

INTRODUCTION

Botswana is currently regarded as a model of African democracy. Since its independence from colonial administration in 1966 it has held free and fair elections every five years. There are independent newspapers in the country and all individuals have rights such as freedom of speech and association. The country has enjoyed unparalleled peace and stability within the African continent. It has also experienced unprecedented changes in the country's transition from being one of the ten poorest countries in the world to its current status as a middle income country. However, in spite of the advances of the last thirty years the nation still experiences high levels of poverty and inequality. Botswana carries the highest percentage of HIV/AIDS infections in the world; crime rates, violence and substance abuse are on the increase and voter apathy is high. Perceived inhibitors to progress in these matters are attributed to the erosion of traditional values and a collective reluctance to take pride in the nation or demonstrate patriotism.

The majority of Botswana's population (70%) is under 30 years of age. This means that most people in Botswana are not familiar with life before independence. Their needs and aspirations are informed by globalization influences, including new technologies and enhanced educational opportunities. There are therefore particular challenges facing the younger generation in Botswana in terms of reconciling new lifestyles with traditional cultural values and belief systems.

Although more than 50% of the population still live in rural communities and extended family ties are strong, a perceived threat to Botswana's progress is the younger generation's apathy towards traditional responsibilities. There has, however, been little empirical investigation into the value systems that inform post independence Botswana or how these values have been formed in the context of a rapidly changing world. This book attempts to go some way forward in filling the gap in knowledge.

In 1997 the former President Sir Keitumile Masire endorsed the country's post-independence, development goals of an independent and self sustaining society by 2016 (Presidential Task Group, 1997) – to coincide with 50 years of independence. This document, known as Vision 2016, underpins the government's goals for Botswana – that of an 'educated and informed nation'. During the latter part of 2003 and during the write up of this research project, the government launched a major publicity drive to raise the nation's awareness of Vision 2016 and what it stands for.

Amongst the vision's values are:

- The national concept of '*botbo*' – as an expression of civic duty and self-reliance through the process of earning respect by first giving it;
- Ensuring everyone's contribution to the 'common national endeavour';
- Notions of 'social justice' and 'spiritual values';
- 'Open and transparent governance';
- 'Accountability' of all its citizens;
- The development of leadership potential and 'tolerance of difference';
- The desire that all citizens should 'play a full and active part in society'.

Identified mechanisms for achieving these citizen values are:

- Botswana's traditional *kgotla* system (community meeting place) as an example of decentralised democracy but one that should be responsive to change;
- The role of the family in transmitting social and moral values;
- Youth organizations as key players in developing tomorrow's active citizen and instilling concepts of citizen empowerment and gender equality;
- The role of local communities in caring for their members (Vision 2016).

These values and statements that ensure citizenship contribution to society provide a framework for a concept of citizenship that is linked to social capital (social networks, based on allegiance and mutual reciprocity) and embedded in tradition. They demonstrate a political commitment to lifelong learning, building on traditional, democratic foundations, but within a context of equality and responsiveness to change. These ideas need deeper analysis in Botswana's present day circumstances.

This book reports on a study that was carried out in 2002/3 to explore the experiences and perceptions of different sectors of the post-independence population in Botswana, using both focus groups and individual interviews. We spoke to a total of 98 people, of whom eleven were individual interviews with young people, seven were interviews with leaders (including high level politicians) and 82 were from focus groups. The majority of young people were between the age of 19 and 25, though eight were aged 25–34. Twelve focus groups and individual interviews were conducted across the country, in Gaborone and Francistown (the capital city and second city respectively), Maun (a traditional town and tourist attraction in the north-west), and in Serowe and Bobonong (very large and large traditional towns, respectively, to the east). The youth individual interviews incorporated a life history approach in order to reflect how they learned their values and perspectives. Interviews with leaders provided a point of comparison between the youth and older generation. All interviews were taped and transcribed. Some were conducted in Setswana and translated verbatim by the Setswana-speaking researcher.

The book's first chapter provides a brief literature review of current thinking with respect to citizenship and notions of active citizenship. Most of the literature

on citizenship derives from the West. We explore some of the dominant ideas and analyse how they mesh, or not, with relevant literature from Africa. The second chapter puts the study into context. A description of Botswana today, and the backgrounds of the organizations we spoke to, situates our analysis of what they said. The remainder of the book provides a thematic discussion of their responses to the following questions:

With reference to individual perceptions of rights, responsibilities and traditional values:

- How has the country's development affected citizenship participation amongst the post independence population?
- How have Botswana learned and interpreted community, family and societal values?
- How do the youth interpret their responsibilities in society and within their changing urban and rural communities?
- What perceptions do people have regarding democratic participation for minorities and women?

We asked the citizens for their interpretation of what active citizenship means to the youth of Botswana. We conclude with some ideas about how lifelong learning, through youth and adult education programmes (both formal and not so formal), might build on existing social values and norms to strengthen Botswana's potential for democratic active citizenship.

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CHAPTER ONE

CITIZENSHIP, CIVIL SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this chapter we introduce the idea of active citizenship as a desirable feature of today's society and look at Delanty's rendering of liberal communitarian, civic republican and discursive citizenship. Drawing on African literature relating to civil society and citizenship we explore whether Botswana's context can fit into these theoretical categories. In particular we discuss the meaning and practice of democracy and civil society as indicators of active citizenship. We ask whether good citizenship is the same as active citizenship, and discuss the recent interest in social capital as the perceived missing ingredient for motivating participation among today's globalised citizens. We offer a critique of current policy documents that advocate the nurturing of Botswana's youth as the citizens of tomorrow, and ask what kind of active citizenship is being advocated in the context of today's globalised and changing world. Finally we reflect on how citizenship values can be learned and to what purpose.

CITIZENSHIP

There is no simple definition of citizenship. It can be a legal status, a way of behaving, or both. In Botswana a 'citizen' has a clearly identifiable legal identity that distinguishes him or her from the expatriate community, who are usually labelled 'residents' or 'foreigners'. A Botswana citizen is entitled to obtain land for free, to buy land or houses that are built by the Botswana Housing Corporation, and to vote from the age of 18. Under this identity men and women have equal rights as citizens, though not necessarily equal status in practice. But the word *citizenship* has begun to take on a wider meaning across the globe. Welton (2001) and Bron (2001), amongst others, offer a variety of ways that citizenship can be theorised, usually in relation to European contexts. For our purposes we will draw primarily on Delanty's recent rendering of citizenship as a feature of active, participatory democracy, though we occasionally refer to other documents to broaden the debate.

Delanty (2000:9) breaks the notion of citizenship into components. He sees these components as comprising rights, duties, participation and identity. The

participation component is associated with voluntarism and activity. Benn (2000:242) pursues the notion of participation as the main focus of her definition. She talks about citizenship from a British perspective, as:

...involvement in social networks, in the groups, organizations and voluntary associations that connect citizens with the life of their communities. Motivations to engage in other aspects of citizenship, such as attention to political and public issues, are reinforced through participation in informal groups and voluntary organizations, and engagement in civic and communal activities from good neighbouring to charity-giving to more formal socio-political activity.

In this description citizenship is very much a social activity that starts in the community. Such ideas of citizenship are often given the additional descriptor 'active'. The 1997 EU Commission Report *Learning for Active Citizenship* for instance, describes active citizenship as a desirable process whereby people are empowered to practice participatory democracy. They do this by taking on positions of community responsibility. Active citizens espouse the qualities of cooperation and tolerance, whilst also feeling able to confront or oppose ideas.

The notion of citizenship, however, is both context dependent and dynamic. Delanty (2000) points out how changes in the nature of society have forced us to rethink the meaning of citizenship over time. Indeed its original usage by the ancient Greeks was to confer citizenship status on certain people only as an indicator of privilege. For the Romans citizenship was a legal status, and today citizenship is often a site, or locus, of struggle for recognition. Delanty claims that citizenship has been partly a state led project (legal status) and partly a project emanating from civil society (active participation in the community). Globalization, however, has blurred the boundaries for country identity and the role of the state in defining citizenship. Nowadays it is the state itself that encourages citizenship as an activity rather than a status. The state often promotes the notion of the good citizen, usually interpreted as the active citizen. Being a good, active citizen, furthermore, is linked to the notion of responsibility. So the idea of a responsible citizen is either associated with individual responsibility (Mogae, 2001; Benn, 2000) or its related role of renewing civil society (Benn, 2000). Being good, and being active, however, are not necessarily the same thing, as Enslin (2000) points out in relation to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Here the vision of active citizenship is played out through mass mobilization against the all-white Government of the 1980s. So active citizenship can involve an interpretation of 'responsibility' as struggle for social justice in a way that may not comply with the existing state regime or status quo.

Definitions of citizenship and active citizenship are also gendered. This means

that the way men and women learn what is valued in terms of citizenship and participation in decision making determines their identity as citizens, their perceived entitlements as members of a given society and their perceived role within society. These issues have been discussed at length by a variety of authors across the globe (for example Siim, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Preece, 2002). On a more local level Dow (2001) points out how women in Botswana have not been involved in the formulation or interpretation of human rights, democracy, or citizenship. They have therefore not been fully involved in constructing the laws that govern what it means to be a citizen or how a citizen should behave.

So it can be seen that the concept of citizenship has contested meanings. It is useful to start from somewhere, however, and we have chosen to explore Delanty's (2000, 2002) recent interpretations of citizenship as an initial framework for analysing how active, democratic citizenship is perceived by the youth in Botswana.

Delanty discusses citizenship in terms of his four components – rights, duties, participation and identity. He shows how different perspectives favour one or more of these components as key features for citizenship. A *communitarian* perspective sees citizenship as more than a matter of rights. The emphasis, for communitarian theories of citizenship, is on participation and identity. The community is seen unproblematically as something which stands for unity, while the absence of community indicates conflict (2002:1). The community is the cultural resource that ties people together. The self is culturally specific to that community. The state's recognition of the cultural community tends to protect the majority culture through laws and regulations. Incoming groups must adapt to this community (2000:27). In Botswana, it will be seen that its Tswana culture is still a defining feature of community village life. Moreover that community life is dominated by the majority Tswana culture in terms of language use and traditional attitudes. Conservative communitarians, says Delanty, tend to stress a depoliticised community – one that emphasises family, religion, tradition, nation and a culture of consensus (2000:29). Traditional African communities sit easily within this frame of reference (Orvis, 2001). So community is a source of moral voice. The communitarian focus is on the micro level of society, and morality as promoted within the community itself. This kind of citizenship places little responsibility for society on the state. It is the kind of citizenship that encourages voluntarism and self help, and a commitment to each other. Participation is the key, but from the majority perspective. (In other words, people's social roles influence the nature of their participation.) In contrast, the idea of difference, Delanty states, stands for individual freedom. Communitarians prefer to sacrifice the idea of too much individual freedom in deference to community demands. Civil society, if it exists in this kind of community, is there to reinforce cultural norms and values: 'The value of civil society is not its ability to overcome conflicts but to promote values of trust, commitment and solidarity' (Delanty, 2002:11).

This kind of citizenship is promoted by writers such as Etzioni (1996), who emphasises the moral role of community and its commitment to, supporting rather than challenging the state as the ultimate regulator of societal behaviour. (In Botswana this form of citizenship is given further strength at community level because villages are still under the local jurisdiction of tribal chiefs and customary law.) It is a form of citizenship that is compliant and cohesive – a form of citizenship that gives no trouble to the state. It rests on the notion of social capital as a binding source of unity, a term we will describe later.

Communitarianism does not operate on a macro level in relation to the state. It encourages community cohesion at a micro level, and sees participation in civil society as separate from engagement with the state. In communitarian ideology citizenship is simply a community responsibility.

Civic republicanism on the other hand, places more emphasis on civil society (a form of organised public action) as interacting with the state, and community. Civil society is the source of citizenship activity, rather than the moral community itself. In this respect citizenship participation is more political as civil society acts in dialogue with the state: 'Civil society must live in a world shared with the state and the private world. . . . As a private person one has rights and duties but only in public action is citizenship a meaningful category' (Delanty, 2000:34). The notion that the private world is outside of the realm of citizenship behaviour has been strongly resisted by feminist writers, since this often excludes much of women's activity from recognition that such activity is working for the public good. It also excludes women's activity from political recognition. Some of the ways in which Botswana women's activities are privatised and therefore delegitimised as worthy of public recognition will be discussed in later chapters. We will also show how the divide between public and private life in terms of citizenship activity is becoming increasingly blurred in Botswana society.

Not all civic republican discourse on citizenship operates at the political level. A key promoter of civic republican values is Putnam (2000). Yet his focus is on the role of civil society in promoting values of trust, commitment and solidarity. Such values are now defined by the concept of social capital. So Putnam favours civil society as shouldering the burdens of social responsibility, rather than the state. His argument is that a strong civil society will lead to a stronger state. Civic republicanism for Putnam privileges the role of civil society in achieving collective commitment to common goals. Those goals do not need prior recognition by the state, but they are not necessarily in opposition to the state. Civic republicanism advocates active, public commitment to social action, but such action does not usually challenge the status quo of the state. The nature of civil society in relation to Africa will be discussed later. Suffice it to say here that Orvis (2001) and Ndegwa (1997) both refer to African traditional forms of civil society, in the form of patron client networks and ethnic groups. These groups often act in the role of civil

society to encourage commitment to common ethnic goals that may override individual rights as national citizens. These networks prioritise their own conditional demands of trust, commitment and solidarity to the group before the nation or wider community. (However, it might be argued that community and ethnic or tribal groups are often the same thing in rural African societies.)

Both communitarian and civic republican citizenship encourage the notion of social capital as a stabilising feature for community participation and behaviour. Neither notions of citizenship directly challenge the state, even though civic republicans see civil society as interacting with the state. We have to turn to the idea of *radical* and *discursive* democracy (sometimes known as deliberative democracy) for a more political rendering of citizenship. These latter concepts derive from Habermas (1984) and his rendering of communicative action. Here the emphasis is on dialogue at the grassroots, leading to collective action for change. This kind of citizenship sits more easily with the critical thinking movement of adult educators such as Freire (1972). Delanty (2000) places radical democracy firmly within those new social movements that directly challenge the state. These include feminisms, peace movements, anti-capitalist demonstrations and international ecological activists such as Green Peace. Their defining feature is their ability to mobilise large segments of the population with the goal of bringing about social change by transforming traditional politics. But their method is through mass communication:

While direct democracy confined democracy to society and stressed public participation, discursive democracy is primarily concerned with the deliberative process within public communication (Delanty, 2000:40).

The idea of rule by consensus is now replaced by ‘argumentative communication’ – deliberative, rather than consensual. Civil society in these arenas includes both public and private activity and action that is based on informed public debate. Even though the public has limited resources to solve problems directly, its strength is in the pressure it can put on the state to act for it. Discursive democracy ‘communicates problems and does not deal with solutions’ (p.40). So discursive democracy forces reflection and public scrutiny. It is also in constant tension with the state as it challenges the status quo and argues for change. Its role as a form of citizenship in Botswana is relatively limited, for reasons which will be outlined later. Nevertheless there are undercurrents of this form of citizenship amongst minority tribes and other activists for social change.

So how is difference, or minority opinion accommodated within this approach? The goal of discursive democracy is to promote as many voices as possible. But for some people there is already unequal opportunity to getting one’s voice heard.

Delanty, and many feminists, propose that for these voices we need to adopt a strategic recognition of difference. We recognise there are different perspectives, but some perspectives are marginalised. These, when they represent a social justice issue, need to have their profile raised in order to integrate marginalised sectors of society. Hence the need for different social movements.

Social movements and concepts of active citizenship are all premised on a commitment to democracy and action through some form of civil society. As with the concept of citizenship itself, both these latter terms, however, have different meanings in different contexts. We now look at each of these in turn, before dealing more directly with social capital.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is not constituted wholly by freedom of consumer choice in a market or the freedom to do privately whatever one lists. Instead, democracy is about the public taking of collective decisions that are to govern the common and public practices of the members of a community (Barney, in Welton, 2001:23).

Democracy, simply put, can be interpreted as participatory decision making. Although the above definition places democracy firmly in the public domain, it will be seen that this perception raises issues for women in relationship to Botswana's very public problem of private citizen behaviour in relation to HIV/AIDS. Democracy is associated with regimes where there is freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom to form associations. It is a political process whereby all members of society are entitled to make their voice heard in the goals towards peace and social justice. Political and social leaders are selected through an open election process with an expectation that they will act on behalf of, and represent the voices of, many (Domatob, 1997). Ginn 1996 (cited in Medel-Anonuevo and Mitchell, 2003: xii) describes democratization 'as the participation of all people in framing and making decisions that affect them'. The extent to which public policy recognises democratic practices, or democratic representation in organizations, will vary from culture to culture and nation to nation. Clearly education has a part to play in promoting a culture of tolerance and active participation as well as critical expression. But democracy is often an ideology rather than a complete reality. Swift (2000:1) points out that democracy is closely linked to active citizenship, but governments and dominant social groups do not want citizens to be active against them. So democratic principles of equality and freedom for all may be end goals rather than a reality for all citizens. Moreover democracy, even when interpreted as a public concept, raises other challenges for African societies.

Ndegwa (2001:3) discusses some of the guiding principles for democratic governments such as the expansion of citizenship rights and responsiveness to changing dynamics between the state and society: 'Democracy allows for negotiation of new citizenship norms and continual refiguration of relations between state-society and within society'. In this framework he discusses the 'African democratic experiment' (where democratic regimes are taking over from socialist models) as a demonstration of the imperfection of democracy. He comments on how democratic efforts can result in a hybrid version of democracy. For example, democratic elections are based on the principle of multi-party choice. But when one party dominates the political scene for decades, then the element of choice is restricted and breeds opportunity for a more autocratic style of government. He talks of three types of regimes in countries that have experienced a transition period into democracy: electoral democracies, liberal democracies and pseudo democracies. Electoral democracies practice fair and free elections with multi-party competition, but in practice there is little alternation of power. Pseudo democracies undergo periodic elections but there is no alternation of power, and the dominant party actively constrains efforts to weaken its power, often resulting in limited civil rights. Liberal democracies practice fair and free elections with real alternation of power and a broad range of civic freedoms. Ndegwa suggests that the status of women in a society is often an indicator of how healthy that democracy is in practice. One might also add to this analysis the status of minority ethnic or other social groups. The suggestion here is that in Africa, democracy is not necessarily translated into people power. Eyoh (1998) also emphasises the fragility of many African democracies which are often interpreted very narrowly in terms of elections rather than personal rights or freedoms of association.

A closer analysis of Botswana, often cited as Africa's shining example of democracy, reveals some of these fragilities. Taylor (2003), Maundeni (2003) and Good (1996, 2003) all express concerns over the extent of Botswana's highly centralised government and its 'authoritarian liberalism'. For example, the law is cited as constraining union activity and the opportunity to organise strikes as a 'democratic right to withhold their labour power' (Taylor, 2003: 27). Maundeni (2003) points out that in spite of regular national elections with more than three competing political parties the same party always wins. Consequently there are a number of insidious laws and financial practices by government that hinder opposition parties from gaining a stronger political hold, for example by interacting directly with businesses, labour and civil societies. Maundeni suggests that Botswana's democratization is constrained partly by its historical relationship with traditional chiefs who are not democratically elected, and yet chiefs still control local (*kgotla*) meetings and are represented in parliament as well as through the House of Chiefs. Moreover

the country's economy is highly centralised resulting in limited market competition for economic growth. Even the democratic election process itself barely represents the population. Only 3% of the population are identified as discussing national politics regularly or attending political rallies, and 73% of eligible voters are not members of associations which would enable political participation (Maundeni, 2003:13). Botswana might therefore be described as something between an electoral and a pseudo democracy. This seeming dichotomy between efforts for democracy and traditional practices of chieftaincy is not peculiar to Africa (Shaw, 1990), nor is it peculiar to Botswana. As Nyamnjoh (2003) says in relation to Botswana (and this statement can be applied to many monarchies across the world) 'no one is too citizen to be subject'. by which he means all citizens are still subject to the crown. Nevertheless the relationship between Botswana's dominant tribal chiefs (represented as a second tier in parliament as the house of chiefs) and elected parliamentarians is significant. The role of chieftaincy is central in negotiating efforts for participatory decision making and freedom of expression. It will be shown later that Botswana still place high premiums on chieftainship as a form of leadership, with consequences for how citizens respond to the parliamentary system in Botswana.

Part of the problem for democratic development in Africa, Domatob (1997) argues, lies in the struggle to harmonise traditional African political systems with the dominant models imposed by European intervention. Traditionally in Africa everything was everybody's business. African traditional forms of democracy emphasised consensus building (of a communitarian citizenship nature) rather than Western forms of democracy which encourage 'opposition for its own sake' (p.63). Whilst tyranny did exist prior to colonialism, the post colonial struggle for independence and development has cultivated one party rule, because this is simply closer to the idea of chieftaincy. There is also a tension between governmental goals for compliant and submissive people and the struggle for self reliant, self sustaining development (Shaw, 1990:13). These tensions continue to challenge democratic practice in African countries. They manifest themselves in the way civil society is interpreted and practised.

CIVIL SOCIETY

The extent to which civil society flourishes in a regime is often regarded as an indicator of both the existence of democratization, and also as a means of nurturing democratic practice. Civil society is constituted of formal organizations that operate independently of the state but strive to foster development often in dialogue with, and sometimes in opposition to, the state. Civil societies traditionally function

through a membership which is defined by shared interests and goals and inclusive participation. They are also a source of social capital (a mutually supportive network of social contacts and resources for community cohesion). Civil society, in the form of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), helps to empower grassroots members to have a voice in decision making that affects their lives – although Allen (1997) questions whether civil society is more ideologically democratic than really democratic in some cases.

Orvis (2001) claims that some descriptions of civil society limit the potential for many traditional African organizations to contribute to democratic principles and to challenge the political accountability of the state. He refers in particular to what are known as patron client networks and ethnic associations. They exist as organizations that are independent of the state. He suggests that if civil society is defined as 'a public sphere of formal or informal collective activity autonomous from the state and family' (p.2), then traditional African associations have a potential role to play in promoting civil society goals such as social justice and social capital. Such groups did not feature significantly in this study but they do demonstrate that African community cohesion is often tribalistic in nature, or ethnically based. Within tribal or ethnic boundaries there is a strong sense of community involving obligations between the rich and poor, for instance:

The central norm of reciprocal obligation is a norm of political accountability within the community, applied by the poor and weak to the rich and powerful. It is also a vision of good citizenship and the public good. By placing the community's interests at the apex of the moral order, it provides a norm on which formal or informal groups can rely to maintain autonomy from the national state (Orvis, 2001:8).

