1 (3%) respondent, who said that indigenous knowledge was unimportant, some citizens argue that indigenous knowledge is outdated, restrictive and has no relevance to modern life (see Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004; Moabi, 2006 & Shaw, 2006). Subsequently, elders who are primary custodians of indigenous knowledge die without transferring their knowledge, especially to the young people.

5.3 Governance, civic engagement and community ownership

Understanding the role of various governance mechanisms is integral to designing strategies for sustainable development. More importantly, the integration of indigenous or traditional forms of governance plays a crucial role in ensuring appropriate community owned interventions. This section covers issues

related to governance, civic engagement and community ownership of village development projects and programmes.

The respondents were asked to explain what governance meant to them. Many also made the connection between governance and government. The most common responses can be summarised as follows:

- i) 'the way community assets are managed (*ke kaha meamuso ya morahe e tsamaisiwang ka teng*)';
- ii) 'leadership (*boeteledipele*)';
- iii) 'a government system (*tsamaiso ya goramente*)';
- iv) 'administration (*tsamaiso*)'.

In addition, most respondents generally associated governance with community management and management of community resources.

Respondents were further asked to define indigenous governance. In some cases, the differences in understanding this concept related to interviewees' own interests, rather than generic conceptual analysis. For example, most chiefs explained that "it is about traditional way of governing community"; whilst some respondents viewed it as "cultural ways which ensured community participation". Nevertheless, some distinctive and collective interpretations gave an idea of how community members generally perceived indigenous governance. Respondents defined indigenous governance by using phrases like:

"Chieftainship before colonial period...traditional government...traditional administration...old ways of community leadership...traditional consultative forum...ways and laws of Setswana culture (*motheo le molao wa ngwao ya Setswana*)".

The above statements demonstrate the difficulty in giving a comprehensive, single or universal definition of indigenous governance. It is noted that even in the same community, there are various levels of understanding of issues related

to governance and indigenous knowledge, hence the difficulty in finding a systematic definition of the concept.

As previously discussed, this study suggests that not all activities and hallmarks of indigenous knowledge and governance promote sustainable communities. The following is a summary of strengths and challenges or limitations of indigenous governance as identified by respondents.

Strengths of indigenous governance system

The main strengths identified for indigenous governance systems include that:

- Indigenous governance system is based on life experiences therefore, provide relevant solutions to community challenges
- ensure genuine consultation (therisanyo);
- provides social security system because the chief would redistribute food and cattle to the needy members of the community or during drought period;
- ensures affordable and efficient access to justice for all members of the community;
- flexible ways of conducting business;
- open to new technologies and ways of doing things

Limitations of indigenous governance system

The limitations include that indigenous governance systems are,

- power concentrated on the chief and his advisors, therefore powers were bound to be abused;
- chief's ultimate decision cannot be questioned;
- was not open to women, servants and youth contributions to decision making;

- laws, norms and ethics change per situation as such provide no standard practice;
- not nationally applicable;
- use coded unwritten values therefore open to misinterpretations;
- secretive and does not provide scientifically proven facts.

Most respondents believe that superfluous reliance on traditional knowledge and unnecessary resistance to change (even where appropriate) are the major factors that undermine recognition and use of indigenous governance principles. In addition, some respondents pointed out that even though some of the indigenous practices such as *dikgahela* (equivalent to Christian tithing principles), *motshelo* (*community self help*) are desirable, they are no longer practiced because knowledgeable persons about these activities pass away without successors.

Respondents also suggest that modern forms of education, foreign religions, government policies and external market forces have played a massive role in the erosion of indigenous governance principles. The study also reveals that indigenous governance is recognised by the Botswana Government. This is shown by the establishment of House of Chiefs, Chieftainship Act, recognition of Customary law, constant consultation with chiefs and utilisation of the kgotla in the national consultation process on government policies and strategies. Key informants pointed out that although the Botswana Government maintains both indigenous and modern forms of governance, priority in terms of resource allocation and general capacity building is skewed towards modern, political forms of governance.

Also, that some functions and privileges of chiefs are continuing to diminish because of the national laws that progressively subordinate chiefs to the Ministry of Local Government. Some key informants note that 'presently, chiefs are salaried and as a result serve mostly as government officials who simply communicate government decisions to their communities'. The study further

validates Sekgoma's (1998) argument that succession to chieftainship is no longer based on customary procedure in selecting the appropriate heir. Instead, it depends on the Minister's acceptance of the candidate.

