Contextualizing Youth Entrepreneurship: The Case of Botswana and the Young Farmers Fund

by

Michael Williams

A Thesis presented to The University of Guelph

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Geography (International Development Studies)

Guelph, Ontario, Canada

© Michael Williams, April 2012
Abstract

Contextualizing Youth Entrepreneurship: The Case of Botswana and the Young Farmers Fund

Michael Williams  
University of Guelph

Advisor:  
Dr. Alice Hovorka

Youth unemployment is a critical issue in Southern Africa, exacerbating poverty, crime, violence, food insecurity, and rural-urban migration. In Botswana, the Young Farmers Fund (YFF) was established to cultivate youth entrepreneurship in agriculture to mitigate these issues. The aim of this research is to explore and explain the experiences, circumstances and knowledge of youth participants and assess the extent to which the program succeeds as a development strategy. To do so, the research establishes a conceptual framework investigating how contextual and individual variables influence the outcomes of participants’ projects. Interviews with program participants and key informants and review of relevant literature expose critical themes. These are examined through content analysis and inform research conclusions. Findings reveal why the program is facing a number of challenges. The research is thus valuable for informing policy and program (re)development and affirms the value and adaptability of the conceptual framework across multiple development contexts.
Acknowledgements

I would like to first thank my advisor, Dr. Alice Hovorka, for the opportunity and the means to conduct my Master’s fieldwork and complete my thesis. You have continually challenged me to think critically, write better (and when better still wasn’t good, to write better than ‘better’) and to never doubt the knowledge and expertise I have. Your academic mentorship will undoubtedly influence each endeavor I take on in my career.

I owe ever lasting thanks to Dr. Alex Latta. I can rarely express how much your guidance, meticulous editing skills and the personal time you have invested into my work through the years has meant to me. You truly represent what I believe a Professor should. I have achieved this feat largely on your ability to go beyond what your job entails.

To the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency, thank you. Your contributions to my fieldwork and your cooperation through the past year has made my research much more fruitful. Specifically, Ms. Shelter Sheleni has gone above and beyond in supporting this research, and I thank you for that.

I owe much credit to the Ministry of Agriculture and those who emerged as key informants. I also owe many thanks to the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, specifically, the Department of Youth for all of your support while in Gaborone. Thank you to those at the University of Botswana, Department of Environmental Science, and the Botswana College of Agriculture.
Lastly, without the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada this research would not have been materialized. Thank you for your support in this work and for the support of international projects of this nature.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ............................................................................................................................................................ ii  
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................................................ ii  
List of Figures ................................................................................................................................................ vii  
List of Tables ................................................................................................................................................ viii  

INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................................................. 1  
1.1 Overview .................................................................................................................................................. 1  
1.2 Rationale for Study ................................................................................................................................. 2  
1.3 Research Aim & Objectives ................................................................................................................ 4  
1.4 Thesis Structure ..................................................................................................................................... 5  

MANUSCRIPT ................................................................................................................................................... 6  
1.0 Introduction ............................................................................................................................................. 6  
1.1 Background ............................................................................................................................................ 8  
2.0 Theoretical Context ............................................................................................................................... 12  
3.0 Methodology .......................................................................................................................................... 16  
4.0 Research Findings ................................................................................................................................. 19  
4.1 Contextualizing the Individual ........................................................................................................... 19  
   4.1.1 Uncovering How Culture Affects the Individual .................................................................... 20  
   4.1.2 How Class and Race Impact the Individual ........................................................................... 23  
   4.1.3 The Impact of National Development on the Individual ....................................................... 26  
4.2 YFF Program Outcomes ..................................................................................................................... 35  
   4.2.1 Program Successes ..................................................................................................................... 35  
   4.2.2 Program Challenges .................................................................................................................. 38  
5.0 Discussion ................................................................................................................................................. 45  
6.0 Recommendations for CEDA and the YFF ....................................................................................... 48  
   6.1.1 Empowerment Through (Relevant) Knowledge .................................................................. 48  
   6.1.2 Youth Entrepreneurship in a Technological Age ................................................................. 49  
   6.1.3 Eliminating Entitlement and Dependency: Introducing Entrepreneurs ........................... 50  
   6.1.4 Changing From Within: CEDA’s Role Moving Forward ................................................. 51  
7.0 Conclusion ............................................................................................................................................... 53  

THESIS CONCLUSIONS ................................................................................................................................... 55
3.1 Scholarly and Practical Contributions .......................................................... 55
3.2 Opportunities for Research ........................................................................... 57
3.3 Limitations to the Research .......................................................................... 58
3.4 Final Reflection .............................................................................................. 59

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................................. 62

Appendix A ........................................................................................................... 69

Research Design .................................................................................................. 69
  Overview of Methodology & Methods .............................................................. 69
    Methods Employed .......................................................................................... 71

Appendix B .......................................................................................................... 87

Case Study: Site, CEDA and the YFF ................................................................. 87
  Study Site: Botswana ........................................................................................ 87
  CEDA ............................................................................................................... 92
  The Young Farmers Fund ............................................................................... 93
List of Figures

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework.................................................................14
Figure 2: Commitment Issues in the YFF.......................................................29
Figure 3: Ineffective Farming Techniques......................................................33
Figure 4: Quality Issues Related to Market Demands........................................42
Figure 5: Conceptual Framework Revisited with Findings.................................46
Figure 6: Location of Farms for Participants Interviewed....................................78
Figure 7: Map of Botswana........................................................................87
Figure 8: Global GINI Measurement.............................................................91
List of Tables

Table 1: What it Means to Be an Entrepreneur in Botswana……………………………………30
Table 2: Knowledge Related Issues and Recommendations for the YFF……………………33
Table 3: Overview of Key Informant Interviews……………………………………………………72
Table 4: Regional Attributes of Branches Chosen………………………………………………78
Table 5: Interview Guide………………………………………………………………………79
Table 6: CEDA’s Core Operational Values……………………………………………………92
Table 7: Rating Scale for YFF Mentorship Applicants………………………………………95
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview
In recent decades development paradigms have begun addressing the increasing demands of a rising global youth population. Among a number of strategies embedded in this movement is a rise in youth entrepreneurial programming. This approach has emerged as a shift away from schemes that prolong and exacerbate socioeconomic issues and create a dependence upon multiple levels of aid. The momentum that youth entrepreneurship has gained is often related to a broader paradigm shift towards capacity building and local economic development models, the character similarities that ‘youth’ and ‘entrepreneurs’ share and the rise in socioeconomic concerns related to youth globally. Youth entrepreneurial programming is meant to spark wealth creation and self-reliance premised on the innate skills and attributes of the youth generation. The programmatic growth of youth entrepreneurship has catalyzed an increase in literature pertaining to the topic. Early literature on the topic was normative and spoke to broad issues with generic prescriptions. A shift towards place-based thinking on youth entrepreneurship has recently taken place. An importance for understanding a diverse set of relevant variables is emerging as critical to investigating youth entrepreneurship. This study has followed along a similar path to contribute a conceptual framework in which youth entrepreneurship can be viewed through a contextualized lens. By using the case of
Botswana and the Young Farmers Fund (YFF), the research reveals that such a framework exposes underlying discursive, materialized, experiential and practical factors that influence the outcomes of enterprise programs. These attributes are rarely accounted for in such an integrative manner across the literature.

1.2 Rationale for Study
The Government of Botswana (GoB) is contributing vast resources into the entrepreneurial development of its citizens to promote national economic diversification and the socioeconomic development of its people. A cornerstone program of this strategy is the YFF, administered by the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA). The YFF was created in 2005 to catalyze a growth in agricultural enterprises owned and operated by Batswana 18-35 years old (GoB, 2006). YFF participants are given low-interest loans up to P500,000 (an estimated USD 70,000) with repayment periods of up to ten years. YFF participants exceedingly face a number of barriers to their success. There is a need to explore the program in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of these barriers and address them effectively.

This argument is situated within a comparison of inefficient, ineffective and poorly targeted policies and programs in Botswana (Department of Culture and Youth, 2006; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2002; BIDPA, 2000; Hudson, 1999). For example, one of the country’s largest enterprise development programs, the Financial Assistant Policy (FAP), had a program failure rate of 67% between 1994-1999 with a

---

1 As will be covered in Chapter 2, the age of eligibility was increased to 40 years old in 2007.
mere 15% success rate among agricultural enterprises (BIDPA, 2000). The Out of School Youth Program (OSYP), a shared grant-loan scheme housed by the Department of Youth, has faced issues of mitigating unpaid loans and uncommitted participants (Department of Culture and Youth, 2006; Interview: Director Department of Youth, 2011). It is reported that financial abuse, corruption, under-supported programming and a disproportionate cost-benefit ratio continue to plague development programs in Botswana (BIDPA, 2000; Department of Culture and Youth, 2006; Interview: Director, Department of Youth, 2011). Within public and political spheres these accusations are increasingly made about CEDA programming (see: Makgapha, 2011; Monkagedi; 2011; Lute, 2008; Mosikare, 2007; Motlaloso, 2005).

CEDA is facing a critical point in its existence. The organization and its participants face challenges including (Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011; Sentsho et al., 2007):

- A financial strain and high levels of arrears.
- The incapability of CEDA entrepreneurs to compete in the national and international marketplaces.
- Organizational and program inflexibilities and inefficiencies.
- An under representation of women and youth in CEDA.
- A plethora of contextual variables that could lead to its decline.

These trends must urgently be addressed considering the largest source of CEDA funds, the GoB, has invested P473,339,507 (an estimated USD 65,000,000) between 2006-2010 alone (CEDA, 2010; CEDA, 2008; CEDA, 2007). Additionally, past unsatisfactory outcomes of entrepreneurial development in Botswana’s agricultural sector and an
overwhelming understanding that the YFF is underperforming warrants an investigation into the program.

A number of factors must be explored to thoroughly understand the current state of the YFF. First are contextual variables, including: culture, politics, discourses, race and development. The circumstances, experiences and behaviours of youth YFF participants must then be understood as existing within this context. Discerning such important variables will help explain the outcomes of the program. It reveals the agency of contextual inputs to participants’ lives and the operations and outcomes of their projects.

Because the existing literature does not yet provide a framework to investigate this, the opportunity exists for one to be established and contributed to it. This study will do so by using a contextualist approach (see: Chapter 2). Arguably, it exposes a dynamic and diverse range of contextual variables that explain the outcomes and overall experiences of youth-led YFF projects.

1.3 Research Aim & Objectives
The aim of this research is to explore youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy in Africa through a contextualist lens, highlighting Botswana’s Young Farmers Fund. A number of objectives were developed to investigate this topic:

1. Document the structural context in which the YFF was established and detail its mandates.

2. Document experiences, circumstances and knowledge that guide youths’ participation and behaviors.

3. Assess the extent to which the YFF is impacting participants and the nation.
1.4 Thesis Structure
The thesis is designed in a hybrid manuscript/monograph style. An introduction (Chapter 1) outlines the topic, study rationale and research aim and objectives. Research findings form the basis of a peer-review publication (Chapter 2) entitled “Contextualizing Youth Entrepreneurship in Development: the Case of Botswana and the Young Farmers Fund” for the *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship*. It explores Botswana’s socio-cultural, traditional and political discourses; the evolution of development policy and rhetoric in Botswana; youth in Botswana; and the YFF to investigate the outcomes of the program within a contextualist lens. It contributes a conceptual framework to development and youth entrepreneurship oriented literature. The conclusion (Chapter 3) offers insights into the study’s scholarly contributions, limitations of the research and possible research opportunities on this topic. Appendix A details the methodology employed in this research. Appendix B details the study site, CEDA and the YFF.
CHAPTER 2

MANUSCRIPT

Contextualizing Youth Entrepreneurship: the Case of Botswana and the Young Farmers Fund

For submission to: The Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship

1.0 Introduction
Globally, youth entrepreneurship has emerged as a development strategy to address a constellation of issues catalyzed from an estimated 81 million jobless youth aged 15-24 (ILO, 2010). Given that many nations categorize youth within a wide age range, numbers may in fact be more drastic. High rates of unemployment are proven to exacerbate rural-urban migration, poverty, food insecurity, crime and violence among this generation (Olaleye, 2010; Salkowitz, 2010; Nafukho & Muyia, 2009; Tesfayohannes, 2007; Chigunta, 2002; Schoof, 2006; Chigunta et al., 2005; Delgado, 2004). Youth entrepreneurial development models are rooted in the notion that entrepreneurship will address systemic causes of poverty through the integration of youth into domestic and international markets (Salkowitz, 2010). In doing so, youth are agents in the institutional and structural frameworks of poverty reduction plans, national economic growth and youth employment programs (Wohlmuth et al., 2008). By placing Botswana’s Young
Farmers Fund (YFF), an agricultural enterprise development program, within a contextualist conceptual framework, this paper will illustrate that the outcomes of youth projects are a product of the dynamic relationship between context and individual.

This study will contribute to a breadth of important entrepreneurial and development literature and provide applicable insights to each field. Normative approaches to this topic often explain youth entrepreneurship as a broader strategy for addressing a number of issues youth face and offer generic program designs (for example: Schoof, 2006; Rother, 2006; Chigunta, 2002; Delgado, 2004; Motts, 2000). This research reveals that a more case specific, contextualized conceptual approach to understanding youth entrepreneurial development strategies exposes critical discursive, circumstantial and material factors that influence how programs operate, which are seldom accounted for.