Patron client networks operate on the basis of reciprocity and mutual support. Patrons are usually older men and they provide a managerial role over clients so relationships are not equal, though clients can change their patrons. Nevertheless such networks pursue collective interests and are a means of political mobilization on similar lines to union activity in labour movements. It might be argued that many forms of civil society, of a more conventional nature, operate no more democratically in reality, though constitutionally they may have the appearance of doing so. All forms as described by Orvis, however, manifest many of the characteristics of social capital, the much advocated resource in recent years for active citizenship. We shall see how communities and civil society organizations in Botswana may capture the best and worst of social capital in the drive for democratic citizenship. But let us first explain in more detail what social capital means from a theoretical perspective.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

In recent years the major proponents of social capital have come from the North through writers such as Putnam (2000) Coleman (1994), and Bourdieu (1986). Etzioni (1996) and Fukuyama (1995) have used similar concepts for community regeneration, though not necessarily under the heading of social capital. Its popularity as a concept is in its potential, amongst other arguments, to counter the excessive individualism associated with contemporary society (Baron, Field & Schuller, 2000:15).

Coleman (1994) defines the constituents of social capital as an interactive process of social systems and relationships which are based on three forms of behaviour. These derive from connections with, and activity in, networks such as clubs, societies or community projects. These forms of behaviour consist of *obligations and expectations* developed through mutual activity and a common purpose. This ultimately entails reciprocal arrangements between members and the development of mutual trust. The outcome is a network of communication – *information channels* – which can be called upon outside their original social purpose. Over time *norms of collective interest* evolve which are internalised and act as self-defining sanctions on the behaviours of other members (Preece & Houghton, 2000:9).

Baron, Field and Schuller (2001) offer an edited critique of these notions of social capital that are now seen as an approach to building social, or active, citizenship. They show how Putnam (2000) relates to both a communitarian and civic republican concept of citizenship. He emphasises the importance of family, neighbourhood and voluntary organizations as the resource for building personal relationships. Coleman (1994), however, follows a more communitarian notion. He focuses on the bonds between school, family, church and their neighbourhood as indicators of trust and obligations within communities. These social relationships and values, such as trust, are seen as crucial to shaping broader patterns of behaviour. For Coleman a closer analysis of social capital in a community or society informs our understanding of the relationship between educational achievement and social inequality. Communities with strong social capital are said to instil high opportunities for cognitive and social development (1994:300). High social capital therefore is seen as a source of educational advantage. For Putnam the emphasis for social capital is on building strong civil society and positive citizenship.

Communities with high social capital facilitate information flows and mutual bonding. Participation in political life and issues of community interest is consequently more effective (Field, 2001). Social capital, therefore, it is argued, contributes to building tolerant and democratic societies and political stability (Rotberg, 1999).

But social capital is not unproblematic. It develops informally through networking and not necessarily with the intention of building social cohesion across communities. Strong social capital can therefore be exclusive. Dominant communities with strong social capital can marginalise others. And, as with all dominant voices, certain forms of social capital (in the form of networks and reciprocities of behaviour) can become more valued than others, thus contributing to inequality and exclusion of some social groups. Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) criticise Putnam and Coleman for failing to address social capital issues of power and conflict in this context. Although Baron, Field and Schuller themselves do not offer solutions to addressing power struggles, they advocate a more deliberately targeted approach to building connections between heterogeneous groups. This kind of association building is initially more fragile (since it is contrived rather than organic) but is also more likely to foster greater social inclusion in the long term (Baron, Field and Schuller, 2000:10). Nurturing social capital is a capacity building exercise that has implications for adult education and community development, of course. These issues will be discussed towards the end of this chapter.

Castells (1996) offers a further dimension to social capital. He highlights the growth of virtual networks in the context of globalization, where networks can cross geographical boundaries, creating more open structures of communication and new kinds of information flows. For Botswana, as for many emerging economies, globalization is a two edged sword. Before turning to a more context specific look at the youth of Botswana, it is worth briefly touching on the challenges of globalization in relation to nation states and individuals within those states, particularly in Botswana.

THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

The concept of globalization, briefly described, represents the constriction of time and space brought about by technological advancement. Communication systems are now global and very fast. Businesses can exchange and sell goods electronically. People can travel more quickly to other countries and rely more heavily on international goods and services as part of their daily lives. Castells takes an essentially monetarist view of globalization, which is organised around virtual networks that act as instruments for a capitalist economy. Financial transactions take place in 'timeless space', transforming and controlling social interactions and fashions at the click of a mouse (Castells, 2000:77). Global networks of financial flows control media and sources of power in the world, therefore. Giddens (2000:8) proposes, however, that globalization is more than an economic phenomenon. Instantaneous communication affects political,

technological and cultural patterns of behaviour. He argues that global communication, 'which is indifferent to national borders' supersedes the nation state, the autonomy of political leaders and even the more personal aspects of our lives so that: 'Traditional family systems are becoming transformed, or are under strain, in many parts of the world, particularly as women stake claim to greater equality' (p.12). These comments resonate with the concerns of voter apathy in Botswana, and also, to some extent, the nation's changing patterns of family.

The main drivers for globalization come from advanced industrialised countries, resulting in increased marketization of their commodities, skills and knowledge, and international competitiveness. Global influences of culture, values and language also come from those same key players. Africa and other emerging economies, therefore, are experiencing new forms of domination by multinational companies and international institutions, such as the World Trade Organization. Africans receive globalization influences as yet another form of colonization while their values, identities and economies are pillaged by the West (Nyamnjoh, 2003a). As Harris (1996:7-8) states:

The global market has succeeded in conflating the notion of 'freedom' with consumerism ... Globalization has built a culture in which value is ascribed to things which many people know and want rather than to things which are particular and specific to distinct ways of living.

Nevertheless, Giddens (2000) also claims that the impact of globalization is not all one way. In the experience of losing economic power, local cultures react defensively and rebuild their local identities in the form of separatist, internal nationalisms.

All these various impacts of globalization were very apparent in the interviews with Botswana's youth. Tribal tensions, changing patterns of work and life, and new forms of risk, were all encroaching on traditional life, albeit to different degrees depending on whether one lived in an urban or rural area. Money and an individual commitment to learning for employability, largely stimulated by enhanced educational opportunities, were key features of youth aspirations, as Chapter five shows. Delanty (2000:19) proposes that the pursuit of wealth as a result of globalization both restrains civic commitment and also breaks the conceptual link between nationality and citizenship. Immigration to Botswana across neighbouring country borders as well as from overseas expatriates is an indicator of these new challenges to communities and national boundaries. Falk (2000) talks in this context about 'new citizenships' with 'multiple loyalties' and 'allegiances' to communities. A citizenry that fragments into a confused mass public, or tribal minorities and visionary activist minorities, drains energy away

from loyalty to the state. It challenges Botswana to be both re-active and proactive to the nation's rapidly changing world. Botswana's document *Vision 2016*, and its youth policies are government initiatives in response to these challenges.

VISION 2016 AND NATIONAL YOUTH POLICIES

Vision 2016 (Presidential Task Group, 1997) is a vision for how Botswana should be fifty years after independence. It recognises that the nation is interacting with diverse foreign cultures, is in a process of urbanization and is part of a broader, global society. The vision encourages its people to embrace and actively manage this process of change, encouraging re-examination of old habits at all levels with the goal of building a stable society but one that is built on continuous innovation, common endeavour and commitment to its future. Citizens are to be empowered equally through the acquisition of skills and knowledge, and through transparent and accountable governance. The vision also encourages the maintenance of traditional values such as '*botho*' roughly translated as earning respect by first giving it. The document embraces change but attempts to do so in a context that values the nation's tradition and culture. So enhanced civil society has a place alongside community *kgotla* systems, while eradication of poverty and increased productivity are to be nurtured through traditional family values of morality and tolerance of difference. There is a sense that the Botswana government's vision of citizenship has a closer relationship to communitarian citizenship than radical or discursive democracy. There is a sense, too, that it is trying to appeal to too many factions and be all things to all people.

Since 70% of Botswana citizens are under the age of 30, the burden of responsibility for intertwining change with tradition and culture falls on the youth. President Festus Mogae, in his role as Chief Scout and in his speech to the Annual General Meeting of the Botswana Scouts association, made his position clear. Young people must exercise their rights, duties *and* responsibilities (2001:9). At their first reading, this speech, the *Botswana National Youth Policy* (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 1996), the *National Action Plan for Youth* (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2001) and the *Youth Charter* (Botswana National Youth Council, 2002) seem to contain unproblematically laudable goals. Youth will be infused with strong moral and ethical values; they will be actively involved in national development. Their rights and responsibilities will be safeguarded through a spirit of patriotism and participation in a just and caring nation. There will be freedoms to participate in decision making and lawful associations, respect for cultural norms and values, and building of leadership capacity for the social, cultural and economic development of the country. The Youth Charter also talks about empowerment of youth to have a greater say in decisions that affect the lives of young people.

But it is perhaps what is missing in these statements that is more significant. There is no mention of the need for a critical literacy, a consciousness of any social justice and inequalities that exist, or the instilling of a critical desire to challenge wider global concerns and injustices. The emphasis is on an almost hegemonic goal for social harmony within the nation. Scanlon (2002) in her assessment of the Botswana Government's National Policy on Education (1994) offers similar observations. Here, she observes that the strategy is for social harmony, interdependence and mutual assistance – 'good citizenship and desirable work ethics' (Scanlon, 2002:4). Education is not being designed to create critical thinkers: 'An educated and restive population is perceived as much more difficult to govern' (p.13). There is in these policy documents an underlying current of anxiety that too much awareness of one's rights will challenge the status quo of authoritarian liberalism. Scanlon makes it clear in her assessment of national education policies that schools are being allowed to go so far, but are discouraged from stimulating too much critical thinking. Human rights issues are underplayed in the desire to maintain traditional discipline through corporal punishment, for instance.

The impression gained is that talk of human rights is too political in Botswana and therefore it is best to refer to issues of social development in less political terms such as empowerment, capacity building and skills training, voter education, gender issues and so forth (Scanlon, 2002:35).

Such political incongruities between the desire for an enlightened education system that raises critical thinkers but that nevertheless maintains the status quo are not uncommon of course. Similar criticisms could be targeted at the Crick report (cf: Crick, 1999) for citizenship education in the United Kingdom. Similarly the general message that the youth are too unmotivated and disengaged from civic life is now a global concern, as evidenced by Owen (1996) in his discussion of Australia's youth and Van Benschoten's (2000) reference to American youth. But Van Benschoten points out that such concerns may just be interpretations that do not take account of the contingencies of a changing world. Van Benschoten argues, for instance, that young people are more involved in volunteering than a decade ago. But now their involvement seeks different paths to create social change. The transition, in Van Benschoten's (2000:2) research suggests that young people in America are being less altruistic. Rather than 'doing what is right for the sake of it' they are 'acting in enlightened self interest' because of the perceived benefits to the individual and to others. The opportunity to make a real difference is now the driving force for youth. In these situations, it might be argued, the youth are engaging in a discursive democracy form of citizenship, rather than a communitarian one.

So what role can and should adult education play in nurturing tomorrow's

citizens to be active and democratic? Across the globe people are both studying how individuals learn to be active citizens (Holford *et al.*, 2000; Snick *et al.*, 2001; Horsdal, 2001 for example) and how to stimulate the new learning opportunities in the formal system (Crick, 1999 for example) and informally (Youth Net, 2003 for instance). At the same time, it is argued within Africa itself that community building is already a part of African traditional lifelong learning (Avoseh, 2000). Avoseh asks merely that such traditions are recognised before the West claims a prerogative for lifelong learning and active citizenship. This will be discussed later. Since learning is such a central aspect of becoming an active citizen it is worth looking briefly at the relationship between learning theory, biography and citizenship activity.

LEARNING TO BE AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

Korsgaard (2001) points out that teaching about active citizenship is not enough. Citizens also have to learn. Jarvis (2001:90) offers a framework for this:

Learning is the process whereby individuals are constructing and transforming experience into knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, beliefs, emotions and the senses.

He explains that individuals give meaning to experiences in relation to their biography (past experiences) in new social situations. Learning occurs when that meaning is transformed as a result of reflecting on the new experience. Non-learning occurs when the experience is not integrated or harmonised with the individual's biography. Disjuncture – the disharmony created by the new experience – can trigger new learning but the individual can also choose to reject, or be non reflective about, the new experience. Jarvis (p.92) suggests that the rapid changes caused by globalization have forced society to learn more quickly. In Botswana's context the rapidity and extent of change since independence has forced the youth in particular to learn reflectively. As a result they constantly redesign and reshape their lives in different contexts (Bron, 2001:141).

Jarvis (2001:93–94) reminds us that potential learning situations can be formal, self directed, informal, incidental and 'everyday' (learning how to cope by 'thinking on our feet about our next action'). However:

Merely knowing something does not make us act upon it. We can be taught about citizenship, and even about being a citizen, but that does not mean we do anything about it. Action demands motivating factors such as beliefs, emotions and values (p.94).

In order to act on our new knowledge, therefore, we need to be motivated and believe in the worth of what we do.

One reference point for understanding how people learn to be active citizens is articulated by Snick *et al.* (2001). In their analysis of life history interviews from a pan-European research project, a number of active citizens were asked to explain how they learned to become active. The study revealed that people learn their active citizenship largely informally. They learn by doing and their learning does not stop at a particular stage in life. The learning is ongoing. Following this logic others have argued that, whilst effective citizenship has to be learned like any other skill, it does not take place through the formal curriculum. It takes place through positive experiences of participation (Benn, 2000:241). Therefore the education experience itself should be an experience of participatory democracy. But whilst schools have a role to play (Adeyemi *et al.*, 2003), citizenship learning is acknowledged as a lifelong process (Holford *et al.*, 2002). The burden of learning for active citizenship therefore falls on adult or non-formal and informal education, partly because the learning is an ongoing process, but partly because school education is identified as offering only limited opportunities for participatory democracy (Adeyemi, 2002), or critical thinking (Scanlon, 2002). Indeed, Imel (2003), amongst others, reminds us that citizenship education, like all education, is never neutral. It is shaped by the orientation of the providers and context.

Mayo (2000) suggests that education for effective citizenship learning works best through an enabling framework, rather than a prescriptive curriculum. The key is the active involvement of participants. This confers with the international YouthNet (2003) approach where youth are encouraged to determine for themselves what they need to know and how to meet their needs in different situations and organizations. The goal is to stimulate high aspirations, confidence, improved skills and attitudes. Active citizenship is a process of tacit learning engendered through involvement.

As we stated earlier, Avoseh (2001) argues that this kind of learning is already embedded in African values through tribal or ethnic community building. This learning is based to a large extent on spiritual values. The need to be virtuous is embedded in the spiritual and physical duties of the individual to the interests of the wider community. This includes caring for the extended family, if necessary sacrificing one's life for the protection of the community and participating in decision making through consensus. The prospect of punishment from God or the ancestors is the defining check on behaviour that must respect the sacredness of human life, promotes mutual help, generosity, cooperation and respect. African traditional education, Avoseh argues, empowers individuals to be active members of their community. This is learned through everyday values, practices, proverbs and actions. It is these values that the Botswana government perceives are eroding

among the youth. The role of the youth service, the Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC), is to reinstate such values in the goal for social harmony. They reflect, however concerns across the globe. Numerous people have created templates or checklists for learning. Hall, Williamson and Coffey (2000), specifically refer to youth education. They suggest that the role of the youth worker is in creating experiential learning opportunities and encouraging critical reflection by the participants on what they learned. Values such as mutual respect, social awareness, care towards others and self worth are encouraged. Others, such as Jarvis (2001), and Benn (2000) imply that within the menu of requirements such as social knowledge and interactive skills there should be a critical, ethical dimensions such as an anti-racist focus (Jarvis, 2001:111) or learning to 'act independently if they think it is right' (Benn, 2000:245).

Martin (1999:18) more specifically suggests that learning should challenge people to think about what it means to be an effective citizen in a socially inclusive democracy – to:

Put the adult learner as political agent and social actor back into learning
... to recognise that their capacity for learning and changing is the key
resource for making democracy a way of life.

Harris (1996) and Johnston (2003) look at the role of adult education in this respect. Harris proposes that adult education can support community based activities and strengthen local democracy by empowering citizens to 'intervene in decisions that affect them locally' (Harris, 1996:9). Active participation should be taught in a critical framework of challenging governance structures and decisions that affect the local environment. Johnston (2003:59–61) proposes that this means learning for reflexive citizenship through leadership training and capacity building. He too advocates informal experiential and community based learning, but learning that encourages criticality and questioning. So that *how* we teach is as important as *what* we teach (Coare & Johnston, 2003:207). Coare and Johnston's check-list of teaching approaches is designed to facilitate active, critical thinking for citizenship. These include the process of building social capital, fostering collective identities, finding a common purpose, listening to different community voices, negotiated learning content, participation and working with social movements in order to influence policy. Such an approach acknowledges all of Delanty's dimensions to citizenship of identity, rights, duties and participation, but in a context of discursive or deliberative democracy with a focus on change for social justice. The extent to which Botswana citizens themselves would respond to this form of democracy, and to which the country in the context of its own stage of development would favour such an approach, will be discussed later.

This chapter has outlined some contemporary theories for active citizenship and analysed their political status in relation to action for social change or responsiveness to the status quo. We have argued that it is a common tendency of governments to advocate for social harmony at the possible expense of radical social justice. In African contexts these tendencies must also be seen in relation to their history of emerging democracies and struggles for nation building. Nevertheless the influences of globalization are no longer allowing countries or continents to proceed with democracies that ignore issues of social justice or the demands of wider social movements that challenge concepts of citizenship activity. In Botswana's context the youth of today are perceived as both problematic and also the potential solution to contemporary society. Interpretations of what the youth should learn for active democratic citizenship are not homogeneous, however. The extent to which Botswana's youth are addressing the challenges of their nation in its changing context, and in relation to their own biographies, will be revealed in the ensuing chapters. The implications for a lifelong learning agenda for developing active citizenship will be discussed in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

BOTSWANA TODAY

INTRODUCTION

Botswana is a landlocked country in southern Africa. Much of its landscape is semi-desert (Kalahari) and scrubland. The country has a population of less than two million people, though it is approximately the size of France. The majority of inhabitants live in the relatively more fertile east of the country, while small pockets of communities still exist in areas of the Kalahari. In order to facilitate understanding by readers outside Botswana of the issues raised in the rest of this book, the first part of this chapter provides a thumbnail sketch of social, economic, political and educational life in Botswana, with interpretations of how colonialism has impacted on the country's values and practices. The second part of the chapter introduces some of the organizations that contributed to our study.

SOCIAL INFORMATION

A citizen of Botswana is known as a *Motswana* (in plural form *Batswana*). Setswana and English are the country's national and official languages respectively, though there are approximately 55 indigenous groups speaking about 26 languages in Botswana (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002). Batswana often say they have three homes – their village home, the lands (*masimo*) where crops are grown, usually in the form of subsistence farming for family use, and the cattle post (*moraka*) a small compound where, usually men, keep goats, chickens, cows and bulls. The animals are partly a status symbol and partly assets, which are drawn on as food resources for funerals and weddings, or for gifts. Nowadays there is often a fourth home, the town- or city-based workplace. Since parents may be residing in any one of the above locations for different periods of time, the caring of children is regarded as an extended family affair. Children may go to school away from their home village and stay with cousins, aunts or other relatives. In traditional households children will spend school holidays in their home villages, often spending time with their grandparents and other relatives, from whom cultural values and crafts are learned. Villages may contain a few hundred or several thousand inhabitants, who are often the offspring of a vast extended

family network. They are divided into wards and each ward is presided over by a headman or chief. The chief conducts business at the community *kgotla* – a traditional podium that acts as a community meeting place. Amongst other responsibilities the chief acts as a judge for local criminal offences that are brought to the customary court and tried according to local, customary law. Common law offences are dealt with by the national legal system which may, or may not, coincide with customary law (Griffiths, 1997).

Urban areas include towns and cities. Population sizes range from 83,023 (Francistown) to 186,007 (Gaborone) with a far less coherent family relationship, if one exists at all. *Kgotla* meetings are also held in towns, though they seldom receive the same status and commitment as those in the rural areas.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In 2001 36.7% of Botswana lived below the poverty datum line and 30% were classified as very poor (UNDP, 2002). Forty-seven per cent of the population is still rural and 90% of the poor live in rural areas. Twenty-four per cent of adults are illiterate, the majority of these living in rural areas (UNDP, 2002). In spite of these figures, Botswana's overall economic growth has been dramatic. In 1965 Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world. It is now a middle income country with a GDP per capita of US\$6,600 in 2000 (World Atlas Botswana, 2003). Nevertheless, most of Botswana's growth occurred between the 1970s and 1980s (Leith, 1997). Some of the recession periods are attributed to drought, but also to the natural levelling out of economic growth (Gaolathe, 1997). The country's economic success is attributed largely to its diamond industry and political stability. However, whilst diamonds produce a lucrative revenue, the industry is not labour intensive and the country's economic gains have only benefited a small elite. Unemployment is estimated to be 40% (World Atlas Botswana, 2003). Attempts have been made for some time to diversify the economy and other sources of national income are received from Botswana's beef exports and its tourist industry. As the country moves from its labour intensive, subsistence farming and agricultural background to more service oriented production, this situation has created a significant economic divide between rural and urban areas. To offset the poverty effects of these changes the Government actively encourages small income generating projects through the informal economy (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997).

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Botswana is a parliamentary republic with executive power vested in a president

who is chosen by members of the one-house National Assembly. The leaders of Botswana's eight principal tribal groups continue to have secondary governmental functions through the House of Chiefs (O'Toole, 1994:37). Even though the country is independent, having held free and fair elections every five years since Independence, it is still presiding over a discriminatory constitution which does not recognise the existence of the diverse ethnic groups that constitute a significant minority of the population. The eight principal tribes do not constitute the whole African population of Botswana. Other tribes are affiliated to these, and for one reason or another have accepted the rule of the chief of the principal tribe and have become his or her subjects.

The country acquired its independence from Britain in 1966 and has since been ruled by the Botswana Democratic Party. The party first stood for elections in 1965, won, and has continued to emerge victorious despite the presence of a variety of opposition parties. A major political complaint in the country at the moment is voter apathy. The government, in response to this problem, established the Independent Electoral Commission in 1994, which is mandated to provide political education to those of voting age. The Commission has a fully fledged secretariat which, since its formation has been providing information to sensitise the population about the importance of elections.

