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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PERFORMANCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS: A CASE OF OKAVANGO COMMUNITY TRUST IN NGAMILAND DISTRICT, BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

Community based Organisations (CBOs) have emerged to be the ideal mechanism for channelling development initiatives within rural communities whose way of life do not conform to conservationist ideologies. Nonetheless, little attention has been paid on the CBOs' performance in implementing project initiatives. This study is rooted in the goal-attainment approach, which underlines organisational effectiveness. The aim of the study is to analyse the factors that impedes CBOs performance in rural development (RD) project implementation. The specific objectives of the study are to analyse the socio-economic factors that influence CBOs performance in RD project implementation; identify development projects implemented by the Okavango Community Trust (OCT); analyse the cultural and environmental factors that affect CBOs; and assess the influence of institutional dynamics on OCT performance. To achieve the objectives of the study, three member villages (Seronga, Eretsha and Gudigwa) of the OCT were chosen. The study used the exploratory mixed method research design. A total of 80 respondents were sampled through a multi-stage sampling procedure. Pearson's Chi square analysis test was used to test for associations between the dependent variable (which is the CBO's performance in project implementation) and the non-parametric, independent or explanatory variables investigated in the study. The findings revealed that community Trust board members were usually faced with the challenges of lack of necessary skills to successfully manage projects. The number of years lived in the village by Trust members, their monthly income, frequency at which the Trust's leadership is selected, office accessibility, and availability of natural resources all had significant associations with the performance of the OCT in RD project implementation at $p \le 0.01$. In conclusion the results indicate that community involvement and participation in Trust activities ensures ownership and project sustainability. The study recommends that government and other relevant institutions need to provide training opportunities for OCT officials so as to enhance their effective performance in RD project implementation.

Keywords -Performance, project implementation, rural development

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AFF: Affirmative Action Framework

BoT: Board of Trustees

CBOs: Community Based Organisations

CBNRM: Community Based Natural Resource Management

CECT: Chobe Enclave Community Trust

CD: Community Development

DCEC: Directorate of Economic Crime and Corruption

FDG: Focus Group Discussion

KRST: Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust

LIFE: Living in a Finite Environment

NCONGO: Ngamiland Council of Non-Governmental Organisations

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations

OCT: Okavango Community Trust

PASW: Predictive Analytical Software

OKMT: Okavango Mokoro Trust

RD-Rural Development

UNDP: United Nation Development Plan

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Traditionally, rural areas are characterised by economic, political, social as well as cultural dynamics distinctive from those in urban areas. This unique way of life is tied closely with the natural environment and has fostered close social relationships and attachments among local residents (Chang, 2010). According to Mansuri and Rao (2004), economic activities in rural areas have suffered from cycles of severe recession, stagnation and lack of economic opportunities causing migration from rural to urban areas. As such, many grassroots people aspire for the transformation of their communities through community development initiatives. Community Development (CD) promises hope, prosperity, equality and sustainable development for many local people.

Community based organisations (CBOs) in the last two decades have proved to be the ideal and the fastest-growing mechanism for channelling rural development initiatives and addressing challenging issues for many local communities. Thus, development is experiencing a shift from being all about economic growth measured by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to more emphasis on the need to ensure that the people themselves are witnessing a change in their daily lives. This is affirmed by Hoe *et al.* (2017) who noted that from time immemorial, communities continue to organise themselves in order to take care of collective and individual needs. Of late, however, most of these organisations have performed poorly, leading to the closure of many of them. Broader questions such as what constitutes CBOs, and how and whether they play a prominent role in the development processes of Botswana, therefore, arise. These are some of the questions that have been raised by many people including those of Somolakae (Somolekae, 1998). According to Luvia (2012), the performance and effectiveness of CBOs in implementing development initiatives requires critical attention going forward, requiring systematic and continuous monitoring of projects on a sustained basis.

Worldwide, community self-help initiatives are plausible because of the inability of national governments to always meet the socio-economic needs of their citizenries due to a myriad of conflicting national demands. This then demands that grassroots people need to enhance their progress through internally directed CD. Wahab (2000) observed that people in developing nations have until recently continued to look up to their governments to meet their basic socio-economic demands. Cohen (2011) defined CD as a process of identifying and harnessing of community resources and opportunities in an effort to stimulate sustainable economic and

employment activities. Example of CBOs include but not limited to social action centres, multipurpose community centres, community organisations, development or community Trusts, village halls and community gardens which are committed to work at village level (Brown & Orszag, 2006).

CBOs are usually located within communities or spaces of interests designed to meet the needs of those communities (Thake, 2004). In another vein, Wahab (2000) described CBOs as organisations that are widely accepted all over the world as platforms or mechanisms through which beneficiaries are allowed to make decisions and participate in the design and management of development projects that directly affect them. The concrete signs of CBO's roundedness would include being owned by community members; being physically located in a neighbourhood whose demographics match the communities they seek to serve and consistently engaging community members in key decision-making process (Cohen, 2011). In sum, the above definitions emphasise that these organisations focuses more on an arrangement in which local communities have direct control over key project decisions, including management and investment of funds within their locality.

Turner (2004) established that CBOs increasingly became an essential development tool and the most charismatic feature of Africa's RD. Early definitions of CBOs had focused more on institutions that provided social services at local level (Chechetto-Salles & Geyer, 2006). Nonetheless, the scope for the establishment of a CBO will probably depend on the felt needs of a particular community, and these needs might include education, health, gender issues or conservation of natural resources (Thake, 2004). The establishment of CBOs in conservational areas in Botswana is seemingly designed to discourage communities from continuing to practice their way of life that is rooted in hunting and gathering. This perhaps may have engendered the failure of CBOs.

Across the globe, it is evident that CD is crucial for ensuring that the implementation of projects responds to the felt-needs of the communities but more importantly that the performance of implemented projects is adequate as well as sustainable within an ideal social and environmental context. Potential gains from community-driven development include making development more inclusive, empowering the poor people, strengthening governance and complementing the public-sector activities. Thus, Kolawole (2014) submitted that RD requires a holistic approach that takes into account the unique attributes associated with rural areas. Proponents of CBOs in southern Africa such as Jones (2004) and Dill (2010) opined that the sustainability of CBOs, which primarily address the conservation of natural resources through

Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), critically depends on efforts and commitments from the local communities .

On the contrary, scholars such as Mansuri and Rao (2004) took a rather different view by stating that over the years, a review of CBOs regarding their conceptual foundations and evidence on their effectiveness shows that projects that rely on community participation have not been particularly effective at targeting the poor. Some of the reasons adduced include lack of funds by CBOs to start projects, embezzlement of communal funds, internal conflicts between members just to mention a few of the challenges. These were affirmed by Arntzen (2006) and Thakadu (2005) who identified the problems of maladministration, mismanagement, improper running of the day-to-day affairs of the CBOs, lack of accountability by some members of such organisations as major impediments to the effective performance of community Trusts. CBO projects, which used to be very promising in the past, are now either moribund or comatose.

Luvai (2012) characterised CBOs as private clubs which are mismanaged; run with no clear vision or mission and not having strategic plans to guide their activities. It is very essential to appreciate that the naive and random application of complex concepts like participation, social capital and empowerment is endemic among CBOs in Botswana. This may have contributed to the poor design and performance of projects by such organisations (Jones, 2004). This evidence suggests that community-driven development projects are best undertaken in a context-specific manner, with a long term horizon which calls for careful and well-designed monitoring and evaluations systems (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). According to Thakadu (2005), both rural and urban communities are continuously confronted with many problems which are better understood by the community residents themselves. In that regard, a CBO can be utilised to solve these problems through self-initiative, participatory approach. The operations of CBOs are not new in Ngamiland region. Indeed, it can be concluded that this is one region in Botswana that has witnessed a substantial establishment of CBOs. According to Mbaiwa (2004), 105 CBOs were already registered in Botswana during the year 2004. Subsequently, in the year 2015 28 CBOs were registered in Ngamiland alone, the Ngamiland Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (NCONGO) had an affiliation of 58 members of organisations working with communities in the North West District, registered and unregistered (Ngamiland Council of Nongovernmental Organisations, 2015).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to Luvai (2012), CBOs are vehicles meant to mobilize and organise local communities to participate and own-up to development initiatives. However, the extent to which they have succeeded in this goal largely remains to be seen. For instance, Abegunde (2009) expressed some scepticisms about the accomplishments of CBOs in Nigeria showing that many have risen and fallen like old empires. Hoe *et al.* (2017) also, observed that without a doubt, there is an increasing dependency on governments by the citizens for the provision of goods and services. As the state can no longer be the sole provider, CBOs are needed to complement the government on the development process of any country. Yet, these CBOs are faced with immense problems which hinder them from effectively and efficiently performing their roles as development partners. Due to various reasons such as poor funding, lack of commitment by members as well as corruption, some CBOs have no significant impact since their establishment (Abegunde, 2009).

According to Dill (2010), the proliferation of CBOs had been nothing but phenomenal in sub-Saharan Africa; the handful CBOs observed in the early 1990s have multiplied into well over hundreds today. In Tanzania, Dill (2010) saw the growth and establishment of CBOs as a function of both necessity and opportunity. A survey conducted by Mansuri and Rao (2004) found that the prevalence of CBOs in Africa is usually a poor indicator of their accomplishments and performance. This is so because many of these organisations' roles often overlap; some find their role in communities being limited or having nothing to do at all. Abegunde (2009) observed that many CBOs in African communities are situated within environments afflicted by economic recession, poverty and poor standard of living. The findings of the study further showed that these organisations have a disappointing track record, not only when it comes to mobilising local resources for RD projects, but also in ensuring that the projects are sustainable.

Elsewhere in southern Africa, most CBOs found their best identity in nature conservation (Jones, 2004). For many, CBOs were generally synonymous with CBNRM and community Trust. Countries such as South Africa and Namibia have been commended for doing extremely well in the implementation of CBO projects that are successful. This is affirmed by Brown and Orszag (2006) who affirmed that Namibia has created an enabling conditions that link economic incentives with environmental management and wildlife conservation. Namibia is regarded a success story in the sustainable management of wildlife through CBNRM in the region (Brown & Bird, 2011). With the aid of progressive government policies, well-

coordinated networks of service organisations and community based enterprises as well as several capable NGOs were either established or improved (Arntzen *et al.*, 2007). Kolawole and Mbaiwa (2013) observed that although Namibia is the success story of CBRNM is southern Africa, it does not suggest that they are not faced with challenges in the implementation of projects through the CBRNM programme. For instance, land tenure rights and lack of basic education are mentioned as some of the challenges to project performance but the communities continue to ensure that their projects succeed.

A significant number of CBOs exist in Botswana and has been increasing since the establishment of the first CBO - Chobe Enclave Community Trust (CECT) - in 1993 (Arntzen, 2006). The growth rate of CBOs in the Ngamiland District, which are profoundly focused on wildlife conservation, is parallel to the national CBOs' growth rate showing a rapid increase since 1995, when the first project was established at Sankoyo Village (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). According to Mbaiwa (2004), CBNRM had been adopted as a means to achieve rural economic development in Botswana and since its implementation in the 1990s, and after more than 20 years, in particular in the Okavango Sub-district, its success and sustainability has not been adequately determined.

Botswana did not have a formal policy that guided CBRNM Trusts until in 2007 when the CBNRM was legislated (Jones, 2004). According to Arntzen (2006), the strategy was incorporated within various other existing policies and legal frameworks that dealt with natural resources. These includes Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986, the Tourism Policy of 1990 which created an enabling environment for the implementation of the programme as well as the 2002 Revised Rural Development Policy that advocated for the broadening of the scope of CBNRM projects beyond wildlife (Arntzen, 2006). The CBNRM policy of 2007 was finally established with the vision that it would provide guidance for CBOs including community Trusts that are dependent on natural resources. The policy was meant to give communities incentives to engage in conservation activities leading to sustainable development and poverty eradication. Arntzen *et al.* (2007) noted that the problem of ineffective performance of CBOs continues to persist even with the efforts of the government [through a policy] to promote and ensure responsible, accountable and transparent management of community projects.

The Okavango Community Trust (OCT) was among the first CBOs to be established and legally registered in Ngamiland; the organisation was thus granted rights over the established

hunting and tourism concession areas (Zeppel, 2006). An account from Nelson (2012) and Mbaiwa (2004) characterised the establishment of OCT as politically motivated which led to the marginalisation of community participation right from the inception of the Trust. The community was not consulted on critical processes such as the registration of the organisation as well as developing its constitution. This proved to be a weak foundation upon which to build a community driven organisation (Nelson, 2012). This showed that, despite their undisputed contribution to national development, CBOs have also been perceived by some critics as being prone to challenges that often hinder the organisations to remain active, let alone undertake their primary tasks. As observed by Thakadu (2005), many of them hastily implement projects, overlooking essential factors such as the need for capacity building. The problem associated with CBOs was noted in the keynote address by His Excellency the Former President of Botswana, Lieutenant General Dr. Seretse Khama Ian Khama at the opening of Ngoma Lodge on the 28th July 2011 thus:

....let me take this opportunity to encourage other CBOs as well as voicing my dissatisfaction with the manner in which some have conducted their business.... there has not been any other noticeable contributions to the national economy nor any meaningful and sustainable uplift on our community's standard of living. We have continued to hear and have reports of abuse and misuse by those elected to be in charge of revenues derived from communities.

While previous studies have been conducted on the importance of having CBOs in carrying out conservation initiatives through CBRNM and community Trust, a lot is to be desired on the number of those which are performing (Jones, 2004). Many cases have been documented about the factors that influence the effective and ineffective performance of CBOs (Mbaiwa, 2004). However, there is still a gap in literature regarding evaluating those factors that are identified and how they influence the success and failure of these organisations in implementing community projects. This study would therefore analyse some of the factors that have been already identified by some scholars (Sebele, 2010, Thakadu, 2005 and Mbaiwa, 2004). This study, therefore, intends to analyse the performance of Okavango Community Trust in its implementation of RD projects.

1.3 Research Questions

General question

What are the factors influencing the performance of OCT in development projects implementation in Ngamiland District?

Specific questions

- i. What are the inherent socio-economic characteristics of OCT members that contribute to the performance of OCT?
- ii. What are the development projects already implemented or currently being implemented by OCT?
- iii. How has cultural or community factors contributed to the performance of OCT in the implementation of development projects?
- iv. How has environmental or ecological factors influenced the CBO's performance?
- v. How do institutional dynamics influence the performance of OCT?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

General objective

To analyse the factors that contribute to the performance of OCT in development project implementation in the Okavango Delta, Botswana.

Specific objectives

The specific objectives are to:

- analyse the inherent socio-economic characteristics of OCT members that contribute to the CBO's performance;
- ii. identify the development projects already implemented or currently being implemented by OCT;
- iii. analyse the cultural or community factors influencing the performance OCT in development project implementations;
- iv. analyse the environmental or ecological factors contributing to the performance of OCT; and
- v. assess the influence of institutional dynamics on the performance of OCT.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is considered significant because the information obtained would provide a meaningful insight for all the stakeholders involved in and working with CBOs regarding the improvement of their performance in project implementation. The results would, therefore, help:

- the government in evaluating existing policies that govern CBOs in Botswana and establish prospects of improving on them. The relevant government departments may utilise the findings to strengthen or support CBOs' efforts;
- provide insights on CD practitioners in developing a better understanding of the management processes of CBOs and pay more attention to the way in which poor performance of CBOs can influence project implementation;
- provide findings that the CBOs themselves can utilise to devise strategies that would contribute to their effective performance so that they can serve rural communities in which they are based; and
- provide data for academics, researchers and students in the furtherance of their future research.