This comprehensive approach better explains the reality and viability of youth entrepreneurial strategies in a given context. It parallels an emerging shift in the literature where youth entrepreneurship in a development context is taking a place-based approach, as exemplified in a number of more recent studies (Steenekamp et al., 2011; Fatoki, 2011; Beeka & Rimmington, 2011; Mafela, 2009; April, 2009). This study contextualizes the case of Botswana because youth entrepreneurship has emerged in the last decade as a vital development strategy for the Government of Botswana (GoB). This development is overwhelmingly due to the estimated 44.4% youth unemployment rate in the country, which is affecting the socioeconomic health of the nation (Central Statistics Office,
This conceptual approach will contribute a comprehensive and detailed framework for understanding youth entrepreneurial programming, in this case specific to Botswana.

1.1 Background
Youth entrepreneurship is provoked from an intrinsic ‘entrepreneurial spirit’ that is said to exist in youth (Kourilsky & Walstad, 2007). Scholars argue that development strategies fail without the entrepreneur as part of their overall framework because development processes are fed by the innovative and leadership characteristics found distinctly in the entrepreneur (Virgill, 2008; Schumpeter, 2003 [1912]). Youth are perceived as calculated risk takers, collaborative, globally focused, intrinsically urgent to succeed and innovative/creative thinkers (Salkowitz, 2010; Motts, 2000). An entrepreneurial driven strategy is aimed at redefining how youth identify within their socio-political and cultural surroundings (Kourilsky and Walstad, 2007; Delgado, 2004). Arguably, doing so redefines youth values and reintroduces them into society by establishing meaning and belonging into their lives (White & Kenyon, 2001). Therefore, the emergence of youth entrepreneurship in development is largely due to a juxtaposition and integration of ‘youth’ and ‘entrepreneur’. The formation of the YFF reveals a shift towards such thinking in Botswana.

Entrepreneurship has become increasingly popular in Botswana’s post-independence period (Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011). The GoB has created a variety of development schemes beginning in the late 1960s that provided citizens with the financial means to establish their own businesses. Since independence, the Ministry of Finance and
Development Planning, the National Development Bank (NDB), and the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) have been leaders in the country’s socioeconomic development. Organizations such as the Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA), the Botswana Export Development and Investment Authority (BEDIA) and the Local Enterprise Authority (LEA) were recently created to streamline the dispersal of funds and skills training to Batswana seeking entrepreneurship. The GoB has developed a number of plans to aid in the country’s development including: the National Development Plan (NDP) 1 through 10, the Financial Assistance Policy (FAP), the National Strategy for Poverty Reduction (NSPR), the National Master Plan for the Arable Agriculture and Dairy Development (NAMPAADD), the National Youth Policy and Vision 2016. Guiding each have been the national principles of Democracy, Development, Self-Reliance, Unity and Botho (GoB, 1997). Vision 2016- the most ongoing and comprehensive of these plans- guides current policy, programmatic development and modern day economic growth schemes. The GoB established CEDA to increase the capacity of citizen owned enterprises based on the failures of the Financial Assistant Policy (FAP). A number of important studies provide insight on CEDA programming over the last decade (see: Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011; Conteh, 2011; Sentsho et al., 2007). None, however, have documented the outcomes and experiences of YFF participants.

The YFF was created in 2005 under the direction of CEDA to address a number of youth and agribusiness related issues in Botswana. For instance, it is meant to draw youth into the agricultural sector, create sustainable businesses and employment for youth, address
the issues of rural-urban migration and promote market integration. CEDA also offers young farmers knowledge development through one-on-one training with Mentors from the agricultural sector. Participants range between 18-40 years old. The program offers loans of up P500,000 (an estimated USD 70,000) at 5% interest rates. The loan can be accessed to establish a new enterprise or for business growth in the agricultural sector.

Botswana’s political realm views youth as a generation important to the country’s future stability. In public discourse, however, youth are often characterized as “dangerous, sick and in need of help” (Burke, 2000, 102). Since independence, youth programs were created to foster the inclusion of youth into broader society. For example, the Botswana Democratic Party Youth League, the Botswana National Front Youth League, Botswana Scouts Association, Red Cross Youth Clubs, Girl Guide Association, YWCA, 4B Youth Movement and Tirelo Sechaba were established to encourage the political and socioeconomic participation of youth (Maliehe, 1997). Youth in Botswana are identified as being 15-29 years old; however, the Ministry of Youth Sport and Culture recently suggested an extension of 15-35 years old to parliament with the support of the Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC) (Ministry of Youth Sport and Culture, 2010). Over the past decade Batswana youth have accounted for an estimated 39%-70% of the country’s total population (Central Statistics, 2010; Burke, 2000). This generation is moving away from traditional modes of life that tie Batswana to agricultural livelihoods and mobilized between three distinct places: the cattle-post, the land in which they cultivate and the principle rural household (Burke, 2000). Aroused by western influences, youth are seeking out more individualized, lavish lifestyles that are readily accessible in
Botswana’s urban centers (Preece & Mosweneyane, 2004; Hovorka, 2004). In response, the GoB is attempting to promote a culture of entrepreneurship rooted in facets of Tswana traditions.

Agriculture has played an important role in the cultural and economic history of Botswana until recent decades. The decline of agriculture at the household and commercial level coincides with an increase in the importance that mining plays as part of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In 1960 agriculture consisted of 43.2% of GDP, 39.3% at independence in 1966, 2.3% in 2004, a meager 1.8% in 2006, and showed a slight increase to 2.3% in 2010 (Central Statistics Office, 2010). In 1966 mining contributed 6.5% towards GDP and sprung to a high of 56.8% in 1988 while settling at 31.3% of GDP in 2010 (Central Statistics Office, 2010; Tregenna, 2005). Unequivocally, the increase in mining is due to the discovery of diamonds shortly after independence and the government’s ability to effectively manage this breadwinner through its collaboration with DeBeers Diamonds. Over the past decade the economy has relied on diamonds to make up an estimated 40% of the country’s GDP. In 2008-09 diamond revenues were 78.27% of Botswana’s total mineral revenues and in 2011 diamond exports were an astounding USD 4.34 billion (Bank of Botswana, 2012; Department of Mining, 2009).

Given the role that agriculture has played in Tswana culture, its growing insignificance is ushering in an identity crisis of sorts, in particular among the youth generation (GoB, 1997).
In closing, youth entrepreneurship has become a strategic development approach
globally. The GoB has embraced this strategy to address a number of national objectives
and alleviate issues associated with the youth population. Given the substantial financial
investment the YFF demands, because it has yet to receive an adequate assessment to
date and considering the prevalent issues that a large number of YFF participants face, a
study of this nature is timely. The following discussion explores discourse around youth
entrepreneurship programming and positions the conceptual framework within
contextualism.

2.0 Theoretical Context
Literature relevant to youth entrepreneurship illustrates a number of ways in which
successful strategies must be approached. Arguably, institutions should focus on
fundamental policy reforms to empower youth (April, 2009; Schoof, 2006; Rother, 2006;
Chigunta, et al., 2005). White & Kenyon (2001) note that youth are faced with limits
when starting a business, and moreover, their businesses viability is questioned due to a
lack of financial opportunity. Four avenues of finance have been suggested: grants, soft
loans, conventional banking and finance and support networks (White & Kenyon, 2001).
When these enterprises show their value, private equity and venture capital is said to
accumulate for purposes of increasing operations and creating long-term benefits
(Salkowitz, 2010). Developing relevant knowledge and skills through entrepreneurial
education is also important. Arguably, these should be fostered from an early age through
educational institutions (Kourilsky & Walstad, 2007). Youth should continue to develop
skills through a method of Life Long Learning (Nafukho & Muyia, 2009). As Nafukho & Muyia (2009, 102) explain,

“The [Life Long Learning] model is based on the premise that skills and attitudes necessary for successful small business developments are not learned at any one place in time. In fact, the earlier young people begin to learn such skills, the more likely they are able to be successful entrepreneurs. One approach to enhancing entrepreneurial activity and enterprise growth in African countries like Kenya is to encourage the development of an entrepreneurial spirit among the youth of the country.”

Aligica & Florian (2008) note the important role that both entrepreneurship and education have played in international development; however, currently each is only partially captured in most programs and policy. Thus, many governments in the developing world have failed to invest adequate resources into enterprise education (Salkowitz, 2010). Literature specific to youth entrepreneurship exemplifies relevant, yet generic approaches to understanding the topic. Frameworks that speak to how programs should run and what issues they could address have been provided. Yao et al. (2007) argue that entrepreneurial programming should be approached with a degree of context specificity. Scholars and policy makers alike must understand the social, cultural, political and economic dimensions before suggesting youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy. Such an approach is a shift from literature (for example: Steenekamp et al., 2011; Fatoki, 2010; Kourilsky & Walstad, 2007; Rother; 2006; Schoof, 2006; Delgado, 2004) that focuses on the individual as a primary agent in entrepreneurial development and entrepreneurial decision-making and intention.

Arguably, an increase in program specific, contextualized studies will increase the knowledge base around how programs run effectively, or ineffectively, and what factors
contribute to the outcomes within a given context. A conceptual framework designed within a contextualist lens (see Figure 1) can therefore address a number of issues within current literature. A contextualist approach can facilitate, and is sensitive to, the use of case studies in research (Mjoset, 2008). By using a contextualist perspective as a guide, a deeper comprehension of youths’ interaction with the YFF program to their experiences and circumstances through time can be achieved. Adapting this approach will explain historical events and acts in youths’ lives not as existing as past events, but as “alive in the present” (Pepper, 1942, 232).

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework: Working Within the Lens of Contextualism

Contextualism, as Pettigrew (1985, 55) notes, is a “theory of method” rooted in the work of Pepper (1942). As a method of data analysis, Pepper (1942) argues contextualism is a
shift from quantitatively reliant data analysis into an acceptance and need for qualitative approaches (Pettigrew, 1985). As Pettigrew notes (1985, 58), “Contextualism is concerned with the event in its setting; the truth theory has to be qualitative confirmation since the context will change and knowledge will need to change also, and the root metaphor is the historic event.” Thus, as a method of analysis it positions outcomes, youth entrepreneurial successes and challenges in this case, within a dynamic set of processes and contextual agents. As previously illustrated, this establishes an approach to youth entrepreneurship that is not focused on the individual but on a broader set of influential variables to describe their experiences and outcomes. As Lerner & Kaufman (1985, 316) note, it is an understanding of the “dynamic interaction between organism and context…” with a consideration for the incidental cause.

Because youth are also perceived and defined ambiguously within entrepreneurial and development literature, their social complexities are rarely accounted for (Chigunta et al., 2005; Durham, 2000). One must, therefore, study youth entrepreneurship in a manner where youth are understood as “interacting with antecedents and in a situational context” (Woods, 2002, 31). This will present a deeper comprehension of youth interaction within entrepreneurial programs to their social experiences and circumstances through time. Contextualists refer to this as the ‘act-in-context’ (Fox, 2008; Woods, 2002; Pepper, 1942).

In sum, the literature provides conclusions and prescriptions for complex issues without an adequate presentation of case-specific research. Scholars rarely explore, explain, or
give value to deeper contextual factors that influence the participation of youth entrepreneurs within a given program. A range of cultural, social, economic and political factors shape this context. Moriano et al. (2011) provide an important study exemplifying a movement towards such an understanding in entrepreneurial research. In this study the authors attempt to expose cross-cultural variables for students moving into entrepreneurial careers. Within the case of Botswana, Chilisa (2005) illustrates the fundamental importance of understanding cultural complexities when explaining development programs, and arguably, this holds true elsewhere. It is vital to expose these rooted and influential agents to understand the behaviors of youth entrepreneurs in development programs. Currently, there is not enough case-specific research and analysis done to normalize youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy as much of the literature has. As Motts argues (2000), a large number of youth being placed in a competitive marketplace may only result in large numbers of failures if this continues.

3.0 Methodology
Data collection took place throughout Botswana in May through July 2011. The data was collected by means of a case study. By employing a case study one can establish insights into a particular issue by using a specific program, which this study does (Berg, 2001). Employing a case-based approach has also revealed empirical findings that are important to literature on youth entrepreneurship in the development context. This approach can both verify and disprove generalized ideas around youth entrepreneurship, for instance on entrepreneurial education, how youth behave in their projects and how programs should be designed. Furthermore, the findings of this study offer a detailed, project-level account
of programs, organizational structures and business successes and challenges. Thus, they speak to broader discourses on youth entrepreneurial outcomes and programmatic approaches. By using this methodology the research also illustrates that case studies offer a nuanced version of youth entrepreneurial programming, a shift from most literature on the topic.

Interview participants were chosen from those who had applied to the program if or when they were ‘youth’ as defined by the National Youth Policy (18-29 years old). Interviews were conducted with 30 youth YFF participants in 4 separate branches in Botswana: Gaborone (8), Francistown (8), Maun (5) and Ghanzi (9). There are a total of 45 youth YFF participants between the 4 branches, and therefore, 67% of possible participants were selected. Of the interviewees 11 were female and 19 were male; 5 were white and 25 were black; 15 have horticulture projects, 9 have cattle projects, 3 have piggery projects and 3 have poultry projects. The sample was selected by a purposive method informed by CEDA’s Lead Researcher, Branch Managers, Portfolio Executives and YFF Monitors. Participants provided information regarding their circumstances, prior experiences and knowledge; the outcomes of their projects; their experiences with CEDA and the YFF; their identities as youth, farmers and entrepreneurs; and their goals and measures of success as entrepreneurs. Participant files that vaguely document the projects were accessible and utilized. These files included: Monitor and Mentor reports that reflected on how projects are operating, records of how the loan money was being spent, the initial business plans and applications and communications between CEDA and the participants.
Key informants were established with recommendations from CEDA and the Ministry of Agriculture, and selected if they were recognized as valuable to the research. Informants emerged from within CEDA (Monitors, Portfolio Executives, Mentors and Upper-Management), government departments (Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture and the Ministry of Agriculture), the Botswana College of Agriculture and the non-profit sector (GenderLinks and Botswana National Youth Council). Each informant revealed pertinent information including: historical and contemporary issues around youth, the gender-agriculture relationship, development policy and programming, collaboration amongst stakeholders, the successes and failures of projects, the structure of external entrepreneurial programs, the inner operations of CEDA and recommendations for CEDA.