Botswana is a democratic country. It is grounded in a strong foundation of consultation, peace and stability. Those who oppose the government generally do so through peaceful means, evidenced in part by the fact that the country has held no political prisoners since Independence. Recent trends, however, show an increasing number of industrial actions by both employees of the Civil Service and those in the parastatal (partly government funded) and private sectors. This development can be partly attributed to reaction to the introduction of new 'exotic' or foreign systems that are highly exploitative, and the increasing strength of trade unionism.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Until recently all young adults who had achieved their secondary school leaving examinations (Cambridge Certificate) were expected to undertake a year's national service, known as *Tirelo Sechaba*. It started in 1980 as a voluntary activity but in June 1984 the Government made the holding of a *Tirelo Sechaba* certificate an additional entry requirement for many further education courses and occupations. *Tirelo Sechaba* provided an experiential opportunity for the youth to contribute to the development needs of different sectors of society, through, for example, teaching primary school children, helping with orphan care programmes, supporting the sick and small landscaping or building projects in remote areas. It also aimed to promote 'self development, cross cultural exposure and to build

work experience for its participants' (Molefe and Weeks, 2001: 105). In 2000 *Tirelo Sechaba* was withdrawn following evaluation, 'ostensibly because of its high costs and loss of relevance' (Molefe and Weeks, 2001:106).

TRADITIONAL PASTIMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN BOTSWANA

Traditional cultural activities include local sports activities such as *Nxai*. This entails competing for the longest throw of carved out javelin style sticks. There is also a form of hide and seek called *Ale Iphithile?* involving two groups. One group hides the other seeks. Board games include *Morabaraba*, a form of *Mancala*, mostly played by girls, in which stones are moved around a board, and *Mmele*, an ancient board game originally found in ancient Egypt (and from which Nine Men's Morris derives, using only 18 instead of *Mmele's* 24 pieces). It involves moving pieces strategically across a grid marked board.

RELIGION

Over several centuries different foreign religions such as Christianity and Islam have permeated, and some would say invaded the country. Traditionally Botswana's religion attaches significant importance to ancestors, who constitute the spirits and gods for Botswana's religious and moral reverence. Traditional religion holds the key to distinctive 'African' world views. Nyamnjoh (2002) and Goduka (2000) explain that Western epistemology perceives the world as dichotomous. That is, situations are either one thing or its opposite. So the world is either real and rational or unreal and irrational. It is either scientific and physical or religious and metaphysical. This philosophy negates African knowledge systems that are based on the interconnectedness between the physical and the spiritual:

The popular epistemologies of Africa build bridges between the so-called natural and supernatural, physical and metaphysical, rational and irrational, objective and subjective, scientific and superstitious ... making it impossible for anything to be one without also being the other (Nyamnjoh, 2002:5).

Omolewa *et al.* (1998) and Kanyoro (1999) explain that this means there is always a religious interpretation of events. It is not enough for a tree to fall because of physical causes such as lightning. People also ask why did that tree fall on that particular person at that particular time in that particular way. This is because even the dead are still members of the community; power belongs to the spirits of the ancestors who influence our accomplishments in the present. So the West

is essentially materialistic in nature, while traditional African education values are based on a much more spiritual view of the world (Omolewa, 1998).

We use the concept of *spirituality* very broadly in this book. We interpret it to mean having a sense of connectedness between all living beings and a perception that one has a 'higher self' in terms of ethics and morality.

Later chapters will elaborate on the religious and spiritual aspects of the interviewees' lives. Foreign religions attempted to override Botswana's religious ideals, often through missionary schools that condemned various common practices as 'depraved' and 'disgusting' (Schapera, 1958: 13). Amongst the practices that were affected were the initiation rites for youth, polygamy, rainmaking and other forms of magic and dancing by adults. To demonstrate the multiplicity and pervasiveness of different forms of colonization, Schapera pointed out that the missionaries were financially supported by the colonial administration, who subsidised their educational activities.

BOTHO

The Vision 2016 (Presidential Task Group, 1997:2) document describes '*botbo*' as the fifth national principle for Botswana as 'one of the tenets of African culture':

... the concept of a person who has a well-rounded character, who is well-mannered, courteous and disciplined, and realises his or her full potential both as an individual and as a part of the community to which he or she belongs.

'*Botbo*' defines a process for earning respect by first giving it, and to gain empowerment by empowering others. It encourages people to applaud rather than resent those who succeed. It disapproves of antisocial, disgraceful, inhuman and criminal behaviour, and encourages social justice for all.

Botbo is described as a concept that 'must stretch to its utmost limits the largeness of spirit of all Batswana ... so that no Motswana will rest easy knowing that another is in need.'

EDUCATION

Botswana's literacy rate, at 76%, is relatively high within the African continent. Education is currently free – from primary through to tertiary level, though the Government is considering the re-introduction of school fees as a cost recovery

measure and despite strong opposition from many quarters, in view of the potential impact of such a decision on Botswana's educational advancements to date.

Education is not compulsory in Botswana. Although 98% attend primary school, a third fail to complete secondary education (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997). A general criticism of Botswana's current education system is that it does not prepare beneficiaries adequately for the job market.

Citizenship education is taught in secondary schools through the general topic of Social Studies. Adeyemi, Boikhutso and Moffat (2003:37) identify the desired learning outcomes of citizenship education to include an understanding of the structure of government, as well as understanding and practice of the concepts of justice and good citizenship for participation in the growth and development of society. They highlight the gap between theory and practice for some teachers in the light of insufficient training in this subject, though a minimal level of understanding is achieved.

Generally, the education system that is currently followed can be termed exotic, in that it has been imposed by foreigners and is not necessarily relevant to everyday skills and needs of Botswana. The nation, until recently, relied on traditional schools for the provision of life skills and cultural knowledge. Young adults would usually be taken away from their homes to spend time in the bush where they underwent training to prepare them for manhood and womanhood. The graduates of these schools were not certificated but put into regiments for easy identification. The traditional schools were instrumental in inculcating cultural values onto the next generation. Schapera, (1978:13) describes the process for boys as follows: 'During the course of the ceremony the boys were taught various rules of conduct and also the tribal songs of war and triumph'. The curricula of the traditional schools was broad ranging and stretched beyond basic craft skills:

The boys were told to obey their elders, notably their parents. ... From time to time the chief himself would call the boys together and speak to them, presumably also about the behaviour expected of them once they were men.

Most people blame the formal education system for the current behaviour of the youth. As observed by Koma as far back as 1974, the characteristics of our education system are that:

It promotes and encourages individualization, it regards the accumulation of wealth as a measure of success in life, it conditions those who receive it to despise all those who have not received it, it makes the recipients despise manual work and it makes its victims adopt

anything European as the paragon of excellence (Koma, 1974:6).

These sentiments arguably have as much force today as they did thirty years ago. The degree to which Botswana has been taken over by western ideas and influences can be evidenced from the Republic of Botswana website (2003) which describes Botswana as:

Generally a Christian country with a small population of Muslims and other religions, complemented with indigenous magico-religious practices.

TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL VALUES

Both religion and education, imported from Europe, have served to destroy and erode cultural values that were transmitted through traditional schools and religions. For example, the use of proverbs in Botswana forms part of the essential elegance in the use of indigenous languages or vernacular. Goduka (2000) explains that there is an African world view that values oral traditions of proverbs, myths and legends as essential elements of indigenous wisdoms. These:

Provide succinct, easily remembered summaries of important ideas and experiences that are part of the shared cultural knowledge of indigenous communities (Goduka, 2000:76).

Proverbs and sayings are a means of passing on shared cultural knowledge through generations. They are not static. They are adapted and developed through the telling and through the new experiences of each generation. But they always represent the connectedness of spiritually centred wisdoms and cultural practices (Goduka, 2000). Omolewa *et al.* emphasise how such proverbs also establish the link between traditional forms of education and lifelong learning. No-one stops learning:

From a knowledge of herbs to that of midwifery, from a knowledge of dos and don'ts to that of adjudication: until one dies and joins the ancestors, education continues. Even the dead are still members of the community and have obligations which include fostering education (Omolewa *et al.*, 1998:17).

These indigenous knowledge systems are noticeably affected by the strength of imported exotic cultures that continue to be held in high regard mostly by the youth.

HEALTH

Traditional medicine involves a combination of spirituality and herbal remedies. Expertise is passed on orally from generation to generation and is a central feature of Setswana culture. The introduction of western medicines has undermined the creative powers of these traditional sources of healing. Of particular note is the way traditional healers have until recently been excluded from participating in attempts to find a cure or supportive remedies for HIV/AIDS, Botswana's number one disease.

Whilst the above information provides a brief introduction to the Botswana context, the remainder of this chapter describes more specific information pertaining to the organizations that we talked to. Promises of confidentiality prevent us from revealing individual details, and in regard to this all personal names throughout the book are either pseudonyms or not used at all.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY

The Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC) is a non-governmental organization, partly assisted by Government. The organization is mandated to address youth issues by empowering them politically, economically socially and culturally. The Youth Council runs workshops and other activities to enhance young people's social and political development. It also acts as an umbrella organization for specific initiatives. We interviewed a leader in this organization and spoke to a number of youth focus groups that are associated in some way with the BNYC.

In Gaborone a voluntary association of small businesses attracts both males and females aged 19 to 21. This association consists of unemployed youth, mostly Cambridge Certificated school leavers who did not get places in tertiary institutions. The association was initiated by the BNYC in order to provide entrepreneurial skills development so that young people could start their own businesses. Individuals choose to join the group for this purpose.

The Botswana Workcamps Association also consists of male and female young people between the ages of 19 and 23. This is an NGO that runs a culture exchange programme. It is made up of students from university and other tertiary institutions. The students work alongside youth from other countries. The Botswana headquarters are in Mochudi where local members are engaged in voluntary work for the less privileged. Activities include building houses for destitutes. The youth are provided with food and accommodation during their involvement.

Our only group of 25 to 34 year olds came from the University of Botswana. The participants were full time diploma or degree students in the Department of Adult Education. The University of Botswana is currently the only university in the country and therefore attracts students from across Botswana. Students study for a two year diploma or a four year degree. Mature students come from a range of community development, teaching or administrative backgrounds, sometimes sponsored by their employers, sometimes self sponsored. Students entering straight from school normally receive Government sponsorship.

Botswana Christian Council provided us with a group of young people aged 19 to 28. Botswana Christian Council (BCC) is an umbrella body of most churches in Botswana. This group of youths come from several different churches. The goal is to strengthen brotherhood and sisterhood throughout the different religious denominations. The BCC also provides other services to people who are disadvantaged. For example members undertake income generating activities in order to help the less privileged in society. In addition they provide other services to churches such as choir groups. BCC is the overall administrative agency. It has a 'youth desk' so that young people can approach the organization with their problems, including women's issues. BCC aims to encourage youth participation in church activity for their moral development.

A rural youth centre in Serowe caters for a group of females aged 17 to 23 years. This is a sewing group brought together by the Social and Community Development Department. The women's wing of this department brings together rural female school drop outs (some having dropped out due to teenage pregnancy) and who failed to get sufficient qualifications for further education. The overall goal is to provide humanitarian aid and skills so that the female youths can make a living. The group also admits others who did not obtain places in further education institutions.

A number of BNYC groups operated across the country. They served similar purposes. They were brought together by the Department of Youth and Culture which is situated within the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. The Youth Council's aim is to provide youth with skills and activities such as drama – to generate interest in undertaking community activity, and generally to keep them off the streets and out of trouble. The Serowe group consisted of males and females aged 23 to 24. The Bobonong group's ages ranged from 19 to 28.

Francistown's youth group consisted of males and females aged 19 to 23. This group included youth from different youth groups. Some were still at secondary school. Others came from a teacher training college. Their activities included music and drama.

The youth from Tonota (aged 19 to 21) were members of a peer counselling training activity known as PACT. This activity operates across the country and brings young people together to train them in peer counselling skills. It is run

through several organizations including the BNYC and local schools. Some members also do counselling at secondary school as a result of this training.

In Maun, a group of nineteen-year olds from both sexes had organised themselves to generate income through traditional dancing. They dance for tourists, and share the proceeds amongst themselves. They came together because they were not able to get an opportunity for furthering their studies or find alternative employment. Maun is a large traditional town which attracts tourists from all over the world to see its game and the Okavango Delta.

In Serowe the group of mostly male youth aged 19 to 25 had formed for similar reasons to the Maun group. They use the medium of drama to provide messages about HIV/AIDS. Some are also members of a counselling group for people with HIV/AIDS, from which they derive their information. Some members are still at secondary school.

We interviewed one group of Brigade females aged 17 to 23 who were part of an income-generating sewing group. The first of the Brigades was established in 1965 in Serowe, and later in other rural communities, as income-generating vocational training centres for primary school leavers. Trainees learn horticulture, arable agriculture, building, carpentry, metalwork, sewing, and so on. Income is generated through the sale of the trainees' produce. Mathematics, English, and Development Studies have also formed part of the curriculum, but there has been considerable variation throughout the country, and over time, in vocational and academic programmes. Brigades are currently partly subsidised by government, but run by local boards. Participants normally stay at a Brigade for two years after which they seek employment or endeavour to become self-employed.

Leaders representing other organizations are as described below.

Women Against Rape is an NGO that campaigns against the sexual abuse of girls and women. It is based in Maun. We interviewed a leader in this organization.

Emang Basadi is an NGO that is well established in Botswana. It deals with economic, social and political empowerment of women by running workshops and developing printed materials for women, and by lobbying government on issues affecting women's equality. It has been successful in campaigning for increased representation in Parliament and was largely responsible for ensuring the establishment of a Women's Affairs Division in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Ghetto Artists is the name given to a group of youth who come together to perform short dramas. They compose their own music and perform at social occasions. They are an income generating project but also teach each other modern dance steps.

ASPECTS OF BOTSWANA OF WHICH THE YOUTH WERE PROUD

The youth almost unanimously identified the country's peace, healthy economy and potential for tourism as defining features of Botswana, particularly compared with the political instabilities and civil war struggles of its neighbouring countries. Other attractive aspects were identified as its multiparty democracy, freedom to walk the streets without fear of violence, its free education system, general tolerance towards each other, its infrastructure development achievements since Independence, its spirit of sharing, and its relative freedom from corruption.

ISSUES THAT CONCERNED THE YOUTH

Whilst some applauded the nation's democracy, others also highlighted its flaws which included a tendency towards nepotism, a weak opposition and abuse of financial resources, lack of opportunities for youth in particular, including limited business opportunities, high unemployment, rural-urban disparities, the gap between rich and poor and, of course, the HIV/AIDS scourge. Concerns were also expressed about the level of teenage pregnancies, the number of foreigners who controlled top jobs and the country's finances. Increasing levels of crime and exploitation, tribalism, abuse towards women and children, alcohol abuse, the number of road accidents and the general trend of deculturization also featured.

The following chapters provide our analysis of selective aspects from the interviews – a snapshot into the views, ideas and values that shape Botswana's youth today.

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CHAPTER THREE

PARTICIPATION

With the exception of the group of older university students, the people we interviewed were selected through their involvement in organizations. They were therefore *de facto* active participants and would inevitably present that image of Botswana youth. We have no figures as to what percentage of young people are involved in organizations. One youth leader did indicate that the most likely participants in youth organizations would be those who were not well educated and who were not employed. This contradicts the trend in the West, which suggests that the most educated are usually the most likely to be active citizens (Putnam, 2000). Nevertheless, the responses of the people we spoke to provided a comparative insight into differences and commonalities between the generations and gave an indication of what kind of citizenship participation was popular. This chapter looks at perceptions about the role of participation. Later chapters explore how young people learned their values and beliefs, how intergenerational change interfaces with globalization and development issues, and how youth responded to the challenge that they are not being responsible.

'Participation' refers in part to the activities and groups in which the youth were currently involved. It also relates to the ways in which people were expected to behave as active citizens. Their responses and interpretations of community values for active citizenship are compared with Delanty's rendering of communitarianism, civic republicanism and discursive democracy. Other aspects of participation that we considered included references to civil society and perceptions of how participatory Botswana's democracy seemed to be. The youth responses are compared with each other and also with those of political leaders and leaders of youth or other civil society organizations.

Descriptions of spare time activities included TV, gardening, small income generating projects, reading, fitness, sports, film watching, music and visiting friends. Significantly, in terms of Botswana culture, no one mentioned traditional pastimes such as sharing folk tales or games such as *nxai*, *koi* and *marabaraba*. This in itself is an indication that the young Motswana is already living in a very different world from his or her parents. Chapter five explores intergenerational differences in more detail.

The youth (both male and female) belonged to government-sponsored youth organizations such as those affiliated to the Sports Council (e.g. karate), plus affiliations to Botswana Christian Council and the Youth Council. As Chapter two

has already stated, they also started up or belonged to self sponsored organizations such as drama groups or entertainment clubs. In addition one or two individuals were members of civil society organizations like Ditshwanelo (a human rights organization) or Emang Basadi (an established pressure group and educational resource for women's empowerment). Others belonged to an array of churches and church linked organizations. Four individuals identified different affiliations, such as the Botswana Red Cross and Media Institution of Southern Africa (MISA) or one of the country's political parties. Perhaps the most commonly mentioned organizations were the 'PACT' or other peer educator groups set up specifically to provide information and guidance by youth to youth about HIV/AIDS. Indeed, many of their activities focused around the issue of AIDS. In its own way the HIV/AIDS epidemic has given the youth of all ages in Botswana a focus for working together and taking responsibility in society.

Reasons for participation were varied. They included a desire to change society, to change attitudes, to make money, to keep busy whilst unemployed, to gain experience and skills. One young person started voluntary work at a coping centre for people living with AIDS (enlightened self interest) because:

I felt in a much better position to communicate with my peers than if an elderly person did it – it makes them better able to relate to it (the issue) if I give them information on HIV.

A young woman who joined Emang Basadi had more political goals. She was also a member of the university's student council and was interested in politics. Her motives were political and concerned with change (discursive democracy):

Women have been abused. The country has a tendency to take them as something not worth having. If I can take a stand to help, others will join.

One or two others were committed to preserving their culture, be it traditional medicine or traditional dance (communitarianism). So Molefe, one of the older youth, had started his own conservation project because of the: 'need to recognise and respect our traditional way of life, preserve trees and herbs for the future ... we should develop traditional medicine.'

From our evidence citizenship participation featured usually as a communitarian activity, with some civic republican engagement by a minority of youth. We could see in the woman's activity tendencies towards a more discursive democracy. However, as Scanlon's (2002) paper pointed out, even human rights organizations like Ditshwanelo prefer a non-confrontational approach to challenging for change. People's interpretation of active citizenship reflected this

cautionary approach. So, we shall see in the ensuing chapters that in Botswana there were two issues in relation to citizenship activity. On the one hand there are tensions between the older and younger generations regarding what counts as acceptable citizenship behaviour; on the other hand, evidence of citizenship activity itself is not supported by a strong civil society or a discursive mechanism that enables people to openly confront perceived injustices.

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The words 'active citizenship' appear in the National Action Plan for Youth (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 2000). In other documents the concept of active citizenship is phrased under the notion of 'taking an active part in society'. Active citizenship as a concept was difficult to translate for those people who only spoke in Setswana. Roughly translated into Setswana it means 'industrious' or 'zeal to perform'. This meant that the translation would already influence broader discussion of the term. In some cases the differences in understanding related to the interviewees' own interests, rather than a generic conceptual analysis. So, for instance, the traditional dance group said it is: 'someone who makes a meaningful contribution like keeping the culture'. Nevertheless, there were some distinctive and collective interpretations which gave a picture of how people more generally expected to behave as active citizens.

The majority of young people defined active citizenship by using phrases like:

Someone who makes his presence felt, who gets involved in activities that benefit the nation ... to better the lives of others ... always prepared to provide for those who are less fortunate ... who makes a contribution towards the welfare of fellow citizens ... takes part in the development of the country ... who is aware of what is going on in the country ... eager to take responsibility either as organizational leaders or as community leaders ... who can influence people to do something positive.

For the youth, then, active citizenship was about taking part in a way that would benefit others. This could mean taking leadership roles, it could also mean having knowledge that could be used for the benefit of community or nation. One person gave a direct example of this kind of community support:

I was involved in community projects, building waiting rooms for people waiting for buses (female university student).

The political leaders from the two main political parties hardly differed. Both talked about citizenship in relation to national development. One political leader saw active citizenship as a more complementary participatory goal for everyone:

All citizens actively pursuing some form of livelihood and making a contribution to the national effort to make the country what it should be.

This comment defines where Botswana stands in relation to evolving concepts of citizenship. Where resources are relatively plentiful and the majority standards of living have crossed the border between poverty and sufficiency, then people can afford to spend energy on 'opposition for oppositions sake'. But where development and infrastructures are uneven then collective endeavour becomes more focused on localised need. So communitarian needs for neighbourhood sharing and trust have a greater prominence in the struggle for basic survival.

The second political leader related active citizenship to individuals who had a particular commitment, but who also took part in decision making:

An active citizen is one who takes part or participates in community affairs, in decision making and one who aspires to take part in anything that is of worth to the nation or the people he lives with.

(It must be noted that in Setswana there is no separate word for he or she and people often misuse the pronouns he and she when referring to particular individuals).

Other organizational leaders tended to support the second politician's goal of 'having a say in policy making'. One leader, for instance, gave the example of participating in traditional consultative fora as demonstration of active citizenship:

An active citizen would go to the *kgotla* (community meeting place), would be a member of the village development committee, attend meetings, who actually takes part in policy and development activities.

One or two leaders suggested there were further responsibilities beyond participation in decision making. They suggested active citizenship could also entail seeking out elements of social justice. So, for example a school teacher said that it is someone:

... who responds positively maybe to the human rights and the right of all citizens at large ... without denying other people their rights or their chances to exercise their rights ... trying to do what is right for the country at large.

A youth leader proposed that the goal of pursuing 'basic rights' could also mean:

One would want to seek a way in which interventions can be made without causing a lot of trouble but making awareness to the very people who are subjected to marginalization, be it poverty, be it lack of water or sanitary provisions, shelter and all that.

It is this latter point of 'without causing a lot of trouble' that seems to underpin all further interpretations of participation, democracy or citizenship. It is this issue that underlies both how responsibility is interpreted and how the citizens of Botswana contribute to the nation's development. Participation was, with only a few deviations, expressed through a communitarian notion of citizenship.

COMMUNITARIANISM

Communitarianism embraces family morality, the role of the local, cultural community to promote social capital aspects of mutual trust, solidarity and unity. In communitarian societies the family and community are strong promulgators of norms of collective interest and sanctioning behaviour. Politics is local and the government is not directly connected to citizenship activities. The peace and democracy of communities rarely interfaces with wider politics, and therefore conflict with the state is minimised. There were indicators of this kind of approach to citizenship in several different ways.