1.6 Definition of Operational Terms

The following are provided as working definitions for this study:

a) Community Based Organisations

CBOs are described as organisations that are embedded in the community they serve with the sole purpose of improving the livelihoods of their constituents, regardless of their size budget, membership, and staff. This study would concentrate on community Trusts, grounded on the CBNRM approach.

b) Development projects

These are projects implemented with the collective efforts of the community members in order to improve their standards of living. Examples include provision of accommodation for destitute and orphans, infrastructure such as water stand-pipes, communal shops, etc.

c) CBO performance

This denotes the extent to which CBOs have been able to meet the objectives set for establishing them.

1.7 Summary

On the whole, the chapter clearly articulated the backdrop of the study which places a focus on the factors that influence performance of OCT in project implementation. The chapter outlines the objectives and significance of the research and highlights the operational terms of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the exploration of key concepts embedded in the study. This includes concepts of Development, Rural Development (RD), Community Development (CD) as well as the challenges faced by CBOs and possible interventions. The theoretical framework that mainly informs the study is the Goal Attainment Approach.

2.2 Development

Development is a complex term. For this reason, Ferguson's study as cited in Schouten (2009) cautioned that when assessing development, one should be careful not to solely focus on the "development industry". As corroborated by Kolawole (2009), development is a critical and complex concept that is central to the diversity of humanity and as such requiring an array of practises that address the convolution of humanity. As it is bluntly denoted, development should be about the desire for a better quality of life or standard of living for the people. It is, therefore, no longer a historical phenomenon but rather a moral issue (Mwaura & Ngugi, 2014, Luvia, 2012 and Schouten, 2009). For the past 3 decades, scholars have acknowledged the transition being witnessed in the nature of and drive for development. There have been a number of prodigious studies carried out surrounding the transition and re-examination of the meaning and purpose of development. The works of Dudley Seers and Amartya Sen have been built upon by other scholars such as Chambers (2010), Haque (2003) and Taylor (1992) who were influential in giving direction to the new school of thought for development, which places people at the centre of RD. They all advocated for development that is inclusive and leaves no one behind. Kolawole (2010) also helped to advance this perspective and argued that rural people have an immense amount of knowledge, competences and skills to contribute to development and that it would be a major loss if they are left behind in the processes of development.

Human beings would always be central to development. The nature of their diverse needs clearly points to what development entails. The array of human needs, therefore, suggests that issues relating to development should be addressed through diverse approaches. To some extent, Chambers and Conway's views as cited in Tao and Wall (2009) considered and operationalised development through different lenses and as such making it a relative concept that carries different meanings for different situations and times.

Development practitioners in the past might have erred in oversimplifying the concept of development, resulting in parallel efforts to address human dilemmas. In layman's terms development is casually equated with growth or progress (Kolawole, 2010). Kolawole (2010) proceeded to point out that while growth is an essential component of development, it cannot solely be used to measure development, and careful consideration should be made because development without people is a mere ideal that can never be realised. This is premised on the notion that development should not only be about growth because growth might mean more jobs and more investment but implying more of the same thing. The latter does not necessarily increase choice, networks or the ability to manage change (Cavaye, 2004).

Development is a process that increases choices. Theoretically, there are several components in which development should be embedded, these includes having new options, vitality, diversification, thinking differently about apparent issues and anticipating change (Cavaye, 2004). The reason why, for many years, development practitioner failed to recognise that development connotes man's ability to co-create as defined by the world renowned economist, Dudley Seers, remains a mystery as the human challenges associated with development continues to be multifaceted (Taylor, 2001). Seers's study as cited in Taylor (2001) had defined development as the realisation of the potential of human personality and freedom. Development creates an environment where people can exercise their full potential to lead a productive and creative life. Accordingly, the old school of thought on development which remains relevant to date with scholars was explained by Sen (1999) as freedom in a holistic approach which acknowledges that politics, economics, ethics, demography and sociology should be a system that complement each other in an effort to improve the felt needs and living conditions of men and women.

A consensus has been reached among scholars that development was never solely about seeking to build physical capacities or measuring successes, by broad statistics and quantitative increase such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of any country. Rather, development should be seen as a process of humanisation and that people should be central focus as earlier mentioned (Casate & Corrêa, 2012). Rightfully so, Kolawole (2009) therefore advocated for sociologists, anthropologists, economists and other experts to engage each other in order to complement efforts made to facilitate development problems.

2.3 Rural Development

Moepeng and Tisdell (2010) described the nature and outlook of rural areas as having changed dramatically over the past decades and so are the needs of the rural people. As observed by scholars, economic activities in rural areas have suffered from cycles of severe recession, stagnation and lack of economic opportunities causing migration from rural to urban areas (Mansuri & Rao, 2004). The following descriptions of RD illustrate similar views of RD that have earlier been put forth:

Rural Development is clearly designed to increase production and raise productivity. RD recognises however that improved food supplies nutrition together with basic services such as health and education can not only directly improve the physical well-being and quality of life of the rural poor, but can also directly enhance their productivity and their ability to contribute to the national economy (Chambers, 1983, p. 91).

Rural Development is the participation of people in a mutual learning experience including themselves, their local resources, external change agents and outside resources. People cannot be developed but rather can develop themselves by participation in decision and cooperative activities which affect their well-being... (Nyerere, 1968, p. 42).

The above accounts on RD show that there is a consensus about RD being primarily concerned with strategies aimed at improving the quality of lives of people residing in remote and sparsely populated communities (Kolawole & Ajila, 2015, Kolawole, 2014, Shepherd 1998 and Taylor, 1992). There is, however, conflicting theories on how participation in RD should be harnessed. Shepherd (1998) was of the view that participation in RD should not necessarily involve everyone when it comes to the implementation of projects but rather should focus on the establishment of entities which would be in a better position to advocate for the felt needs of the community. The same sentiments are captured by McDonald (1993) who opined that meaningful, result-oriented and focused participation is realised when the driving force behind projects comprise a selected motivated few. This would in a way improve the performance of implemented development projects in rural communities.

There is a need, therefore, to revisit the policies and processes of facilitating RD to make them more relevant to emerging issues and challenges. RD in Botswana is complex and very different from what it was in the early years of independence. During the infant years of Botswana, RD was more skewed towards the provision of basic infrastructure and access to basic amenities of primary health and basic education in rural areas (Moepeng & Tisdell, 2010).

The Botswana Revised National Policy on Rural Development (2003) had identified and conceptualized action plans to support sustainable rural livelihoods through profitable alternatives to livestock and arable farming. This was to be done through promoting a participatory RD approach that would involve community organizations, non-governmental organizations as well as the private sector. The central thrust of the policy was for people to have sustainable livelihoods through expanding their employment opportunities and benefiting from what is available within their local environment.

A comprehensive review on the purpose of having a policy for rural communities is submitted by Kolawole and Ajila (2015) who acknowledged that a rural policy should be at the centre of guiding and setting the tone for RD within communities. The paradigm shift in the way the rural people see RD lies in the realisation that local communities need to comprehend that they are global citizens. Therefore, all development efforts made are supposed to trickle to the larger society, and not necessarily confined to a select few or immediate inhabitants. It is essential to note that numerous RD practitioners such as Kolawole and Ajila (2015), Cavaye (2004) and Freshwater (2000) had a collective vision that sees rural communities as being capable and able to fully utilise their abilities to identify and implement sustainable enterprises that can improve their livelihoods.

2.4 Community Development

According to Buzwani *et al.* (2007), one of the key principles of community empowerment is rooted in allowing communities to set their own priorities. This is because giving people choice is essential to human development and subsequently that would translate to community development. Community Development is supported by a growing number of development practitioners and academics who are sympathetic towards community based participatory approaches that inform development (Clark, 1991, Chambers & Conway, 1992, Dill, 2010 and Kolawole, 2015). CD is often a process that has slow progress. Community driven development is encompassed in the notion that a community development worker's role is one of facilitating and helping communities to reach and implement their own decisions and plans. Therefore, communities need considerable and specialised support for a considerable period of time.

Middlemiss, saw a crucial learning function for human development in community development by stating that:

...community development specialises in mobilising people in the interests of social justice and in developing social relationships based on cooperation rather than individualism, [and] it should have a certain role in the process of

confronting community crises and in designing a more sustainable future which places people [Sic] centre stage without divorcing them from their ecological environment. (Middlemiss, 2009, p.6).

Essentially, CD is often associated with terms such as community capacity, empowerment, RD and self-reliance. The basic elements of collective action, ownership and improved circumstances are common to all these concepts. According to Cavaye (2004), practitioners debated as to whether CD or economic development comes first. The first school of thought argue that communities need jobs and income before broader social and human development can occur. While on the other hand, others maintain that new attitudes and knowledge, together with the greater organisation and wider relationships in the community underpin CD.

CD in Botswana is currently characterized by a service provision mode in which the emphasis is on service delivery, rather than on strengthening community structures to discourage the dependency on government social safety nets. Moepeng and Tidsell (2010) observed that many Botswana communities act as clients or beneficiaries of institutions even in activities that they are able to perform by themselves. Thus, communities have become passive recipients of development interventions amidst cases in which they go into the waiting mode and become too dependent (Bowie, 2009). There is, therefore, a need to re-create an approach that would give emphasis on self-reliance, community planning and decision-making in the quest for economic development.

Much attention towards the impact of HIV and AIDS by CBOs in the recent years has shifted the focus of CD to social welfare. There is a need, therefore, for self-help projects that would enhance community development in developing countries to devise other means meant to overcome government inability to provide all the social and economic needs for entire the populace. Communities are often asked to convey their needs traditionally through consultations in kgotla meetings. This form of consultation has been used for many years in Botswana and consequently generated more problems than solutions as more communities have developed the mind-set that the approach is no longer effective and they can secure and rely on outside help only, particularly from the government (Masilo-Rakgoasi, 2002).

2.5 Community Based Organisations

As put forward by Dongier *et al.* (2002), community based organisations (CBOs) have this description:

Throughout history, communities have organized themselves to address collective and individual needs. CBOs are normally membership organizations made up of a group of individuals in a self-defined community who have joined together to further common interests. They often consist of people living near one another, in a given urban neighbourhood or rural village... The common interest might be related to production, consumption, the use of common pool resources, or the delivery of services... CBOs can be informal or formal. Informal organizations, such as women's and men's clubs and neighbourhood groups, pursue joint interests and often appear more accessible to the poor than formal organizations, which have legal status, formally stated rights and responsibilities, and a legally binding governance structure for recruiting members, selecting leaders, and conducting affairs.(p.20)

The role that CBOs play in providing basic services at the local level cannot be disputed. According to Kolawole and Ajila (2015), CBOs are a component of the larger civil organisations formed on ethnic, social, economic or gender bases and serve as potent forces for RD. They are viewed as the connecting points between people from different backgrounds and ages and opportunities, usually within the community. CBOs are considered as the basic glue for CD. The strength of CBOs lies in their ability to plan, implement, and monitor social and economic development projects, and through their ability to mobilise community members. Mwaura and Ngugi (2014) rightfully indicated that the role of a CBO is to positively affect the process of rural change through increased income, improvement in health, literacy status and nutrition status of the populations. CBOs therefore serve as a link between citizens and the government and often thought to be more responsive to community concerns than government agencies or private business. Linderman's reflections put it thus:

A community organisation is merely a device which makes it possible for a group of citizens in any community to create Trust funds for educational, development, and charitable purposes, the principal investment is placed under the administration of a selected financial institution and the expenditure is controlled by local communities.(Linderman, 1961, p.30).

The above descriptions all have a commonality that points to CBOs as being institutions that operate with the emphasis on improving the livelihoods of the community in which they are

based. Luvai (2012), therefore, suggested that CBOs are better placed in rural communities because they are positioned to respond to many socio-economic development challenges facing poor communities. According Buzwani *et al.* (2007), most CBOs in Botswana are wildlife-based, although having complementary efforts to manage more resources in order to diversify their revenues and to reduce their vulnerability to sharp market fluctuations associated with operating monolithic business models. Community based organizations are, therefore, viewed as bodies that could address issues bordering on the limited income and livelihoods opportunities for households in rural Botswana. In order to improve access to capital, the creation of innovative financial instruments should be the core business of these organizations. As an ideal means of service delivery in addressing specific needs of small remote communities CBOs should be capacitated to adhere to the principles of self-reliance.

A common observation that is often made is making Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) synonymous to CBOs. CBOs differ from NGOs and other civil societies in several ways. Boasu (2011) asserted that although their defining characteristics are somehow similar regarding their voluntary nature and not being entirely profit-orientated, CBOs are a bit distinct because they operate along informal lines and are often headquartered in the community where they are established. Often, their members reside in the same community and also the range of activities and services they offer are usually limited to that community.

In 2003, the number of CBNRM CBOs registered in Botswana stood at 83.Between 2006 and 2012, 94 CBOs were registered. Out of the 94 CBOs registered, only 35 were active and generating income (Buzwani et al., 2007). Similarly, Mulale (2005) observed that there has been a significant increase in the number of CBNRM-associated CBOs in Botswana over the years. In 1993, Ngamiland and Chobe Districts were involved in CBRNM with the establishment of 5 CBOs, and by 2003, 83 CBOs had been registered in nine districts. The geographical spread of CBOs had been made possible by the adoption of non-wildlife based CBRNM in other parts of the country. Wildlife based CBOs are usually restricted to the four districts of Ngamiland, Chobe, Kalagadi and Ghanzi (Mulale, 2005). Although CBOs have the potential and hold promise to alleviate poverty in rural communities and at the same time sustain conservation of biodiversity, the approach has in recent years been criticised by policy-makers and the rural communities themselves. An observation by one of the leading pioneers of Community Based Conservation in southern Africa captures this well when describing CBNRM where successes stand as islands in the sea on initiatives where performance rarely matches promise and is sometimes abysmal (Murphree, 1993).

2.6 CBOs and Community Development

In both industrialised and developing countries, there is a growing body of knowledge, which attests to the positive roles that CBOs play in development. As Tunrayo (2009) observed, the philosophy behind the formation of community based organisations arose from the need to bridge the gap created by snail paced development in communities. Mwaura and Ngugi (2014) argued that CBOs have increasingly become the key target group for implementing RD projects at the grassroots level which meet people's needs. Likewise, Tunrayo (2009) further viewed CD as the process that involves the active participation of community members in projects that deliberately target the development of an area. Such projects may be executed by a group of people, agency or even the government. CBOs are based on forms which existed during precolonial times but have now adapted to a new and changing context; some are rooted in the rural context. While some are based on ethnic, religious or other affiliations, others are formed specifically to fulfil a particular need, such as improving housing conditions (Luvia, 2012). Consequently, the analogy seems to apply across the various types of CBOs. They all stand to fulfil a particular need. Brown and Bird (2011) maintained that CBOs are established in response to specific needs or issues that are identified by community members. In principle, CBOs and government institutions share a common goal, which is to promote CD. The relationship between CBOs and the government is basically linked to this objective (Figueroa, 2015).

Thakadu (2005) gave examples of community projects implemented by CBOs such as construction of roads, boreholes, building community centres (community halls), recreational centres, etc. Mbaiwa (2011) identified some of the development projects or initiatives that are implemented by CBOs in rural communities. These include the provision of infrastructure such as (construction of water stand pipes and bus-stop shades), accommodation for destitute persons and the elderly, renovation of infrastructure and other RD projects. The main purpose of these projects is to organise, develop and utilise available natural resources, and manpower in such a way that the rest of the rural population relying on them have the opportunity to meet their basic needs (Tunrayo, 2009).

While rural communities are often viewed as the target of poverty reduction efforts, CBOs, in contrast, should treat poor people as assets and partners in the development process. Without doubt, when given clear rules of the game, access to information, and appropriate support, rural communities can effectively organize to provide goods and services that meet their immediate priorities. Not only do they have greater capacity than generally recognized, they also have the

most to gain from making good use of resources targeted at poverty reduction (Dongier *et al.*, 2002).

