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**An Analysis of State-Civil Society Relationships in Botswana: A case of the Women's
Affairs Department and Women Non-Governmental Organisations**

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
degree of

Master of Public Policy

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

[2011]

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

A note of appreciation is extended to my sponsor, BIDPA, for granting me an opportunity to further my studies. I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Vinothan Naidoo for the academic supervision provided with insight and patience, for timely feedback and constructive criticism. I would also like to thank my family and friends for the love, support and encouragement, my sister Tshepo, my brother Sam, my friends Mabel and Oreeditse. Thanks to Tebogo and Sebathu Chiapo for their hospitality and the numerous gestures of kindness that made working on this thesis less stressful. I am grateful to Oliki for taking care of my baby Maya while I spent time working on this dissertation. A special thanks to my husband Percy Mooketsane for the unwavering support that he offered me throughout my studies.

This dissertation is dedicated to my late parents Keatlaretse and Pheny Mapena who believed in me, and taught me the value of education in so many ways.

Abstract

Interactions between the state and Non-governmental Organisations have been heightened globally. This has led to states engaging civil society more than ever before. However, tendencies to control NGOs by the state seem common in African countries. This dissertation seeks to examine relations between the state and NGOs in Botswana. Botswana is a democratic country, which has been hailed as stable and a strong state, however, civil society in Botswana remains weak. This creates a problem of a dominant state and weak civil society.

The dissertation employs Najam's theoretical framework in trying to understand the extent of state dominance in the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana. Najam's theoretical framework is based on institutional interests and preferences for policy ends and means. Najam defines relationships between the state and NGOs in four ways: as cooperation, complementarity, cooptation and confrontation. The research used qualitative research methods in the form of document analysis and key informant interviews. This method was appropriate to enable the examination of policy ends and means, which entailed reviewing the organisations goals and strategies used to achieve the goals. The study uses the Women's Affairs Department, which represents the state and government policy on gender issues and five women NGOs as subjects for study.

Findings reveal that the following were important factors in the relationship between WAD and the five NGOs: NGOs lack of finance, the collapse of the Women NGO coalition, the lack of a legal framework to guide the relations between the state and the NGOs. The exit of donors on classifying Botswana as a middle-income country worsened NGOs lack of finance. This led to increased dependency on the state. The use of Najam's framework indicated that the relations between the state and NGOs can be classified as cooperation and complementarity. This is in line with analysis according to the interviews but appeared

contradictory to the literature, which characterised the relationship as one of cooptation and control hence state dominance. While there seems to be a contradiction between what the literature and the framework suggest there is an underlying link between the two. Even though relations show cooperation and complementarity Najam indicates that this does not rule out the possibility of cooptation. He argues that cooptation relations are transitory, unstable and temporary. Cooperation and complimentary relationships could be a result of cooptation. I argue that the relationship between the state and NGOs exhibits elements of cooperation, complementarity and cooptation. Therefore, this dissertation concludes that the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana is characterised by state dominance to some extent.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of Non- Governmental Organisations
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CORDE	Cooperative for Research Development and Education
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KS-WSP	Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organisations
NGPF	National Gender Programme Framework
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
SAREC	Sustainable Agriculture Research and Extension Centre
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency of International Development
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WFHB	Women Finance House Botswana

WIA	Women in Action for Abused Women and Children Living with HIV/AIDS
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WNGOs	Women Non-governmental Organisations

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Global trends have shown an upsurge in interactions between states and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). NGOs have also grown in terms of size, number and capacity worldwide and so has their contribution towards development. These developments can be attributed to a number of factors among others: the acknowledgement of NGOs by governments as important actors in development and in some cases as partners, the reduction of the size of the state and its extended role in most developing countries, channelling of resources by the developed countries to developing countries through NGOs, the call for good governance and participatory means of development that enhance democracy as well as failure of the government to meet demands and needs of the people. Prior to the introduction of public sector reforms, many developing countries were characterised by large, inefficient bureaucracies, public policy and provision of goods and services were largely centred on the government. This emphasis on the government changed with the introduction of public sector reforms, new public management and governance, which placed emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness as well as governance and not government. Governance places emphasis on the role of citizens individually and organised, in various forms of association at all levels of the policy process (Brinkerhoff 1998:1).

States and NGOs are bound to interact as they pursue their courses of action. In fact, the interactions and consequently relationships between the state and the NGOs have become inevitable. Ndengwa (1996:21) indicates that, "the growing presence and capacity of NGOs in all sectors of development and their overtaking of states in some instances due to the states decreasing capacity have put the two on a sure collision course". The relationships between the states and the NGOs are important and have implications for both the NGOs

and the states. They determine the extent to which NGOs and states influence public policy and development.

It is important to note that relationships between states and NGOs do not take place either in a vacuum or in an even playing field. They take place in a dynamic and global environment influenced by socio political and economic factors. The state and the NGOs do not have the same advantage in the relationship; this has certain implications for both the state and NGOs. Despite the uneven power status, it is possible that the state and NGOs could work together towards the achievement of a common goal. Similarly, the state can use its power over NGOs to its advantage and restrict NGO activities or sabotage them. The state has the upper hand in the relationship, it has more resources and it sets the framework under which the NGOs operate through policy and legislation. Powerful as it may be, the state can feel threatened by the existence of some NGOs especially those that are autonomous. Ndengwa (1996: 22) indicates, "African governments have come to view NGOs as socioeconomic assets but also more warily as political challengers whose benevolence needs to be directed and coordinated in order not to undermine the state". Countries like Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe have witnessed tightened control of NGO activities by states through legislation (Dicklitch 1998, Ndengwa 1996). As Clark (1997:47) notes, "Government policies, practices and even attitudes can have a pivotal influence on the capacity of NGOs to operate and grow".

There are some impediments to effective collaboration between the state and NGOs. Corruption and nepotism can also strain NGO government relationships (Clark 1997: 50). The support of NGOs by external bodies has also proven to be problematic for most developing countries. Ndegwa (1996:24) indicates that African governments have often legitimately questioned whose agenda local NGOs pursue. According to Clark (1997:52), "When the NGO sector is dominated by foreign or international NGOs problems can arise between the government and the NGO, if the government feels that it is being squeezed out of development decision making".

Under certain conditions, the state and NGOs can establish a healthy relationship; however, this rarely occurs in African countries. According to Clark (1993:5), this is only conceivable where both the NGOs and the state have common objectives. He also indicates the possibility of a strong collaborative relationship where the government has a positive social agenda and where the NGOs are effective. He stresses the importance of the need for a genuine partnership based on mutual respect, acceptance of autonomy, independence and pluralism of NGO opinions and positions.

1.2 Research problem: State NGO relations in Botswana

The research problem can be stated as - State NGO relations where the state is strong and dominant while civil society is weak.

In the context of democratisation in Africa Botswana has earned admiration for stability and has been cited as a shining model of democracy (Somolekae 1993:113, Lekorwe 2007:7). Botswana is also one of the few African countries to have built a successful democracy whilst its civil society structures remain weak (Lekorwe, 1998:87). While there is a perception that a strong and vibrant civil society is necessary for a healthy democracy, Botswana continues to prosper with a weak civil society. A number of reasons can be attributed to the weakness of the civil society in Botswana. Taylor (2003:221) links the weakness of Botswana's civil society to political and economic stability that has prevailed since independence, the lack of any meaningful struggle for independence and the absence of a tradition of questioning. However, what is important is whether the government has created a conducive environment for the growth and development of civil society. Equally important is whether the government has used its power to retard the growth of NGOs. Carbone (2003:66) notes constitutional rights as guaranteed in the Botswana constitution but questions whether the government has created the necessary climate to allow civil society organisations to articulate their programmes and play a constructive role in fostering a culture of openness, tolerance and accountability.

Failure of the government to provide an effective framework for its interactions with the state has further contributed to the dilapidation of the NGO sector in Botswana. Although the government developed a National Policy for Nongovernmental organisations (2001), to guide current and future development by the NGO sector and articulate the relationship and partnership modalities between government and development partners, it is yet to be implemented.

The issue of local NGOs receiving financial support from international bodies has caused tensions and has been a problematic area for most African countries; Botswana has not been an exception. The government has been indicted for accusing NGOs of representing foreign interests. Accusations have been directed at the government for discrediting NGOs with international ties. According to Taylor (2003:221), the government has exhibited highly undemocratic tendencies to portray those organs of civil society it deems beyond its control as foreign stooges, and has not been shy to play the race card against any foreign supporters of civil society in adversarial relationships with Gaborone. The financial dependence of some NGOs on foreign donors has led to allegations about NGOs serving foreign interests over national interests. While these may just be allegations, it is possible that NGOs will at times have to forfeit their agenda in honour of their financiers.

Public policy in Botswana remains largely in the hands of bureaucrats (Molutsi 1990: 327, Somolekae 1993:119). NGOs still have not been able to influence government decisions despite regular interactions and consultations with the government. Carroll and Carroll (2004: 334) acknowledge that non-governmental organisations in Botswana have regular direct or indirect interaction with the state. According to Maundeni, (2004: 71b) Botswana's national development objectives, which determine allocation of resources, have not been altered by the entry of more civic organisations.

When interviewed by Carbone (2003) Keboitse Machangana, a representative from an NGO indicated that although the government engages with the NGOs and is receptive to their

views the resource allocation does not reflect any responsiveness. The government does not provide resources to complement decisions made by the NGOs. Furthermore, Machangana suggests that the consultations are a way of making the NGOs even weaker. The consultations create a delusion that the NGOs are involved in decision-making.

Leslie (2006:40) suggests that Botswana is a strong state that is more able than other states to ignore external pressures and more able to control internal groups even to the extent of managing them. She further states that where the government practises are accommodative towards NGOs, this should be seen as tolerating such organisations rather than willingness to engage with such organisations in pursuit of recommended changes. However, Holm (1993:91) indicates that democratic government in modern societies means that open and tolerant discussion of issues results in decision making with significant responsiveness to the opinion expressed. Considering the above discussion, open and tolerant discussions are present in Botswana but it seems the government does not implement the resolutions from the discussions.

The government of Botswana has been able to control NGOs through funding. By providing funding, the government is able to control the activities of the NGOs. Molutsi (1990: 329) claims the government manipulates NGOs through sizable financial grants. He asserts that well over 50 % of some of the groups' budgets comes from the government and this makes them hesitant to challenge status quo. Leslie (2006:41) indicates that civil society in Botswana is weak and largely dominated by the state. She also claims that most civil society organisations cannot escape the dominance since a large portion of their budget comes from the government.

Kerapeletswe, Isaksen, Slob and Jerve (2008:60) found that the donor exits in the 1990s hit the NGO sector considerably harder than the government hence many NGOs were found persuading government support for their ailing finances. The withdrawal of donors from assisting NGOs in Botswana has affected the viability of these groups leaving them to

depend more on the government. This reduces the autonomy and the strength of the NGOs. NGOs experienced a decline in donor support due to the exit of major donors. According to Government of Botswana (2001:6), the remaining donors substantially reduced the support for various reasons including unfavourable global economic conditions and the assumption that Botswana has its own resources to meet development costs.

State NGO relationships have raised a lot of attention, scholars and practitioners have made efforts to understand the relationships. However, there still has not been any consensus reached about the conceptualisation of the relationships. The relationships are complex, diverse and evolving, the contexts under which these relationships take place are different hence the difficulty in finding a uniform framework. Although many agree that the relationships are pivotal to the contribution of NGOs to development in any given country, many still feel the relationships are still not understood. Najam (2000:375) states that these relationships are poorly understood and often simplified.

1.2.1 Research Aims

The aim of the research is to examine the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana through the case of women and gender policy.

1.2.2 Research Question

This research seeks to answer the following research question:

To what extent does state dominance characterise the relationship between the state and the NGOs in Botswana?

1.2.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of the research can be stated as follows;

- To identify the goals and strategies of the Women's Affairs Department and the particular Women NGOs

- To classify the nature of relationships between the Women's Affairs Department and the Women NGOs

1.3 Significance of State NGO relations in Botswana

Understanding the relationship between the State and NGOs is highly relevant and important in the Botswana context for a number of reasons some of which are discussed below. The government of Botswana recognises the need to team together with civil society in working towards improving the status of women in Botswana, (Women's Affairs Department 2000: 35). The Botswana Women in Development Policy also identifies NGOs as important actors in realising the contribution of women to the country's economy. Similarly, National Development Plan 7 states that government welcomes NGOs as partners in development and most importantly recognises and respects the importance of NGOs to remain autonomous. The government's intentions are stated as, 'to facilitate and support efforts to work with such organisations, but not to supplant them,' (National Development Plan 7:386). Although the intentions of the government are laudable, the reality on the ground may be different. Understanding the nature of relationships between the government and the NGOs can help us establish if the government has been successful in maintaining effective partnerships with NGOs. Brinkerhoff (2002:20) suggests, 'Partnership is in danger of remaining a feel good panacea for governance without a pragmatic grasp of what it is and how it differs from business as usual.' There is a possibility that whilst government may see partnerships as necessary to fulfil external demands such as aid assistance there is the danger that NGOs are used for political purposes.

The costs and implications of the absence of a meaningful relationship between the government and the NGOs may be high. Botswana has over the years been praised widely for good governance and enduring democracy. Unlike many African countries, Botswana has sustained democratic principles, peace and stability. Engaging the civil society in issues of development creates a participatory democracy, which is espoused by international bodies. There has also been a globalised movement towards the engagement of civil

society; Botswana like many other countries may be under pressure from the international forum to follow trends and take cognisance of the role of NGOs towards development. It has been noted that recent developments have shown a global trend towards greater and largely more cooperative interaction between the state and the civil society (Najam 2000: 375).

Establishing working relationships between the state and NGOs is desirable. Such relationships can help provide checks and balances, hence enhance democracy and good governance. NGOs would also be able to unleash their full potential and assist the state in provision of goods and services. The importance of state NGO relationships cannot be overstated. It is hoped that this research can contribute to improving knowledge about the nature of the relationships between the state and NGOs in Botswana.

1.4 Women NGOs and Public Policy in Botswana

The participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life at national, regional and international levels and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on the basis of sex are priority objectives of the international community (Government of Botswana and UNDP 1998:1). The implementation of such an agenda, however, is dependent on individual government's ability and desire. The Botswana government is signatory to some regional and international gender declarations. These include the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Millennium Development Goals, International Conference on Population and Development and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. The signing of such treaties and agreements however does not equate to implementation.

According to Leslie (2006: xv), even though Botswana has been hailed for its democratic principles its record on women's rights has not been positive. On the other hand, women organisations in Botswana have been cited as active and having had the most impact on government decisions compared to other NGOs (Mogalakwe and Sebudubudu, 2006:212 ; Leslie 2006:64) . As such, it would be interesting to observe how relationships between the

state and these NGOs have evolved. It is important to note that some of the women organisations were in operation way before WAD was established.

1.5 Methodology

The research employs qualitative research methods in the form of analysis of primary and secondary documents and interviews with officials and representatives of NGOs. Data was collected from the available literature on State NGO relationships and WAD as well as the NGOs under review. The research also made use of available documentation published and unpublished in the form of government documents, policy documents, annual reports, organizational profiles and pamphlets.

The study uses WAD and the five WNGOs as subjects of study; these are Emang Basadi, Kagisano Society Women Shelter Project (KS-WSP), Women Finance House Botswana (WFHB), Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) and Women in Action for Abused Women and Children living with HIV/AIDS (WIA). The use of a variety of organisations allows for better exploration of relationships since the department may relate differently to the organisations given the various activities they pursue in reaching their objectives. The organisations were chosen based on the nature of their work. These are NGOs committed to improving the status of women in the country. I purposively selected NGOs carrying out a variety of activities directed at the development of women in Botswana.

1.6 Chapter outline of thesis

The following chapter is the literature review. This chapter provides a summary and discussion of the relevant literature. The literature review is drawn from three main themes, which include state NGO relationships in developing countries, NGO development, and NGO and women issues. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework. Here I discuss theoretical concepts applicable to the research. The relevance, strengths and weaknesses of these theories are discussed in effort to establish the most appropriate framework. In Chapter 4, I present the research methodology. In this chapter, I provide a detailed discussion of the

research methodology used explaining the methods used and how they were implemented. The findings of the research are discussed in Chapter 5 followed by the final chapter, chapter 6 which is on conclusions.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The research topic straddles a few academic disciplines and fields, these include Public Administration, Political Science, Sociology, Gender and Women Studies, Social-Psychology, Public Policy and Development Studies therefore borrows material from the various subject areas. This chapter presents various perspectives on themes emerging from a review of literature on the following; NGOs and civil society, NGOs and Democracy, NGO development, state NGO relations and NGO and women issues. These issues are all relevant to state NGO relations. I also present the situation of the state and the NGOs in Botswana.

The state NGO relationships are influenced by different factors hence they differ from one nation to another. The state however remains the arbitrator in these relationships. It sets the legislation hence determines the nature of the environment in which these relations take place. NGOs have been accepted as important actors of development with potential contribution to public participation, democracy and development. However, their impact at a larger scale has been questioned. It is believed that NGO capacities constrain them from making a nationwide impact but only allow them an impact on their members and small communities. Due to their size, NGOs have not succeeded in providing alternatives to development and service provision. The NGOs also face enormous challenges in their attempt to contribute to development.