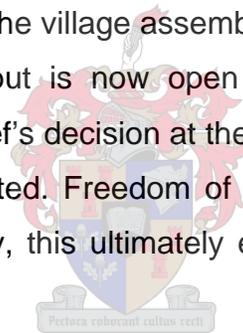
It was noted that in indigenous Sekgotla, like other Tswana traditions, women do not have equal status as men. Key informants highlighted that women were not allowed to participate in Kgotla meetings and in other decision making fora, even if the decision was about them. Some reference was further made to biblical scriptures which augmented the traditional reasons for non-inclusion of women. However, with adaptation to new or modern governance principles, participation of women and youth in governance and community development is now core to indigenous governance. Examples were given that even though in Moshupa village, chiefs have always been males, women are no longer barred from being appointed as chiefs and children aged 18 years are eligible to be installed as chiefs.

In giving a detailed description of indigenous governance, the key informants pointed out that indigenous governance functions at four levels and its underlying principle is consultation (*therisanyo/morero*); chief (*kgosi*), inner council (*malope a kgosi*), council of elders (*bagakolodi*) and village assembly (*kgotla/lekgotla*). Traditionally, the chief has a wide range of powers. These powers include being the overall head of his tribe, and therefore a social, religious, economic, political and judicial overseer. A chief is aided in governance by a group of secret⁴ advisors who constitute the inner council. The members of this inner council are normally drawn from the chief's uncles and other trustworthy relatives. Sometimes, the inner council may include influential opinion leaders (commonly elderly males) from the community. The inner council serves as the main tribal-cabinet. It is the primary legislation and decision making body which, is responsible for taking decision on how tribal issues are administered. Before the

⁴ For security reasons, to protect both the chief and advisors, the community is not supposed to know who constitute members of the inner council.

chief can make a decision and before bringing it to his community, he is obliged to consult with the inner council.

Having discussed issues with the inner council, the chief then takes the decision for further consultation with the council of elders. The council comprises of hereditary headmen of tribal wards and is a representative body of the community. This council serves as a parliament and is responsible for i) preventing the chief from abusing his powers (the tribal council is allowed to articulate dissatisfaction with the chief's proposals or decisions and also give him constructive criticism to ensure he is kept under control); ii) giving advice to the chief, and iii) assisting the chief with administration of the tribe at ward level. At the end is the village assembly, which has the ultimate authority on tribal issues. Having made proposals and discussed with the inner council and council of elders, the chief takes such to the village assembly. The village assembly used to be composed of men only, but is now open to women as well. When the community has accepted a chief's decision at the village assembly, such decision will then start to be implemented. Freedom of expression is said to be a vital feature of the village assembly, this ultimately ensured collective accountability and ownership of decisions.



Asked how the indigenous governance systems ensured community engagement, the respondents praised the use of institutions such as *mephato* (age regiments), letsema / motshelo, masotla and mafisa. These institutions are said to meet the social, economic and environmental responsibilities and needs of the community:

- **mephato (age regiments):** Community development and all public works including emergencies were carried out on a self-help (*boipelego*) basis. All projects were carried out by a mophato (age regiment) or mephato (age regiments) for the benefit of the community. Regiments were formed around men of the same age range who would normally have graduated from *bogwera* at the same time. *Mephato* practice served very important

social functions. Other than promoting group solidarity amongst the various graduates of the ceremonies, mophato instilled key common values amongst the participants, and within society. Even though this institution no longer exists, respondents argue that much of the spirit of self-help, which was cultivated by the past generations, is still evident in modern day Botswana.

- **Letsema/motshelo** (communal family assistance): a form of voluntary work performed by members of a community on behalf of a family. If a family wanted to clear a ploughing field, for instance, such family would invite other members of the ward or immediate community to a *motshelo*. Traditional beer would be brewed and an animal slaughtered for consumption during *letsema*. A family unit could thus perform a demanding task with the assistance of its community in return for a small gesture, such as providing traditional beer or an ordinary meal for the day. What motivated the community to respond was, however, not the beer or meal but the expectation of similar support in future.
- **Masotla** (which means massive ploughing fields): were held in trust by the kgosi on behalf of the community. The fields were ploughed by the regiments on a quasi-voluntary basis. Volunteering was quasi because even though carrying out this activity was supposed to be voluntary, a family or individual could be punished for not taking part. Every able-bodied man was expected to participate and those who did not perform the function could be fined. The harvest from masotla fields was stored at the kgosi's granaries for use during the periods of drought and for supporting the poor members of the community. The system of masotla provided a form of food security and enhanced community welfare.
- **Mafisa** (loaning of cattle or livestock): cattle provided not only livelihood but also status in society. A family that did not have cattle was considered poor. In many Tswana tribes, a better-off relative would give some of his cattle or livestock to the poorer relative to look after on his behalf. The

livestock loaned out in this manner were known as *mafisa*. Such livestock was very useful to the beneficiary family which could use them as draught power and as a source of milk.