Clark (1991) observed that CBOs are so intricately intertwined in communities that it is often very easy for local people to miss the impact these organisations have on their daily life. This may be so because they view CBOs as spontaneous reaction groups that work towards improving livelihood standards within communities. CBOs share risks, costs and benefit among their members on an equitable basis. The role of a CBO is essentially to provide social services through the re-investment of the revenues that are accumulated by the Trust or other essential stakeholders such as the government at a local level. Kolawole (2014) has, to some extent, considered and examined the concept of CBOs being institutional infrastructures that offer capital investment services particularly in remote area where the existence of banks and other financial services do not exist. They often demonstrate the capacity to mobilise community resources for grassroots development activities and their members are usually resident in the communities and well connected. Residing and staying connected together provide them an advantage of being keenly aware of local needs and are able to respond effectively and a lot more rapidly than the government and other agencies (such as NGOs) would normally do. Mwaura and Ngugi (2014) state that CBOs contribution to economic development has been problematic because these organisations have challenges in their organisational structures, management of their financial resources and staff motivation.

On the contrary, Hirst and Thompson (1997) opined that the purpose of development in rural communities should not be narrowed down only to access to socio-economic and cultural amenities, but rather interpreted as the ultimate model of progress and sustainable development. Sustainable development should encompass all the tenets of sustainability being social, economic, and environmental rather than focusing only on economic development alone. It is the latter that ensures that the existence of development processes should not only focus on conjectural change towards RD but rather seek to satisfy the needs and overcome the challenges faced by communities (Brown & Bird, 2011).

Kolawole (2014) rightfully pointed out that while development practitioners appreciate the necessity of rural infrastructure, physical buildings alone cannot solely drive RD. The people should be at the core in enforcing development initiatives. Many rural communities in Botswana fault the top-down approach of the government in its development initiatives and lack of involvement of the people. Communities in the remotest parts of Botswana, therefore,

seek solace in local institutions such as CBOs which pressurise government for attention to development problems in their communities (Thakadu, 2005). Many development processes even within CBOs miss the concept of integrating the people in the development process.

2.7 Challenges faced by CBNRM CBOs

Governance Capacity

In many instances, bad governance is a serious and sometimes chronic problem for many CBOs (Nelson, 2012). The same view is held by Makokha (2002) who established that even-though CBOs in developing counties should be applauded for making an impact within local communities, most of their performance remains questionable. The author identified the heterogeneous nature of the communities having people with diverse livelihood interests. Wise management of organisations can contribute significantly to ensuring the effectiveness of the work that they perform. Governance can be defined as the process by which stakeholders articulate their interests and decisions (Zaferatos , 2011). One goal of good governance is to enable an organisation to do its work effectively. However, good governance entails more than just getting the job done. The process is as important as the end result. Based on Makokha's (2002) perspective, good governance was essentially about both achieving the desired results and achieving them in the right way. Conroy et al. (2004) identified some common characteristics of good governance. These include participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus, equity, effectiveness, strategic vision and accountability.

Globally, CBOs are faced with administrative challenges. In India, many are engaged in the economic activities that serve to increase the level of disposable income in local areas (Arntzen, 2006). The findings of the same study further showed that 73 percent of the grants that Indian CBOs handle were mismanaged due to poor governance. The CBOs in the United States of America are no different as they were performing poorly due to low participation by community members, while in South Africa, 63% of CBOs dealing with the management of water projects performed poorly due to financial mismanagement (Harley, 2003).

Consensus existed among scholars that poor governance of institutions erodes their credibility, therefore, limiting their capacity to play their intended roles (Makokha, 2002, Lucie, 2009 & Nelson, 2012). This does not suggest that there is a universal template for good governance, but CBOs should at least strive to manage their organisation accordingly. Interestingly, Makokha (2002) opined that more often than not, as CBOs grow and become more complex, people fall into the founder's mentality trap, and cannot give way to new competencies that are

essential and required for the organisation to grow. Kato (2013) emphasise that 'the founder syndrome tends to breed self-interests and discourage new members from playing their roles in supporting the CBO activities'. Thus, it is assumed that the founders or board of trustees (BoTs) at some stage in the life cycle of the organisation become too comfortable and then isolate the community members from essential decision making processes.

Mismanagement of funds

According to Kato (2013), corruption within CBOs is one major challenge that has been identified to significantly affect the operations of CBOs because all the other elements in one way or the other revolve around the misuse of finances. Corruption takes place in many forms such as giving or receiving bribes, embezzlement of funds, illegal procurement processes, etc.

A survey of CBOs in southern Africa by Harley (2003) reported that two-thirds of the organisations surveyed had severe financial problems. The findings of the report revealed that 87 out of 89 CBOs, reported having experienced problems that were mostly linked with financial constraints.

In the past, the Ministry of Home Affairs and government development agencies had little or no involvement with CBOs establishment (Sebele, 2010). Its involvement was usually limited only to the registration of CBOs; there was no consideration for intensive monitoring or funding. But since the realisation of the growing epidemic of misuse of funds among CBOs, the government of Botswana decided to step in and transfer most CBO projects accounts for safe keeping at the District Commissioner's Office of the respective communities, until such time when CBOs show the ability and commitment to properly run their financial affairs (Mbaiwa, 2004). The lack of entrepreneurship skills among CBOs in Ngamiland where many CBOs keep funds in the bank without attempting to re-invest them is also working against them. This has resulted in funds being misused and misappropriated for personal gains and benefits. For instance, the Okavango Kopano Mokoro Trust (OKMT) in 2000 was investigated by the Directorate of Economic Crime and Corruption (DCEC) for allegations of the apparent misappropriation of funds amounting to BWP 12 500 by the board members (Mbaiwa, 2004).

Lack of trained personnel

Sieber (2000) observed that CBOs had "rich member passion". Consequently, human personnel are likely to have a keen intrinsic motivation directly tied to the cause or mission of the organisation and this may result in striving for specific goals that require careful management (Sieber, 2000). Characteristic of most non-profit organisations, CBO's have a diverse

workforce of volunteers and staff, with varied motivations and skills. There is, however, a scarcity of entrepreneurial skills and competencies among the people who are interested in working in the non-profit sector in general. This is because CBOs consists of common men and women of the society, both young and old passionate about bringing change to their society. Indeed, untrained CBO members pose another significant challenge that hinders the performance of projects (Kato, 2013). The lack of skilled personnel for CBOs that are based in rural communities is confirmed by Dill (2010) who argued that people in rural communities may become better organised, more aware of the economic and ecological realities of their communities, and more assertive in protecting their interests, without necessarily having the technical know-how of formal education but are driven by passion and indigenous local knowledge.

While CBOs have been able to attract a lot of members, retaining them is becoming a major problem (Makokha, 2002). By the nature of the work in CBOs, there is a limited room for career development and this has proved to be a major source of frustration for many potentially good staff. In the rural context, CBOs do not employ professional staff to carry out their numerous activities; they would rather depend on volunteer and dedicated members of the community for the discharge of their responsibilities and operation of essential activities (Boasu, 2011).

According to Sebele (2010), the Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust (KRST) located in central Botswana, is a CBO whose main aim is to save rhinos and try to bring about economic benefits for the locals through sustainable use of natural resources. Poor managerial, entrepreneurial and marketing skills are not foreign to the organisation. These challenges have marred the organisation since its inception. While Sebele (2010) asserted that although the Trust has a website, findings show that the page had not been updated for more than two years because there is nobody within the organisation who has the technical expertise to update the website. Again, the newsletter produced by KRST was written in English and this further alienated those members who were non-literate and did not understand English. Although the production of a newsletter is a welcomed idea, only a minority of the Trust members can have access to it while the majority are left out. In Ngamiland, Mbaiwa (2004) noted that organisations such as the Okavango Community Trust (OCT) lack business managerial skills as well as the necessary experience in developing viable tourism projects in their communities. Organisations which neither have knowledge on how to commercially utilise their natural resources nor the capital

to do so end up forming joint venture partnerships (JVPs). This is done in an effort to fill up the gaps in the process to transfer entrepreneurship and managerial skills to the local people.

Capacity building has been recognised by Jones (2004) as an important aspect in strengthening CBNRM in Botswana, particularly where communities become actively engaged in new activities for which they lack appropriate skills and knowledge. Examples encompasses the receipt and handling of large sums of funds, negotiations with the government and the private sector. Alexander *et al.* (1999) observed that Trust members are usually not skilled in the identification, selection and planning of community investments; the lack of capacity, therefore, causes difficulties in guiding communities to select viable projects.

Proliferation of CBOs

According to Abegunde (2009), the poor performance of governments in meeting the socioeconomic quests of the citizenry has been identified as one of the reasons behind the proliferation of CBOs in the new millennium. Along this line, Wahab (2000) observed that people in developing nations have until recently looked upon their governments to meet their socio-economic demands but of late CD approach is gaining more momentum hence the establishment of many CBOs. Most CBOs in African countries have been formed to try and perform functions, which have been abandoned by the state, especially in social services and fill the gaps in areas where national governments have failed (Luvai, 2012, see also Kolawole, 2015). Muthoni (2005) identifies the following as factors contributing to the growth of CBOs to include i) increasing inadequacy in social services provision by the government; (ii) people's struggles for participation in decision-making; and (iii) CBOs being formed to serve as development agents. According to Arntzen (2006) it is surprising to witness CBNRM projects mushrooming in a country like Botswana where people have become much dependent on the government. This may then mean that community based approaches towards development and conservation indeed serve a need and are an ideal for future development opportunities, and that if development is about increasing choices, then the establishment of CBOs is a very welcomed development.

On a rather different note, Nelson (2012) contrasted this perspective by suggesting that the formation of many CBOs in southern Africa has been nothing but opportunist; however well-meaning they might be, some CBOs are often non-accountable and may operate from a narrow self-interest perspective with no responsibility for the consequences of their actions. This is affirmed by Buzwani *et al.* (2007) who concluded that the registration of many CBOs in one

area with several duplicate objectives may create competition for the same resources and lead to tensions within the same communities. Muthoni (2005) wrote about the number of CBOs founded during disasters and post disasters or conflict, therefore making them victims of circumstances as they have no other options other than share their problems and find solutions through the establishment of a CBO.

2.8 Intervention areas for CBOs performance

The above-mentioned factors hinder the effective and efficient performance of CBOs particularly in carrying out their objectives in the communities where they are established to contribute to development. These challenges are of course interrelated. Areas of intervention where CBOs can be strengthened for improved performance in their operations are, therefore, outlined as follows:

Indigenous knowledge

Indigenous knowledge (IK) is a term used to differentiate the knowledge developed by a given community from globalised scientific knowledge and it can be utilised by the local people as a catalyst for development (Warren, 1991). According to Kolawole (2001), IK is the technical know-how acquired by the local people through generations of careful interaction and experimentation with their surroundings. He further reports that the world is faced with an array of human problems therefore requires a multi itineraries approach. One major attribute of IK is that, the local people continue to favour local knowledge over western knowledge system which is generated in formal institutions. It is therefore safe to admit that communities are pushing the integration of IK to enable them solve development problems with which they are confronted. This is because IK belongs to them and it is essential that the knowledge is protected for enhancing their development process (Kolawole, 2015, 2012, 2001). The study also brings to attention, the actual formation of any given CBO because, the formation of these CBOs usually stems from some form of alterations in the structures and functions of a vulnerable group IK (see Rogers, 2003).

IK are practices and activities that have evolved through trial and error and proved flexible with change (Eyong, 2007). The concept of IK and its role in development, therefore, is an emerging and important topic that requires attention and future research. According to Kolawole (2010), IK can never be divorced from any community because it forms the bases of the heritage and culture of many generations. The sustenance of these communities is reliant on indigenous knowledge (Kolawole, 2015). In the years pertaining to the formation of CBOs,

the way of life of these communities have been marred by an influx of international pressure in a bid to make them (rural communities) to conserve the environment. Although CBOs are meant to generate revenue for these communities, it is at a heavy price of losing cultural identity and way of life of the local people. When their livelihoods (i.e., hunting, fishing) became regimented, communities had to adapt to new ways of making a living, even if it means doing something completely foreign to their ways of life (Kolawole, 2001).

Mulale (2005) submitted that an endogenous approach to development is required for indigenous knowledge to contribute to local community development. This proposition may be accurate as endogenous development requires communities to consider what they readily have in their immediate environment and utilise IK for future development endeavours. Likewise, Kolawole (2015) saw IK as an essential component of rural sustainability in which development is facilitated from within, a term he referred as endogenous development. This involves assessing their local asset base, examining the opportunities that their assets create and which enable them to improve their livelihoods, determining priorities for actions, planning, implementing and monitoring those actions. Thus IK is considered as a facilitator of development through which communities enhance their sustainable livelihoods (Kolawole, 2015). As Chambers (2010) submitted, there is a need to adopt a bottom-up approach to development in which rural people have a voice about their realities and priorities rather than outsiders imposing their perceptions on local realities. While modernists strongly believe that western science is the best thing to ever happen to man on earth, and may often overlook the human aspect of IK. Postmodernists continue to recognise the potential in rural communities. The postmodernist's submission is buttressed by Ellis and Biggs (2001) that advocates that rural people are not ignorant, idle or apathetic, as they are often erroneously perceived but on the contrary are rather very resourceful, knowledgeable and hardworking.

In order to facilitate effective utilisation of IK, the government of Botswana can strengthen the management and organisation of community-based Trusts by employing and advocating for skilled and experienced personnel to manage community Trusts and by compiling information on indigenous knowledge for the purpose of using them now and in the future. This can help in cases where communities have no experience of managing large sums of funds. Sudden possession of millions of Pula in Trusts' bank accounts sometimes leads to embezzlements and eventual collapse of the Trusts. Briggs (2005) hinted that unless and until the problems emanating from the binary tensions between Western science and indigenous knowledge systems are resolved, communities would continue to be disadvantaged in their role in

development. Western Knowledge therefore should be used to complement the already existing IK so that it can benefit the people and their environment (Kolawole, 2012).

Accountability

The basis of any community foundation is to have open and transparent policies and practices concerning all aspects of its operations that inform the public and stakeholders about its purpose, activities and financial status on regular basis. Proper accountability by heads of organisations leads to successful development of projects and programmes that may be implemented in any given area. In support of this viewpoint, (Boasu, 2011) stated that accountability and transparency should be a key component of the management styles of CBO leaders. Leaders, therefore, need to be accountable to the members in all spheres of the organisation. Boasu (2011) further opined that the selection of community leaders should be in parallel with the preparation of specific terms of reference so that the terms could be used as strategies for making them accountable during and at the end of their tenure.

Evaluation

Evaluation denotes the process designed to assess the extent to which an intended objective has been met. According to Gajanayake and Gajanayake (1993), the main aim of an evaluation is to determine the relevance of a given task in order to map a way forward regarding that said task. Likewise, Muthoni (2005) advocates that the performance and effectiveness of CBOs in service delivery needs to be continuously assessed and analysed to be able to determine their relevance and fulfilment of objectives. This should be done in order to help these organisations improve their capacity and effectiveness and by than means progress positively in their operations. Evaluation is, therefore, a necessary procedure that needs to be frequently carried out in order to assess progress and improve performance.

Ferraro (2001) buttressed this view by observing that evaluations ensure continued success in the future and plays two essential roles. Firstly, they are carried out to enhance the quality of the work that is delivered by organisations and serve as a tool with which to improve progress and help in future planning. Additionally, Ferraro (2001) explained that they are useful in assessing the progress made toward achieving the objectives and ultimate goals, which eventually provide clear ideas of the direction in which the organisation is heading in terms of measuring accomplishments. An evaluation is required to provide information that is credible and useful in helping improve the performance of any organisation (Gajanayake & Gajanayake, 1993).