Women worldwide have organised themselves into groups and NGOs to help advance their cause. While they remain marginalised in most developing countries their efforts to mobilise and engage with the state have in some instances paid off. International organisations have also urged governments to be sensitive towards women's needs in policymaking. This has

resulted in the use of strategies like gender mainstreaming, gender equality and gender sensitive budgeting and gender analysis.

While governments' commitments to social development are laudable, certain strategies and mechanisms need to be in place to ensure that the implementation of social policies is possible and consequently ensure that government turn commitments to reality. The governments' provision of goods and services is usually inclined towards the general public assuming that all will benefit without carefully considering the needs and interests of the minority or the vulnerable groups. As Clark (1997:43) indicates

When a government endeavours to give greater weight to reducing poverty, to redressing gender on ethnic biases, to combating environmental degradation, or to involve the poor and their communities in development decision making and resource allocation, it is likely to find its normal macro instruments inadequate.

It is for this reason that governments should consider and adopt other approaches to development. Participatory approaches to development are necessary for effective public policy. Collaborating with NGOs towards development can help governments deal with social problems and enhance democracy in the process.

2.2 NGOs and civil society

The World Bank defines NGOs as private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services and or undertake community development (WB, 2001) cited in (Lekorwe, 2007:4).

Hall (1987:3) quoted in Najam (2000:380) defines non-profit organisations as a body of individuals who associate for any three purposes:

- To perform public tasks that have been delegated to them by the state
- To perform public tasks for which there is a demand that neither the state nor for profit organisations are willing to fulfil or

- To influence the direction of policy in the state, the for. profit sector or other non profit organisations+

According to Diamond (1994) in Lekorwe (2007:7)

Civil society is the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self generating, self supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by legal order or set of shared rules...it involves citizens acting collectively in a public space to express their interests, passions, ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state and hold state officials accountable. It is an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the state.

Mercer (2002:7) views NGOs as bolsters of civil society; he claims they facilitate stronger civil society. As an actor that strengthens civil society, it therefore follows that NGOs through their participatory approach enhance democratization hence; NGOs bolster both civil society and democracy. According to Bratton (1989:570a), NGOs pluralise institutional environment and promotes democracy through encouraging participation in decision making. On the other hand, Mercer (2002:8) argues that NGOs strengthen civil society and democracy through; pluralising the institutional arena, working with and representing the marginalised and checking state power by challenging its autonomy. Furthermore, Mercer (2002:7) argues that civil society strengthens the state's capacity for good governance through ensuring legitimacy, accountability and transparency.

2.3 NGO Development

NGOs have been widely praised. They have been hailed as smaller and therefore more innovative, adaptable, cost effective and locally informed. According to Garrison (2000) in Mercer (2002:18) their grassroots representation brings legitimacy and community mobilisation to the programmes they engage in. Among other things, NGOs have been recognised as adaptive and flexible, less costly, innovative, and able to reach the poorest communities. They have also been reported to strengthen local governments and empower

marginal groups. According to Clark (1997:43) NGOs provide instruments which whether invited or not by governments, emphasise the participation of the poor. It is this approach to development that seems to make NGOs popular and an important part of democratization and good governance. However while some proponents believe that NGOs can strengthen the state some believe strengthening NGOs can actually weaken democratic development.

A lot of the initial literature on NGOs presents NGOs positively. NGOs appeared as a panacea to development problems, they were more often than not described appealingly and their comparative advantages overly emphasised. Najam (2002:377) reflects on this inclination towards NGOs as he states:

After all, it is the government that we the public love to hate; nongovernmental organisations cannot be a suspect. It is the large bureaucracies we mistrust small, voluntary organisations are our friends. It is the profit motive that we find vulgar; altruism is noble...after all one does not scrutinise magic too closely otherwise it loses its charm.

NGOs in most developing countries have been branded as weak, fragmented, uncoordinated and uncooperative (Mercer, 2002: 13). This is a generalised statement that has been used to describe NGOs in developing countries it is however not necessarily applicable to all. There have been cases of effective NGOs in Africa; most importantly, some NGOs have played a significant role in the democratization of their nations and in representing the marginalised.

2.4 NGOs and democratization

The growth of NGOs has been associated with the need for political democracy and good governance (Mercer 1998). Vakil (1997: 2059) argues that NGOs may serve a purpose of strengthening civil society in order to prevent authoritarian rule in a state. Mercer (2002:8) similarly places emphasis on the role of civil society in consolidation of democracy, this she indicates is done through checking abuses of power, preventing resumption of power by

authoritarian governments and encouraging wider citizen participation and public scrutiny of the state. She also notes the role of civil society in democratic transitions where civil society plays a major role in mobilising pressure for political change.

The mere presence of civil society or NGOs is not an adequate indication of democracy. Carothers (1999) qualifies this by stating that an active, diverse civil society often plays a valuable role in helping advance democracy, through disciplining the state, ensuring that citizens' interests are taken seriously and fostering civic and political participation. He also notes that a strong civil society can actually reflect dangerous political weaknesses. The assumption here is that where there is political stability civil society tends to be weak. Democracy in itself also does not guarantee the development of a strong civil society. Botswana is one of the countries that have maintained democracy but still have a relatively weak civil society.

The emergence of NGOs as actors of development and an important part of civil society has been largely noted and associated with countries undertaking democratic transitions. This is not to suggest that NGOs are less important or present in developed democracies. NGOs are evidently present and imperative in both developing and developed countries. Their capacities, operations and the impact they make are however different. It is important to note that the environment in which the NGOs operate is a determining factor of what the NGOs can or cannot achieve. While Mercer (2002) suggests that NGOs are more vibrant in places where some form of democracy has been the political norm for some time this has not necessarily been the case in Botswana that has maintained a democratic system of government. Similarly, the view that a vibrant civil society is a prerequisite for democracy does not seem applicable to Botswana.

NGOs have been identified as important actors to democracy (Ndengwa 1996:2). NGO activities enhance participation of communities towards democracy and development; furthermore, NGOs provide checks and balances and are able to hold the government

accountable. As noted by Ndengwa (1996:15) to institute good governance it is necessary to have an active and developed civil society that will hold the state to account in various arenas. While this is desirable, it is not always the case. Civil society in some nations is stagnant and weak. Fowler (2000) believes that NGOs can help pluralise civil society in Africa but he dismisses NGOs in African countries as incapable of contributing to democratization.

Carothers (1999) claims that NGOs shape policy by exerting pressure on government and by furnishing technical expertise to policy makers. What Carothers is suggesting is ideal and desirable but a mirage particularly in the African context where only a few NGOs have been able to influence public policy significantly mostly due to lack of capacity and overbearing states. The ability of the NGOs to exert pressure on the state and to influence public policy should not be presumed. However, Carothers (1999) view that NGOs foster citizen participation and civic education seems more realistic. Clarke (1998:49) gives Chile as an example of such a case, where NGOs contributed to the restoration of Democracy in 1990 through policy proposals, improving service delivery and supporting local organisations during election campaigns.

The ability of NGOs to enhance democracy has been questioned. Accusations have been directed at NGOs as representing the interests of urbanised middle class societies. African NGOs fail to or find it difficult to be effective policy actors because their own governments dismiss them as dancing to the tune of a foreign piper with no legitimate right of entry into domestic policy debates (Bratton 1989b).

The staffing of NGOs has also been questioned; the argument has been that NGOs are often staffed by educated elites who are not necessarily underprivileged. The argument raised is that, if NGOs themselves are not democratic how can they be expected to enhance democracy. Touwen (1996) whose article focuses on empowerment of women through the strengthening of their autonomy contests this view. She indicates that her data suggests that

elite and middle class women representing grassroots women in Zambia are able to represent their needs and interests well. She argues that the elite, middle class and grassroots women share many problems in their daily lives as housewives, mothers and workers. Carothers (1999:23) argues that the proliferation of interest groups in mature democracies could be disastrous, leading to policy outcomes inclined towards the rich and well connected or the better organised. This means the poor would be left out and further marginalised.

While NGOs have been praised for their comparative advantages, this has also been questioned. According to Hulme and Edwards, (1996:965) evidence to support the view that NGOs possess a comparative advantage over government is weak and patchy. Similarly, Fowler (2000) questions the ability of NGOs to meet the set standards; he denounces the NGOs overstated abilities as rhetoric. Hulme and Edwards (1996:965) indicate that no empirical study demonstrates that NGO provision is cheaper and contests the accuracy of claims that NGOs reach the poorest societies¹.

The stage of exaggeratedly praising NGOs has passed. The positive attributes of NGOs have been over stated but recently the credibility of NGOs has been questioned. Developments in the literature show an increase in criticism and questioning of NGOs. Authors have begun to look beyond the comparative advantages of the NGOs and began to place emphasis on the reality of whether NGOs are able to meet the expectations set for them and whether they are indeed what they are said to be.

NGOs run the risk of being used as puppets by the governments. They could end up serving the interests of their governments or donors at the expense of their own. For NGOs to be effective, it is important that they remain autonomous. According to Mercer (1998:250),

¹ Following on from Tandler's (1982) work, recent studies of GRO and NGO performance in Africa (Riddell and Robinson, 1992; Fowler, 1991, 1993; Vivian, 1994; Wellard and Copestake, 1993), Asia (Riddell and Robinson, 1992; Farrington and Lewis, 1993; Hashemi, 1992) and Latin America (Lehmann, 1990; Carroll, 1992; Bebbington and Thiele, 1993) have questioned many of the accepted wisdoms about levels of poverty-reach, cost-effectiveness, popular participation, flexibility and innovation among NGOs and GROs in (Edwards and Hulme 1996:962.)

NGOs need to be independent from the state to retain the capacity to challenge the state, ensure accountability, express discontent and opposition and represent grassroots interests.

Autonomy allows the NGOs to present a different perspective, to hold the state accountable and to provide checks and balances on state power. The dependence of NGOs on external support constrains them from making a long-term impact because their performance and sustainability tends to depend on the external support.

2.5 The relationship between the state and NGOs

According to Najam (2002:379) the tension between NGOs and Government is sometimes latent, sometimes patent; sometimes constructive and sometimes destructive; is a defining feature for government-NGO relations. Clark (1993:1) suggests that NGOs can play an oppositional role or co-operational one but cannot ignore the state. Clark (1993) argues that a healthy state NGO relationship is only conceivable when both parties share common objectives. It is easier for people to work together if they are working towards achieving similar goals. Nonetheless Tandon (1991) indicates, healthy relations between states and NGOs are rare, even when conditions are met.

Relationships between most African states and NGOs have been characterised by suspicion and mistrust. While NGOs wish to retain their autonomy, governments fear for their sovereignty. Governments fear loss of political power while NGOs are sceptical of the government officials' intentions (Fowler, 1992) in (Clark, 1993:5). Despite this, many NGOs are overcoming their inhibitions and are seeking closer collaboration with governments (Tandon 1991). It would be interesting to note if women organisations in Botswana have looked beyond the mistrust and jealousies to advance the interests of the communities they serve. According to Yolanda (1998:308) interest groups can educate the government by passing on information, facts and opinions that can be useful in formulating policies and testing proposals. Interest groups provide a major source of mediation between the

government and the individual, articulating aggregated opinions and protecting the individual from undue control by the state. Clark (1993) on the other hand says the voluntary sector can influence mainstream development by, encouraging official aid agencies and government ministries to adopt successful approaches developed within the voluntary sector; and attuning official programs to public needs by acting as a conduit for public opinion and local experience.

The ambition of the NGOs is to influence policy decisions. This for most NGOs in the developing world has proved to be unachievable. According to Bratton (1990:111), the ability of NGOs to influence public policy depends on the nature of their relations with the state. The states in most countries have made it difficult for the NGOs to influence public policy. Authoritarian states tend to be hostile towards NGO engagement while the more mature democracies are to some extent more open to working with NGOs especially if their work is in line with the national development plans. Rothchild and Lawson (1994:255) indicate that the strength and autonomy of civil society is fundamentally affected by the type of regime regulating the state society relations. Bratton (1989a) indicates that a control oriented approach towards NGOs is common in African states.

According to Rothchild and Lawson (1994) a democratic system has the potential to promote coherent and stable state-civil society relations. It is noted that most African leaders used the centralised state as a solution to their economic and social problems; this however proved ineffective and resulted in further deterioration of state legitimacy and power and consequently the collapse of most African economies. The economic deterioration and the failure to meet population expectations meant that the state's ability to effectively implement policies and satisfy public demands was on the decline hence the erosion of state legitimacy. Whereas states assume they are protecting their sovereignty and legitimacy by denying NGOs to freely participate in the political and social developments of the country, it turns out that they are actually eroding their very own legitimacy.

Clark (1997:48) disputes the idea that NGOs can be viewed as development alternatives. Although they may offer alternative approaches to development Clark states that people do not have a choice between the development model offered by government and that by NGOs. In his view, NGOs can fill gaps in state services and press for change in the national development strategy but do not offer an alternative. The state remains the sole provider for the people; NGOs do not have the capacity or ability to compete with the state in provision of services and development.

2.6 NGO control by states

The state has the ability to make the environment in which NGOs operate friendly or hostile. NGOs can also apply pressure on the state for change despite resistance. Whereas civil society employs various strategies to confront the state, the state also finds means to control the NGOs.

The significance of the contribution of civil society to democratization was mostly visible during the struggle for independence for most of the African countries. Civil society pressurised colonial administrators as well as undemocratic and authoritative governments to democratize. According to Mbonge (2004), relationships between the states and civil society were good and only became blurred immediately after independence. He states that this did not last as the new elites soon adopted powers and privileges previously enjoyed by the colonists neglecting the citizens.

In effort to control civil society, the government of Uganda introduced procedures and restrictions in dealing with the NGOs. NGOs are required to go through certain registration procedures which are tedious and restricting. Among other things, they are expected to register through the NGO registration board, which is overseen by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The NGO registration board has the power to reject NGO applications, to deny renewal or approval of operations. In some cases, the NGO board has used its power to delay registration of some NGOs that it deemed controversial (Dicklitch 1998:101).

Furthermore, NGOs are required to submit a written report which should be accompanied by a written recommendation of the Local Council 1 and endorsed by the chairman of the local council 2 and the District Administrator in the area that the NGO intends to operate seven days prior to contacting people in the district. Notwithstanding this, according to the NGO registration statute every NGO is required to accompany its application for registration with a written work plan. This plan is considered and approved by the ministry responsible for planning and economic development. Section 14(4) of the NGO registration statute in Uganda indicates the NGOs are obliged to conduct their business operations in consultation with District Development Committee. The district administrators and council officials are expected to monitor and keep a watchful eye on the NGO activities. The government uses legislation not only to control but also to co-opt NGO activities into the national plan. The above Ugandan example from Dicklitch (1998:101) illustrates how governments can use legislation to frustrate NGO efforts. The use of legislation to stifle NGOs is common in African countries. In Kenya, the government employed the NGO coordination Act to monitor and control the NGO activities. However, Ndengwa (1996:22) indicates that this attempt of control actually enabled civil society expansion and empowerment in Kenya.

2.7 NGOs, donors and financial dependency

Arrelano-Lopez and Petrus (1994) in Mercer (2002:19) argue that increased donor support to NGOs has weakened both the state and civil society. However, the channelling of aid through NGOs has been noted as one of the reasons for their proliferation. Nonetheless, this has also resulted in the financial dependence of NGOs on donors.

The financial dependency of NGOs has negative connotations on their sustainability and the impact they can make on the societies they serve in the long term. NGOs lack of financial independence is not only seen in developing countries but also in developed communities, this has been noted in the UK, America, Netherlands and Canada. According to Edwards and Hulme (1996:961),

Five largest development NGOs in the United Kingdom all show a significant rising trend, with levels of dependency on government grants oscillating between 18% and 52% in 1994, up from between 7% and 15% ten years earlier. Levels of dependency are much higher in Europe and in North America; for example it is common to find government grants making up between 50% and 90% of the budgets of major NGOs in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Canada, most of which is eventually passed on to NGOs in the South.

The dependence of NGOs on donors for funding has multiple consequences. According to Mercer (2002:14),

If NGOs are taking up greater roles in social welfare activities as more donor funding becomes available, then the legitimacy of their claims to work with and represent the interests of the poor and disenfranchised on a political level, thereby building a broad based civil society comes under threat.

Mercer (2004:14) notes that increased financial support for NGOs may undermine the building of a representative and participatory civil society. This is because the financed NGOs tend to be inclined towards the interests of the donors at the expense of the people's interest. Their activities also become influenced by the donors and in some instances these may not include a grassroots perspective.

An emergence of certain types of NGOs in relation to available donor funding has been noted in most African countries. In Botswana the proliferation of NGOs dealing with HIV/AIDS issues occurred with the increase of funding in the area. However, the emergence of NGOs dealing with HIV cannot be attributed to funding only; there may have been other contributing factors like the effect of the ailment on the society. Hulme and Edwards (1997:277) also note the danger of imposed foreign agendas; they indicate that there is an increase in organisations formed on the basis of available donor funds hence weak social

roots and no independent supporter base. This means that the existence of such organisations is highly dependent on the donors, which may result in lack of continuity.