After a number of years, the stock would be claimed back by the owner and some left with the caretaker family as a form of gratuity. The intention of this system of *mafisa* was to ensure that society took care of its less privileged members. The chief as the wealthiest of the community was obliged to loan the poor members of his community such cattle or livestock.

From this section of the study, it is observed that despite its weaknesses, indigenous governance still provided critical space for sustainability. Some of the culture and value systems that sustained community and ensured sustainable livelihoods seem to be swallowed by the integration of modern ways of living. It worth noting however, that the integration of modern ways played a positive role in the inclusion of women in some key community decision making processes. The following sub-section discusses issues on respondents' understanding of sustainable development.



5.4. Sustainable Development (*ditlhabololo tsa se nnela ruri*)

According to the interviews conducted with key informants and data from group discussions, the term sustainable development is frequently used by practitioners, government policies and village development strategies or plans. Despite the frequent use of, and many sweeping references to sustainable development by respondents, there seems to be no common understanding and definition of the concept. The definition of what is sustainable development is centred on provision of services such as schools and health amenities. Promotion of indigenous governance and other forms of indigenous knowledge was hardly ever mentioned as an important tool for the attainment of sustainable development.

All respondents confirmed having heard of sustainable development. The respondents, despite their educational levels, gave the following statements as a reflection of their understanding of sustainable development:

‘availability of health facilities such as clinics and hospitals...schools, and every child attending school...access to tarred roads and clean water... availability of electricity in our village and being able to compete globally...conservation of wildlife...recycling of waste...abundance of employment opportunities for all, modern houses...participation in national elections and poverty reduction’.

The focus of sustainable development in the interviews largely referred to ‘modern ways of living’ thus, reflecting a narrow interpretation of sustainable development. In this study, preservation of indigenous knowledge, agriculture and natural resources for future utilisation were infrequently mentioned. The study reveals that respondents are aware of sustainable development as a concept, but do not necessarily understand what it means and how to attain sustainable development.

Totemism and the use of myth have been identified as some of the traditional mechanisms that ensure conservation, protection and restoration of the environment. Key informants, in this study, noted that they used to preserve the ecosystem, not because they were thinking about future economic gains, but because the ecosystem provided for their daily needs. According to the respondents, animals, wild plants and certain types of fruits are essential for their traditional practices and rituals. As such, they are traditionally conserved and protected to preserve the traditional practices. This ultimately preserved the ecosystem. In addition, one of the key informants noted that big rivers and caves are viewed as safe-havens. The chief ensured their protection because they are places where the spirits of community ancestors live.

Although amalgamation of indigenous knowledge and science presents enormous challenges, it is the suggestion of this study that they should be integrated. However, the respondents fear that in the long run, and as has been often demonstrated, the integration of indigenous knowledge into scientific knowledge may result in the disappearance of some of the useful basic elements of indigenous knowledge, hence, the subordination of indigenous knowledge to so called scientific knowledge.

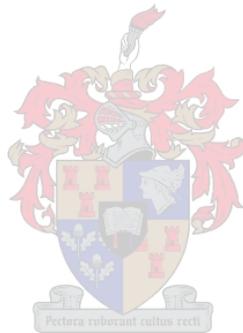
Asked what could be done to achieve sustainable development, respondents suggest that:

- chiefs and other local authorities should be given skills on how to draw culturally relevant sustainable development strategies,
- natural resource use, planning and management should not only be biased in favour of tourist attraction for towns and villages, and that such should involve communities through village development committees,
- target specific sustainable development strategies should be integrated into village or town development plans.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the study has observed that despite incorporation of indigenous governance structures into the current national governance system, authentic, indigenous knowledge on leadership and people management is gradually facing extinction. Some advantages and disadvantages of indigenous governance have been identified. Atteh (1992) and Appiah (1992) suggest that some of the major constrictions in utilising indigenous, local, African knowledge involve the unwritten nature of such knowledge, changing conditions, locality specific characteristics, challenges of replication and advancement, problems associated with storage and transmission and negative attitudes of the elite and ‘formally

educated' members of the society. Similar challenges have been identified by this chapter.



CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to discuss conclusions and recommendations drawn from study findings, data analysis and literature on governance, civic engagement and sustainable development.

The nature of this study required a qualitative survey to sample respondents' perceptions, attitudes and knowledge of governance, indigenous knowledge systems and sustainable development. However, financial resources and time constraints could only allow for a mini-survey. In order to allow for a rich understanding of the role of indigenous governance in sustainable development, a case study of Moshupa village was used. This was meant to yield data about indigenous governance, knowledge and sustainable development in Moshupa village, as a typical Botswana community. In addition, a thorough understanding of indigenous knowledge and sustainable development from key informants, chiefs or headmen and other respondents would be most conducive to the researcher's future engagement with government and civil society on issues of sustainable development in Moshupa and Botswana.

Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were held with key respondents from tribal administration, village development committee, landboard, water affairs and members of the community. In addition, the qualitative data was supplemented by the use of existing village development plans, country reports, policy documents and other literature on sustainable development, governance and Botswana.

The assumption for this study is that the indigenous governance system promotes civic engagement, hence heightened community ownership of

development project and programmes. One of the underlying questions for this study is whether the indigenous governance system in Botswana is essentially despotic or open to community participation, ownership and influence. In addition, could the utilisation of indigenous knowledge in indigenous governance ensure sustainable development?

6.2 CONCLUSION (S)

Indigenous governance could be understood within the framework of both the past and contemporary cultures. The findings of this study reveal that whereas there are some people who value indigenous knowledge and indigenous governance principles because it is viewed as carrying fundamental cultural values and collective tribal identity, there is a significant number of people, including some traditional chiefs, who do not necessarily place great value in indigenous knowledge. As a result, indigenous knowledge seems not to have the meaning that it ought to possess for its survival and, integrity and its possible contribution to deeper sustainable development.

There are though, persistent indigenous conceptions of governance, such as those observed in Moshupa village, which may have vital consequences for sustainable development. As such, these conceptions could be used to great avail and in general, development planning and implementation of community development initiatives and development of the House of Chiefs rather than dismissed as misfits by the government and development practitioners in Botswana.

Indigenous systems such as the principle of *therisanyo* (consultation), through the *kgotla* encouraged community participation. Thus, projects that evolved through these systems benefited from knowledge of local community. It seems that, utilisation of indigenous knowledge systems stand out as one of the fundamental elements of sustainable livelihood development. What remain critical, therefore, are appreciation, appraisal and ultimate effective incorporation

of indigenous systems in the development process if Botswana has to meet the development challenges and sustain the livelihood of her citizens.

With the abolishment of bogwera and bojale and no substitute thereof, if indigenous knowledge is to survive and add value, especially, on governance and traditional leadership (bogosi) it would need to be integrated into the education curriculum. Initiation institutions were traditional institutions where young men and women were given the rites of passage into adulthood and taught folk tales, proverbs and skills that they were expected to need as adults within their ethnic group. The same expectations (of responsible adults socially, economically and politically) still exist, but there are no substitute institutions which teach young people how to carry out their responsibilities. The data from the study suggests that oral traditions and indigenous ways of learning are not so popular amongst young people, including young chiefs. Taboos, myths and other legends are still learnt by those who interact with elder members of the community, but it seems only a few ultimately value what they are taught by their elders.

Responsibility of giving the younger generation life survival and livelihood skills has been shifted to modern forms of education. As a result, indigenous skills on how to preserve nature and the spirit of humanity (botho/ubuntu) may be lost are seen by some as irrelevant to the current society.

In conclusion, the results of this study indicate traditional knowledge can best be preserved through continued use and practical application; that one of the reasons why communities engage in community-based development projects relate to the belief that such projects can improve their livelihoods and the livelihoods of other community members. The government of Botswana therefore, would be wise to find ways to support and encourage community initiatives. Re-kindling a focus on indigenous knowledge could assist in this regard, not least of which indigenous knowledge systems may well hold keys to

ways of living, given the challenges climate change and sustainable development.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

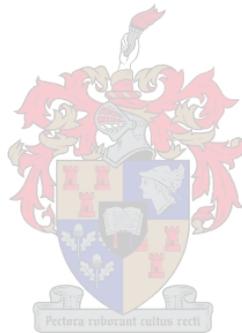
a) It is generally agreed that sustainable development is about economic, environmental and social development. Even though sustainable development policies must consider a wide spectrum (economic, cultural, spiritual, social and ecological) of these issues, this thesis suggests that a more unambiguous focus should be placed on improving indigenous governance systems. Specifically, this study recommends that the government of Botswana could train chiefs and other local authorities in protection of environmental stock or capital including those from low or non-tourist attraction areas of Botswana.