2.9 Theoretical Framework

According to Mwaura and Ngugi (2014), theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand a particular phenomenon and in many cases to challenge the existing knowledge. This study is, therefore, be informed by the theories underlying organisational effectiveness (OE). According to Peter and Martin (1996), OE could be defined from two perspectives as 1) the ability of an organization to exploit the environment relative to acquisition of resources, and 2) the degree of goal achievement. It should, however, be noted that these two definitions attributed to OE sparked a debate among prominent scholars of management studies. From the resource perspective, some scholars (see Yutchman and Seashore, 1967) believed that OE is guided by the intended use of the resources pertaining to organizational process and structures, whereas proponents of goal achievement (e.g. Price, 1972 and Etzioni, 1964) are more guided by the measurement of terminal outcomes of an organization. This school of thought laid a foundation to the commonly known OE approaches namely: 1) The Systems Resource Approach; 2) Strategic Constituencies Approach; 3) Goal Attainment Approach- (which is about effectiveness being measured by the ability of the organization to accomplish stated goals); and 4) the competing values approach (which is about the criteria within an organization that meet constituent preference). This study adopted the Goal attainment approach as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Approaches to Organizational Effectiveness

Approach	Definition	Condition of Use
	An organization is effective if	The approach is preferred when
Systems Resource	It acquires needed resources.	A clear connection exists between inputs performance
Strategic Constituencies	All strategic constituencies are satisfied	Constituencies have powerful influence on the organisation
Goal Attainment	It accomplishes its stated goals.	Goals are clear, consensual, time bounded and measurable
competing values	It emphasis on criteria in the Various quadrants meeting constituent preferences	The organisation is unclear about its own criteria, or change in criteria over area of interest.

2.9.1 Goal Attainment Approach

Traditionally, an organisation's effectiveness has been defined in terms of goal attainment (Dusterhoff et al., 2014). Eydi (2015) considered the goal attainment approach as one of the earliest and widely accepted theories used to measure organisational effectiveness. The approach assesses the capability of an organisation to realise its goals while effectiveness is defined as the degree to which an organisation is able to achieve those set goals. According to Weese (1997), the initial theories of organisational behaviour viewed organisations as rational institutions whose primary purpose is to accomplish set objectives. The more efficient and effective an organisation is, the higher the probability that it can achieve its goals. Effectiveness measures can be employed to provide decision makers with the feedback on the impact of deliberate actions and affects critical issues such as allocation of resources as well as making decision on whether to maintain or change existing strategies. The goal attainment approach proposed that organisations are deliberate, rational, goal seeking entities that are established to achieve specified goals (Eydi, 2015). Performance measurement is the way or the efficiency with which something reacts or fulfils its intended purpose. Even though non-profit organisations lack pressure from stakeholders, there is still a need to show on how well they perform that derives from a wide range of variables. Goals ambiguity or conflicting goals poses as major challenges that are inherent within non-profit organisations such as Trusts; it is, therefore, essential that their effectiveness is closely monitored (Baruch & Ramalho, 2006). The most frequent reason to measure performance is usually based in efforts to increase accountability and effectiveness. Moreover, performance measurement can be used as a mean to solicit funding as well as improve service.

An organisation's effectiveness is appraised in terms of the accomplishment of ends rather than means (Perrow, 1961). As such, organisational performance and change are greatly motivated in the direction of achieving valued and tangible outcomes. This translates to the assumption that the way an organisation performs should directly shape anticipated goals. Typical goal attainment criteria include productivity maximisation or the quality and rate of projects being implemented. According to Baruch and Ramalho (2006), modern theories on performance measurement are more skewed towards the manner in which or the efficiency with which something reacts or fulfils its intended purpose. Furthermore, this can be compared to the goal attainment approach on effectiveness, which described as the extent to which organisations

succeed in meeting their goals. Most of the literature places emphasis on the framework as being a central tool for ensuring that organisations realise their intended goals. However, the concept of organisational performance is more complicated than just attaining the set goals of the organisations. Eydi (2015) observed that the approach has several limitations. Thus it should be clear whose goals are being measured, whether the organisation or the individual's when the approach is used to measure effectiveness. This is essential because in several instances, when an organisation states an official goal, it does not always reflect the organisation's actual goal. Therefore, putting the framework into practice is not as easy as it may appear because of many overlaps of challenges and outside challenges confronting institutions. In this study, the goal attainment approach demonstrates the people's roles and the dynamics involved in attaining organisational goals.

2.9.2 Conceptual Framework

Few research have been carried out on the performance of projects implemented by CBOs (Mwaura & Ngugi, 2014, Tunrayo, 2009, Luvia, 2012 and Thakadu, 2005). Likewise, the core problem of this study is the ineffective performance of CBOs. The assumption made under this framework is that there are four main factors that may influence the performance of CBOs. Predictor factors of this framework include socio-economic, institutional, and ecological as well as those related to culture as shown in Figure 2.1. This conceptual framework thus provides a brief schema of some major factors that influence the performance of any community Trust in the implementation of RD projects. The concepts of performance and efficiency have been essential components in any organisational setting. The interaction between the factors that affect CBO performance in project implementation therefore, have an influence on an organisation's effectiveness in realising its goals, hence the Goal Attainment theory discussed above. This therefore means, a CBO efficiency is subjected to how an organisation performs in implementing its set objectives and achieving them. Specifically, the core objective of this study is to undertake corrective measures that can improve the performance of CBOs in improving project implementation. This conceptual framework therefore provides a brief examination of some major factors that influence performance in the implementation of rural development projects.

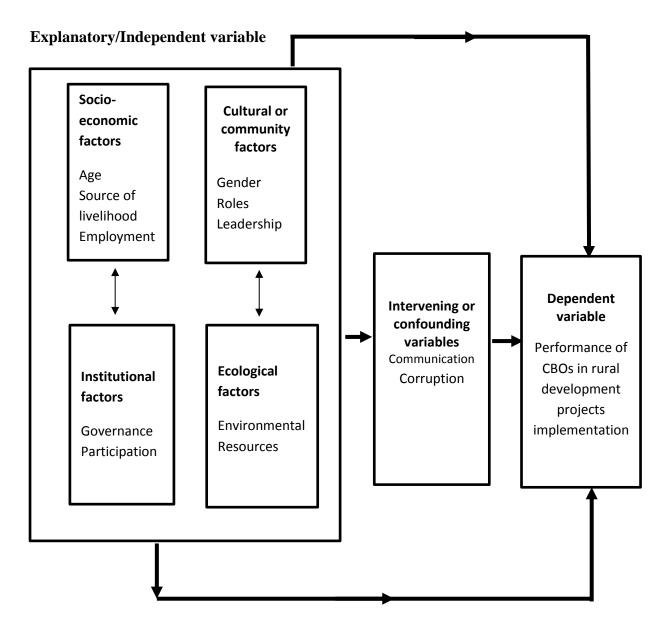


Figure 2.1: A Conceptual Framework showing the interactions between factors affecting CBO Performance in Project Implementation.

Socio-economic factors

Livelihood activities in remote areas where CBOs are located especially those that are tourism based have experienced a drastic shift from the traditional livelihood options such as subsistence farming and collection of rangeland products in favour of tourism which offers people formal employment (Mbaiwa, 2008). A survey carried out by the Eco-tourism Support Services and Ecosury Consultants (2005) established that most of the farmlands in rural communities have been left fallow for years as people no longer recognize farming as a socioeconomic activity because tourism activities offer more viable opportunities and which are less labour-intensive, socio-economic options (Mbaiwa, 2008). This shift would mean more manpower and human capital for the Trusts since people no longer engage in farming and,

therefore, would in-turn improve the performance of CBOs. The creation of jobs by these CBOs is one of the critical components with which successes are measured.

Tosun and Timothy (2003) argued that one of the major constraints facing project performance, particularly in remote areas of developing countries, is the inability of local people to see the significance of using and incorporating local knowledge belonging to them in carrying out organisational activities. Both local and western knowledge can be utilised to influence CBO performance. The relationship between education and development cannot be denied. The technical complexity of project planning and development process always challenges the limited capacity of local community members who are often lack confidence and are reluctant to take part in any decision-making process. Tosun and Timothy (2003) further asserted that since knowledge is an essential element in empowerment, communities need to access a wide range of information through education to be able to improve the performance of implemented projects.

Institutional factors

The credibility of an organisation especially on how it is governed can affect how its members and even the external people perceive it (Kato, 2013). This is affirmed by Luvia (2012) who established that governance is a serious and sometimes a daunting challenge for CBOs. Although many of them are usually registered, they are faced with the problem of leadership, which more often than not, tend to deviate from established mission and objectives of the organisation. When community members feel they are no longer part of an activity, they tend to lose trust, ownership and even compliance (Kato, 2013). The members would, from the outset, not be inclined to participate as they feel estranged by the organization. They would rather prefer to do something that serves their needs. This view is echoed by Cornwall (2008) that self-exclusion by local people from Trust activities may be a pragmatic choice that people make because they perceive that taking part in Trust activities is time wasting for them as compared to engaging in activities that would directly benefit them. This ultimately affects the performance of CBOs in their community development activities. According to Luvia (2012), when a CBO is formed, it brings together a critical mass of like-minded individuals who share common interests and are able to mobilise one another to participate in Trust activities that essentially contributes to how a trust would perform. When community members feel they are not part of an activity, they tend to lose trust, ownership and even compliance, leading to the collapse of the CBOs. Social trust is associated with good governance whereby individuals assign other persons, groups, agencies or institutions to work on specified tasks that they themselves would otherwise not do.

Cultural factors

According to Dadvar-Khani (2012), one of the common contributors to the failures of rural project implementation is what is referred to as the 'elite capture', which is a situation whereby the most privileged members of the society particularly the leadership tend to dominate, influence and control all the decision-making processes of the organization. More often than not, the elites are the same people who forms the board of trustees (BoT). As the BoT is specifically entrusted with managing the Trust, they often tend to misappropriate resources at the expense of the community.

In developing countries, women are restricted to the economies of their households (Elm, 2003). This fact is a commonplace in many cultures. The main cultural obligation for women in most rural communities is home-making, caregivers and child bearers. Girls from their early age are socialized into that way of life and most of them do not break off from this regimented role. Women often devote a significant amount of their time and resources to their households' activities leaving little time for civic activities. This then affects their commitments to and performance in the organizations in which they are members (Elm, 2003). Day (2005) stated that as an individual's household roles increase, they become more devoted to their private networks which then weaken ties to other civic activities and organizations such as CBOs; they are, therefore, unable to participate fully in Trust activities.

Hofstede (2001) acknowledged that, like in many societies, the construct of a man's world is still very present in rural communities, which also reflects in their holding leadership positions within organizations. In many organizational settings including the CBO, the contrast of gender roles is apparent in feminine roles being subordinate to the masculine roles and by extension their contributions to society can only be subordinate to those of men (Triandis, 2004). Hofstede (2001) further revealed that these cultural believes and norms deprive women of many opportunities because they are kept at home, and are, therefore, unable to actualize their potential. Equally, because of the realities of traditional African cultures, gender roles can be easily overstretched to deny women the opportunities to fully participate and assume leadership roles in CBOs. This attitude and social construction of reality has the ultimate effect of keeping women from Trust activities, which is likely to have a negative influence on the performance of rural CBOs.

Ecological factors

The natural capital of a locality consists of all the environmental assets that are found in that location, including all natural resources and features that the local community benefits from. According to Mbaiwa (2015), the decentralization of natural resources conservation activities to local communities through CBOs has the potential to increase local power and control over natural resources that are found in the environment. As such, it is possible to improve attitudes of local communities towards sustainable natural resource utilization within CBOs. People will conserve a resource only if the benefits significantly outweigh the costs of co-existing with the particular resource (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). This assumption predicts how individuals respond or react to resource management strategies and their pre-existing attitudes towards conservation when the result of their efforts are to benefit them (Thakadu, 2005). The CBNRM concept is built upon the common pool resources theory, which argues that such resources found in the environment can be utilized sustainably provided that certain principles are met (Mulale, 2005). Questions on whether CBNRM is achieving its goals of biodiversity conservation and rural livelihoods in developing countries are being asked by conservation scholars (Mbaiwa, 2015). This deliberation is prompted by the growing environmental degradation that is noticeable among communities that live in rich biodiversity areas. Example of activities that are mentioned to cause degradation of the environment include, deforestation, poaching, contamination of water sources, veld fires as well as soil erosion. This degradation occurs because communities rely on natural resources in their respective environments to sustain their livelihoods. Another school of thought credits the CBNRM program as a catalyst for realising biodiversity conservation (see Mbaiwa, 2005). This is rooted in basic assumption of CBNRM that people living close to natural resource base are better placed to manage and conserve their resources.

According to Thakadu (2005), the CBNRM programme in Botswana was introduced with the purpose of conserving the resources found in the environment as well as to simultaneously improving the livelihoods of the local people who benefit from the resources. Participation by the local people within these established CBNRM projects was never questioned and was voluntary because they were able to benefit from natural resources without regulations or permits. Over the past decades much priority shifted and emphasis was then placed on conserving natural resources over improving livelihoods of the people. This development created a gap between the local people and the government in relation to the management of natural resources as they refrained from participating in Trust activities, which had failed to serve their needs (Lacey & Ilcan, 2014).

2.10 Summary

This literature review highlighted relevant and key issues that are central to the study. The chapter explored the role of CBOs and their performance in implementing rural projects. Key concepts such as development, rural development were reviewed. Challenges encountered by Community Trusts were interrogated as well as suggesting possible remedial inventions for the challenges raised. As the goal attainment theory underpinned this study and was linked to practice, a conceptual framework comprising socio-economic, institutional, environmental and cultural variables was developed.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the study design. It identifies the appropriate and suitable design for the study and it discusses the population, the sample size, instrumentation as well as data collection procedure. The chapter also demonstrates how data were analysed and how the limitations of the methods used are ameliorated while also giving consideration to ethical issues.

3.2 The Study Area

The study was conducted in the Okavango Delta within the Ngamiland District in Botswana. The Okavango Delta was inscribed as the 1000th UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2014. The delta is thus a globally recognised wetland ecosystem situated in north-western Botswana. The

Okavango Delta is endowed with rich natural resources which are an important tourism resource because of its scenic beauty and the wildlife that it sustains (Mbaiwa, 2008). The delta derives its existence from the inflow of the Okavango River whose two main tributaries, Cuito and Cubango Rivers, originate from the Angolan Highlands. The study was carried out in the villages of Seronga, Gudigwa and Eretsha, which are member-communities of the OCT as shown in Figure 3.1. These three villages are all situated along the panhandle fringes of the Okavango Delta. The population of Seronga was 3716 while Eretsha and Gudigwa had 912 and 725 inhabitants in 2011, respectively (CSO, 2011). Seronga village is the headquarters where the OCT was conceptualised in 1996 and began operation in 1997 (Zeppel, 2006). Since its inception, the communities have benefited from substantial financial returns, jobs and projects. Nonetheless, the Trust has had a fair share of challenges affecting its performance (Mbaiwa, 2004).