Whereas depending on donors for finance can be disadvantageous, depending on governments for funding also has its negatives. Governments tend to co-opt and control NGO activities through funding. NGO activities are largely controlled by governments in most developing countries. One of the overriding issues for NGOs in Africa has been the need for greater autonomy from the state to choose and to pursue their development objectives (ASDAG 1991; NGO task Force, 1991) in Ndengwa (1996:23).

Hulme and Edwards (1997:282) advice NGOs to raise more funds locally, become less dependent on government grants, strengthen links with grassroots constituencies, improve performance measurement and accountability systems encouraging learning. This way there will be less conflict and confusion about whose interests they serve or their intentions. Clark (1997:50) also mentions the tensions that could be caused by foreign funding; he suggests that NGOs largely funded by their members have maximum authenticity. This gives them autonomy and allows them to make independent decisions.

The financial dependence of NGOs on their governments reduces the autonomy of the NGOs. Although cooptation of NGOs by governments into service provision can be viewed as undermining them, it has also been noted as strengthening the legitimacy of states. By filling in the gaps, NGOs actually boost the strength and legitimacy of the states. Clarke (1998) in Mercer (2002:18) argues %NGOs strengthen the state through their participation in improving efficiency in government services, acting as strategic partners for reform oriented ministries, filling in gaps in service provision and helping the government forge ties with the grassroots+

Edwards and Hulme (1996:961) looking at the impact of aid on nongovernmental organisations argue that official funding:

encourages NGOs to become providers of social and economic services on a much larger scale than hitherto, even though their long-term comparative advantage in this field is doubtful; compromises the performance of NGOs and GROs in other areas of development activity such as institutional development and advocacy; weakens the legitimacy of NGOs and GROs as independent actors in society; distorts the accountability of NGOs and GROs away from grassroots and internal constituencies, and overemphasizes short-term, quantitative outputs.

2.8 Development of NGOs in Botswana

NGOs in Botswana have come a long way. Even though civil society may be considered weak, it has developed over the years. The government on the other hand has also improved in terms of accommodating civil society. Strain (2008:35) indicates, "the government of Botswana has in the past seen NGOs more as a nuisance in the development process than as a useful partner". The government did not recognise the input of NGOs until the early 1990s. The government first gave public acknowledgement of the role of NGOs in its National development plan 7, which came into effect in 1991. Carroll (2004) findings indicate that there was very little consultation between the state and the civil society in Botswana until the mid 1990s, most NGOs had modest resources and capacities and the state was rather hostile to NGO interventions.

Carroll and Carroll (2004:339) indicate that organisations that promoted non-controversial projects were able to influence government compared to those that were critical of existing policies and programmes, whereas internationally funded NGOs were detested by the government for pursuing their own agenda over that of the governments. Mogalakwe and Sebudubudu (2006:221) indicate that institutions that chose to work within the states boundaries are successful because they do not pose a threat to interests of the state, they are perceived as compliant and only play a legitimising role. What is important for this study is whether the negative perception towards international funding has an impact or implications on government NGO relations.

NGOs in Botswana experienced a decline in donor support due to the exit of major donors. The remaining donors substantially reduced the support for various reasons including unfavourable global economic conditions and the assumption that Botswana has its own resources to meet development costs (Government of Botswana 2001:6). This has had a negative impact on the development of NGOs, which appear to be heavily reliant on the government for financial resources. The decline in donor support leaves NGOs with fewer options for financial support.

2.9 NGO state relations in Botswana

The government of Botswana acknowledges the contribution of NGOs over the years, and continues to engage them in various ways. The government invited NGOs to participate and make submission to National Development Plan 8. According Government of Botswana (2000:7) this initiative marked a new era of collaboration and partnership building between the government and NGOs

The government engages NGOs and is willing to meet with NGOs to share views; however, weak organisations often fail to get the platform with senior government officials (Maudeni, 2004a: 628). The attendance of civil society conferences by the state leaders primarily the president and the exchange of views are here posited as a measure of strength in Botswana state civil society relations Maudeni (2004a:628). There could be other reasons that could explain the failure to secure a platform with the government official and subsequent attempts may be successful. These possibilities are not mentioned or discussed in Maudeni's paper. It also seems inadequate to measure the strength of an organisation by its ability to secure a meeting with senior state officials particularly the president without necessarily referring to the outcomes of such meetings.

Maudeni (2004a:619) argues that political culture shapes state civil society interaction and that researchers in this field should take cognisance of that. In his view, Botswana's political culture promotes mutual criticism in each other's presence or civility. Maudeni (2004a:621)

highlights that Tswana culture emphasises open discussions and discourages violent behaviour, which also does not have media support. Contrary to the western eulogies, he believes that meeting ones opponent is a more accurate measure of the strength of civil society. In developing his argument of a strong civil society erroneously believed to be weak, he argues that the contribution of civil society to the country's development has not been fully acknowledged. He reinstates this by stating %the review shows that Botswana has often been characterised as a developmental state, and this has tended to exclude the analysis of the role of civil society in the country's development+(Maundeni 2004a:619).

According to Maundeni, (2004a:620) Botswana civil society is considered weak because it has staged very few violent clashes with government leading to reversal of policies. Nonetheless, the preferred approach in Botswana has been that of lengthy debates and not one of confrontation. Comaroff adds that confrontation is unusual in Botswana (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1999; Durham, 1999) quoted by Maundeni 2004a:620). Notably %street encounters and violent clashes are rejected in preference of mutual public criticism in meetings and conferences as the kgotlaq(Maundeni, 2004a:622). While the strength of civil society cannot be measured by the number of confrontations, in my view civil society in Botswana can be regarded as weak considering its failure to influence government decisions. I would argue that the ability of NGOs or civil society to influence public policy is more important than the nature of its interaction with the state, peaceful or violent. Although dialogue seems popular Maundeni (2004a:622) notes a few isolated instances of confrontations².

² Botswana Teachers Union (BTU), the Botswana Federation of Secondary School Teachers (BOFESETE) and the Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC) in 2002 and 2003; Ditshwanelo over the death sentence and over the forced relocation of the Bushman or San from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in 2001 and 2002 and the Botswana Council of Non- Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO) in 1999 and the Media Institute of Southern Africa – Botswana chapter (MISA) in 2001 over NGO policy and the Media Bill , respectively

2.10 Botswana's strong bureaucracy

Botswana has a strong bureaucracy that dominates both the civil society and the politicians. The strength of the bureaucracy has meant ability to implement policies and programs that ensure economic and social development. This could mean NGOs have had less to confront the state about in terms of service provision and development. Perhaps the weakness of the civil society can be related to the strength of the bureaucracy. Nonetheless, the weak civil society has over the years afforded bureaucracy significant autonomy. This according to Somolekae (1993:119) has potential to erode citizen accountability and democratic participation. Holm (1993) argues that if democracy is to thrive in Botswana, civil society must be strengthened to counterbalance the bureaucracy and the dominant party.

Compared to most countries in Africa Botswana's bureaucracy is strong and has performed exceptionally well. Somolekae (1993:113) has termed it as one of the most effective in Africa. The norms and capabilities of Botswana's bureaucracy have qualified it as a strong state. In Stedman's (1993:5) view Botswana's bureaucracy has made superb economic choices, has been largely free of corruption, and has provided political stability rare elsewhere in Africa. Furthermore, it has benefited the country enabling it to move away from traditional feudal system to a liberal democratic system (Somolekae 1993:119). The strength of bureaucracy may have served well, but it also has negative consequences. Politicians have little room to influence public policy since the bureaucrats make most decisions. Somolekae (1993:114) acknowledges that the power of the bureaucracy comes at a cost to bureaucracy indicating that if it is unchecked it could undermine the ability of the political representatives to control government policy making.

The domination of public policy by bureaucrats is contrary to democratic principle that emphasise elected politicians as the peoples representatives and initiators of public policy decisions. However, this is not to suggest that other policy actors like judges, interest groups, research organisations, individual citizens are of less importance. Various other reasons are attributable to the underdeveloped group politics in Botswana; Holm (1993:92)

mentions that the interest groups lack the resources, organisation, and motivation to become active in various aspects of politics. The NGOs in Botswana unlike in other countries have not socialised their members to participate in politics, the government has also encouraged the NGOs to refrain from politics (Maudeni 2004a). This could confirm the thesis that states that political elites promote the exit of citizenry from politics and government.

2.11 Government policies and legal framework

It is important to note, the government of Botswana recognises the strategic role and complementary contribution of NGOs programmes in national development (Government of Botswana, 2001:4). As a result, the government developed a National policy for NGOs, to guide current and future development by the NGO sector and articulate the relationship and partnership modalities with government and development partners (Government of Botswana, 2001:4). However, this policy has not been implemented.

The Botswana government unlike many other African countries has not imposed any stringent measures through legislation in an attempt to control NGOs. This could mean that Botswana is indeed a liberal democracy and grants the NGOs the space to operate freely. It could also signal that civil society is so weak that its operations do not pose a threat to the government. Furthermore, this could be an indication that the state is not severely threatened by the NGOs that it would enforce legislation to restrict its operations.

2.12 Women issues

Achieving gender equality is key and governments have shown a commitment to achieving it throughout the world. The Beijing Platform for Action states, equality between men and women is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice, and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. Women remain largely marginalised in most developing countries. They are subject to discrimination, gender based violence, abuse, unemployment and poverty. The patriarchal systems of power, the traditions and culture and socialisation perpetuate inequalities and further marginalise

women. While efforts have been made nationally and internationally to eradicate inequalities and discrimination a lot still needs to be done. The ratification of international conventions is of no use without implementation.

The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Global Platform for Action reaffirmed international commitment to the principles of equal rights and the inherent human dignity of women and men as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights , the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women , the Convention of Rights of the Child , the Declaration on the right to Development and other International human rights instruments (Government of Botswana and UNDP 1998:1).

Whatever the state system capitalist, communist, democratic socialist the status of women continues to be subordinate to men in all spheres (Manley 1991:30). On the same note, Parpart and Staudt (1989) states; ~~whether~~ whether in its indigenous, colonial, or modern forms the state has been overwhelmingly controlled by men; this control has translated into laws, policies, and spending patterns which not coincidentally benefit men+. Botswana and many other African countries have not been exceptions to such patriarchy hence the women in these countries have not fully benefited from state development programs and policies as compared to their male counterparts.

Recognising the input of women towards development the government of Botswana developed a policy on Women in Development to improve the status of women and provide basis for continuous review and monitoring of women's issues in the development process. One of the main objectives of the policy on Women in Development in Botswana is to ~~strengthen~~ strengthen links between the government, civil society particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community based organisations (CBOs) and the private sector on women's issues+ (Government of Botswana 2000:2). The government seems keen and interested in maintaining ties with the NGOs, what is not clear is how it intends to do it. This further illustrates the importance of NGO state relations.

The National Gender Programme Framework by the Government of Botswana and UNDP (1998:3) submits the following reasons as indication that women in Botswana are still subordinate to men;

unequal access to power and decision making ; limitations on rights and freedoms which are not imposed on men, particularly within the marriage institution , the feminisation of poverty; the incidence and escalation of male violence against women; the sexism in educational curricula and the gender stratification of careers; unequal employment opportunities and the marginalisation of women in the formal sector and male control of women's reproductive choices.

The same sentiments are noted in the Botswana MDGR (2004:39) which states that Botswana is a patriarchal society. Therefore women are subordinate to men and have historically endured various forms of discrimination and disempowerment on basis of gender. Areas where women have historically been subordinate to men include access to and control of resources such as land, cattle, power, education and business opportunities.

Women organisations have attempted to make an impact on states without success. Failure to make an impact on the state is attributable to several factors. For some, the degree to which women are able to make their voices heard relative to gender issues depends on the nature of the larger state structure and the ideological orientations of the women themselves+ (Aubrey 2001:87). Despite governments efforts not much progress has been made. Women in most African countries remain the poorest and only a few of them occupy decision making positions. While organisational affiliation is high among women, their gains from pressurising states have been minimal (Parpart and Staudt 1989:8).

The existence of national machineries, such as women's wings of national parties, women's units or ministries has questionable bearing on whether a state is more or less open to greater female representation and a broader political agenda for women (Parpart and Staudt 1989:9). Geisler suggests that these units misrepresents women and tend to divide them

particularly women wings in political parties. Through cultures of politics are highly patriarchal, the state has systematically and progressively sought to keep women out of the political world of men, while at the same time giving the false impression of being gender conscious and acting on that consciousness (Aubrey 2001:92).

2.13 Summary

Relationships between the state and NGOs take different forms depending on the political regime, the legal frameworks guiding NGO operations in the given context, the activities and the nature of services provided by the NGO. The relationship between the NGOs and donors is also an important factor in state NGO relationships. In most cases states form a perception of the NGOs based on their relationship with the donors, and more often than not accuse them of representing foreign interests. The context in which the relationships take place is undeniably important. Botswana has characteristics which set it apart from other countries therefore the relationships are bound to be different from those in other countries. Notwithstanding this, the state plays a major role in the relationship in all contexts. It has the obligation to regulate NGOs; it therefore has the upper hand in the relationship and can choose to use its power against NGOs. Most African states have chosen to control the activities of NGOs.

While it may seem as though the relationship between the state and the NGOs involves two separate entities, boundaries between the two can sometimes become blurred. To some the two are interdependent and cannot necessarily be separated from one another. The state needs the NGOs as much as the NGOs need the state. The relationship between the state and the NGOs is based less on mutual interests but largely on co-dependency for political and financial reasons. The goals and interests of the state and the NGOs determine their actions and influence their relationship.

The aim of the NGOs is to influence government decisions or public policy. In an attempt to do this the NGOs adopt various strategies to make their wishes known and to influence the

government. The state on the other hand seeks to provide development, social goods and services to the people. Most importantly, it seeks to protect its sovereignty and power. Failing to accommodate the demands of the NGOs the state uses legislation and other means to control and co-opt NGOs. States have however accepted NGOs as partners in development noting their comparative advantages and peculiar participatory means to development. The participatory approach to development which the states usually do not have draws them to engage the NGOs. However maintaining a working relationship seems problematic due to mistrust between the state and the NGOs. In some cases NGOs fill service provision gaps for the states this is a preferred approach by the states as it boosts their sovereignty.

Botswana has experienced less animosity between the state and the NGOs. This could be related to the weakness of the civil society and the strength of the bureaucracy and the state. The decline in donor support for civil society has also had a negative impact on the NGOs. The government of Botswana has been open to NGOs and engages with them through interactions, but this has not resulted in a shift in the government's decision making. Despite the interaction, the NGOs do not seem to be making the desired impact in public policy. The government has not adequately provided legislation to guide the operations of the NGOs neither has it used legislation to undermine or restrict the activities of the NGOs.

Most governments in Africa have shown a commitment to achieving gender equality but women remain largely marginalised. Women in Botswana and elsewhere remain subordinate to men in almost all spheres. This has led women across nations to organise themselves and petition the state. This however has not always borne positive results. Women organisations have not always succeeded in pressurising the states except in few notable cases.

What emerges from the literature is that the relationships between the government and NGOs are complex. Several models have been formulated in effort to address this problem

but still there is no consensus on how to approach the problem. Although hard to obtain, both governments and NGOs stand to benefit from a mutual relationship. Donors can control agendas of developing countries through NGOs, states and NGOs need to be weary of this. Donors look to NGOs as implementers of donor driven development driven policy, bypassing government and co-opting NGOs (Hulme and Edwards, 1997). Above all, it is important to note that women are not a homogeneous group and the relationships between states and NGOs take place in a changing environment.

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Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss and assess relevant theories which are useful in answering the research question which seeks to establish the extent to which state NGO relations in Botswana are characterised by state dominance. There are different theoretical frameworks that seek to explore the relations between the state and NGOs. The objective of this chapter is to identify what I believe to be the most effective theoretical framework for examining and explaining the state NGO relationship in Botswana with respect to gender.

Some of the recent theories are discussed below. Firstly Young's NGO government relationships which he defines in three ways, secondly Brinkerhoff's two definitional dimensions, thirdly and lastly Najam's Four . C theoretical framework. I begin with a brief description of the relevant conceptual framework followed by an assessment of its applicability. A discussion of these theoretical frameworks helps in the selection of the most appropriate theory. In the end I provide a discussion of the selected framework and advance reasons for my choice.

3.2 Young's theory

Young (2002) provides a theoretical framework for understanding government Non profit relationships. His theoretical perspectives are applied in the United States, United Kingdom, Israel and Japan. Young like many others refers to the importance of non profit government relationships. He indicates that an inaccurate view of these relations can lead to distortions of public policy. According to Young (2002) the view of policy makers on the relationship between the government and the non-profit organisations has an effect on the policies they formulate. Their view determines their expectation of the sectors and the roles that government and non profit organisations play in policy and service provision.

Young's theoretical framework provides an attempt to explain the government non profit relationships in economic terms. Young (2000) classifies government non profit relationships

in three views, as supplementary, complementary and adversarial. However he indicates that none of these views on its own is sufficient for understanding the relationships. All the three lenses, supplementary, complementary and adversarial are always relevant. These he claims can and usually take place concurrently. Young's view on the relationships is based on economic theories.