Botbo

The youth and leaders were asked to explain what *botbo* meant to them. However, many also spontaneously made the connection between *botbo* and their ideal notion of citizenship behaviour. The most common response can be summarised by one of the politicians:

Botbo means having qualities [associated with] character – a well rounded person, compassion, good neighbourliness, extending courtesy to others, doing unto others what you would have done unto you.

In addition most people associated *botbo* with 'respect' and 'moral values'. This morality was also expressed in terms of harmony and interaction, with a sense that everyone is connected:

Living well with other people, not enjoying life whilst others are suffering. I place value on living well and also seeing other people living well (drama group youth member).

This also meant looking out for others in the community:

Community means beyond the extended family and to me it would involve ... if you take a typical village ... I would expect people who have advantages over the others ... to give back something (youth leader).

Family

The sense of interconnectedness featured strongly in family relationships. For instance one youth member of a church group described how consideration of family still influenced everything she did:

My parents – everything I do or choice I make I consider them first – like will they be happy, embarrassed, proud, everything like that. They have made me to know I should always consider them in the choices I make in life.

Family priorities were also evident amongst a minority of youth when they were asked which came first – the self, the family or the nation:

The family comes first and then the nation and myself. Its this way round because I feel the family provides certain values and socialises me and then the nation does provide certain things for the family; then I come last because it is out of the family and nation that I become what I am (youth member from Maun).

This commitment extended to forgiving any family member who had transgressed:

It is very rare to find people rejecting a family member for doing something wrong ... generally a child remains a child all their life, you still relate with your father as if you were still living under their roof (youth leader).

This emphasis on harmony would spread beyond the family into everyday practice. So, the element of peace and non-violent resolution of problems was a

paramount feature of citizenship. This even included women choosing to challenge their own oppression through discussion rather than confrontation:

[A] Botswana woman is not violent – she likes to deal with problems in an amicable way ... they don't believe in riots ... people should always explore the right channels, not riot (leader of an organization against rape).

Living in harmony

In fact, exploring the 'right channels' almost became the password for active citizenship. When asked if active citizens could also challenge government or challenge the status quo, the response was almost universal that:

They should challenge in a non-violent way when they speak to the government and make sure that how they do it will benefit the community (member of Christian youth group).

This was pursued to the extent that one youth member of a traditional dance group said:

For those who engage in industrial action they must be immediately fired and replaced ... that person (who wishes to challenge) should make it clear he does not manifest any hostility ... must not be rebellious but make those in power understand his position on the issue that he is offended about.

Spiritual connections

Spirituality has already been identified in the literature as a primary feature of African traditional values. It is also argued as an influential aspect of communitarian living. Only two individuals openly admitted to not being religious or associating with some kind of church organization. Spiritual values and religious morality therefore influenced many of the people we interviewed. One young woman acknowledged the support she received from her ancestors in her prayers and there was a sense that traditional notions of spirituality and its connectedness with the living and the dead prevailed across many groups, religious or not. The leader of a Christian organization summed up how this would be interpreted as the norm:

Spiritual values need to be matched with traditional values. ... people who did not go to church still value the same principles. They know

that there is God but they ... believe that their ancestors do not die. We believe that when our parents die they still look out for us.

There are indications that amongst both youth and the older generation of organisers and leaders, community ties are still strong and communitarian values of mutuality and normative community sanctions on behaviour are still alive within traditional value systems. It will be seen in later chapters, that this tide is slowly turning, particularly amongst urban populations. There was a suggestion of this from one political leader, but with a hint that this transition from communitarianism to something more individualistic might well be an inevitable, and even desirable, feature of development itself:

Batswana look askance at families that neglect their members or neglect society's responsibility to community. ... There are bound to be some unfit members – for example disabled, orphans, jobless who need society to take care of them. Government and society, the two should be mutually supportive. For example, orphanages are not yet there, old people's homes are not yet there; as traditional society evolves it is incumbent on members of society to look after them till they are there.

The implication is that development, when it applies to a country that is still developing its physical infrastructure, has other priorities for democracy and what this means in terms of participation. As development continues an evolving hierarchy of needs emerges so that issues such as participatory democracy and civil society activity – even Delanty's more critically analytical notion of discursive democracy – come into play.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND CIVIC REPUBLICANISM

Civic republicanism differs from communitarianism in that it places greater emphasis on the role of civil society in promoting dialogue with the state (albeit still harmonious). For civic republicans it is likely to be civil society, through public activity, therefore, that provides the social capital networks and sanctions for building trust and solidarity within communities and active citizenship, but this time with a view to involving government. Those youth who prioritised the nation before their family or themselves could perhaps be classified as leaning towards civic republican notions of citizenship in that they saw themselves primarily as working for and with the nation, rather than for their immediate community. This priority reflects the traditional role that Avoseh (2001) described for African citizens. One youth member from Maun explained:

It's the nation, the family and myself because a good nation will obviously cater for the family and then the family will cater for me so the nation should take responsibility to cater for the family. A family that is well taken care of will take care of me.

However, civil society itself may address national issues from a communitarian, rather than formal relationship with the state. Others suggested that it depended on the circumstances of the time as to which should come first. So:

There are times when the nation comes first ... [for example] when there is HIV/AIDS you have got to put the nation first; there is that selflessness when you say I will do for the nation first, then come last ... when the nation is facing a problem like alcoholism there is need for someone not to be selfish, to get out and make a meaningful contribution to dealing with those problems so then the nation comes first (youth from Serowe group).

The two examples of HIV/AIDS and alcoholism, are very private, family based issues. In Delanty's rendering of civic republicanism, civil society is usually concerned with public acts. In Botswana the divide between public and private lives has become blurred as the consequences of private behaviour have become a national concern. Whilst women's activities *per se* still receive less public recognition (such as responsibility for family and food) in the social citizenship sphere, they show more prominence as public issues than they do in the West. It will be seen later that the issue of HIV/AIDS challenges the idea of democratic practice being confined to public decision making.

There were few examples of civic republican ideals amongst the people we spoke to. More than half the youth prioritised the needs of the self before family or nation (discussed in Chapter six). This is an indicator that most of the younger generation's ideals are shifting – both away from African traditional values, and from Botswana's communitarian, habitual, village livelihood way of life. Botswana has been cited as having a weak civil society (for example Good, 2003). The small number of civil society organizations that were mentioned by our cohort of interviewees suggests that this is still the case. However, there were some voices in favour of challenging the government as a feature of 'healthy democracy' and 'whenever there is need to' or when 'people are not satisfied about what is happening'. One youth member even said 'active citizens like BOCONGO (Botswana Council of Non-governmental Organizations) can challenge the government'. Another proposed that:

If whatever you are saying can contribute mostly to the disadvantaged,

if that is right you have to stand by them no matter what the government is saying.

But dissension was rare. Usually civil society would not challenge, it would simply fill the gap in provision, as one youth member explained: 'Someone who gets concerned if things are not going right in the country, who provides for the orphans for instance.' So public commitment to certain forms of social action was not evident as a goal or activity amongst many of the youth. It would be expected, therefore that few supported more radical forms of citizenship activity, such as discursive democracy.

DISCURSIVE DEMOCRACY

Discursive democracy, according to Delanty (2002), is where individuals have a much more challenging, political relationship with the state, and where action challenges the status quo and promotes change. Whilst few people indicated they would take direct action, there were issues of perceived injustice that had caught the attention and concern of some youth. So, for instance, apart from complaints that the government was not doing enough for the youth, it was also attacked for inattention to HIV/AIDS issues, orphan care, the needs of minority tribes such as the Basarwa, price control, alcohol abuse, traffic problems, and nepotism or protection by the government of important figures. Instances of effective individual civil society action for change was identified by one youth group:

There are such people [who challenge for change] the case between Unity Dow and the State – she challenged the constitution, she provided good reasons for it and that changed the course for women ... there is another one, like women against rape. That organization challenged the government in a good way and at the end of the day the penalties for that offence have been increased.

Whilst aggressive social and global movements such as Green Peace seem, currently, to have no place in Botswana society, there were indications that the youth were beginning to desire a new kind of participation. Rights had to be fought for, they pointed out. They would not just happen. Furthermore the older generation sometimes misinterpreted disagreement or fighting for one's rights as irresponsible behaviour. One drama group put it this way:

If we are to sit back and not fight for our rights or loudly pronounce our

rights we would be irresponsible but now we are voicing our rights its an indication that we are responsible. . . . People seem to think for you to be responsible you have to have good behaviour but to some adults you are behaving irresponsibly if you challenge them or if you go against what they are saying because you feel it is not right, so in exercising that right they think you are being irresponsible simply because you disagree with them.

There is clearly a tension here between youth interpretation of justified argument and the traditional assumption that Batswana are already consultative. For instance one political leader stated:

We value collective leadership as a culture . . . we have always liked to group together and have a collective decision and we value consultation.

And another civil society leader confirmed: 'Batswana like to consult'.

In spite of these claims there was almost universal agreement amongst the youth that, as far as they were concerned, they were not consulted. There are implications in these tensions for how participatory democracy is perceived and used.

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Participatory democracy essentially relates to participation in decision making. Chapter one has already highlighted the differences between electoral, pseudo and liberal democracies and Botswana's own tightrope of democratic practice with reference to these differences. It also pointed out that democracy is essentially described in the literature as a public affair. Lack of youth participation in public institutions is an articulated concern for the leaders in Botswana.

It seemed there were three issues for the people we spoke to. On the one hand the leaders felt that traditional consultation structures were no longer popular. A youth organization leader felt this was because people were becoming more individualistic, especially in urban areas:

I think at times when you go to the *kgotlas* in the villages very few people go there nowadays. I think its all about being individualistic, I mean if you know you had to go and attend some meeting in Gaborone . . . you would rather not go to the *kgotla* meeting.

On the other hand the leader in a religious organization suggested the lack of

interest in consultation was more to do with a failure to see the positive results of consultation:

People are looking for trade-offs, when I go and vote – in return what do I get? But if the status quo remains for three or four consecutive terms, if you can provide alcohol to bottle stores in Tonota but you cannot provide water for six months, if people continue to bring salty water in the rural areas where are we? . . . The apathy gets created because one side of the delivery by the Government is not forthcoming.

There was an additional issue identified by some of the leaders. This was to do with a conflict of interests between traditional chieftainship as the perceived democratic relationship and the more westernised approach of a parliamentarian elected through the ballot box:

The nearest point of call is the chief. They still respect that controlling system because in that environment they are able to air out their views and they expect to get feedback on their views (religious organization leader).

Here then, for the youth is the nub. Traditional *kgotla* meetings are a consultation process that is valued. Yet they are notoriously dominated by elder men. They are not a perceived resource for youth consultation, but alternative strategies are also not in place. The urban MP consultation process loses the connectedness that people feel with a tribal chief. It is not yet valued as an alternative democratic route. The MPs neither practice *kgotla* meeting styles, nor do they try to bridge the generation gaps created in *kgotla* meetings. So time and again, the youth articulated the same problem in relation to participatory democracy. For example:

In the decision making structures the youth are in most cases not represented, for example in Parliament there is no minister representing youth (drama group member, Serowe);

Youth should be involved in decision making processes, they must not be left behind, we must be well represented (youth member, Tonota);

Those youngsters who have already shown they are responsible must be used by Government to encourage others to behave in an acceptable way and make a contribution towards the nation. . . . I must be given the opportunity to sit in decision making bodies so I can come up with

ideas that will help the youth in the country (youth group member, Francistown).

Participatory democracy is more complicated than this, however. For participatory decision making to occur there must be consultation. Traditional consultation resources in Botswana in relation to national or community problems include the traditional healer. The traditional healer is a source of connection with the dead, the spirits and wisdom concerning physical and social ailments. Youth pointed out that modern parliamentary practices further remove people from their cultural roots by ignoring traditional consultation resources in relation to national problems that would previously have been valued. So Western versions of democracy have bypassed the opportunity to mesh old and new sources of knowledge:

In [relation to] HIV/AIDS, most of the decisions are made by Parliament, maybe the top management without including our traditional healers. Maybe we can get some ideas from the community to assist in understanding how the virus is spreading (university student).

This kind of disjuncture between past and present experience fosters the very non-learning that Jarvis (2001) highlighted. Learning only takes place where connections are made between new knowledge and what is already known.

The issue of consultation, then, appears to be at a crossroads in Botswana. Whilst *Vision 2016* promotes a modernised *kgotla* system as the ideal resource for consultation purposes, in practice it is not working for the youth. Similarly modernised parliamentary systems, copied from the West, have yet to find a way of rationalising Botswana's traditional resources when it comes to participatory democracy. Neither the youth, nor the traditional resources are engaged, and neither are speaking to each other. One youth member suggested the problem lay with the adults themselves:

The power struggle between the adults themselves – they are power hungry. At the end of the day they don't give youth the opportunities because they are fighting amongst themselves for positions (Serowe).

Botswana is struggling to rationalise its political position in the world stage. On the one hand the democratic face of a parliamentary democracy is what the western world wants to see. On the other hand the traditional African chieftaincy system of rule is what, culturally, Batswana relate to. Parliamentary democracies, however, encourage power struggles. The new generation of adults have already been socialised into believing that all can compete for power, irrespective of

lineage. That power struggle may now be what the youth are grappling with in their twilight zone of something between chieftainship and Botswana's electoral or pseudo democracy. Furthermore, the issues at stake (for example HIV/AIDS) are very private affairs. In the family and especially in matters pertaining to sex, Botswana women do not have a participatory role in decision making. The HIV/AIDS problem has been identified as an issue of gender power relations (Preece & Ntseane, 2003 for example). The connection between public notions of participatory decision making and the very private needs of a gender based issue in relation to HIV/AIDS infection raises additional questions for how democracy should be taught and understood.

Later chapters will explore some of these issues in more depth, in terms of development and change, and in terms of youth responses to the challenge of being irresponsible. This chapter has highlighted, however, a number of political issues for Botswana. In some ways it is a model of democracy for Africa. Its strengths are the population's commitment to peace and stability. Decisions are generally taken in a non-confrontational way. But it is this very stability which contributes to, on the one hand, apathy within the existing system and, on the other hand, a growing resistance amongst the youth to participate in a system which does not include them in the decisions that are taken. Whilst a communitarian mode of citizenship is sufficient for village life that revolves around the extended family, this kind of existence is dependent on control by the elders, even though the youth constitute more than two thirds of African society. The youth gave ample evidence of participation in communitarian living, through church and other organizations. But the youth are also connecting with modern influences and challenges that directly affect them (HIV/AIDS is one example) that require new forms of participation, democracy and decision making. The youth retain a commitment to peace and democracy. The majority still have connections with their village communities, but they are beginning to question how much value communitarian living places on themselves and their changing needs. Chapter four provides some further insight into how these youth have learned their existing values – which ones they were taught and subsequently rejected, and how they are now thinking.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEARNING

Education for citizenship takes place not only in the formal classroom environment but is also part of the political socialization of learners that occurs through incidental learning (Adeyemi, Boikhutso & Moffat, 2003: 36).

Learning can be formal (through school or college), non-formal (through out of school and adult education provision) and informal (from life experiences, from people who are not officially teachers, from traditional learning resources, from self-sourced resources). As a result of all these potential educational sources learning happens incidentally, deliberately, consciously and unconsciously. Learning is lifelong. By this we mean that each phase of learning builds on previous phases and experiences. There are many models of learning but the two most useful ones for our purposes are the concept of experience and disjunction articulated by Jarvis (2001) and that of 'transitional learning' articulated by Celis *et al.* (2001). Jarvis claimed that learning only takes place when an individual makes a critical judgement or connection between concepts from their biography and the new experience of the moment. Each new experience only becomes learning when an analytical connection is made. Celis *et al.* elaborate on this by saying that transitional learning is a process of making meaningful connections between one's personal narrative and understanding of the self as an actor in the past, present and future, and one's understanding of the context in which one lives at a particular time and place. This could be categorised as a critical incident or transitional moment – or an increased critical awareness of societal situations. Often the learning is only articulated as such in retrospect, after that meaning becomes clearer (Celis *et al.*, 2001:5).

It is this kind of learning that we refer to in this chapter. We look specifically at how the youth acquired their informal, deliberative learning about societal values from family and community. We look at who they learned to trust and appreciate in times of need. In other words, how they acquired their social capital as a resource for active citizenship – what norms of collective interest were established, what community sanctions, such as taboos and myths were taught. We ask how people have accepted, rejected or adapted their early learning as a result of experience and critical thinking. Did their social capital prove a positive asset in

becoming active, democratic citizens? What did they learn during active participation, how did they grow as individuals and as members of society? This chapter therefore refers only to the youth interviews. Some talked in their focus groups about their learning; a small number (eleven) discussed individually what they learned as children and what impact that learning had on their belief systems now. Other outcomes of this learning will be discussed in the ensuing chapters in relation to changing Botswana society and also how youth view their responsibilities in this changing society. The final chapter makes the connection between all these chapters. It analyses how the post initial education system (formal, non-formal and informal) can create learning opportunities that build capacity for a critical but actively democratic citizenship.

INFORMAL LEARNING

There were three main aspects to the youth's informal learning. They were taught basic manners and how to behave or interact. In relation to this they absorbed proverbs, myths and taboos that were provided as social guidelines or sanctions and as a means of behavioural control. A few identified some practical, cultural activities that their parents or grandparents taught them. Those who had jobs also identified the learning they acquired in that role. We look briefly at each kind of learning and then explore how the youth made their own experience-based judgements about what they were taught. In other words what were their learning transitions?

A crucial difference from their parents, for this new generation of Botswana, is their experience of formal schooling. This in itself introduces new dynamics into the traditional teaching acquired at home and in the community. A few people specifically identified contradictions between what they were taught at home and school, resulting in a re-evaluation of what was taught at home. One youth, for example, said: 'I have realised that people in rural areas are overdoing things. I don't know, it's either because they don't understand things or what'.

In general the values taught at home were not there to be questioned. But school taught these young people to question and think critically. This inevitably meant that the young would begin to analyse the worth or value for them as individuals of traditional teachings that were meted out to them. For instance one female youth said, in relation to a cultural norm about keeping the two sexes apart: 'It is part of the country's development that things have changed. We go to school so we can't uphold the old principles.' This did not mean they rejected everything they learnt from home, however, as the following discussion shows.

Traditional skills and good behaviour

Practical skills learned in the village from relatives and elders included how to tan skin, milk cows, do arable farming, pound corn using a mortar and pestle, herd cattle, cook, wood-carve, and house-thatch. No one suggested that such skills were not still valuable. All but one person said they were taught various principles of good behaviour. These were very similar across the interviews.

Good behaviour included the principles of *botbo*:

To respect other people ... the importance of social harmony ... the Christian values ... good manners and to have God in our lives ... behave well, charity, discipline, diligence ... cooperation is essential to life (various replies).

Associated with these general pieces of advice on good behaviour, a number of the young adults repeated more personal values that they were given by an individual parent or relative. These related to issues of perseverance, independence and acquisition of knowledge. The following responses are typical from a number of individuals:

I was told not to give up and I am still holding on to that value. ... I take knowledge to be very important because you take informed decisions if you have information so information to me is very important. ... My mother taught me it is important not to rely on other people.

One young woman repeated the spiritual belief system that had also been articulated by others in this study and by African writers such as Avoseh (2001):

I was always told there is a closeness of those between the living and the dead so whenever you display good behaviour you get rewarded by your ancestors. There's a strong belief that those who are not respectful they get cursed. I was told the importance of always pleasing those I interact with especially the elderly because if the elderly were displeased with something I did I would be likely to have bad luck. Those who respect the elderly they have more days – they live longer. This is from the proverb for instance *keledi ya a mogolo gae rotbe* (the tears of the adult don't drop on the ground – if you offend the adult you are likely to receive some form of punishment even from beyond humanity such as your ancestors) (Bobonong youth group member).

The sense that spirits are at work for good or evil was also mentioned by the university focus group:

We still believe there is witchcraft, there is this jealousy which leads to witchcraft so these churches protect us from such things.

Neither of the individuals who articulated these sentiments tried to contradict them. Nevertheless, the majority of people were prepared to reject, or at least rationalise the purpose of, other myths and taboos that they were taught.

Myths and taboos

Celis *et al.* (2001), in their analysis of citizenship learning among Europeans, often point to critical incidents or transitional moments that define people's learning in relation to active citizenship. It seems, in the Botswana interviews, that most of their learning was evolutionary and emerged over a period of time. This was particularly relevant to their attitudes to myths and taboos. Those who were brought up in the villages were able to recount a number of traditional taboos – things they were not supposed to do. The majority admitted they had since rejected these taboos because they had realised 'nothing happened' if they were disobeyed. They made their own critical reasoning as to why those taboos had been introduced in the first place. Many of them were seen as a form of control directed at promoting obedience in girls:

Like if you are menstruating or if someone is newly born you have to stay in the house for a period ... we were not allowed to bring water into the home during the night (female university student);

I was told not to wash during the night because if a girl washes during the night she is likely to menstruate, it will affect her cycle. What I've learned is some of the taboos were just put across to measure the level of obedience by you (female drama group member);

I felt some of the taboos were put in place to stop us doing certain things or keep us out of danger but I've since rejected those because I think I can make my own decisions about avoiding those things (member of youth group in Francistown).

A critical awareness of gender power relations has a relatively high profile in Botswana. There is a Women's Affairs Division within the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the university curriculum often addresses gender as a cross disciplinary issue. The women were therefore constantly making meaningful connections between traditional attitudes and their own sense of agency (that is, the ability to take independent action) in the present context of enhanced gender equity. This inevitably placed them in a new relationship with their culture. They were

constantly re-evaluating and making distinctions between gender oppression that was promoted in the name of culture and those practises that they valued as a viable learning resource. So, in some cases the youth critically evaluated various rationales behind the taboos and then simply decided these values were oppressive or have lost their value in today's times:

I was also told that as a female I'm not supposed to eat intestines. I don't find anything wrong in doing it. I have done it but it doesn't seem to be harmful, but at the time maybe the elderly didn't want us to take nutritious food because they should be eaten by the elderly only. . . . Pregnant women were not allowed to eat eggs but we were denied the nutritional value by being told that. . . . We were not allowed to put on one shoe but my view is the reason is the one shoe will wear out before the other one if you only wear one (different voices from the Serowe drama group);

I was taught not to play with boys, now I realise what that means. I can now interact because I know the reason behind that advice. I understand the hidden meaning. We go to school together, we can't avoid them. It is part of the country's development that things have changed;

I was told that as a girl I'm not supposed to wash in the night. I have since rejected that because I don't see it as being important. It impedes progress, people will be forced to leave their workplace too early so as to go and wash before nightfall (individual female interview).