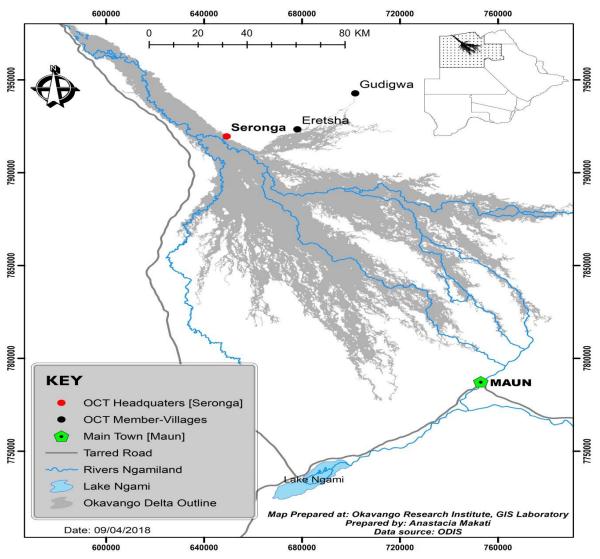
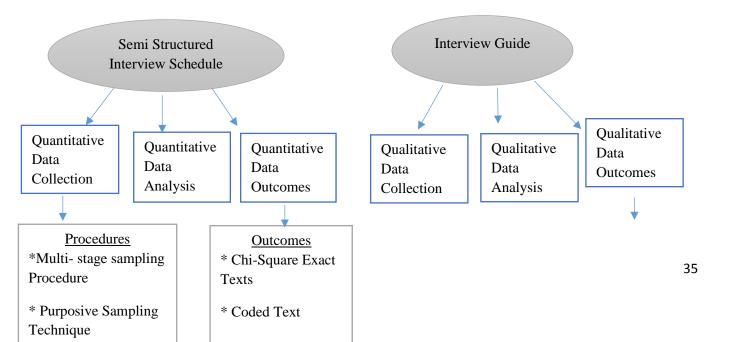


Figure 3.1: Map showing the location of the study area

While the ecological integrity of the Okavango wetland remains largely intact, there are indications that it is being slowly eroded because of the rising anthropogenic pressures witnessed in the area (Mendelsohn, 2010). According to Mbaiwa (2004), communities living in and around the Okavango Delta partly contribute to the pressure and threat because they rely on natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. Livelihood activities include fishing, molapo farming, pastoralism, hunting and gathering, etc. The region's livelihood activities, therefore, tend to be more dependent on natural resources within the Okavango Delta (Mendelsohn, 2010). A lot of community-driven development organisations also utilise concessions in and around the Okavango Delta. For example, CBNRM implemented by community Trusts such as OCT is a programme designed for the conservation of natural resources in and around the delta due to its rich wildlife diversity, wilderness nature, permanent water resources as well as rich grasslands.

3.3 Research Design

The study used the mixed methods design (both qualitative and quantitative research approaches) to collect the relevant data (Creswell , 2013). Specifically, the study used the explanatory sequential mixed method shown in Figure 3.2. According to Creswell (2013), the researcher first conducts quantitative research, then analyses the results and build on them by using qualitative research. This approach is explanatory because the initial quantitative data results were explained further with the qualitative data. It is sequential because the initial quantitative phase was followed by the qualitative phase that focused on the realities of the people themselves. In relation to the quantitative data, a semi-structured interview schedule was utilised to generate mostly close ended statements placed on a 5-point Likert scale. On the other hand, a qualitative approach was used to collect data through a focus group discussion (FGD).



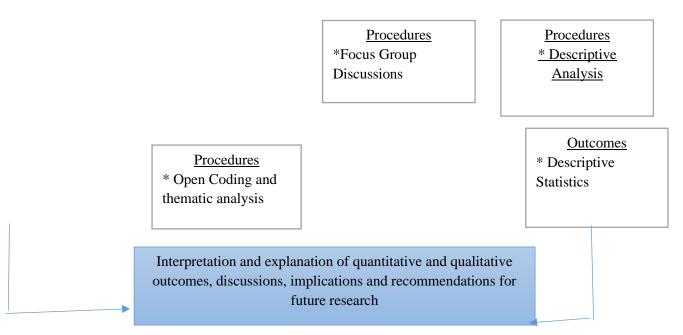


Figure 3.2: Exploratory Sequential Mixed Methods Illustration Adapted from Creswell (2013)

3.4 Population

Best and Kahn (2006) defined population as any group of individuals that has one or more characteristics in common and that are of interest to the researcher. In the study context, therefore, the population consisted of all OCT members estimated to be around 5000 in number; these were people residing in the 5 villages of Seronga, Gunitsoga, Eretsha, Betsha, and Gudigwa (Ngamiland Council of Non_Governmental Organisations, 2015).

3.5 Sampling

3.5.1 The Sample Inclusion Criteria

All OCT members were eligible to participate in the study if they satisfy the conditions that they should:

- i. be permanent residents in the member village of OCT;
- ii. have been resident in the village for at least five years; and
- iii. be a Motswana aged 18 years and above

3.5.2 Sample selection

Various sampling techniques were used to elicit information in the study. Specifically, a multistage sampling procedure was used to sample the respondents. According to Muijs (2010) this type of sampling included primary sample units that were inclusive of groups and secondary units that were sub-groups within which the ultimate units were selected. Furthermore Boasu (2011) recommends that when dealing with studies that are both qualitative and quantitative, the sample size should preferably be small. The first stage involved selecting the primary sample unit for this study which is the OCT as the frame of the study. The reason for this was informed by a series of interactions from existing literature, hence the use of purposive sampling to select within the OCT from other Trusts. From the findings of Nelson (2012), Mbaiwa (2004) and Magole and Magole (2011), it became evident that OCT experienced a lot of challenges in project implementation since its inception in 1995. There is, therefore, the need to identify the fundamental reasons why the Trust has not been able to achieve its goals in project implementation.

The second stage of the multi-stage sampling involved the identification of the sub groups that formed the secondary units of analysis of the study. Over all, three villages of Seronga, Gudigwa, and Eretsha were purposively selected. Purposive sampling was used to select the three sites. This was an intentional selection since they were ideal for answering the fundamental questions that this study addressed. These three villages all have a long standing role in OCT activities dating back to year 1995 when the initial Deed of Trust was signed (Thakadu, 2005). The three sites were specifically sampled principally because the researcher observed the variations in the visibility of implemented projects (structures) among the villages studied Gudigwa (less), Eretsha (Fair) and Seronga (more). Moreover OCT is a multi-ethnic Trust with different cultural groups that constitutes it. For instance, Gudigwa is predominantly inhabited by Basarwa while BaHambukushu and WaYeyi were the main ethnic groups in Seronga and Eretsha. Minority groups therefore such as Basarwa are often at times marginalised, consequently they voluntarily separate themselves from Trust activities and relate with other groups in disdain (Magole, 2003). Additionally, the three study sites offered peculiar ecological conditions that arouse the researcher's interest in relation to performance of the community trusts, thus justifying the selected study sites.

Thirdly, as shown by Table 3.1, having determined the sample size for each village. Respondents were, therefore, selected and interviewed through simple random sampling technique. Depending on the population of each village and the sample size derived from the calculations, a list of residents (members) was prepared and then households were randomly sampled; respondents above the age of 18 were interviewed. The formula used to derive the sample size for the study is presented in the equation below.

$$N_{h} = \frac{Total_population_of-each_village_(n_{1},....n_{3})}{Grand_total_of_the_three-villages(5353)} (100)$$

$$therefore_N_{h}_is_the_grand_total_for_the_three_villages$$

$$This\ translates\ to:$$

$$n_{1,...,n_3}$$
 = village 1, 2, 3 population

Adapted from Nkobi (2016)

Specifically, a total number of 69 respondents who met the criteria for sample inclusion was selected from a list of members who resides in Seronga. The same technique was used to select 14 respondents from Gudigwa who also meet the sample inclusion criteria. Lastly, a total number of 17 respondents meeting sample inclusion criteria from Eretsha was also selected.

Table 3.1: Number of respondents selected in each village

Name of Village	Population per village	Formula	Number of respondents sampled
Seronga	3716	(3716/5353) ×100	69
Gudigwa	725	(725/5353) ×100	14
Eretsha	912	(912/5353) × 100	17
Total	5353		100

The researcher aimed at a sample size of 100 respondents (Table 3.1) but was constrained during data collection to sample 80 respondents. This was attributed to the following reasons: respondents did not have enough time, they perceived surveys and answering questions taking up their time that they do not have; and that some required or desired to earn rewards or incentive for participating. For the FDG, systematic sampling was used to select a total of 12 FGD participants from all the three different villages, comprising 3 participants from each of Eretsha and Gudigwa, and then 6 participants from Seronga where 4 ordinary village members and 2 board members were brought together to constitute the participants in the single FDG session held in the community (i.e. Seronga).

3.6 Instrumentation

3.6.1 Quantitative data collection instrument: Semi structured interview schedule

Boasu (2011) observed that it is difficult to administer questionnaires for many people especially the elderly and the non-literate members of the society. Hence, the study adopted the use of interview schedules, which is designed purposely for a non-literate population, and is meant to be completed by the field enumerators themselves after eliciting information from the respondents. The semi structured interview schedule was designed to collect quantitative data, the closed and open ended responses enabled probing where possible during the interview. It is also meant to collect information from a sample population such that the results are representative of the whole population within a certain degree of error. This method has its advantages and disadvantages. Its main advantage is that if the population is sampled approximately, information collected can be generalised within an entire population and tremendous volume of information can be collected within a short period (Hair et al., 2008). The interview schedule is, therefore, designed to capture the performance of the OCT in project implementation activities; it provides opportunities for probing in-depth issues as well as enables the clarification of questions and responses. Most of the questions, therefore, were constructed in a way that would enable the researcher to obtain more information from the respondents. The administering of the interview schedule was supplemented by an FGD to verify the answers and the degree of effective and ineffective performance of the Trust (Mujis, 2010).

The interview schedule used to collect the quantitative data was divided into sections as outlined in the Figure 3.2. The interview schedule contained five sections based on the specific objectives of the study. *See Appendix 1*

3.6.2 Qualitative data collection instrument: Interview guide

The purpose of FGD sessions is to collect qualitative data that allowed a deep insight into the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. It is a highly flexible method that enables interviewing a group of 6-12 people at the same time. It is assumed to provide high validity data (Catteral & Maclaran, 1997). One FGD session of 12 people (comprising the chairman of the VDC, a board member of the Trust and ten residents who were members of the Trust from the three villages) was held. Specifically one FGD was conducted for the convenience of the participants who had other commitments and communicated their unavailability. Nonetheless, the FDG accommodated all the participants of the three villages, that is, 3 participants each from Eretsha and Gudigwa and 6 participants from Seronga which constituted 4 ordinary village members

and 2 board members. Thus, each area was fairly represented, necessitating the need for only one FGD. Seronga village houses the head office of the Trust and has a relatively higher population compared to the other two villages hence board members from Seronga participated. The FGD was divided into sections as outlined in the below. *See Appendix 2*.

Layout: Focus Group Discussion Tool: Interview guide

The interview guide for the FDG captured the following:

- 1. Needs and priorities of different community groupings.
- 2. Board of Trustees (BoT) role.
- **3.** Government and other external institutions' support.
- 4. Barriers encountered when implementing projects.
- **5.** Recommendations

3.6.3 Key Informant Interviews

The research had intended to solicit qualitative information on OCT through key informants but the key informants were often preoccupied with work, workshops and meetings and were, therefore, unavailable during data collection timeframe. Hence representatives of the key informants (i.e. Board members and VDC chairperson) were then included in the FGD.

3.7 Measurement of variables

Demographic and socio-economic variables such as sex, age, level of education, employments status, ethnicity, etc. were measured. The variables were measured on both nominal and ordinal scales. For instance, age was measured by the number of years an individual had lived on earth, hence ordinal; gender, which is a categorical variable, was coded as male (1) and female (2). While income was measured by the amount of money (in Pula), which an individual receives every month; level of education was measured by the number of years an individual has had formal education. The Trust's performance in project implementation, which is the dependent variable (Y) was measured on a 5-point Likert scale of excellent (5 points) to very poor (1 point). The intervals at which the leadership of the Trust is elected was measured by the number of years in which a new board is elected, that is, whether annually, every 2 years, every 3 years, or every 5 years. Gender composition of the Trust leaders was coded by the sex distribution of the board members, whether the board is mostly male (1), mostly female (2) or equal number

of males and females (3). The Trust resources were measured by the adequacy of resources that were available to carry out the Trust's mandate.

3.8 Validity

The instruments were internally validated through the evaluation of experts at the Okavango Research Institute. The exercise was meant to ensure that the instruments properly measure the variables under investigation. The questions were properly phrased in simple, local languages and logically sequenced. To ensure that the instrument is precise, the researcher gave them to colleagues to make a subjective judgement by just having a cursory look at the instrument (face validity). The instrument was also given to the supervisor for the purpose of reviewing the contents. It was also strengthened through extensive review of literature which helped in enhancing the content validity, characterised by items reflecting various parts of the content domain. As Muijs (2010) observed, "[t]he better we know our subject and how the concepts used were theoretically defined, the better we would be able to design an instrument that is content-valid" (p. 23). To examine the length and further validate the instrument, the tool was tested among five colleagues within the Okavango Research Institute (ORI). A pilot study was not done due to time constraints.

3.9 Reliability

Reliability test is carried out to ensure the internal consistency of the instrument in terms of how respondents understand the content of the interview tool. Thus, reliability in this study was ensured through conducting a pilot test in a community outside the study area before administering the interview schedule to the respondents. The results of the pilot test were, therefore, used to fine tune the research items and produce a final copy of the interview schedule that was used in the actual data collection.

3.10 Data collection procedure

Both primary and secondary sources were used to obtain the relevant data for the study. Primary data were obtained directly from the field through administering interviews and focused group discussions. Primary data provide reliable and accurate first-hand information relevant to the study about the performance of CBOs in relation to CD. In other words, primary sources provide first hand testimony or direct evidence concerning a topic under investigation (Boasu, 2011).

3.10.1 Administering interview schedule

This study adopted a semi-structured interview schedule to collect quantitative data in which the questions were both closed and open-ended. According to Chilisa and Preece (2005), the semi-structured interview is a focused interview which has questions contained in interview schedule. An interview was used because it allows face to face interaction between the researcher and the respondents; it assisted the researcher to identify the verbal and non-verbal expressions of the respondents. Interviews were also important because they do not only allow the researcher to read non-verbal responses but also commit the respondent to the cause due to the presence of the researcher (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

The semi structured interview schedule *See Appendix 1* is grounded in the research questions and the literature reviewed. An interview is one of the most frequently used methods for collecting data. They allow the interviewer to ask the participants direct questions, which are easy to analyse. Moreover, most respondents are familiar with them. Nearly everyone has had some experience of being interviewed. This flexibility is valuable in gaining new issues that might emerge during the interview. An interview ensures that there is uniform question presentation, and the types of questions asked are good questions which minimise bias; the researcher's own opinions would not influence the respondent to answer questions in a certain manner.

3.10.2 Focus group discussion

A FGD session was conducted in Seronga village comprising Trust members and the BoT. This was to deliberate further on issues bordering mainly on cultural and institutional factors that require further probing. A FGD is a semi structured discussions that comprise at least 10 to 12 people who share commonalities (e.g. men and women who were members of the Trust); a FGD largely captures qualitative data (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997). An interview guide used for the FDG was an interview guide that is a set of general questions that guide the discussions.

See Appendix 2

3.11 Data analysis

3.11.1 Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data were analysed using predictive analytical software 23 (PASW 23). Thus, descriptive statistics such as frequency, percentages, tables, etc. were used to summarise the data. Chi square analysis was used to determine the associations between non-parametric variables.

3.11.2 Qualitative data analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the qualitative FGD data. Major categories of responses that reappeared were grouped together. These procedures followed open coding whereby the researcher merged and rearranged the collected information into sub themes and major themes. A four step thematic framework was applied: (1) identifying initial themes and categorising; (2) labelling the data; (3) sorting the data by concept; and (4) synthesising the data (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). From the major themes obtained, the central phenomenon from the data in relation to the conceptual framework were embedded in the study context.