3.2.1 Supplementary relationships

In supplementary relationships, the non-profit organisations fill in the gaps by providing goods and services that are not provided by the government. The more the government provides the less would need to be raised by the non profit sector. The private financing of public goods has an inverse relationship with the government expenditure; if the government provides more, non-profit organisations would have to raise less. Supplementary relations occur primarily because the government is unable to cater for everyone's needs due to the heterogeneous nature of societies. Societies are diverse; they are made up of people with different needs and preferences. The other reason is that private goods are imperfect substitutes for public goods hence there is need for the non-profit organisations to take up the supplementary role. The KW-SP in Botswana provides counselling and shelter for abused women. The government does not provide this service. The organisations relationship with the WAD exhibits traits of a supplementary relationship in Young's terms.

Young (2000) uses different areas to show how relations may differ. He indicates that the following variations can be observed in non-profit government relationships. In areas where citizens preferences vary widely it is expected that private non-profit provision would be substantial. In the policing and defence area people's preferences are likely to be the same; therefore the provision by non profit organisations would be less substantial. While in social services where preferences are volatile non-profit organisations provision is likely to respond to ebbs and flows of public sentiments and consensus. Intervention of non profit organisations seems to be more significant where people's preferences vary widely. As such

in cases where people are generally happy with the governments service provision there would be less intervention by the non-profit organisations.

3.2.2 Complementary relations

Complementary relationships occur where the government provides the finance while the non-profit organisations deliver the services. There is a direct relationship between government spending and non-profit organisation activity. The more the government spends the higher the activity of the non profit organisations. The relationship occurs in provision of social goods where free riding is a problem especially when people deliver collective goods voluntarily. The problem of free riding can be seen in the provision of public goods where;

Goods to be provided is non-rival, meaning that it can be consumed by one party without reducing the amount available to others, and non-excludable, meaning that it cannot be made available to one party without making it simultaneously available to others. This gives people the incentive to avoid contributing to its provision but consume it once it is provided to others (Young 2000:153).

In this case some people benefit from goods provision but choose not to pay, this is possible because of the exclusivity of the goods provision to one person means provision to all. It also applies where it is efficient for government to subcontract in effort to curb inefficiencies and cut costs. A public good is a good that once produced can be consumed by an additional consumer at no additional cost; consumers cannot be excluded from consuming the public good once it is produced (Holcombe 1997:1). Examples of public goods and services include national defence, traffic lights, road signs and clean air. Theory of public goods and theory of transaction costs provide an explanation as to why governments and nonprofits often engage in complementary relationships (Young 2000:155).

3.2.3 Adversarial relations

Adversarial relationships occur when non-profit organisations push the governments to make changes in public policy, and to be more accountable. In response to this, the government attempts to influence the behaviour of the non profit organisations by regulating its services and responding to its advocacy initiatives. Young (2000:151) indicates that non profit organisations and government are not necessarily distinct entities but that boundaries between the two are blurred. The adversarial view does not posit any specific relationship between the levels of government and non-profit organisations activity. Young uses the Theory of government failure to explain some of the causes for adversarial relationships. This implies the government's inability to satisfy people's needs.

3.2.4 Applicability

Young's approach is drawn from economic theories; economic theories on their own in my view are inadequate to provide explanations for the behaviour of the government and non profit organisations. Economic theories tend to focus on decisions based on the use of resources and less on social and political factors, which also influence decision making and relationships. This makes the focus of Young's approach narrow hence leaving out some important details. Young (2000:151) acknowledges the inability of economic theories to fully explain relationships when he states,

other schools of thought, for example, behavioural and sociological theory also have much to contribute to the understanding of institutional relationships such as those between the government and non profit organisations, as well as to an appreciation of the limitations of the economic approach.

Behavioural and sociological theories emphasise the shortcomings of the economic theories in the understanding the relationships between the government and the non profit organisations. Evers and Laville in Elson (2008) indicate one of the weaknesses of the

rational economic theories as the omission of the importance of capturing the historical and broad social, legal and policy context in which the voluntary sector exists.

The relevance of the historical, social and legal and policy context has been prevalent in the literature review. The history, the political background as well as the legal and policy issues have largely influenced the relationships between the state and the NGOs in many African countries. Due to a history of stability which bred a great deal of complacency Botswana has experienced less rivalry and confrontational relationships between the state and the NGOs. African countries have also set policies and laws to restrict activities of nongovernmental organisations. The performance of NGOs has shown to be linked to the environment in which the organisations exist. While all these are important factors in state NGO relationships in Botswana and elsewhere they are not alluded to in economic theories or Young's approach.

3.3 Brinkerhoff's partnership model

Brinkerhoff (2002) provides a framework for defining government-NGO relationships. She adopts partnership as an approach to understanding government non profit relations. Her theory defines partnership through two dimensions, mutuality and organisation identity. According to Brinkerhoff, partnerships are advocated for due to national governments growing inability to protect individual and community rights in a globalised world. The model assumes that through partnerships the government can be enabled to reach those in need of services and protection. Brinkerhoff notes that many benefits could result from cooperation of multiple diverse actors because each has their own perspective and comparative advantages. He also regrets the consequences of maintaining status quo and forfeiting the benefits of partnerships.

Brinkerhoff (2002:21) provides the following definition of partnership;

Partnership is a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational

division of labour based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Partnership encompasses mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision making, mutual accountability and transparency.

Brinkerhoff divides the partnership literature into three categories. The first category is the normative perspective which is normally advocated for by NGO advocates. This perspective critiques government and donor practices and advocates for a larger role for NGOs and civil society. It views partnership as an end in itself and proclaims that partnerships should seek to maximise equity and inclusiveness. The second category is a response to the normative perspective. This perspective describes an organisations partnership work in glowing terms. This is an attempt to counter criticism of the past and promote better public relations. The second perspective is illustrated in some international donor, government and corporate materials, including mission statements, annual reports, strategic planning efforts, special reports and programme or project documentation. The perspective promotes better public relations. In some cases, the rhetoric can be strong but practise weak. Partnership can be portrayed in more positive terms which do not match reality on the ground. The third category views partnership as instrumental, as a means to achieve objectives such as efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness. The approach views partnership as a tool.

Partnership is defined on a relative scale and is distinguished from other relationship types: contracting, extension, and co-optation or gradual absorption. Brinkerhoff's partnership model is based on mutuality and organisational identity. Mutuality here refers to mutual dependence and entails respective rights and responsibilities of each actor to the others (Brinkerhoff 2002: 22). Partners benefit equally from the mutual partnership. Mutuality assumes a strong mutual commitment to partnership goals and objectives, and that these joint objectives are consistent and supportive of each partner organisations mission and objectives. Mutuality also means interdependence not sequential dependence, equality in decision making not domination of one or more partners. This gives all the partners equal

opportunity to influence their shared objectives, processes, outcomes and evaluation. Interdependence means the organisations depend on each other while sequential dependence means one organisation is constantly dependent on the other.

Mutuality in the context of Botswana might appear somewhat removed from reality, given that the government has dominated the relationship creating dependence on it by the NGOs. This is contradictory to what is advocated for by mutuality. Mutuality means equality in decision making, it has been reported that NGOs feel the government chooses to engage NGOs but denies them the space in decision making.

Organisation identity refers to that which is distinctive and enduring in a particular organisation. According to Brinkerhoff (2002) organisational identity can be examined at two levels, the organisation's mission, values and identified constituencies to which it is accountable and responsive; Secondly a broader institutional view. It is important for an organisation to maintain an identity, according to Brinkerhoff (2002:23) the maintenance of organisations identity is the extent to which an organisation remains consistent and committed to its mission, core values and constituencies. Brinkerhoff (2002:23) further states, on a broader institutional view that, organisation identity refers to the maintenance of characteristics . particularly comparative advantages reflective of the sector or the organisational type from which the organisation originates.

There are various reasons why organisations engage in partnerships. Brinkerhoff (2002:24) argues that the most important reason for partnership is accessing key resources needed to reach objectives, but lacking within one actor's individual reserves. These he says include hard resources such as money and materials, soft resources including managerial and technical skills, information, contacts, credibility and legitimacy. Some organisations will have more comparative advantages than others. It is on this basis that partnerships are formed. Brinkerhoff (2002:24) notes comparative advantages of the various organisations. In comparison, governments provide legal and institutional frameworks, material and financial

resources, non profits play an important intermediary and social mobilisation role, they are also noted as flexible, responsive and innovative, CBOs have the ability to mobilise local resources while international donors and development agencies can facilitate, and provide financial and technical support. The various organisations have distinct strengths which can attract other organisations to partner with them to compliment each other's strengths and weaknesses. This can enhance efficiency and effectiveness.

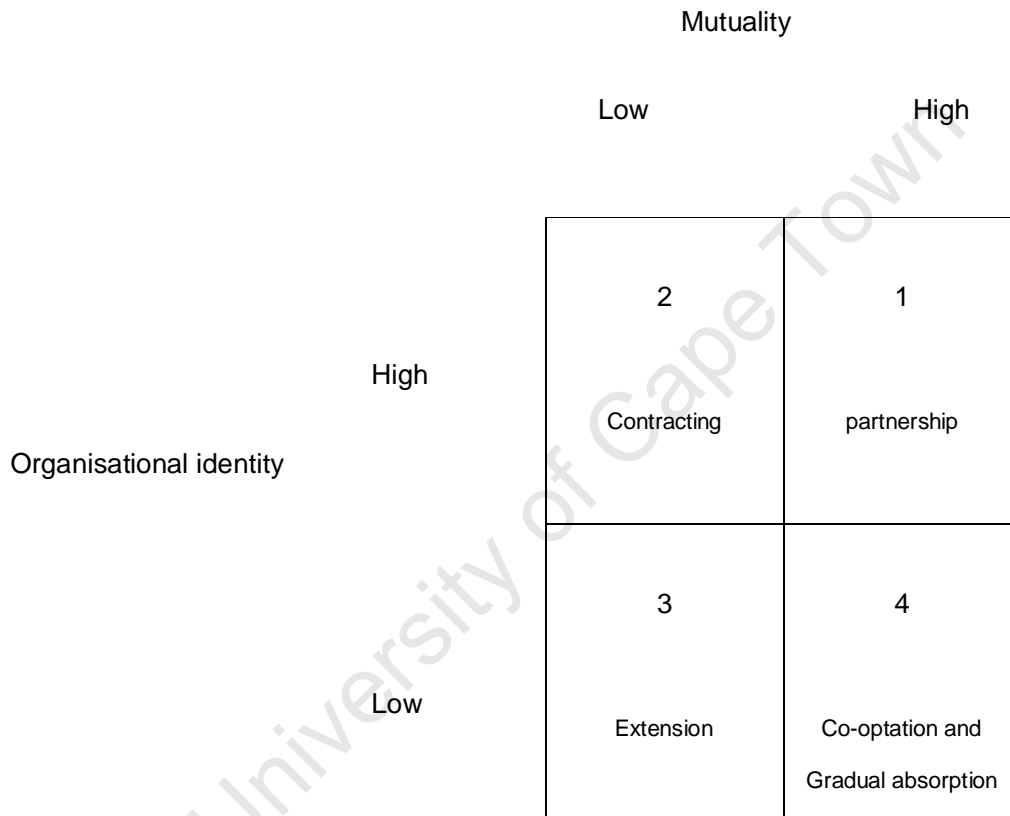


Figure 1: Brinkerhoff's partnership model

Source: Brinkerhoff (2002a:22)

As shown in the model diagram above partnership occurs when mutuality and organisational identity are high. A true partnership is achieved when mutuality and organisational identity prevail in both organisations. Contracting occurs when there is low mutuality and high organisational identity. Here specific organisational characteristics are sought in another,

based on organisational identity to fulfil predetermined ends and means. This is when an organisation has traits which may be lacking in the other organisations. During contracting means and ends are predetermined and the relationship is managed through a contract.

Extension takes place when there is low mutuality and low organisational identity. In this case one organisation calls all the shots and the other organisation has very little independent identity. The weaker organisation then becomes an extension of the more dominant one. The stronger contender leads while the other follows.

When there is high mutuality and low organisational identity, there would be co-optation and gradual absorption. Co-optation and gradual absorption occur when organisations appear to mutually agree on ends and means, and or an organisation is convinced that it is in its interests to follow the more dominant organisation's lead. The reality is that by entering into such a relationship, the partner organisation may be seriously compromising its organisation's identity, perhaps exchanging its services to its constituencies for the benefits of serving the dominant partner. This according to Brinkerhoff (2002:26) can happen consciously or unconsciously.

3.3.1 Applicability

Brinkerhoff's framework helps us view relations between the government and non profit sector more positively. Most importantly this framework helps us appreciate the importance of organisational identity and mutuality and how they impact partnership and service delivery. However this model appears to be an analytical construct which is complex and likely to present challenges in application. Furthermore, Brinkerhoff (2002a:22) identifies some problems associated with understanding partnerships, these may hinder the understanding of relationships. Organisational identity and mutuality are not easily measurable this may result in inconsistency and also limits the precision of the model. The use and applicability of the model may be interpreted differently as such posing a challenge for analysis.

3.4 Najam's Four Cs

Najam's article draws motivation from the striking trend towards increased interaction between nongovernmental and government organisations all over the world. Najam's framework argues that the nature of NGO . government interactions is best explained through the complex lens of the strategic institutional interests of both government and NGO's. What differentiates Najam's theory from others is that it is not based on theories of comparative advantage, resource flows, or inter-organisational interaction styles but on a theory of strategic institutional interests. Najam's theory considers strategic interests of both the government and the nongovernmental organisations, the institutional interests are what guides the organisations work and plans.

Najam suggests that NGOs and governments interactions can be defined in four ways as: Cooperation, Confrontation, Complementarity and Co-optation. His theory is based on Institutional interests and preferences for policy ends and means. He suggests that there would be cooperation in the case of similar ends and similar means, complementarity in the case of similar ends but dissimilar means, confrontation in the case of dissimilar ends and dissimilar means, co-optation in the case of dissimilar ends but similar means. Means refer to the strategies that the organisation uses to pursue their goals while the ends are the goals. Below is the illustration of the model.

		<i>Goals (Ends)</i>	
		Similar	Dissimilar
<i>Preferred Strategies (means)</i>	Similar	Cooperation	Co-optation
	Dissimilar	Complementarity	Confrontation

Figure 2: The Four C's of NGO – Government Relations

Source: Najam (2000:383)

3.4.1 Cooperation

The absence of perceived threat to both the government and the NGO from the means and the ends being pursued by the other is an important aspect for this type of relationship. The model does not consider perfect power symmetry between NGOs and government as a prerequisite for cooperation. Organisations do not have to be at the same level of power to cooperate. There is a high chance of inclination towards cooperation in the absence of perceived threat. Examples of cooperation between NGOs and governments are common in the delivery of human services and relief.

3.4.2 Confrontation

Najam's perspective on confrontational relations is similar to Young's adversarial relationships. If governments and NGOs are neither working towards the same goals nor employing the same strategies NGOs are bound to push the government for change resulting in confrontational relations.

Some authors suggest that confrontational relations are common in Africa, while others have indicated that the current global trend shows more cooperation between governments and NGOs. Bratton (1989a) indicates that African states have adopted a controlling approach to dealing with the nongovernmental organisations which leads to sour relations between the two. On the other hand Najam (2000:380) suggests, "One of the most important insights from the recent literature on NGO-government relations is the global trend toward greater and largely more cooperative interaction between the two sectors. Najam's model defines confrontation as encompassing not only acts of coercive control by government but also policy defiance and opposition by NGOs (2000:386). The fact that the means and the ends of the organisations are different breeds a sense of threat, the organisations feel threatened by the intentions and actions of the other, hence confrontation. Confrontation can be caused by the government's repressive attitude towards the NGOs or the NGOs retaliation towards the government.

3.4.3 Complementarity

Najam's view of complementarity is different from Coston's and Young's who relate complementarity to a situation where NGOs provide goods and services while government provide finances. Where the goals of government and NGOs are the same, it is likely that they will work together towards achieving the goal even if they prefer or employ different strategies. This way the two organisations would complement one another in attaining the shared goal; this could be through a contract or through independent action. Complementarity is commonly seen in service provision where NGOs fill a function that is expected of the government but that the government is unable or unwilling to perform.

3.4.4 Co-optation

Cooptation is generally perceived as negative. Najam notes that Co-optation is mostly discussed as what governments try to do to NGOs, trying to influence their goals or strategies. Cooptation can go either way; NGOs can co-opt governments as much as governments can co-opt NGOs. Cases of co-optation are likely to be unstable as one or both partners will attempt to change the goals of the other. Cooptation is a function of power and the source of power can be varied, financial, political or coercive.

3.4.5. Applicability

According to Maundeni (2004a) national councils are a recent and popular avenue of policy making and implementation in Botswana. He argues that the state has co-opted NGOs into governmental institutions as junior development partners enrolling them into joint national councils coordinated by government departments. The national councils are constituted by the government department and various NGOs. Such institutionalisation of NGOs has meant that civil society has been made part of the state hence ceasing to be autonomous and performing a moralising role (Maundeni 2004b:72). The lack of autonomy means that the NGOs fail to challenge, criticise or make the government account. It is also important to note that while NGOs are part of these councils, the government retains the power, administratively and financially. Resources are controlled by the government and NGO

representatives have no veto, controlling, or implementing powers in the national council (Maundeni 2004b:75). This has not been without consequences, apparently %these joint councils have enormously expanded the power of the state by silencing the public voice of non-cooperating NGOs and by providing the state with free and rich advice, even though it only listens when it chooses to do so (Maundeni 2004b:72).