But a minority felt that they still had their uses:

I'm still holding firmly to the taboos and myths because I think they offer proper guidance (Dzalobane youth member, Francistown);

I have not rejected all of the myths because some are important sources of guidance. I accept only those that make sense to me (Serowe youth group member).

This process of continual learning, re-evaluation of experiences and new learning transitions also produced evidence of extensive shifts in meaning. Some of their comments provided real indications of the feared changing value system away from *botho* to one that is more individualistic and self-centred:

I was taught to share but I've since lost that because people don't seem

to help others and I don't see the value in helping anyone – because the process is not reciprocal. I've since developed that spirit of individualism (Tonota youth group member).

The culture of questioning that has been instilled through schooling, was now resulting in a different attitude towards the traditional hierarchy for sources of wisdom:

You should not ask or question older people about certain things. To me they are not wise. I question whenever I want to question (female Ghetto Artists member);

I have rejected that idea that you should always listen to elders when they speak, because they could be confusing. I can come up with my own conclusions (Christian Council member);

I was told I should live by the Word but have since lost interest in that because I have a feeling that it is indoctrination ... it's not important to go to church, people shouldn't be forced to go, they should be given the opportunity to choose (Tonota youth group member).

There is ample evidence, here, that the youth are listening, analysing and basing their decisions on considered judgements in the light of personal experience, and an assessment of what is valuable to themselves and wider society. Learning is continuous and constantly reviewed in the light of new evidence or understanding. Decisions are based on broader experiences than those acquired by earlier generations. Sometimes this results in a disjuncture with old values, at other times these values are adapted for modern purposes. But those modern purposes sometimes also placed young people in a time warp where they were neither part of family tradition, nor had an identity in the fragile materialist infrastructure of globalised Botswana.

The above judgements were based on young people's assessment of what they were taught by others. There was also evidence of learning that they acquired purely from their own accumulated experience of situations. These often resulted in internal judgements where they critiqued their direct experiences in order to form their own personal taboos and myths about life.

Learning from life

In some cases the youth learned from unhappy childhoods or critical incidents between their parents that influenced how they now viewed their own outlooks on life. These produced, what Celis *et al.* (2001) would call 'transitional moments'.

So one male university student, for instance, who experienced brutality from his step father made his own decisions about what was important for him:

I told myself that since I do not have the moral support at home I should work hard and make it in life on my own.

Significantly he chose his hero as Nelson Mandela. He referred to Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*: 'It inspires me'. Similarly two young women became more wary about the idea of marriage based on their childhood experiences. Each of them separately said: 'I have learned that sometimes marriage cannot be a good thing.'

In other cases, they would make the connection between values learned in childhood and success in later life. As one university student commented:

Because of respect I made a lot of achievement. Like I was having problems with accommodation here, so a family in the village communicated to their children to help me as I was a very respectful lady to them.

Others had had some experience of work in businesses or self employment through their youth activity, such as the traditional dance group. One young woman had worked in her father's bar between school and university. The new values she acquired were relevant to the ones aspired to in Vision 2016 as part of its 'strategy for the next twenty years' (pp 28–29). That is, to 'work harder and aim at higher targets':

I learned that people don't just come to you if you sit on your laurels, you must make an effort to work for whatever you get. Also I must not give up. I must always strive to excel.

Community work was another source of learning. Until 2000, some youth were still expected to do their one year's national service – *Tirelo Sechaba*. This was in the form of community work. It could be primary school teaching, nature conservation or some form of community development activity. Many of the youths we interviewed had been given this opportunity. Malebogo, in her national service role as a teacher in a rural village school: 'learned to be more tolerant in dealing with children'. Mosadi, while working in a department store:

... learned to be a good leader; you have to take subordinates as equal because if you have those you favour the others won't be committed to work.

Two people in their role of working at the coping centre for people living with AIDS learned 'that in working with people you have got to be patient and always altruistic, helping where you can', and 'how to work with people, how to interact with people from different social standing'. Another university student learnt as a temporary teacher 'that people are different'. She also pointed out that her university courses on child development and family studies:

... opened up my mind ... to problems you encounter in society. In Botswana I saw some are really suffering much more than me.

Education, then, is indeed creating critical thinkers who are making informed judgements that work for themselves as well as their understanding of wider society. But critical thinking breeds diversity and independence, rather than unity of thought:

I've learned that in life you've got to have an independent mind, be able to make decisions yourself ... because the experience that you acquire, and skills, are going to be useful in the future as we are the future leaders (individual from Serowe);

Because of interaction we are better able to ask the right questions about what we want to undertake – for example, even approach people about adult education (member of women's entertainment club).

These comments provide considerable evidence of Celis *et al's* (2001) descriptions of transitional learning as a process of making meaningful connections between the past, present and future, and with individual selves as actors in the context of present-day Botswana. Two distinctive features of modern life in Botswana were the desire for money and education. Whilst these desires were a result of modernization and did, indeed, instil a greater sense of individualism, there was plenty of evidence that these young people were still considering their interactions with those around them, and the effect of those interactions. Thus, whilst they were indeed becoming more individualistic, they were not doing so in isolation from their roots or concerns for others.

Further evidence of the continued link with local family ties is revealed through the strength of their social networks.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital has been identified as a networking resource for information,

reciprocity and behavioural norms. A communitarian notion of social capital places emphasis on family, school, church and neighbourhood as a defining and cohesive circle of collective self interest. Within this circle people learn to trust and know each other's potential contribution to maintaining social harmony. A civic republican concept of social capital spreads the net wider by including relationships that are built up through business contacts, professional or other civil society organizations. Social capital is commonly promoted as a desirable quality for active citizenship (Coare & Johnston, 2003 for example), though the potential negative consequences of social capital relationships for development and change have also been articulated by Baron, Field and Schuller (2000). Although networks of reciprocal interest can spread across time and space in today's virtual world, communitarian social capital is usually at its strongest when communities are small and geographically accessible by the members.

Botswana has a small population. Even Gaborone, the largest city, only has 186,000 thousand inhabitants so networks of common interest form quickly. Villages are divided into wards, each with a headman or tribal chief, village members are frequently related and have known each other all their lives. Village community life operates as a collective. A wedding or funeral is attended by nearly every member of the village and sons and daughters often live close to their parents. The scene is set, therefore, for strong bonds to exist within communities (although it will be shown later that urban life does not operate in the same way). The youth were asked which people they most trusted for advice and support, and also which people would come to them for reciprocal support.

Unsurprisingly members of home, school and church were all identified as potential resources who would be most trusted in times of need. Home provided the strongest link. It included a range of family members – parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, siblings. If a parent was regarded as rather strict, another relative would be chosen to mediate:

I go to grandfather because my grandfather takes me seriously and gives me space to express my problems. My parents are too harsh and usually don't listen (dance group member).

Friends or peers were also common resources, while church and school teachers were mentioned less frequently, followed by neighbours ('people in the neighbourhood also taught me certain things like domestic work besides my mother'), social workers and in one case the village councillor. It has already been mentioned by a political leader that professional institutions are still relatively rare in rural areas, so the strength of family and neighbour ties that are closely linked to local churches, are essential sources of stability for community life. They inform people's learning and create a mutual need for shared lifestyles:

I had always got help from adults because they feel I am well mannered and greet them. Whenever I have a problem I can get assistance from the elderly because they think I have good manners (Bobonong young woman).

This sentiment also supports Malebogo's observations when she described in Chapter three how she obtained help from relatives in Gaborone as a student. Such links are in constant communication and there is an expectation that you support your kith and kin through thick and thin, as one youth leader pointed out:

Say they got pregnant before marriage or at a young age. They (parents) would reject them and the child would probably run to their aunts and uncles and the aunts and uncles would ask for forgiveness and they would be accepted back. So it is very rare for a child to be rejected for life. I have not seen it happen in Botswana (youth leader).

As evidence, perhaps, of a shift towards more civic republicanism forms of social capital, however, the youth were also building up their own networks of mutual interest through their associations with the National Youth Council and their own drama groups, dance groups and HIV/AIDS organizations:

Amongst the Ghetto Artists [I have learned about] like respect and love, working together, as in socialising with other people, knowing other people's needs, problems and associating with each other wisely and friendlily (female member of Ghetto Artists).

More significantly, in terms of social capital's notion of reciprocity, it was evident that the youth equally saw themselves as a resource for the whole community. Some analysed the reason for this in terms of the quality of their relationships – a positive feature, which directly challenges accusations of excessive individualism:

I do help my friends because they do come to me when they have problems. I think they trust me because I always show them love (female Brigade member).

Whilst mostly friends, siblings and family members would come to them for advice and support, some even cited instances where elders or other people's parents would seek them out for guidance or mediation regarding particular problems:

People of different standing have come to me even those who are the elderly. I think they do that because they trust that I can give them the right advice (Serowe youth group member);

Those parents who have problems with their children do come to me so that I can assist them (Francistown youth member).

This form of mutual exchange, embedded in trust and reciprocity, is regarded as the foundation for social capital, both as a force for unity but also as a resource for information sharing and communication. It is this 'communicative competence' that is seen as the desirable basis for economic growth and productivity (Szreter, 2000:66). We can see the seeds of such potential in the way the youth used their networks as sources of community learning and commerce. For instance, the youth exploited their own organizations to spread messages about HIV/AIDS through drama or youth workshops or as peer educators:

I am already making a contribution because through drama we are educating people because we are able to disseminate information through drama (Serowe drama group member);

Our project is new but we have ideas about how to help even financially, we can assist with ideas (female entertainment club member).

One or two individuals discussed how their entrepreneurial experiences were put to good use:

Mostly there are those with business problems come to me; people know I am an entrepreneur so they also come to me with business related problems (youth group member from Bobonong).

This also produced for this young adult a further self-defining interest in maintaining close links and reciprocity with the immediate neighbours:

What's more important to me is other people in the neighbourhood because if you have to start a business you need people to come and buy your products.

It emerged, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the people they most trusted were usually the same people who had taught them their societal norms and values. These norms usually manifested as attitudes such as trust, respect, love, a culture of giving, industriousness, good manners, sharing, selflessness and self discipline,

the spirit of voluntarism, and independence. Some of this learning was through traditional means, such as proverbs and folk tales:

My father always reminded me of the proverb *Moremogolo go betwa wa taola* – it is self discipline or someone's effort that can make a difference (Serowe drama group member).

But nowadays there was an additional source of learning for today's youth. There was almost total family support for formal schooling (with the exception of one grandmother who was reported to be not in favour of extensive schooling), which was seen as Botswana's jewel for the future:

My parents always said that education is important, it is better than silver and gold (Mosadi, university student);

My family told me it was very important to get education so I can have a bright future (individual from Serowe).

For the older generation, though, education can be seen, at one and the same time, as an asset and a threat. It is a threat because it potentially drives a wedge between the tight knit family's community learning and the unknown, more risky world inhabited by foreigners and their undesirable influences. But, as has already been pointed out, close ties without expansion can also have negative outcomes. Social capital needs to be dynamic, diversify and grow (Szreter, 2000). Social capital is a source of learning valued beliefs. It is also a source of hegemony. Inequalities and oppressions can be reinforced by norms of collective interest that serve dominant members of society. Concepts of respect and hierarchies that require deference to the elders, can privilege power differentials that favour a particular sex or tribe. Some of the young women showed how traditional practices and taboos would reinforce behaviour that subordinated women in terms of decision making and in the way they were allowed to contribute as citizens:

I was told it is very important as a girl that I have to get up early in the morning and do domestic chores. I was also told I have to come home early in the afternoon and not wait out till night ... It is also very important to greet the elderly instead of them greeting me first (young woman from Bobonong).

Under customary law, women in Botswana are legally regarded as always a child – of their parents and later of their husband (Griffiths, 1997). Such norms and values ensured they did not step out of line and remained servants of their

people. Similarly, Joyce, a university student chose to accept the unwritten assumption that men are free to have girl friends even when they are married:

You are never supposed to ask your man where he comes home from at night. I have respected that as a way of keeping our marriage.

She adhered to this philosophy even though it put her in fear of her own health risks that her husband might bring home the AIDS virus. This reflects the ongoing conflict of identity and role that women have in relation to their private (undemocratic) life and an expectation for their public responsibility to society. Ironically this same student was a member of a national AIDS prevention committee.

One of the problems with social capital is that networks, social norms and values are often created in the interests of the dominant voices in a community. In some cases this meant that expectations of mutual obligations and information channels could be exclusionary. So a number of individuals expressed their concern about the abuse of networks for personal gain and corruption. For example:

People identify with kith and kin first ... there is a lot of selfishness ... people have now turned to use a bit of nepotism; friends help friends, relatives help relatives (civil society leader).

On the other hand, there were also instances where it seemed local people were being dominated by outsiders. Since Botswana still imports a sizeable expatriate community for senior positions where locals are officially not yet qualified, opportunities for exploitation by those senior positions is also high:

The country seems like it has economic ties in the hands of foreigners who all lead luxurious lives. There is too much trust in foreigners, they don't give top jobs to citizens (member of Christian Council).

As far as some youth were concerned, therefore, the very people who were probably complaining about youth losing their connection with their roots and traditional value systems could themselves be abusing that very same system they were so much in favour of:

For instance if you look at the traditional institution the youth do not have much respect for it because there is fighting for power so those people who belong to that institution wrestle for power. The youth lose respect for those institutions, such as people fighting for the same

position of paramount chief in M... (Tonota youth group member).

So, social capital is a complex phenomenon that can support and negate development. It is a resource and a potential inhibitor for active, democratic citizenship. Putnam (2000) cites the decline of traditional community life in America as a primary factor in the demise of social capital and good citizenship. But others have pointed out the need for a dynamic and constantly-in-progress form of social capital that embraces change and diversity (Szreter, 2000). Botswana is in the process of transition from rural to urban life and associated changes that result from globalization and infrastructure development. Moreover Botswana's communitarian social capital is now heavily threatened by the HIV/AIDS pandemic which is killing large cohorts of the nuclear family age group of 25 to 45 years. Today's youth are the most vulnerable group in a community that already has the highest percentage rates of HIV infections in the world. So existing social capital structures and networks urgently need to be supported by diversity.

Change has therefore become a dramatic feature of social, economic and educational life. Botswana is strong on social capital, particularly in rural communities. But the transition to a money society has not been easy for Botswana, since monetary capital requires a civic republican, rather than communitarian form of social capital. As the Christian Council leader said:

We are unable as Botswana to deal with the money economy because we come from a background of actual livestock farming ... we come from that tradition and we want to keep that tradition. We cannot deal with the money economy and here we see more and more of our people ending up in debt. Because we haven't been tutored from a young age to be able to engage the money economy.

Such a statement has implications for the role that our new entrepreneurial youth have in contemporary society. It also has implications for their burden of responsibility in a society that suffers from 40% unemployment, and increasingly suffers from the impacts of HIV/AIDS and its inevitable contribution to the destruction of extended family intergenerational lifestyles.

These perceptions provide a backdrop to the ensuing Chapter five, which discusses Botswana's changing society and how the youth perceive their responsibilities in their changing world. The chapter explores how change is perceived amongst the youth and older generation of leaders.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGE

For most people the ideal development process harmonises with the traditional values of a particular society. Changes originate both inside and outside a society. They may result from broad historical moments (such as nationalism), from government planning, or from contact with individuals (Charlton, 1997:8).

The discourse of development is embedded in positive connotations of progress. Development can mean enhanced physical infrastructure and administration systems, and increased access to goods. It can mean education and human capacity building for advancing access to skills and knowledge. The concept of progress has been dominated by the Western world, centred round the market economy. This basic principle has been imposed on African and other non-industrialised communities by colonialism and demands for a particular economy and style of democracy in exchange for access to the technological benefits of modernization (Charlton, 1997:9–11). So progress is a two edged sword for Botswana. It is neither completely owned by them nor is it completely wanted by them. More than most other African countries, Botswana has proved its ability to respond to the market economy and purchase the assets of globalization, such as communication systems, high tech media, and transport. But not completely. Two worlds have emerged – the rural and the urban. This chapter demonstrates, more than the others, the stark differences in attitudes, expectations and lifestyles that both older and younger generations perceive across the urban/rural divide. Grandparents belong to the villages; younger parents and their children now cross into the brave new world of materialism and all its associated lifestyles. Education has created this opportunity, yet education has also produced sharp differences in how the world is interpreted. We look, therefore, firstly at opinions about urban and rural differences and the influences of globalization on these differences. We then discuss the intergenerational changes that young Botswana identify as having most significance on their present day identities.

DEVELOPMENT: URBAN AND RURAL DIFFERENCES

Issues for development in Botswana included concerns about: disparities between physical infrastructure; access to knowledge about government laws and policy; the different ways in which people responded to urban and rural governance systems; the differences in access to goods and services; and, of course, the seemingly contradictory behaviour patterns of urban and rural dwellers. Differences in material and physical infrastructure were visible manifestations of economic disparity.

Economic changes

Chapter two has already demonstrated significant disparities in income and educational levels between urban and rural areas. The poor and illiterate are therefore deprived from accessing almost everything that Botswana's parliamentary democracy stands for. The Christian Council youth group had recommendations to make on this score:

The root cause is poverty. Because we are developing, the Government ignores the rural areas. People migrate to urban areas and find there are no jobs, they turn to criminal activities;

The Government should start to concentrate its development in rural areas. ... Urban areas are overpopulated. We need to help people make a living in rural areas. The Government can take certain industries to rural areas.

Botswana's towns and cities have, in the past two years, seen a transformation in physical appearance through purpose built shopping malls, fast food stores, cinemas and high technology shops. Education institutions are also located in towns, as the university students pointed out:

Services like quality educational institutions are in towns whereas in rural areas there is none ... shops of quality products they are mostly in towns; in rural areas there are kiosks which are very expensive for local people;

I feel the people who are benefiting from these [development] policies are those in towns and mostly the educated because they know much about them.

So the urban areas are seen as the land of opportunity, manifested primarily

through physical infrastructure, but without the social monitoring provided through the rural community networks described in Chapter four. But to the people we interviewed, development could mean more than buildings. A leader in Emang Basadi proposed a re-evaluation of development priorities. Rather than focus on buildings, she suggested, the people themselves – in rural and urban areas – should be given more educational awareness so that development focused on behaviour rather than material gain:

We should develop the people rather than the infrastructure. People are so submissive because they are not highly educated. Many people don't know anything about Vision 2016, the Setswana way when you are concerned about your neighbour, which is not actually practised in cities and towns. But in the rural areas, people still live together in the *kgotla* system.

Leadership changes

Leadership development is a priority for the nation (Presidential Task Group, 1997; Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 1996). Botswana has two leadership systems – local village headmen or chiefs, and elected Members of Parliament (MPs). MPs are associated with urban areas, chiefs with rural areas. The chief resides within the community he serves and is often a relative of many, perhaps most, of the villagers. MPs do not have such close ties to the more heterogeneous town populations. Leaders in Emang Basadi and the Christian Council both pointed out that villagers have a different concept of leadership from the people living in towns. Or rather, that the village leadership style is the one that urban dwellers would also prefer, but they were still trying to find a way of relating to members of parliament who are not always available or living in and amongst the people. The female leader explained that on the one hand Botswana really wanted to see a chief as their leader, whom they respected; on the other hand the new generation of town dwellers were receiving more information and therefore able to make independently informed choices about matters that affected them. (The implication being that a presiding chief might actually seem rather restrictive for urban youth).

The Christian Council leader highlighted how the concept of leadership was now a confused arena:

Take Gaborone, for instance, people would really like to know how do they engage leadership because here they would have an MP and not a chief, and now what they would have is a cabinet minister because these are people they will not even ever see anyway.

This affected how they voted and how they responded to leadership discrepancies, as the woman from Emang Basadi pointed out:

If the president says 'I erred, I am sorry', the people in town will say 'What is he talking about, why can't he do this, this, this and that? I don't think this guy is good to be leading us. But the guys in the rural areas will say *'Ab, go siame'* (It's OK).

These comments highlight a disjuncture between a traditional Botswana (and African) concept of leadership as an inherited function, and the electoral one that had been imported from the West. It affects how people understand the operation of participatory decision making and even how they understand human interaction. Leadership by selection and de-selection are still alien concepts to many people. Leaders in the past had no fear of de-selection. If they made mistakes, they could afford to be honest and acknowledge their humanness. But a leader who is elected by public vote is subject to different forms of scrutiny and therefore more vulnerable if he or she attempts to present human error to the populace. These vulnerabilities are reinforced by an education system that encourages one to question and challenge. The woman from Emang Basadi continued:

And another thing I think is this submissiveness that we have. It's not the same as that in the rural areas because in the rural areas, if you are submissive, which ... is increased by the social practices, it remains like that. That's why even the voting if you look at it, people in the rural areas, vote in the same way as they would vote in 1966. But in towns, they have changed. They vote otherwise because they don't think the same.

The issue of 'not thinking the same' is the crux for the two generations in this study. It became the focus for most of the discussion for youth and leaders. The urban rural divide sharpened these differences.

Social changes

The same person attributed some of the differences in attitude to the inevitable cosmopolitan nature of towns:

In the urban areas, the difference is that we mix people, foreign people who have their own culture. You don't see yourself visiting a foreign family more than you can because you are not sharing the same cultural aspect and they are not interested in knowing the culture of Tswana.

You may not be able to have people visiting you to learn your culture. But in the rural areas, people just visit, just call on your house and sit there and chat. You know, what about current events or current affairs. But in the city we talk about it on the road when we meet in the drinking places. You don't just go home to chat. In the rural areas people go every day.

These sentiments concur with Falk's (2000) image of 'new citizenships' with multiple loyalties, described in Chapter one.

The youth were more concerned about the degree of access to information that urban dwellers had, and the consequent impact of this indirect foreign influence on their individualistic behaviour. This was partly attributed to a delimited social capital from the extended family that was often reduced to parental guidance alone in urban areas. One female village youth highlighted the differences in social commitment between the two lifestyles:

Those in urban areas have [more] access to information through the media compared with rural areas [and] they like doing drugs. Those in rural areas do not take them usually but in urban areas they have money and can buy drugs. There seems to be a lot of individualism in urban areas, parents don't take collective responsibility it is only biological parents who would care but in rural areas there is collective responsibility. Any elderly person would correct a child. There is much more respect in rural areas for elderly than in urban areas. Those in rural areas are not in most cases able to drink with the adults but in urban areas they seem not to respect this practice. There is a 'mind your own business' in urban areas but this is not the case in rural areas. ...Those in urban areas seem to be more concerned about meeting their own needs instead of doing something that can benefit anyone. They just want to satisfy themselves at whatever cost – for example kids at a tender age are not expected to interact so those in urban areas just play with siblings.