Secondary data review investigated contextual influences on how youth experience the program, the state of entrepreneurship in Botswana and the history of development and youth in Botswana. Participant observation proved valuable in the form of CEDA branch visits, YFF participant farm visits and public observations. These methods were vital for triangulating data and exposing trends that go largely unsaid because of organizational and political power dynamics.

Interviews were analyzed through content analysis for the purpose of recognizing relevant categories and themes. Hsieh & Shannon (2005) illustrate three types of qualitative content analysis methods as being conventional, directed and summative.
Each provides benefits whether one is seeking to interpret passages, extend on a previous theory with similar codes, or to quantify the frequency of words. For the purpose of this study a mix method approach was used. The researcher interpreted passages and built themes and codes through latent content analysis. Coding was also informed by detecting trends in previous studies that could work within the conceptual framework of this study. Though the findings do not quantify an extensive amount of data, there was some summation in the appearance of themes and those to which appeared the most were taken as important to the study. Outliers were also considered and important variable in the analysis of data.

4.0 Research Findings

4.1 Contextualizing the Individual
Contextual dynamics influence YFF participants’ behaviours, knowledge, circumstances and project outcomes. They create competing and disconnected agendas between government, parastatals, such as CEDA, and youth. They adversely shape the individual, their experience in the YFF program and the outcomes of their businesses. On one hand, the GoB has threaded the meaning of an ideal Batswana through post-independent development discourse by calling upon traditional rhetoric. The intention of doing so is to shape productive and collaborative members of society. The government has juxtaposed this with a highly unaccountable and entrepreneurial driven development agenda that is dependent upon government investment. The outcome is an inherent contradiction within the foundational elements of an ‘entrepreneurial Batswana’ society. This is rooted in the characterization of an ‘entrepreneur’ as recognized both in theory and in practice in
Botswana. What was meant to create a self-reliant, yet unified and disciplined citizenry has largely created a dependent and entitled segment of the population that lacks the knowledge and skills to succeed in the agribusiness sector. This systemic issue materializes itself in the negative financial state and operational outcomes of many YFF projects.

4.1.1 Uncovering How Culture Affects the Individual

Preece & Mosweneyane (2004) argue one need not look further than the pervasive existence of the Setswana language in Botswana to observe the socio-cultural ties to Tswana traditions. Contemporary behaviors are still largely influenced on belief systems rooted in this history. This is also the case for political institutions and the distribution of power amongst traditional leaders and politicians (Good, 2005). The GoB has guided a development agenda based upon these cultural roots. The following illuminates the impact of the GoB’s attempt to invoke cultural values of Botho, self-reliance and unity into youth and entrepreneurial programming. It also shows that this creates a conflict between government and youth agendas.

Cultural values, namely, Botho, self-reliance and unity, in Botswana have often centered on creating and representing a specific type of citizen. Practical skills such as: tanning skin, milking cows, arable farming, pounding corn using a mortar and pestle, herding cattle, wood-carving, and house-thatching have been used to embed this tradition into Batswana (Preece & Mosweneyane, 2004). Conceptually, as well as rhetorically, Botho is quite ubiquitous in Botswana. As observed during the research period, this concept is
integrated throughout economic policy, tourism sector advertisements, development initiatives and public health campaigns. The GoB (1997, 5) conceptualizes *Botho* as:

“[Defining] the process for earning respect by first giving it, and to gain empowerment by empowering others. It encourages people to applaud rather than resent those who succeed. It disapproves of anti-social, disgraceful, inhuman and criminal behaviour.”

The GoB believes this will lead to the encouragement of a talent oriented, creative, hard working and disciplined development agenda, and in theory it may (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2009). Overwhelmingly for the YFF it does not, nor will it at the intended scale because of the contradictions in the way that the program is developed and experienced by youth as revealed in this research. For instance, 67% of those interviewed acknowledged debilitating issues and ‘antisocial’ behaviours such as: addiction, crime, apathy, dependency and entitlement as ubiquitous amongst their cohort. A YFF participant, Matshidiso, notes that, “Most of us young people we go into these bad issues, bad social habits because a lack of money. When you don’t have money you can do almost anything.” She further reveals that these behaviours influence YFF projects because “Some of them, [YFF participants], they get the opportunity and misuse it.” Furthermore, CEDA Mentors note that shops and contractors often take advantage of YFF participants by having less willingness to negotiate service and material costs than they do with established farmers. This can be viewed as a ‘disgraceful’ act that impedes the success and economic resourcefulness of YFF participants. Thus, youth related issues and the behaviours of many Batswana illustrate a rhetorical and contradictory nature to *Botho* in that they are often ‘antisocial’ and ‘disgraceful’.
‘Self-reliance’ is also embedded into such discourse. Self-reliance is perceived as vital for the economic stability of the nation and individuals, and is recognized as a duty of all citizens to achieve (GoB, 1997). Development strategies specific to entrepreneurship are largely based on addressing this development goal. Kristian, a YFF participant, illustrates that these discursive measures can influence an individuals decision-making:

“[T]he government, ‘he’ was telling the youth to go to make the business for the profit of the country. The government was buying fruit and the meat from outside the country. So ‘he’ was telling me no I don’t want to buy the food outside, I want to you to make it for Botswana.”

Research participants also stated that their goal and a benefit of the program was the self-reliance that they could, or had gained, on an individual basis. For example Tshepo notes, “Benefits, obviously I don’t depend on anyone now. Yeah, I can do things on my own; I don’t have to depend on my parents to help me with everything you know, life in general. So I am independent.” In contrast, however, 60% of participants joined the program because it was an easy way to access government money and employment. An inexperienced YFF participant, Sharoline, illustrates this: “I guess I had hit the end of my road you know. I was facing a break and now there was basically nothing I could do, nowhere I could go for help. And then I thought well these guys are going to give me some money and then they are going to give someone to mentor me.”

The theme of unity is meant to create a sense of nationalism that is free of tribal and cultural divides (GoB, 1997). It is also meant to reignite a sense of pride, appreciation and respect in the cultural heritage of all Batswana (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2009). This society is one ironically rooted in a single ethnic
system where xenophobia and tribal divides are evident. Arguably, a sense of unity
contradicts the foundations of being a self-reliant entrepreneur. This is in the duality of
working in a highly individualistic oriented career, and needing to have an awareness and
practice for the collective good. For instance, Kay notes:

“Even the family, it’s like everybody, even the relatives, once I started doing
this they have a belief that, ‘ok this guy now, he has money’ [...] when you
tell them you don’t have money they feel like you’re being bossy over them,
you don’t want to help them since you have money. [There are] a lot of things
you need to do with the money.”

A conflict in the GoB’s development goals is apparent when participants, such as Kay,
confessed having to achieve economic self-sufficiency, yet feel gratuitously accountable
and pressured to provide for their extended families and communities.

4.1.2 How Class and Race Impact the Individual

A lack of entrepreneurial culture exists among Batswana that relates to class structures.
As it was in the past, economic development in Botswana continues to be highly elitist in
nature. Business and political opportunities were held largely for a minority of upper
class Tswana during a period of independence (Curry, 1985). Thus, an entrepreneurial
culture and identity has considerably limited itself to a specific class. The lack of
entrepreneurial identity is illustrated when a YFF participant, Boinello, states, “The
problem with youth, they don’t want to work like here in the field, because it’s too much.
And they want more money, but they don’t want work, they are lazy. That is one thing
that I realized.” Given that the majority of YFF participants have little relevant social
capital (for instance: no business/farming networks at project inception, no political
influence and a lack of relevant skills/knowledge) and a low economic status (a median
household income of P2250/month), they have been systematically omitted from this culture of entrepreneurship.

Access to entrepreneurial opportunities is also woven into this class dynamic. For example, the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) programming and the National Master Plan for the Arable Agriculture and Dairy Development (NAMPAADD) are cornerstones for current economic development and diversification in the country. However, they are limited to those from a specific class in Botswana given their restrictive stipulations. A BDC official and a top Ministry of Agriculture representative acknowledge that the only youth to participate in the NAMPAADD and BDC enterprise programs have had access to large sums of capital investment and land obtained through family. It would be very difficult for the average Batswana youth to be a part of the program given their lack of such resources. This notion also flows into issues around political class. It was revealed that a number of participants holding close relationships to the Minister of Agriculture had been personally persuaded to apply for the YFF. For instance, Elani reveals, “[T]he other thing is my father in law’s brother is the Minister of Agriculture […] he motivated them to apply.” These types of actions reproduce classist development processes in Botswana and often limit opportunity to a specific few.

Attention to race reveals further contextual factors. Whites in Botswana overwhelmingly have more privileged backgrounds where productive land and capital is much more accessible and a greater sense of entrepreneurial tact and business instinct was observed.
It was with these 5 white participants where mention of low-interest rates and the strongest economic drive existed. For example Liza notes:

“Well the fact that you can get a loan at 5% in the regions of Africa, I mean around the world is a big thing, it’s not difficult paying off 5% with an income. That was the main reason for getting the loan…[My goal is] to make a lot of money, to be very successful in it and always run a successful business.”

This group of white participants also showed greater resilience to economic and environmental challenges. Corrie highlights this in recovering from a large portion of his farm burning down: “Luckily my Father helped me but they can’t expect the local poor [black] Botswana guy to do that, I mean he doesn’t have a Father that’s got a farm that can help him.” It was also noted from Liza that the program may not be as accessible to ‘black communities’, nor the opportunity provided to them:

“I think [the Government] should try to challenge more of the black communities; there is a lot of black people in a lot of black communities that don’t know anything about CEDA. They know the name CEDA, but they don’t know what it’s about. I mean, having a seminar telling them this is what it is, explaining the whole program. Especially assisting the black communities, because they have a farm, they have their land, they just need assistance.”

In discussion with a CEDA official it was also explained that the Ghanzi region, a remote and sparsely populated area, maintains the YFF because the rate of repayment was higher due to the density of white farmers. Thus, race influences who may be considered an entrepreneur in Botswana and who may gain access to the opportunity of establishing an enterprise. Furthermore, it often dictates the resiliency one has for facing environmental and economic challenges.
4.1.3 The Impact of National Development on the Individual

A dependence upon government led socioeconomic development is prevalent among many Batswana. The design and experiences of youth entrepreneurial development programs further encourages this among YFF participants. This dependence is rooted in a pattern of paternalistic development since independence (Gwebu, 2004). Beginning in 1964, NDP 1 carried the intention of modernizing out of the colonial period. First President of Botswana (1967), Sir Seretse Khama, noted that, “The economic and social development of Botswana greatly depends on the extent to which the majority of the population are prepared to change their traditional practices for a more modern and scientific mode of life.” Modernizing became synonymous with the creation of an entrepreneurial capacity in Batswana, thus encouraging the transformation of citizen talents to financial wealth (Heelas & Morris, 1992).

Tswana leaders have invoked ‘development’ and ‘progress’ since the early 20th century to maintain and increase their political support (Motzafi-Haller, 2002). It is noted by representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Youth Sport, and Culture that government bodies still use these tactics as a method to gain political support among the youth generation (Interview, Ministry of Agriculture Official: 2011; Department of Culture and Youth, 2006). It is evident from the extensive financial investment into economic, social and health programs that these trends are merely being reproduced today (Hudson, 1999). Because this is happening through the unaccountable provision of large sums of money, two notable shortcomings have emerged. The first is the “plight of the citizen entrepreneur” as highlighted during the National Conference on
Citizen Economic Empowerment Convention in Botswana by M.L. Ebrahim (1999). In this, businesses have shown to be undercapitalized, marginalized from the market, heavily indebted and prone to failure. A YFF participant, Thembelo, notes the challenge of being undercapitalized in the YFF: “Sometimes, like now, its like I should sell [the farm] because there is no way I can take the money to buy treatment for the water […] I think that the money they are giving us is too small. Now a days things are really expensive.” Second, is the undermining of ‘self-reliance’ due to programs such as the Arable Lands Development Project (ALDEP) and FAP, which have given hand-outs while not trying to empower citizens through relevant skills training (Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011; Ebrahim, 1999). Tavonga captures this issue in the case of the YFF: “Because I have never done any agriculture, even at school, until 2010 once I was funded. So, I believe you could bring in an expert who would know what to do and work with me on the farm.” Thus, with no relevant background and after a year of participation in the program, this participant still had not received empowerment through skills training.

Botswana’s modern day development ‘machine’ further exemplifies how a continuous cycle of socioeconomic development schemes can lead a country down a path of dependence among its people, in particular the youth. These patterns induce a conflict in the creation of an ideal ‘entrepreneur’ and ‘citizen’ as set out in national development goals, as recognized by the government, key stakeholders and YFF participants. Given the government’s motivation of maneuvering citizens into agribusiness, programs such as the YFF have also worried less about prerequisite knowledge as a measure of successful
acceptance into entrepreneurial development programs. These factors directly affect the individual and the outcomes of the YFF program, just as they have in many past cases (Hovorka and Dietrich, 2011; Mafela, 2009; BIDPA, 2000). The subsequent discussion provides insight on how youth dependency, a conflict of identities and a lack of relevant knowledge exist among YFF participants. Each is recognized as a product of persistent paternalistic development schemes in Botswana.