The government of Botswana regularly seeks the advice of women organisations, some members of the women NGOs sit in committees that deal with various issues related to gender and the work of the department. This sounds like a good initiative, but it has also worked against the women movement. The women's movement was noted as losing independence and even admitting to feeling like part of government. Mazunga, a representative of women NGOs when interviewed by Leslie made the following statement %we are in danger of being subsumed by the government due to close collaboration; now we are like part of the government+ (Leslie 2006:122). This reiterates Maundeni's thoughts on NGOs losing their autonomy.

According to the literature it is unlikely that there could be confrontational relations between the state and the NGOs in Botswana. Maundeni (2004) and Strain (2008) suggest that confrontation is unusual in Botswana. The NGOs have tended to incline towards cooperative and not confrontational behaviour. Open criticism of the government apparatus is generally considered unacceptable in Botswana (Strain 2008:32). Majuta, an NGO representative quoted in Strain (2008:33) concurs, indicating that NGOs maintain cooperative relationships because the cultural context does not permit otherwise. He indicates, %Confrontation is simply out of the question+. Comaroff (1999) in Maundeni (2004a:620) confirms this arguing that confrontations are unusual in Botswana. According to Najam's terms this means that the pursuit of totally different goals and strategies by the government and the NGOs are rare in Botswana.

Najam's framework does not make pre assumptions about factors that could influence the relationship. The framework also does not generalise, or assume that all the NGOs are the same. It acknowledges the diversity of the NGO sector and the relationships between the government and the NGOs. The framework is able to capture the dynamism of relationships between the state and the NGOs. Furthermore it suggests that relationships are best understood at level of particular issues and organisations.

Najam's theory is simple and seems the most practical when compared to the other theories. The theoretical framework is appropriate, comprehensive, realistic and relevant. The theory is pragmatic with clear illustrations. Najam also emphasises the applicability of his theory to both developing and developed countries. Najam considers power dynamics between the state and the NGOs; this is relevant and useful in answering the research question. He also appreciate the input of both the state and the NGOs in the relationship unlike some models that only concentrate on one side of the relationship, for example, some look at the attitude of the government towards NGOs while others concentrate on the effectiveness or the ineffectiveness of the NGOs. Most importantly he acknowledges that the relationships are not monolithic.

Najam's theory is based on a metaphorical premise of three organisations, the prince, the merchant and the citizen. These represent the state, the market and the voluntary associational sector. The acknowledgement of the different actors is important to understanding the relations between the state and the NGOs. It ensures the incorporation of the social, political and economic aspects. Young's theory lacks this inclusiveness as it focuses narrowly on the economic aspect. This is not enough to present a complete picture of the situation of WNGOs and the government in Botswana. Gender is a policy issue with social aspects therefore in examining the relations the use of a broad and comprehensive model is important.

In using Najam's model to examine the relationship between the WAD and the WNGOs I will assess the activities of both the department and the NGOs specifically looking for the objectives of the programmes and the means used to achieve them. That is, surveying institutional interests, using the means and the ends as specified in Najam's model. An assessment of the government's programs and the NGOs can be useful in examining the goals and the strategies of the organisations.

According to Najam's theory I will try to establish the salience and significance of the four characteristics of state NGO relations in Botswana's gender sector, paying particular attention to the extent to which cooptation and cooperation is evident. This will be approached by examining the means-ends nature of the relationship. This entails looking at the mandates, the vision, mission and objectives of the organisations as well as the strategies which they employ. Do the NGOs and the government have the same goals, and do they prefer similar approaches to obtaining their goals? I will also try to examine the extent to which the means and ends are altered in the process through which the state and NGOs interact.

One might ask what influences the ends and the means, the goals and the strategies employed by the organisations. Resources are likely to have an implication on these, therefore it might help to consider what resources are available to the organisation as well as how they are acquired and maintained. The financial, human and other resources can influence the strategies that an organisation employs.

3.5 Summary

Compared to the other models Najam's theoretical framework seems useful in establishing the extent to which state NGO relationships in Botswana are characterised by state dominance. The state's strength in its relationship with NGOs goes beyond economic theories. The complexities of state NGO relationships should be well noted and considered. Having explored the different theories and their applicability, in the next chapter I discuss the

research methodology which I use to address the research problem and answer the research question. The research methodology will attempt to critically examine preferences for policy ends and means and the process through which these are defined and influenced between the state and various NGOs, where the findings should indicate how the relationship can be most realistically categorised in the Botswana case.

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Chapter 4 – Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The situation of an over domineering state and a weak civil society in Botswana is an indication of an imbalance of power and the problematic nature of state NGO relations. The study employs different research methods in seeking to answer the research question which can be stated as follows: to what extent does state dominance characterise the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana?

This chapter presents a discussion of how the data was recorded, managed and analysed. It is however imperative to note that the research methodology derives from the conceptual framework. The literature review forms an integral component of carrying out the analysis. The interrogation of the data leading to research findings involves establishing themes and their implications as well as drawing conclusions from findings that emerge from the data. The analysis of the relationship between the state and women NGOs is based on data collected between December 2009 and February 2011.

4.2 Research methods

According to Neill (2007) qualitative research involves analysis of data such as words from interviews, pictures from videos or objects while quantitative research involves analysis of numerical data. Quantitative and qualitative research methods both have their strengths and weaknesses. Padgett (2004: 4) indicates that quantitative researchers admit that their methods are difficult to apply to dynamic situations and to the nuances of human relationships. The relationship between state and NGOs takes place in a dynamic environment therefore the use of quantitative methods would have been inappropriate. Babbie (2010:296) indicates that qualitative studies have the ability to provide researchers with a comprehensive perspective. The use of this method allows researchers a rich and deeper understanding. To reiterate this Neill (2007) indicates, %a major strength of the qualitative approach is the depth to which explorations are conducted and descriptions are written, usually resulting in sufficient details

for the reader to grasp the idiosyncrasies of the situation+ Understanding relations between the state and various NGOs requires a detailed exploration of the state, the NGOs and the interactions. Notwithstanding this, it is important to note that qualitative research is useful for the study of attitudes and behaviours best understood within their natural setting (Babbie 2010:297). Other cited areas well suited to qualitative studies include the study of social process over time, and events taking place within limited time and area.

The research method employed needs to be suitable to address the problem and it should be relevant to the conceptual framework. The heterogeneity of the government and the NGO sector is an important factor for Najam's model. NGOs and states are different in organisation and structure they also have differing ideologies and interests. The variation apparent in the state and the NGOs indicates dynamism which is an important component for qualitative studies. This further reiterates the appropriateness of the use of qualitative research methods.

The socio political issues surrounding relations between the state and the NGOS cannot be ignored. The environment in which the relations take place is constantly changing. Literature suggests that most governments were initially hostile towards NGOs. This has over time changed as we now witness states drawing closer to the NGOs in a more cooperative manner. Dealing with people also means that there are various dimensions and possibilities to the relationships; this adds an element of humanness to the research which warrants the use of qualitative research methods. Issues of a strong state and a weak civil society are both subjective therefore the views and perspectives of all the subjects of study are valuable. The perceptions of the respondents are informed by their experiences which can be expected to differ.

While obtaining the perspectives of both the NGOs and the government department seems important, perusal of documents is equally important. It is necessary for the sake of credibility as well as ensuring that the shortcomings of one method do not affect the results. Padgett (2004:10) claims that interviews on their own lack the density and texture that come

from incorporating observational data and or use of documents. The use of more than one method also enhances validity of the findings. Furthermore, given the nature of the problem it is unlikely that all the necessary information can be obtained solely through literature survey or interviews. Organisational interests and values would most likely be accurately recorded in documents and in brochures as mission and vision statements. Therefore the use of both interviews and document analysis is complimentary and it helps double check the facts.

4.3 Methods of data collection: Document analysis and key informant interviews

The research employs qualitative research methods in the form of document analysis and semi-structured key informant interviews. Data was collected from available documents generated by the WAD as well as the NGOs under review. The research made use of available documentation, published and unpublished; documents used were in the form of annual reports, organisations brochures, government documents and policy statements.

To examine the policy means and ends of WAD and the WNGOs first I examined primary documentation produced by the various organisations. This was useful in establishing the organisations profiles, priorities and goals. It was also useful in establishing their preferred strategies in attaining their goals. In examining the primary documentation I established what informed the policy ends and means. I conducted interviews to further determine the means and ends of the organisations.

In total eight interviews were conducted. Five representatives from the NGOs under review, two government officials from WAD and one representative from BOCONGO which is the NGO coordinating body were interviewed to obtain information about their organisations and their view on the relationship. The interviewees included heads of organisations, project and program coordinators as well a research officer. It is likely that the state would relate with various NGOs differently therefore individual interviews were more preferable to focus group

interviews. It would be unfair to address the NGOs as a homogeneous group. The NGOs vary; they are unique in their origins, goals, the patrons they serve and their mandates.

The use of interviews enabled me to probe in more depth about state NGO relationships which allowed me to gain a richer and fuller view of the situation. It also enabled me to cross reference information that appears in documentation. The choice of interviews as a method of study also suggests that people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are meaningful properties of the social reality+ which my research question is designed to explore, (Mason 2002:63).

4.4 Subjects of study

The study uses the WAD which represents the state and government's policy on gender issues and the five women NGOs as subjects of study; these are Emang Basadi, Kagisano Society Women Shelter Project, Women Finance House Botswana, Women and Law in Southern Africa and Women in Action for Abused Women and Children Living with HIV AIDS. The use of a variety of organisations will allow for better exploration of relationships since the department may relate differently to the organisations given the various activities they undertake in reaching their objectives. The organisations were purposively selected based on the nature of their work; the selected NGOs are committed to improving the status of women in the country while WAD is the national machinery responsible for women and gender issues. Even though the NGOs all deal with women issue, their areas of focus are varied including violence against women, law, HIV/AIDS and finance.

The work of these NGOs is in the various areas that fall under the mandate of the WAD. The organisations were selected from a list provided by BOCONGO in their directory of NGOs. There are about six women NGOs listed in the directory under the gender and development sector all of which are based in Gaborone except one which is based in Maun. Two of the NGOs namely Emang Basadi and Women Finance House Botswana have branches outside Gaborone. Other women NGOs are listed under other categories like finance and credit and

empowerment and youth and children. I was able to contact and request for interviews from representatives from all the women NGOs listed in the Gender and development category based in Gaborone and two other NGOs namely Gender links and the American African Business Women Alliance, these are not listed in the directory.

4.5 Interviews

I was guided by the theoretical framework in drawing the interview questions, which is based on the principle of means and ends; as such the main objective of the interviews was to establish the goals and strategies of WAD and the WNGOs. The questions were therefore set to determine what the interests of the organisations as well as the strategies that the various organisations use. The questions also touched on issues of resource flow which could link the government and the NGOs. The interviews also sought to establish if there was a legal framework in place to guide interactions between the state and the NGOs. I was also interested in obtaining the individuals perspectives on the relationship. This provided detail and enhanced exploration of the relationship.

The interview questions were open ended allowing the respondents to give as much detail as possible and giving me an opportunity to probe and to guide the discussion based on the responses.

4.5.1 Interview questions

The following questions were asked to establish the means and ends of the organisations, and to get the parties perspectives on the relationship.

For clarity and consistency, a goal will be defined as what the organisation seeks to achieve.

1. What informs the policy goals/objectives of your organisation/department?
2. What strategies or means do you employ to try to achieving your goals? Please specify methods used.

3. How does the department/ your organisation access resources to be able to implement your strategies (these could include sources, methods of allocation, accounting/ reporting on expenditure).
4. Is there an established framework for the engagement between the NGOs and the Women's Affairs Department?
5. How do you interact with the Women's Affairs Department/ NGOs i.e. (form /type) and how regular?
6. How would you assess your relationship with the department/ NGOs?
7. Would you say you have the same or similar interests with the department/NGOs? And if so in what areas; goals/objectives or strategies
8. How can the working relationship between your Department/NGO and the NGO/Department be improved?

4.6 Data Analysis

While proponents present various ways to approach data analysis in qualitative studies, the basic principle remains the same. The wording and prescriptive steps to analysis may differ but in the end the goal is systematic analysis that would lead to credible findings. Marshall and Rossman (1995: 111) suggest that qualitative analytic procedures fall into five modes, and these are; organising the data, generating categories, themes and patterns, testing the emergent hypothesis against the data, searching for alternative explanations of the data, and writing the report. I have also taken note of Creswell's (2009) line of thought in qualitative data analysis. He suggests the following plan for qualitative data analysis. Firstly organising the data, secondly going through the data to understand it and familiarising oneself with it,

thirdly coding the data, fourthly using the coding process to generate a description, the fifth step deals with how the description will be presented and the sixth and final step, making an interpretation of the data. Both Rossman (1995) and Creswell (2009) views on data analysis were useful to my research.

Interviews were captured through a voice recorder and later transcribed. Even though the interviews were recorded I was also taking notes during the interviews. The data from the interviews was coded and organised thematically to make its interpretation and analysis easier. The themes were drawn based on recurring issues that came up during the interviews and reflected issues identified in the literature review. Some of the themes like the four dimensions of the relationship, cooperation, confrontation, complementarity and cooptation were drawn in advance based on the questions derived from the conceptual framework.

Themes can be drawn beforehand or can be identified as they emerge from the data during analysis. In this case a combination was adopted hence inductive and deductive analysis. The researcher takes note of the risk of forcing the data into pre determined categories associated with deductive analysis therefore allowed sufficient flexibility to analyse themes which were not necessarily evident in the theoretical framework used. This means that the researcher allowed for other possible explanations to the findings to ensure that there is no bias and to enhance the validity of the findings.

Guided by background information from the literature review and the emerging data, I generated the findings and drew conclusions. I used the data to determine and define the relationships according to Najam's terms that is to establish if there is cooperation, cooptation, confrontation or complementarity.

4.7 Ethics

It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the research is ethically conducted. Consent was sought from the participants prior to all the interviews, this was done verbally.

The process of seeking consent also included informing the respondents about the objectives and the purpose of the research as well as seeking permission to record the interview. The respondents were granted anonymity.

4.8 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to an analysis of gender policy. Only organisations that deal with gender issues were reviewed. However, the study cannot claim to present a representative picture of the situation of the state and NGOs across board or throughout Botswana. Nonetheless I tried to obtain a cross section of issues being addressed by both the NGOs and the department. The organisations under review may not necessarily be a reflection of other NGOs otherwise not represented here. The employment of five NGOs limits my ability to make generalisable observations about state NGO relations on gender issues. The study is of a limited magnitude, it only views the relationship in the perspective of the few organisations under study, due to a limited budget and time, the study focused on NGOs in Gaborone.

The research methods also proved to have limitations as I encountered several challenges during the data collection process. Firstly it was difficult to access the respondents. It seems I conducted the interviews at a time when most of them were very busy. Some of the NGOs turned me down on my first attempt to schedule an appointment for an interview indicating that they were busy. In some cases I was told to come only to be returned and asked to set another appointment. Nevertheless I did not give up I kept following up until granted the interview. On one occasion the coordinator of a certain organisation refused to grant me an interview on the basis that my research would not inform the government's decisions therefore it would be of no use to the organisation. Considering how difficult it was to secure an appointment with the heads of the organisations I was flexible and amenable to interviewing an available officer nominated.

On realising how difficult it seemed to secure appointments I decided to contact more organisations than I had initially planned. I contacted twelve organisations out of which I was only able to interview representatives from seven organisations including the government department. These included five representatives from the NGOs, one from the coordinating organisation and two from WAD. All the organisations that I contacted were NGOs that deal with women issues with a possibility of interaction with the WAD. The additional five organisations which I contacted include Botswana Council of Women, Young Women & Christians Association, Gender links, American African Business women Alliance and Women Against Rape.

The unavailability of documents was a challenge. Some organisations could only offer organisational brochures, and some of them provided newsletters with information about associated organisations and were not so relevant. Some organisational profiles and brochures were however useful in providing information about the organisations and their work. Obtaining documents was difficult it seems information management is a challenge for most of the NGOs.

I also encountered some technical challenges. My first interview was not effectively recorded. Due to a technical glitch the interview was recorded but not saved. Fortunately I was taking notes during the interview.

4.9 Summary

The research methods employed are appropriate for the research problem, they also allowed for some flexibility in the data collection and analysis. They incorporated the various perspectives of the representatives of the government department and the NGOs under study. The use of a variety of methods also added value to the research; the different approaches have their strengths and weaknesses and are complementary. The research

methods allowed for a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the state and NGOs. The method was useful in determining the goals of the NGOs and that of the government department as well as the strategies that these organisations use in achieving their goals. This is in accordance with Najam's 4 Cs theoretical framework. In turn this will help us understand the relationship between the WNGOs and the WAD.

In the next chapter I present and discuss the findings of my research. The findings are based on the information obtained from the document survey, the literature review and the interviews conducted. An analysis of the data will help answer the research question.