She concluded with a defence of the lifestyle to which she still felt a part:

There is more generosity in rural areas for those people who are needy. It is better in rural areas because some people will display gesture of generosity, but in urban areas they are too selfish and want to utilise for themselves rather than share.

These comments suggest that attitudes may have more to do with geographical

location than generational differences per se. The Youth Council leader confirmed this point:

Urban young people really are not active and they are very individualistic. They are interested in their own thing, they do things that benefit them. Our attempts to hold meetings in Francistown have been unsuccessful completely. But then in the rural areas the young people came to meetings and all that. So you find that some people who are self-sufficient they feel they don't need to be involved in such things.

Joyce, the university student, offered further elaboration by describing some concrete examples of these differences, albeit with a rather idyllic nostalgia about alcohol compared with earlier comments:

Urban people are more advanced in fashion, and their way of life was influenced by the modern sophistications in the city; alcohol is accepted, but in rural areas alcohol is a sin. Rural areas mostly are well behaved. Urban people don't have time for others. Urban development neglects rural areas. When people get to the city they tend to forget all these values like greetings and respect for elders.

The process of change normally undergoes four phases – denial of the problem, despair of how to deal with it, grief at the loss of past behaviours and finally acceptance, or adaptation to the new situation (O'Sullivan, 2002). The process of societal change, it is argued, also develops in response to innovations that are created by change agents who are indigenous members of a given society. In Botswana many changes have been imported into the country by foreigners. These imports are not supported by human resources to facilitate the transitions. (For example, cell phones and computers arrived in towns before local people knew how to repair them and before some villages even had electricity or telephone wires). So there is a sense that change has arrived in the form of pre-packaged entities before Botswana have had time to absorb and integrate the packages. This applies in particular to the introduction of global technologies where insiders have not had the opportunity to stamp their own culture on how these resources should be used. So 'glocalization' (Robertson, 1992:173), a process where foreigners refine and shape global influences for their own image and purpose wherever they go, stands in sharp distinction to Botswana's impoverished local influence on foreign imports.

The different youth groups attributed the source of urban problems to greater exposure to media and foreign influences, but with mixed feelings about the gains and losses of such exposure:

Those in urban areas are enlightened because they have access to information, but in rural areas we are disadvantaged in terms of information . . . there are no facilities in rural areas, there is more sports variety in urban areas (Bobonong youth group members);

Most of the people who get opportunities are those in the capital city, so because we happen to be in the rural areas at Maun we don't get opportunities. For example BTV [Botswana Television] participants are those in the city so the concentration is in Gaborone (Maun youth group members);

Urban areas are influenced more by the media . . . there is a lot of competition in urban areas and because of the competition youth tend to compete against each other (Serowe female Brigade members).

They often highlighted the lack of enculturation as youth suddenly seemed to lose their ability to critically question and analyse what was coming their way:

I dislike the behaviour of some people, because some of the people copy cultures from other countries – they watch TV and mimic some of the people they see on TV (female Brigade members);

It is because of what they see on TV that influences their behaviour so there is more indiscipline in urban areas (drama group member from Serowe);

We are like a nation without culture. We take whatever comes our way. We are influenced by the media. We take whatever comes our way in terms of culture, even those we don't understand. We leave behind what is valuable in our culture in the name of civilization (Francistown youth group member).

The influence of TV on the deterioration of social capital in America is strongly argued by Putnam (2000), although for potentially different reasons to do with decreased social interaction.

Some Botswana asserted that the lack of community influence on behaviour in urban areas would only lead to grief:

Most of youth in rural areas stay close to their parents, even those who don't do well academically they will keep their culture, stay close to parents, cattle posts but those in urban areas will not be having jobs to

do still, but because of their lifestyle they are expected to lead it will lead them to do certain criminal things like breaking into shops (individual from Serowe).

Not everyone was so dismissive about the new influences:

I do watch TV and see a lot of people doing things that are quite interesting and that I feel I can benefit from (Francistown youth).

And not everyone made such a clear distinction between urban and rural areas. The Ghetto Artist member who had lived in South Africa and travelled more than most felt that rural communities were in even greater danger of misappropriating the imported new cultures:

One thing that I have realised again is that these people living in rural areas are copying what young people in the urban areas are doing. And when they copy them, they take everything – even the bad things; things like drinking beer, and going out. Overdoing going out as in sleeping and all. Three times the ways young people in urban areas are doing it.

All these concerns are evidence of something happening too fast and without the opportunity for the learning, outlined in Chapter four, that comes from reflection and integration with past experiences. The youth are the product of a country that attempted to move itself into the twenty-first century as fast as possible. But the process has been uneven because its pace of development seems to have defied the requisite evolutionary stages for change and emotional growth. Botswana is not unique in this problem of course. It is already an accepted deficit of globalization itself (Jarvis, 2001). But the contrasts are more apparent in Botswana because of its starting point thirty years ago. To highlight this generational change we asked the youth and leaders what they perceived were the differences in youth lifestyles compared with those of their parents.

INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGE — LEADER PERSPECTIVES

Intergenerational changes that were discussed by the leaders can be classified into features of life that appear to have already died (degeneration), life patterns that the young seem to have already adopted (regeneration) and those that are dying out amongst the younger generation (changes in transit). The leaders were most likely to discuss degeneration in the form of lost practices that were seen as part of Botswana's cultural heritage and a measure of mutual reciprocity and

obligations – strong features of communitarian social capital.

Degeneration

The older the person we spoke to, the stronger the sense of bereavement for days gone by. The first political leader produced the following list of changes that related to his analysis of citizenship values:

Father would want to pay his tax on the first day of the year, not want to miss a *kgotla* meeting, if there was a war he would want to play a role to defend his country, would not want to be a burden on anyone. Feels his wife is his and not his children's responsibility. If someone got married there would be no shortage of cattle to pay *bogadi* (dowry). Nowadays people tend to have rights without obligations. For example, children in town socialise, they pay little regard to old folk but still expect them to pay *bogadi*. They expect uncle's obligations but neglect to give what belonged to uncles by tradition. For example the first earnings were surrendered to maternal uncle and uncle also paid in return. Where there is a marriage, if it is a daughter he would buy best wedding dress and have first call on *bogadi* cattle. This happens only sometimes now. In the past neither person felt they were doing it out of obligation, it was just natural to do.

These images relate to a communitarian concept of social capital that is built on obligations, expectations and norms of collective interest. They have less to do with responsibility, it could be argued, and more to do with duties – something that is not particularly highlighted in the national youth policies. They also have little to do with the notion of 'enlightened self interest' but more to do with 'doing what is right for the sake of it' (as articulated in Chapter one).

There were two political perspectives about the impact of change on rights and responsibilities in urban and rural areas. For the second politician urban life could be positive:

Those who are more informed in the urban areas are able to challenge Government; they are able to demand their rights better than those in the rural areas.

But for the first politician there was a preference for the status quo:

Rural people are more realistic. As farmers they know they can't get from the land more than they put into it, but when there is a sweeper in town there is nothing to judge your own output to society and the worth

of your labour. ...[people] tend to be more demanding irrespective of justification or contribution or resources available.

So values are changing as a result of new experiences but the socialization of those values and what they are worth has yet to be integrated within other traditions.

Regeneration

A leader in the Youth Council spoke at length about the generational changes in daily interactions which created a different sense of purpose and understanding of life for youth. For her the individualism of modern society had created a faceless society and no sense of belonging:

With the older generation one thing you would see is consultation. I mean they would consult over everything. If there is a pot they have to sit down and consult on who is going to dish that pot of meat. That is consultation and the other thing is respect for their elders to the extent that even if a child is named after an elder uncle that child would remain uncle to everybody and be given that respect. And hard work, the other thing, I mean our elders even if somebody is not very well you have to be very strict to ask them to go and rest. The younger generation do not value these things. ... I think everything nowadays is about your capabilities, your competencies as an individual, not where you came from, or whether you are royal or whatever. It's all about what you are able to do as an individual. ... Individualism makes us worse active citizens because really I hardly know my neighbour's name, even their face. I mean we drive out of our yards every morning and I think that's really. Actually I work with youth and there is a lot of young people in the streets where I live in. I hear them playing their music loud, you know, but I can't even approach them and tell them about BNYC and all that. Probably they also wish they could come to me you know. It brings about this feeling of not being able to talk to the next person. Even our greeting each other is dying, you know, along the streets where you meet people and say *dumelang* (hello), its also dying.

Traditionally, and irrespective of whether they know each other, Batswana always greet someone they meet in a shop or on the street or in the fields. This practice is less common in cosmopolitan areas partly because foreigners do not greet so freely, and partly because there are simply too many people. It seems, nevertheless, that developing individual capability has somehow superseded the collective sense of togetherness which went

with stability and maintenance of the status quo.

Not every leader had a negative opinion about the changes. The second politician made different distinctions. He saw some of the generational changes as positive. He identified new freedoms that benefited certain social groups like youth and women in relation to decisions that affected their lives, so that Botswana could be seen as moving to a more egalitarian society:

In the days gone by . . . the men, the elderly people had more rights and responsibilities. The youths were directed by the elderly people, the women were also directed by the men folk and as such they were the other group and were less responsible in terms of accountability in every respect, whether at the family or community or at national level. But now they are quite close, I can say we are sharing the responsibilities, the youths are now in a position to vote, they are in position to get a representation; and there is accountability as well for women. We are sharing responsibility.

The focus of discrimination in the interviews largely referred to women and youth. There are other marginalised groups in Botswana though. The most public issues have been in relation to ethnicity and minority language speakers (Mazonde, 2002; Good, 2003 for example). These issues were discussed by some with reference to Botswana's democracy but space prevents us from pursuing this aspect of Botswana's citizenship. Tribal issues in general were mentioned infrequently.

Changes in transit

Not every one agreed that old traditions are completely dead. The leader of the Christian Council, for instance claimed that some tribes, at least, were still retaining the traditional ways of doing things:

Botswana still very much believe in their old traditional ways of life. They still believe in the lessons they have learnt from the myths or from the stories they have been told as they were growing up. If you grow up within the [tribal] Bakgatla tradition that you need to go to initiation, it's pride for a young man to go for such traditional outings because that's where the lessons are learned to be a man.

Initiation schools are traditional tribal ceremonies where the youth are given their rite of passage into adulthood and taught folk tales, proverbs and skills that they are expected to need as adults within their ethnic group. Chapter four, however, has provided examples that suggest that such traditions are not so

popular amongst the youth themselves. Taboos and myths are still learned by people who return to their villages and interact with grandparents, but only a few actually value what is taught by their elders. The youth have other priorities.

INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGE — YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

Changes from the youth perspective were not so easy to classify. Significantly the youth highlighted the recent reversed trend in health for the younger generation as a negative change. One person cited this trend's connection with HIV/AIDS as evidence of declining moral standards:

Our generation in Botswana – the moral standing is going down. There is evidence of that in the HIV status of the nation. People are not willing to practice the moral standards we had grown up with.

But others saw AIDS as one feature of fate, which impacts on people's life chances nowadays:

People lived longer in the past. Quite a lot of things have come to endanger our lives so even life expectancy has gone very low.

Indeed, HIV/AIDS and traffic accidents are the major cause of death in Botswana. They are a direct product of lifestyles that have evolved over the last 25 years. Their high prevalence is attributed to a combination of cultural and globalization factors (Preece & Ntseane, 2003). Anti-retroviral drugs were, until recently, only selectively available and life expectancy for Botswana has reduced dramatically.

For the youth there were few changes in transit. Some were simply noncommittal comparisons between their parents' old, and their new, lifestyles. Observations reflected a more tangible, materialistic disconnection between the past and the postmodern world, a world graced by money, education, individualism, technology and commerce:

I think my parents did not demand like I do because I do ask for a lot of money from my parents but I don't think they did the same to their parents (youth in Francistown);

Money has become very important in our lives today, commercialization compared with our parents' lives that were based on agriculture (Serowe drama group member);

There was a strong sense of communal ownership. People shared more but currently it is more individualism, people like what they've got and do not like to share with others (youth in Serowe);

Even the kind of food they ate was different. They would eat sorghum most of the time, they would get things from the veld but that doesn't happen. We are no longer gathering and we are no longer hunting (Maun youth group member);

They used to sell home brew, but now someone will have an established bar. In the past we used to just sell at home (youth in Bobonong);

Agriculture in the past was very important compared to nowadays (youth in Bobonong);

Families in the past used to bring up children without formal employment but nowadays mostly there is a breadwinner who is working (youth in Francistown);

Our parents didn't get the kind of education we have. They went to traditional schools but we get formal education (youth in Maun).

Issues of responsibility, obligation and community relations were generally not something that the youth even noticed. Nevertheless some statements indicated a value judgement that suggested the youth felt they had more opportunities than their parents. The opportunities included greater choices and autonomy, and even, in one case, more opportunity to be treated as equals by their parents:

In the past ... if they had problems they did not tell their parents. Nowadays in some families children are able to talk to their parents about problems with their partners (Tonota youth);

Our parents, I think were too obedient and we seem to be more independent because we do what we want to do (Francistown youth);

In the past people did not go very far in education – just as far as primary, but nowadays people go up to tertiary and beyond (Bobonong youth);

My parents were farmers but I don't think I'm much interested in becoming a farmer. In the past we had a lot of cattle but some of them

Perceptions of Citizenship Responsibility Amongst Botswana Youth

have since died and I don't think nowadays there's respect for cattle rearing. There are other avenues that have nothing to do with cattle, like commercial activities (Tonota youth);

Our parents want to raise us the way they were raised. But children do not now tolerate being beaten. We don't want that (Christian youth group);

Parents would look for the bride and groom. This no longer happens. We can make our own choices and parents only get involved at the marriage stage (female from entertainment club);

Polygamy in the past was bad. It created jealousy amongst the wives. There wasn't that togetherness or sisterhood. Wives used to fight and be afraid the husband would love one more than the rest (female from entertainment club).

The implication was that the youth were happy with the changes. It was their parents who were unable to adjust:

Our parents don't recognise the times we are living in (Christian youth group).

Nevertheless there was some acknowledgement amongst these young adults that life is not always so easy in modern times. Apart from the concern over health dangers, there was a sense that their country was no longer their own:

The country seems like it has economic ties in the hands of foreigners who all lead luxurious lives. There is too much trust in foreigners; they don't give top jobs to citizens (Christian youth group).

In addition there was a recognition that the behaviour of today's youth is not always desirable, as the following comments from two separate youth groups showed:

Our parents were more disciplined than we are ... there was a lot of respect for other people in the past than it is the case now. Youngsters don't respect the elderly (Maun).

The demise of cultural matters that seemed important to older Batswana, such as relationships between parents and marriage arrangements, were therefore

regarded as positive indicators of increased freedom for the youth. Similarly, the focus on indigenous food and arable farming that pre-occupied almost all of village life and created their sense of community, are now seen as restrictive and outdated. The youth have more choices and opportunities, derived largely from enhanced education and access to a fiscal economy. With those choices and opportunities come new and more varied lifestyles. But those lifestyles must be bought with money, which has to be earned. Such opportunities can also become enmeshed into a scramble for scarce resources and competitive interactions with strangers. Otherwise, the fear is that foreigners will take over. In many ways their sense of competition is really with the rest of the world. This impacts on relationships at home and stimulates potential jealousies amongst each other in the confused assumption that foreigners seem to be winning the race for recognition on the world stage.

This chapter has provided a snapshot of how youth and their elders perceive the nature and impact of changes on the lives of post independence Batswana. The majority of changes that are grieved for by the older generation play no significant part in the lives of today's youth. They are seen as simply not relevant to today's lifestyle. Nevertheless, whilst a few elders recognise the positive freedoms that have emerged in terms of egalitarianism, so also a few youth highlight some negative changes in behaviour amongst themselves. Urbanization creates the strongest catalyst for change through its introduction of foreign influences along with enhanced technological resources. But changes that impact on responsibility according to the older generation are mingled with notions of duty and obligation that are based on a hierarchy of social relations, with women and young people at the bottom. Such changes equate with freedom for the younger generation who confuse these old notions of duty with the idea that respect and sharing breeds subordination and oppression. Communitarianism is taking a different shape. The market economy is influencing, but arguably has not yet shaped, the idea of community in the transitions that are taking place.

But what did the youth really feel about the challenge that they were becoming less responsible than the former generation? Chapter six discusses what the youth felt about themselves and youth in general, and includes some observations from the leaders as they watch this generation grow.

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CHAPTER SIX

RESPONSIBILITY

The concept of responsibility implies a sense of duty and obligation. Mogae (2001), for instance, talked of duties and responsibilities in his speech to the Scouts Association. Yet responsibility suggests that the agent has made a choice or has ownership over his or her action. It is seen as a counterpart to citizenship rights. Responsibilities are defined by Pring (2001) as:

... certain dispositions or civic virtues. They require social and personal skills. They require a basic understanding of the development of the social and political framework in which one lives and works. Such disposition, skills and understanding can and should be the aims of education (p.85 cited in Coare, 2003:47).

This statement suggests that responsibility is an attitude of mind that is learned in relation to the context of one's environment. When we consider responsibility in this broader framework, then the behaviours of the youth become the responsibility of all of us. They are only what they have learned to be through education, social example and the critical thinking that emerges from enhanced learning opportunities. Equally, if people undertake responsibilities, they require access to the means to exercise those responsibilities independently, but also with a sense of accountability to others. Rights, therefore, have to be accompanied by responsibilities. The extent to which the youth felt they had sufficient rights to enable them to exercise responsibilities was open to debate. Before looking at what the youth themselves said to the challenge that they were less responsible than society required them to be, let us first examine some comments from the leaders on this question.

LEADER RESPONSES

In most cases the leaders did feel that the youth are becoming more individualistic and less interested in helping others:

The youth tend to feel that if I were to help out this person, he will manage to live a better life than I would ... we are living in a very difficult

world. In most cases you find that the youth tend to keep things to themselves, they don't want to share, they don't want to go out and help other people (secondary school teacher).

But she acknowledged that parents themselves are partly to blame: 'They do not really counsel, they do not really talk to their children. . . . We always tell them, you know such comments like "if you are giving, people will take advantage of you". This sentiment was supported by the Christian Council leader, who added: 'They do not know . . . how do they engage this role of responsibility'.

The leader in the women's rights organization felt that this attitude was not so universal for women. She argued that women (in spite of their more limited access to rights) were more likely to contribute to social needs:

Men may not take the first step to take those responsibilities while women will take part, without even thinking of payments, in voluntary service or like to take part in the issuance of responsibility. If you look at the food for work programme when it started it was women who were carrying it out, building of shelters on the road if we look at places like Serowe it was women who first did shelters, you know, building homes for poor, a habitat for poor. Its women who did that.

This argument is supported by other writers such as Vromen (2003) in her discussion of gender differences in participation amongst young people in Australia.

The women's rights leader also suggested that individualism in itself should not necessarily detract from the spirit of voluntarism, since responsibility would be stimulated by national causes that simply needed appropriate publicity:

I think that is true, people are now becoming individualistic but that can be kept if there are actually national issues that make them get together and understand that they are citizens of this country.

This statement is significant. It has already been stated that there are indications that the HIV/AIDS pandemic was mobilising the youth to take responsibilities in terms of counselling and disseminating information, so her ideas bore some credibility in the actions of the youth. It might also be worth revisiting here the sentiments expressed by Van Benschoten (2000:2) in Chapter one. She muted that young people are acting in 'enlightened self interest' rather than doing what is right for the sake of it. It seems that maybe the youth in Botswana were operating in a similar fashion. Similarly, Gautier (2003), who discussed youth groups in Quebec, suggested that we need to broaden our perspective of existing

participation indicators, particularly in relation to political participation. Responsibility, therefore, is taking on a new meaning across the globe.

The two politicians acknowledged that the development process had already contributed to creating a different kind of youth from their ancestors – and that the youth are in any case always criticised by the previous generation. Both party members agreed that the younger generation was ready for assuming responsibility earlier than their parents in view of their different educational backgrounds. So the same person who in Chapter five bemoaned the demise of youth interest in traditional family duties, also said this about the new generation:

Young people are never seen as taking as much responsibility as their past generation. Life changes ... Economically ... people at 18 have reached what people of 25 reached in the past. They are exposed to more, therefore responsibility should be extended to lower ages than in the past (first politician).

The implication behind this comment is that there is political recognition of young people's entitlement to access decision-making opportunities at an earlier age than their parents. The increased exposure to challenges and opportunities in today's society means that youth learn faster and more extensively, with the result that they are growing up more quickly. They are in a position to undertake more complex roles at an earlier age. The second politician (and it will be seen that the young adults agreed with this principle) felt the political acknowledgement of this fact was less forthcoming:

They are not empowered educationally, they are not empowered business wise, they are not empowered in many respects.

The concept of empowerment in this respect has a relationship with the notion of rights. We also take the leader's argument to mean that the education system is too academic and is not necessarily providing life skills education. The lack of access to development opportunities, in spite of enhanced academic education, became a recurring theme for all the youth, including a leader in the National Youth Council. Nevertheless the latter remarked on how it was mostly the uneducated youth who took part in organised youth activities. The youth provision was seen as an informal educational resource that replaced earlier lost opportunities in the mainstream system. This is what the Youth Council is for, of course, and in performing this role it is fulfilling its national purpose. But to the challenge that the youth were not responsible, the Youth Council leader gave examples of a number of activities that young people were engaged in, such as educational workshops and income generation projects, whilst at the same time

arguing that many other youth were not benefiting from the service:

I think it's exposure. I think some people just miss the chance to know about activities that would interest them.

To summarise the position of these elders then, there is a recognition that the changed world requires and provides new forms of knowledge and skills. These acquired skills do actually place Botswana youth in a position of advanced awareness compared with their parents' generation. Many youth did appear to be accessing informal education resources through the official channels (the BNYC), and were undertaking responsibilities that were different from their elders. But development opportunities that could capitalise on these advances (translated as empowerment and rights) seemed limited.

So what did the youth think? Their replies are examined under the headings: youth priorities, enlightened self interest, discursive democracy and frustrated citizens.

YOUTH RESPONSES

Perhaps inevitably the youth that we spoke to all felt that they themselves were being responsible. Nevertheless they did so in a context that recognised that the modern youth was desirous of satisfying the self first before helping others. Although we have seen that some cited the family or nation as a priority for active citizenship, the majority stipulated that without satisfying the self in terms of education and self sufficiency in today's materialistic world they could not be in a position to help others.