Batswana youth are the foundation of many modern day development, economic, health and social policies. Youth make up a large portion of the current population; therefore, their demographic importance is intricately linked to the economic and social state of Botswana. As previously illustrated, Batswana youth are also those plagued by a number of socioeconomic issues and a sense of entitlement and dependence. As noted by Nyakallo, “In Botswana the Government and our parents almost offer us whatever we want and we need. So, when you’re grow up in that kind of situation you don’t realize what life entails, because everything is dished out to you in a silver platter.” This illustrates that youth are largely dependent on others, namely the government. This culture of dependence has affected youths’ ability to commit to their projects given their reliance on government. For example, Figure 2 shows an unkempt housing for chicken layers. In it chickens are also under-fed and under-watered, which has drastically impacted production levels, and therefore, the ability of the participant to meet clients’ demands. These outcomes also do not resemble a profit-oriented entrepreneur.
Figure 2: Commitment issues in the YFF: an unkempt chicken layer housing affects the production levels of chicken eggs. (Source: Author).

Given the dependency illustrated among youth, they are not identifying as an ‘entrepreneur’. Kevin, a YFF participant, further reveals how youth are not identifying as entrepreneurs:

“Youth in Botswana, well what I have noticed about youth in Botswana, they prefer something that is simple, they are afraid of taking risks and most of them believe that after school is just go straight and work for someone else. They don’t think outside the box, so most of them are afraid to think more than what they are given. They just want something that is a simple, everyday thing.”

This paints a picture of youth as unmotivated, uncreative and lacking dedication, all characteristically conflicted with an entrepreneurial identity. Similarly, these behaviours
often conflict with the traditional identity values set out in Botswana’s development goals.

As respondents and informants note, an entrepreneur is characteristic of someone that has many ‘ideal’ traditional values as aforementioned, though not all. Similarities are thus recognized in how an ‘entrepreneur’ and a ‘citizen’ are both imagined in Botswana. Traits of a citizen are often pushed upon by traditional rhetoric and practice, whereas entrepreneurial traits are largely understood as inherent to a specific type of individual. Table 1 reveals how YFF participants and key informants perceive what it means to be an entrepreneur in Botswana. These are often contradicted in the actions of YFF participants as this paper reveals.

Table 1: What it Means to Be an Entrepreneur in Botswana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“To be an entrepreneur, what I think about it, I think like this is a more difficult job, it’s like you are the person that drives the economy of the state. Since like you don’t need to make just one decision, all the decisions have to more challenging; it really has to be the right decision you are making.” (Kay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“But it takes a lot, you have to be creative, come up with something that is new, that is not there.” (Thsepo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It’s a big challenge [...] by myself I can motivate other youth; I can help them start their own businesses, like I am doing now.” (Kevin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Well, it means a lot. It shows that I am more or less different, I’m not, how can I say this? You know when you have donkeys and you put these blinders on them and all that it shows is straight. Well, I haven’t got these blinds, I can see the sunrise and more.” (Tavonga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“To me it’s a job, or a way of life. Put it this way, I like working for myself and that’s nice.” (Corrie)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“It means, I should eat like an entrepreneur, dream like an entrepreneur, and to have fun like an entrepreneur.” (Thembelo)

**Key Informant Responses**

- Entrepreneurs should have an entrepreneurial ‘spirit’
- They should be business driven and success oriented
- Being creative and innovative are essential to being an entrepreneur
- They should have business experience
- Entrepreneurs are passionate and goal driven
- They are hard working and committed to their business and projects
- Entrepreneurs are brave and resilient
- They can face any challenge presented and appropriately deal with any issue so that business success is not compromised

An attempt to merge a number of identities in the YFF - youth, citizen, entrepreneur and farmer - reveals a conflict between them. Tavonga captures this when he states:

“Most of the youth don’t, they are not go-getters. They want things to be given to them; they want to be spoon-fed. That’s the majority of youth perception of it. There’s a system that they have to go and look for jobs, but if they can’t get a job they just forget about it and continuously drink most of their days away. They are not really hard workers.”

Government and CEDA representatives alike maintain that not just anyone from the population can be funded, because success is highly dependent upon a cohesive identity palate between youth, citizen, entrepreneur and farmer. Participants of the YFF are being funded that, as a top CEDA official notes, “do not deserve to be funded.” This is due to their proven lack of identity as an entrepreneur and farmer and because being ‘youth’ does not necessarily imply being ‘entrepreneurial’, as the literature has suggested. Consequently, this CEDA Official argues that providing loans to these applicants is just “throwing money into the dirt.” This identity issue and the GoB’s push to persuade Batswana into starting agricultural businesses have led to a number of unqualified youth being admitted to the YFF program. The following discussion will reveal that this greatly jeopardizes the outcomes of YFF projects.
Many YFF participants have post-secondary/tertiary educational experience. Sixty percent of participants had attended college or university and 83% had completed their secondary school diploma. This is quite unlike most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, which on average has a 36% rate of Secondary School enrolment compared to Botswana’s 82% enrolment rate (UNESCO, 2011). Participants acquire a variety of degrees and diplomas including: e-commerce, business development, television broadcasting, industrial physiology, tourism management, IT, accounting, public relations and animal health. Only 2 interview participants, however, had a tertiary academic background in agriculture, both offered through the Botswana College of Agriculture. Furthermore, only 8 interviewees had a broad academic background in the business field and only 50% of participants have ever held any form of employment. These findings illustrate an aimless recruitment approach that is more interested in admitting large numbers of unqualified youth into a declining agricultural sector, and not the actual success of the sector itself. Figure 3 visualizes the outcomes of such practices: farms not meeting economies of scale given a lack of business and agricultural knowledge and an insufficient commitment towards projects.
Figure 3. Ineffective farming techniques: open rows go unplanted in a youth led YFF project revealing a lack of essential knowledge. (Source: Author).

Table 2 summerizes how key informants have realized the issues of knowledge in regards to the lack of agricultural and business skills that exist among YFF youth participants.

Table 2: Knowledge related issues in the YFF.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues of Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Low productivity levels due to a lack of agricultural knowledge and a lack of understanding of what the work entails labour wise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No training facilities and no formal skills training before participants begin their business venture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A lack of knowledge on the program due to a lack of reporting on the program from CEDA and the Ministry of Agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Youth knowledge of the YFF is that it is an easy to access lump sum of money, which leads to a grave misuse and “hijacking” of funds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lack of business knowledge associated with generic, simplified and copied business proposals that play to the status quo written by paid consultants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Lack of entrepreneurial knowledge among the youth.

Knowledge is vital to running a successful operation. For economic empowerment programs such as the YFF to succeed it is argued by Ebrahim (1999, 2) that:

“Any scheme that aims to provide hand outs to citizens as a strategy for empowerment is bound to run into serious problems in the long run. What is necessary is a combination of entrepreneurship development, business skills training and a concerted effort of targeting specific policy initiatives to ease the entry of citizen business into the modern economic process.”

Programs that mimic the failures of past development programs will merely face issues with how individuals interact with their businesses. Thus, previous business and agricultural experience should be held in a higher regard for the acceptance of applicants to the YFF.

In sum, research findings reveal that individuals are intricately wrapped up in the contextual dynamics. The findings illustrate that culturally rooted values and goals are contradicted by the way in which youth and citizens behave. This relationship has created a conflict in how the GoB is merging the identities of entrepreneur, youth, farmer and citizen in the YFF. Furthermore, race and class often shape one’s circumstance, resiliency and the opportunities to which they can access. How participants interact with their projects is often dependent on such variables. Lastly, a cycle of national development schemes has created an unqualified, entitled and dependent generation of youth that characteristically does not identify as being an entrepreneur. Ironically, this population is
often at the forefront of entrepreneurial development discourse in Botswana. These are powerful dynamics that shape the outcomes and challenges found in the YFF projects.

4.2 YFF Program Outcomes

4.2.1 Program Successes

The YFF has created modest financial and social impacts on the lives of youth entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the program has some impact on national development goals. Of those interviewed, 60% reported financial benefits including: an increase to their income, becoming financially independent and gaining a higher standard of living. As Vincent notes:

“The benefits, as a farmer, you invest some money and as an unemployed person it helps you to be independent. Like myself, I am very independent I know that I can just get this money, invest it into some cattle and from there I can survive for a long time, because cattle are very productive.”

It was also realized that access to a low interest loan and a large sum of capital investment was in itself a financial benefit for participants. The average loan youth participants obtained was P473,000 (an estimated USD 64,100). This money would allow participants to purchase items such as: materials, land, equipment, feed, animals and seedlings. To measure their success, 57% of participants noted production levels and 47% of participants noted financial growth. Another 83% of participants had established goals driven by the financial growth of their business. Thus, there is some indication that the program creates a financial drive for Batswana youth. For example, Aobakwe notes, “My goal is to grow my business. By the end of next year I’m hoping to have 30,000 chickens.” Given the overwhelming culture of entitlement among Batswana youth previously illustrated, this sort of acknowledgment may prove a way forward in
economic self-reliance. Financial factors also regulate how a number of youth make
decisions. Participants often recognize that business success is highly dependent on sound
financial decisions. For instance, Tavonga highlights the reason for injecting personal
funds into his business, “[is] because I wanted to reach economies of scale. In piggery,
for you to make money you need to produce masses, a huge turnover of animals.”
Arguably, this illustrates some sense of financial and business competency developing
among youth participants.

Socially, participants are establishing new networks, gaining empowerment within their
communities and families, developing some business and agricultural skills and gaining a
sense of independence and direction. Youth are, therefore, attaining a heightened social
capital, which is valuable to their business ventures and their place in society. This
development may in essence illustrate, to some extent, a shift towards praxis of Botho.
The program is also employing otherwise unemployable youth due to a lack of job
opportunities in Botswana. As noted, of all participants interviewed, only 50% had
previously held any form of employment. Consequently, the YFF is acting as a
mechanism to move youth into national economic participation and give them experience
within a specialized sector. Fifty-seven percent of participants were also gaining one-on-
one mentoring by experienced professionals in Botswana’s agricultural sector, and
therefore, developing some relevant skills. Sixty percent of participants interviewed had
also attended tertiary institutions. Many of these participants revealed that there were no
jobs within their academic specialization, which drew them to the YFF. The YFF is,
therefore, acting as a safety net for educated Batswana that encounter an absence of
career opportunities upon graduation. Forty percent of the youth interviewed also felt that a benefit of the program was the empowerment they had gained within their community and families, as well as the networks they were able to establish because of the program.

The YFF is contributing in some capacity towards national development. CEDA estimates that the entire YFF program has created 869 jobs in Botswana. Those studied employed an estimated 68 domestic and foreign labourers. As it was revealed during the research, many of these jobs are temporary, no longer existent and pay as low as P400/month (USD 55.00). CEDA estimates 124 horticultural projects, 44 poultry projects, 24 piggery projects and 103 cattle related projects have been or are being established by YFF participants. A caveat, however, is that many projects are shutting down, have been foreclosed on and are under producing. There is also a contribution to both national food output and economic diversification. Of the total participants interviewed, 57% were living at their projects; therefore, CEDA is having some impact on rural-urban migration amongst youth. Arguably, there is something positive to be said for youth participants recognizing their agency and contributions towards national development. This success reflects on the national goals of unity and Botho as aforementioned. For instance, Matshidiso notes:

“When I looked at our own country, I see that Botswana, we are dependent a lot on other countries for food supplies and everything. So, when we go into this farming we are creating food security in our own country. Which means that the money our country is using to buy food from other countries, they will use it on something else that is mostly needed in the country. So with that I am so proud of myself.”
In fact, 57% of youth interviewed had similar notions when they were setting goals, making decisions and weighing the benefits of the YFF. Often, it was also noted that youth were developing a passion for farming, which may work to (re)encourage a traditional agricultural identity among youth as set out by the GoB.

Amidst these important successes the YFF is facing a number of challenges. These challenges are related to the financial structure of the program and enterprises; are highly influenced by market factors; show a lack of relevant knowledge and skills amongst participants; expose operational setbacks; and reveal CEDA related weaknesses. They are also, as was previously illustrated, intricately rooted in contextual dynamics.

4.2.2 Program Challenges

Financial Challenges

Financial challenges are the most commonly noted issue with YFF businesses. Sixty eight percent of participants said that the loan amount of P500,000 (an estimated USD 70,000) was not high enough to establish a successful and sustainable business. As Kay notes, “[CEDA] should look at what kind of a project you are doing instead of giving it a certain limitation, saying ‘our limit is P500,000’ because [with] our projects, like all projects, there are certain things that need to get addressed.” Participants often felt this amount was more of an initial start-up fund, whereas CEDA and the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning believes it is the amount needed to establish a business that will sustainably pay its loans off (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2006). Mentors and Portfolio Executives often argued that the issue is not the loan amount,
however, the resourcefulness and effectiveness to which the money is being spent.

Conclusively, The participant narrative speaks in such a manner that issues of entitlement to, and dependence on, CEDA loan money are affirmed.