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Chapter 5 – Findings

5.1 Introduction

In presenting the findings, I begin by giving brief overviews of the organisations under study showing their interest areas and strategies as obtained from the documents reviewed. I then use these to define the relationships between the WAD and the individual organisations. The relationships are defined according to Najam's conceptual framework. Findings from the literature review, documents analysis, hypothesis and interviews are integrated in the analysis.

The research seeks to establish the goals and strategies of WAD and the various WNGOs. These are useful in determining if there is cooperation, complementarity, cooptation or confrontation as proposed by Najam's theoretical framework. It is important to note that the framework is based on institutional interests and preferences for policy ends and means, therefore the goals cannot be confined to individual statements but to overall institutional interests, similarly organisations employ numerous strategies in pursuing their goals.

5.2 The Women's Affairs Department and Women NGOs

5.2.1 Women's Affairs Department (WAD)

WAD in the Ministry of Labour and Home affairs is committed to creating a gender sensitive environment conducive for gender equality. The department adopts the following strategies in attaining its goals: gender mainstreaming in all policies and programmes, training and capacity building, advocacy, research and information management. It is important to note that the use of the term advocacy by WAD is peculiar. Advocacy here refers to a collaborative effort by people in government and NGOs to persuade key decision makers in government and the NGOs to persuade key decision makers in government and the private sector to bring gender into the mainstream+(Government of Botswana 1999:6).

The work of WAD is centred on six areas of concern adopted by the Botswana government in collaboration with women NGOs through a consultative process. The six critical areas of concern are listed below in order of priority.

- Women and poverty, including economic empowerment
- Women in power and decision making
- Education and training of women
- Women and health
- Violence against women, including women's human rights
- The Girl Child

The National Gender Programme Framework (NGPF) presents strategic objectives and strategic actions for all the critical areas, excluding the Girl child which is said to be a cross cutting issue. WAD is committed to assisting organisations whose work falls within the critical areas. It also provides leadership on gender and development to partners including government ministries and departments, parastatals, private sector and non-governmental organisations. Some of the policies and documents guiding the work of WAD include National Gender Programme Framework, the National Policy on Women in Development and the Policy guidelines for financial support to Women's Non-governmental organisations.

WAD has four divisions namely, the policy development division, research division, networking, coordination, project monitoring and evaluation division and the training and information management division. The department facilitates the following events, which are core to its mandate, the national women's exposition, Sixteen days of activism on violence against women and children, and the international women's day.

WAD is primarily a policy formulation and coordinating agency, implementation of policies and programmes lies with government departments, the WNGOs, CBOs and the private sector. In response to a questionnaire on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for action, the government of Botswana confirms this by stating; "The national women's

machinery is not ordinarily in the mainstream of implementing programmes and activities in gender related issues. The government acknowledges that NGOs play a significant role as implementing partners. The NGPF acknowledges efforts of the NGOs indicating,

NGOs have made significant contributions in the areas of research, community education, advocacy, and legal innovation, and have played a key role in building public awareness on gender issues. It also states that they have played a leading role in promoting policy change in relation to legal issues affecting women and promoting women's increased involvement in politics and decision making (Government of Botswana 1999a:41).

The acknowledgement of the work of the NGOs in the different areas may be an indication of the commendable work of the NGOs in advocacy and service provision. It could also indicate partnership between WAD and the WNGOs. One of the respondents from the NGOs mentioned that the gender framework is primarily a product of the NGOs. She indicated that at the time it was conceived WAD was still developing and did not have the expertise hence it was supported by the NGOs. The role played by NGOs in the development of the women sector cannot be ignored. Some of the cited efforts and programs under the various critical areas are listed below³.

Women and Poverty, including economic empowerment;

- Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise Programme . a loan programme with tailored entrepreneurial skill training
- CORDE . training and follow up support in small business development
- Women's Finance House- business training and credit for women entrepreneurs
- Emang Basadi . Women's economic empowerment project

³ The efforts and programs under the various critical areas were obtained from The Government of Botswana (1999b) National Gender Programme Popular version, pp 3 – 20

- WAD's support to NGOs and CBOs, including training in entrepreneurial skills, and a review of laws related to economic empowerment.

Women in power and decision making

Efforts cited-

- WAD lobbying, public education, advocacy, and social mobilisation to promote gender equality in the sharing of power and decision making
- Emang Basadi- political education project: targets political parties and their women's wings, encourages political parties to endorse women's demands which are included in Emang Basadi's manifesto; encourage and trains women to campaign for political office; lobbies for affirmative action and quotas in favour of women decision making bodies and management positions
- Botswana parliament creation of an interparty caucus of women MPs

Efforts to eliminate Violence Against Women

- WAD study on socio economic implications of violence against women
- WLSA study on women and the administration of Justice
- WLSA advocacy and mobilisation to change the attitudes of police, health and court officials in dealing with victims of violence

The NGPF indicates that one of the strategies and actions to take integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women is to provide funds to foster the development of programmes or projects related to women abuse. It states,

NGOs, which carry out activities in the area of violence against women, should be provided with adequate human and financial resources to enable them to play a more meaningful role in the prevention and elimination of gender violence (Government of Botswana, UNDP 1998:29).

This commitment has prompted the state to assist some NGOs in pursuing their goals. The list of such organisations presented in the framework include; Emang Basadi, Women and Law in Southern Africa, Kagisano Shelter project and others. WAD plays the role of facilitation, support, coordination and monitoring in the process of gender mainstreaming and implementation of the NGPF strategies. The NGOs on the other hand have mostly played an implementing role.

A representative from WAD confirmed that part of their budget is used to fund NGOs. He emphasised that they only fund NGOs with interests within the six critical areas. Nonetheless he also mentioned that other NGOs whose work may not necessarily fall within the six critical areas could benefit from the funding through components of their work which may be linked to the six critical areas. For example an NGO dealing with environmental issues may have a component of economic empowerment.

On assessment of the relations between the state and the NGOs the respondent from WAD said the relationships are cordial, but can also be confrontational with NGOs feeling aggrieved that WAD is not doing enough in addressing their concerns. He lamented that NGOs have the right to raise their issues. In my view, the complaints and grievances cannot necessarily be used to connote confrontational relations between the state and the NGOs especially that the NGOs continue to cooperate with the state despite the complaints. The respondent also indicated that there is complementarity between the state and the NGOs, he stated, ~~in~~ most cases there is complementarity. The NGOs implement some of the government programmes sometimes even without being funded by government, they drive various objectives independently.

A representative from WAD was of the view that they have the same interests with a good number of WNGOs which he says address different gender issues. In terms of availability of a legal framework to guide relations between the state and the NGOs the respondent from WAD referred to the financial guidelines for funding the NGOs, the national gender

programme and short term action plan 2003 which he indicates is still relevant. While funding of NGOs by the state seems to be a controversial issue, the respondent from WAD indicated that lack of funding is a concern and suggested that if possible funding for the NGOs by the government could be increased.

5.2.2 Emang Basadi

Emang Basadi is a nongovernmental organisation established in 1986 with a focus on women's human rights. According to a representative interviewed the organisation was formed on the realisation that there are gaps in the law and that laws were more favourable to men than women. The organisation emerged because of lack of organisations that deal with the law and how it relates to women.

The objectives of Emang Basadi are:

- To identify through consultation and research, problems affecting women in Botswana
- To increase awareness among women and the public in general about the problems faced by women in all sectors of the Botswana society;
- To develop action oriented strategies and mobilise women to take steps that will help to change social, political, economic and legal position of women in Botswana
- To highlight and give concrete recognition to the important role that women play in national development; and
- To work towards greater equality and the removal of all cultural and legal barriers which hinder the advancement of women

Emang Basadi is driven by the desire to achieve a society where equality, justice and peace are the core of all interactions, a society where human rights will be the norm and not an expectation (Emang Basadi brochure, not dated). Emang Basadi's goal is to develop action-oriented strategies and mobilise women to take steps that help change their social, political economic and legal positions in Botswana.

The strategies used by Emang Basadi to achieve its goals include raising awareness on gender equality and women's human rights to the public through lobby, advocacy, capacity building, and provision of legal aid and counselling services for the empowerment of women. The activities of the organisation have been clustered into five critical priority programmes, these are; political education programme, legal aid and counselling centre, women and economic empowerment, Emang Basetsana (girl child empowerment programme) and information and documentation resource centre. Emang Basadi has two offices one in Gaborone and one in Mahalapye. It is one among the few organisations with extensions to reach rural communities. Emang Basadi also conducts nationwide workshops sensitising the nation on various gender issues.

During the interview with a representative from Emang Basadi emphasis was placed on the political education project. The political education project has two components, the women decision makers component and the voter education project. The lack of women in decision making positions including in parliament and cabinet is an area of concern for Emang Basadi. The political education programme empowers women to take up decision making positions. It empowers women with public speaking skills, campaign management skills and conducts fundraising for women's political campaigns. Furthermore Emang Basadi has used the voter education component of the programme to sensitise voters and to encourage people generally to vote and to particularly vote for women. Through the Political education project Emang Basadi has collaborated with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to monitor elections. Other important achievements include Emang Basadi's contribution to the women's manifesto and the women caucus for women in politics across political parties.

Emang Basadi like many other women NGOs works in collaboration with the state. The respondent from Emang Basadi remarked, "Due to lack of funding we had to collaborate with WAD to facilitate workshops". The implication of the above statement is that if the NGO had other options they could have opted not to collaborate with the state. This confirms that NGOs depend on the state and that the exit of donors left NGOs with fewer options.

The NGPF states that the intervention strategies under the violence against women are aimed at building a violence free society. Emang Basadi advocates for a society of equality, justice and peace. The goals of Emang Basadi and WAD are similar and the organisations also employ the same strategies, these include advocacy, lobbying and capacity building. According to Najam's framework there is cooperation between WAD and Emang Basadi. Nonetheless Emang Basadi employs other strategies which are not applicable to WAD; these include provision of legal aid and counselling services. The slight variation in strategies therefore suggests that there is also an element of complementarity in the relationship between the state and Emang Basadi where goals are similar while strategies differ.

When asked about the relationship between Emang Basadi and WAD, the respondent from Emang Basadi stated that there is mutual understanding between the two organisations. She further indicated that they have the same interests and they employ similar strategies but what could differ would be the extent to which they go in addressing the issues. Due to its proximity to the grassroots Emang Basadi is able to adapt its strategies to meet the needs according to situations. According to the respondent, Emang Basadi is able to reach areas and people who the government would not otherwise be able to reach. She remarked *'we are national; we go to areas they can't reach'*.

5.2.3 Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Program

KS-WSP was formed by three religious groups namely the Botswana Christian Council, Mennonite ministries and the Khoikhas in the early 80s, then called Kagisong Centre in response to the challenge of refugees. When the refugee problem abated the founders of Kagisong decided to redirect their focus onto a different area. They then decided to provide support to women and children who are a vulnerable group. This resulted in the formation of KS-WSP. KS-WSP operates at two levels firstly as a drop in centre and gate for clients secondly as residents' shelter house for those who need temporary shelter.

The goal of KS-WSP is to address gender based violence at individual, family and community level and to achieve a violence free society. Strategies used towards achieving this goal include counselling for the abused, the abusers and their children, provision of medical and legal aid when needed, emergency shelter and life skills training.

According to the representative from KS-WSP the NGO provides temporary shelter and counselling for those affected by gender based violence to alleviate suffering and empower them to get out of hurtful situations. KS-WSP also empowers women who are financially disadvantaged by offering survival skills. The organisation offers training in basic business skills, life skills, sewing skills etc. Furthermore KS-WSP empowers women with life skills to be able to negotiate safer sex and prevention of HIV/AIDS. The respondent from KS-WSP indicated that her organisation is willing to cooperate with the government by stating, %We participate in whatever development necessary to drive the gender agenda+.

The goals of the WAD and KS-WSP are the same, to attain peace and a violence free nation. However, the strategies employed by KS-WSP and WAD are different. KS-WSP employs counselling, provision of medical and legal aid, shelter and life skills training. None of these strategies are applicable to WAD. The two organisations use different approaches to achieve the same goal. This means the relationship between WAD and KS-WSP can be defined as complimentary in Najam's terms.

Even though the relationship between WAD and KS-WSP appear to be complimentary, it can also be interpreted otherwise. One can argue that the government has co-opted Kagisano to work towards its own goals. The respondent from KS-WSP confirmed that it is possible that the state could be co-opting NGOs by stating, %We are serving as subjects of the government, implementing policies and strategies of government+.

The respondent from KS-WSP emphasised the relevance of their work to WAD. She indicated that the domestic violence act speaks to law enforcement officers at all levels, district administrators, police officers, social workers to remove and take the victim or

survivor of violence to a place of safety. She cautioned that even though the Act refers to areas of safety the government does not provide any. The KS-WSP shelter is one of the two NGOs in the country that provide shelter or places of safety. The question then is whether the government is doing enough to support places of safety in implementing the act. One can also argue that there are not enough places of safety. A study commissioned by the government on social ills and moral decay raised the issue of the need for shelters. While the respondent from KS-WSP confirms that there is a need to increase the number of shelters in the country she maintains that the government should first enhance what is already on the ground.

A representative from KS-WSP cited working relations between WAD and KS-WSP as excellent. On the other hand, she holds the expectation that the government should be doing more to support her organisation. The NGO views itself as an active participant in government programs and feels the government is better placed to capacitate it. The government has consistently supported Kagisano by providing funding for the housemother, food and services and care of clients. Even though the government does not pay KS-WSP operational costs the assistance that it gets compared to the assistance received by other NGOs seems substantial. Nonetheless, KS-WSP submits proposals to donors, the private sector, government and individuals seeking funding to augment what they receive from the government⁴.

5.2.4 Women's finance House Botswana (WFHB) - Thusang Basadi

Women's finance house Botswana is a non-governmental organisation, which was established in 1989 with an aim to empower economically disadvantaged women and to

⁴ Kagisano women's shelter project has in the past received financial support from The Women's Affairs Department, Department of Social Services, Bristol Myers Squibb Foundation, Canada Fund for local Initiatives and European Commission through micro projects in the Ministry of local government and Lands, American Ambassador's Self Help Fund, British High Commissioner, and Kgalagadi Management Trust. Currently the organisation is receiving financial support from the government through the Department of Women's affairs and the First National Bank.

develop their entrepreneurial skills. The founding members included women leaders in finance, banking, the legal profession, accounting and social sciences. The organisation operates under the trade name Thusang Basadi which means help the women. WFHB deals with three main areas, these include: Training in basic business management, Provision of savings facilities and provision of credit. WFHB like most NGOs receives financial assistance from various donors and the government⁵.

The goal of WFHB is to alleviate poverty by improving the lives of economically active low-income women in Botswana. This is done through the use of strategies based on the Grameen Bank Model. Women are organised in groups for social and financial assistance. The strategies used by WFHB include provision of low-income women access to micro finance and business support services. The organisation runs a savings and credit program and provides basic business management and entrepreneurial skills training. The respondent indicated that it is important to note that funding of small groups of women has resulted in benefits rolling outside the programme; these include assertiveness and the development of a community spirit where women are now collaborating in other social programs within their communities to improve their livelihoods.

Alleviation of poverty is key to the mandate of WAD therefore one can say the department and WFHB have similar goals. Economic empowerment of women leading to livelihood improvement is an issue of interest to both WAD and WFHB. Furthermore, the work of both the WAD and WFHB is based on the theme women and poverty, including economic empowerment. The respondent indicated that WFHB and WAD have the same interests, which are the common concern to support women's projects and to address the millennium

⁵ WFHB has obtained funds from W. Kellogg Foundation, Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries (HIVOS), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), African Development Foundation (ADF). The organisation is currently assisted by the Kellogg Foundation and the Non state actors capacity building program through a joint agreement between the government of Botswana and the European Commission.

development goals. She indicated, %We interact with WAD they deal with women, they support micro finance, poverty alleviation and economic participation of women, they support women activities+. She further stated, %There is a common ground in terms of what issues we are trying to address+.

WFHB and WAD both provide financial assistance to women groups who engage in entrepreneurial activities. This is to encourage entrepreneurship and self-sustainability. They also provide business skills training. The NGPF indicates that WAD has succeeded in providing training in entrepreneurial skills. This might not necessarily be a key strategy for the department but it does indicate that both WFHB and the WAD provide business skills training.

The respondent from WFHB indicated that their relationship with WAD is helpful, %Working with the government brings networks, we collaborate not only in issues of funding but also in issues of program, we participate in meetings and discuss matters of common interest+. She emphasised that while various organisations have different areas of focus the ultimate goal is the same. She stated, %In terms of various individual organisations each organisation has its own focus but collectively we make a home+.

On improving relations between WAD and WNGOs, the representative advised, %Quarterly meetings need to be properly structured in terms of actions that arise from the meetings. While the meetings are very helpful at this point we need to know who is doing what and maybe link with other organisations and use the opportunity to be able to sell our services and receive the same+. She also made reference to funding, which she says is an issue of concern to all other NGOs %One expects a proper budget to annually finance NGOs, that says how much is allocated for specific activities or sectors+; she adds that this %Does not seem to be apparent+.