b) As the findings of this study attest, there is need to enhance the capacity of communities to translate sustainable development priorities into community development priorities which could rely on indigenous knowledge systems. An integrated approach to development planning, which responds to the needs of local communities is key to accomplishing sustainable development, overcoming the skewed and urban biased development policies and addressing poverty. In addition, sustainable development principles and participatory approaches to development seem key to drawing strategies that respond to the local needs, conditions and capacities. This study recommends, therefore, that the Government of Botswana, UNDP, NGOs and Private sector explore ways in which national sustainable development strategies may be popularised within the local communities through translating them into the local language for communities to understand.

c) It seems imperative that research by national research institutes must include research into holistic indigenous knowledge systems in Botswana. This would be useful in the proper targeting of appropriate solutions to poverty reduction,

environmental degradation, economic diversification and attainment of overall sustainable development.

d) Education remains vital for personal and national development. It is therefore, recommended that the Botswana government through the Ministry of Education include in the education curricula measures to establish the types of traditional knowledge that can be integrated into scientific knowledge so that the education system does not continue to produce people who are alienated from vital aspects of their culture.



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8. How did you learn about such development concerns?

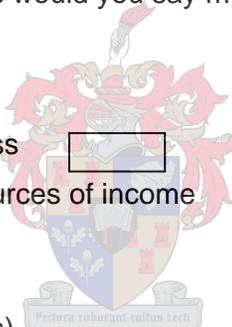
9. Do you respect wild animals?

a. Yes b. No

If yes, which species do you respect?

10. Which of the following reasons would you say most influence your respect to wild animals?

- a. religion
- b. environmental friendliness
- c. because they are the sources of income
- d. future concern
- e. other (please give details)



ii) If you do not respect wild animals, what are your reasons?

11. Do you have sacred plants in your village?

a. Yes b. No

ii) If yes, which ones and why?

12. Do you protect trees for religious or custom reasons?

a. yes b. no

ii) If yes, why?

13. Do people stay away from certain places because these places are associated with evil things or are sacred?

a. yes b. no c. If yes, give examples.

14. Does your community perform rituals? Which ones and why?

C. Indigenous Knowledge Systems

15. According to your own perspective, what is indigenous knowledge?

16. Do average members of your community have access to this knowledge?

ii) If yes, how?

17. How are children taught this knowledge?

ii) Where are they taught such knowledge?

18. Do you use proverbs, taboos and myths in Sekgatla culture?

19. What is the role of proverbs and myths etc. in your tradition?

20. Do you believe that indigenous knowledge is still important in the current ways of life, Why?

D. Governance, civic engagement and community ownership

21. What does governance mean to you?

22. In your own knowledge, what do you define as indigenous governance?

23. Give a detailed description of an indigenous governance system?

24. What makes such practices indigenous?
25. What are the strengths of an indigenous governance system?
26. What are the challenges and limitations of an indigenous governance system?
27. What mechanisms were /are used to involve the community?
28. Do women have the right to participate in Kgotla meetings? Please explain more about that?
29. Does the government support indigenous governance practices?
30. What skills/capacity do your people require to participate in governance of your community?
31. What are the underlying planning, accountability etc. frameworks of indigenous governance model?

E. Sustainable Development

32. Have you ever heard about sustainable development?
33. What do you understand sustainable development to be?
34. What traditional conservation, protection and restoration mechanisms exist?
35. How can these methods be integrated into modern policies, institutions and extension programmes?
36. What can be done to achieve Sustainable development principles? Explain?

Thank you!

Appendix B: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION 1



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

7 July 2006

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION- MS SEGAMETSI OREEDITSE MOATLHAPING

I wish to introduce to you **Ms Segametsi Oreeditse Moatlhaping**, who is a final year student of Master of Philosophy in Sustainable Development Planning and Management at the University of Stellenbosch.

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the above degree and as a compulsory requirement by the university, Ms Moatlhaping would be conducting research on **'The Role of Indigenous Governance System in Sustainable Development'** at Moshupa village in Botswana.

The aim of this research study is to investigate the role of Indigenous governance systems and civic engagement for Sustainable Development in Moshupa, Botswana.

Specifically, this research study seeks to:

- i) Analyse and document indigenous knowledge systems on governance and civic engagement for sustainability in Botswana.
- ii) Establish the nature of indigenous governance and civic engagement in Moshupa.
- iii) Examine the extent to which indigenous practices of governance could enhance civic engagement among Moshupa Communities, in Botswana.
- iv) Investigate how indigenous governance practices can contribute to sustainable development in Botswana.
- v) Investigate how indigenous knowledge on sustainability could be transmitted to children as future generation.