Participants felt that access to the loan was difficult because of the operational hoops one must go through to receive money or pay for assets. Initially, participants must receive and submit quotes for large purchases. CEDA will then issue payment for these goods and services to the shop. Charles captures his experience with this issue:

“I am farming far away, about 300KM from here so you find that when it comes to accessing the funds or accessing the services you will find that […] I have to drive all the way from the farm to Ghanzi and there is another place where I can get the services which is closer to here […] [it’s] about 100KM. Then I am forced to drive 300KM [to Ghanzi] instead of me just getting into where there is a signal to communicate with them. They will say when it’s April, I have to get the funds for April, and for May […] but then maybe, I will not know in May if I will be able to come to Ghanzi to collect funds for payment or to collect another cheque. You never know working with animals, you can say yeah I will do this on Monday but then the animal won’t be there on Monday so you will have to extend your days you see. That is the contradiction, which makes it now sometimes difficult to work with them.”

Therefore, this process was often seen as leading to business inefficiencies and also exemplifies the inflexibility in how the YFF program is operated.

There were 14 interview participants in arrears, while 7 participants had yet to start payments or the payment period had been extended for them because of their inability to service their loan. CEDA estimates that a total of 37% (132) of all YFF loans that have already received loan money are in arrears.² A caveat, however, is that 2 interview

---

² This value is considering 37 participants are in the early implementation stages of their loans and have yet to receive any money. Thus, a total of 34% of all loans including those participants are in arrears.
participants acknowledged they were in arrears, but went unrecorded by CEDA documentation. Thus, there may be a higher number of loan recipients actually in arrears, but due to administrative inconsistencies they have not been reported. The average arrears for participants of the research was P29,765 while the average for the entire program was P23,103. On several occasions YFF monitors also recognized that it would be difficult for many participants to afford their first payment because of their lack of profits and savings. The lack of repayment is often related to youth feeling unaccountable to CEDA for the money they had borrowed. The loan is repeatedly viewed as a lump sum that youth are entitled to because it comes substantially from the government. Furthermore, only 3 interview participants had made the decision that paying their loan off would be a goal or a measurement of success for their enterprise. Therefore, cultures of entitlement and dependence again reappear in the actions and behaviours of youth entrepreneurs.

**Skills/Knowledge Issues**

There are grave issues with the lack of relevant knowledge and skills in the program as previously illustrated in Section 4. First, the findings reveal a pattern reminiscent of past programmatic failures (Ebrahim, 1999; Hudson, 1999; Gergis, 1999; Moepeng, 1999). Under pressure from the government, CEDA is once again providing loans for a vast number of inexperienced applicants. This merely reproduces the YFF as a source of money that youth are entitled to. Adversely, this issue is recognized by CEDA. An applicant assessment (Kay’s Application Assessment, 2010) notes, “the promoters, as youths, do not have financial intelligence and experience; they may not handle funds
properly.” After successfully receiving the loan, future reporting on this participant showed a lack of commitment and motivation to the project (Kay’s Monitoring Reports, 2011). Evidently, experience is often pushed aside or ignored. It is also assumed that participants will gain sufficient knowledge from short-term placements, Mentors, CEDA led workshops and ‘learning by experience’. Seventy percent of participants, however, acknowledged that they could use more training in business and/or agriculture and suggested that an extension to placements and mentorship periods was necessary. Unami proposes, “I think I should go to another placement so I can help get more experience, because I think 6 weeks is not enough like they give us before; so 6 months or a year I think is better.” Secondary review also showed that a limited number of participants had received invites to a variety of 1-2 day long training sessions. These sessions only have a minimum coverage of relevant content as highlighted by Kristian: “In the workshops they only talk about the basics, about putting things together and they don’t go into it deeper, into molding the necessary skills. [CEDA] is responsible for institutions that could improve on that.”

\textit{Marketing Challenges}

Access to markets is a challenge that many participants face. At the time of the research Cattle farmers were facing issues with the Botswana Meat Corporation (BMC) because the European markets were closed due to Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD). Vincent notes the dependence and volatility of this situation: “The challenges are like I am telling you about the BMC in Botswana, they are closed, opening and closing. As farmers we are trying very hard but the market is very, very small for us.” Participants in poultry,
piggery and horticulture faced the issue of their markets dictating unfair prices. Unami contends:

“[…] but another shop says they want to buy from us, where there is more money. But they are taking tomatoes from South Africa. They don’t want to buy ours; they want to take it from another place, which is not good. They want to tell you the price, and they don’t want you to tell them the price.”

Piggery farmers are also making such slim profit margins that the gains were rarely worth selling their product considering the labour and finances they had invested into them. Tavonga asserts this by illustrating that, “right now it costs us P16.50 to produce one kg of pork and we get P18.50 at the retailers, so we get about P2 per kg as gross profit, so that is really killing us and doesn’t really help us in expanding growth.” Many of these participants are also unable to supply their markets with the quality and quantity in which they demand. For example, Figure 4 shows a bin of tomatoes that, as a CEDA Monitor argues, were picked from the vine early to meet the shop’s demands. The outcome is a product that has not achieved its highest quality.

**Figure 4.** Quality issues related to market demands: Tomatoes are picked early from the vine to meet the demands of the shop. (Source: Author).
These experiences reveal that there is a great dependence on the government to control and address market issues, and it was often noted that CEDA or the Ministry of Agriculture should advocate within the marketplace for YFF participants. The goal of self-reliance is, therefore, highly contradicted by government control of major markets, but also the actions of participants considering their apathy towards changing market structures, and moreover, their agency within them.

Operational Challenges

The operational challenges are identified as issues pertaining to business activities, employees, contractors and environment. They are recognized as existing in both the implementation phases of projects and the operating. Arguably, the most pressing of these was the lack of adequate record keeping by the projects. Monitors and Mentors echoed this sentiment, reflecting on their lack of ability to establish a rigorous understanding of the current financial position of most projects. Participants also voice employee issues related to the stealing of money and products from businesses. Participants, often unaware of labour laws and processes, have to also deal with ‘red tape’ when employing foreigners on their farms. Projects also face slow implementation stages due to contractors not showing up to job sites to install assets such as irrigation systems, net-shades and sheds. This sets participants back in the time they are able to begin with operations, which affects their ability to pay their loans on time. Land and environmental factors are also cited as leaving deep impacts on many projects. Diseases, weather and the inability to obtain ground water are issues many participants have to face. This factor forces participants to relocate from land they own to land they have to lease at an extra
expense. As was previously noted, participants’ ability to face these challenges is often dependent on contextual and circumstantial factors such as race and social standing.

**CEDA Related Challenges**

It is evident that CEDA related challenges reflect the outcomes and experiences of YFF participants. Issues mentioned previously - the amount of loan, the process of fund disbursement and training - are relevant challenges facing CEDA. Other important issues include: the timing of the application process; under-reporting, under-evaluating and under-monitoring of program participants; the lack of flexibility identified by participants of CEDA; and the lack of collaboration observed during the research. The application process is noted as being a barrier to moving projects forward for participants. Corrie captures this issue:

“The time frame that they take to approve and reject is ridiculous. I have phoned in numerous times to complain. I mean, I have heard of people that take more than a year. I mean, now they expect you to get quotations and you have to do all this stuff, I mean, and to take a year. The whole economy changes in a year, I can make a plan now, now it gets approved after a year, it takes so long that your heart even goes in a different direction. I mean, I am not that committed to that thing anymore.”

Therefore, participants feel that it takes too long in between applying and getting accepted to the program and accessing their loans. Consequently, this affects participants’ behaviours and commitment towards their projects. It was also observed that there are a number of issues linked to the under-reporting and the under-monitoring of projects by Portfolio Executives, Mentors and Monitors. Visiting farms reveals that CEDA officers will often have participants sign a blank mentoring report and fill it in at the office. Thus, participants have no way of knowing what might be suggested of them in this report, nor
have an official understanding of their current status. Participants of the YFF also voice that the fund needs to be more flexible in moving away from what their initial business proposals state. Lastly, observations and key informants show that CEDA is not explicitly collaborating with ministries and organizations in a capacity that would ensure participants are effectively accessing relevant and timely information, resources and markets. These issues are directly related to the continuous ineffective development policy and programming in Botswana that has been proven over time and previously illuminated.

5.0 Discussion

This study presents a conceptual framework and case study wherein a youth entrepreneurial program is examined within a contextualist lens (see Figure 5). It has investigated a number of relevant contextual variables that over time influence the behaviours, circumstances and experiences of individuals, for better or worse (Section 4.1). Figure 5 illustrates that this dynamic relationship affects the outcomes of YFF projects. For instance, it was revealed that a push by government towards reigniting traditional values has taken shape through the integration of ‘entrepreneurship’ and a vulnerable and under skilled youth population. This has brought about identity conflicts between citizen, entrepreneur, farmer and youth. This materializes itself in the outcomes of YFF projects in that participants are not clearly identifying as entrepreneurs and often accessing the fund as a financial last resort. Consequently, participants have a lack of interest, motivation and commitment to their projects and this leads to poor outcomes such as high rates of arrears and poorly operated farms. The findings also illustrate that
instilling traditional values into youth may work to reignite a sense of agricultural heritage in this generation because a number of youth were developing a ‘passion’ for farming. Youth often recognized their agency in national development through the creation of employment opportunities for others and their ability to contribute towards national food security. Thus, values of Botho, self-reliance and unity emerge.

**Figure 5:** Conceptual Framework Revisited with Findings.

Class and race dynamics also dictate participants’ circumstances. The social and economic capital youth hold and their ability to maneuver as a successful business owner is largely influenced by these variables. As previously shown, white farmers are often those with greater resilience, knowledge and business drive. Therefore, their businesses are more often those that resemble a successful enterprise. They hold large amounts of cattle, and are able to exploit a market and turn profit from this. Participants that
previously lacked social and economic capital from ‘black communities’ noted that their participation in the YFF was providing them the ability to create new networks and increasing their income. These factors positively affect their social capital, and ultimately, their ability to access more opportunities socially and in the business community.

Findings show that the development patterns of Botswana, largely driven by politics and a paternalistic government, have created a dependent and entitled youth generation. An overwhelming culture of entitlement and dependence among Batswana youth has contributed to operational inefficiencies, and a plethora of social and financial challenges within the YFF. Because the government and CEDA continually provide opportunities to unqualified youth, projects are often run poorly from agricultural and business perspectives. It is also recognized that national development goals have continually provided business capital to those that would otherwise not have access to such funds. Persistent socioeconomic schemes have been recognized as providing some skills development in agriculture for a generation that is becoming largely disconnected from this sector in Botswana.

In sum, the study illustrates discursive and practical contradictions and challenges in the YFF. These are revealed through a contextual understanding of the YFF program. By injecting large sums of money into the current state of the YFF and into a generation with few too relevant skills, programmatic challenges and a culture of entitlement and dependence will merely be reaffirmed and reproduced among Batswana youth.
Consequently, there will be little success at creating a citizenry that is business driven, self reliant and empowered. This approach creates the possibility to recommend relevant programmatic reforms by providing a greater understanding of the dynamic set of issues that youth YFF participants are facing. As Section 6 reveals, more contextually appropriate opportunities arise that effectively and efficiently address the challenges that youth entrepreneurial programming encounters in Botswana.

6.0 Recommendations for CEDA and the YFF

Arguably, the YFF has the ability to recover from its current state given its extensive financial, organizational and political resources. Its successes are currently limited to a minimal number of its youth participants. Offering low-interest loans to a population that otherwise would have no chance of accessing start-up finance due to a lack of collateral and equity is a positive step in youth business development. However, to create greater value to the program a number of issues must be addressed. The financial, marketing, operational and CEDA related challenges emerging from conflicted identities, unequal opportunities, under-performing youth and a culture of dependence and entitlement must not go unnoticed. The future success of the YFF hinges upon CEDA’s ability to address the challenges that have arisen in this study. The proceeding discussion will present recommendations that can actuate effective program change.

6.1.1 Empowerment Through (Relevant) Knowledge

The program will make little progress without addressing the lack of knowledge and skills that upwards of 93% of interviewed participants had not acquired in the business
and agricultural fields combined. Entrepreneurial education is key to the development of youth entrepreneurial programs (Awogbenle and Iwuamadi, 2010; Aligica, 2008; Yao et al., 2007; Chigunta et al., 2005). Though scholars and CEDA alike are split at which point in the business life cycle this must be introduced, the results clearly show that it must come first and continue through the implementation and operational stages. Given that a low number of youth in the YFF have practical farming experience and relevant business skills this is of urgent importance. The Ministry of Agriculture is also contributing to the lack of qualified applications. For instance, they are producing media campaigns that market agriculture as a last resort and an unskilled career by promoting that “there is no need for education to succeed in agriculture…just dedication and hard work” (Ministry of Agriculture, 2011). Empowering youth with a skill set that is relevant will transform a financially dependent generation into a self-reliant cohort. It will do so because many of the operational challenges that impeded financial success in these businesses is driven from the lack of entrepreneurial and agricultural acumen among youth YFF participants. This, as previously discussed, is due to the ill-advised, politically driven acceptance of unqualified youth.

6.1.2 Youth Entrepreneurship in a Technological Age

Great opportunity exists with the introduction of Information Communications Technologies (ICTs) to enterprise operations. Batswana youth identify within a communication age, driven by creative and innovative technology and social livelihoods. Kevin suggests:

“[I]ntroducing new technologies to farming that’s the best thing that can help attract more youth into it, because they see it as something that is standard,
something that is boring, there is nothing in it that’s interesting about it. But new technologies, I’ll say that they could help a lot.”