3.12 Ethical consideration

This study automatically addressed ethical issues because human subjects were involved in the data collection processes. Acceptable standards of ethics and morality were observed and taken into consideration throughout the study. The following were considered:

i. *Voluntarism:* Respondents were not forced or coerced to participate in the study or in any processes with which they might feel uncomfortable. Prior to the administration of the interview schedules, the respondents were made aware of the purpose of the research and the implications of their participation. Therefore, participation was entirely voluntary; respondents were free to withdraw from the interview at any point in time.

ii. Confidentiality: Information from the respondents was treated with utmost confidentiality. With the exception of the project supervisor, efforts were made to ensure non-disclosure of information to any third party. Furthermore, the participants were made aware that all the information gathered would be used purely for academic purposes and that the findings might be published in outlets in which their identity would not be disclosed.

3.13 Summary

Chapter three outlined the methods, which the study used to obtain information. The research adopted both quantitative and qualitative research designs so as to obtain in-depth information on the subject. The chapter identified the study area as the Okavango Delta within the Ngamiland District of Botswana, where eighty (80) respondents (who matched the researcher's inclusion criteria) were interviewed in three (3) communities. The chapter further highlighted interviews and the FGD as the appropriate data collection techniques for eliciting information. It also highlighted appropriate statistical tools used to analyse the data obtained in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This section presents the analysis of results and findings. The results highlight the socioeconomic characteristics of CBO members, institutional, ecological and cultural factors influencing CBO performance in RD project implementation.

4.2 Socio-economic characteristics of CBO members (Objective 1)

Table 4.1 shows that a total number of 80 respondents were interviewed in the three villages of Seronga, Eretsha and Gudigwa from the intended initial 100 sample size. The demographic analyses of the Trust members were essential because variables such as sex, education, employment status etc. were crucial in influencing interactions and people's roles within a community (Kolawole, 2014). The majority (55.0%) of these respondents were females with males constituting 45% of the sample. Specifically, well over 70.0 percent of the Trust members completed their basic and secondary education, while only 7.5 percent of them had attained a tertiary education qualification. Most of the respondents (85%) had resided in their locations for more than 15 years. In terms of ethnicity, while the WaYeyi tribe accounted for 47.5 percent of the sample, the BaSarwa tribe constituted about 22.0 percent. Nonetheless, 30.0 percent of the entire population were of other ethnic groups which is not a peculiar village attribute for most regions or districts in Botswana. Analysis also indicates that 63.7 percent of them were unemployed. While the highest income of those employed (16.5%) is between P700-P900, 14.6 and 3.80 percent of them received less than P700 and P500 per month, respectively. Nevertheless, farming (38.7 %), fishing (27.5%), Ipelegeng program (25.0%) and beer production (3.8%) were identified as other sources of income.

Table 4.1: Respondents' demographic and socio-economic attributes

Variable	Items	%	N
Gender	Females	55.0	44
	Males	45.0	36
Education	None	18.6	15
	DOSET	3.8	3
	Primary	18.6	15
	Junior	34.0	27
	Senior	17.5	14
	Post-secondary/Tertiary	7.5	6
Duration in area of settlement	Less than 5 years	6.3	5
	6 to 10 years	7.5	6
	11 to 15 years	1.3	1
	More than 15 years	85.0	68
Ethnic groups	Basarwa	22.5	18
	WaYeyi	47.5	38
	Others ^a	30.0	24
Employed	Yes	36.3	29
	No	63.8	51
Monthly salary	Below 499	3.8	3
	Between 500-699	6.3	5
	Between 700-899	7.5	6
	More than 900	20.0	16
	N/A	62.5	50
Other sources of livelihood			
	Fishing	27.5	22
	Craft production	5.0	4
	Beer production	3.8	3
	Ipelegeng	25.0	20
	Farming	38.7	31

^a includes BaHambukushu, BaTawana and BaHerero

Source: Field Survey (2016)

Discussion:

An overview of the demographic profile of the respondents are represented in Table 4.1. The findings revealed that an overwhelming majority of the respondents only managed to complete their lower or higher education while only a few had access to tertiary education. According to Richard (2011), education affects many aspects of life, including how individuals comprehend daily life activities. Therefore, it is critical that emphasis be made on investing in education especially in rural areas. This in return would motivate communities to attain the highest possible levels of education with the skills and competences required for improved livelihoods.

One of the major constraints to project performance in particular in remote areas of developing countries is low levels of education and inadequate or lack of information opportunities being made available to dwellers. Furthermore, technical complexity of project implementation always challenges the limited capacity of members who are then unconfident and reluctant to take part in any decision making process. In this regard, Tosum and Timothy (2003) asserted that since knowledge is an essential element in empowerment, communities need to access a wide range of project information through education. This proposition is in tandem with the experiences from other countries such as Uganda, where individuals who possess necessary skills positively contribute to CD initiatives. Such contribution would consequently result in effective management of community assets like Trusts (Makokha, 2002). In Botswana, the formulation of government policy for providing basic education for all should, therefore, be given adequate attention to meet the needs of rural dwellers. It should, however, be noted that the differences in educational opportunities might be a source of the existing forms of inequality within the rural Botswana (Moepeng & Tisdell, 2010). The Affirmative Action Framework (2014) implemented by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development advocates for consideration for rural communities in all sectors that provide service to people.

According to Kato (2013), CBO's management longevity contributes toward CBOs' roles in effective project performance and that could be always strengthened through proper education and training. Furthermore, Kato (2013) noted that effective project implementation can be boosted if community Trust leaders were to be chosen based on their experiences in conjunction with their level of educational qualifications. In other words, leadership selection needs to reflect on an individual's experience and educational background in working with the Trusts; this should form the most crucial aspect of leadership selection criteria. Tshitangoni *et al.* (2011) also supported this claim by asserting that project members should have a certain level of qualification and experience. This is a critical aspect as it helps in ensuring project sustainability through effective project management skills. Therefore, capacity building through training in community based organisations is necessary in order to improve project efficiency (Muthoni, 2005).

Community members engage in an array of activities to sustain their livelihoods. Busy daily routine that include farming, fishing, Ipelegeng etc. may be an excuse for many to not engage in CBO undertakings. In particular, most of the male residents have relocated to their farms (*masimo*) in search for food for their families. Although they had wished to invest and

participate in the activities of the community Trust, it is merely impossible for them to do so. This view is echoed by Cornwall (2008) that self-exclusion may be a pragmatic choice, where and when people perceive that it is time consuming for them to take part in the development processes within their communities.

The overall high level of unemployment might be because majority of the people are usually engaged in what is designated to be temporary employment, which the respondents themselves did not categorize as formal employment. Sebele (2010) pointed out that employment in rural areas of Botswana were usually described in a homogenous and undifferentiated way; the main form of employment is farming, followed by remittances from drought relief initiatives such as Ipelegeng. This reveals the high vulnerability of rural livelihoods because the returns on farming were low and erratic. Moreover, the sampling procedure that considered household representatives available at the time of interview might suggest the high number of unemployed respondents in this study. This may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the processes of data collection was done within weekdays when most of the people had left for work and therefore could not be reached. Usually those who are unemployed also spend a lot of their time at the cattle posts as many Batswana view subsistence agriculture as important to their culture even during drought years.

The study also revealed that the OCT did create employment opportunities in the Okavango Sub-District. Employment portfolios that were usually accessible through the community Trust include polers, drivers, chefs, tour guides, helmsman etc. The acknowledgement of such employment opportunities by the local communities reflects that initial intentions of the CBNRM program were being achieved through community based tourism, which entails the involvement of local communities in resource management while at the same time derive direct socio-economic benefits from such resources (Mbaiwa, 2004). However, Murphree (2005) suggested that community local institutions need to be resilient, and be able to adapt to change. This would allow community Trusts to effectively respond to emerging issues of the societies such as unemployment.

In terms of ethnicity while WaYei are the majority ethnic group in Ngamiland, while this is the case countrywide, i.e. the diversity of different ethnic groups, it has its own challenges. For example, the FGD results suggested that there seemed to be some underlying tensions regarding the ethnic groups that constitute the CBO as well as the distribution of projects across all the five member villages of the Trust. Ethnic groups such as the BaSarwa and

BaHumbukushu believed that there was an unfair distribution of projects being implemented by the community Trust. Other groups comprising the CBO were allegedly not given an equal platform to actively participate in the development initiatives of the Trust while others were flooded with development projects implemented by the Trust. One of the interviewees remarked thus:

... We in Gudigwa are just a dummy member in this Trust; nothing is being done for us because of our origin as Basarwa .Majority of the developments are concentrated there, in the WaYeyi land in Seronga, here we have nothing .

(An FGD participant in Gudigwa community).

4.3 Projects implemented within the OCT (Objective 2)

Table 4.2 illustrates the projects that were or are still being implemented by the CBOs. These include: a mortuary, vegetable gardens, preschool, borehole, destitute housing etc. However, some of the projects which the communities would have preferred include: improving education facility, toilets, a guest house, a brigade, water supply, wholesale, craft shop etc. Usually community members are better positioned to identify their needs; they are, therefore, in a better position to suggest best projects that would benefit them.

The comments by a respondent attested to this: *I wish these people will build a craft shop using the Trust funds so that I am able to work there and feed my family*. (A middle aged female during the FGD).

Table 4.2: Projects implemented within the OCT

Projects implemented by OCT	Preferred projects for future implementation by OCT		
 Vegetable garden Pre school Borehole Destitute house Kgotla shelter General shop Mortuary Grinding 	 Improved education facilities Guest houses Water supply Wholesale Butchery Electricity connection Community hall Craft shop Shopping complex Poultry project Textile workshop Tarred road 		

Source: Field Survey (2016)

Discussion:

Since inception, OCT has implemented several development projects in its five-member villages. Such projects include; the vegetable garden, pre-school, borehole, general dealer store, destitute houses building program, kgotla shelter, stop shade and grinding mills etc. However, this study established that, although the mentioned projects do exist in some of the member villages of OCT, a number of projects seem to be more noticeable and concentrated only in one member village as compared to others. The general finding that emerged was that the projects in this study were predominantly located in Seronga village as it is where the headquarters of the Trust is based. However, it is clear that this finding was not exclusive in determining the establishment of more development projects in Seronga since other factors in the study might have an influence. Usually the process of prioritisation on which projects to establish and their location can be informed by a number of variables including the population of that particular village, accessible infrastructure as well as the demand for that project. It is therefore not peculiar for the results of the study to establish that more projects were located where the office of the Trust is based. However, even though some of the members of Trust in other member villages viewed this as a disadvantage, the little effort by the OCT to establish development projects is noticeable to some. They appreciated as it can never be enough to provide all the required development needs at a go.

Literature and interactions with the respondents revealed that community members were the most legitimate, informed, and reliable source of information about their own priorities. As it was attributed by earlier studies that community-initiated projects tend to have higher utilization rates and were better maintained when investment decisions were made by actors inside the community (Kolawole, 2010; Mulale, 2005). The process of allowing community members to lead in the operations of their organisations is essential because it promotes ownership therefore by extension sustainability of projects implemented. The findings of the study demonstrated that demand is better articulated when the community contribute actively to the investment costs and controls investment choices as it is evident with the mortuary and general dealer projects, these were not just mere projects that have been imposed by the Trust in communities but rather projects that the members themselves actively engaged on their daily operations. Similarly Luvia (2012) found that the biggest mistake that board Trust members could possibly commit is by side-lining community members in the Trust operations which could eventually impact on the performance of the Trust.

According to Huffman et al. (2014), most development projects implemented by CBOs create employment opportunities and enhance personal independence as against relying on the government. Also, this brings people together to work as a team to attain common goals through projects implementation (O'Brien & Sarkis, 2014). But even so, a higher proportion of respondents had felt that the performances of OCT projects were not satisfactory. According to Figueroa (2015), community based projects are implemented with the hope of improving economic, social and environmental developments in rural communities often overwhelmed by high levels of unemployment especially among the youths. However, there is slightly lack of satisfaction in relation to performance of some of the above-mentioned projects implemented by the Trust.

4.4 Culture and resource mobilisation (Objective 3)

Table 4.3 presents two factor variables (culture and resource mobilisation), which were measured on a nominal scale. While an average of 55.0 percent of the study participants did attest to the fairness of equal opportunities availed to community members to become board members of the Trust, it was, however, interesting to learn that 45.0 percent of respondents indicated that different categories of people including the youth, women and disabled members were not well represented in the Trust.

Despite that, the results indicate that the community leadership (particularly tribal leaders and councillors) give the organisation the necessary, needed support. Similarly, most (58.8%) of the respondents opined that the community generally had a sense of ownership over the Trust. As for resource mobilisation by the Trust, an overwhelming 83.8 percent of the respondents interviewed indicated that they were not active in raising funds for the organisation. Only 11.0 percent of them indicated that they had any kind of contribution to the Trust fund raising activities. Likewise, 53.7 percent of them noted that the community members lacked education and training. At least, 67.5 percent of the respondents believed that the Trust was well equipped with resources to carry out its mandate. Participants of the study indicated that they lacked skills and competences required for managing CBOs. Two board members revealed that: They were part of the OCT because they loved what they did but had hardly ever taken any refresher courses on booking-keeping or any relevant trainings.

Table 4.3: Cultural /Resource Mobilisation

Statement	Yes	No	
Members of the community are given equal opportunity to be board members of the Trust.	44 (55.0)	36(45.0)	
All categories of people (children, youth, men, women, and disabled) of the community are well represented in the Trust.	36 (45.0)	44(55.0)	
Community leadership (e.g. Kgosi, Councilor, MP) give the organization the necessary support.	50 (62.5)	30(37.5)	
The community at large has a sense of ownership over the Trust.	50 (62.5)	30(37.5)	
I contribute actively in raising finances for the organisation.	9 (11.2)	71(88.8)	
The organization gives education and training to the community members.	37(46.3)	43(53.7)	
The office is well equipped in terms of resources to carry out its resources	54(67.5)	26(32.5)	

Source: Field Survey (2016)

Discussion:

Majority of the community members particularly in Seronga village (where the Trust office is located) suggested that the activities of Trust were only accessible to a select few who were prominent members of the community. The respondents opined that they were really not comfortable in the way the youths were side-lined in the activities of the Trust; only the older members of the Trust seemed to have a leverage in Trust activities. Findings from the FGD conducted corroborates this. The following comments by the respondents of the study demonstrate the dissatisfaction that the community had towards the Trust:

Sometimes I feel our contributions are never taken into consideration regarding the operation of this Trust of theirs, which is infested with corruption. When we try to advice, they (the board) would never give our suggestions any hearing, at least if they hired us - they'd rather keep jobs for their families". (An FGD participant in Seronga).

...Most of the time the youths are not considered, during the selection of the committees because they are barely available as they have some other engagements...Moreover there are no initiatives that encourage both women and youth participation..." (A youth in Seronga community).

The above comments reflect how the community members feel about their participation in the activities of the Trust.

Resource mobilisation was found to have an association with the performance of OCT. Inability of CBOs to sustain financial resources remains a major challenge. Lack of transparency by the Trust management remains a challenge that requires immediate attention by the Trust management. These organisations have rather been labelled as beggars which hardly ever employ better fundraising and saving methods. Most of the CBOs in Botswana are faced with the problem of skewed financial practices due to the various malpractices of the executives or management, making them more susceptible to employee layoffs. Most of the anticipated development projects also end up being put on hold because there were no funds to maintain the administrative activities of the Trust.