Ms Moatlhaping has the necessary orientation, motivation and capacity to deal responsibly with confidential and/or sensitive information. I therefore, humbly request your office to assist her with the necessary information and support for the completion of her study.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly

Prof Mark Swilling
Division Head



Skool vir Openbare Bestuur en Beplanning
School of Public Management and Planning

Sustainable Development Planning and Management

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Appendix C: LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION 2

TELEPHONE: 3974986
TELEGRAMS: MERAFF
REFERENCE: TA/5/5/4III (110)
FAX: 3902965
3900856



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

DEPARTMENT OF TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION
PRIVATE BAG 00401
GABORONE
BOTSWANA

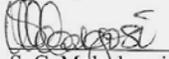
The Tribal Secretary

REQUEST TO ACCOMMODATE STUDENT DOING RESEARCH – Segametsi Moathaping.

Please receive Ms. Segametsi Moathaping who is a student at University of Stellenbosch, doing her final year in Master of Philosophy in Sustainable Development Planning and Management. She is conducting a research study on the 'Role of Indigenous Governance Systems in Sustainable Development'. The research project will entail interviewing Chiefs in your area; hence it will be necessary that you introduce her properly to the Chiefs that she would like to interview, so that she may be welcomed.

Please find all supporting documents in this regard.

Thank you


S. C. Molepolole
For Director



cc. Tribal Secretary: Kanye
Molepolole
Ramotswa
Tlokweng

Appendix D: PICTORIAL EXAMPLES OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS & INTERVIEWS



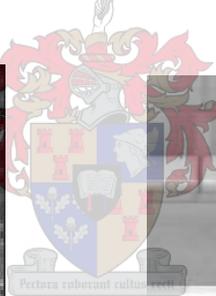
Some of the key informants



Focus Groups A & C 18/07/2006



Kgosi Mosadi Seboko during inauguration
Source: Botswana National Archives, 2004



Focus Group Discussion B, 15/08/2006

Appendix E: LIST OF RESEARCH RESPONDENTS

1. Focus Groups

A. Group discussion, Moshupa Kgotla, 18 July 2006

1. Ms. S. M. Ramatlapeng – Moshupa Sub Land (Board Clerk) 55
2. J. Wantlo - Technical Officer (38)
3. S. Motsamai - Ngwaketse Land Board (Ass. Physical Planner) 33
4. Mr. S. Gaadingwe – MP's Office (61)
5. Mr. W.M. Ketshabile – Moshupa North Councillor (59)
6. Mr. L. Mosanako – Moshupa east Councillor (45)
7. Mr. Letibirwa –Ass. Station Commander (38)
8. Ms. Mogowe – Water Affairs (34)

B. Group discussion, Moshupa Community Hall, 15 July 2006

9. T.O. Ramasire – VDC chairperson (60)
10. B. Kesenye – Elder (61)
11. Ms. B. Mothudi - Youth (31)
12. Ms. N. Dibotelo – Youth (28)
13. Ms. Gojewang – Pre School (YWCA day care) 48
14. Ms. Ramotlhodi - (Tshipidi creche) 39
15. Ms. Monakwe- (Tshephe creche) 37
16. Ms. T. Gare – business woman (52)

C. Group Disucssion, Moshupa Kgotla, 18 July 2006

17. Mr. Kontle – headman (55)
18. Mr. K. Mookodi – headman of records (deputy chief) 36
19. Mr. T. Monare - headman (67)
20. K. Bagwasi – headman (69)



2. Key Informants

21. Kgosi B. Mosielele II – Village Chief (36) , Moshupa Main Kgotla, 14 August 2006
22. Mr. S. Lekgowe – Elder (75), Moshupa, Kgosing ward, 16 July 2006
23. Mr. Ngope – headman (70) Moshupa, Mokakana ward, 22 July 2006
24. Mr. Masisi- headman (69), Moshupa, Mogaung ward, 22 July 2006
25. Mr. Loso - Elder (70), Moshupa, Phuting ward, 23 July 2006
26. Mr. Morapedi – headman (75), Moshupa, Goo Kodisa ward, 23 July 2006
27. Kgosi Seepapitso – Ngwaketse Paramount (78), Kanye Main Kgotla, 17 July 2006
28. Kgosi Mosadi Seboko – Ramotswa (54), Ramotswa Main Kgotla, 17 August 2006
29. Kgosi Letlole Mosielele – Mankgodi Chief (80), Mankgodi Main Kgotla, 19 July 2006
30. Kgosi Gobuamang Gobuamang –Thamaga Chief (75), Thamaga Main Kgotla, 19 July 2006
31. Kgosi Kgari – Kweneng Paramount Chief (32) Molepolole Main Kgotla, 20 July 2006
32. Kgosi Gaborone – Tlokweng village chief (28) Tlokweng Main Kgotla, 17 August 2006
33. Mr. Kalane – Elder (82), Moshupa, Kgosing ward, 16 July 2006
34. M. Nkopane – Traditional Doctor (59) Moshupa, Nkaikela ward, 4 August 2006