Arguably, playing into this identity by using such innovative modes of doing business will be advantageous. ICTs can strongly transform a number of ways in which youth behave in their enterprises, as well as local and international markets (Salkowitz, 2010). For instance, ICTs can link resources such as Mentors and the Ministry of Agriculture closer to participants in a more timely and cost-effective fashion than is currently offered. ICTs can also streamline the fund dispersal process with the advent of online and mobile telephone banking that is being integrated in shops across Botswana. ICT infrastructural expansion in rural areas also provides the opportunity of keeping farmers closer to their projects by incorporating Internet access and entertainment on the farm. Thembelo captures this idea:

“We the youth, we love entertainment and we love TV, we watch TV. So for farming to be easier and for youth to get into farming the farms should be, should have electricity, they shouldn’t be far from the main villages, like Maun, access to the internet and telecommunication, that’s what is important, communication and yeah basically that.”

The number of computers in Batswana households and the rate of those with access to Internet and mobile communications are on the rise (GoB, 2009). Furthermore, with the inclusion of a revised National Youth Policy in the coming year, youth will gain much more access to ICT training. Thus, this recommendation is highly practical and strategic for addressing the aforementioned issues.

6.1.3 Eliminating Entitlement and Dependency: Introducing Entrepreneurs

The need exists to create a commitment by the youth to their YFF projects and to the repayment of their loans. These issues are not being addresses due to a deep seeded
culture of dependence and entitlement among youth participants. Creating a commitment to the program may overcome this sense of entitlement and dependence that is prevalent among this generation of applicants. As noted, the YFF is regularly perceived as a means to attain funds or simply gain employment. CEDA must challenge this perception by showing that success in attaining a loan is dependent upon a proven work ethic, commitment, entrepreneurial traits, and knowledge and experience of proper business and agricultural practices. It is largely believed that to do so it must attract those who identify clearly as entrepreneurs. This can be done in a number of ways. The first is addressing administrative issues within the application process. CEDA must focus more on accountability and rigor in the acceptance of YFF participants. A simple written application and business proposal that plays into government rhetoric and provides unrealistic financials should not gain participants acceptance into the program; especially one not written by the applicant, as is the case in many instances. An extensive campaign should recruit larger numbers of youth into the program where the most experienced and entrepreneurial are chosen. In saying so, this may marginalize a large segment of the population. Thus, measures should also be introduced that place unqualified youth into preliminary training. Secondly, there should be an initial investment into the project. This may be a simple application fee, or an initial shared equity in the project. Programs under CEDA, the Department of Youth and the BDC currently use such a tactic to share risk and to foster commitment and accountability to businesses.

6.1.4 Changing From Within: CEDA’s Role Moving Forward

CEDA officials such as Mentors, Monitors, Portfolio Executives and Department Heads should also be considered in moving forward. Furthermore, there should be a youth
officer within the organization to represent youth participants and collaborate with CEDA upper-management, government ministries and organizations in Botswana that deal with the structural and lived issues of youth. As Joy expresses, “I think they have to use the youth ambassador to call other youth, because I think they will be more related to the youth and more presentable to the youth, than being presented by an older person.” Mentors and participants also tend to have inefficient relationships based on generational and epistemological differences, which are linked to broader societal discourses around youth in Botswana. Mentors have voiced that participants do not listen to their advice based on such factors, while participants feel mentors do not understand their projects well enough. CEDA must challenge this notion by building more effective relationships between Mentors and YFF participants. Youth Participants also assert that Monitors and Portfolio Executives should be working closer to the projects through increased field visits. Many of those, however, in these roles have argued that their portfolios are too large to effectively work with their clients. CEDA must, therefore, overcome government pressure that often basis success on the amount of loans that are given out, and begin acknowledging the quality of its service by providing its officers with manageable portfolios. A number of administrative issues can also be attributed to the lack of knowledge that upper-management has of what is happening at the projects and at CEDA branches. Lastly, CEDA officials, Monitors and Portfolio Executives should be held more accountable for the outcomes of YFF projects to create a deeper commitment to their clients’ success.
**7.0 Conclusion**

Economic empowerment by way of entrepreneurial programming will continue to play an important role in Botswana’s development. The YFF is a valuable resource in this development paradigm. This study has addressed a number of issues, challenges and opportunities that present themselves to CEDA and youth YFF participants. Financial, marketing, operational and CEDA related issues are currently impairing a number of participants from effectively creating and running successful enterprises. Moreover, contextual variables have created a largely dependent and entitled generation, and reproduced ineffective development programming and policy, which reflects the operations of these businesses. Participants are also conflicted between their identities of youth, citizen, entrepreneur and farmer. This challenge is often reflected in the non-committal and ineffective behaviours of the participants towards their projects. Each challenge must be addressed as CEDA moves forward with the YFF. Arguably, success in the program is dependent on having the knowledge and skills to run a profitable agricultural enterprise. Thus, future consideration must be given to innovative new ways to acquire youth that possess these traits, as well foster the development of entrepreneurship among youth. Furthermore, CEDA must operationalize more efficient and effective modes of communicating and working with its clients.

This study reveals that a conceptual framework rooted in a contextualist approach will provide a more in-depth explanation of youth entrepreneurial programming. It illustrates that the challenges youth face are a product of a number of contextual variables. Viewing youth as disconnected from broader social, political, economic and cultural realms, as
much as the literature perceives them, does not fully capture their participation in
development programs. Normative approaches that continue to view these youth as sole
agents in their projects must address the intricate relationship existing between the
individual and their contextual setting. If this is not achieved there will be continual
failed attempts at entrepreneurial development strategies globally.

The utility of this framework is not limited to the case of Botswana. The outcomes of this
case study merely suggest that a contextual approach is needed for all youth
entrepreneurial initiatives. Applying it to similar programs will bring about a more solid
understanding of the operations and outcomes of youth projects within a given context,
globally. In doing so it will address a number of issues stemming from youth
unemployment because it provides a more rigorous method of (re)designing and
(re)thinking entrepreneurial programs with a consideration for the social, cultural,
economic and political blueprint of a given place. Creating businesses that are sustainable
and viable through this contextual understanding will also lead to the creation of
businesses and jobs that are no longer ephemeral. The result will be a greater ability for
nations to address issues of rural-urban migration, poverty, food insecurity, crime and
violence in the global context.
CHAPTER 3

THESIS CONCLUSIONS

3.1 Scholarly and Practical Contributions

This study provides both scholarly and practical outcomes. It establishes a conceptual framework for understanding youth entrepreneurial programs in more depth. Conceptually, a manuscript (Chapter 2) contributes to the international development and entrepreneurial literature. It shows that the viability of youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy hinges upon a contextual understanding of the program in a given place. The paper argues that contextual settings must be considered in the designs and outcomes of youth entrepreneurial strategies to appropriately understand the individuals’ experiences within them. If this understanding does not exist, outcomes of the programs will be misunderstood as independently related to the individual, and not a broader set of variables.

Furthermore, this paper has sought to fill a scholarly gap in that the existing literature has yet to establish such a comprehensive investigation into the outcomes and experiences of youth in entrepreneurial development programs. It also addresses the notion that youth entrepreneurs do not act alone, however, they are influenced by a set of dynamic
contextual variables. This has clearly revealed that an intricate relationship exists between social, economic, political and cultural factors, as well as youth and programmatic outcomes. The research also provides a case study of a youth entrepreneurial program in the Southern African context. Arguably, given the popularity of youth entrepreneurship over the last decade, the number of existing case studies related to the Southern African context is unjustifiably limited. This study has, therefore, provided insights based on a specific case, that of the YFF in Botswana.

Practically, the paper has raised a number of issues, challenges and opportunities for the GoB, CEDA and the YFF. It has provided a list of strategic recommendations to CEDA based on the research findings and the literature studied. A presentation of preliminary results has also contributed to an early understanding of the YFF program for CEDA. This presentation was organized for the purpose of disseminating early findings to a number of stakeholders including the government, NGO and business sectors in Botswana and took place on July 27th, 2011. Given the range of stakeholders receiving the final report, the concluding results of this study will further contribute to how youth are integrated into a number of entrepreneurial programs existing in Botswana, not solely the YFF. For instance, there is an opportunity to consider the results of this study when considering policy and program development for institutions such as the Ministry of Youth Sport and Culture, the Ministry of Agriculture and the BNYC.
3.2 Opportunities for Research

Arguably, great opportunities exist for further scholarly and CEDA related research on this topic. Due to the popularity of youth entrepreneurship in the development context, and because a limited number of case studies exist within the African context, there is an opportunity to apply the conceptual framework this study provides to similar programs. This will reveal the possibility of generalizing this framework across a number of development contexts, specifically the African context. Such future studies will also create a better understanding of programmatic outcomes for development strategies that are of a similar nature to the YFF.

A number of research opportunities have arisen for CEDA to expand on this study. First, an investigation rooted in the economic situation of the YFF is of dire need. Given the lack of financial information available, this may address the organizational challenge of financially tracking each business. Currently, this is highly limited to the outstanding repayment amounts of each project. A study of this nature may also promote and pressure for more stringent financial record keeping practices among participants. As will be noted, this was a major limitation to the research. A financial investigation should also reveal the social return on investment considering that CEDA’s main goals relate to positive social outcomes. Secondly, there is also an opportunity to expand upon the recommendations provided in the Discussion of Chapter 2. A survey of entrepreneurial education in Botswana, the role of ICT infrastructure in Botswana and an investigation into the operational challenges of CEDA could aid in the proper implementation of these
recommendations. This research may also reveal pertinent information for directing CEDA programming in the future.

3.3 Limitations to the Research

The study faced the limitation of attaining rigorous financial records that would speak to the outcomes of the YFF projects. This is attributed to a number of reasons, namely administrative setbacks at CEDA and the overwhelmingly lack of recordkeeping for most YFF participants. The financial information obtained was often based on inflated estimates in business proposals and discussions with YFF participants and CEDA Monitors, and not on factual receipts, purchase bills, bills of sale and formal accounting documents. This factor reveals itself in the paper, as there is little discussion on how the projects are doing financially through measures such as turnover, profits/revenues and savings.

During the period of fieldwork in Botswana the government was facing its first major public strike. This often limited the researcher’s accessibility to civil servants. This political climate also created barriers to what government officials were willing to reveal in their interviews. For example, the researcher was often faced with interviews where top-officials would call upon advisors into meetings, and discussion would happen in Setswana before answering the researcher. Given that the researcher had no knowledge of this language, this may have been a disadvantage when interviewing these informants.
The study also faced spatial and temporal limitations because CEDA branches are spread throughout the country and time in the field was limited. Arguably, it may have proven more advantageous to navigate all CEDA branches, while not limiting the research to just four branches. This may have revealed a number of trends not experienced within the regions studied. Because the research was limited to 90 days, visiting each branch while doing a comprehensive study of secondary data and key informant and participant interviews would be a difficult feat. Furthermore, this limits the possibility of giving CEDA branches direct regional feedback on their YFF projects. This limitation is highly related to the spatial constraints associated with researching in a short fieldwork season in a country that is quite large and has a population and program that is highly dispersed.

Though the research covered a vast area and included a large proportion of possible participants, a number of factors limited the researcher from visiting the projects of all interview participants. These included:

- The spatial distribution of YFF projects throughout regions.
- The ambiguity of where participants were (at the farm or home), and thus CEDA would only allow a farm visit with a confirmation that the participant would be at the farm.
- It was more efficient to interview participants while housed at the CEDA branches as participants were often spending their time in the cities or visiting the CEDA branch for a range of reasons.

3.4 Final Reflection
The emergence of youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy shows promise in achieving a number of social and economic outcomes in Botswana. This study has shown
that a deeper investigation into contextual variables, the entrepreneurial programs and the participants’ livelihoods is of vital importance. It illustrates that youth entrepreneurs cannot be perceived as independent agents in entrepreneurial development programs. One must consider social, political, economic and cultural factors to grasp a comprehensive understanding of youths’ experience within a given context and entrepreneurial program. An understanding of this nature also reveals if youth entrepreneurship is a realistic and viable development strategy in a given context. In revealing this, the study has provided a relevant conceptual framework rooted in contextualism. It has also proven its value through a case study based on the YFF program in Botswana. A number of issues have been revealed and relevant opportunities to address them illustrated. Arguably, without this conceptual framework these recommendations and conclusions would not have been drawn.

From this study youth entrepreneurship as a development strategy also presents itself as a viable option to address issues exacerbated by youth unemployment globally. This study recognizes that issues of rural-urban migration, poverty, food insecurity, crime and violence are intricately related to the ability of youth to hold sustainable and viable employment. When youth do not hold, or have future access to relevant job opportunities these issues are merely reproduced. Therefore, entrepreneurship presents itself as an opportunity for youth to establish their own employment; this must be aided by programmatic and policy incentives by governments, as the literature has revealed. Governments that incorporate this strategy into their development schemes, however, must not limit entrepreneurship to a specific sector, for instance the agribusiness sector.
Entrepreneurship has no sector limits or boundaries, and thus governments must create opportunities for youth in multiple fields. This also reflects on the increasing access youth have to specialized tertiary education across multiple disciplines. The case of Botswana exemplifies that when opportunities do not exist in a given field youth settle for businesses opportunities they are unfamiliar with. Consequently, they have little opportunity for successful integration into a new sector because of their lack of specialized knowledge in that field.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Chigunta, F. (2002). *Youth Entrepreneurship: Meeting the Key Policy Challenges.* Education Development Center.