Another view of the respondent from WFHB on improving relations between the state and the WNGOs was that %The relationship needs to be formalised and more focused+. She

lamented that the relationship between WAD and the NGOs is loose and roles get mixed up because of the lack of a proper framework. She explained %there is this thing that WAD facilitates but does not implement+, however sometimes there is a mixture of roles WAD is now dealing directly with women on specific issues whereas the understanding was that WAD would be facilitating and resourcing wherever possible and the respective NGOs would undertake activities+. She adds, %for instance, right now, they are funding small business women and we believe they shouldn't be doing that. They should work through existing organisations+.

The use of similar strategies and goals suggests that the relationship between the WFHB and WAD is cooperative. This corroborates the representative's indication that the relationship between WFHB and the government department is good and helpful. There is also an element of complementarity since WFHB uses other strategies that are different from those of the department. These include provision of a savings program and credit facilities. In spite of the cooperative and complimentary relations noted there seems to be duplication of roles with WAD and WFHB competing to provide the same services. The duplication of roles and competition could be an indication of some kind of rivalry between WAD and WFHB, contrary to findings according to Najam's framework and the response from the representative.

5.2.5 Women and Law in Southern Africa

WLSA is an action oriented research organisation based in seven Southern African countries. Its aim is to contribute to the sustained wellbeing of women in families and communities through advancing their human rights, socio economic, political and legal status. The strategies that WLSA use include action oriented research in the socio legal field and lobbying for legal reforms and policy changes in laws and practices which discriminate and disadvantage women. According to WLSA (2011) activist research means:

research which is intended to inform and influence action being taken to improve women's legal position and which incorporates action into the research by educating women about the legal rights, providing legal advice, questioning and challenging the law as well as instigating campaigns for changes in the law in the course of research.

Research conducted by the Botswana chapter include ; Maintenance law in Botswana, women and law in Botswana, women marriage and inheritance, families and women's rights in a changing environment and others. Other strategies additional to action research include Information dissemination and documentation, Legal Advice and services Lobbying and Advocacy for policy legal reform and change; Networking; Training and Education in Women's Rights and Human Rights.

The objectives of WLSA include⁶:

- Developing research skills of women's law researchers in the network countries
- conducting research on gender issues in Southern Africa, particularly those related to legal rights;
- providing information on gender and the law and influencing policy and law reform in each country;
- networking and exchanging information between the seven countries;
- conducting training and planning seminars on research and producing materials in the seven countries;
- exploring and developing new methodologies and new perspectives for the study of gender and the law in the seven countries;
- Cooperating and liaising with other organizations in each country, in the region and internationally which are interested in issues relevant to women and law.

⁶ The information on the goals and objectives of WLSA was obtained from the website: www.wlsa.za

WLSA has received support from the following donors DANIDA, NORAD, USAID, the Netherlands, SAREC, Ford Foundation and CIDA.

The respondent from WLSA emphasised the importance of research to the work of WLSA. She indicated that the organisation promotes research in order to understand the gaps and be able to influence the law. According to the respondent WLSA has been able to convince the government to change among others the maintenance law through research. She stated, "The strategies that the organisation uses are based on research findings."

While WLSA seeks to improve the legal status of women, placing emphasis on the law, its goal is premised on advancing the welfare of women. This suggests that the ultimate goals of WLSA and WAD are similar. WLSA seeks to improve the legal status of women; this is not divergent from WAD's goal of creating of a gender sensitive environment and advancing women's human rights.

Some of the strategies employed by WAD and WLSA to achieve their goals are similar. Research is the core to the mandate of WLSA while it is only a component of the WAD's mandate. In fact, the main objective of WLSA is to conduct research that supports action to improve the socio-legal position of women. WAD on the other hand engages in research and information management. WAD and WLSA both employ lobbying and advocacy as a strategy to achieve their goals. The use of similar strategies by WAD and WLSA indicates cooperative relations. On the other hand, WLSA unlike WAD undertakes legal advice and services, networking, training and education on women's rights and human rights. These strategies are not applicable to WAD. This is an indication of complimentary relations between WAD and WLSA. Relations between WAD and WLSA according to Najam's framework exhibit cooperation and complementarity.

The respondent from WLSA indicated there has always been a close relationship between the state and women NGOs in Botswana particularly in 1975 and the 80s when NGOs used

to represent the government on women issues. She further indicated that the government depended on NGOs and NGOs could represent the government at international conferences. Describing the relationship between the state and the NGOs in the early years the respondent stated, %It was more laissez faire, NGOs informed and directed government on issues+. She asserts that even though NGOs were funded by government and engaged in workshops funded by government there was mutual understanding. The respondent however acknowledges that the relationship between the state and the NGOs has now changed she indicates, %There has been a change in the role of the state, now the state is more domineering+. She adds that WAD grew from a small unit, to a department to a machinery. In her view state dominance became apparent when NGO coalition collapsed. The respondent indicated that due to the collapse of the women's coalition which was the coordinating body WAD can choose who to work with. She also indicates that there is lack of collective action. She suggests that there is need for collective action to hold the government accountable. She states, %If divided your power and influence is divided+.

Nonetheless the respondent was of the opinion that there is good interaction between the state and the NGOs. She referred to planning for women activities together such as women's day, 16 days of activism, national conference, national and international events. In her view, the relationship between the state and women NGOs has an element of cooperation, confrontation and cohesion. This suggests that there is variation in relations between NGOs and the state; she suggests sometimes there is unity and sometimes opposition. The respondent indicated that the director of WAD is new and that the relationship will improve stating, %The new director is bringing back civil society, previously WAD leadership planned and called NGOs to participate now they do it together+.

To improve the relations between the state and the women NGOs the WLSA respondent suggested that there is need for a coordinating mechanism that is proactive, with strong leadership and sufficient resources. This she believes will have an impact on the relations.

5.2.6 Women in Action for Abused Women and Children living with HIV/AIDS

Women in Action for Abused Women and Children Living with HIV / AIDS commonly addressed as WIA was established in 2003 as a non-profit making organization with an aim to empower women and vulnerable children of Botswana socially, politically and economically. WIA addresses the intersection between gender based violence and HIV.

The goal of WIA is to contribute to the elimination of all forms of gender based violence and reduction of the spread of HIV and AIDS among women and girls in Botswana. WIA combats the intersection of gender based violence (GBV) and the spread of HIV and AIDS to effectively manage the challenges posed by gender based violence and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

WIA employs participatory approaches in achieving its goal. The organisation recognizes that education and awareness have a vital role to play in achieving sustainable improvements in the socio-economic status. WIA confronts the underlying causes of GBV by continuously designing projects geared towards addressing the complex problem. Strategies used by WIA to achieve its goals include community based interventions, outreaches and awareness rising. The strategic activities employed by WIA include community dialogues and community mobilisation. According to the respondent, WIA also conducts counselling.

While the mandate of WIA is unique it seeks to eradicate violence against women, this is in line with the WADs interests. The goals of WAD and WIA are similar however the strategies they use are different. Therefore the relationship between WIA and WAD can be defined as complimentary. WIA is currently receiving financial support from Debswana, WAD, and Global fund for women.

The respondent from WIA indicated that there is no framework to guide relations between the state and the NGOs. He stated that the relationship at the moment works on ad hoc

basis. He however argues that it is imperative that the government is aware that it is a duty bearer and that it should accept NGOs as indispensable partners. On the issue of government funding the respondent indicated that there are two sides to government funding of NGOs. Firstly he stated that you cannot bite the hand that feeds you+suggesting that the NGOs funded by government are forced to be compliant with the state's agenda and priorities. On the other hand he acknowledges that government funds allow the NGOs to be the governments implementing arm, this was perceived positively by the respondent.

5.2.7 Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations BOCONGO

While the study set out to understand the relationship between the state and NGOs, this could not be done adequately without considering the role played by BOCONGO which is the coordinating body of NGOs and CBOs in Botswana. BOCONGO enhances the participation of NGOs in the development process. The organisation also acts as the link between the NGOs and the government. It is however important to note that BOCONGO only represents its members, nonetheless all the NGOs represented in this study are affiliated to BOCONGO.

The mission of BOCONGO is to coordinate, facilitate and promote capacity building, networking and information dissemination, advocacy and strengthening the local NGOs to influence development policies. Its vision is to be a strong vibrant civil society. To facilitate the strengthening of local NGOs for effective participation of NGOs in the development process of Botswana

A representative from BOCONGO indicated that she feels the government undermines their efforts to organise civil society by opting to use NGOs that are not affiliated to them therefore making it less attractive for NGOs to affiliate. This contradicts Maundeni's (2004:67-68) viewpoint that the state was initially hostile to non affiliated organisations and that it pressurised NGOs to come together under umbrella bodies. Perhaps this is not relevant to WAD and the women NGOs. It could be true that the government may opt to use NGOs that

are not affiliated to BOCONGO. This corroborates with the view expressed by one of the respondents who indicated that with the collapse of the coalition WAD chooses who to consult.

BOCONGO is largely supported by government; this could compromise its autonomy. The respondent from BOCONGO indicated, *"We need government funding, our operation costs are met by government"*. The respondent mentioned that the relations between the state and the women NGOs depend on personalities of leaders due to the lack of a framework.

According to the respondent their members perspectives on the relationship between BOCONGO and NGOs vary; some find it beneficial while some are frustrated about funding therefore don't see the need to be members. Funding is a problem for most if not all women NGOs, according to the respondent *"lack of funds dilutes mandate"*. This statement confirms the effect and impact of government funding on the NGOs. Some of the respondents from the NGOs pointed out that there have been some complaints that BOCONGO receives some funds from the government to assist them but they have not benefited. The representative from BOCONGO acknowledges that many of their members are financially deprived. She regrets that they are unable to assist their members financially.

The respondent from BOCONGO advised that WAD should be more open in terms of funding. She states that they should be open about what money they are asking for and how much they received; she further reiterated, *"NGOs need to know how much the department has"*. This concern was also raised by a respondent from WFHB. This suggests that there is lack of transparency in WADs budget. Respondents called for openness and information sharing. The respondent from BOCONGO stated, *"information is important to help the department and Batswana. It will look like we are attacking WAD but we want the state to allocate funds in a way beneficial to Batswana"*.

5.3 Thematic issues

The interviews revealed shared sentiments and concerns among representatives of the NGOs. The following were the reoccurring themes; the exit of donors; lack of financial resources; close relations between the state and the NGOs characterised by mutual understanding; the collapse of the NGO coalition; and the lack of a legal framework.

5.3.1 The exit of donors

The exit of donors from the country has indeed left the NGOs stranded and financially strapped. It is also true that the NGOs seek financial support from the government and that most of them have very limited alternatives for financial support. However despite the financial support the NGOs have managed to retain their mandates and organisational identities. The interests of the NGOs are already allied to those of the government even before the money factor comes in. None of the NGOs receive all of their funding from government. The NGOs submit proposals and scout for resources from donors. One of the respondents from the women NGOs complained about the government and donors financing project implementation without catering for personnel. He exclaimed %a project cannot run itself; we need money to pay for manpower and cover operational costs+.

After the exit of donors some development partners began giving money to the government and not directly to the NGOs. This gave the department leverage, better capacity to raise funds. WAD grew stronger in the processes the women NGOs were weakened. All the respondents alluded to the exit of donors as having had a negative impact on the work of the women NGOs. A respondent from one of the NGOs stated, %The exit of donors forced the NGOs to negotiate with the government for support+.

5.3.2 Government funding towards NGOs

It is possible that the government's funding is not necessarily meant to control the NGOs but to enable the NGOs to take part in development process. However it is also important to note that funding influences the activities that the NGOs can undertake. It also enables the

NGOs to implement projects, this keeps the NGOs engaged. Without these projects some of the NGOs would remain idle and inactive. According to Edwards and Hulme (1996:96) official funding compromises the performance of NGOs in other areas of development activity such as institutional development and advocacy. This could be true in the Botswana situation where most if not all NGOs are busy implementing government policies while advocacy lags behind. This could have implications for the ordinary people on the ground whose interests the NGOs claim to be representing. Time and resources are drawn towards implementing projects instead of advocating on behalf of people's interests. Maundeni (2004:91) points out that state funding tends to draw NGOs closer to the state compromising their role as social and moral watchdogs. Beck (1970) and Manser (1974) quoted in Chikoto (2007:7) state that NGOs dependence on state funding dilutes the advocacy role of the NGOs.

Despite funding from government NGOs remain with some degree of autonomy. The respondents agreed that there is mutual understanding between their NGOs and the state. The NGOs are able to retain their institutional identity and set their own priorities. The NGOs make their own choices as to engage with the state or not; the state does not coerce the NGOs to undertake any activities. All the respondents declared that their goals or mandate were not compromised by the fact that they received funding from the government. In fact they were of the view that the government ought to be doing more in terms of supporting them financially. One of the respondents stated, "The government should be giving us some money. Government gets the credit, we implement but we starve".

The idea that the provision of funds by government can compromise autonomy cannot however be totally ruled out. Some respondents remarked, "You cannot bite the hand that feeds you" despite having indicated that their roles are not compromised by government funding. The use of such statements may suggest that some NGOs feel obliged to comply with government wishes because it is supporting them. Maundeni (2004:75) notes funding as a central factor constraining civil society and bringing it under state control in Botswana.

Gronbjerg and Salamon (2002) in Chikoto (2007:12) are of the opinion that funding is an important factor in state NGO relationships. They indicate that changes in government funding are accompanied by changes in the nature of government non profit relations. The increase in funding meant greater formality and structure resulting in the loss of flexibility for both the government and NGOs.

5.3.3 State dominance in WAD WNGOs relations

The fact that the relationships between the state and the WNGOs according to Najam terms are defined as cooperative and in some instances complimentary might suggest that the state is not necessarily dominant in the relationship. It suggests that there is mutual understanding. The mutual and collaborative relationship could be attributed to the nature of the policy area. As Carroll and Carroll (2004: 339) suggest that organisations promoting non controversial projects are able to influence government in contrast to controversial projects. This research confirmed Strain's (2008:36) claim that the state has embraced NGOs in so far as they engage in activities that fit within the government's established strategy. An overly dominant state would have resulted in a co-optational or confrontational relationship where the state either influences the NGOs goals or strategies.

5.3.4 Interaction between the state and WNGOS

The state acts more like a facilitator while the NGOs implement the state's programs and policies. The interaction between the state and the NGOs is to a large extent centred on implementation of government programs. The respondents cited the NGO/CBO forum as one of the platforms for interaction. This is a quarterly meeting between the NGOs, CBOs and WAD. The meeting is used to reflect on implementation of projects and to discuss ways of improvement. In addition to this, the NGOs meet the department to organise for key events such as Sixteen days of activism on violence against women and children, the international women's day and the national women's exposition. Furthermore WAD takes along members from the NGO community as representatives of women to some international events or conferences. The joint participation of WAD and the NGOs in these

activities shows an element of cooperation. If the NGOs and the state were not in agreement they would not jointly represent the nation. This is a desirable development admired by counterparts in other developing countries. Datta (2004:260) mentions that Botswana is the envy of its neighbours as government and women NGOs go to regional and international forums as a team while in other SADC countries governments leave out NGOs.

There is little or no evidence to suggest that the NGOs have a significant contribution or role to play in policy formulation or analysis, emphasis is placed on planning for activities and implementation of projects. The NGOs also seem to be lacking behind in terms of advocacy work. This could be attributed to the lack of capacity due to financial constraints resulting in NGOs concentrating more on projects for which funding is available.

5.3.5 The collapse of the women NGO coalition

A majority of the respondents made reference to the collapse of the women NGO coalition. The coalition strengthened the position of the women NGOs vis-a-vis the government and the rest of the NGO sector (Datta 2004:259). The WNGO coalition coordinated the response, the action and the activities of the WNGOS. It allowed the women groups to speak collectively in one voice. Even though the coalition worked closely with WAD it sought to promote legal reform and policy and procedural changes. It actively advocated for change where necessary. It is important to note that the women's NGO coalition assumed the responsibility of coordinating different areas of the NGPF for example CORDE coordinated women and poverty; Emang Basadi women and power in decision making; and Metlhaetsile violence against women and human rights. This coordination of the various aspects of the critical areas could have possibly influenced the alliance between the government's and the NGOs goals.

5.3.6 NGO activities and the state

The nature of the work of an organisation is important to the relationship between the state and the NGOs. The goals of the organisation should be seen to be relevant to that of the

department. The government only funds or assist NGOs that have similar interests with it. There is little or no interaction between the department and NGOs whose work does not fall within the six critical areas. Considering that the NGOs played a role in the initiation of the six critical areas taking part in their implementation can be expected.

5.3.7 Lack of a legal framework to guide relationships

All the respondents indicated that there is no legal framework to guide the interactions between the state and the NGOs and that the interaction are currently on ad hoc basis except a representative of WAD who made reference to the policy guidelines for financial support to women's non-governmental organisations. The lack of a guiding legal framework for the engagement of NGOs has meant that there is no way of formalising the relationships between the state and the NGOs.