4.5 Environment and Ecology (Objective 4)

Table 4.4 presents responses on ecological factors that might contribute to CBO performance in project implementation. Majority (56.2%) of the people interviewed exhibited some degree of satisfaction on the location of the Trust office because it was easily accessible and within the reach of the community members. Further, 43.7 percent of them noted that scarcity of natural resources did not by any means affect the CBO's performance. Conversely, 43.7 percent of the respondents were indifferent to the income generation activities of the Trust as they disagreed with the statement that '[t]he Trust is solely dependent on natural resources for income generation'. Similarly, well over 62.5 percent of them indicated that the community was not engaged in efforts to conserve resources that generate funds for the Trust. Surprisingly, most (40.0 %) of the respondents opined that they witnessed an undesirable weak link between their conservation efforts and improvement in their livelihoods.

Table 4.4: Respondents based on environmental variables

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree Neutral Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(i)	The Office is accessible	45(56.2)	15(18.7) 3(3.7) 6(7.5)	11(13.7)
(ii)	Scarcity of resources affect the Trust's income generating activities	7(8.7)	10(12.5) 2(2.5) 26(32.5)	35(43.7)
(iii)	The Trust is solely dependent on natural resources for income generation	10(12.5)	12(15.0)10(12.5) 15(18.7)	35(43.7)
(iv)	The community is engaged in efforts to conserve resources that generate funds.	5(6.2)	3(3.7) 1(1.3) 21(26.3)	50(62.5)
(v)	There is little connection between the protection of the environment and people's livelihoods.	40(50.0)	20(25.0) 8(10.0) 2(2.5)	10(12.5)

Source: Field Survey (2016)

Discussion:

The findings revealed that ecological factors are significantly associated with CBO performance in RD project implementation. For instance, office accessibility and availability of natural resources were associated with the CTO performance. The Trust entirely depends on natural resources to generate income. However, Mbaiwa (2011) indicated that despite the availability of natural resources, community organizations usually have limited capital power. This is so because most of the organisations are probably not innovative in fund raising. This assertion holds true to a considerable degree, findings showed that the OCT had limited internal or external financial inflows except for the capital accumulated through renting out their land concessions. This implies that the Trust's financial resources were limited to rentals and a few other activities/services such as truck rental and the mortuary. Moreover, the rented land is mainly used for tourism activities, which heavily relies on the existence of natural resources (Mbaiwa, 2015). However, it should be noted that this is contrary to Luvai's (2012) assertion that resource mobilization can be controlled to influence CBO effectiveness.

The concept of natural resource utilisation goes hand in hand with the notion of sustainability. According to Williams (2003), sustainability is reflected in the ability of the community to survive with change and adapt to new conditions and circumstances. A project that is worth sustaining today may not be so in the future. Notwithstanding the substantial resources that have been allocated to developing and maintaining community-based programs for children, youths and families, relatively little is known about how these programs were sustained and what factors contributed to their failure. More often than not, a typical community-based program has a relatively short life once its original funding base expires (Williams, 2003).

Inadequate information and understanding of what sustains community-based programs has led to various researches focusing on how community projects can be sustained beyond their initial funding base in order to ensure that the projects continue to meet the needs of the community. Sustainability issues are concerned with the idea that the program and projects should not over-exploit non-renewable resources, deplete the productive capacity of the soil, or damage the biophysical environment in a manner that compromises the future generation's needs. Thus, environmental protection, which is an aspect dealing with the extent to which the project preserves or damages the ecological environment, therefore, supports or undermines achievement of long term benefits (Tafara, 2013).

4.6 Institutional Factors (Objective 5)

Data in table 4.5 show that majority (85.0%) of the respondents implied the significance of experience as a competency essential for Trust leadership, when given the responsibility to manage an organisation of the enormousness of a CBO. Similarly, 62.5 percent of them reiterated the need for leaders to be elected at least every after three years, while only 8.8 percent of them strongly disagreed on the three-year tenure. Well over 68.8 percent of the respondents approved that reports on the progress of the Trust must be reported annually to be able to track progress made. Surprisingly, 37.5 percent of the respondents were very sceptical about government's involvement in the activities of the Trust by indicating that '[t]he Trusts perform better when initiated by the Government'. A slightly higher proportion of the respondents (62.5%) expressed their dissatisfaction about the updates they received from those managing the operations of the Trust.

Table 4.5: Frequency distribution of respondents based on institutional variables

Statement		Agree/				Disagree/ Strongly
		Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree
		Agree				
(i)	Experience is essential in Trust leadership selection	t 68(85.0)	6 (7.5)	3(3.8)	2(2.5)	1(1.2)
(ii)	Trust leaders should be elected after three years	50(62.5)	15(18.7)	2(2.5)	6(7.5)	7(8.8)
(iii)	Community reports must be given annually	55(68.8)	20(25.0)	3(3.7)	2(2.5)	0
(iv)	Trusts perform better when initiated by the Government.	4(5.0)	14(17.5)	17(21.3)	15(18.7)	30(37.5)
(v)	OCT has a functioning constitution	10(12.5)	15(18.7)	5(6.2)	15(18.8)	35(43.8)
(vi)	The OCT keeps its members updated on the progress made in the organisation (Community Participation)	10(12.5)	3(3.7)	0	17(21.3)	50(62.5)
(vii)	The Government gives the Trust support.	44(55.0)	15(20.0)	2(2.5)	8(10.0)	10(12.5)

Source: Field Survey (2016)

Discussion:

CBOs which were deemed corrupt were usually sidelined by community members. Corrupt practices among members especially the BoT have proved to be one of the biggest constraints that has hindered their potential at attaining their goal of being a development partner for rural communities. Corruption continues to erode the institutional capacity of Trusts, which at the same time, undermines the legitimacy of the organization, as procedures were not properly followed and resources misused. Similar corruption findings were established by Luvai (2012) who found that CBOs that were manifested by corrupt practices tend to collapse.

Regarding ethnic dynamics, Masilo-Rakgoasi (2002) established that consideration is rarely taken to assure equal representation of all ethnic groups when electing individuals into the management structures. For instance, the study established that the Basarwa were partially represented and, therefore, benefit minimally as compared to other ethnic groups. This is so because the management structure is mainly composed of members of the dominant ethnic groups (Masilo-Rakgoasi, 2002). This observation is also buttressed by Taylor (2002) who found that the residents of Gudigwa (predominately Basarwa) never sought to be a part of OCT when it was founded because they believed that they would not be respected or seen as equal partners by other ethnicities constituting the Trust as it was dominated by the WaYeyi tribe. Masilo-Rakgoasi (2002) further revealed that most development practitioners were avoiding

talking about community differences like ethnicity, hoping to attain cohesion. The findings of this study were supported by Masilo-Rakgoasi (2002) who observed that the representation of Basarwa in the OCT is still questionable despite having representation on the board. The Government of Botswana have also for decades dialogued over the issue that it does not recognize any specific ethnic group as indigenous to the country, hence all ethnic groups and tribes are indigenous therefore development would be equal across the country. However, the country is also cognizant of the fact that there are some members of the population who are disadvantaged, marginalized therefore deserve special attention (AAF, 2014).

FGD issues surrounding participation were very controversial as many respondents were convinced that the CBO treats members preferentially; only a select-few benefited from the project activities. Community/member participation is often associated with good performance in project implementation. Local communities are aware of the nature and characteristics of their project initiatives more intimately than outsiders, as the activities are often associated with their felt needs, traditions, cultural values and meanings (Kolawole, 2015, Kolawole & Ajila, 2015, Kolawole, 2009 and Thakadu, 2005). Some examples of participation approaches which can significantly improve CBOs performance include attending meetings that are called by board members to review projects progress, audit financial reports as well as to keeping the community abreast of the operations of the project. Despite the frequent theoretical discussions on the significance of local community involvement in project implementation, it is far more unlikely to be accomplished in practical ways (Tosum & Timothy, 2003). The results further revealed that while women were often marginalised, the youths were rarely involved in the decision-making process of the Trust. As buttressed by Figueroa (2015), youths have shown a declining tendency to participate in matters that affect their lives in situations where their voices were not considered. However, Figueroa (2015) further opined that youth participation could be enhanced through motivating and presenting them with opportunities for representation in bodies and organisations that make decisions.

Sebele (2010), however, observed that one of the common contributors to CBO failures is 'leadership elite capture'. Leadership elite capture scenario typifies a situation in which the most privileged members of the society tend to dominate and control all the decision-making processes of the organization. Since the BoT is specifically entrusted with managing the Trust, board members often tend to capture the benefits accumulated for the Trust at the expense of the community. This repeatedly came to the fore during the FDG discussions that board

members often embezzle Trust funds for personal gains. This would lead to loss of access to benefits which could have been appropriated for the poor and marginalized community members, who often mostly depend on those resources. The community comprised different types of elites such as social, economic as well as political elites. Elitism may be perpetuated by family lineage, land holding rights, educational attainment, political affiliation, employment, etc. (Fung & Wright, 2003). It is worth mentioning that the 'elite capture' is not necessarily a direct result of Trust ineffectiveness but rather partially a result of an assumption that communities were homogenous and harmonious. It is, therefore, essential to acknowledge that having community meetings and platforms where the progress of the Trust is discussed is crucial in ensuring that the mandate of the Trust is continually shared with all relevant stakeholders. When a CBO is initially formed, it brings together a critical mass of people who share the same goal of developing their community and are, therefore, willing to actively participate and contribute towards the CBO activities (Luvia, 2012).

4.7 Perceptions about CBO's performance on project implementation

Table 4.6 indicates that none of the responses retrieved surpassed a 50 percent rating in project performance. While only 5.0 percent of the respondents agreed that 'I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing vegetable gardening project', just 4.0 percent disagreed with the statement. Majority (91.0%) of them were undecided. In comparison with other implemented projects, majority (42.5%) of the respondents agreed that 'I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing the mortuary project', and only 3.8 percent disagreed. Likewise, 38.8 percent of the respondents were happy with the performance of the destitute housing project. Nonetheless, only 1.3 percent of them agreed that 'I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing stop shade project'.

Table 4.6: Perceptions on CBO performance regarding projects implemented

	Statement	Disagree	Undecided	Agree
i.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing vegetable gardening project.	3 (4.0)	73 (91.0)	4 (5.0)
ii.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing preschool project.	2 (2.5)	70 (87.5)	8 (10.0)
iii.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing borehole project.	1 (1.2)	76 (95.0)	3 (3.8)
iv.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing destitute housing project.	6 (7.6)	43 (53.8)	31 (38.8)
v.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing Kgotla shelter project.	-	77 (96.3)	3 (3.8)
vi.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing general shop project.	2 (2.6)	61 (76.3)	19 (21.3)
vii.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing stop shade project.	-	79 (98.8)	1 (1.3)
viii.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing mortuary project.	3 (3.8)	44 (55.0)	34 (42.5)
ix.	I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing gridding mill project.	5 (5.1)	66 (82.5)	10 (12.6)
X.	I am satisfied with the performance of the government and Trust partnership in implementing some of the projects.	3 (3.8)	67 (83.8)	10 (12.5)

Source: Field survey (2016)

Discussion:

Perceptions describes the attitude that people have toward a particular phenomenon concerning its existence and significance (Covello, 2009). Mislead perceptions which might be influenced by community or cultural opinions can hamper the implementation of rural projects. For anything to be a success, perception is essential. When the community is conscious of what an organisation is doing, it is easier for them to understand their roles and how they can contribute to the big picture. This tendency was also found by Lundgren and McMakin (2004) in relation to the Trust Determination theory that's holds that; a person 's trust in an institution is built on an understanding of its goals, motives, and actions in relationship to a person's values. Community trust have been identified to be built over time and also has an influence in determining the perceptions that exists within communities. The credibility of an organisation has been proven to affect people's perceptions towards an organisation, such that even if the organisation performs well in delivering its mandate, people will perceive it as failing based on its previous history. In organisations, perceptions of leaders, managers a well as employees shape the organisational climate and its effectiveness.

4.8. Chi square analysis showing the associations between explanatory variables and project implementation.

Table 4.7 shows the Pearson Chi square analysis on the associations between selected explanatory variables and performance in project implementation. The result indicates that at $p \le 0.01$ level of significance, the number of years which a Trust member had lived in the village $(\chi^2 = 154.30)$ is strongly associated with the implementation of projects by the Trust. Also, the frequency of leadership selection $(\chi^{2-} = 82.58)$ is strongly associated with the implementation of projects by the Trust. Office accessibility $(\chi^2 = 66.10)$ and availability of natural resources $(\chi^2 = 16.23)$ also were strongly associated with implementation of CBO projects. This was supported by the focus group interviews during which respondents noted that accessibility to some projects was problematic.

Table 4.7: Association of explanatory variables and project implementation (Chi-square)

	Variable	χ^2 -value	
1.	Number of years lived in the village	154.30**	
2.	Salary earned per month	96.63**	
3.	Frequency of leadership selection	82.58**	
4.	Office accessibility	66.10**	
5.	Availability of natural resources	16.23**	

^{**} χ^2 value significant at P \leq 0.01 level of significance

Discussion:

The number of years which a trust member had lived in a village might imply that community projects performance is often predicated on local support, which is strongly influenced by the experience and the length of stay of individuals in any local communities (Bennett & Dearden, 2014). Salary earned by members per month also had a strong association with the Trust's performance in project implementation. Although Sebele (2010) suggests that community members benefit less from salaries earned from working within community Trust; the ability of the Trust to independently earn money from elsewhere could motivate people to support project implementation in cash and kind. Clearly this implies that quality leadership that drives the activities of an organisation plays an important role in achieving its objectives, including project performance.

4.9 Summary

Chapter four outlined the results and discussions of the study based on the objectives. The chapter made some discussions which were linked to the findings and the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The overall purpose of this study was to examine the factors influencing the OCT's performance in RD project implementation. To operationalize this aim, objectives were formulated to guide the study. The objectives were to identify development projects implemented by OCT; explore the socio-economic attributes of the Trust members; and assess the influence of institutional dynamics on the Trust's performance. Overall, the conclusions made in this study were based on these objectives.

5.1 Summary

This study analysed OCT's performance in the implementation of RD projects in its communities of jurisdiction. There are some key variables that showed associations between the dependent variable and the independent variables. The results of this study are therefore rein forced by the claims made in the discussion. The independent variables studied included political will, governance, education of Trust members, community perceptions of Trust operations as well as environmental factors that influenced the Trust's performance. The establishment of a vegetable garden, pre-schools, construction of boreholes and destitute houses, kgotla shelters, shops, bus stop shade, grinding mills and the mortuary (through which the Trust generates most of its funds) were some of the projects implemented by the OCT. These development projects were of utmost importance to the social uplifting of the entire community. Based on the general perceptions of the three communities, the establishment of these projects remain meaningless if the distribution of benefits incurred from these projects is not inclusive. Most of the respondents were of the view that the majority of the development projects (such as the vegetable garden, borehole and stop shade) were effective but required management approaches that would ensure equity and their sustainability. Thakadu (2005) therefore suggested that future CBNRM initiatives should be conceptualised around the experiences and lessons of local communities that alone would promote a desirable attitude towards conservation.

Respondents comprised mostly of females because their male counterparts were engaged in other livelihoods activities elsewhere during data collection. Many members were not confident enough to sit for elections because they doubted their competency hence they stressed the need for frequent trainings, which would equip them with necessary leadership and managerial skills. Although the constitution of the Trust clearly stated that everyone had a fair

chance to sit on the BoT, the level of education of members seemed to have had an influence in determining who is eligible to be a part of the BoT. This also has an influence on how many of the projects were designed regarding their feasibility and sustainability.