35. Ms. Pheko- Elder and Priest (63), Moshupa, UCCSA church, 24 July 2006

Appendices F: NEWSPAPER CLIPS OF DEBATES ON CHIEFTAINSHIP

Appendix F1: Botswana Daily News, 23 September 2004

It is important to preserve culture - Kgosi Mosadi

23 September, 2004

GABORONE - Bamalete's Kgosi Mosadi Seboko, says it is important for Batswana to preserve their culture, saying their cultural practices, values and norms were getting lost through the concepts of "civilisation" and "globalisation".

Kgosi Seboko was speaking at a Cultural Night organised for the Association for Educational Assessment in Africa (AEAA) participants at the Big Five Lodge.

The purpose of the event was to showcase Setswana culture to participants from various Southern African countries.

She said some people did not define bogosi as a cultural institution, saying they were not aware of its relevance in preservation of culture.

" Dikgosi have been identified as custodians of our cultural heritage, most of the cultural practices that communities engage in are held at the initiation of the dikgosi," she said.

She said those who claimed that the institution of Bogosi was outdated were only looking at the short-term and sensational issues that have been associated with the ascension to "Bogosi".

"The very ideals and practices of democracy that Botswana has been lauded for, around the world, owe their roots to Bogosi. she added.

Kgosi Seboko said that "dikgosi" are better placed not only to promote and articulate government policies and programmes amongst their communities, but to also engage them in these formulations, as they are more in touch with what their communities are doing.

She also emphasised that the practices of initiation schools, Bogwera and Bojale were important as they prepared young adults, who were about to start new lives as parents, to also be better members of their societies.

"The challenges of juvenile delinquency, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy and unemployment could be addressed through these institutions. They are a sure way of teaching our culture and traditions, societal norms and values to our youth, " she said.

She added that in a continuous effort to combat the HIV/AIDS scourge, those who were in the forefront of the struggle should take into consideration the cultural practices of the communities in which they work. BOPA

Appendix F2: Mmegi / The Reporter, 8 June 2006

Thursday 8 June 2006

In Other News

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Opinion/Letters

[News](#)

**Abolish the House of Chiefs
WHITHER BOTSWANA**

[Editorial](#)

DAN MOABI

[Opinion/Letters](#)

6/8/2006 3:19:16 PM (GMT +2)

[Cartoon Strip](#)

[Business Week](#)

[Technology](#)

[Features](#)

[Arts/Culture
Review](#)

[Sport](#)

Like President Festus Mogae, I am not a royalist. Botswana is a democratic republic and I see no need for persisting with the practice of royalty, which is based on the belief that certain families are endowed with the exclusive right to lead others. Such a concept should have no place in a democratic republic like ours, and as I have argued before, it is a pity that chieftainship was not abolished soon after Botswana attained independence.