Youth priorities

The goal of satisfying the self before the family or nation runs counter to traditional African value systems. Avoseh (2001:480), for example, claims that such values:

... embrace essentially a collective, rather than individual, concept of responsibility. They consist of the following dimensions and values:

- Spiritual: participation that is influenced by the metaphysical world, resulting in a sense of obligation to the community – but encapsulated in spiritual obligation to one's ancestors and God.
- Communal: emphasising commitment to the interests of the corporate existence of the community.

- Political: interpreted as duties that serve the interest of the nation before oneself through community family and spiritual responsibilities (cited in Preece, 2003:255).

Whilst spirituality itself still influences many of the youth, globalization and its competing economic challenges meant that communitarian values had to be subsumed under an economic interpretation of self sufficiency. This inevitably meant securing a job and its associated individual gains. But this did not mean they were uncaring. These are just some of the arguments that the youth gave for their re-evaluated priorities:

You need to be a unified self first before you can give to someone else (member of Christian group);

It's the self who comes first because whatever the family does it does so because of contributions from individuals. What happens to the nation comes from those family units so if families perform then we will get an industrious nation (Tonota youth);

Because if I take care of myself then I can take care of the family and ultimately take care of the nation (Francistown youth);

You start as an individual so from the individual you get to the family unit and then if you have been well catered for as an individual then you can cater for family like get a job and salary then the family would ultimately add value to the nation (Serowe youth).

As Chapter four showed, earlier generations feel they were not so much part of a money economy. So getting a paid job was not such a necessary priority for community life. This in itself created different demands on the individual than in the past, although Schapera (1940) shows, earlier generations were earning wages long before Independence.

Enlightened self interest

But even though the youth seemed to be approaching their responsibilities from a non-traditional perspective, this did not mean they had no *sense* of responsibility. Having justified the self as a first priority, they then cited many individual and group examples of their commitment to society, national concerns and peer group needs. Even where they had personal ambitions to succeed, these were nearly always in the context of a concern to set a good example and maintain the values of peace, respect and their cultural identity (through drama and dance in a number

of cases). They demonstrated vision, creativity, compassion, drive and love as well as national pride and self-respect. Again these are only some examples. The entertainment club, for instance, held innovative beauty contests to attract men who would then be a captive audience for their HIV/AIDS messages:

We feel we are exemplary. Other youth groups can copy us ... our entertainment is combined with education. It has a context to communicate about HIV/AIDS under the heading beautiful legs. The adjudication wanted to know the relationship between the theme and context. Men are attracted to girls legs – it is a way of spreading the message about HIV/AIDS. There is a youth empowerment objective (female entertainment group in explaining how their beauty contest is an educational tool).

I worked as a teacher and changed so many lives. I put a lot of effort into that class and passed more than 50% of the class (Christian group member describing her national service work as a teacher);

I'm proud to have trained my age mates to have become peer educators. I have passed that skill on to other people (Francistown male youth);

I am a member of the disciplinary committee on students against rape so we inform people about how they can deal with the problem of rape ... whenever someone has a problem we offer counselling services to that person (Tonota female youth);

I'm proud to be part of a group that is reviving our culture and that is doing something cultural (Maun traditional dance group member);

I don't go to sugar daddies for money. I am concentrating on my education (female student).

There is an indication, in all these answers, that the qualities of *botbo* and patriotism are secure with the younger generation, albeit in a context of enlightened self interest. Their focus here is still largely communitarian, from both sexes.

These were already motivated youngsters, though. Whilst all felt they provided exemplary examples of responsibility, there were some differences of opinion about the behaviour of the majority of their peers. A few agreed that others were not so responsible, but these opinions had little consistency. On the one hand some felt urban dwellers displayed more characteristics of responsibility, others felt this

criticism applied more appropriately to rural youth. The indicators of diminishing responsibility included: manifestations of decreasing respect for others, ignorance about what to do, and a feeling that young people were less willing to share or were too impatient. Nevertheless, even those who agreed with these trends provided a common list of reasons why youth seem, according to their elders, to behave in ways that are not acceptable for good, active citizenship. The list was very long. Generally the youth felt that their informed critical analysis could be misinterpreted unreflectively by elders as simply a rejection of what had been valued in the past. These replies are categorised under the heading discursive democracy, though there was little evidence of the kind of challenging behaviour described by writers in the West (for example Gautier, 2003; Holford *et al.*, 2002).

Discursive democracy

The signs of Delanty's more political rendering of citizenship through radical or discursive democracy are demonstrated where the emphasis is on dialogue and collective pressure for ethical change:

They are saying that because we no longer keep our culture – because there are cases where our culture can be oppressive – they get offended when we do not do things the way they used to do them ... The youth fight for their rights but because the parents want to keep the old things that oppress the rights of other people they feel we are not mindful of our responsibility (Francistown youths);

The younger generation understand life differently but the criticism is going to happen for the coming generation as well (Christian group youth member).

And, as the mostly male Serowe drama group pointed out, playing an active part in society does not mean you have to simply follow everything that has gone before. Active citizenship is also about campaigning for change:

People seem to think for you to be responsible you have to have good behaviour, but to some adults you are behaving irresponsibly if you challenge them or if you go against what they are saying because you feel it is not right. So in exercising that right they say you are being irresponsible simply because you disagree with them.

But while Batswana like to discuss, they are not used to leadership in this respect from the youth. The resultant effect is misunderstanding and apparent lack of support:

There is lack of support from parents and professionals ... lack of recognition of the youth. Their ideas are sometimes not accepted without elaborate explanation. Solutions are rejected from youth simply because they are young (Tonota youths);

It is not true that we are not responsible but only in some cases elders don't understand what we are doing or what we are saying and as a result they take it that we are irresponsible (Maun youth);

There is no trust or confidence in the youth. People don't seem to give them opportunities or to allow them to perform in certain areas because they feel they are not responsible. But they are responsible, they are just not given those opportunities for them to excel (Bobonong youth).

We now have a frustrated youth; a youth that feels 'We should be seen as the leaders of today, not of tomorrow' (Bobonong youth). This picture of the youth presents a scenario where the education system and globalization have inserted new skills and knowledge into them, but they are too far ahead of the infrastructure that is still being held in place by their elders who were not participants in their high tech lives. So initiatives that the youth attempt are often frustrated because their skills are not matched with relevant role models or experience.

Frustrated citizens

Sometimes the need for support was articulated in very practical ways. Sometimes accountability for youth failure was directed at government legislation. Whilst political leaders acknowledged on an individual basis that the youth need to be given opportunities at an earlier age, these sentiments were not always materialising quickly enough into practical action for the youth:

I would say it's not right they are irresponsible; they are always meaning to make a contribution; some of them have started projects in various areas but mostly they don't do very well because they don't have the financial resources. For instance the schemes started by the government are requiring things – a lot of what is expected on the forms, the youth don't have the expertise to get started. The commercial banks don't seem to help like in cases where we go for a loan we are expected to have some financial security but the youth don't have such resources, its not because they are irresponsible (Bobonong youth).

It is a basic tenet of community development theory that learning for change must be facilitated through all levels of a staged awareness-raising process

(Hamilton, 1992), so that skills, knowledge, confidence and understanding develop in a supportive climate for continued growth. It seemed that such support was not always in place for the youth in these interviews.

Both legislation and appropriate education to enable youth to take informed action, seemed to be missing for some young adults. But they also blamed themselves for not supporting each other:

The discouragement by the youth. The youngsters when taught something they start labelling those who try to do something. There is a lot of jealousy. There is always that which works against your efforts (Tonota youth).

This sentiment was echoed in different ways across the groups by both male and females. It stands in stark contrast to the concept of *botbo*. It was linked in part, by some people, to a feeling that achievements or products by foreigners seemed better than home grown ones. It may be something to do with an attempt to shape the foreign concepts of individualism, capitalism and competition from a traditional value base that stems from sharing and communal ownership. The result is a confused message for productivity. It is a concern that has clear implications across the education system.

Although the elders blamed the youth for loss of positive cultural values and behaviours, the youth also argued that there were few role models in this respect amongst the elderly themselves. In other words, cultural practice did not necessarily match cultural rhetoric. This was experienced in terms of negative attitudes, behaviour and power relations:

But again it's the elderly who don't behave responsibly so we tend to copy – for example the elderly who go out and drink all day and don't give money to the family. So children tend to copy such behaviour (Tonota);

Its not the youth that are rich – it's the adults, the elderly who have possessions but they are not sharing those possessions with the disadvantaged, so they are also being irresponsible (Tonota);

The youth of this country has been criticised for being irresponsible by those in positions of power ... but the adults also seem to fight for the positions that are available and because they don't want competition they sideline the youth under the pretext that they are not responsible (Bobonong individual).

The implication here is that cultural erosion has been happening for some

time, and that power struggles between and across generations create negative competition between the status quo and the inevitability of change. Perhaps some of these struggles emerge because Botswana's process of change has been more rapid than most countries. The processes of denial, despair, grief and acceptance (O'Sullivan, 2002) that go with all changes are being challenged in Botswana because the country's developments have outpaced the process of time compared with other parts of the globe.

These comments create a number of challenges for the role of education – formal, non formal and informal. We start by offering some general educational challenges that are expressed by the youth, and recognise the official role of the youth service in meeting some of these. In Chapter seven we extract ideas for what can be implemented outside the formal school system since the majority of youth (age 18 plus) are no longer in school.

CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATION

There is this expression that we are the leaders of tomorrow but we should also be seen as the leaders of today (Bobonong youth member).

The youth and leaders alike identified broadly three interrelated areas for development: human capital building, social capital building and infrastructure development.

Human capital building

Human capital capacity building relates to skills training and information about how to use existing resources effectively. One university student discussed how some elders acquire responsibilities for which they have no skills or knowledge. Consequently they are not in a position to make good judgements:

I have realised that, you know the chiefs who have been given those rights, you know really are unfairly sentencing people. And I think people who are educated could be recruited to carry out such tasks even to do that. Because recently there is this case, this lady who was sentenced to 26 years for just killing two goats we realise that is really unfair. But we do not blame them because they have just been given such responsibilities but they have not been empowered to carry out such responsibilities.

Another youth pushed the same point. Empowerment should not be conferred

through position, power or status alone. It is also not appropriate to provide resources which you are not trained to use, irrespective of age:

Youth must be provided with entrepreneurial skills besides just being given financial assistance. Such schemes don't go hand in hand with providing skills (Serowe youth).

In summary, knowledge and experience have to be meted out appropriately along with access to opportunities:

Knowledge is power. We should be empowered and guided to do certain things, for example the Land Board committees. The argument is that young people don't have experience on land issues but we just need to be involved in training (Christian Council group).

And with relevant support:

People should just be shown how to do things (Women's organization leader).

But human capital alone is not enough for successful citizenship activity. As Johnston (2003:60) argues, human capital alone encourages over-individualism and 'unreflexive instrumentality'. Human capital must be complemented by social capital.

Social capital building

Social capital building is about building networks between different groups and creating trust for mutual benefit (Coare & Johnston, 2003:208). For the youth, this involves role modelling and encouragement of the best of traditional values such as sharing and support for each other. In some cases leaders and youth agreed about traditional values:

The spirit of sharing should be promoted, there should be cultural regeneration (Individual youth from Bobonong);

The community should encourage the youth to love each other, to share, to cooperate. We need to work together (teacher).

In other cases it meant learning new ways of behaving in ways that the youth had already analysed as in need of change:

Perceptions of Citizenship Responsibility Amongst Botswana Youth

We need to organise parenting courses on how to be a parent – because (corporal) punishment doesn't teach the child anything (Christian Council).

It also meant pursuing a code of ethics and morality that is enshrined in *botho* but not apparently validated through the imported parliamentary democracy system:

Government should set a good example and not expect youth to sacrifice when they are not sacrificing themselves. Leaders have taught them that to live better you need more money (second politician).

These hybridised old and new values needed to be contextualised and re-evaluated through a human rights analysis and promoted through deliberative educational strategies. For example:

Policies that cover the rights of women. I would say most of the women out there are not benefiting from them because they don't know much about them. And I feel that as adult educators we should just go there and sensitize them about them (university student);

There must be programmes designed for the girl child – in most cases they don't seem to benefit from programmes that are designed for the youth (Maun youth).

But all the new learning in the world would not be enough without policy change and institutional support.

Infrastructure development

Infrastructure development would have to come from pro-youth policies and physical facilities.

Kgotla is just for the elderly – they need to change policy to accommodate young people (Christian council leader);

The youth must be encouraged to take risks, given responsibilities, be encouraged to face challenges (Bobonong);

Leadership qualities must be inculcated in youth as early as now so we can take our responsibilities seriously (Bobonong).

Leadership training is a priority for the Botswana National Youth Council and southern Africa generally (ADRC, 2000; LeARN, 2002). The youth in these

interviews felt that capacity building for leadership needed to be seen in the context of better training of community development workers. This included ensuring that training materialises into better informed youth at the grassroots so that local initiatives stand a better chance of success:

... talk to parents and talk to families as units so that everyone understands what their role is within the family (teacher);

Extension should be improved so that rural areas can be developed by young people ... You can't talk about NEPAD [the New Partnership for Africa's Development] when you know your people do not understand and you have not educated them about NEPAD (Emang Basadi).

A better understanding of social capital needs would come from first communicating with the youth themselves, starting where they are at in terms of values, understanding of cultural values and human needs. This means creating dialogue with youth:

Facilities must be put in place where youngsters can meet so they can share ideas (Serowe);

Those youngsters who have already shown they are responsible must be used by government to encourage others to behave in an acceptable way and make a contribution towards the nation (Francistown);

I would look at the things that they want and start there ... the starting point is to enter through their interests (Youth leader).

Infrastructure development included re-visiting age restrictions on decision-making bodies such as Land Boards, providing a Ministry for Youth and creating more egalitarian access to facilities across the country:

We need a youth ministry and need resources for the necessary education (Christian Council group);

We don't seem to read in Botswana. Facilities must be available such as libraries to encourage people to read and source information (Tonota youth);

I must be given opportunity to sit in the decision-making bodies so I can come up with ideas that will help the youth in the country (Francistown youth).

Importantly, many argued that education will create critical thinkers. Critical thinking means re-evaluating and analysing the status quo and looking for new solutions and activities through interactive dialogue and self awareness (Brookfield, 2000). In order to maximise the benefits of education, however, both practical skills training and opportunities for informed analysis were necessary:

Our education system is too theoretical. I feel there should be a lot of practical subjects (Serowe youth);

Our education it doesn't promote independent thinking ... the education is oppressive because it doesn't allow us to think and make our own decisions (Serowe youth);

Problems of the youth must be part of the curriculum, not just AIDS [as the only problem] (Tonota).

The literature on community development for citizenship education rarely takes into account the tensions in emerging industrialised countries between development as a donor led goal for the global market economy, and the recipient country's social origins that stem from a communitarian culture with leadership that is premised on chieftainship. New kinds of engagement are necessary to ensure that those social values that make indigenous communities so cohesive and integrated are not destroyed in the race for development:

If we want to be in the global world we mustn't lose our identity (Christian Council leader).

This chapter has covered many different issues that contribute to understanding how youth view their commitments and responsibilities in today's globalised age. It has also provided an opportunity to hear the youth's own views on how their willingness to be responsible could be harnessed through more focused education and capacity building alongside targeted infrastructure support for leadership development amongst the youth. Some key features which will be discussed in the final chapter are: leadership development as transformative leadership, community development that starts at the grass roots and provides opportunity for participatory decision making (participatory rural appraisal for instance), and the stimulation of political communication routes through political education and a Ministry for Youth that examines age participation on decision-making bodies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is now acknowledged in many different parts of the world that citizenship activity is changing (Holford *et al.*, 2002). In many countries this change has been interpreted negatively, with particular reference to youth apathy towards engagement in politics or active participation in public life. Most of these observations emanate from European, North American or Australian literature. Empirical studies in the South are relatively recent and few in number (Dean's 2003 study of Pakistani youth is one example). This short book is an attempt to redress the imbalance in that respect to some small extent. While perception of citizenship *identity* was a feature of our research it has not been discussed in this book for reasons of space. We specifically focus on youth perceptions of citizenship *activity* and their citizenship roles in present day Botswana. These perceptions were compared with responses from a small number of political and community leaders. We have used the concept of social capital and Delanty's rendering of citizenship activities as explanatory frameworks to analyse their responses, but with an eye on ensuring that the local context is not subsumed by those theories. To this end we have tried as far as possible to let the people we interviewed speak for themselves. This final chapter summarises the main points of earlier chapters. On the basis of our discussion we then offer some ideas for consideration that address Botswana's public concerns about the decline in traditional values at the expense of negative influences from globalization forces derived from the West.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CITIZENSHIP

Chapter one discussed the concept of citizenship as a contested term. Both identity and performance as citizens are contingent on cultural influences (external and internal), and individual learning experiences. Participation is commonly seen as a central feature of active, democratic citizenship, interpreted as voluntarism and engaging in community or civic activities that may or may not have an overtly political focus. The different kinds of citizenship activity were categorised as communitarian (apolitical, community based and centred round the moral

community of family and village life); civic republican (with a greater stress on the public role of civil society as the source of citizenship activity and interaction with the state) and discursive democracy (a more deliberative and confrontational form of citizenship; one that is focused on social reform through public communication). We suggested that Botswana's traditional citizenship behaviour followed a largely communitarian approach. This style of citizenship activity sits easily within a communitarian notion of social capital.

Social capital consists of the interrelationships between family and associated community life. These interrelationships facilitate mutual bonding and information flows that create norms of behaviour. Social capital can be communitarian or civic republican in nature. Both forms have the same complementary effect on citizenship activity. Civic republicanism, however, arguably employs more extensive networks through civil society organizations and this potentially provides a more solid foundation for capitalist societies.

However, for citizens to be active participants in public life, it is argued, society must be living under the basic tenets of democracy. Democracy is conceptualised as public participation in decisions that affect people's lives through transparent processes where everyone's voice is heard and where there is freedom to form associations. Associations may be community-based organizations or larger, more nationally defined civil societies. Civil societies then become the representative voice for publicly supported goals and interests.

In Botswana, and indeed other African nations, we suggest that both concepts of civic republicanism and civil society need further elaboration to take account of context. For instance, traditional civil society in African contexts are often based on tribal or ethnic representation, rather than a single public issue. Secondly the presumed dichotomy between public and private activity of civic republicanism is much more blurred in Botswana's present context. So in terms of its relationship to the nation or state, civil society or national organizations may address very private issues (for instance HIV/AIDS, alcoholism and gender power relations) in a very public way in accordance with the nature of the problem. The interviews revealed related issues concerning these matters.

A further issue for Botswana is the role that globalization plays in 'developing country' contexts. Globalization drivers are based on a consumerist, capitalist culture that is inherently alien to traditional African life. In addition, Botswana's own pace of development has meant that the speed of change and consequent interface with globalization interests have outpaced the natural growth patterns of western societies. Consequently Botswana has not been party to shaping any kind of enculturation of imported new technologies and lifestyles. This has resulted in alien interfaces between dominant western values and Botswana's traditional world views. These are sometimes interpreted as brutal violations that are inserted into people's homes through mass media communications and

into new shopping malls that are invaded by foreigners.

Botswana's *Vision 2016* proposes a compromise re-assimilation of imported values. It asks for a revisiting and modernising of traditional infrastructures in a way that embraces the best of old values and capitalises on the benefits of new technologies but without losing the nation's cultural identity in the process. The youth of today are caught in the middle of this ambitious goal since they are very much the product of recent globalising influences. At the same time they are witnessing the decline of traditional extended family structures – partly through new demographic patterns caused by the HIV/AIDS pandemic but also through urbanization and new kinds of poverty. Education and 'the market' have exacerbated divisions between old and new lifestyles.

In our final section of Chapter one, we showed that learning to be an active, democratic citizen is not solely the responsibility of one institution, since it is experientially based. We explained briefly the potential consciousness-raising impact of experiential learning if connections can be made between people's individual biographies and new experiences. We also showed how non-learning occurs if those connections (expressed as disjunctures) are too sharply in contradistinction from each other. So, we argue, learning for active democratic citizenship, that is culturally acceptable to a specific nation like Botswana, works best through an enabling framework. Several western scholars propose curricula and teaching styles to facilitate that framework. Later in this chapter we offer further ideas, derived from African experiences that build on these notions.

LEARNING TO BE A CITIZEN IN BOTSWANA

Whilst the school curriculum addresses the technicalities of citizenship and moral behaviour, the out-of-school curriculum provides the ongoing learning experiences that contribute to the individual's evolving picture of who they are and how they want to contribute to society. Chapter two showed how African societies have traditionally infused such learning into young men and women through initiation schools and tribal community building. Nowadays such initiation ceremonies are practised infrequently and the youth attend formal schooling for much longer periods than their parents did. Schools are mandated to teach citizenship values and associated critical skills for independent thought. Life itself challenges the youth to apply and develop their learning in ways that are socially, ethically and morally acceptable to them. The youth service is a primary resource in this respect. It is also mandated to teach, informally and non formally, leadership skills and participatory democracy. Chapters three, four, five and six, provided us with clues as to how to make best use of this mandate.

Chapter three focused on aspects of youth participation – for leisure and for

a defined social purpose. We saw how the youth of today no longer engage in traditional pastimes such as sharing folk tales or the practice of games inherited from their parents. Perhaps significantly most young adults, male and female, took part in organizations that would be available in western countries. The exception to this was the plethora of HIV/AIDS activities. These ranged from peer educator groups, to HIV/AIDS committees, counselling and testing centres or support groups. The active citizenship participation was, however, still largely communitarian in nature.

Their perception of active citizenship itself followed the communitarian theme and the focus was on supportive action through established social networks. It must be noted, however that the words 'active citizenship' have no direct translation in Setswana, thus indicating that we were employing an imported concept even though the phrase is used in one of Botswana's youth policy documents. Equally significantly an active citizen in most youth eyes specifically equated with 'not causing trouble' even when committed to challenging authority on the grounds of social justice. The need to solve problems through peaceful discussion and dialogue featured prominently throughout the interviews.

Spirituality remained a dominant aspect in many Botswana's lives. Chapter two highlighted the colonial impact of Christianity in Botswana. In spite of this, current religious practices still include acknowledgement of one's ancestors and a continued sense of connectedness to the earth, the dead and the yet to be born, amongst the youth, albeit with less intensity than for their parents.