Appendix A

Research Design

Overview of Methodology & Methods

A qualitative methodological approach illustrates “concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions” that capture the complexities of a research topic (Berg, 2001, 3). Thus, a highly qualitative model is employed for this study. The research is action oriented, focusing on positive social change through Technical/Scientific/Collaborative Modes (Berg, 2001, 186). That is, the researcher collaborated with CEDA by analyzing the YFF and has provided the organization with a preliminary results presentation and a detailed preliminary assessment that can inform future program (re)development. Furthermore, the thesis will be provided to CEDA after its submission in order to provide a comprehensive report to the organization on current successes, challenges, future opportunities and recommendations. The data was collected by means of an instrumental case study. The case study is instrumental in the sense that it has established insights into a particular development issue based on a particular development program (Berg, 2001).

Because the researcher crosses cultural boundaries an understanding of standpoint and self-reflexivity is a part of the methodological approach (Walter, 2006). Standpoint refers
to the recognition that the research approach and questions are defined and interpreted by one’s own social, cultural and political underpinning (Walter, 2006). Similarly, reflexivity is a “self-conscious awareness by the researcher of his or her position in the research process” (Walter, 2006, 409). How I identify as an individual was realized to understand that I might be bounded in the ways data is collected and analyzed. It is also important to acknowledge that power dynamics may be present in the researcher-participant encounters and translated into the data obtained. For example, issues of gender power distribution in Botswana exist, therefore, an awareness of this issue was particularly acknowledged when interviewing female participants. Though a self-acknowledgment does not erase culturally rooted power differences within these interactions, they do allow the researcher to realize that data may be wrapped up in the power dynamics of a male-researcher and female-subject exchange in Botswana. For instance, because I was male, as was the CEDA Monitor accompanying my visit to the farm, female participants may have been more hesitant to speak against CEDA Monitors. Furthermore, a study on fieldwork best practices was taken through academic study to address issues of confidentiality, which relates to the power dynamics between youth participants and CEDA. For instance, participants often felt what they said may get back to the organization and their Monitors. Practices of giving pseudonyms and keeping data in a secure location have prevented this from happening. Finally, objectivity was continuously reflected upon given the close collaboration between CEDA and the researcher during the fieldwork season.
**Methods Employed**
The methods employed in this research were key informant interviews, participant observation, semi-structured participant interviews and secondary data review. Data collection and preliminary analysis took place in Botswana from May to August 2011 and in-depth analysis occurred from September to December 2011. The following illustrates the importance of each method in the data collection and analysis process.

**Key Informants & Secondary Data Review**
Key Informants help researchers better understand the context of their study through their standing and knowledge within society (Marshall, 1996). They are experts that observe and explore their cultures, often speculating and inferring about them. Marshall (1996) outlines their characteristics as:

1) *Role in community*: Their formal role should expose them to the kind of information being sought by the researcher.

2) *Knowledge*: In addition to having access to the information desired, the informant should have absorbed the information meaningfully.

3) *Willingness*: The informant should be willing to communicate their knowledge to the interviewer and to cooperate as fully as possible.

4) *Communicability*: They should be able to communicate their knowledge in a manner that is intelligible to the interviewer.

5) *Impartiality*: Key informants should be objective and unbiased; the interviewer should know any relevant biases.

Key Informants were established around such criteria throughout the research period. Under consultation from contacts at the Ministry of Agriculture, CEDA and an understood importance to the researcher a relationship with a number of these actors was built. Key Informants included government officials, academics, YFF Mentors and
Monitors and representatives from private development firms. Table 3 illustrates the positions of each key informant and highlights the themes of questions in which they were asked.

**Table 3:** Overview of Key Informant interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant Position</th>
<th>Questions Investigated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director of Capacity Building, Botswana National Youth Council (BNYC)</td>
<td>Issues around youth; National Youth Policy; BNYC programs; Youth participation in society/culture; A ‘history’ of youth in Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director, Department of Youth (DOY), Government of Botswana</td>
<td>Success/failure of Youth Development Fund (YDF); Relationships with Department of Youth and CEDA; Role of youth officers; Issues surrounding youth; Policy and other programming for youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Development Officer, Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, Government of Botswana</td>
<td>Issues youth face in the YDF; How financial success/failure can be measured; How the program works financially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Agribusiness, Botswana Development Corporation</td>
<td>The (lack of) participation of youth and the BDC; The structure and programming of the BDC; The potential of youth in BDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDA Mentor, Agri-Consultant</td>
<td>Issues with the YFF, CEDA and participants; Agriculture in the lives of youth; Direction program should be taking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portfolio Executive, CEDA</td>
<td>Issues with the YFF program and participants; Direction the YFF should be taking;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Agribusiness, CEDA</td>
<td>The success/failure of the YFF; Direction the YFF should be taking; The issues of having youth in agriculture; Value/issues with Glen Valley agricultural land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Researcher, CEDA</td>
<td>What regions should be focused on for sampling interview participants and why; Who would be valuable (informants) for the research;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director NAMPAADD, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Botswana</td>
<td>How youth are involved in the NAMPAADD program; Overview of NAMPAADD; Youth participation in agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Professor &amp; CEDA Mentor, Botswana College of Agriculture</td>
<td>Issues with CEDA, YFF and participants; Relationship with mentor and participants; Direction the YFF should be taking; Agriculture in Botswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher, Genderlinks</td>
<td>Gender issues in agricultural sector; Gender &amp; youth issues in Botswana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Secondary data review and analysis was used to understand important facets of the research in terms of: policy, culture, historical trends, socioeconomic issues and Batswana society. It provided insights into local research, policy and development issues, as well as acted as a method of triangulation. The fruits of this review have come to light with the contextualization of youth entrepreneurship in Botswana. The following secondary data were used, each offering important inputs to the research:

**Newspapers:** The use of newspapers (*Mmgei, The Botswana Guardian, The Voice, Botswana Gazette*) allowed the researcher to understand CEDA and the YFF since their inception. The program and the organization have both undergone continued structural changes. Given the extensive accessibility to newspapers via online searches and through archives found at BIDPA, this method was vital to understanding organizational/structural changes through time. Newspapers were also used during the period of research to understand social and political issues. Given the political climate while conducting research, these sources were valuable to understand an important and changing dynamic within the country. Newspapers were vital as they provided a look into some of CEDA’s processes and public perceptions of the organization. Postings such as CEDA tenders, auctions and court proceedings are posted in local and national newspapers. This provided an element of quantification of projects that are failing and loosing their businesses to CEDA led bank sales. The use of newspapers further provided an understanding of the inner workings of CEDA. For instance, issues around corruption
and mismanagement would have otherwise gone unreported to the researcher being that they are taboos in the workplace.

**Government Documents & Reports:** These were widely used to understand economic and demographic statistics, development/business/agricultural plans and a variety of policy developments. There were also valuable program and policy reviews that proved important to guiding an understanding of the structural context for the research framework. These sources have also shown their importance for the triangulation of data and rigor in the analysis that was provided in the manuscript.

**Local Research Papers:** Research papers were found primarily at BIDPA, the University of Botswana and the Botswana National Archives. They were used for methods of data analysis, triangulation and secondary data review. They offered a number of valuable sources on a variety of issues and topics. Topics that were explored included: employment trends, youth development, economic empowerment, education and agriculture in Botswana. Arguably, these papers were more comprehensive and provided a higher sense of objectivity than government policy reviews and reporting do in Botswana.

**Organizational/Corporate Reports:** Year-end reports and program reviews were obtained from institutions to establish such details as goals, visions, sizes and programs. Organizational reporting on each YFF project investigated was also used. This provided insight into project issues and the on-going evolution of individual businesses. These
reports also included business proposals and all other preliminary work that applicants had to complete previous to obtaining acceptance into the YFF. Participant reports also provided information to triangulate data gained from their interviews. For example, it was reported from participants that there are extensive wait times for applications to be looked at by CEDA. The researcher was able to compare this data to the dates provided in CEDA documentation on each participant. A caveat is that there was a consistency of under-reporting in these files. They did, however, provide valuable insights into the businesses from the Monitors’ and Mentors’ points of view. These documents also provide an understanding of the internal structure of CEDA and its entire programming capacity.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is conducted for the purpose of integrating all senses into the data collection process (Angrosino, 2007). Researchers are involved with subjects by “sitting back and watching activities which unfold in front of their eyes, recording their impressions of these activities in field notes, tallies, drawings, photographs and other forms of material evidence” (Cook, 2005, 168). Taking the role of an observer can allow for information to be revealed through the informal participation of the researcher in the study. The author of this study engaged with the practice of ‘participant-as-observer’ by interacting with subjects as much as an acquaintance as a neutral researcher (Angrosino, 2007). In doing so relationships with ‘insiders’ were built based on similar interests and trust.
Through interactions with YFF participants, CEDA employees, local peoples and governmental, policy and academic representatives the researcher obtained valuable cultural, political and programmatic information. Observations took place primarily in the form of CEDA branch visits, YFF participant farm visits and public observations. They revealed pertinent information that both triangulates data and exposes trends that go ‘unsaid’ largely due to factors based on the success and failures of projects and the power dynamics within and outside of the organization.

**Participant Interviews**

Interviewing participants introduces the researcher to the deeper understanding of how people view their worlds (Rallis & Rossman, 2003). It was valuable to explore the circumstances, experiences and knowledge that drew youth towards the program and guided them through it. Because, as a philosophical basis, the research is rooted in contextualism, interviews provide for an “analysis of a totality” wherein the knowledge participants create through experiences and participation in the program can be revealed (Mjoset, 2008, 49).

The YFF program is open to Batswana between the ages of 19-40. The research, however, only selected interview participants from the youth population of the program. The researcher defined youth according to the National Youth Policy of 1996 (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 1996), which states:

“The National Youth Policy is directed toward young males and females who are aged from 12 to 29 years. Young people in this age group require social, economic and political support to realize their full potential. This is a time in
life when most young people are going through dramatic changes in their life circumstances as they move from childhood to adulthood.”

Therefore, only participants between the ages of 18-29, 18 being the earliest age one may start the program, and 29, the latest age at one may be consider a ‘youth’ were chosen. The researcher allowed interview participants who were over the age of 29 only if they had applied to the program while still considered a youth. The date of birth was confirmed through participant files, which had copies of government issued documents stating the participants’ age.

Participants were chosen by a method of purposive sampling. This method allows a researcher to select participants when facing temporal and spatial constraints (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The researcher employed the Research Coordinator of CEDA first to inform the sample. From this consultation four distinct regions of Botswana were chosen. Factors that influenced what regions were chosen included: distance to markets, distance from urban areas, distance to bordering countries, types of farming in the area, ecological/climactic conditions, and the amount of youth participants housed in the regions. Once these were chosen the researcher visited a branch within the region and interview participants were established with the guidance of Branch Managers and Portfolio Executives. A total of n=30 was chosen. This represents 67% coverage of all youth participants in the program in each of these 4 regions. Table 4 illustrates the location of branches, types of farming interview participants were practicing, the characteristics of the location, how many youth participants were looked after at the branch and how many were interviewed. Figure 6 plots where each participants farm is
located, showing their spatial distribution from region to region. Table 5 offers the list of questions that guided, however, not necessarily dictated participant interviews.

**Table 4:** Regional Attributes of Branches Chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Types of Farming</th>
<th>Distinct Characteristics</th>
<th>% of Youth Interviewed from branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaborone</td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>• Capital city of Botswana&lt;br&gt;• Close proximity to South African market place&lt;br&gt;• Easy access to water sources</td>
<td>8/9 88.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Piggery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francistown</td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>• Central location within country&lt;br&gt;• Close to Zimbabwe</td>
<td>8/14 57.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maun</td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>• Area driven by tourism&lt;br&gt;• Close to Okavango Delta</td>
<td>5/6 83.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanzi</td>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>• Close to Namibian border&lt;br&gt;• History of colonial cattle farmers&lt;br&gt;• Located at desert fringe&lt;br&gt;• Dry climate</td>
<td>9/16 56.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6:** Location of farms for participants interviewed. (Source: Adapted from participant interviews and CEDA records)
Table 5: Interview Guide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY:</th>
<th>BOTSWANA</th>
<th>NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CITY:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERVIEW LOCATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARTICIPANT NUMBER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME OF INTERVIEW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am or pm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>START</td>
<td></td>
<td>FINISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE OF INTERVIEW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PROJECT INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT**

**Project Description**

I am a student from the University of Guelph located in Canada. I am here on fieldwork to find out about youth experiences with the Young Farmers Fund program.

**Consent**

I am talking to youth in Botswana about how they have been impacted by the program and their involvement with it. You have been selected as a candidate for an interview. I would like to discuss the program with you if you are willing.