Apart from the fact that chieftainship goes against my republican convictions; the institution has lost most of the powers that it enjoyed before independence. This resulted from a deliberate policy of the country's first post-independence government. Clearly, the old chieftainship powers were incongruous with the country's new, democratic power structure and it was inevitable that they should be whittled away. The House of Chiefs was then established as an advisory body to the National Assembly. However, this new institution is largely toothless, and seems to have been conceived as a mere status symbol to placate the disempowered chiefs. As a status symbol, the House of Chiefs has worked wonders. Its members seem so content with the institution and its trappings that they now hardly complain about the powers that they have lost over the years. In fact, so glamorous is membership of the House of Chiefs that when some of the nation's ethnic groups complained about the limited number of tribes that are mentioned in the country's constitution, the government responded by merely offering the complainants seats in the House. As a result of this, membership of the House of Chiefs will increase from 15 to 35! This is where my support for President Mogae's views on royalty ends. For while I fully support his view that the option of becoming a chief should be open to anyone, I think the decision to increase membership of the House of Chiefs was a big mistake. I cannot see any justification for spending more national resources on such a meaningless institution. Indeed, there is far more justification for abolishing the House of Chiefs. This would save a lot of money, and would also avoid any future clamour for additional members of the House. Readers may wonder why I advocate abolition of the House of Chiefs but remain silent on the institution of chieftainship, which I clearly do not support. There are two reasons for this. First, there are still many people in this country who believe in chieftainship and almost worship their chiefs. To ask the government to abolish the institution of chieftainship would therefore be asking too much at this stage. For this reason, this is something that should, be considered only much later, when, hopefully, the national mood about this subject would have changed. Second, and in contrast to their roles as members of the House of Chiefs, both hereditary and elected chiefs perform useful duties in their respective districts and villages. Not only do they play important leadership roles there; they also preside over customary courts that settle cases and disputes of different types. The key advantages of the customary justice system are that it is easy to access and produces results fairly quickly. In my view, this is adequate justification for maintaining the chieftainship system until we have a better system to replace it.

Appendix F3: Ministry of Local Government News, 31 May 2006

Chieftainship vital for dev? - Seepapitso

Release Date: 2006-05-31
News Type: 1

GABORONE - Chieftainship continues and will always play an important role towards the development of the country, says Kgosi Seepapitso IV, the chairperson of Ntlo ya Dikgosi Speaking at the beginning of the 100th meeting of Ntlo ya Dikgosi yesterday, Kgosi Seepapitso said criticism of the institution was unfounded. Kgosi Seepapitso said he was disappointed that the former president, Sir Ketumile Masire, has been quoted in the news media saying bogosi was no longer relevant. He said President Festus Mogae had at some point made unflattering comments about the institution. Kgosi Seepapitso said he wondered how the importance of the chieftainship would cease as Batswana have their own culture which they are proud of, and which must not be looked down upon. He said the majority of Batswana still need them and regard chieftainship with high esteem. Kgosi Seepapitso said people visit Botswana from different countries to learn about Botswanas chieftainship system. He said remarks that anyone can be a member of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, which he attributed to Mogae, went against the Setswana culture as chieftainship was a birth right. He called on the president to address them if he has any intention to abolish bogosi. He said while they agree that membership of Ntlo ya Dikgosi must be expanded, he was fearful that once section 77,78 and 79 of the Constitution were amended to allow for more members, Mogae would use his powers to nominate to the house people who were not members of royal families.



Appendix F4: Mmegi/The Reporter, 27 July 2006

Thursday 27 July 2006

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Editorial

Ntlo ya Dikgosi representation should be handled with caution

EDITOR

7/27/2006 7:42:06 PM (GMT +2)

When government decided to increase representation in the House of Chiefs, there was some measure of elation. To some, this was a positive step that would go a long way in mitigating the apparent tribal hostilities.

At the time, the ethnic issue was forced into public debate and the subsequent discourse threatened to get out of hand. Tempers really flared with some extremist views getting centre stage. Newspapers and other media carried loads of finger pointing speeches and all manner of accusations.

Perhaps realising the divisive nature of the debate, government moved swiftly and put in place the Balopi Commission. The object of the commission was to seek the views of Batswana on whether they perceive the Constitution to be discriminatory and to say what could be done to make it tribally neutral.

Batswana of various tribal groupings expressed divergent views but what matters is that government came up with a White Paper, the effect of which was to increase representation in the House of Chiefs and change its name to Ntlo ya Dikgosi. Areas that were initially not represented have generally been covered under the new dispensation. Of course these changes have been dismissed from some quarters as cosmetic. Some felt that government missed a golden opportunity to redress a fundamental flaw once and for all. Although the changes have not pleased many people, a sizeable number recognise that this is a step to try and address a problem.

President Festus Mogae has recently been on a whirlwind tour of some selected villages where he informed residents the tribal leadership in their regions could now elect a representative to Ntlo ya Dikgosi. Even before the ink could dry on Mogae's statement, there is a new controversy brewing.

Individual Dikgosi are jostling for the coveted positions. As one Kgosi puts it, the situation has turned Dikgosi into politicians, as they would have to canvass for support and election. Suddenly, regions were created where there were none. A case in point is the Tonota region which now encompasses areas that are politically and administratively situated in different regions. We hope this will not turn out to be a big problem. Dikgosi should be able to deal with this issue without a hitch.

Today's Thought

Those who cannot change their minds cannot change anything.

- George Bernard Shaw