The respondents indicated that the lack of a legal framework to guide the relations between the state and the NGOs has resulted in the relationships being dependent on personalities. Leaders in charge are at liberty to decide if, when and how to engage with the NGOs. Therefore the relations tend to differ depending on who is in charge and what their perspective is. The cooperative and complimentary relations may be an indication of the amenable attitude of the leaders towards the NGOs. On the contrary the new government has been labelled hostile by some of the respondents. It is still not clear why the NGO policy still has not been implemented. Some attributed it to lack of funds while some think it is a political issue or a sign of the state's hostility as some have suggested.

5.4 Application of Najam's theory

5.4.1 Cooperation

Majority of the women NGOs under study have shown a positive relationship with WAD in accordance with Najam's theoretical framework. While cooperation between the state and the women NGOs has mutual benefits for both the state and the NGOs it also has some negative implications. The NGOs tend to neglect their advocacy role and drift further away

from their constituents. Many authors argue that the government will tolerate NGOs as long as they are not controversial and their work fits into the national plans (Strain 2006; Carroll and Carroll 2004; Mogalakwe and Sebudubudu 2005; Dicklitch 1998). The work of the women NGOs corresponds closely to the plans of the state. There also has not been any interference or meddling by the NGOs or the state in each other's affairs resulting in undesirable commotions or disruptions.

The literature also suggests that where the NGO and the state have similar objectives it is likely that there would be cooperation (Lekorwe 2007; Clark 1993). There is corroboration between what the literature and Najam's conceptual framework suggest. The literature may not explicitly state that there is cooperation between the state and women NGOs in Botswana but the conditions that it indicates as relevant for cooperative relations are present in Botswana.

Cooperation between the women NGOs and WAD can be attributed to various factors. The role played by the NGOs in the development of women issues in the country, this includes the review of laws, and their contribution to government decisions by generating information and knowledge. It is also possible that the state has shown capacity to implement policies well to an extent of satisfying the NGOs. The fact that WAD and the WNGOs have the same objectives suggests that they have the same interests and are bound to cooperate. Lekorwe (2007:6) states, "Where the government has a positive social agenda which resonates with the NGOs, there is potential for a strong collaborative relationship". It may also be that the NGOs consider themselves part of the government's programs therefore are unable to criticise it. Strain (2002: 35) suggests that Botswana's political stability means there is no incentive for NGOs to emerge as a countering force to the government. It is noted that on realising that their strategy was not effective, the WNGOs decided to change their strategy from confrontation to cooperation (Datta 2004:260). Therefore cooperating with the government could have been a strategy for the NGOs to be able to influence the government.

5.4.2 Complementarity

Through complimentary relationships NGOs are able to fill gaps left by the state. In that way the state benefits from NGOs efforts especially in areas where the state itself is lacking. According to Najam (2002:387) complimentary relations occur when NGOs fill a function that is expected of the government but the government is unable or unwilling to provide. Lekorwe (2007:5) indicates that NGOs play a complimentary role when they act as implementers of development activities. The relations between the state and KS-WSP and WIA are a reflection of what Najam (2002) and Lekorwe (2007) above suggest. This means that the literature corroborates with Najam's findings.

5.4.3 Confrontation

The literature review indicated that confrontational relations between the state and the NGOs were not to be expected. This is attributable to Botswana's non confrontational culture (Strain 2000:32; Maundeni 2004: 10) and a weak and undeveloped civil society (Ntseane and Youngman 2002:2; Taylor 2003:221; Leslie 2006:66). Holm, Molutsi and Somolekae (1996) relate the weakness of Botswana's civil society to the political and economic stability, the lack of any meaningful struggle for independence, and the absence of a tradition of questioning. The use of Najam's framework has not resulted in evidence of any confrontational relations between WAD and women NGOs. This shows that the literature and findings based on Najam's framework correspond. According to Lekorwe (2007:11) confrontational relations can be expected where NGOs play a watchdog role holding the government to account. Women NGOs in Botswana have not played a watchdog role but have been to great extent implementers of government policies and programs. This could be the reason for the reduced advocacy role of the NGOs. The closer the NGOs move towards the state the further away they move from the people's expectation of them, which is to hold the state accountable.

5.4.4 Cooptation

Based on the literature that suggests that the state in Botswana is strong while the civil society is weak, it can be hypothesised that the relations between the state and WAD would be co-optational. However, the findings according to Najam's conceptual framework have not shown this. Therefore, it may seem as though the findings from the literature review and the conceptual framework do not correspond. There is however an underlying link between them. Najam and other authors agree that cooptation is a result of power asymmetry. Both the state and the NGOs may attempt to influence each other's means and ends. The most powerful actor influences the others goals or strategies resulting in co-operation or confrontation in relations between the state and NGOs. Najam (2000:389) suggests that 'While co-optation is certainly a function of power the source of power can be varied: financial, political, coercive, and even epistemic'. In line with Najam's thought, it is important to note that the state in Botswana is certainly more powerful than the WNGOs are and has used its financial and political power to influence the goals of the WNGOs.

We have to apply Najam's interpretation of confrontational relations to state NGO relations in Botswana to be able to understand that he like many others indicates that there is an element of co-optation in relations between the state and NGOs in Botswana. Najam (2000:389) argues that cooptation relations are transitory hence unstable and temporary. The relations become stable as they shift from confrontation to cooperation, complementarity or confrontation.

According to Najam current relations between the state and NGOs could be a result of co-optation. The state in Botswana, according to Najam's theory has successfully co-opted the NGOs to a position of cooperation and complementarity. Even though the identification of the six critical areas of concern was done collaboratively the NGOs altered their goals to align them with the areas of concern, this was in the states interest. The Government of Botswana (1999:14) in the Advocacy and Social Mobilisation Strategy for the National Gender Programme indicates that WNGOs were initially welfare-oriented. Today the goals of

the WNGOs are in alignment with the government's gender program. Najam (2000:389) reiterates his argument as he states, "In a few instances, one or both sides are able to change their goals so as to arrive at a common position, and therefore meaningful cooperation." This is a reflection of the situation of WNGOs and the state in Botswana.

5.5 Summary

Relationships are a result of interactions of various factors. These determine the dynamics of the relationship. Relationships vary and they are likely to change with time. While the WAD relates differently to the various departments there are some factors that are common in all relationships. A careful consideration shows that NGOs are subtly co-opted by the state.

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Chapter 6 – Conclusions

6.1 Conclusions

This dissertation was an attempt to answer the following research question: To what extent does state dominance characterise the relationship between the state and the NGOs in Botswana? The research findings have led me to conclude that: The relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana is characterised by state dominance to some extent. This chapter provides evidence to support the above claim.

Governments funding towards NGOs has been an issue of contention in state NGO relations in Botswana. This support can sometimes mean the difference between operation and non operation due to lack of funds to undertake projects. NGOs are incapacitated by lack of funds, human resources and institutional capacity. The dependence of NGOs on state funding can be interpreted as weakening the NGOs. The exit of donors has left NGOs without alternatives for financial assistance leading NGOs to depend even more on the state.

The government does not support the NGOs fully; the financial support provided is limited to specific projects. The funding does not influence the mandate and the strategies of the NGOs even though it affects the activities that the NGOs can undertake. The ability of the NGOs to retain their goals and mandates means that the NGOs have some autonomy. Perhaps the NGOs are not that weak after all considering that they have been able to maintain their own mandates and use their preferred strategies. Notwithstanding that they are limited by resources in pursuing their goals and achieving their full potential

The lack of a legal framework to guide relations between the state and the NGOs has resulted in the relations being loose and unstructured. While the lack of a framework may be an indication that the state has not used legislation to restrict the activities of the NGOs or to control them like in some African countries such as Kenya and Uganda, it still gives the government the upper hand in the relationship deciding who to consult, when and how.

History has shown that the WNGOs were once strong; Sebudubudu and Mogalakwe (2006:212) and Leslie (2006:64) acknowledge that WNGOs were vibrant and were able to place women issues on the government's agenda. However, their strength has diminished over the years. The WNGOs have become weaker relative to WAD. The WNGO coalition contributed to the strength of the women NGOs. The collapse of the coalition therefore further weakened the WNGOs. Without the coalition the efforts of WNGOs to advocate for women's interests were divided.

WAD has grown over time. It has developed from a unit to a fully fledged department. While the department initially depended on the NGOs, it is now the other way round. WAD now has better expertise and is relatively well resourced in terms of human, technical and financial resources. The NGOs on the other hand have a weak institutional capacity. They are also lacking financially. NGOs on their own are not self sufficient, they need the assistance that they can get from the government.

In light of the above discussion, it can be said that the state holds more power in the relationship. It is indeed the most dominant actor in the relationship. However, it has not used its strength against the NGOs at least not explicitly. While the state may be dominant it has accommodated the NGOs and the NGOs are free to decide whether to work with the state or not. Najam (2000:391) affirms this as he indicates, "when they choose to form a relationship whatever it may be both the government and the NGOs are acting consenting adults".

It is important to note that there hasn't been any repression of the NGOs by the government through legislation or other means. The NGOs have played according to the state's rules even though there is no legal framework to guide relations. In my opinion, the state appears to be open, accessible and friendly towards the NGOs. The nature of the policy issue, in this case gender, may be considered as less controversial hence the ability to maintain stability and good relations. Both the state and the NGOs have been cooperative in their relations.

The findings reveal that relationships between the state and WNGOs can be classified as cooperative and complementary. Emang Basadi, WLSA and WFHB have shown elements of both complementary and cooperative relations with the state. Some NGOs like KS-WSP and WIA showed complimentary relations with the state. According to the literature these organisations provide goods and services which the government finds necessary but unable to provide. There is also an element of cooptation in the relations between the state and the NGOs; this however is not clearly discernable by Najam's framework.

Authors prescribe certain conditions which they believe are necessary for cooperative relations. Najam (2000) suggest there should be absence of perceived threat, Clark (1993) says it is important that the government and the NGOs should share common objectives. Lekorwe (2007) suggests that cooperation is likely where there is a positive social agenda. Coston (1998) indicates that resource flows, information sharing and joint action promote co-operational relations. All these are present in the case of state and WNGOs in Botswana.

According to Najam's theory relations characterised by state dominance would show cooptation or complementarity where the government or the NGO tries to influence the goals or strategies of the other. However results according to Najam's theory indicate co-operational and complimentary relations. This is in line with the analysis from the interviews but challenges observations made in the literature which suggest that there is domination by the state in the relationship hence cooptation. The literature on state NGO relationships in Botswana suggests that the relationship is characterised by state dominance. Even though the findings according to the framework show cooperation and complementarity Najam does not dispute the possibility of cooptation in such a case. He argues that co-optational relations are unstable, transitory and temporary. This suggests that cooperation or complementarity could be a result of cooptation.

The nature of the work that an NGO performs is an influential factor in the relationship. The activities of the NGO have to be in line with the programmes of WAD to enable a working

relationship between the two organisations. There will be less interaction if the interests of the NGO are outside the department's mandate.

The Women Affairs Department and the women NGOs interact in the following ways:

- Through planning for activities, they sit in various committees formed to undertake the planning of specified events or activities
- Through the NGO CBO forum, where they report on the implementation of the projects they undertake
- They collaborate as participants in international meetings and conferences.

The department engages the NGOs as and when the need arises, to review government activities and to discuss matters of interest.

There is little or no evidence to suggest that NGOs have a significant contribution or role in policy making. The NGO/CBO forum seems to be a platform which could possibly be used by the NGOs to contribute to policy nonetheless it is used to discuss ideas and experiences of the women's groups. Emphasis seems to be placed on women activities and on the implementation of the NGPF. NGOs are concerned about their sustainability; it seems the NGOs are more concerned about closing down than they are about their role in society. The lack of financial resources has weakened the effectiveness of the NGOs.

The role of the WAD has been noted as including policy development, promotion of the new gender and development approach, public education and training, research and evaluation, resource mobilisation and coordination. The NGOs, private sector and government departments have been indicated as implementers of the gender program. However, there seems to be conflict in roles with WAD and some NGOs competing to implement. The case of WFHB and WAD both financing women-run micro businesses is a case in point.

6.2 Implications

The relationship between the state and the NGOs has various implications. Both the state and the NGOs get something from the relationship, they are able to advance the cause of

women. The government becomes more responsive to the needs of women because of the contribution of the WNGOs to its work. While they may seem weak, as suggested in the literature, the NGOs are closely guarding the interests of their patrons through cooperation with the state. This can be considered as strategic. Cooperation with the state is not necessarily a weakness but a source of strength for the NGOs. Through cooperative and complimentary relations the state's capacity to provide goods and services and to implement policies and programs is enhanced. Equally the states legitimacy is enhanced. On the contrary cooperative relations draw NGOs closer to the state. This reduces their autonomy and also compromises the NGOs ability to challenge and hold the state accountable.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings the following recommendations seem appropriate. There is need for implementation of a legal framework to guide the relations between the state and the NGOs. This will formalise relations to ensure greater consistency in how the state engages with various NGOs. The availability of a framework would also enhance transparency in the states dealings with NGOs.

It is advisable that the NGOs obtain independent funding. This will encourage autonomy and enhance the ability of the NGOs to hold the state accountable. Autonomous NGOs are better positioned to challenge the state to account and to assume an advocacy role. The WNGO coalition needs to be revived and operationalised. A coordinating body would be helpful in organising the NGOs, and enhancing their capacity to represent the interests of women. A coordinating body accountable to members could increase chances of NGOs independent funding through membership contributions.

6.4 Future research area


It seems the women NGO coalition had a great effect in the relationship between the state and the women NGOs by holding the WNGOs together as a movement and coordinating their actions. The strength of the women movement through the women NGO coalition could have been a threat to the state. BOCONGO is a coordinating body for all kinds of NGOs and

CBOs therefore it cannot adequately assume the role that was played by the women NGO coalition. The fact that BOCONGO is largely supported by the government and that the government had a role in its initiation also raises questions of legitimacy and autonomy. Recommendation for future research emanating from this research would be research on the role of the coordinating machinery in the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana.

University of Cape Town

Appendix 1

Letter to the Organisations

BOTSWANA INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY ANALYSIS (BIDPA)	
	134 International Finance Park, Kgale Hill Private Bag BR-29 Gaborone, Botswana Tel: +267 397 1750 Fax: +267 397 1748 Website: www.bidpa.bw

13 October 2009

The Director
BOCONGO
Private Bag 00418
Gaborone

Dear Madam

Re: Request to interview a representative from your organization

Kindly accept this letter as request to interview a representative from your organization as part of data collection for my research. I am a BIDPA employee currently studying towards a Masters Program in Gender and Public Policy at the University of Cape Town. As part of the requirements for fulfillment of the program, I am required to conduct research for a dissertation.

My dissertation is entitled “**Evaluating the nature of State- NGO relationships in Botswana – the case of the Department of Women’s Affairs and women NGOs**”. The purpose of the research is to examine the relationship between the state and NGOs and to establish if the

Relations accord to contemporary theories of state NGO relations. The research also seeks to establish the extent to which state dominance characterizes the relationship between the state and NGOs in Botswana.

The objectives of the study are to identify the goals and strategies employed by the Department of Women's Affairs and women NGOs in Botswana to achieve their goals: to classify the relationships, and to establish if there is a framework for engagement between the government and the NGOs. The subjects of the study include Emang Basadi, Kagisano Women's Shelter Project, Botswana Council of Women, Women and Law in Southern Africa and Women Against Rape.

Find attached a list of interview questions.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Thanking you in advance

Yours faithfully

Keneilwe Mooketsane

University of Cape Town

Appendix 2

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What informs the policy goals/objectives of your organisation/department?
2. What strategies or means do you employ to try to achieving your goals? Please specify methods used.
3. How does the department/ your organisation access resources to be able to implement your strategies (these could include sources, methods of allocation, accounting/ reporting on expenditure).
4. Is there an established framework for the engagement between the NGOs and the women's affairs department?
5. How do you interact with the department of women's affairs/ NGOs i.e. (form /type) and how regular?
6. How would you assess your relationship with the department/ NGOs?
7. Would you say you have the same or similar interests with the department/NGOs?
And if so in what areas; goals/objectives or strategies
8. How can the working relationship between your Department/NGO and the department/NGO be improved?

Appendix 3

Interview schedule

Interview	Organisation	Date	Place
1	WLSA	21/10/10	Gaborone
2	Kagisano	28/10/10	Gaborone
3	WIA	10/11/10	Gaborone
4	WAD	05/11/10	Gaborone
5	WAD	29/10/10	Gaborone
6	Emang Basadi	10/11/10	Gaborone
7	WFHB	11/11/10	Gaborone
8	BOCONGO	26/10/10	Gaborone

Appendix 4

List of documents reviewed

- Advocacy and Social Mobilisation Strategy for the National Gender Programme
- Broad Terms of Reference: Women Sector Committee of the National AIDS Council
- Emang Basadi 2010 programmes and events
- Emang Basadi annual reports, 2005/06, 2006/7
- Emang Basadi brochure.
- Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project brochure
- National Gender Programme Framework
- National Gender Programme Popular version
- The Emang Basadi Women's Association profile
- Women in Action for Abused Women and Children Living with HIV / AIDS organisational profile
- Women's Affairs Department Brochure
- Women's Affairs Department Policy guidelines for Financial support to Women's Non-governmental organisations, community based organisations and groups
- Women's Finance House Botswana organisational profile
- Women's Finance House Thusang Basadi brochure
- Women's Shelter organisational profile

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