Your insight and opinions will help me get a better idea of the program’s impact. There are no right or wrong answers. The interview will take about an hour. Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with about 30 other participants I will be talking to. I will not be recording your name, and it will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to say anything. The CEDA monitor (if present) has only come along to introduce the both of us. I am in no way affiliated with or responsible to CEDA.
### Section A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Info</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c Marital Status in or out of community of property</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d Number living in Household</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e Children/dependents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f Highest level of education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1g Types of education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1h Previous Occupation(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i Household Income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1j Employment Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1k Where were you born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1l Where do you live now</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1m Why are you living away from the farm (if above indicates)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1n How would you describe youth in Botswana?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1o Do you think that society in Botswana is positive about youth?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Section B: FARM INFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2a Location of Farm</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2b Own or Lease/cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c Type of Farm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d Date acquired land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2e Cleared/Prepared Land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f First Plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2g Number of workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2h Different role of employees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2i How many hours spent on farm per week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2j Describe your activities on the farm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2k Hours spent on farm related activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l Estimated Farm Gross turnover per harvest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m How many products per year?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2n Why are you doing this type of Farming?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2o Did you have any previous experience or skill development in this type of farming?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2p Please tell me about a time when you had to make an important decision for your farm.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2q What influenced your decision?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2r What is a positive experience you have had while farming?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s What is a negative experience you have had while farming?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2t Tell me about something good that has happened, because you are a farmer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2u What does it mean to you to be considered a ‘farmer’?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v What are your goals as a farmer?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2w Why would you say you are either a successful or unsuccessful farmer?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section C: PROGRAM INFORMATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3a Date Accessed Loan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b Amount of Loan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c Amount Remaining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d Arrears</td>
<td>Enterprise Creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3e What was the loan used for</td>
<td>Rebuilding (infrastructure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Growth (employees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diversifying Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Growth (product)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3f Where did you hear about CEDA before starting the Young Farmers Fund Program? |
| 3g What did this source tell you? |

| 3h What made you decide to apply to the program? |
| 3i What type of assistance did you have in applying to the program? |

| 3j Please tell me about your experience dealing with CEDA Monitors. |

| 3k Please tell me about your experience dealing with CEDA Mentors. |

| 3l What does it mean to you to be an entrepreneur? |

| 3m Do you think you are successful or unsuccessful entrepreneur and why? |
### Section D: ASSESSING SUCCESSES

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>4a</strong></td>
<td>Would you recommend the program to a friend? If so, why and what would you tell them about it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4b</strong></td>
<td>How would you characterize your experience with the program?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4c</strong></td>
<td>Explain the benefits you have got from your experience of being a self-employed farmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4d</strong></td>
<td>Explain the challenges you have had with being a self-employed farmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4e</strong></td>
<td>What could CEDA do to help you with these?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4f</strong></td>
<td>Do you feel you know how to run all aspects of your business?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4g</strong></td>
<td>What areas could CEDA help you develop in terms of your ability to do so?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data Analysis

Data collected from participant interviews was analyzed through a method of content analysis. Content analysis allows the researcher to narrow passages down into related categories and themes (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). In doing so a researcher is able to focus on the content and context of what is being said through interviews. Hsieh & Shannon (2005) illustrate three types of qualitative content analysis methods as being conventional, directed and summative. Scholars also differentiate methods of content analysis between manifest and latent (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Berg, 2001). Manifest content involves documenting the frequency of a particular word or phrase, whereas latent analysis is used to determine underlying meanings of what is being said (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

For the purpose of this study, a mixed method approach was used in that the researcher was interpreting passages and building codes/themes through latent content analysis. This
was also informed through the conceptualization of themes found in previous studies and theories. These themes were established from their ability to work within the conceptual framework of this study. Though the findings of the study are not quantified to a large extent there was also a summation of the appearance of themes, and those to which appeared among the most were taken as the key trends.
Appendix B

Case Study: Site, CEDA and the YFF

Study Site: Botswana
The Republic of Botswana is a landlocked nation in Southern Africa bordered by South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see Figure 7). The population of Botswana is currently estimated at 2,006,945 (World Bank, 2011). The urban population growth rate of the country is 2.5% while the rural growth rate is -0.6%. The people of Botswana are known as Batswana (plural) and Motswana (singular) regardless of ethnicity.

Figure 7: Map of Botswana. (Source: www.afrizim.com/Botswana).
Botswana gained its independence from the British Empire in 1966. The country formed its political institutions upon traditional Tswana culture and colonial influence (Martin, 2008). On a continent plagued with governance issues, Botswana is internationally recognized for sustaining a successful democracy. Scholars offer a number of reasons for this success; however one of the most important is the role of the traditional institutions namely, the Kgolta (Acemoglu et al., 2003). Pre-independence villages were governed under this system, which brought men together to discuss matters of economic and political importance for their families and communities at large. It was a forum where Chiefs directly communicated with their subjects, allowing for a ‘democratic’ interaction (Denbow & Thebe, 2006). In post-independent Botswana the Kgolta acts mainly as a political system for rural and village governance. Traditional dress and a ‘required way of speaking’ are often incorporated into these meetings. In contemporary times this is recognized as deterring youth involvement by creating a disinterest, which ultimately leads to the youth voice unrepresented in public meetings (Interview, Director of the Department of Youth, 2011).

There is also great contention presented when investigating the democratization of Botswana due to indigenous elitism, corruption and nepotism (Werbner, 2004; Preece & Mosweneyane, 2004; Good, 1992). Because a densification of bureaucratic systems is becoming more evident, Botswana is also loosing its reputation as a model for African governance (GoB, 2009; Conteh, 2008). Furthermore, hierarchies have dominated the social order of the Tswana culture into today (Motzafi-Haller, 2002). Politically, it’s argued that the elite rural capitalists merely transitioned their pre-colonial political power
into the new post-independent nation-state (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Good, 1992). As noted by Good (2005, 32):

“Simultaneously tribe, and specifically the Tswana, became an institutionalized element in the constitution and in the political system through a Tribal Land Act, Tribal Territories Act, Chieftainship Act, and a House of Chiefs composed entirely of Tswana ex-officio members. In July 1999, Ian Khama, the traditional leader of the largest Tswana community, the Bamangwato, became the country’s vice-president.”

The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has consecutively led the country through its period of independence. For much of it the BDP has maintained the world’s fastest growing economy, driven by foreign capital investments and the export of cattle and diamonds (Good, 1992). The elite influence into early development and policy was most noticeably focused on the promotion of cattle ranching (Meisenhelder, 1994), a sector that now has 2.5% of Batswana owning 40% of all the cattle in the country and 47% of traditional farmers owning none (Tregenna, 2005). Though the agricultural sector has diminished as part of Botswana’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) since independence, 70% of Batswana still survive by means of agriculture and yet have little contribution to cattle exports. Mining, primarily of diamonds, has become the country’s fundamentally most important resource and the backbone of Botswana’s economic growth.

Some scholars argue that Botswana has diverted the ‘resource curse’ that is often associated with the paradox of being resource rich yet politically, socially and economically plagued (Sarraf and Jiwanji, 2001). Diamond mining however has created a dependent and monolithic economy in Botswana, which fuels its economic growth and stability (GoB, 2009; Conteh, 2008; Good, 2005). A dependence upon resources to date
thus illustrates economic growth along a highly undiversified path, controlled by an elite class for which a large part of the population is paying the price (Good, 1992).

The diamond industry has indirectly fed other sectors through an extensive contribution to export earnings and strong economic linkages (Martin, 2008). Therefore, it is speculated that when the diamond industry fails the impact will be felt throughout the economy. Worse is the understanding of the government that diamonds are a depleting resource and yet there is little substantial or successful change to diversify the economy (Good, 2005; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). While manufacturing only accounts for 3.9% of the GDP and agriculture a meager 1.7% in 2007/08, Botswana continues to demand the flow of mass amounts of South African agricultural and manufactured products into its borders. Furthermore, manufacturing in Botswana has been a failure. For example, Hyundai abruptly pulled out of Botswana and 4000 local jobs were lost thus showing the impacts of failed foreign investments (Gwebu, 2004). This could explain why 90% of such foreign investment goes into mining activities (Clover, 2003).

Another major issue is the pattern of unequal income distribution in Botswana. Sarraf and Jiuwanji (2001) argue that the differences in livestock ownership among Batswana during times of drought and the inequality of the mineral sector in Botswana are the causes of such disparities. Leith (2005, 15) argues, “Botswana’s democracy has led to a new tension between the interests of those who have captured the power of the state to further their own ends, and those who have not.” The outcome of this is a stark difference in financial redistribution and income inequality in Botswana. The GINI Coefficient, a
The measurement of income inequality, of Botswana is greater than .60, which is among the world's worst as seen in Figure 8.

**Figure 8:** Global GINI measurement. (Source: UNDP, 2008).

The Botswana of today is also highly dependent on the creation of public jobs and high public spending to fill unemployment gaps and sustain private employment levels. Moreover, the country has the largest government expenditure in Africa (Leith, 2005). ‘Bonanza development’- state revenues used to maintain and mobilize political power through development investment- creates a surge in government expansion, and a higher investment into public employment. In Botswana it saturates civil work and creates jobs that are unproductive for the state and exclusionary for much of the population (Meisenhelder, 1994).
CEDA
Largely due to the failures and subsequent end of FAP, CEDA was established as a parastatal in 2001 to decentralize the development sector (Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011). Unlike FAP, the program is not grant based, but loan focused. The organization provides funding through low-interest loans and support through mentor programming for citizen enterprise creation (CEDA, 2009). The focus of the organization is to promote entrepreneurship among citizens as a prime driver for economic diversification and growth for the national economy (GoB, 1997). The organization currently runs loan programs in the sectors of services, property, manufacturing, and agribusiness. There is also a venture capital scheme that cuts across mining, financial services, trading, manufacturing, construction, transport, ICTs and healthcare. The organization has a total of 10 branches spread throughout 7 locations in the country. As Table 6 notes, CEDA’s core values include being 1) A customer focused organization; 2) A support for entrepreneurial development; 3) Decisive in its decision making; and 4) Accountable to all clients and stakeholders.

Table 6: CEDA’s core operational values. (Source: Adapted from CEDA Strategy 2009-2012).

| Customer focused: | CEDA exists to serve its customer base. We must at all times value and be responsive to the needs of our customers and live by the values of both in all interactions. |
| Enterprising: | We strive to continuously develop and nurture the entrepreneurial spirit and capacity in Botswana. |
| Decisiveness: | Fundamental to our core business we must make sound decisions. These decisions must be well informed, reliable and based on the relevant experience of our team. |
**Accountability:** We are individually and collectively accountable to our customers and stakeholders. We take responsibility for our decisions and actions. We shall act with openness, transparency, honesty, and integrity in all our dealings.

CEDA’s objectives include: economic additionality, to foster and develop an entrepreneurial culture and skills, national economic diversification, competitiveness and sustainability, employment creation, vertical integration and horizontal linkages, and efficient service delivery to enterprises (CEDA, 2008, 2). The organization is meeting these objectives in some respects. As a recent study (Hovorka & Dietrich, 2011) has illustrated, the organization is impacting positively on economic additionality, economic diversification and employment creation. CEDA is however facing challenges to meeting other objectives. As Hovorka & Dietrich (2011, 255) note, these are: “namely entrepreneurial culture and skills enhancement, competitiveness and efficiency promotion, vertical integration and horizontal linkages, and business service delivery.”

**The Young Farmers Fund**
The YFF was established in 2005 to introduce youth into agricultural enterprises. The objectives of the program are to (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2006):

- Foster youth enterprises in agriculture through effective pursuit of opportunities in agricultural sector;
- Encourage the development of competitive and sustainable youth enterprises by rewarding competitiveness and discouraging inefficiency;
- Create sustainable employment opportunities for young people through the development of sustainable agricultural project;
- Promote the development of vertical integration and horizontal linkages between enterprises and primary industries in agriculture;
- Minimize migration of young people to urban centers through creation of job opportunities in rural area.
The program was originally designed for young Batswana between the ages of 18-35. In 2007 the program was expanded to include those up to 40 years of age. A CEDA Official noted that this shift was to incorporate an older generation of farmers with experience into the program, because of lagging numbers of applications and low success rates. Thus, the expected result was more applicants to the program and higher rates of financial success than were being experienced.

The program offers young farmers loans to expand or create an agricultural venture by supporting it with a maximum of P500,000 loan (an estimated USD 70,000) with an interest rate of 5%. Hopeful entrepreneurs must first provide an application to CEDA that covers a range of information, as well they must create a business proposal for their project that outlines criteria such as: financial forecasts, business goals, land deeds, and business plan. Business consultants, however, often develop these business plans for a fee, and not the participants themselves. The proposals must also provide a number of quotes from grocers/shops stating that they will purchase a certain amount of products if the applicant was to start an agricultural project. These shops are usually made up of Pick and Pay, Spar and Choppies, all major retailers in Botswana. Participant applications are evaluated based on the sustainability and viability of their proposed projects and their ability to pay the loan off in the given time.

Portfolio Executives (PE) and Monitors are given a portfolio of participants in the program. There is no standardized method of building these portfolios, however, one Monitor noted he was responsible for 71 participants with a total of over P25,000,000 (an
estimated USD 3.5 million). For each project there is supposed to be monthly monitoring in the form of project visits and reporting on each in a Monitor Report (CEDA, 2009). Mentors are also assigned to projects where participants lack experience or if they are perceived as failing businesses. There is a proposal process for finding Mentors. As Table 7 shows, the PE and Monitor will establish the ‘best fit’ based on the criteria of cost, scope of work, the experience of mentor and completion period. It was observed in participant documents that a number of incongruities existed in this process.

**Table 7**: Rating scale for YFF mentorship applicants. (Source: Adapted from Mentor Assessment collected from participant folder).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shortlisted Mentors</th>
<th>Scope of work Rating: 1 to 8</th>
<th>Resource People Rating: 1 to 6</th>
<th>Proposed Completion Time Assignment Rating: 1 to 3</th>
<th>Budget for the Assignment Rating 1 to 3</th>
<th>Average Score Rating: 1 to 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Applicant 1’</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Applicant 2’</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: 1-lowest mark, 6-highest mark, 20- highest total market*

Recommended Mentor: ‘Applicant 2’

Guiding the structure of the YFF is a program coordinator and the Young Farmers Fund Investment Committee. The committee is made up of representatives from the youth, agriculture and business sectors (CEDA, 2008). Their role is to make investment decisions on behalf of CEDA and the YFF. LEA, the Ministry of Agriculture, the BNYC and the Department of Youth also support the YFF program and its participants.