Visibility of the projects in the respective communities also had an influence in the way members appraised the Trust. Performance in project implementation was predominantly rated based on where most project visibility and location; performance was rated as high if they are more in a certain village (such as in Seronga). However, the trust is rated as low in performance if there were few projects such as the case in Gudigwa. of. The ethnic diversification of the Trust in their respective communities. For instance, Seronga village (which is predominately constituted by the WaYeyi ethnic group) had more projects as compared to Gudigwa community (which is of BaSarwa ethnic group). CBO's are naturally constituted by vulnerable groups, including women, children, youth, the elderly and people with disabilities. In this instance, its indigenous people (that is, the Basarwa) whose ways of life have been altered rely on the CBO to survive. Secondly, participation especially from the youth was minimal. Most young people had alienated themselves from the Trust activities leaving the Trust to be run by older people. The youth were only mindful of any gainful employment that the CBO could offer them. Thirdly, it was evident in the study that the decision-making processes in the running of the Trust left a lot to be desired. Independent of community members' viewpoints, board members would make pertinent decisions most especially on critical issues such as the decision on the projects to implement.

5.2 Conclusion

The study sought to investigate the factors influencing the performance of OCT in project implementation. It concluded that OCT has made some strides in implementing a number of essential rural developments projects within the study areas, but which have not performed well. The results showed that an implemented project is deemed as successful by the local people when they perceive that the implementation of the project has benefitted them. This assessment could be either a subjective or an objective opinion depending on whoever has benefited from the project. As such, results showed that communities felt that a Trust performed satisfactorily in project implementation, if it conferred certain direct and indirect benefits on them. Overall, lack of community participation in the Trust activities was implicated in the ineffectiveness of some implemented projects. The Trust officials were left with the burden of solely implementing projects (which were intended to benefit the entire

community). This scenario, therefore, warrants the need to create awareness among members regarding the role of community participation in enhancing successful performance of CBOs in project implementation. Of the 8 projects implemented by the OCT (i.e. the vegetable garden, pre-schools, borehole and destitute houses, kgotla shelters, shops, bus stop shelter, grinding mill and the mortuary), only 3 projects were successfully implemented, constituting about 37.5 percent success rate.

5.3 Recommendations

While some of these recommendations are not new, all were derived from the findings of the study. Therefore many of them serve as a reinforcement on existing recommendations that have been raised by other community development researchers and practitioners in different parts of the world. The following recommendations are provided:

- ➤ The BoT needs to make deliberate efforts to extend and encourage members of the Trust to frequently engage in refresher training on leadership and bookkeeping skills so as to empower them to participate meaningfully in RD project implementation. They need to be acquainted with project management competences that will enhance projects performance.
- ➤ For CBO sustainability, the relationship between all necessary stakeholders (i.e. the local government, community members, business and the CBO) should be fostered by the relevant government authorities and even the village leadership. It will be crucial for all to be consulted to contribute toward the decision-making process and desired performance of the Trust.
- Frequent dialogue is required between policy-makers and communities in locations where CBOs are based so as to reach a consensus on how they can better work together in order to help these organisations achieve their objectives. Better information is a prerequisite for sound decision making.
- ➤ Outreach education and training is important in changing people's perceptions and creating situational awareness on RD. According to the literature, local communities often distance themselves from Trusts activities because of the widespread perceptions that CBO's are corrupt. Understanding the importance of how community Trusts operate and how they can contribute to RD and poverty reduction within local communities could be achieved through outreach and education programmes.

5.4 Limitations of the study

Busy respondents: Most respondents, especially the key informants, were always preoccupied with work which resulted in loss of time. Otherwise the researcher had to wait for respondents who were either having meetings or attending workshops in Maun.

Social desirability bias: The respondents may have over-reported only the failings of the Trust in project implementation. This applies especially to respondents who felt that they had not personally benefited directly from the CBO and thus would hesitate to give any information favourable on the community Trust. In some instances, the researcher was able to discern that some respondents denied benefits they derived from the Trust.

5.5 Contributions to the body of knowledge

While this research provided some basics on factors affecting the performance of CBOs, it also opened up a series of questions for future research. It is recommended that detailed future research should focus more on quantitative data on institutional factors like corruption, internal management, and CBO formation procedures which had significant associations with CBO performance in project implementation. The qualitative data could not feasibly measure the influence of these factors on CBO performance in implementing projects. Focus should, therefore, be given to institutional or political factors because the respondents placed more emphasis on them and gave re-occurring responses on them during the FGD.

The research sought to provide some insights on factors influencing the implementation of RD projects by CBOs in the Okavango Delta, Botswana. Interactions with the literature increased both empirical and theoretical understandings on the topic. This study, therefore, provided the evidence that socio-economic challenges, institutional dynamics, cultural influences, ecological factors are crucial contributors to the performance of CBOs.

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APPENDIX I



Dear Respondent/Go Mobotsolosiwa

Thank you for being part of this study. My name is Phatsimo Ditlhakeng a student at Okavango Research Institute), University of Botswana, Maun campus. I am conducting a study about the Performance of Community-Based Organizations in Development Project implementation in Ngamiland District.

Ke leboga go menagane go bo o mphile tshono ya go go botsolotsa. Ke bidiwa Phatsimo Ditlhakeng, moithuti ko Mmadikolo (UB), mo Maun.ke dira dipatlisiso malebang le ka fa ditruste di dirang ka teng mo metseng ya tsone, thata thata mo kgaolong ya Nhabe mo.

I would like to explore some of the factors that contribute to the performance of CBOs in project implementation. The study is based on the Okavango Community Trust; therefore, your participation is highly appreciated. The outcome of the study will enhance the knowledge on the factors that affect CBOs performance in order for them to devise strategies to improve.

Ke rata go tlhotlhomisa mabaka a a dirang gore di Truste di seka tsa dira sentle mo go tliseng ditlamelo mo bathing. Truste ya OCT ke e tlhopile go e sekaseka tebang le mabaka ana. Maduo a patlisiso ena a tla ntshetsa kontle mathata a a lebaganeng lekgotla gore metlhale ya go a baakanya e batliwe.

The information gathered from the survey will be treated with outmost confidentiality. I will ensure that all respondents remain anonymous. Answers will not be discussed with anyone else. In the results, personal information will no longer be identifiable as only the sum or average will be mentioned. If you have question about this study, please feel free to ask.

Dikgang tsotlhe tse re tla di buisanyang gareng ga nna le wena di tla seke di itswewe ke ope gape gore di tswa mo go wena. Fa o nale potso nngwe, o letlelesega go botsa.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and Tla ke go leboga go menagane go mpha tirisar	e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e
Can we proceed? A re ka tswelela?	
Space for serial #:	Date:

75

 $Section \ A \\ Demographic \ Information \ and \ Socio-Economic \ characteristics \ of \ Trust \ members$

Question	Response /Codes			
i) Gender of Respondent [check and record] (Bong) iii) What is your marital status (A o nyetse kana o nyetswe?)	1. Male (Monna) [] (01) 2. Female (Mosadi) [] (02) 1.Married [] (01) 2.Never married [] (02) 3.Divorced [] (03) 4.Widowed [] (04) 5.In separation [] (05) 5.Living together [] (06)			
iv) What is your level of education (O feletse kae mo sekolong?).	1.None(Ga ke a tsena sekole gotlhelele) [] 2.DOSET(Ga e golelwe) [] 3.Primary(Sekolo se sebotlana STD 1 – STD 7)[] 4. Junior secondary (Sekolo se se golwane Form 1 -3) [] 5. Senior secondary(Sekolo se segolwne Form 4 – 5) [] 6. Post-secondary/Tertiary (Sekolo sa ithutelo-tiro) []			
v) How long have you lived in this village? (O lobaka lo lo kae o ntse o nna mo motseng o?	1.Less than 5 years [] (01) 2.6 to 10 years [] (02) 3.11 to 15 years [] (03) 4.more than 15 years [] (04)			
vi) What is your ethnicity? [O Motswana wa letso lefe?]	1.Basarwa [] (01) 2.BaTawana [] (02) 3.Herero [] (03) 4.Bambukhushu[] (04) 5.Basubiya [] (05) 6.Other(specify)[] (06)			
vii) Are you employed [A o a bereka?)	1.Yes [] (01) 2.No [] (02)			
a. If employed how much do you earn in (BWP) per month (O amogela bokae ka kgwedi?)	1.Below 499 [] (01) 2.Between 500-699 [] (02) 3.Between 700-899 [] (03) 4. More than 900 [] (04) 5. Other (specify) [] (05)			
b. If employed, what is your current means of livelihood? (o itshetsa ka eng?	1.Farming [] (01) 2.Fishing [] (02) 3.Craft Production [] (03) 4.Beer Production [] (04) 5.Ipelegeng [] (05) 6.Old Pension Fund [] (06) 7.Hawking [] (07) 8.Other(specify) [] (08)			

viii) With your skills and experiences, do you think you could do something else than what you are doing now to earn a living.(Ka bokgoni jwa gago go nale sengwe gape se o ne o ka eletsa go se dirisa go itshetsa?)	1.Yes [] (01) 2.No [] (02)
If yes,	Specify
ix. Do you see the Trust creating employment opportunities for the community? (A Truste e a tle ele fe le le sechaba ditshono tsa go bereka kgotsa go bona ditiro?)	1.Yes [] (01) 2.No [] (02)
a . If yes, cite examples of such.	
x) Do you have access to?	1.a radio (Yes) [] (No)[] 2.local newspaper (Yes) [] (No)[] 3.a cell phone (Yes) [] (No)[] 4.television (Yes) [] (No)[]

Section B: Development Projects implementation by OCT

Question	Response
i) Which projects have been or are currently being implemented by the Community Trust in the village? State those projects. (Ke mananeo (kgotsadiproject dife) afe a a diragaditsweng ke Trust ya motes kgotsa a diragatswa gone jaana?) ii) What are your preferred projects for future implementation? Kindly identify them. (Mo isagong,o ka eletsa go bona di project dife di dirwa ke Trust/)	(01) (02) (03) (04) (05) (01) (02) (03) (04) (05)

Section C: Cultural & Resource Mobilisation

Statement	Yes	No
Members of the community are given equal opportunity to be board members of the Trust.		
All categories of people (children, youth, men, women, and disabled) of the community are well represented in the Trust.		
Community leadership (e.g. Kgosi, Councilor, MP) give the organization the necessary support.		
The community at large has a sense of ownership over the Trust.		
I contribute actively in raising finances for the organisation.		
The organization gives education and training to the community members.		1
The office is well equipped in terms of resources to carry out its mandate.		

Section D: Influences of environmentals of CBO performance Please indicate with a cross(X) and rate yourself honestly based on the statements using the following scales: (5) strongly-Agree (4) Agree (3) Neutral (2) Disagree (1) Strongly Disagree

scales. (3) strongry-Agree (4) Agree (.) Neutrai	(2) Dis	sagice	(1) Suong	ry Disagree
Statement	Agree/				Disagree/ Strongly
	Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree
	Agree				
The Office is accessible					
Scarcity of resources affect the Trust's income					
generating activities					
The Trust is solely dependent on natural resources					
for income generation					
The community is engaged in efforts to conserve					
resources that generate funds.					
There is little connection between the protection					
of the environment and people's livelihoods.					

Section E: Influences of institutional dynamics of CBO performance

Please indicate with a cross(X) and rate yourself honestly based on the statements using the following scales: (5) strongly-Agree (4) Agree (3) Neutral (2) Disagree (1) Strongly Disagree

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Experience is essential in Trust					
leadership selection					
Trust leaders should be elected after					
three years					
Community reports must be given					
annually					
Trusts perform better when initiated					
by the Government.					
OCT has a functioning constitution					
The OCT keeps its members updated					
on the progress made in the					
organisation(Community					
Participation)					
The OCT keeps its members updated					
on the progress made in the					
organisation(Community					
Participation)					
The Government gives the Trust					
support.					

Section F: Perceptions about CBOs performance in project implementation

Statement	Disagree	Undecided	Agree
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
vegetable gardening project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
preschool project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
borehole project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
destitute housing project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
Kgotla shelter project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing general shop project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing			
stop shade project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing mortuary project.			
I am satisfied with the Trust's performance in implementing gridding mill project.			
I am satisfied with the performance of the government and			
Trust partnership in implementing some of the projects.			

Section G: Recommendations

Suggest ways to improve on project simolodisa diproject?)	ct implementation by the Trust?	(Truste e ka tokafatsa jang go

We have come to the end of the interview, thank you very much.

APPENDIX II



Dear Respondents/Go Babotsolosiwa

Thank you for being part of this study. My name is Phatsimo Ditlhakeng a student at Okavango Research Institute), University of Botswana, Maun campus. I am conducting a study about the Performance of Community-Based Organizations in Development Project implementation in Ngamiland District.

Ke leboga go menagane go bo o mphile tshono ya go go botsolotsa.Ke bitswa Phatsimo Ditlhakeng,moithuti ko Mmadikolo (UB),mo Maun.Ke dira dipatlisiso malebeng le ka fa di Truste di dirang ka teng mo metseng ya tsone,thata thata mo kgaolong ya Nhabe mo.

I would like to explore some of the factors that contribute to the performance of CBOs in project implementation. The study is based on the Okavango Community Trust, therefore your participation is highly appreciated. The outcome of the study will enhance the knowledge on the factors that affect CBOs performance in order for them to devise strategies to improve.

Ke rata go tlhotlhomisa mabaka a a dirang gore di Truste di seka tsa dira sentle mo go tliseng ditlamelo mo bathing. Truste ya OCT ke e tlhopile go e sekaseka tebang le mabaka ana. Maduo a patlisiso ena a tla ntshetsa kontle mathata a a lebaganeng legotla gore metlhale ya go a baakanya e batliwe.

The information gathered from the survey will be treated with outmost confidentiality. I will ensure that all respondents remain anonymous. Answers will not be discussed with anyone else. In the results, personal information will no longer be identifiable as only the sum or average will be mentioned. If you have question about this study please feel free to ask.

Dikgang tsotlhe tse re tla di buisaang gareng ga nna le wena di tla seke di itswewe ke ope gape gore di tswa mo go wena. Fa o nale potso nngwe, o letlelesega go botsa.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and understanding. *Tla ke go leboge go menagane go mpha tirisano mmogo le kutlwisiso.*

Can we proceed? A re ka tswelela?

- 1. Are the needs and priorities of different community groupings (e.g. ethnicity, youth, women, etc.) in project implementation the same? (Mo sechabeng ka kakaretso, a gona le bongwefela jwa pelo mo dikeletsong tsa makgamu aa farologanyeng jaaka letso, bomme le banana?)
- 2. Is there any external political interference that the Trust is faced with? (A gona le sepolotiki mo ditsamaisong tsa Trust?)
- **3.** Can a resident from member village access amenities of projects in a different member village? (A monni wa motse o sele o kgona go akola meamuso ya di-project kwa motseng o sele o eseng monni wa one?)
- **4.** Does the government and other external institutions offer the Trust any support? (A Truste e bona thotoetso gotswa mogo goromente le makgotla a mangwe?)
- 5. What is your Does the Board of Trustees (BoT) and the community members have consensus over the running of the Trust? (A gona le tumalano magareng ga sechaba le bogogi jwa Truste mabapi le go tsamaisiwa gay one?)
- 6. understanding of the support given and how often? (Maitemogelo a gago ke afe mabapi thotoetso e, legone e fiwa ga kae?)
- 7. What are the barriers encountered when implementing projects? (Ke dife dikgwetlho tse di itemogelwang mo go diragatseng di-project)
- 8. What do you think can be done to overcome the barriers encountered? (Goka dirwa eng go tila dikgwetlho tse?)
- 9. What recommendations do you have for future efforts in implementing community projects? (Bogakolodi jwa gago ke eng mabapi le go diragadiwa ga di-project tsa sechaba mo isagong?)

We have come to the end of the interview, thank you very much for your time. Leka moso.