There was also a sense that forms of citizenship activity, in terms of Delanty's three broad categories, were evolutionary. Whilst communitarianism was the norm, elements of civic republicanism were sprouting through nation-wide concerns such as AIDS, but also pressure groups such as women's and human rights organizations. Alongside these tendencies, and influenced by increasing globalization, there were rumblings of a more challenging discursive democracy style of citizenship. This manifested itself mostly through youth claims for their rights and also youth departures from their traditional role as receivers of advice to givers of advice and opinions. The youth felt these departures received a mixed response from their elders, thus creating tensions associated with their role and status in society. Some of these tensions also played out in the way ideas about traditional leadership (chiefs) compete with the notion of urban and parliamentary structures for leadership (Members of Parliament). Many clearly stated that youth must be involved in decision making structures whether traditional or modern. Furthermore, they emphasised that the two different systems required much closer interaction in order to address current social problems.

Chapter four looked in more detail at how young people today learn informally about citizenship responsibilities and cultural values. Those who still retained close ties with village life reported learning a range of practical craft and agricultural

skills from their grandparents. They also learned the principles of *botho* – a feature which many still held in high regard as their passport through life. The majority, however, rejected the myths and taboos they had been taught. They judged these for what they were – forms of social control that had no basis in reality. Many of the taboos were gender based and designed to undermine girls' freedom, others had a more practical or protective role. Nevertheless, in some cases women would selectively accept their status in society *vis-à-vis* men when they judged it to be in the interests of harmony. So one woman continued to not question her husband's night time activities as a means of keeping her marriage. The issue of such gender power relations is a dominant factor of many HIV/AIDS studies, e.g., Strebel (1994) and Preece & Ntseane (2003).

School learning taught the younger generation to question and not accept everything at face value. From this position they demonstrated how they had learned from critical incidents or how accumulated experiences enabled them to draw conclusions about life from an individual, rather than community perspective. In this respect most identified the reciprocal value of *botho* as a lifelong principle for achieving help and support when they needed it. Youth who had undertaken *Tirelo Sechaba* (national service) also discussed increased understanding of relationship skills, and broadened awareness of social issues from that experience.

Social capital, mostly in the form of extended family and friendship links, provided a lifelong learning resource as well as an opportunity to practice their own reciprocities in the form of advice or emotional support. Mutuality was still strong amongst the majority of youth, especially those living in the villages. The strength of this was openly expressed as based on trust and love. Social capital as a form of communicative competence (Szreter, 2000) provided opportunities for expression, experiment, local leadership and entrepreneurship. It was hampered only by a defined character trait of jealousy that prevented healthy competition or individual gain. Alternatively people exploited their social capital links with nepotism and favouritism. The social capital, therefore, tightly knit as it was, both supported and hindered development. In its place another resentment was growing – towards foreigners who were inevitably external to, and therefore immune from, the constraints of their social capital. These foreigners are also frequently more familiar with marketization and all its trappings. We suggest here that a more civic republican form of social capital – consisting of issue- or interest-based networks that stretch beyond family, tribal and community boundaries – may create more spaces for the very entrepreneurialism and leadership that the youth seek. But this needs to be done in association with, rather than in opposition to, existing reference groups.

Change is a continuous thematic thread through all these chapters. Chapter five specifically looked at change in terms of development and urban-rural

differences. We looked at leadership, social and intergenerational changes from both leader and youth perspectives. The quality of urban services compared to development in the villages stimulated criticism of government development strategies and the politics behind those disparities. In contradistinction to physical infrastructure inequalities, the leaders in these interviews argued that the traditional leadership system offered Botswana more openness and transparency than the ostensibly democratic parliament. Leadership for the youth, then, becomes a more complex issue than it is for the West, or was for their ancestors. Since leadership is a key ingredient for participatory democracy, we make particular recommendations on this later.

In many ways this chapter highlighted more urban-rural tensions than it did intergenerational tensions – although there is also a sense that the rural life belonged to the elders and the urban life belonged to the youth. The cosmopolitan nature of urban areas manifested many of the defining features of lost social capital that western writers have associated with inner cities during similar transition periods (Roberts, 1993, for example in relation to a social history of women's lives in a Northern English town). So urban youth are portrayed as more individualistic, less socially aware of their neighbours and less interested in reciprocity and caring for each other. At the same time their lifestyle is associated with external influences such as fashion taste and social behaviour. We suggest that in spite of similarities with such transitions in other parts of the world, the pace of change in Botswana has exacerbated the problem because normal change processes have not run their course before an influx of even more change. This situation, too, needs to be addressed as a leadership issue.

In terms of perceptions of intergenerational change the youth and their elders perceived the significance of those changes in very different ways. Whereas the elders often bemoaned the demise of traditional obligations and duties to family and community, the youth identified mostly physical changes, such as the existence of formal schooling, the loss of interest in agricultural lifestyles. They welcomed the new, more liberal social expectations such as attitudes to corporal punishment and parental control over marriage partners, though they too, acknowledged that the concept of respect was dying. HIV/AIDS, however, loomed large as a new defining distinction between the old and new life in Botswana.

Finally, we asked the youth to respond to the claim that they were less responsible than their elders. In rejecting this assumption, the youth produced a materialistic response, but one that also encapsulated the notion of enlightened self-interest described in Chapter one. The self-interest problems for the youth of today are how to address the impact of HIV/AIDS on their lifestyles and future survival. This dominates their activities and their motivations. Associated ailments are the empowerment of women and orphan care programmes, which they also took an active part in. Culture was not entirely forgotten, however. One group

specifically focused on cultural revival through traditional dance. The others demonstrated a range of imaginative and entrepreneurial initiatives to address their number one priority. Whilst individuals did offer other examples of responsibility, such as teaching and commitment to personal studies, one cannot help but observe how much HIV/AIDS is both a focus of citizen responsibility and outcome of citizen irresponsibility. In some ways it is the needs of the future generation beyond the ones we interviewed that are of real concern to Botswana. This will be a generation of orphans and children who have almost no social capital and no nuclear family. The burden on the youth of today to become the leaders of their younger generation is indeed a heavy one.

In this respect, these young people articulated a number of frustrations that inhibited their potential for leadership and their potential to take an active part in contributing to the development of their nation. Issues ranged from lack of legal rights to denied membership of decision-making bodies, or access to credit for financial projects. Another concern was poor rôle models who usurped and abused power, thus delimiting the opportunity to challenge through the right channels. They rejected criticisms that they were ignoring their culture. The youth of today are aware of their rights and wish to see those rights implemented, rather than support oppression in the name of culture. Since youth are not expected to challenge their elders, any questioning from the youth can be interpreted as insubordination. At the same time they recognised their inadequacies in the absence of adequate training or support. On the other hand they also acknowledged the self-destructive trait of undermining fellow citizens through 'jealousy'. This jealousy seems to be interpreted as competitive individualism. But since both concepts are alien to *botho* and communitarianism, the youth struggle to find a route through these notions so that they may support, rather than undermine, each other's success.

The challenge for youth education hinges on finding a combined approach to building capacity for human, fiscal and social capital alongside infrastructure development on an egalitarian plane across urban and rural areas. Time is running out, however. In order to achieve Vision 2016's goals for an 'educated and informed nation', the youth 'should be seen as the leaders of today' (Bobonong youth member).

LEARNING FOR CHANGE

So, how can Botswana build on its strengths and opportunities in order to minimise its weaknesses and threats? A summary of the answers from youth and leaders to this question includes the following: role modelling for good governance, education for leadership, knowledge and skills, encouragement to

the youth to take risks, and face challenges, provide opportunities to sit on decision-making bodies, listen to and research into youth interests and needs in order to start where they are at and then include youth issues and problems into formal and non-formal education curricula. In short, as one woman leader said in relation to women's issues: 'Make them strong enough to say something; remove the culture of silence'.

Our interpretation of what needs doing, then, focuses on the concerns below.

Firstly, HIV/AIDS is crumbling the nuclear and extended family infrastructure, which is the primary source of existing social capital. Secondly, the traditional social capital resources are increasingly too separate from modern-day changes and challenges. The youth of today are less interested in duty for duty's sake and more concerned with modern risks that affect their livelihoods and concerns for social justice. Thirdly, the youth need to acquire the skills and capacity to influence, rather than simply react to change, especially change resulting from globalization influences. Fourthly, there is a need to build bridges between traditional leadership and the modern, parliamentary system that ultimately is also influenced by globalization. Fifthly, the youth need to feel they have a voice in the development of their own society.

In order to address these concerns we advocate the development of stronger civil society organizations. A strong civil society can both support and influence traditional institutions. It provides a forum for debate and questioning; it is also a resource for new forms of leadership and discursive democracy that can build on Botswana's core values. The youth are in the early stages of building such networks but they are fragile and not supported by training or skills development.

We have already discussed that qualities such as leadership and active participation in society have to be learned by doing. Education here is not a passive process. We have also acknowledged that lifelong learning is already embedded in African values through tribal community building. The educator in this context has to enable opportunities for critical reflection and to challenge people to think about effective citizenship in a socially inclusive democracy. Such learning activities, we argue, must be community based. There are many possible ways of approaching such learning and Botswana's youth organizations already offer participatory, discursive learning opportunities. So what can we add to what already exists in order to reach the kind of goals that the young people in our interviews were seeking? Above all we must find ways in which leaders can both embrace and shape change, and the risks associated with it. Change is part of Botswana's (and everyone's) existence. But change is currently controlling Botswana. The youth need skills, attitudes and knowledge that will help them work with, rather than react to, change.

We make two suggestions in this respect, drawn from African literature. The first is a general theoretical one, encapsulated in the notion of transformative leadership that embraces risk, challenge and change, within a spiritually based framework and vision for the future. The second is more practical and is known as participatory rural appraisal. It provides a strategy for inclusive education, learning and decision making. Both are only outlined briefly here, but they offer, we hope, a stimulus for further debate in the search for Botswana's future.

TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP

Leadership is a process that is concerned with fostering change. Leaders tend, however, to operate from their own value base and it is this value base that ultimately influences what is changed and how they lead (Astin and Astin, 2001). Transformative leadership claims to take a more participatory, ethical value base than other forms of leadership.

Why should transformative leadership appeal to Botswana? There is a need to find a leadership connection with fellow citizens in a way that ensures collaborative, rather than unethical, competitiveness. The literature on transformative leadership suggests that this kind of leader embraces emancipation with a strong ethical value base. (O'Sullivan, 2002; Hart, 2001; Tisdall, 2000). Tisdall for instance says:

People need to be inspired and have their affective, spiritual and physical selves involved in order for emancipatory education around challenging systems of structural oppression to happen (Tisdall, 2000:15).

O'Sullivan (2002:163) claims that transformative leadership has a ripple effect on wider society: '... as ideas, actions and self are liberated from their present form ... that may, in turn, ripple toward the outside, into culture and society'. This kind of leadership is seen as a process of being sensitised to a greater awareness of others: 'We move from having a perspective to being able to move into many perspectives ... to seeing through their presuppositions to awareness' (p.170). It is argued that if leaders are able to capture and work through these processes of change, they can begin to bridge Botswana's gaps in social transitions that have emerged as a result of accelerated development.

Apps (1994) suggests there are four phases of behaviour if transformative leaders want to implement change. These phases are not necessarily linear, and in themselves may undergo the four phase transition at each stage. They are:

- Awareness-analysis – a point of realization that something is wrong. At first the individual may go through denial, blaming everyone else for the

problem. But then they will come to a realization that something must be changed.

- Alternatives – a stage where one is aware of the reality context and looking at a variety of approaches to leading.
- Decision transition – where fundamental shifts are made, making decisions about what the individual wants to change – which beliefs and values are appropriate for their leadership context and which not – ultimately celebrating values that fit the new perspective and mourning the loss of those that don't. This is a stage that is sometimes seen as a spiritual experience – a reaffirmation of some old beliefs, values and ideas; acceptance and integration of new ones, discarding obsolete ones.
- Action – carrying out of new ideas in a way that is acceptable to the leader's value system. This will involve action and reflection, accepting the uncertain future (cited in Preece, 2003:247).

So transformative leadership is a complex process that happens at both the intellectual and subliminal level. It is an individual experience, contextualised by that individual's interpretation and making meaning out of their environment and culture. It is claimed, nevertheless, to have the potential to develop an inner awareness at a spiritual level. This awareness is embedded in a value system that supports emancipation and change for social justice. The precise meaning of those terms will depend on the nature of the individual's experiences and ability to relate them to the societal behaviours around them. Hence the need, in the southern African context, to develop transformative leaders who are situated in their understanding of self and place.

The leader also needs sufficient inner strength and knowledge to compete with pressures from external globalising forces. In addition the leader has to sustain, and work with normal responses to change. These may include denial, despair and grief at what is lost.

Dialogue and interaction are essential ingredients for this process, but leaders must also create leaders amongst their followers. In African contexts, for transformation to occur across the learning community, the transformative leader must engage with his or her cultural past. He or she must connect with the myths, stories and proverbs that bind people together. From here new myths, stories and proverbs may emerge, or an opportunity to create new interpretations. This approach is in contradistinction to the colonial pillaging of cultural identity referred to in Chapters one and two.

Education for transformative leadership, then, requires (alongside some instrumental skills) leaders to developing an understanding of their own transformative learning potential. This requires pedagogical processes that facilitate transformation, but with an awareness of the link between spirituality and vision for change. Leaders need to go through their own transformative

learning experience. From this position of awareness they must engage with their followers as mutual learners in the process of change and development. But to ensure followership leaders must also become educators themselves so that all engage in a shared endeavour for progress. These are ambitious and demanding goals for Botswana's youth service (the BNYC) and its associated non formal education services. Preece (2003:261) recently outlined some possible features of a transformative leadership curriculum that might build on existing educational approaches. They are repeated here as a framework within which leaders might operate. They include addressing:

- Ethical values – exploring the values of [*botbo*] as a starting point.
- Spirituality – encouraging articulation of what spirituality means in relation to sustainable development, for the community, the dead and those yet to be born.
- Indigenous knowledge systems – facilitating critical analysis of proverbs, sayings and folklore that guide leadership principles, and exploring the need for change in a globalised world.
- Context – encouraging individual and group awareness of the mismatches between ideology and social realities, such as the meaning of social justice for the local situation.
- Charisma – encouraging analysis of individual spiritual experiences that inspire people to act, and challenging them to explore the relationship between spirituality and inspiration as a defining feature of charismatic qualities.
- Continuous learning – encouraging a receptiveness to the idea of learning as a shared, and an ongoing process that sometimes engages with the unknown.

Civil societies that engage with this kind of leadership would eschew the power struggles currently identified by the youth as inhibiting their own progress in existing organizations and institutions. It is easy enough to theorise of course. And there is an evident gap between the urban, educated and materialistically driven and the rural, less materialistic and often less well educated, in Botswana. These distinctions are not universal, of course, as Raditloaneng (2002) demonstrated in her study of the urban, illiterate poor. Nevertheless, the point remains – new forms of participation are needed, to engage with different social groups and move into the future.

In order to link the abstract goals and reflexivity of transformative leadership training with citizenship participation at the grass roots, we need to identify Botswana-sensitive ways of engaging with ordinary people who may have varying levels of literacy and self, and political, awareness. So we now turn to a practical way in which transformative leaders might make the link between active decision making and real participation for change.

PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL

As a result of non-participatory development models, the rural poor have become increasingly dependent on public provision, and have lost a sense of ownership over their own destiny. The Botswana government (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 1997a), already supports the transfer of decision-making responsibility and control back to communities, including the youth. Most initiatives in this direction fail, however. We argue that this may be due to lack of investment in sufficient training of people who have a vested interest in participatory decision making. Furthermore, the technique of participatory rural appraisal has equal applicability to urban settings and modern issues such as HIV/AIDS. If youth were trained as transformative leaders, they could be well placed to lead the process of a participatory rural appraisal.

Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) is a holistic, all-encompassing data collection exercise about a whole community. The research process is put as far as possible into the hands of ordinary people. Although 'experts' are involved, their role is to facilitate, not take over, the investigation. It has very practical goals. The aim of the inquiry is to obtain a detailed understanding and analysis of a specific local context, then for local people to prioritise their needs based on this enhanced understanding. The outcome of this process is a community action plan, devised with a view to helping local communities be their own researchers and providers of solutions to their own problems.

Its strategy is to encourage the use of local cultural values, organizations and indigenous knowledge systems for solving problems. The community is involved in every stage of the PRA process. Methods involve a staged approach to involvement, followed by several group activities. Some examples include public meetings and discussion groups, but also practical initiatives such as drawing a site map on the ground of the area under discussion. People may use sticks, stones, foliage or any locally available materials to construct the map. This then becomes the focus for discussing problems, comparing land differences and so forth. In this way people own their problems and solutions. The transformative leader is thus more easily able to inspire commitment to action and change.

Transformative leadership and participatory rural appraisal are, we argue, complimentary for Botswana's contexts. Both depend on securing the trust and support of community members. Both engage with the connections between the past, present and future. Transformative leadership emphasises visionary, ethical mobilization for change with an awareness of spirituality as part of the process. For this reason it is now being advocated as particularly suited to African contexts (LeaRN 2002). Participatory rural appraisal provides the practical tools for engaging with communities through indigenous knowledge, traditional resources and ensuring inclusive participation from all sectors of the community

(Egerton University, 2000). The youth, by drawing on their own civil societies, may use these approaches as a resource to participate as equal players in the process of citizen responsibility. By giving themselves their own platform they may encourage reflective participation in local solutions to local problems. From here, it is argued, a new form of political participation can emerge; one that embraces change because it is owned by the indigenous people, rather than external forces. Since participatory rural appraisal is based on dialogue and discussion, it provides a sound foundation for a new citizenship responsibility – informed, active, democratic, discursive and participatory.

Of course, we know that such initiatives require political will, training and commitment from policy makers. Some of these ideas may seem radical and too challenging. But for Botswana to both embrace and own change, it must also take hold of existing changes in order to shape, rather than be shaped by them.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO LEADER: PHRASES THAT ARE USED IN VISION 2016

1. What do you understand by the term *active citizen*?
2. What do you understand by the term *citizen empowerment*?
3. What do you understand by the term *gender equality*?
4. What do you understand by the concept of *botbo*?
5. What is the *common national endeavour*?
6. What do you understand by the term *social justice*?
7. What are *spiritual values*?
8. What does this phrase mean to you?
Citizens should play a full and active part in society
9. What does *open and transparent governance* mean to you?
10. What kind of *leadership qualities* is Botswana looking for in its citizens?
11. When we talk of *tolerance of difference*, what do we mean?
12. What is the perceived *role of the family* in transmitting *social and moral values* – how should they do this; what social and moral values are important for Botswana?
13. How should the *community* play a *role* in caring for its people?
14. What *cultural values and belief systems* are valued by Botswana?
15. What *changes* in Botswana are *valued? Not valued?*
16. What aspects of the *nation* should one be *proud of* as a Botswana?
17. What do Botswana perceive as their *rights*?- *are there rural/urban differences?*
18. What do Botswana traditionally perceive as their *responsibilities* –
to each other;
to family;
to community;
to the nation?
19. How are these rights and responsibilities different for *men and women*?
20. What is the government's perception of a *good citizen*?
21. What would be the government's perception of an *active citizen*?

22. What are the *nation's challenges*, for which Batswana must develop their sense of responsibility?
23. Differences between urban/rural areas
24. Are young people taking their responsibilities as seriously as in the past? What has led to this?
25. What should be changed/done differently to encourage more active citizenship?
26. What is the role of education in this?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO YOUTH FOCUS GROUPS

1. What do you do in your spare time?
2. What is important to you in your life? Why?
3. What is important to the younger generation?
4. Who should come first – self or family or nation?
5. Identify something you have done recently, that you are proud of
6. What do you like about your country?
7. What do you dislike?
8. What problems are there in this country?
9. How should these problems be dealt with?
10. How can young people help to change things you don't like?
11. What part could you yourself play in this?
12. What prevents you from doing anything?
13. What organisation/s do you belong to?
14. Why did you decide to join it/them?
15. Why do most people join organisations?
16. What do you do in these organisation/s?
17. What is your position in the organisation/s?
18. Who is a citizen of Botswana?
19. Who is a good citizen?
20. Who is a bad citizen?
21. What does the term 'citizenship' represent to you?
22. What does it mean to be an active citizen?
23. Are there times when an active citizen might end up behaving differently from a good citizen?
24. Are there good/active citizens who will challenge the government, for example? Give some examples of when this might happen.
25. How should such a citizen behave? Why?
26. Are there times when you feel it is more justifiable to be active, rather than good?

27. Who do you go to in times of trouble?
28. Who do you help in times of trouble?
29. Who are the most influential people in your life? Why?
30. What cultural and social values did you grow up with?
31. Which of those values do you still have?
32. Which ones have you rejected? Why?
33. How is life different for you as compared for your parents?
34. Who has influenced you most in life?
35. What did they say or do to influence you?
36. Do you feel you have any commitments or obligations to your community?
37. What are they?
38. What do 'Self Reliance' and 'Democracy' mean to you?
39. Some people say that the younger generation of Batswana are losing their sense of responsibility and commitment to their family, community and nation. What do you feel about this statement?
40. What can be done about this?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO INDIVIDUAL YOUTH — AFTER FOCUS

GROUPS

1. Where is your home village?
2. How many children are there in your family and what is your position (eldest, youngest etc)?
3. What schools did you go to ?
4. Which locations were they and who did you live with? – mostly urban or rural?
5. What were the most important values you were taught at school?
6. At home? ... Elsewhere?
7. Were there any conflicts between what you were taught in school, family or outside the family?
8. Did you experience any differences in attitudes between different locations?
9. Which attitudes did you find most valuable or useful to yourself?
10. What did you do on leaving school?
11. How long did you do this?
12. What did you learn or gain from this experience?/Did it change your outlook on life in any way?
13. Which organisations have you joined and when?
14. Why did you join them?
15. What have all these experiences taught you about life?

16. When you look at your life since childhood what were the main influences for you to the kind of work you are doing now?
17. What are your other influences?
18. Describe the kind of values that you have or that you learned over the years.
19. Which values do you still have? Why?
20. Which ones have you rejected? Why?
21. What were the most important or critical incidences in your life which have influenced how you feel about yourself and life in general now?
22. Who are your role models in society?
23. Who are the most significant people in your life? Why?
24. What are your plans when you finish what you are doing now? / What would you really like to do?
25. Who should come first: your self, your family, the nation? Why?
26. People say that young people no longer take heed of traditional values and do not have a sense of responsibility towards others nowadays. Do you agree with this? Why?
27. Are these attitudes the same in rural areas as in urban areas?
28. What can be done to encourage other young people to feel and behave differently towards society? – to help the community engage in development needs
29. What are you most proud of about yourself? About your country? Your family?
30. Do you have any regrets for yourself/ for the changing urbanisation situation in Botswana?
31. Do you have anything else to add?

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